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"Cepit crux adversus albigenses in Francia Predicari": Domingo De Caleruega, the Early Preachers Movement, and Early Thirteenth Century Crusading

Kyle C. Lincoln

Abstract
This paper presents an examination of the crusade-related work of Dominic of Osma, founder of the Order of Preachers, during the period before the Order's formal chartering. Drawing on hagiographical, chronicle, and cartulary sources, It pays specific attention to the ways that crusade and holy war were frequent in the world of Dominic's early work and training, and how these wider historical trajectories shaped the development of the Order of Preachers into an Order that cannot be separated from its crusading context.

Keywords
Order of Preachers; St. Dominic; Domingo de Caleruega; Albigensian Crusade; Castile; Languedoc; Diego d'Acebo; Jordan of Saxony; Crusade of Las Navas.

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"CEPIT CRUX ADVERSUS ALBIGENSES IN FRANCIA PREDICARI": DOMINGO DE CALERUEGA, THE EARLY PREACHERS MOVEMENT, AND EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY CRUSADING

Kyle C. Lincoln*

The long twelfth century witnessed a proliferation of religious orders, famously culminating in the Fourth Lateran Council's prohibition against new rules and foundations without license from Rome itself.[1] Notably among these for the circumstances in which they were founded in this period are the Military Orders and the Mendicant Orders, both of which seem to be responding to the emerging circumstances of the crusading movements and the increasing urbanization of Latin Christendom.[2] In most readings of the historiography of the period, the Order of Friars Preachers, founded by Domingo de Caleruega in the first years of the thirteenth century, are regarded as belonging to the "mendicant orders side" of the historical survey rather than to the body of military orders.[3] This essay, while not challenging this judgement, argues that the foundation of the

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[1] On Fourth Lateran Council's prohibitions, see *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:242.

[2] The development of new religious movements in the long twelfth century received a classic treatment by Grundmann, but new scholarship has also shown that the situation is more complicated: H. Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links Between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan, (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1995); E. Freeman, "The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the Prohibition against New Religious Orders, and Religious Women," *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures,* 44, no. 1 (2018): 1–23.

[3] See, for example: L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe,* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978).

Order of Preachers should also be construed as having a strong crusading pedigree; put briefly, the Preachers do appear to be a mendicant order emerging from the urbanization of the long twelfth century and its spiritual consequences, but they were also strongly influenced by and deeply involved with the crusades that were launched during Domingo's lifetime. This essay, then, examines the evidence produced by the Preachers as well as contemporary crusading events to show that the early Preachers were deeply involved with crusading and that bright-line judgements positioning them within the historiography as a purely mendicant and urban phenomenon are unsustainable.

The early life and career of the founder of the Order of Preachers has little concrete evidence about its events, but is rich in circumstantial and legendary evidence; the former provides strong context for sorting through what material might be trustworthy about the latter. Taken together, they elucidate a few key elements about St. Dominic of Osma's early life as Domingo de Caleruega.[4] We know that Domingo de Caleruega's was from the hamlet of Caleruega, in the region around Soria, within the diocese of Osma.[5] Hagiographical sources suggest that he was born sometime between 1170 and 1175, a fact which comports with some of the wider contours of his life and career.[6] During that same decade, of course, the conquest of Cuenca added a frontier territory in the archdiocesan province of Toledo, and the additional settlement of Plasencia in the following decade brought increased attention to the Kingdom of Castile as a bulwark of Christendom "on the march."[7] It is difficult to affirmatively label the

[4] In this paper, I use Domingo de Caleruega to refer to the historical person, St. Dominic of Osma to refer to the saint as portrayed in hagiographical literatures.

[5] This fact is unchallenged in hagiographical and historical treatments, see Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum," ed. H-C. Scheeben, (Rome: Institum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum, 1935), 25-88; Petrus Ferrandi, "Legenda sancti Dominici," in *Petri Ferrandi Legenda Sancti Dominic*, ed. Simon Tugwell (Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2015), 261-382.

[6] The date of Domingo's parent's marriage is given as 1170 by the later thirteenth century hagiographer Dietrich von Apolda: Dietrich von Apolda, *Libellus de Vita et Obitu Sancti Dominici*, ed. Johannes Sollerio et al., in *Acta Sanctorum, Aug. Tom. I*, cols. 566D. Domingo died in 1221, so we could reasonably assume that he was in his mid- to late-forties at the time of his death, a not too-young age given his widely remarked upon ascetic practices: L. Boyle, "The Death of Dominic in 1221," *Doctrine and Life,* 21, (1971): 438-46; S. Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of Dominic, IV: Dominic's Date of Birth" *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 67 (1997): 27-57. See also, Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 27-29.

[7] The contours of the last three decades of the twelfth century and Castilian entrenchment in the wider crusading movement are sketched in: P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (New York: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1993); C. de Ayala Martinez, *Las*

conquest of Cuenca or the foundation of Plasencia as crusading enterprises, but the addition of urban settlements on the southern frontier with the Almohads, which were likely also raiding outposts, does suggest that some occasional belligerence may have been foreseen by the royal sponsors of the settlements and their ecclesiastical leaders. At Cuenca, the first bishops were all formerly archdeacons of Calatrava in the archdiocese of Toledo and the patrimony of the church included several fortresses.[8] Plasencia's archival documents from before 1238 are lost, but the appointment of clergy from the royal monastery of Santa Maria de Valladolid (if Julio González's hypothesis is indeed correct) would suggest that a royal favourite was selected to complement the work of Ávila's militia and the clergy that urged them to action in the growing region of Castilian Extremadura.[9]

I. Preaching before an Order

We know that he first appears as a canon of Osma, during the period when he was likely studying in Palencia, in an 1191 hermandad between Osma and Sigüenza, two dioceses whose quarrels had been raging for nearly half a

Cruzadas, (Madrid: Silex, 2004); J. F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284,* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988); J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); F. Garcia Fitz, *La Reconquista,* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2010); F. Garcia Fitz, *Castilla y León frente al Islam: Estrategias de Expansion y tácticas militares (siglos XI-XIII)*, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2001). For specific scholarship on the establishment of these two dioceses, see the following note.

