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PETER MARTYR: THE INQUISITOR AS SAINT

by Christine Caldwell

When Stefano Vermigli, a Florentine shoemaker, was distraught over the deaths of several of his children, he adopted a not uncommon strategy to safeguard any future offspring from danger: he vowed to a saint that were a child to live, he would dedicate it to him. The happy result of this vow was a healthy boy, born in 1500, who was duly named after the accommodating saint. However, we have reason to believe that the boy's future activities would not have pleased his saintly patron, who may well have wished that he had never hearkened to Stefano's pious request. For Peter Martyr Vermigli would later embrace Protestantism, which the saint, the Dominican Peter of Verona or Peter Martyr, would undoubtedly have viewed as a heresy no different from those that he had sought to exterminate throughout his career as preacher and inquisitor.¹

Unlike Stefano, we are not accustomed to search for divine assistance among medieval inquisitors of heretical depravity. The tradition of historiography on inquisition born from sixteenth-century polemics has shied from examining forthrightly the religious character of inquisitions against heresy, which were conducted throughout Europe with variable success and energy by authorities of all kinds beginning in the late 1220s. While Protestants long sustained a stereotype of hypocritical, bloodthirsty inquisitors, Catholic defenses of inquisition often emphasized unpersuasive arguments of the diabolical dangers presented by heretical groups to church and world alike.² More recent research on

¹For an overview of Peter's career, see Antoine Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr: Études," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* (hereafter *AFP*) 23 (1953) 69–107; Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (New York 1922) 2.207–215; Jean Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age* (Paris 1938) 2.483–504.

²Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley 1989), esp. 122–154. Catholic apologetics on inquisition have largely mutated into apology in the modern sense; for example, the Dominican order recently stated that it "regretfully remembers the role of some members of the Order in the injustices of the Inquisition" and recommended that historians in the order "examine the role played by some of its members in the injustices of the past in order to help purify our memory." *Ordo praedicatorum, Acts of the General Chapter of Provincial Priors*, Bologna, 13 July–4 August 1998. I am grateful to Robin Vose for the reference. The words "inquisition" and "inquisitor" are used here to denote respectively

medieval inquisitions has directed its attention towards those examined by episcopal and papal inquisitors, using the fruits of those examinations as evidence for “popular belief” and lay religion, or has studied the practical technologies of inquisition, seeing them as components of a complex process of power, a partial foreshadowing of the repressive discipline claimed for the modern state.³ It has been rare on all fronts to examine the mentality of the inquisitor himself and of those who supported and praised his activity against heretics, particularly while acknowledging that the accused did not constitute a sophisticated cabal primed to dismantle the institutions of western Europe.⁴ Yet it is indisputable that from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century, the most intense period of medieval inquisition against heresy, many

inquisitio hereticae pravitatis and one who conducted such *inquisitiones* of heretics; for a warning against the careless use of these terms see Henry Ansgar Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses,” *Church History* 58.4 (December 1989) 439–451. Richard Kieckhefer has likewise argued against the premature use of “inquisition” to suggest a well-organized, coherent institution rather than a discrete procedure; see *The Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia 1979) 3–9, and “The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: the Transition from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46.1 (January 1995) 36–61.

³E.g., Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Martin Thom (Cambridge 1983); James Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca 1997); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York 1977). David Nirenberg has pointed out that Given’s focus on inquisitorial practices omits discussion of the creation of heresy as a crucial aspect of the process of power, and is rather “realist” in “assum[ing] the existence of heresy . . . independent of the inquisition’s attempts to observe it.” David Nirenberg, “Review of James Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*,” *Speculum* 75.1 (January 2000) 183. Given does refer briefly (213–215) to inquisitors’ denormalizing “fantasies” of heresy that were “legally validated and socially accepted” by their techniques, but indeed emphasizes the disciplinary utility of exterminating heresy rather than of creating heresy that could then be exterminated. The present discussion is uninterested in the reality of heresy, and here the import of “inquisitors’ attempts to observe it” is found in this process of observation’s birth within and aim to uphold particular conceptions of God’s surpassing power and order, rather than the diffusion of earthly power alone.

⁴Rare examples of such examination include Jacques Paul, “La mentalité de l’inquisiteur chez Bernard Gui” in *Bernard Gui et son monde*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 16 (Toulouse 1981) 279–316; and Annie Cazenave, “Aveu et contrition: manuels de confesseurs et interrogatoires d’inquisition en Languedoc et en Catalogne (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)” in *Actes du 99e Congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Section de philologie et d’histoire jusqu’à 1610 (Besançon 1974) t.1, 333–352. See the review of recent approaches in Patrick Henriot, “Du nouveau sur l’inquisition languedocienne” in *Effacement du Catharisme? (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 20 (Toulouse 1985) 159–173.

ostensibly sincere Christians, including members of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, exercised its duties, or at least believed it to be a salutary effort. They understood inquisition against heresy, independent of savvy technologies of power and self-conscious representation in service of that process, as a pious duty approved by God, in complete harmony with the demands and lessons of the Christian faith. I would like to follow Stefano's lead and look for holiness in an inquisitor, as the relationships between sanctity and inquisition apparent through Peter Martyr well disclose this mentality of inquisition.

The most unqualified success as an inquisitor saint, and the first member of the Order of Preachers to be canonized after Dominic himself, Peter Martyr demonstrates how an inquisitor could be presented both as an exemplar of Christian and mendicant piety and also as a focus for wider piety among the laity. Born in Verona ca. 1205 into a family of heretics, Peter reportedly proved early on his willingness to defend orthodoxy in the face of heresy; one story in the saint's first *vita* recounted how at about age eight he was asked by his uncle what he had read at school that day. When Peter responded with the *Credo*, his uncle tried to instruct the boy in the Cathar belief that the devil, and not God, was the creator of the material world. Peter professed his intention rather to believe the orthodox interpretation, in what was later understood as a preview of his future activity in defending the truth.⁵ In Bologna, where his father had sent him to study at the university with apparent hopes of his contributions to the Cathar cause, Peter was received into the Order of Preachers in 1221, possibly under Dominic himself.⁶ His activities as a Dominican illustrate the diversity of works that members of the order could assume in pursuing its goal of fighting heresy; according to his *vita*, Peter preached throughout Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and the March of Ancona, and he is known to have preached in Rome in 1244, Florence in 1245, and Cesena in 1249. This preaching not only communicated orthodox lessons, but made clear to its audience, potentially attracted by heresy or uninstructed in the

⁵Gerard de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. B.M. Reichert, *Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica* (hereafter MOPH) 1 (Louvain 1896) 236. On medieval and early-modern models of spiritually precocious children, see Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: the Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago 1982) 19–47; cf. Michael Goodich, *Vita perfecta: the Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart 1982) 82–99.

⁶Dondaine (n. 1 above) 70.

Catholic faith, that its content was orthodox; while escorting some brothers traveling to the order's general chapter in Bologna in 1236, Peter preached regularly to the people en route, explaining "That which I announce to you is the Catholic faith that the Roman church preaches, in which and for which I am ready to die."⁷ Peter also participated in public disputations against heretics, and is the likely author of an anti-Cathar *Summa contra hereticos* (ca. 1235), the content of which indicates his deep familiarity with Cathars and other heretical groups, and his possible informal involvement with inquisitions by that date.⁸ While a tradition long existed that Peter was sent to Florence in 1243 by Innocent IV to preach and assist the frightened and ineffectual Dominican inquisitor Ruggero Calcagni, and there personally led the Society of the Faith's battle with the heretics on August 24 after Ruggero cited the Ghibelline *podestà* Pace Pesamigola as a *fautor hereticorum*, there is no firm evidence that he participated in the tumult.⁹ Peter's role as founder of this confraternity, and in ensuring the establishment and enforcement of anti-heretical statutes in Milan, has also been disputed. Peter was credited with the foundation of the Society of the Virgin in Florence ca. 1245, which spread to other Italian cities; the confraternity emphasized Mary's status as mother as a strike against the Cathar rejection of Christ's material body.¹⁰ In addition to his work against heresy, Peter fulfilled other duties in the order, including the priorates of the Dominican houses at Asti and Piacenza in 1248 and 1249 respectively, and pastoral work among religious women in Milan, particularly the organization of the convent of Saint Peter of the Vine in 1247.¹¹

⁷Dondaine (n. 1 above) 4 n. 20, 83. Thomas Agni da Lentino, *Vita sancti Petri martyris* in *Acta sanctorum* (hereafter AS) April III (Paris 1863) 697. Peter's life and miracles in the *Acta sanctorum* are a sixteenth-century compilation by Ambroise Taegio that includes Thomas's *vita* and several other medieval sources; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 107–162.

⁸Thomas Kaeppeli, "Une somme contre les hérétiques de S. Pierre Martyr (?)," *AFP* 17 (1947) 295–335. Dondaine agrees with this ascription; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 83 n. 50.

⁹F.-T. Perrens, "Saint Pierre Martyr et l'Hérésie des Patarins a Florence," *Revue historique* 2 (1876) 337–366; Lea (n. 1 above) 2.210–212; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 87. On the confraternity, see below.

¹⁰Lea (n. 1 above) 2.208; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 70–73; Gilles Meersseman, "La prédication dominicaine dans les congrégations mariales en Italie au XIIIe siècle," *AFP* 18 (1948) 135, 145.

¹¹Galvano Fiamma, *Cronica* in "La cronaca maggiore dell'ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma," Gundisalvo Odetto, ed. *AFP* 10 (1940) 327–328; Dondaine (n. 1 above)

The support for and power of mendicant inquisitions in Italian cities suffered from the natural alliance and overlap between heretics and anti-papal Ghibellines, and the death of Frederick II in 1250 provided an opportunity for the pope to entrench more solidly an inquisitorial presence in Italy.¹² Innocent IV formally commissioned Peter as papal inquisitor in Cremona on June 8, 1251 with *Misericors*, which complained of Frederick's protection of heretics and commanded Peter and Vivianus of Bergamo now to proceed energetically against the enemies of the faith. Peter would also act as inquisitor in Milan and Como, where he was appointed prior of the Dominican house in 1251.¹³ While only a few glimpses of his relatively brief career as a papal inquisitor exist, including an account of his examination of an arrested Cathar bishop, and his naming of a period within which some *fautores* of heretics in Milan must submit to ecclesiastical authority,¹⁴ it is nevertheless clear that his role as inquisitor won him enmity. A plot led by the heretical nobles Stefano Confanonerio, Guidoto de Sachella, and Jacobo della Clusa was formed to dispatch both Peter and his Dominican colleague Raynier Sacconi, then inquisitor in Pavia and a former Cathar; through the mediation of Manfredo Chrono, Carino da Balsamo and Albertino Porro were hired to commit the murder.¹⁵ On the Saturday after Easter, 6 April 1252, en route from Como to Milan with his *socius* Dominic, Peter was ambushed by Carino (Albertino changed his mind and took flight at the very last moment) in a wood at Barlassina, after Carino had visited the Dominican house at Como daily in order to

81, 84–86, 88–91.