[8] J. M. Nieto Soria, "El equipamiento económico de una sede episcopal castellana de nueva creación: Cuenca, 1180-1280," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 12 (1982): 311-40; J. M. Nieto Soria, "La fundación del Obispado de Cuenca (1177-1183). Consideraciones político-eclesiásticas," *Hispania Sacra,* 34, no. 69 (1982): 111-130; J. F. Powers, "The Early Reconquest Episcopate at Cuenca, 1177-1284," *The Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001): 1-16; J. Díaz Ibáñez, "Los fortalezas medievales de la Iglesia de Cuenca," In *La Fortaleza Medieval: Realidad y Simbol,* ed. Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio and José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, (Murcia: Compobell, 1997), 305-12; J. Díaz Ibáñez, "La iglesia de Cuenca en la Edad Media (Siglos XII-XV). Estructura y relaciones de poder," PhD Thesis, (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2002).

[9] B. Palacios Martin, "Alfonso VIII y su política de frontera en Extremadura," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 19 (1989): 155-65; B. Palacios Martin, "Alfonso VIII y su política de frontera en Extremadura: la creación de diócesis de Plasencia," *En la España medieval* 15 (1992): 77-96; J. F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War,* 29-30, 46-7; J. González González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1960), 1: 471-2.

century.[10] The chapter at Osma had been suffering from its own internal turmoil—a fact that it shared with Sigüenza—as the reform movements of the twelfth century worked their way into and then through both chapters.[11] These reforms were probably, at least in part, influenced by the disastrous defeat at Alarcos, a crusade hamstrung by poor coordination and which was already (in the weeks prior to the climactic battle) provoking papal anxieties because of the internecine rivalries among the kings of Christian Iberia.[12] Internal pressure for reforms to provide both stronger leadership of administrative units that were essential to the good working order of the kingdom and a greater spearpoint for the spiritual warfare that was understood to operate alongside crusades likely were factors that lay alongside another episode in Domingo's early life. The first Master-General of the Order of Preachers, Jordan of Saxony, narrated in his *Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum:*

> In that same time when he was studying at Palencia, there was a great famine throughout nearly all of Hispania, then that same [Domingo] moved by the neediness of the poor … selling also his books … setting them up as alms and giving them to the poor. His example of piety stirred up the spirit of the theologians the other masters, so that because of the generosity of this young man they should give more abundantly in alms thenceforth.[13]

Domingo's own motivations to sell all of his books (and perhaps his furniture and surplus clothing) to alleviate a famine that took place either in 1193 (as part of an ecologically-caused shortfall recorded in the *Analaes toledanos*) or as a result

[10] For this 1191 document, see: T. Minguella y Arnedo, *Historia de Sigüenza y de sus obispos*, (Madrid: Imprenta de la "Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos", 1910-3), 1:471-2; A. Rucquoi, *Dominicus Hispanus: Ochocientos años de la Orden de Predicadores,* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2016), 46; A. Rucquoi, *Dominicus Hispanus: Saint Dominique Avant la fondation de lórdre des Prêcheurs. Saint Dominic before the Foundation of the Order of Preachers,* (Toulouse: Centre d'études de Fanjeaux, 2018), 39 and 159. On the Sigüenza-Osma conflict, see: A. Holndonner, *Kommunikation-Jurisdiktion-Integration: Das Papsttum und das Erzbistum Toledo im 12. Jahrhundert (ca. 1085-ca.1185),* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 599-625.

[11] I have examined these reform movements in detail elsewhere: K. C. Lincoln, "'It pleased the Lord Bishop': Episcopal Agency and Cathedral Chapter Reform in the Kingdom of Castile at the End of the Long Twelfth Century (c.1195-1205)" in *Episcopal Power and Personality in Medieval Europe, 900-1480,* ed. Peter Coss, Melissa Julian-Jones, Angelo Silvestri and Chris Dennis, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 247-66.

[12] On papal hesitancy leading up to the campaign: M. D. Gomez and K. C. Lincoln, "'The Sins of the Sons of Men.' A new letter of Pope Celestine III concerning the Crusade of Alarcos" *Crusades*, 16, (2017): 55-63.

[13] Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum," 30-31.

of the Almohad Caliph's 1196 and 1197 raids of Castile and Leon, which were only turned back when the Castilian king received military aid from his longtime ally, the Count-King of Aragon.[14] Although early Dominican sources were confused about the timing of Domingo's recruitment to the chapter at Osma, they do make this incident of book-selling and almsgiving the explicit cause for his being called (*recte*: recalled) to Osma.

If, as seems likely, Dominic returned to Osma in 1197 or 1198, the congratulatory letter that Innocent III sent to the bishop of Osma, *Religionem plantare,* in 1199 noted that the reform of the chapter had eliminated secular canons.[15] Within those same few years, the Castilian crown expanded aggressively into the northeastern part of the peninsula, conquering Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Vitoria as part of a broader campaign.[16] There are no formal indicators that, like the 1196 crusade promulgated against the Leonese monarchs, there was a bull of crusade against the Navarrese territories that the Castilians were taking possession of, although Sanç VII of Navarra was not in high favour at Rome.[17] Nor was the Castilian church—Osma included—beyond any potential threat from holy wars, as the contemporary example of the bishops of Plasencia being taken hostage by the Almohads.[18] By the first years of the

[14] J. Porres Martín-Cleto, *Los Anales Toledanos I y II,* (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1993), 160-2; F. Garcia Fitz, *Castilla y León frente al Islam,* 448-9; M. Alvira Cabrer, "'Si possides amicum, in Temptatione Posside Illum:' Alfonso VIII and Peter the Catholic," in *King Alfonso VIII of Castile: Government, Family and War,* ed. Miguel D. Gómez, Kyle C. Lincoln, and Damian J. Smith, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), 185-203; K. C. Lincoln, ""*Mihi pro fidelitate militabat:* cruzada, guerra santa y guerra justa contra cristianos durante el reino de Alfonso VIII de Castilla según las fuentes episcopales," in *Hombres de Guerra y Religion [Men of War and Religion],* ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez and J. Santiago Palacios Ontalva, (Madrid: Silex, 2018), 13-33.

[15] D. Mansilla, ed., *Documentación pontificia hasta Innocencio III,* (Rome: Instituto español de estudios eclesiásticos, 1955), 205-206.

[16] L. J. Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, "La quiebra de soberanía navarra en Álava, Guipúzcoa y el Duranguesado (1199-1200)," *Revista internacional de los Estudios Vascos,* 45, no. 2 (2000): 439-494.

[17] On the 1196 crusade: D. J. Smith, "The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone," in *Pope Celestine III: Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. John Doran and Damian Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 84-115; K. Lincoln, "Mihi pro fidelitate militabat," 24-27.

For Sancho VII of Navarra's Roman reputation: K. C. Lincoln, "'Holding the Place of the Lord Pope Celestine:' The Legations of Gregory, Cardinal-Deacon of Sant'Angelo (1192-4 / 1196-7)," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesias,* 24 (2013): 491-93.

[18] Al-Himyari comments on the captivity of the leader of Plasencia, given the disappearance of the bishops of Plasencia from royal records at this time, I have elsewhere (I think credibly) speculated that this may have been the bishop or the royal merino, perhaps both: Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Himyari, *Kitab ar-Rawd al Mi'tar*, trans. María Pilar Maestro

thirteenth century, though, the growth of the Castilian crown's political ambitions enveloped other campaigns and territory further afield.

The growth of the Castilian monarchy into Gascony in the first decade of the thirteenth century is a hotly contested historiographical territory. Scholarly consensus has it that the Castilian monarchy's attempt to conquer Gascony was part of a dual effort to expand Castilian influence in Latin Christendom beyond the Pyrenees and to recover the putative dowry of Leonor Plantagenet in the region.[19] There is some diplomatic evidence to suggest that the prelates of Castile accompanied Alfonso VIII on the campaigns to the region, although witness lists are not the strongest evidence given their often-formulaic natures.[20] Geographically, Osma was one of the dioceses that was closest to Gascony. It is likely, however, that Diego of Osma and his then-subprior Dominic were sent more for their reputation at the court than for any geographical happenstance. Jordan of Saxony reports that: "it happened that at that time Alfonso, king of Castile, desired a marriage between his son Fernando and a certain noble girl from the Marches. For which cause, he approached the bishop of Osma, [Diego] seeking that he be made procurator of this work."[21] Although they may have left from either Osma or Gascony, the trip to the court of the Margraves of Brandenburg,[22] was an important part of Dominic's early career, since their journey seems to have included extended time in the Toulousain, where contemporary heretics had been drawing increased attention since Bernard of

González, (Valencia: Gráficas Bautista, 1963), 39; K. C. Lincoln, "Beating Swords into Croziers: A case study of Warrior Bishops in the Kingdom of Castile, c.1158-1214," *Journal of Medieval History*, 44, no. 1 (2018): 83-103.

[19] For the dowry campaigns: M. Alvira Cabrer and P. Buresi, "'Alphonse, par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de Castille et de Tolède, Seigneur de Gascogne' Quelque remarques à propos des relations entre Castillans et Aquitains au d'ebut du XIIIe siècle," in *Aquitaine-Espagne (VIIIe-XIII siècle)*, ed. Phillippe Sénac. (Poitiers: Universite de Poitiers, 2001), 219-232; J. M. Cerda, "La dot gasconne d'Aliénor d'Angleterre Entre royaume de Castille, royaume de France et royaume d'Angleterre," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 54, 2011,225-242; J. M. Cerda, "Leonor Plantagenet y la consolidación castellana en el reinado de Alfonso VIII," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales,* 42, no. 2, (2012): 629-52.

[20] M. Alvira and P. Buresi, "Alphonse, par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de Castille et de Tolède, Seigneur de Gascogne," 228-229.

[21] "accidit itaque tunc temporis Alphonsum, regem Castelle, inter filium suum Ferdinandum et quondam nobilem de Marchiis desiderare connubium. Quam ob causam adiit prefatum episcopum Oxomensem, postulans fieri eum huius procuratoruem negotii": Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum", 33.

[22] I have recently provided a reappraisal of the evidence for the putative alliance with the Margraves of Brandenburg, with a strong Danish connection, in a paper for the *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum:* K, C. Lincoln, "'Ad Marchias Daciae': Revisiting the Gallén Thesis about the Mission of Diego d'Acebo to the Court of Orlamünde with Respect to the Castilian Evidence," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum,* Nova Series, 8 (2023): 5-26.

Clairvaux's missions in the preceding century.[23] When their diplomatic mission had been frustrated by the untimely death of the proposed bride, the Osman delegation was forced to change its perspective.

Early Dominican sources make it clear that Diego d'Acebo wanted to retire from the episcopate and become a Cistercian monk, but Innocent III allegedly denied the first half of the request and (tacitly) allowed him to take a Cistercian habit.[24] The crusading *bona fides* of the Cistercians are well-established and their influence on both the Templars, internationally, and the order of Calatrava, within the Iberian context, only further underlines their support for the wider crusade movement.[25] Without a more extensive narration of his *conversatio,* we cannot conclude which motivations were the most impactful on Diego, but the confluence of these factors was certainly behind the events that followed. The preaching campaigns in the region against the so-called "Good Men" of the Toulouse region were spearheaded by Cistercians, with substantial papal backing, and it is within this context that we get a useful glimpse into the dynamics of the religious orders as they attempted to root out the heretical groups in the region.

II. The Albigensian Crusade and Dominic's Mission

Even before the murder of Pere de Castelnau, the sources that chronicled the Albigensian Crusade made clear that the region was under immense tension. Given the later role that Dominic and his followers played in the region and the relationship they cultivated with Simon de Montfort, it is no surprise then that the Albigensian chronicles, *chansons des gestes* and hagiographies dedicated some of their coverage to Dominic and his actions. Examining the role of Dominic and the early group of followers that were attached to him before the formal foundation of his Order of Preachers puts the Albigensian Crusade front and centre, and requires that we examine the narrative evidence, cartulary evidence, and the diplomatic evidence in their own milieu, in order to best

[23] About St. Bernard's preaching in the region: B. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania,* 78-109.