¹²N. J. Housley, "Politics and Heresy in Italy: Anti-Heretical Crusades, Orders and Confraternities, 1200–1500," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33.2 (1982) 193–208; Perrens (n. 9 above) 347; Lea (n. 1 above) 2.209, 213.

¹³*Bullarium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum* (hereafter *BOP*), ed. T. Ripoll and A. Bremond (Paris 1729) 1.192–193. Innocent IV's bull *Tunc potissime* (27 September 1251) delegated to the Dominican provincial prior in Lombardy the responsibility of appointing inquisitors in Lombardy and Romagna. *BOP* 1.199–200. On Peter's priorate in Como, see Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui, *De quatuor in quibus deus praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. Thomas Kaeppli, *MOPH* 22 (Rome 1949) 20; Don-daine (n. 1 above) 97.

¹⁴Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 238; Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 705.

¹⁵According to Manfredo, Stefano Confanonerio told him that *credentes de Mediolano* had met and decided to arrange for Peter's murder. *Processus de nece factus anno 1252*, ed. J. S. Villa, *Archivio storico lombardo* 4 (1877) 791. Cf. Galvano Fiamma: ". . . unus de Confanoneriis et plures alii nobiles habitantes circa partes Barlassine conduxerunt quemdam assassinum nomine Charinum qui beatum Petrum interficeret. . . ." Galvano Fiamma (n. 11 above) 329.

discover precisely when the inquisitor began his journey. Brother Dominic, who survived for a few days after the attack, reported that Peter spoke the *Credo* before he died; this would soon mutate into the traditional image of Peter writing *Credo in Deum* on the ground in his own blood.¹⁶ Peter's body was taken to Milan, and the pope requested the following August that the archbishop of Milan investigate any miracles by the recent martyr. An inquiry into the murder held at Saint Eustorgius in Milan in September, at which presided the unharmed Raynier Sacconi and Guido de Sesto, Peter's replacements as inquisitor in Milan, disclosed the details of the plot.¹⁷ After an impressive gap of only eleven months, Peter was canonized by Innocent on 9 March 1253 with *Magnis et crebris*, which broadcast Peter's pious life, his defense of the faith against its enemies, his desire for martyrdom, and the death that asserted orthodoxy to the last, all now crowned and confirmed by the new saint's miracles.¹⁸

The strikingly swift canonization has been explained as simply as a "shrewd" means for Innocent to foment acceptance of inquisition among the laity, or as a way to revivify the courage and zeal of Italian inquisitors who feared their heretical opponents, in the service of a papacy that wielded the inquisition in Italy as a political tool. Michael Goodich has argued that papal canonizations in the thirteenth century, including Peter's, demonstrated generally a "defensive anti-heretical theme," in which the papacy sought to reward with canonization those groups who were loyal to "the political interests of Rome" in opposing heresy.¹⁹ In this view, Peter's sainting was simply the result of what are presented as strictly political considerations, in which concern about heresy was an excuse for more mundane worries, and any personal qualifications for sanctity in Peter were superfluous or even absent. The failure of other murdered inquisitors—most notably William Arnold, killed with several companions at Avignonet in southern France in 1242—to achieve the sanctity so promptly awarded to Peter indeed

¹⁶*Jacobi a Voragine legenda aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, 2nd ed. Th. Graesse (Leipzig 1850) 281; Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 706; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 104.

¹⁷*BOP* 1.216; *Processus* (n. 15 above) 790–794.

¹⁸The bull was dated March 24. *BOP* 1.228–230; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 106.

¹⁹Dondaine (n. 1 above) 67; Lea (n. 1 above) 2.216; Michael Goodich, "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints," *Church History* 44 (1975) 302–307.

reminds us that every potential saint faced complexities and contingencies that could obstruct or hasten canonization.²⁰ Yet Antoine Dondaine sought to justify the canonization in what might be considered more pious terms, noting Peter's reputation for asceticism, contemplation, and pastoral care and de-emphasizing Peter's activity against heresy and status as inquisitor murdered by heretics. To Dondaine, such a de-emphasis was important to establish Peter's "authentic" saintly character.²¹ Dondaine was correct in ascribing to the canonization a dimension beyond a narrowly understood political one; while the birth of the cult—amid a great deal of papal legislation on inquisition—may certainly have served Innocent IV's multivalent ends, it is a mistake to distinguish too sharply between "political" and "religious" dimensions of both canonization and inquisition. But it is also important to reintroduce that element that Dondaine ostensibly found incompatible with "genuine" sanctity: Peter's energetic opposition to heresy, including his

²⁰On William Arnold and the Avignonet martyrs, see *BOP* 1.117–118; Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 232–235; Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 22–24; *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris 1900) 1.144–147; Yves Dossat, "Le Massacre d'Avignonet" in *Le Credo, la Morale, et l'Inquisition*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 6 (Toulouse 1971) 343–359 and *Les Crises de l'Inquisition Toulousaine au XIIIe Siècle (1233–1273)* (Bordeaux 1959) 145–151; Lea (n. 1 above) 2.34–39; Guiraud (n. 1 above) 2.103–124; Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (Berkeley 1974) 168–171. According to the Dominican historian Jean-Jacques Percin's 1700 dossier on the Avignonet martyrs, submitted to the papacy in order to seek formal canonization, both cult and relics had been treasured by the Dominicans since 1242 and still existed in Percin's day. Toulouse, Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, 112 H 6. On the order's other early modern and modern attempts to achieve the canonization of William Arnold and his companions, see Dossat, "Massacre" 356–358. They were added to the Roman calendar by Pius IX in 1866. William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York 1944) 363; Lea (n. 1 above) 2.36.

Several other Dominican inquisitors were killed by heretics, including Pagano da Lecco, killed in Lombardy in 1277; Poncius de Planedis, forced to drink poison in Urgel, Catalonia ca. 1242; and Peter of Cadiretta, stoned at Urgel in 1277. Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 24–25, 29–30; *Les Registres de Nicolas III (1227–1280)*, ed. Jules Gay, fasc. 3, no. 585, p. 250; *BOP* 1.567; *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (Rome 1968) 10.675. Despite their consequent reputations as saints both within and beyond the Order of Preachers, they were never formally canonized; while there is not space here to examine those reputations, they echo the themes of sanctity and inquisition demonstrated through Peter Martyr.

²¹Dondaine complained that Henry Charles Lea, who described Peter of Verona as a fierce and "virtually . . . irresponsible" inquisitor, "a contribué de tout le poids de son autorité à ternir la véritable et glorieuse auréole du martyr. Il a porté sur lui un jugement odieux en niant sa responsabilité et a insulté à sa sainteté en le traitant de génie malfaisant." Dondaine (n. 1 above) 66.

tenure as inquisitor. The promotion of Peter as saint saw no incompatibility between sanctity and inquisition. Rather than celebrate Peter of Verona primarily as an exceptionally pious Dominican, the cult allowed full play to Peter's role as inquisitor, in which his activities against heresy before and after his death were presented as a thoroughly holy means for God to combat Satan in the world.²² Neither the putative practicality of the canonization, nor a reputation for piety beyond inquisition, necessarily excluded a sense within the order and outside of it that Peter's sanctity was truly bound to his role in that combat.²³

This reminder is especially crucial as Peter Martyr's canonization came at an expedient time not only for papal politics, but also for the Order of Preachers. In addition to its juxtaposition with papal legislation that sought to entrench inquisitorial authority in Italy, the elevation of Peter to sainthood corresponded to an intense period in the formulation of Dominican identity in the face of numerous challenges. These included the well-known hostility to Dominican and Franciscan professors shown by the masters at the University of Paris, whose attempts to restrict the number and prominence of mendicant instructors began in 1252 and did not cease until 1257; and the diocesan clergy's objections to mendicant preaching and pastoral care among their flocks.²⁴ Innocent IV, who so expeditiously canonized the convenient Peter Martyr, was no unflinching friend to the order. Innocent withdrew his support for the Dominican masters' position at the university in the summer of 1254, and the tension between the pope and the order grew so serious that the Dominicans would claim that the pope's death the following December should be credited to the brothers' chanting of litanies against him.²⁵ It was only with the election of Innocent's successor, Alexander IV, that

²²Dondaine sought to apprehend the "real" Peter Martyr: "A moins de peu se soucier de la vérité, il faudra écarter ces ombres; malgré le charme dont elles peuvent être empreintes, elles nous cachent le vrai saint Pierre Martyr, celui que nous voulons retrouver. . . . La vérité se suffit à elle-même [to prove sanctity]!" Dondaine (n. 1 above) 68. As the present interest is rather to determine how the cult comments on the relationships among Dominican identity, inquisition, and holiness, these "shadows" are significant.

²³For Innocent IV's legislation on the Order of Preachers and inquisition, see *BOP* 1.117–254.

²⁴William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* (New York 1966), 2.71–78; John Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers: Vitae as Life-forming exempla in the Order of Preachers" in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame 1998) 7–25, esp. 14–18.

²⁵Lea (n. 1 above) 1.283–284.

the order could look forward to more security from the papacy; Alexander reinstated papal support for the mendicants' position at the university, just as he strengthened the authority and independence of Dominican inquisitors in southern France as incentive for their return to duty after Innocent had removed them from office in 1249.²⁶

One response to these troubles was the articulation of Dominican identity through the celebration of the order's holy exemplars, in order to encourage the besieged brethren. The many Dominicans who had already exhibited in various ways the laudable qualities of the order, and the duties particular to it, could both defend against external attackers and more importantly remind the brothers that they possessed a unique and noble history, which was profitably emulated and continued. The order's second saint naturally formed an important part in this articulation, and the Dominicans aggressively encouraged the dissemination of Peter Martyr's cult throughout the order. At the 1255 general chapter, brothers were commanded to report still unwritten miracles of Dominic and of Peter to the conventual priors at Bologna and at Milan respectively.²⁷ When a uniform liturgy was finalized under master general Humbert of Romans in 1256, Peter's 29 April feast was given the rare and privileged status of *totum duplex*, the highest rank in the Dominican hierarchy of feasts, as would be the feast of his 1340 translation, added by the order's general chapter in 1348.²⁸ The 1256 general chapter in Paris commanded that Peter's feast be celebrated everywhere in the order; images of the martyred inquisitor were to be painted in "appropriate places" in Dominican houses, and his name included in the order's calendar, litany, and martyrology.²⁹ At the same general chapter

²⁶Hinnebusch (n. 24 above) 2.73; Dossat (n. 20 above) 173–205.

²⁷*Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum* (hereafter *ACG*), ed. B. M. Reichert, MOPH 3 (Rome 1898) 1.76–77.

²⁸Peter's feast had been given the status of *totum duplex* by the general chapter in 1254, before the finalization of the order's liturgy. *ACG* 1.71; *ACG* 2, ed. B. M. Reichert, MOPH 4 (Rome 1899) 321. The order's hierarchy of feasts was the following: commemoration, three lessons, semiduplex, duplex, nine lessons, and *totum duplex*. Bonniwell (n. 20 above) 29, 237–238; Archdale Arthur King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London 1955) 336, 368. The exemplar manuscript of the order's liturgy, completed in 1256, included an image of Peter Martyr along with Dominic, the Virgin Mary, and the Archangel Gabriel in the table of contents; Bonniwell (n. 20 above) 85–87.