[24] Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus," 35.

[25] On the Cistercians and crusade: M. Gervers, ed., *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians,* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1992); W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in Iberia and the Holy Land, c. 1095-c.1187,* (New York: Boydell, 2008), 86-119.

For their involvement with the Temple: M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple,* (New York: Camridge University Press, 1993), 1-63. About Cistercian influence over Iberian military orders: C. de Ayala Martinez, *Los Órdenes Militares Hispánicas en la edad media,* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), 65-148; S. Zeno Conedera, *Ecclesiastical Knighthood: The Military Orders in Castile, 1150-1330,* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 45-60.

engage with the material preserved from the period. Within the body of this evidence, it is clear that Dominic's early mission has a very clear crusade context, but the degree of engagement needs to be teased out carefully so that the precise nature of that engagement can be traced.

Chronicles of the early Order of Preachers are not wary about putting the Albigensian Crusade movement at the core of Dominic's early vocation in the region.[26] After Diego returned to Osma, Dominic remained in the region to keep the mission alive, and Jordan of Saxony noted that "after the death of the bishop of Osma, the Crusade against the Albigensians in *Francia* began to be preached."[27] Although Diego's death in 1207 was before the formal launch of the crusade in the region, there was, of course, an extensive preaching campaign against the "Good Men" for decades prior to this period.[28] This preaching was famously—perhaps, too famously to be a wholly credible notion—the result of "dumb dogs who do not bark" and the result of poor ecclesiastical leadership in the region.[29] Although this has since come into question from scholarship, early Dominican Chronicles make the problems of the Church in the region no secret, and align with the contemporary feeling at Rome that something needed to be done to bring religious attitudes back into alignment with Roman norms.[30] Preaching campaigns, too, were a part of a wider understanding of spiritual warfare in the medieval world, and their support for military affairs was well

[26] The early Dominican narrative hagiography is consistent in this emphasis: Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus," 31-2; Petrus Ferrandi, *Legenda sancti Dominici*, 278-82; Constantine of Orvieto, "Legenda Sancti Dominici," ed. H.C. Scheeben in *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica,* vol. 16 (Rome: Institutum Ordinis Praedicatorum Historic, 1936), 292-3; Humbert of Romans, "Legenda sancti Dominici," ed. Tugwell in Simon Tugwell OP, ed., *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2008), 459-60

[27] Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus," 41.

[28] For biographical details about Diego, see: K. C. Lincoln, *A Constellation of Authority: Castilian Bishops and the Secular Church during the Reign of Alfonso VIII,* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2023), 147; K. C. Lincoln, "A Prosopography of the Castilian Episcopate," in *King Alfonso VIII of Castile: Government, Family and War,* ed. Miguel D. Gomez, Kyle C. Lincoln, and Damian J. Smith (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), 200-202.

[29] For the "dumb dogs" sentiment from Rome and scholarship about this papal claim: D. J. Smith, *Innocent III and the crown of Aragon: the limits of papal authority,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 39-40.

[30] For recent reappraisals of the state of ecclesiastical leaders in the region: W. Reid Cosgrove, "Clergy and crusade: The church in southern France and the Albigensian Crusade," PhD Dissertation (Saint Louis University, 2012), 32-154. On preaching movements in the region prior to the thirteenth century: B. Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-122*: *Preaching in the Lord´s Vineyard,* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2001), 78-134

understood in the crusading context.[31] As part of a broader appeal to piety linked to Constable's "monasticization of the laity" argument for the long twelfth century, preaching and liturgical innovations in the late twelfth century underscored wider spiritual surges.[32] The murder of Peter de Castelnau, while the overt casus belli, was part of a wider and more diabolical (from Rome's perspective) movement to undermine ecclesiastical power in the region, using the shortcomings of contemporary prelates as its *cause celebre,* and a measure by which all of the spiritual progress witnessed widely in Latin Christendom was to be soon undone.[33]

We are fortunate that several contemporary accounts of the crusade have been preserved about the progress of the Albigensian crusade and that these, occasionally, attend to the growth of the Order of Preachers. *Chansons des geste*, like that of Guillhelm de Tudela and his anonymous continuator, and wider chronicles, like that of Guillaume de Puylarens, make it clear that the crusade was a major undertaking from the beginning and that religious and cultural attitudes provoked by the conflict made it hard to remain a neutral party.[34] Both of these sources mention Diego, although only de Puylarens notes Dominic's role, and in both cases the contest between the heretics and the crusaders takes centre stage; intricately included, however, are the intellectual clashes and preaching confrontations that were a key part of the anti-heresy movement. Of course, even the Crown of Aragon was in a double-bind: Raymond of Toulouse was an Aragonese vassal, but the Count-Kings were themselves sworn to the pope; the overlap of loyalties made the stakes of preaching political and with that, military, as well.[35] In de Puylaren's account, one of Dominic's earliest companions debates the sister of Raymond Roger of Foix, described as a

[31] I have made this case elsewhere: K. C. Lincoln, "Fighting on a Prayer: Liturgical and Physical Engagement of Warfighting by Clergy in High Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1000-1250," in *Religious Rites of War beyond the Medieval West,* ed. Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and Gregory Leighton, (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 1: 30-68.

[32] G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 125-167.

[33] The best military history is Marvin's, but Innocent's bull announcing the crusade makes the proximal cause of the campaign clear: Othmad Hageneder, Andrea Sommerlechner et al., *Die register Innocenz' III. Band XI. 11. Pontifikatsjahr 1208/1209. Texte und Indices* [The Register of Innocent III: Volume 11, Pontifical year 1208/1209], (Wien: Verlag de Österreichenischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), 29-36; L. Marvin, *The Occitan War: A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[34] William de Tudela and Anonymous, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. Janet Shirley, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1996), 12; Guillaume de Puylarens, *Chronique, 1145-1275,* 53.