²⁹"Apponatur diligencia quod festum beati Dominici et beati Petri ubique celebretur et quod ymagines eorum in locis congruentibus depingantur et nomina eorum in calendariis et litaniiis et martirologiis annotentur." *ACG* 1.81. This was first proposed in 1254; Dominican constitutions required a proposal's approval at three successive chapters

that so energetically prescribed these advertisements of Peter Martyr's sanctity, Dominican priors were commanded to report to Humbert of Romans miracles and events from the order that were worthy of memory and useful for edification. Gerard de Frachet, then provincial prior of Provence, was commissioned to arrange the "more praiseworthy" of these recollections into a compilation that could be distributed throughout the order; his text, the *Vitae fratrum*, played a crucial role in the development of Dominican identity.³⁰ Humbert's letter to the order prefacing the *Vitae fratrum* explained that its purpose was to illustrate how certain Dominicans had been inspired by Christ through the Holy Spirit, and to record for posterity the laudable effects of that inspiration in order to console and strengthen spiritually all the brothers.³¹ This text, designed to offer to the brothers models for edification, contained the first extended hagiography of Peter Martyr, who shared space with several other of the order's particularly prized and laudable brothers. The earliest hagiography of Peter was thus not written to promote the inquisitor's canonization, but was rather designed to contribute to an internal project of encouragement within the order. The saint's later successor as Dominican prior at Asti, James de Voragine, included Peter in his very popular *Legenda aurea* (ca. 1263–1267); the order's apparent dissatisfaction with this hagiographical collection did not prevent the Dominican patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas Agni da Lentino, from using it as a source for his *Vita sancti Petri Martyris*.³² Thomas's *vita* became the official life; the general chapter

general before becoming legislation. Cf. G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216–1360* (Manchester 1925).

³⁰*laudabiliora*. Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 3–4; *ACG* 1.83.

³¹Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 3–4.

³²Dondaine (n. 1 above) 119–121. Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 277–291; Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 20–21, 114. On the numerous manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea*, see *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, ed. T. Kaeppli, 4 vols. (Rome 1970–1993) 2.350–359. The dissatisfaction is clear from master general Berengar of Landorre's ca. 1312 request to Bernard Gui to compose a substitute; see Bernard's preface to the *Speculum sanctorale*, in Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 27 (Paris 1879) 423–424. Pierre Gui's *vita* of Bernard specified that to Berengar "ordinatio fratris Jacobi de Voragine diminuta et in plerisque dubia videbatur" ("the arrangement of brother James de Voragine seemed diminished and doubtful in many things"). *Brevis cronica de vita et moribus ac scriptis et operibus domini episcopi Lodovensis* in Delisle 428–429. Cf. Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: a Reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison 1985) 39–41.

in 1276 commanded that this legend “compiled . . . at the request of the master of the order be kept in all the convents, and the provincial priors should be diligent about this.”³³ Despite the existence of this official *vita*, the general chapter repeated in 1289 the call for new miracles of Peter and Dominic to be written and sent to the master general, and in 1314 it again ordered that any new miracles performed by Peter should be reported to the prior of Milan or to the master general; these were duly gathered and a collection disseminated.³⁴ Peter would eventually become the patron saint of inquisitors, and this second saint of the then relatively new Order of Preachers was not only a powerful vehicle for Dominican identity, but also a vivid symbol of the frequently claimed, albeit complex and diverse, relationship of the Dominicans with medieval and early modern inquisitions.³⁵

Peter Martyr is thus a valuable window upon both a mendicant order’s identity and also the possible role played by inquisition within that identity, and subsequently upon the mentality of the inquisitor. The representations of Peter in Dominican sources from his death to the mid-fourteenth century, a time when many brothers assumed the duties of inquisitions against heresy, illustrate how the order could locate opposition to heresy within its apostolate as well as within Christian piety more generally. We might consider this as a reverse of Aviad Kleinberg’s paradigm of the interaction of saint and community. Kleinberg has argued that living saints in the later Middle Ages required acknowledgement by their communities of their sanctity; the potential saint’s behavior was filtered through his or her own awareness of conventions of sanctity, the community’s awareness of those conventions, and finally the community’s willingness to judge the saint’s behavior as an authentic expression of sanctity.³⁶ Sanctity was not static, but could be interpreted flexibly, rejected, or consciously

³³“Volumus et mandamus quod legenda beati Petri martiris a venerabili patriarcha Iherosolimitano ad petitionem magistri ordinis compilata in omnibus conventibus habeatur et ut habeatur priores provinciales sint super hoc diligentes.” *ACG* 1.188.

³⁴*ACG* 1.252; 2.73. The general chapter in 1334 requested provincial priors to collect unpublished miracles of Dominic, Peter Martyr, and Thomas Aquinas, “cum exempla sanctorum patrum nostrorum ad meliora nos provocent” (“since the examples of our holy fathers provoke us to better things”). *ACG* 2.223.

³⁵Cf. Guy Bedouelle, “Saint Pierre de Vérone ou le Poids d’un Héritage,” *À l’Image de Saint Dominique* (Paris 1995) 35–49.

³⁶Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago 1992).

constructed in light of extant models. This argument is suggestive for Dominican sources that constructed in Peter a model of sanctity that included within it assiduous opposition to heretics; we should examine how the possibilities of ambiguous sanctity were utilized to construct and echo inquisitorial identity. In other words, instead of examining how flexible interpretations of sanctity and community adjudication created the identity of the saint, we should explore how the agreement to acknowledge a certain person as holy, and the precise model of sanctity chosen, reflected and influenced the *community's* identity. The multidirectional process of negotiating sainthood has things to say about all its participants.³⁷ The inclusion of inquisition within Dominican models of holiness, and the particular ways in which inquisition and sanctity were held to interrelate, disclose the ideals of those who fashioned and celebrated those models, and demonstrates the perceived piety of the fight against heresy.

INQUISITION AND THE SANCTITY OF PETER MARTYR

The harmony of sanctity and inquisition was expressed most simply through the claimed appearance of traditional virtues in the inquisitor saint. Peter Martyr reportedly attracted praise and notoriety (and the worry of his brothers) during his life for his stringent asceticism; James of Voragine would later compare Peter's severe disciplining of his body with fasts and vigils to Christ's own torment in the flesh when flagellated at the crucifixion.³⁸ The inquisitor's life-long purity and chastity, enthusiastic preaching, and pastoral care were likewise cited as evi-

³⁷For an introductory discussion of how sainthood can contribute to a sociology of Christianity, see Pierre Deloos, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church" in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge 1983) 189–216. On identifications of sanctity and witchcraft based on subjective relationships, see Richard Kieckhefer, "The Holy and the Unholy: Sainthood, Witchcraft, and Magic in Late Medieval Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24.3 (Fall 1994) 360–368.

³⁸Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de sanctis*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 3285A, fol. 247v. Cf. Pierre Calo, *Legenda*, in AS April 3.699. Lea characteristically accepted the asceticism as authentic but used it to explain Peter's fervent inquisitorial activity: "without assuming that a man such as St. Peter Martyr was mad, it is impossible to read the extremity of ascetic maceration which he habitually practised—fasts, vigils, scourgings, and every device which perverse ingenuity could suggest—without recognizing morbid mental conditions which could readily render him a monomaniac on any subject which greatly engrossed his feelings." Lea (n. 1 above) I.239.

dence for his sanctity.³⁹ Yet while Dondaine sought to prioritize these in Peter's holy reputation, the way in which the saint's status and power were believed by Dominicans to be prompted by or demonstrated through his inquisitorial activity suggests how inquisition could be considered as a similar badge of piety. Inquisition, a means to reinforce orthodoxy, eradicate heresy, and thus to save souls, could be understood as one manifestation of the Dominican apostolate's *zelus animarum*, an extension of Dominic's own holy ministry.⁴⁰ The *Vitae fratrum* commended Peter, who upon entrance into the order "gave himself entirely to preaching and to fighting against heretics" and as "inquisitor against heretical depravity was martyred by the impious for the piety of the faith and obedience to the Roman church."⁴¹ Gerard de Frachet's collection thus proposed two linked bases for Peter's sanctity—opposition to heresy and the consequent murder by heretics—reminding its reader that the very opposition was the work of God. Likewise, James of Voragine's *Legenda aurea* praised the inquisitor's diligent pursuit of "pestilential heretics" and their dogma, which Peter "greatly eradicated during his life."⁴² Thomas Agni da Lentino, in a passage taken from James of Voragine, noted the many suitable reasons why Peter had been appointed as an inquisitor; in order to abolish the heretical plague that had sprung up in Lombardy, Innocent had chosen several inquisitors from the Dominican order, "like dogs who are able to keep wolves from the flocks." Peter's fearlessness, intelligence, and personal knowledge of the wiliness of heretics rendered him an ideal candidate; he was a "strenuous fighter of the faith and so tireless a

³⁹*BOP* 1.228; Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 238; Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 277; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 84, 87–88; cf. Aviad M. Kleinberg, "Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 20 (1989) 197–200.

⁴⁰On the importance of *zelus animarum* in thirteenth-century mendicant sainthood, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge 1997) 341–344.

⁴¹"Fratr Petrus . . . inquisitor contra hereticam pravitatem martirizatus est ab impiis pro pietate fidei et obediencia ecclesie Romane. . . cum ordinem predicatorum sub beato Dominico intrasset, totum predicacioni et hereticorum impugnacioni se dedit." Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 236–237.

⁴²"Egregius doctor et fidei pugil haeticorum dogma pestiferum in vita sua plurimum eradicaerit. . ." Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 282. Sherry Reames argues that just as the "pessimistic" James of Voragine emphasized Dominic's conflicts with heretics, he also sought to position Ambrose of Milan as a prototype of Peter Martyr and other Dominican inquisitors in their fight against heresy. Reames (n. 32 above) 128–130.

warrior of the Lord . . . diligently exercising the office enjoined on him . . . granting [heretics] no rest” and “powerfully expelling” them from the city. Peter was a new Samson, wielding holy force.⁴³ The Dominican Jacques de Lausanne (d. 1321), well known in the order for his preaching, repeated the comparison with Samson in his sermons on Peter; the miraculous slayer of a thousand men with a jawbone of an ass after “the spirit of the Lord came upon him,” who sacrificed himself in order to pull down a house full of 3,000 Philistines, was powerful evidence not only of the utility of death in destroying a perceived evil, but also of the dedication of one’s life to extinguishing infidelity, even through the most serious measures.⁴⁴

Despite this praise of Peter’s extra-inquisitorial piety and of his diligence in inquisition, it is still the case that the foundational claim of Peter’s sanctity was the inquisitor’s murder by heretics. Lay opposition to inquisitorial activity could match inquisitorial violence with its own, casting the inquisitor in the antique role of the vulnerable Christian under physical threat from the wicked enemies of Christ. As with the early Christian martyrs, the primary impetus for Peter’s sanctity was not his reputation for great austerity or morality, but rather the very fact of his death in the enterprise of inquisition.⁴⁵ While Dondaine sought to argue the holiness of Peter of Verona’s life and the grounds for his sanctity even without inquisition and martyrdom, it is difficult to conceive of his rapid canonization and energetic promotion if he had simply been ascetic in his habits, an enthusiastic preacher, and a dispenser of pastoral care to nuns. Instead, the murder of an inquisitor by heretics helped position both him and his task solidly as holy by placing them in

⁴³“Quasi diversos canes qui lupos arcere possent a gregibus . . . tamquam fidei pugilem strenuum et tam indefessum Domini bellatorem . . . mirabiliter omnes confundens et potenter expellens.” Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 703; Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 280–281.