[35] D. J. Smith, *Crusade, Heresy, and Inquisition in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon (c. 1167-1276),* Leiden: Brill, 2010), 13-40.

heresiarch in her own right.[36] Such a confrontation with a heresiarch and a woman makes aligns with Dominic's early mission—Prouille itself was founded explicitly for the reconciled women who had taken a role in the heresies of the region—but also points at the key supporting role played by women in crusading contexts, suggesting that the rescuing of prodigal souls was, itself, part of the wider effort to erode support for heretics in the region.[37] Additionally, the few letters that we have preserved from Dominic fit this notion of challenging and confronting the spiritual needs of women and reconciling heretics,[38] which aligns with the emphases of the chansons texts, and also aligns with the hagiographical treatment of Dominic's actions during the height of the conflict in the Toulousain.

Hagiographical accounts about Dominic and his early movement make clear how important the crusading period was to Dominic's life. The testimonials gathered as the *Acta canonizationis* were collected from Bologna and Toulouse, and in the case of the Toulousain, the corpus was clearly focused on his zeal, preaching, and miracles.[39] Jordan's *Libellus* includes, a story about Dominic's sense of charity within the context of hostage-ship, a common enough practice in military contexts, and debt-servitude:

> Once he was exhorting an unbeliever to return to the bosom of Mother Church and the latter pleaded that temporal necessity bound him to the heretics, who gave him all he needed for a living, because he could not get them in any other way. Deeply moved by compassion for this man, Dominic resolved to sell himself and use the money to relieve the poverty of this soul. And he would have done so, had not the Lord, who is rich towards all, provided another means of supplying that man's needs.[40]

[36] Guillaume de Puylarens, *Chronique, 1145-1275,* 54.

[37] On the role played by women on crusades, see: N. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 2007), 36-52.

[38] The three letters from Dominic have been edited and translated: http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domdocs/0002.htm

[39] S. Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of Dominic III," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 66 (1996): 59-137; *Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici,* ed. R. P. Angeli Walz, in *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica,* vol. 16 (Rome: Institutum Ordinis Praedicatorum Historic, 1936), 169-87.

[40] Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus," 35. Above, I have used the translations from the larger "St. Dominic—Biographical Documents," preserved online by the Dominican Central Province: http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domdocs/default.htm.

A nearly identical story was then added by Petrus Ferrandi's early *Vita* of Dominic, but he appended that Dominic was "known to have done something like that while he was still living in his own country. For a woman came to him weeping that her brother was being held captive by the Saracens. But filled with a spirit of charity he was moved to compassion and offered to sell himself as a ransom for the prisoner."[41] We know, too, that Dominic was not merely concerned with "loss prevention" in the theatre of spiritual warfare, but with active confrontation too. Fr. Stephen Hispanus, who seems to have joined the order sometime after 1218, notes that when Dominic inducted him into the Order he said, "I wish to give to you the weapons with which for the whole of your life you ought to battle against the devil (*Ego volo dare tibi arma cum quibus toto tempore vite tue debeas pugnare contra diaboloum*)."[42] Whether in ransoming hostages or in the arming of a novice for spiritual combat, the militarized language of the early order's hagiographical texts makes the confluence of Dominic's own frontier-oriented youth and the crusading-era context of the early Order clearly construed as being in zones of active conflict. The preservation of both Dominic's work and the growth of the order were most certainly read as being themselves miraculous, as one extended episode where heretics were converted makes clear.

Jordan of Saxony makes the conversion of heretics a focus of considerable mirabilographical material, noting especially how Dominic's preaching was often accompanied by miracles or small signs. One example, the famous debate at Fanjeaux, bears repeating to serve this point:

> On one occasion, a famous debate was held at Fanjeaux, for which a large crowd of believers and unbelievers was assembled. Several of the believers had composed tracts containing arguments and authorities to support the faith. When these were all examined, the one which was considered best and was most generally approved of was one by the blessed Dominic, so this was the one chosen to be submitted to the three judges who had been appointment … The heretics too had written a tract, which was also to be submitted. Whichever side submitted the work which the judges ruled to be more reasonable, the faith of that side was to be considered the winner.

[41] Petrus Ferrandi, *Legend of St. Dominic,* cap. 21, trans. Lehner, (http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domdocs/0001.htm): Petrus Ferrandi, ed. Tugwell, 303. On this translated text, see the previous note.

[42] On Stephen of Spain, see: S. Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of Dominic III," 122-6; *Acta Canonizationis*, 155.

> There was a long verbal tussle, but the judges could not agree on a verdict in favour of either party. Eventually they had the idea of throwing both books into the fire. Should either of them chance not to be burned, that one was to be regarded as undoubtedly containing the true faith.
>
> A big fire was lit, and both the books were thrown in. The heretics' book burned up immediately, but the other one, the one written by the man of God, Dominic, not merely remained unharmed by the flames, it actually leaped a long way out of the fire. They threw it in again, and it jumped out again. When the same thing happened a third time, this plainly proved but the truth of the faith and the holiness of the book's author.[43]

In the context of crusading, preaching occupied an important part of the wider "spiritual warfare" arm of the campaign that medieval thinkers understood to be essential to the success of the military project.[44] The miraculous leaping of the book's—repeated three times in a manner replete with biblical parallels to Elijah or Peter, for example—physical corpus itself signalled the condemnation of the heretical text to fire in direct opposition to Dominic's book being saved from the fires; fire, quite transparently, was equivalent to Hell itself. The miracle was thus

[43] "Contigit autem apud Fanum Iovis celebrem quondam disputationem inslitui, ad quam convocati sunt tam fid elium quam infidelium plurima multi ludo. Plerique igitur fidelium suos interim conscripsere libellos, rationes atque auctoritates confirmationem fidei continentes, inter quos omnibus inspectis beati viri Dominici libellus plus celeris commendatus est et communiter approbatus quatenus de tribus arbitris, de assensu de partium ad sententie diffinitionem electis, cum libello hereticorum, quem et ipsi pro se conscripserant, presentari deberet, et cuius partis libellum rationabiliorem arbitri iudicarent, eius fides prestantior haberetur. Cumque multa verborum disceptatione ad alteram partem arbitri convenire non possent, tandem incidit eis consilium, ut libellos utrosque flammis iniicerent, et si quem illorum non comburi contingeret, ille veram fidem proculdubio contineret. Accensus est igitur ignis magnus, utrumque librorum iniiciunt. Liber hereticorum confestim exuritur, alter vero, quem conscripserat vir Dei Dominicus, non solum permansit illesus, scd et de flammis palam omnibus in longinquum exsiliit; iterumque reiectus et III totiensque resiliens monstravit aperte et fidei veritatem et eius, qui libellum conscripserat, sanctitatem": Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus,* 38.