⁴⁴Judg. 13.1–16.31. Jacques de Lausanne, *Sermones sanctorales*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 337, fol. 172r–173r. According to a continuator of Stephen of Salagnac’s *De quatuor*, Jacques de Lausanne “fuit predicator gratissimus et copiosus sicut patet in collationibus et sermonibus quos conflavit” (“was a most pleasing and eloquent preacher as is clear in the collations and sermons that he brought together”). Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 135.

⁴⁵On the importance of martyrs as the foundation of the cult of the saints before the fourth century, see *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints’ Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, PA 1995) xix–xxiii; on the relationship of martyrdom and virtue, Delooz (n. 37 above) 205–207.

the framework of witnessing to the faith in the face of its enemies. Such a death stressed that the conflict between heresy and orthodoxy, in which inquisition played a part, was fundamentally an earthly microcosm of the conflict between Satan and God that stretched far beyond it.

The Dominican inquisitor's death could be interpreted as the natural culmination, and most desirable goal, of the dangers involved in the Order of Preachers' diverse work for orthodoxy and against heresy from its very beginnings in the early thirteenth century. A ministry marked by instability, itinerancy, and mendicancy could make many demands on the brothers' bodies and strength, and Dominic himself had been aware that the order's charge to active evangelization, especially among those unaccustomed or unwilling to hear the good news of orthodoxy, entailed certain risks. Dominic's official *vita* reported that he had suffered threats and abuse (including spitting and mud-throwing) from the heretics among whom he worked in southern France; when they asked what he would do if they were to seize him, the saint responded that he would request a particularly prolonged, painful death.⁴⁶ The apostolic life prescribed work in what would often turn out to be a hostile world. The *Vitae fratrum*, the early mirror of the order's pious image, acknowledged that inquisition, as a part of that apostolic life, was by no means exempt. Gerard de Frachet introduced the chapter *De passis pro fide* ("On those who have suffered for the faith") by explaining that

Since the Order of Preachers was founded in Toulouse by blessed Dominic especially against heresies and errors, and for almost 40 years brothers from those parts in hunger, thirst, cold, and nakedness and in many tribulations fought against them and against the tyrants who defended heretics, at last inquisition against the aforesaid heretics and their supporters was committed to the brothers in Provence by Pope Gregory IX of blessed memory, because of which the brothers exposed themselves to many dangers.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Humbert of Romans, *Legenda sancti Dominici*, ed. A. Walz, *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. II, MOPH 16 (Rome 1935) 384–385.

⁴⁷"Cum ordo predicatorum a beato Dominico contra hereses et errores specialiter fuerit institutus Tolose et fere XL annis fratres de partibus illis in fame et siti in frigore et nuditate et in tribulacionibus multis certaverint contra illas et contra tyrannos qui hereticos defendebat tandem a beate memorie papa Gregorio nono inquisicio contra dictos hereticos et eorum fautores fratribus per Provinciam est commissa propter quod fratres multis periculis sese exposuerunt." Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 231. Gerard referred

Gerard's introduction collapsed Dominic's early intentions for the order with the later commission as papal inquisitors, positioning inquisition as a new, congruous manifestation of the initial Dominican identity as preachers against heresy. The brothers' work in inquisitions was placed in the context of a battle between good and evil that had very real consequences in heresy, and consequently the violence from which they might suffer as inquisitors in France and elsewhere could be understood in the same terms as a death suffered while preaching to the infidel, as a death to uphold the faith. As Dominic's desire for a prolonged death indicated, the dangerous work of defending the faith could bear the rewarding fruit of martyrdom; inquisition was both the natural heir of the order's foundational opposition to heresy and a fresh, domestic opportunity for martyrdom. According to the Dominican historian Stephen of Salagnac (d. 1291), "divine providence gave to the order from the beginning robust men fighting it out for the faith until death, and for it strongly and happily falling," and inquisitors like Peter of Verona were one version of this divine gift.⁴⁸

Just as the Dominican apostolate was intended to emulate Christ,⁴⁹ so the Dominican inquisitor, like other brothers strengthening the faith in a hostile world, followed him as well. While an inquisitor's death could further the model of Dominic and the earliest brothers in assuming the risks of ministry, it could also follow this more exalted exemplar. James of Voragine compared Peter Martyr's corporal discipline to Christ's physical suffering, but the inquisitor's martyrdom could create and reinforce closer parallels with Christ that fully encompassed activity

here to Gregory IX's bull *Ille humani generis*, sent to the order's provincial prior in Provence on 22 April 1233, instructing him to appoint certain brothers as inquisitors. The bull had been first issued to the Dominicans in Regensburg on 22 November 1231. *BOP* 1.47–48; *Texte zur Inquisition, Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte*, ed. Kurt-Victor Selge, vol. 4 (Gütersloh 1967) 45–47.

⁴⁸"Dedit divina providentia ordini viros robustos ab initio pro fide usque ad sanguinem decertantes et pro ea fortiter et feliciter occumbentes. . . ." Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 20.

⁴⁹E.g. Jordan of Saxony's praise of Dominic: ". . . derelictis omnibus nudus nudum Christum sequendo . . . in vehementis spiritus fervore et paupertatis voto perpetuae, apostolicae religioni et evangelicae praedicationi temetipsum totaliter impendisti ("having abandoned all things in following naked the naked Christ . . . with the fervor of an ardent spirit and a vow of perpetual poverty, you devoted yourself totally to apostolic religion and evangelical preaching"). Jordan of Saxony, *Oratio ad beatum Dominicum*, ed. Elio Montanari (Florence 1991) 87.

against heresy. As in the model of the church's previous martyrs, inquisitors were shown to be willing to die, demonstrating Christ-like qualities of fortitude and a lack of fear. Peter Martyr reportedly predicted his own death with great calmness and anticipated it with joy; preaching in Milan shortly before his murder, he announced to the crowd that heretics were conspiring against him, but assured his listeners that death could not stop his activities against heresy. We heard above the wounded brother Dominic's testimony that Peter had peacefully spoken the *Credo* while dying.⁵⁰ Patience and complacency in the face of such violence testified to the inquisitorial martyr's firm alliance with the good, which spoke not simply about his own faith but also about his confidence in the theological status of his work. The inquisitor, cognizant that he died for Christ, had no need for anxiety; the assertion that he had died in such ostensibly deserved confidence of his future in paradise sought to instill in its audience similar trust in his blessedness.

The modeling of Christ suggested by the inquisitor's patience and readiness to suffer could also be made more explicit, as the inquisitor's martyrdom, like its predecessors, recapitulated the passion of Christ. James of Voragine, in a passage adopted by Thomas Agni da Lentino for his official *vita* of Peter, made explicit this comparison of Peter's martyrdom to Christ's death:

For Christ suffered for the truth, which he preached; Peter for the truth of the faith, which he defended. Christ suffered from the unfaithful people of the Jews, Peter from an unfaithful crowd of heretics. Christ was crucified at Easter time, Peter suffered martyrdom at the same time. Christ when he suffered said, "Into your hands, Lord, I commend my spirit;" when Peter was killed, he cried out the same words. Christ was handed over to be crucified for thirty *denarii*; Peter was sold to be killed for forty pounds. Christ through his passion led many to the faith; Peter through martyrdom converted many heretics.⁵¹

⁵⁰Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 705; Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 232.

⁵¹"Christus enim passus est pro veritate, quam predicabat, Petrus pro veritate fidei, quam defendebat; Christus passus est ab infideli populo Judaeorum, Petrus ab infideli turba hereticorum; Christus in paschali tempore crucifigitur, Petrus in eodem tempore martirium patitur; Christus cum pateretur: in manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum meum, dicebat, Petrus cum occideretur, verba eadem clamitabat; Christus pro triginta denarii traditus fuit, ut crucifigeretur, Petrus pro quadraginta libris Papiensibus fuit venditus, ut interficeretur; Christus per passionem suam multos ad fidem adduxit, Petrus per martirium haereticos multos convertit." Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 282;

As Thomas said, Peter's "venerable passion presents a close image of the passion of Christ."⁵² James of Voragine reasserted this theme in his sermons on Peter, grounding a sermon in Job 23.11, "My foot followed his footsteps," James expanded this explanation of how Peter resembled Christ "not only in suffering but also in the manner of suffering." As anger, jealousy, and avarice were seen in Christ's passion through the Jews and Judas, Peter's activity as an inquisitor roused the anger of heretics, his preaching stirred their jealousy, and the actual murderers, like Judas, were driven by greed. As water and blood ran from Christ at the crucifixion, the *aqua doctrinae fidei* ("water of the doctrine of the faith") spilled from Peter's mouth when he spoke the *Credo*, and blood flowed from his wounded head and side. Christ was tormented by the Jews in the head with the crown of thorns; in his blood through the scourging, in the heart when the lance pierced his side, and in his entire body when at the whipping post. Similarly, Peter was struck in the head, pierced in the side, and bled from both of those wounds; however, James's parallelism failed him in aligning Christ's whipping with Peter's self-imposed asceticism.⁵³ Other Dominicans evoked this rich identification of the inquisitor's death as a recapitulation of Christ's passion. In a sermon publicly preached on Peter Martyr's feast day in Naples in 1291, the future inquisitor Thomas de Aversa compared his predecessor's wounds to Francis of Assisi's stigmata in a manner not favorable to the latter; Thomas stated that while Peter's wounds were the signs of the living God, the stigmata of Francis were the signs of the dead God. This comparison, apparently grounded in the belief that Peter's martyrdom trumped Francis's saintly status as mere confessor, not only offered this Dominican saint as a viable rival to a famous and beloved Franciscan one, but also elevated Peter's piety and imitation of

Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 706.

⁵²"Nam eius passio veneranda passionis Christi propinquam praefert imaginem." Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 706. Thomas's wording slightly strengthened James of Voragine's summary: "cujus quoque passio veneranda dominicae passioni similis multum fuisse videtur" ("whose venerable passion also seems to have been greatly similar to the passion of the Lord"). Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 282.

⁵³"Non tamen in patiendo sed etiam in passionis modo. . . ." Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de sanctis*, BN lat. 3285A, fols. 246v–247v.