[44] On the importance of crusade preaching as a part of the spiritual warfare that accompanied the military campaigns and its impact on wider understanding of crusading: J. Bird, "'Theologians know best': Paris-trained crusade preachers as mediators between papal, popular, and learned crusading pieties," *Journal of Medieval History*, 49 no. 3, (2023) 320-338; J. Bird, "Preaching and Crusade Memory," in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, ed. Megan Cassidy-Welch, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 13-34.

both spiritual combat and intellectual combat reified by the miraculous event. In the earliest narration of the crusading period, Dominic is noted as having preached while enduring violence from the Albigensians.[45] In a similar fashion, Dominic offered to sell himself into slavery to free a heretical adherent from the indebtedness that had bound him to the heretical movement in the region; in this fashion, offering himself as a bodily hostage to ransom a spiritual captive.[46] Conversion, as an arm of spiritual warfare, was an important marker of the ways that the aims of clergy worked at mutually-beneficial purposes; both as a kind of loss prevention—keeping those who may have supported heretics in the region from doing so—and as a means of garnering divine favour—understood for since at least the Second Crusade as a key component of a successful crusade—the episodes of converting heretics via miraculous encounter was an important indicator of the early Dominicans' involvement in the region.

Early charters to the nascent preachers around Prouille under Dominic's leadership demonstrate that the notion of bringing back heretical women into the Rome-aligned flock was one of Dominic's early success stories.[47] While the Toulousain was several hundred years removed from the late Visigothic world's emphasis on virginal women as a marker of familial piety,[48] the role played by women as leaders in the heretical movement in the region did nevertheless render their conversion a powerful symbolic and social victory.[49] Although founded in 1206, the location of the convent, too, near Fanjeaux and not terribly far from Toulouse put the convent deep in the heart of Trencavel territory and quite near to the lands of the Counts of Toulouse by the time the war broke out in the next year.[50] Foundations of women's convents in conflict zones, by the end of the thirteenth century, as manners for ensuring; for a Castilian like Dominic,

[45] Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus,* 41-42.

[46] Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus,* 42-3.

[47] Jordan of Saxony notes that Prouille was chosen as a site because it was between Montpellier and Fanjeaux, which also places it in the heart of the conflict: Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus," 39.

[48] L. K. Pick, *Her Father's Daughter: Gender, Power, and Religion in the Early Spanish Kingdoms,* (Ithaca, NY; Cornell University Press, 2017).

[49] On the role of women in the heresy that broke out in the regions around Toulouse: M. G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246,* (New York: Princetone University Press, 2001), 118-120; C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy,* (New York: York Medieval Press, 2011), 165-8; R. Abels and E. Harrison, 'The Participation of Women in Languedocian Catharism', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 215–51, cited by C. Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc,* (New York: York Medieval Press, 2014), 2 n.7. See, as the obvious point working in the opposite direction, i.e. the deployment of women's monastic communities to retrench orthodoxy: A. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne,* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011) 147-170.

[50] L. Marvin, *The Occitan War,* 4-11.

the similarity of female cultural or religious influence in a contested region to the *Infantazgo* probably was another factor that recommended its success.[51] However challenging its setting must have been, the planting of the convent in the region was a major success, given the later patronage of Dominic's mission and the expansion of the order to other provinces.

The protection of Simon de Montfort of the early Dominican movement was a major boon for both the recovery of heretics and for the development of a nascent network in the region. The overlap of a variety of movements in the region makes the situation enormously complex for scholars, especially since it seems quite likely that movements were understood as being either "Catholic" or "Heretical" based on the judgements of individual viewers even while they certainly must have existed along a spectrum where those delineations existed on paper more than in person.[52] The planting of individual priories and the development of the first communities around Dominic seems to have been derived from Dominic's own efforts at recruitment, with the patronage of nobles and burghers in the area providing the financial backing for these efforts.[53] Scholars who work on the military orders have long noted that the planting of chapters of these "ecclesiastical knights" along frontiers that were vulnerable have found that elite patrons were thought to receive the most credit for helping

[51] On the foundation of monasteries in contested regions: E. Jamroziak and K. Stöber, eds., *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction,* (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2014). I am grateful to Hannah Jones for this reference. For the Infantazgo region as an economically, culturally, and politically potent region: G. Martin, "Reforma litúrgica, infantazgo y protagonismo femenino bajo el reinado de Alfonso VI," in *Alfonso VI y su legado: actas del congreso internacional, Sahagún, 29 de octubre al 1 de noviembre de 2009, IX centenario de Alfonso VI, 1109-2009,* (León: Universidad de León, 2012), 115-120; T. Martin, "Hacia una clarificación del infantazgo en tiempos de la reina Urraca y su hija la infanta Sancha (ca. 1107-1159)," *e-Spania: revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*. https://e-spania.revues.org/12163; T. Martin, "Fuentes de potestad para reinas e infantas: El infantazgo en los siglos centrales de la Edad Media," *Anuario de estudios medievales,* 46, no. 1 (2016): 97-136; J. Bianchini, "The Infantazgo in the Times of Alfonso VIII," in *Alfonso VIII: Government, Family, War,* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 59-79.