Christ over that of Francis, and consequently furthered the identification of the inquisitor with Christ.⁵⁴

Although the Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV, hardly approved of such a comparison and rebuked Thomas de Aversa, the Dominican's parallel well illustrates the belief that Peter's death in inquisition served as an *imitatio Christi* by reenacting the patient death of the good at the hands of evil.⁵⁵ This parallel with Christ commented not only on the holiness of the martyr, but also on inquisition itself; the presentation of an inquisitorial murder as a martyrdom that echoed Christ's own passion forcefully identified the inquisitor's work and death as a pious duty, a brave performance of God's work within a hostile world. Just as Christ had come to earth to establish the kingdom of God, and had been rejected and reviled, so the inquisitor's efforts to protect and promote orthodoxy had met a similar reception. Death at the hands of heretics, while performing the work of inquisition, constituted a witness to the faith and its truth, satisfying the demands of martyrdom. Peter Martyr had died *causa fidei*, "for the piety of the faith and obedience to the Roman church," "for the defense of the faith."⁵⁶ Inquisition could be conceived of in terms of the profession and defense of the faith; to be killed in inquisition meant dying not only in the image of Christ, but also *for* Christ. This was so because opposition to heresy, including inquisition, was a protection of God's dominion and truth on earth against the potentially encroaching forces of evil and falsehood. Heretics, including but not limited to those who sought the death of inquisitors, were representatives of Satan on earth; thus not only dying, but also living, as their undaunted adversaries was a laudable, holy task. Beneath these explicit depictions of the inquisitor's death as an *imitatio Christi* was the intimation that opposition to heresy, including inquisition, was itself Christ-like.

⁵⁴*Annales Minorum*, ed. Luke Wadding (Florence 1931-) 5.299-300; Lea (n. 1 above) 2.216.

⁵⁵The idea of martyrdom as *imitatio Christi* was of course as old as Christian martyrdom itself; for example, the survivors of the persecutions at Lyons in 177 described Christ as the original martyr and their slain fellows as his imitators. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, quoted in *A New Eusebius: Documents illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*, ed. J. Stevenson, rev. W. H. C. Frend (London 1987) 46.

⁵⁶Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 21-22; Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 277; Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 232.

Of course, as the chief determinant of martyrdom was death at the hands of an unbeliever in the maintenance of the faith, the identity of an inquisitor's killers was important; the conspirators of Peter Martyr's death were "impious;" his *socius*, brother Dominic, likewise "fell by the swords of the impious."⁵⁷ Such identification helped to prove the theological status of the murder as a martyrdom, and supported the inquisitor's claim to sanctity. But the location of a murdered inquisitor in the pattern of Christian martyrdom also reinforced a characterization of which inquisitors were already persuaded, namely that heretics and their supporters were enemies of Christ; this in turn strengthened a conception of inquisition as holy by offering additional evidence of the evil of its opponents. The parallel of the inquisitor's death with Christ's passion was a means to associate the inquisitor's killers with evil, as we saw above in the likeness drawn between the "the unfaithful crowd of heretics" and the "unfaithful Jews," and the comparison of Judas's avarice to that of Peter's murderers. The Dominican historian Bernard Gui, himself inquisitor of Toulouse from 1307–1323, echoed this passage in his own life of Peter, and identified the plotters specifically as "enemies of God."⁵⁸ Such enemies were disclosed both by their resemblance to the obviously wicked killers of Christ, and also by their killing of an inquisitor, itself a wicked offense against God. They, like all heretics, were clearly tightly allied to Satan. The battle against heretics that led to Peter Martyr's death was necessary because "the devil strove . . . to conquer the Catholic faith;" the saint's killer was a "servant of Satan," who wished to destroy the inquisitor who so thoroughly undercut his malevolent influence in the world.⁵⁹ Peter's killing was "diabolical malefice," a proactive evil act and an assault upon the good.⁶⁰ (Fortunately for the heretics, there was always the possibility of changing allegiance through repentance; Peter Martyr's murderer Carino, later seized by remorse, joined the order and would eventually receive the

⁵⁷Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 234; Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 22.

⁵⁸Bernard Gui, *Speculum sanctorale*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 450, fol. 36v, and *Catalogus pontificum romanorum* (aka *Flores chronicorum*), Toulouse 450, 120r.

⁵⁹"Diabolus nisus est . . . fidem catholicam expugnare." Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de sanctis*, BN lat. 3285A, fol. 247r; letter of Romeus of Atencia to Raymond of Peñafort, *Année Dominicaine*, Avril 2 (Lyon 1889) 901–903; this was still used by the order in Peter's modern office. Bedouelle (n. 35 above) 48.

status of *beatus*.⁶¹) These identifications served not only to assert the sanctity of the inquisitor, but also to justify inquisition itself, which sought to apprehend and redirect such evil towards the good.

Just as the identification of the inquisitor's murder as martyrdom both prompted his identification as a saint and similarly helped to characterize heretics and inquisition, the demonstrations of holy power that attended the saint before and after his death also commented upon the holiness of inquisition. Peter Martyr's miracles proved not simply the truth of Christianity by showing that divine *virtus* was distributed in orthodox directions, but more specifically the fact that inquisition was divinely sanctioned. God's demonstrations of power through Peter sketched broadly the multiple, diverse relationships between holiness and fighting heresy. At the simplest level, miracles proved his sanctity and testified that the death could be safely identified as a martyrdom. God had reportedly confirmed and announced immediately the very fact of the martyrdom through miracle, and consequently proclaimed the identity of the saint; a Dominican nun at Florence reported that on the very day of Peter's death she had seen in a vision two Dominicans seated next to the enthroned Mary. While one, of course, was Peter, the other was brother Dominic in similar glory, despite the fact that he was uncanonized and even survived Peter by a few days.⁶² Dominican sources also recounted other traditional miracles that testified to the identification of this inquisitor as a saint. Peter Martyr, like other saints, proved to be a beneficial conduit of God's holy power through healings and cures; the inquisitor was responsible for a wide range of such typical miracles, from healing a Dominican in Lyons who suffered from a neck abscess, after the brother begged the master general to apply Peter's relics, to raising a child from the dead.⁶³ The very existence of miracles around the inquisitor saint illustrated the fact that an inquisitor could be a channel for holy power before and after martyrdom, conveying the theological meaning of this particular martyrdom and of inquisition. Yet in addition to not crippling a reputation for, or

⁶⁰*diabolico maleficio*. The 1252 inquisitio on canonization, in AS, April 3.705.

⁶¹Lea (n. 1 above) 1.460–461; 2.215.

⁶²Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 240. Gerard carefully if unpersuasively explained brother Dominic's presence in the vision by noting that since the *socius* was wounded with and died a short time after Peter, "creditur cum eo evolasse ad celum" ("he is believed to have flown away to heaven with him").

⁶³Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 240–241.

demonstrations of, holiness, inquisition could have more direct bonds to holy power; miracles could identify, approve, and further the anti-heretical work of inquisitor saint. The applications of, and occurrences within, the miracles themselves were more significant than the very existence of inquisitor-miracles for a characterization of inquisition as holy and of its exercise as a pious duty; particular details and occurrences within miracles associated with Peter asserted the sanctity of inquisition. The uses of holy power against heresy and in the work of inquisition served as a more specific reminder (beyond the inquisitor's sanctity generally) and as illustrations of God's support for inquisition. While miracles certainly confirmed the holy identity of the inquisitor, thus reasserting that an inquisitor's murder equaled a death for the faith, they could also distinctly reassert the holiness of the original activity of inquisition.

Miracles could be used in service of inquisition during the inquisitor's lifetime, as in the account of Peter's public examination of an arrested Cathar bishop in Milan. When the heat afflicted the crowd, the Cathar challenged Peter to intercede with God to assuage it, "if you are as holy as this foolish people affirms you to be." When the *athleta fidei* accepted the challenge, a cloud appeared in the sky, lessening the sun and the heat. The miracle disproved any Cathar arguments about God's lack of governance over the physical world—thus supporting the orthodox position—and also showed the inquisitor's incipient sanctity and God's willingness to wield his power in the service of orthodoxy and the disparagement of heresy.⁶⁴ These demonstrations of holy power could more explicitly serve an "inquisitorial" function by publicly disclosing heresy's alliance with the devil; the later miracles of Peter Martyr that were collected in the order included the devil appearing in the form of a black horse, seeking but failing to interrupt Peter's preaching; and a Cathar invoking the devil, earth's creator, to help his crop.⁶⁵ As heresy could assume a guise of piety, it was an inquisitor's responsibility to identify it indisputably as evil, and God lent his necessary assistance through Peter with vivid displays that brooked no ar-

⁶⁴"Si tu es ita sanctus sicut hic stultus populus te affirmat." Gerard de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum* (n. 5 above) 238; Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 279; Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 703.

⁶⁵Pierre Calo (n. 38 above) 700; Berengar miracle collection (1314) in AS, April 3.701.

gument. A miracle collected in 1314 recounted a plot by some heretics in Milan to convert to heresy a noble who had often hosted Peter; one heretic, a necromancer, summoned a devil to appear as the Virgin, who persuaded the noble that heresy was the true faith. When Peter next sought the noble's hospitality, he realized that his host was under the diabolical sway of heresy. After orthodox arguments failed and after praying "that the piety of Christ reveal the devices of the devil to the honor of Catholic truth," Peter took a consecrated host to the heretics' church, where the false image of Mary consequently dissolved "with a terrible noise and stink;" the noble, no longer "seduced by the devil," reconverted. Other laypeople, similarly unable "to distinguish between the devices of the devil and the truth of the faith," likewise needed to trust Peter Martyr and his orthodox colleagues; behind the superficial attractions of heresy lurked not simply erroneous opinion, but the devil himself.⁶⁶

God not only upheld orthodoxy and identified heresy as evil, but also assisted Peter in exterminating heresy. One miracle concerned a disputation against a heretic in which Peter made a poor showing; pausing to pray, he begged God either to help him "defend his cause, infusing him with the light of the true faith," or to deprive the heretic of speech, "by which he so abuses God."⁶⁷ The heretic was consequently rendered mute, demonstrating not only where spiritual allegiances lay in the battle between orthodox and heretic, but more cogently the utility of force when persuasion failed. A more interesting and illustrative presentation of an inquisitorial "miracle" is Gerard de Frachet's account of Peter Martyr's "prophecy" that a castle called Gattedo, a heretical refuge, would be destroyed and the buried corpses of two bishops of the Cathar church of Concorezzo, Nazarius and Desiderius, exhumed and burned. As Innocent IV had instructed the Dominican inquisitors in Lombardy to proceed against the castle on 19 August 1254, Gerard

⁶⁶"His auditis et visis, nesciens vir ille inter machinamenta diaboli et fidei veritatem discernere. . . ad hereticorum fidem conversus est. . . Ut Christi pietas diaboli machinamenta ad honorem detegeret catholicae veritatis. . . Ad hujus vocem et corporis Christi ostentationem omnis illa phantastica visio disparuit cum srepitu terribili et foetore." Berengar collection (n. 65 above) 701.