[52] There is an exhaustive scholarship on the various movements, including: M. Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages,* (New York: Longman, 2000); J. H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy,* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2012); R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society,* 2nd Ed, (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007); C. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval Quercy*; Damian Smith, *Crusade, Heresy, and Inquisition*; M. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels.*

[53] Jordan of Saxony notes that the founding of priories was Dominic's own initiative: Jordan of Saxony, "*Libellus,*"39-40, 46-7. The gifts that make note of Dominic are listed below in note 49.

where their gifts could do the most good.[54] Given that during the Albigensian Crusade internal fault-lines along political and religious differences cracked open into frontiers, it seems unlikely that a similar phenomenon was not at work in the development of the Dominican movement, placing houses of women to engage in zones where the spiritual warfare of recovering lost sheep might help the greater work of the crusade; monasteries in the Latin East played a similar role.[55] During the decade between the outbreak of the war and the death of Simon de Montfort, which Jordan of Saxony says prompted Dominic to send his brothers out in missionary groups to sites that had already favorably received them, there were more than 51 gifts to Dominic and his early convents from 1207 to 1219.[56] Prouille, which was the flagship house of this growing network, received six major gifts in its own right from the Count de Montfort and his family in the first decade.[57] Patronage on this scale was not enough to demonstrate or secure every possibility, but the development of a movement is noticeable in the archival sources.

Papal and episcopal confirmation of the Order of Preachers and early support for the mission suggest that they were born from and suited for missionary work in an active warzone, and military language was frequently used in describing the mission itself. Initial, perhaps tacit, approval for the growth of Dominic's movement in the Albigensian crusading theatre must have come well before Fulc of Toulouse issued a privilege in June or July of 1215 that made their work in his diocese official.[58] While papal protection came during the Fourth Lateran

[54] For understanding military orders as "ecclesiastical knights" and the implications this framework, see: S. Z. Conedera, *Ecclesiastical Knights,* 141-144. The patronage of the military orders in frontier zones in Iberia, the Baltic, and the Holy Land have received extensive scholarship, but exemplary work includes: C. de Ayala Martinez, *Las Órdenes Militares* ; J. Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land,* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 9-42. Extensive scholarship on military orders has also been curated and published in a series of volumes produced by Routledge.

[55] Hannah Jones has made similar conclusions in the much more wide-spread (re)implantation of Clarissan houses in the fourteenth and fifteenth century: H. Jones, "'Hostile people invading the country': Urban Life in the Midi and the Forced Relocation of the Poor Clares during the Hundred Years War" PhD. Diss, (SUNY-Binghamton, 2024).

[56] On Jordan's narrative of the dispersal of the early brothers: Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus," 48-51. The gifts to Dominic's personal mission have been edited by Koudelka and Loernertz: V. J. Koudelka and R. J. Loernertz, *Monumenta Diplomatica Sancti Dominici,* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatrum Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1966), no. 5-7, 13-25, 27-29, 32-37, 39, 41-50, 54-7, 60, 62, 64, 68-75; p. 13-16, 23-6, 27-30, 32-7, 38-39, 39-45, 47-9, 51, 53-6, 58, 64-71.

[57] For the development of Prouille, see: M. Jean Giraud, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille*, tome 1 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1907), no. 75-81, 52-6.

[58] V. J. Koudelka and R. J. Loernertz, *Monumenta Diplomatica Sancti Dominici,* no. 64, p. 58.

Council's side sessions in November of the same year,[59] early Dominican sources make clear that the council's prohibition against new rules and orders stymied the formal recognition of an order proper, albeit only temporarily.[60] The early privileges do not provide great descriptive detail beyond the confirmation of properties and the observation of episcopal authority, but Fulc's early recognition does make clear that the preaching was aimed "at rooting out heretical depravity and expelling of vice," language that has some similarity with the work of the crusade proper.[61] Honorius's 1216 letter to the early Preachers did allow them to offer certain religious services during the interdict that was levied during the Albigensian crusade, noting that the Preachers could receive converted heretics into their houses for pastoral care.[62] In the following year, a letter from Honorius to the scholarly community at Paris equated the Dominicans with those who banished vice and envy, rescued the faithful from the dragon's den, and worked with indefatigable zeal.[63] A letter that same month heightened the military stakes of the mission, saying "so just like recruits of the unconquered Christ armoured with the helmet of health and the shield of the faith, not fearing those who are able to kill their bodies."[64] The confluence of military language and the presumption of potential martyrdom aligns with the kind of language used in the recruitment of crusaders.

Evaluating Dominic's legacy in the context of crusading is practically and methodologically challenging. We do not have contemporary records to suggest that Dominic ever formally took the cross as a crusader, yet the bulk of his preaching mission—from 1204/5 to 1218, when Simon de Montfort died—took place in a zone that was an active crusade theatre more often than not. The Chapters General's record do not survive from before the end of the Albigensian Crusade, making it difficult to know much about what the Order's members felt about the ongoing conflict.[65] What we do know, though, is that papal letters record the Friars Preachers in eschatological contexts—calling them, together with the Friars Minor, the horses that would pull the fourth chariot foreseen by the prophet Zachariah—and construed him as a new Daniel and an athlete

[59] V. J. Koudelka and R. J. Loernertz, *Monumenta Diplomatica Sancti Dominici,* no. 65, p. 59.

[60] See, for example, Jordan of Saxony's narration of the moment: Jordan of Saxony, Libellus, 45-6.

[61] V. J. Koudelka and R. J. Loernertz, *Monumenta Diplomatica Sancti Dominici,* no. 63, p. 56-7.

[62] V. J. Koudelka and R. J. Loernertz, *Monumenta Diplomatica Sancti Dominici,* no. 77, p. 71-6.

[63] V. J. Koudelka and R. J. Loernertz, *Monumenta Diplomatica Sancti Dominici,* no. 78, p. 76-8.

[64] "sic sicut invicti Christi adlete scuto fidei et galea salutis armati, non timentes eos qui corpus possunt occidere." Koudelka and Loernertz, *Monumenta Diplomatica Sancti Dominici,* no. 79, p. 78-80.

[65] B. M. Reichert, *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum* [Acts of the Chapters General of the Order of Preachers], vol. 1, (Rome: In domo generalitia, 1898), 1-3.

pursuing the paths of justice.[66] With such a high opinion of the Order, the early papal endorsements for Dominic's Preachers became the stuff that catalysed Dominic's legacy. For the thirteenth century, the Dominicans grew into an arm of crusade preaching and the spiritual warfare that accompanied it.

III. An Order among Crusaders or a Crusading Order?

In the decades following Domingo's death, the Order adapted to changing circumstances. The Order's language schools, likely influenced by Domingo's own life and experience with language-learning, played a key role in the development of a wider papal strategy to support communities of Christians living under Muslim rule and to convert both Muslims and Jews more broadly.[67] Coupled with the foundation of houses in zones where pastoral care for Christians "under siege," it is hard not to read their activities as the kind of "spiritual medic" in active campaign theatres. Scholarship has long demonstrated that the role played by spiritual warfare was substantial in crusading zones, so it stands to reason that spiritual offense, whether through prayer or liturgical invocations of saints, was just as important as the defence represented by the pastoral care for members of frontier armies.[68] We know that, in the years of Domingo's youth, chaplains in Castilian raiding parties were paid in slaves, while other leaders of the host were compensated far less generously.[69] Toledan archbishops gained, for the canons that went with hosts against the Almohads, the concession from the papacy that, if captured, they could still receive their benefices, in order to affect their eventual ransom.[70] These factors, coupled with the wide array of Dominican houses planted along frontiers—for example, in newly recaptured Mallorca or the Holy Land—suggest that we envision convents of Dominicans as part of the wider logistical infrastructure that cared for the spiritual health of campaigns, much as Domingo himself had done in the Toulousain.

[66] Gregory IX, "Fons Sapientiae," ed. R. P. Angeli Walz, in *MOPH 16,* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum, 1935), 190-4.

[67] A. C. Boland and K. C. Lincoln, "'"However many priests instructed in Latin and Arabic of good reputation and letters you may find:' Dominican Traditions about Language Acquisition and Missionary Preaching, c. 1190-1250," *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 36 (2024): 105-24.

[68] K. C. Lincoln, "Fighting on a Prayer: Liturgical and Physical Engagement of Warfighting by Clergy in High Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1000-1250," 1:30-68.

[69] J. F. Powers, ed. and trans., *The Code of Cuenca: Municipal Law on the Twelfth-Century Castilian Frontier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 165-6.

[70] K. C. Lincoln, "Beating Swords into Croziers," 103.

Domingo's own successor, Jordan of Saxony, portrays his predecessor's time in the Toulousain bleakly. On a number of occasions, he notes that there were threats against his life and that a number of snares were laid along his path.[71] The development of the Order, at first, appears to have gone toward two poles: the universities at Paris and Bologna, where many of the early Preachers had been trained, and the areas where religious hostilities were still ongoing.[72] Jordan of Saxony himself died, while *en route* home from visiting the Dominican chapters of the Holy Land in 1237, then preparing for the potential expiration of Emperor Frederick II's treaty with Al-Kamil and the potential resumption of crusade and jihad in the region.[73] The end to the formal hostilities of the Albigensian Crusade, only eight years earlier, had initiated a new phase of spiritual combat as the drive to extirpate heresy in the region gained greater momentum.[74] Wherever conflict generated by some force of evil was presumed to beset Christians, the historical evidence makes clear that Dominicans were not far from the front lines and that they made considerable efforts to shape and reshape events in their midst.

This chapter has argued that reading the history of the Order of Preachers must take into account their contributions in crusading theatres and reconcile their participation in these campaigns as a key part of their overarching historiographical identity. The evidence makes it quite clear that the early Preachers were deeply invested in the crusading activities of their patrons and took part in the spiritual warfare that underscored the efforts of, inter alia, Simon de Montfort and the crusade's leaders. This certainly stemmed from Domingo's own early experience with holy war and its development in Iberia. It is, however, probably inaccurate to claim that the Dominicans were first and foremost a crusading or military order; their name makes clear their focus as

[71] Jordan of Saxony, "Libellus," 41-4.

[72] For the early records of the Chapters General and the assignation of provinces: B. M. Reichert, *Acta Capitulorum Generalum Ordinis Praedicatorum,* vol. 1, 1-11.

[73] On Jordan's death: Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order, vol. 1: Origins and Growth to 1500,* (New York: Alba House, 1965), 219; M. Aron, *Saint Dominic's Successor: The life of Blessed Jordan of Saxony, Master-General of the Dominican Order, 1222-1237,* (London: Blackfriars Publications, 1955), 177-180. For the treaty between Frederick and al-Kamil: J. M. Powell, "Church and Crusade: Frederick II and Louis IX, " *The Catholic Historical Review,* 93, no. 2 (2007): 256-7; D. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 40, (1986): 83-101; P. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239-1241 and their Aftermath" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 50, no. 1 (1987): 35-38.

[74] On one effort to bring lasting peace, stability, and good order to the region, see: C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy,* 102-4. These efforts, scattershot in the crusade theatre, faltered and were eventually replaced by inquisitions: M. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels,* 28-44.

itinerant and mendicant preachers. To that same point, though, we cannot disregard their focus on conflict zones between Christians and non-Christians. Put simply, we might not know that a majority of their identity was not as a crusading or military order, but such a connection was a close second place.

The development of the Order of Preachers, from its beginnings in the school of Palencia and the chapter at Osma to the Preachers movement under Fulk of Toulouse to the widespread deployment of chapters in conflict zones, makes it clear that the Preachers were deeply invested in the work of crusading and holy war. If they were so enmeshed in the crusading work of the period and were a religious order, by default they should at least be plotted on the spectrum of crusading enterprises; how much of a crusading order they were is an open question—they were certainly less invested than the Temple or the Hospital, perhaps a bit behind the Mercedarians, but more involved than Carthusians certainly. In part, Domingo and his followers were engaged in the work of the Albigensian Crusade and the campaigns that preceded and paralleled it because they were some of the major issues of the day that commanded the attention of educated and engaged clergy.

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