⁶⁷"Et prosternens se coram altari cum multis lacrimis rogavit dominum, ut causam suam defenderet, et ut aut illi lumen vere fidei infunderet aut loquela privaret, qua ita contra Deum abutebatur." Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 237–238; cf. Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 703–704.

could report that its destruction indeed took place “through the office of the brother inquisitors against heretics,” thus proving what the Holy Spirit had predicted through Peter.⁶⁸ The *Vitae fratrum* presented this very common result of a completed inquisition—the destruction of property owned by heretics and post-mortem burning—as a demonstration of holy power, confirming the sanctity of the inquisitor who predicted it, the righteousness of the Dominicans who executed it, and that such measures were just what the Holy Spirit ordered.

Moreover, as inquisition was understood as an earthly microcosm and stage for a transcendent battle, it is not surprising that miracles allowed the inquisitor saint to fulfill his office after death. In the case of Peter Martyr, the peculiar mobility of a saint between worlds permitted a further statement of inquisition’s divine favor through the miraculous continuation of his inquisitorial duties. As a saint, Peter accomplished all the tasks of the living inquisitor, including seeking out, identifying, punishing, and even forgiving heretics after their penitence, reconverting them to orthodoxy. According to Gerard de Frachet, Peter still tried and punished heretics after his death; when a young heretic viewed an image of Peter’s martyrdom at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, he was rendered mute after a flippant comment that, had he been present, he would have struck Peter harder. He was healed upon promising the saint to abjure heresy.⁶⁹ Thomas Agni da Lentino reported that when a certain demoniac was taken to Peter Martyr’s tomb, the demons asked one of those holding her, a *credens hereticorum*, “You who are ours, why do you detain us?” After the demons were exorcised by an appeal to Peter, the heretic (who had only attended “so that he might mock the saint’s miracles”) realized that “truly they were demons” and Peter a saint; “through the way of the wonderful mercy of God, he was converted to the light of catholic

⁶⁸Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 239; *BOP* 1.254. Cf. Dondaine (n. 1 above) 117 n. 26. Nazarius (d.c. 1233) and Desiderius (d.c. 1235) would be well known to Dominican inquisitors; before the exhumation Desiderius had already appeared in inquisitor Moneta of Cremona’s *Adversus catharos et valdenses libri quinque* (1241) and later would be mentioned by Thomas Aquinas in *Contra impugnantes dei cultum* (1256). Both were also included in inquisitor Anselm of Alexandria’s *Tractatus de hereticis* (1260–1270). Antoine Dondaine, “La hiérarchie cathare en Italie, II: Le Tractatus de hereticis d’Anselme d’Alexandrie O.P.” *AFP* 20 (1950) 291–292, 310–312.

⁶⁹Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 240.

truth.”⁷⁰ In an account similar to Dominic’s famous miracle of the book, a heretic threw both a cloth relic of Peter and his own cloth into a fire; the first extinguished the flames, while the second was wholly consumed. Yet unlike its predecessor, this miracle succeeded in impressing its audience; “seeing this, the heretic returned to the way of truth.”⁷¹ The inquisitor, his power undeniably founded in God, could now pursue even more effectively his just goals of detection and correction.

These manifestations of holy power, and the saint’s role as its conduit, demonstrated how God applied his will and force in various ways to the furtherance and success of inquisition both before and after Peter’s martyrdom. The miracles performed around the saint before his death and through him after it enabled the identification, punishment, and correction of those heretics who were not easily persuaded by Peter’s words or good example, just as the office of inquisition demanded. Both miracle and inquisition were tools to discern between the truly good and those who effected a guise of goodness or who flagrantly deviated from the good. As God wielded his power to enable the accurate perception and detection of heretics, those foot soldiers of evil, it was not difficult to conclude that he likewise encouraged the more mundane and tedious efforts to apprehend heretics that were conducted by very average inquisitors.⁷² God approved of those who fulfilled the

⁷⁰“Qua ibidem culm multa difficulte detenta de uno tenentium, qui hereticorum credens erat, colloquebantur demones et dicebant: Tu qui noster es, quid nos detines? . . . Predictus vero incredulus . . . qui ad hoc venerat, ut sancti miracula derideret, attendens quod vere demones erant . . . et ille verus sanctus, qui tales taliter expellebat; per viam mirabilis misericordiae dei ad lumen conversus est catholicae veritatis.” Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 725; Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 287

⁷¹“Quidam hereticus ei deridendo diceret quod si sanctum eum crederet, pannum ipsum in ignem projiceret . . . heretici pannus ut ignis calorem sensit penitus est combustus; sancti vero Petri pannus in ignem prevaluit et ipsum ignem omnino extinxit . . . quod videns hereticus ad viam rediit veritatis, et miraculum omnibus propalavit.” Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 712; Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 283–284. Humbert of Romans (n. 46 above) 380–382.

⁷²For a good example of how the Dominican inquisitor saw right obedience to orthodox ecclesiastical authority as the key to distinguishing between genuine piety and the false piety of heresy, see Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus. Anecdotes Historiques tirés d’Étienne de Bourbon*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris 1877) 149–150. On the question of discerning between heresy and sanctity, and the related problem of the discernment of spirits, see Kieckhefer (n. 37 above) 355–372, and *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago 1984); Bernard Hamilton, “The Cathars and Christian Perfection” in *The Medieval*

duties of inquisition, particularly, but not exclusively, if they continued those duties—understood as a witnessing to the faith—until death. The recounting of these miracles reminded the Order of Preachers that its diverse activities against heresy, beginning with Dominic and continuing through the appointment of several brothers as inquisitors, served God by fighting Satan.

The inquisitor saint and his attendant miracles indicated the theological alliances both of heresy and the orthodox mechanisms that sought to discover and eradicate it. The benevolence of all forms of activity against heresy was vividly asserted by another Dominican, Nicholas of Milan, preacher to the Society of the Virgin in and around Milan from 1283 to 1293, who in a sermon for Peter's feast-day depicted the inquisitor saint as surrounded by the souls that he had converted; occupying the first place were those heretics he had led back to the faith.⁷³ Peter's martyrdom was itself a ministry, as the inquisitor's impressive death could lead to the conversion of those he had tried to reach.⁷⁴ In Peter Martyr, inquisitors and their supporters were assured of the sanctity of inquisition; his stories and miracles proved not simply the truth of orthodoxy and the compatibility of holiness and the inquisitorial office, but more cogently the divine approval of the work undertaken by any inquisitor. When, for example, Bernard Gui conducted his inquisitions in early fourteenth-century Toulouse, he would hear the reading of the mealtime lections for his saintly predecessor, who was crowned with martyrdom while "conducting the inquisition against heretics committed to him by the apostolic see," reminding Bernard of the holiness of his own efforts, if not persuading him that he was bound for equal glory.⁷⁵

Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life. Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff, ed. Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge 1999) 5–23; Rosalynn Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices: the Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late-Medieval Women Visionaries* (York 1999); *Women Mystics in Medieval Europe*, ed. Emilie Zum Brunn and Georgette Epiney-Burgard, trans. Sheila Hughes (New York 1989), esp. 143–150; Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame 1995).

⁷³Nicholas of Milan, *Sermones sanctorales*, quoted in Meersseman (n. 10 above) 145–146.

⁷⁴Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 282.

⁷⁵"Pro exequenda inquisitione contra hereticos sibi ab apostolica sede commissa." Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 82, fol. 36r. The lectiones were excerpted from *Magnis et crebris*; cf. BOP 1.229.

THE INQUISITOR SAINT AND THE LAITY

In addition to the inquisitor saint's ability to contribute to and disclose Dominican identity by sanctifying the most serious activity against heresy in which the brothers participated, he could also possibly influence the external identity of the order and of inquisition. The order's conceptions of holiness and inquisition could and did travel beyond it through the wider dissemination of Peter Martyr's saintly reputation; Humbert of Romans's charge to the brothers not to circulate the *Vitae fratrum* beyond the order could not and did not completely isolate the celebrations of Peter from those outside.⁷⁶ In the *Vitae fratrum* and the other Dominican media that helped to advertise and laud the inquisitor saint, an image of Peter Martyr was constructed that could transmit the relationships of sanctity and inquisition beyond the order as well as inside it. Consequently, the inquisitor saint was important not just for the reflection and shaping of Dominican identity, but also for the Christian laity's understanding of the religious character of inquisition.

Given Innocent IV's remarkable eagerness to canonize Peter Martyr, it is not surprising that he and later popes devoted much energy to encouraging the inquisitor's cult. Innocent, Alexander IV, and successive popes enthusiastically sought to further the cult through a flurry of bulls, instructing all clergy in Christendom to celebrate the feast and offering various indulgences for its observance.⁷⁷ Peter's office could be celebrated during an interdiction, an exception issued first to the Dominicans in Milan in 1257 and then to all the order's churches in 1261.⁷⁸ Other orders also did their part to foster the cult. According to Bernard Gui, the Humiliati in Lombardy demonstrated particular devo-

⁷⁶Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 5; Van Engen (n. 24 above) 15. A similar caution is seen in the 1254 chapter general's prohibition against the publication of all writings by members of the order, unless they had been first examined by certain brothers appointed by the master general or provincial prior; *ACG* 1.69. This was likely related to the challenge to the brothers at the University of Paris, as it applies to the *constitutiones*' chapter on students.

⁷⁷*Cum ad promerenda* (April 1254, reissued May 1255); *Magna magnalia* (August 1254; reissued by Alexander IV in February 1255 and by Urban IV in May 1262); *Licet apostolica* (July 1255, to the Cistercians); *Vite perennis* (February 1257; reissued December 1260); *Pro reverentia* (February 1257; reissued June 1257 and January 1261); *De meritorum* (March 1266). *BOP* 1.244, 252, 283, 285, 271, 283, 285, 328–329, 339, 399, 403, 420, 473. On papal encouragements for saints' cults, see Vauchez (n. 40 above) 119–123.

⁷⁸*BOP* 1.329, 339, 403.

tion for the Order of Preachers generally and for Peter Martyr specifically.⁷⁹ A miracle of Peter Martyr collected in 1314 with a Franciscan provenance suggests the success of the dissemination of Peter's holy reputation to other clergy (and perhaps some initial rivalry). Philippus Brixensis preached publicly that he had suggested to a fellow Franciscan that they seek Peter's help to cool the heat, as he had heard the saint had once done this by summoning a cloud. When a cloud appeared and Philippus disparaged the miracle, the heat instantly returned and intensified, prompting Philippus to promise to preach the miracle and Peter's glory as penance.⁸⁰

The energy of these papal encouragements and the cooperation of other orders were, of course, secondary to the efforts of the Order of Preachers itself; in various ways the order transmitted to the laity its conceptions of and devotion to the holy inquisitor. The Dominican Andreas de Albalate, elected bishop of Valentina in Aragon in 1248, who ordered the feast of Peter Martyr to be celebrated throughout his diocese, illustrates one means for dissemination.⁸¹ The urban laity would have seen the images of Peter Martyr that were placed in Dominican churches after the general chapter's command in 1256, as was claimed of the young heretic in Florence whose flippant comment was prompted by a depiction in Santa Maria Novella of Peter's murder by Carino.⁸² A miracle in the 1314 collection similarly reported that the brothers at a Dominican house in Tuscany had erected an image in their church that showed "how [Peter] had been killed by a heretic for the defense of the faith and of Catholic truth." A spectator blasphemously charged that although "those brothers caused a figure of that friar Peter to be painted, how he died, as if he had undergone martyrdom for the

⁷⁹Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) 183.

⁸⁰Berengar collection (n. 65 above) 715.

⁸¹Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui (n. 13 above) app. 2, 188; on the important role of Dominican bishops in disseminating the order's saints, see Vauchez (n. 40 above) 122.

⁸²See n. 69 above. The number of images of Peter Martyr increased sharply in the fifteenth century; a notable earlier example is Andrea di Buonaiuto's Spanish Chapel at Santa Maria Novella (ca. 1365), which featured Peter among its celebrations of the order's activities against heresy. See George G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence 1952) 818–834; *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence 1965) 904–909; and *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of Northeast Italy* (Florence 1978) 844–854; Louis Réau, *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien* (Paris 1959) 3.1104–1106; Mercedes Rochelle, *Post-Biblical Saints Art Index* (Jefferson, NC 1994) 195–196.

Christian faith,” a dispute over a woman was the real cause of the murder.⁸³ This account implies the laity’s perception of the message the brothers sought to communicate in the image: Peter’s death was a martyrdom, a death for the faith, and rendered him a saint. These images would not only have advertised the very existence of the saint—thus linking at the most basic level inquisition and holiness—but through their content would have deepened this association by reminding the laity that Peter’s sanctity was inexorably bound to his work as an inquisitor. As with the images in Dominican churches, other measures taken by the order that could seem primarily concerned with its “internal” worship of the saint also sought to influence the laity. The 1318 chapter general ordered that at matins and vespers there be a commemoration of Peter Martyr said after the commemoration of Dominic, “so that reverence of blessed Peter, the glorious martyr, may be impressed more firmly into the hearts of the people.”⁸⁴ After having ostensibly cultivated devotion to the saint through his visibility in Dominican churches, the laity was encouraged in turn to help disseminate it further. When the 1297 general chapter approved of the Milanese brothers’ “pious and fervent” request to bury Peter “more honorably,” and instructed all the brothers to persuade those known to them to assist in the realization of this “so necessary and meritorious work,” the reasons cited for the approval were not only to befit the glory of the saint, but also “to excite the devotion of the faithful.”⁸⁵ We see here two distinct ways for the order to advertise the saint and encourage devotion to him: the construction of an impressive burial place to be seen by the laity, and the enlistment of the laity’s cooperation in its completion. The 1297 request did not apparently bear adequate fruit, as the 1335 general

⁸³The friars “pingi fecissent beati Petri martyrium qualiter ab heretico occisus fuit ob fidei defensionem et catholicae veritatis”; the visitor, “a quibusdam male sentientibus informatus videns picturam dixit fratres isti pingere faciunt figuram istius fratri Petri quomodo mortuus fuerit quasi subierit pro fide Christiana martyrium.” Berengar collection (n. 65 above) 713.

⁸⁴“Ut gloriosi martyris beati Petri reverencia populorum cordibus arcius imprimatur, inchoamus hanc, ut in matutinis et vespers post memoriam de beato Dominico patre nostro fiat memoria de eodem.” This was approved in 1319 and formally confirmed in 1320. *ACG* 2.107, 114, 120.

⁸⁵“Cum fratres nostri Mediolanenses pie ac ferventer desiderent quod corpus gloriosum beati Petri martyris apud eos humiliter debito repositum ad eiusdem sancti gloriam et ad devocionem fidelium excitandum honorabilius et decencius recondatur . . . moneant et inducant ut operi sic necessario et meritorio manus porrigant adiutrices.” *ACG* 1.286.

chapter at London reported that the brothers in Milan did not have sufficient funds to construct a new tomb, and requested all Dominicans to persuade “persons devoted to the glorious martyr” to help accomplish “so holy a work” through donations. Again, it is perhaps indicative of sluggish progress that this command was reiterated in the following year’s general chapter at Bruges, with the addition that provincial priors should “diligently” remind the brothers in their provinces about this duty.⁸⁶ Such appeals for lay support in increasing the saint’s visibility, as a means to further impress and extend the cult among the laity, were also made on a smaller scale for local Dominican churches. Bernard Gui reported that while he was prior of the Dominican house in Castres from 1301 to 1305, the lady Fina, a “devoted friend of the brothers,” sponsored the construction of a chapel of Peter Martyr in the order’s church of Saint Vincent. It is likely that the particular direction of Fina’s patronage, which was performed “out of devotion” for the order and its saint, was guided by Bernard, who encouraged Fina’s devotion and enabled her to encourage others.⁸⁷

Several accounts in the ca. 1256 *Vitae fratrum* suggest that immediately after Peter’s death Dominicans began informally to advertise their saint among the laity to whom they ministered in the apostolate. The transmission of both relics and reputation is evident in the story of a brother who appeared in Besançon with a small ampoule containing relics from a cloth dipped in Peter’s blood, which attracted many citizens to attempt cures by drinking wine in which it had been placed.⁸⁸ The order’s strategy is more tidily apparent in the story of a woman in Metz who had suffered several difficult births. When she complained to a Dominican relative who had recently returned to the convent there

⁸⁶“Cum fratres conventus Mediolanensis, in quo corpus beati Petri martyris requiescit, ad honorem eiusdem gloriosi martyris sepulcrum eiusdem hedificare inceperint in forma et materia simile per omnia sepulcro beati Dominici, patris nostri, nec ad expensas tanti operis sufficiant, exhortamur omni affectu quo possumus, fratres singulos necnon et eisdem imponimus in remissionem peccatorum suorum, quatenus personis devotis eidem glorioso martyri suadeant, quod per suas elemosynas ad tam sanctum opus manus porrigant adiutrices; et quidquid inde receperint mittant reverendo patri magistro ordinis quam cito poterunt vel saltem ad sequens capitulum generale.” *ACG* 2.233. “Priores eciam provinciales fratres provinciarum suarum super hoc moneant diligenter.” *ACG* 2.240.

⁸⁷Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum Tolosanae et Provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. P. A. Amargier, MOPH 24 (Rome 1961) 154. Fina’s brother sponsored a chapel for Dominic in the same place.

⁸⁸Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 203.

from the provincial chapter, bringing with him relics of Peter Martyr given by the provincial prior to the house in Metz, he advised her to “trust in the goodness of God and merits of the new martyr Peter of our order.” He likewise recommended that she vow herself and her labor to Peter, naming the newborn after him, presenting the child yearly at Peter’s altar, observing his feast and office, and attending the feast-day sermons about him. The story of her success, and consequently the martyr’s reputation, was broadcast throughout Metz, prompting others to have recourse to the new saint.⁸⁹ We see here the neat transmission of the saint’s fame and its tactile evidence, as well as the encouragement of his cult, down the course of Dominican hierarchy, from provincial chapter to local convent to laity. Later miracles collected by the order indicate that Peter’s reputation continued to be bruited informally by the brothers. One tale, a version of the sinking ship miracle in which several panicked appeals to various saints go unheeded, even put such casual advertisement of the cult in the mouth of the laity. A Genoan passenger asked his fellows: “Have you never heard that a certain one from the Order of Preachers, friar Peter, was recently killed by heretics in the defense of the Catholic faith, and that God has shown many signs through him?” This new prayer succeeded, and upon landing the grateful passengers visited the local Dominican church to give thanks.⁹⁰ Reports of public miracles performed by Peter Martyr came from Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Bohemia, and Ireland; a man from Hungary who made a pilgrimage to visit Peter’s tomb in Milan is a telling indication of the far-flung order’s attempts to promote its saint among the laity.⁹¹

The hagiographical accounts of Peter Martyr could have reached the laity in Italy through the fourteenth-century vernacular translation of Thomas’s *vita*, and also more widely via the many vernacular translations of the *Legenda aurea*.⁹² However, lessons on the holy inquisitor

⁸⁹“Ne timeas, sed de Dei bonitate et meritis beati Petri novi martiris de ordine nostro confide.” Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 247–248.

⁹⁰“Numquid non audistis, quod quidam de ordine praedicatorum, nomine frater Petrus, ob Catholicae fidei defensionem sit nuper ab hereticis interfectus, multaque per eum Dominus signa ostenderit?” Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 726.

⁹¹Thomas Agni da Lentino (n. 7 above) 720; Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 240–248.

⁹²*S. Pietro Martire da Verona Leggenda*, ed. Stefano Orlandi (Florence 1952). For the translations of the *Legenda aurea*, see William Granger Ryan, “Introduction” in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton 1993)

presented in texts, even when translated into the vernacular, would still have reached a limited segment of the laity. But the Dominicans also applied their particular task and skill, preaching, to the propagation of this inquisitor saint, publishing both his existence and consequently the compatibility of sanctity and inquisition. While the order never formally commanded the preaching of Peter Martyr in its legislation, the saint's feast-day provided a *de facto* obligation to preach in his praise. We have already seen mentions of this feast-day preaching above, including that of Thomas de Aversa, Nicholas of Milan, and in a few of the miracle tales. Remigio dei Girolami (d. 1319), a brother at Santa Maria Novella, in a feast-day sermon praised the saint, who himself preached throughout Italy in order to exterminate heresy, and "without fear sought martyrdom for Christ."⁹³ Another suggestion of its practice is the claim that the saint himself did his part to further such preaching to the laity; when brother Johannes Polonus, who was scheduled to preach on Peter's feast day, fell ill and feared that he could not deliver the sermon, he prayed to and was healed by the merits of the one "whose glory he had to preach."⁹⁴ Both the *Legenda aurea* and Thomas's *vita* of Peter Martyr were likely put to this homiletic end; one manuscript of the latter ends with the added advice that it should be read at table once a month, as it is "exceedingly useful to the brothers," containing "good and useful material for preaching."⁹⁵ Individual Dominicans could be quite enthusiastic in their public preaching on Peter Martyr, as in Thomas de Aversa's ill-advised celebration of the saint's living stigmata, and narrative details in the miracle tales claim the influence of this preaching on the spread of the cult. The *Vitae fratrum* recounted a tale of a traveler, injured by the roadside, who remembered that he had heard in a sermon preached on Peter's feast-day that an ill woman was healed by applying earth soaked with the saint's blood. Upon reminding God that the actual earth was unnecessary, he was likewise healed by

1.xiv; *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Kaeppli (n. 32 above) 2.350–359; *Die altokzitanische Version B der <Legenda aurea>*, ed. Monika Tausend (Tübingen 1995), 132–138.

⁹³E. Panella, "Note di Biografia Domenicana tra XIII e XIV Secolo," *AFP* 54 (1984) 260–261; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 79.

⁹⁴Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 248.

⁹⁵Ryan, "Introduction" (n. 92 above) xvii–xviii; ". . . esset utile valde fratribus et bona et utilis materia ad predicandum." Paris, BN lat. 5377, fol. 23r.

the saint's merits.⁹⁶ A gravely ill woman in Chalons-sur-Marne, having heard sermons about Peter that asserted his many miracles, hurried to the local Dominican church and prayed to the saint before his altar, asking the "glorious martyr" to intercede with God, "for whose faith you sustained a most bitter death." She was instantly healed, both proving and re-voicing the truth of what she had ostensibly learned in the sermon: Peter's inquisitorial activity was a work of the faith, his death a holy martyrdom.⁹⁷ Conversely, a miracle account could end with a local Dominican preaching the miracle to the laity.⁹⁸

There are vivid indications that many members of the laity found the order's assertions of inquisitorial sanctity unpersuasive. Opposition to the saint is palpable in several of Peter's miracle stories, such as the young Cathar commenting that he would have dealt Peter a stronger blow if given the opportunity. This theme may initially appear to be simply an appearance of the traditional hagiographical utility of skepticism and the consequent display of miracles in order spectacularly to erase it. But evidence elsewhere strongly implies that these glimpses of opposition to Peter as saint did not result from a convention of the genre, but were rather reflective of the laity's genuine reluctance to accept Peter as a saint, a reluctance that the circulated miracles sought to overcome through their arguments of the inquisitor's sanctity.⁹⁹ The Milan brothers' apparent difficulty in raising funds for a new tomb may well imply an absence of lay support. More persuasively, accounts exist of antipathy, rather than sheer apathy. While we have seen that the flippant Cathar's disparagement of Peter as a saint won condign punishment through an "inquisitorial" miracle, such opposition could also receive more mundane censure. It is useful testimony to the theological status of and claims made for the inquisitor saint that the denial of his holiness could be defined as heresy, ironically subjecting one's disbelief to inquisition and Dominican inquisitors. In 1299 in Bologna a witness testified that the carpenter Oddo had criticized all levels of the clergy but particularly the Dominicans, whom he charged with keeping concubines, mocking the citizens, and claiming the sainthood of Peter

⁹⁶Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 244.

⁹⁷"O beate Petre, martir gloriose, digneris preces tuas pro me ad dominum fundere, pro cuius fide mortem acerrimam sustinuisti." Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 242–243.

⁹⁸Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 240.

⁹⁹Cf. Vauchez (n. 40 above) 415 n. 10.

Martyr, who did not deserve the honor; Oddo heavily disparaged and made fun of the putative saint.¹⁰⁰ Oddo's opinions neatly exemplified both the easy rejection of this canonized saint as well as the public perception of Dominican impetus in forming and circulating the cult. We see a similar collapse in the popular conceptions of saint, order, and inquisition when both saint and order were included as targets of resistance to inquisitorial activity. Bernard Gui reported that in the 1301 protests that arose against inquisitions in Albi, the citizens "impiously caused to be destroyed the images and writing" of Peter Martyr and Dominic that had been placed on the town gate, "in which deed clearly to the eyes of all witnesses they demonstrated their madness, rejecting the saints of God approved by the holy church." Members of the order were also attacked, defamed, and forbidden to preach; alms were refused them and the citizens ceased to accept their pastoral care.¹⁰¹ Again, we may conceive this as a sign of the order's success in translating beyond the order its identity as fighters of heresy, and as the home of saintly opponents to it, even if that identity was not attractive to some members of the laity.

Despite these glimpses of Peter Martyr's ability to ignite popular opposition or denial, there is also some evidence that the inquisitor saint indeed attracted the pious attention and even active devotion of the laity. Popular devotion to Peter Martyr may have already begun in Italy during his lifetime, if we credit the evidence that claims public reverence for Peter's asceticism and mourning in Milan at his death; we see in the story of Peter's examination of an arrested Cathar bishop, mentioned above, that the heretic was supposedly familiar with acclamations of Peter's sanctity among the Milanese laity. Soon after his

¹⁰⁰“Dixit suo sacramento quod audivit predictum Oddum dicentem multa mala de domino papa, de cardinalibus, de prelatibus ecclesie, clericis et fratribus, dicendo quod fratres, maxime predicatorum, sepeliunt usurarios et accipiunt usuras et comedunt eas, et tenent concubinas et amasias, et quando transeunt per civitatem deridet eos et truffatur sicut malos homines rubaldos, dicendo etiam quod fecerunt unum Petrum martirem sanctum, cum non sit sanctus nec est, et deridet dictum sanctum Petrum martirem et multum detrahit sibi.” *Acta S. Officii Bononie ab anno 1291 usque ad anno 1310*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 106, ed. Lorenzo Paolini and Raniero Orioli (Rome 1982) 1.234.

¹⁰¹“Fecerunt sacrilege deleri ymagines et scripturam sancti Dominici confessoris et sancti Petri martiris . . . in quo facto evidenter cunctorum aspicientium oculis suam insaniam demonstrarunt, reprobantes sanctos Dei per sanctam ecclesiam approbatos.” Bernard Gui (n. 87 above) 201–203; Given (n. 3 above) 128–139.

death the inquisitor was invoked for a safe childbirth.¹⁰² Yet stronger and more independent proof than that perceptible through miracle accounts for the inquisitor saint's popular veneration is the confraternities affiliated with Peter, the Society of the Virgin, the Society of Saint Peter Martyr, and the Society of the Faith. We have mentioned that the first was reportedly founded by Peter and emphasized Mary's motherhood of Christ; the second, more expressly devoted to Peter, was also a traditional confraternity, gathering men and women throughout western Europe as benefactors of churches or chapels dedicated to the saint.¹⁰³ The last, however, existed in several Italian cities and linked devotion to the saint with lay activity against heresy and in support of inquisition. Although Peter's role in its 1232 foundation in Milan has been disputed, the society was certainly placed under the saint's patronage after his death.¹⁰⁴ Members of this confraternity acted as lay officers of the inquisition, meeting regularly, publicly disputing with heretics, attempting to persuade reluctant communes to adopt and enforce anti-heretical statutes, and preparing for combat; in 1233 Gregory IX had assured the Milanese confraternity that whoever died "in defense of the faith" while fighting against heretics would receive pardon for his sins.¹⁰⁵ Yearly on Peter's feast-day, the confraternity in Florence commemorated its violent battle with the Cathars in August of 1245 and the saint's legendary encouragement to fight.¹⁰⁶ While the identification of "anti-papal" with "heretical" in the activity of the Society of the Faith shows the unification of "political" and "religious" issues that are impossible to separate in thirteenth-century Italy,¹⁰⁷ it is nevertheless the case that this confraternity was a way for laypeople to demonstrate devotion to the saint and to his holy work of opposing heresy.

These confraternities, while illustrating lay piety for Peter Martyr generally, also show the place in that piety of Peter's status as inquisi-

¹⁰²Dondaine (n. 1 above) 84, 87; Gerard de Frachet (n. 5 above) 238, 248; Jacobus de Voragine (n. 16 above) 279.

¹⁰³Gilles Meersseman, "Études sur les Anciennes Confréries Dominicaines: II. Les Confréries de Saint-Pierre Martyr," *AFP* 21 (1951) 51. Peter was also the patron of the weaver's guild in Luxembourg; J. Malget, *Die Verehrung des hl. Petrus von Mailand im Luxemburgischen* (Luxembourg 1965) 52–53.

¹⁰⁴Meersseman (n. 103 above) 52–70; cf. Dondaine (n. 1 above) 72–73.

¹⁰⁵Meersseman (n. 103 above) 115.

¹⁰⁶*Chronicae of St Anthony*, in *AS* April 3.700; Dondaine (n. 1 above) 150–152; Housley (n. 12 above) 198–199.

¹⁰⁷Housley (n. 12 above) 193–208.

tor. It is worth reiterating that advertisement of the saint among the laity, despite its frequent emphasis on his useful and effective thaumaturgic power, did not shy from locating that sanctity in terms of a good/evil, orthodox/heretic binary. Miracles, sermons, and images all made clear that the inquisitor's sanctity rested in, or at the very least was compatible with, a laudable activity against heresy, and that both holy and mundane power was justifiably wielded against those who opposed themselves to orthodoxy. The depictions of heresy, inquisition, and piety that were constructed through the inquisitor saint, which helped to express and construct Dominican inquisitorial identity, reached beyond the order and to the laity. While the order's assertions of Peter's inquisitorial sanctity are more important to reconstruct the mentality of the inquisitor and his supporters, these images are also useful in determining the most accurate and nuanced picture of the relationship between inquisition and lay piety. Dominican attempts to disseminate the cult were not "propaganda" in any but its literal sense; the order's general understanding of inquisition meant that they perceived Peter Martyr as no different from other saints whose veneration was encouraged and promoted for the laity's expected benefit, and the possibility existed that some members of the laity could agree with this perception.¹⁰⁸ Peter Martyr offered cogent lessons on sanctity and heresy: holy power could arise from the fight against heresy, be used as a tool against it, and prove the divine sanction of that fight. While such lessons may not have been as obviously attractive to a broad Christian laity as they would be to Dominican inquisitors, the reports of miracles external to the order and more cogently the popularity of the confraternities suggest that some laypeople indeed saw this murdered inquisitor as a site of sanctity. The inquisitor saint was presented as a mediator between laity and inquisition; he was a locus for healing and comfort, a conduit of God's power in miraculous ways just as he had been a more banal conduit of divine and ecclesiastical power in his work against heretics. Consequently, we may at least say that the evidence of Peter Martyr encourages us to reconsider the predominantly confrontational model of layperson and inquisitor emphasized by scholarship focusing on the "victims" of medieval and early-modern inquisitorial trials.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸On the invocation of Peter for storms, Kaftal (n. 82 above) 904, 909.

¹⁰⁹Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, the Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York 1978). See also Schmitt (n. 3 above); Guido Ruggiero, *Binding*

Rather than depicting the inquisitor as a representative of an orthodoxy that knocked awkwardly and brutally against a synthetic, natural lay piety that deviated radically from orthodox norms, the Dominican order encouraged the laity to see activity against heresy in terms of the good and the holy, and there are suggestions that this effort could occasionally be successful. This implies a more subtle and complex relationship between inquisitorial activity and lay piety, in which an inquisitor could act as a focus for piety rather than a weapon against it. It reminds us in turn of the ability of lay piety to be orthodox, moving in harmony with, or at least not clashing against, the aims and activities of the inquisitor.

More importantly, these images help us to understand how Dominicans saw the purpose of their order, the role of inquisition in it, and the theological status of the most aggressive pursuit and punishment of heretics. Certainly even the majority of brothers who did not assume inquisitorial duties could be proud of a fellow Dominican like Peter Martyr who, as was chanted in an antiphon for his office, had been crowned with laurels because of his faith and fortitude.¹¹⁰ These qualities of the inquisitor saint were to be admired and cited as a noble part of the order's common identity, and they were complemented by the saint's dedication to defending orthodoxy and extirpating heresy, traditional tasks of the order. Moreover, it was clear through Peter not only that to be an inquisitor killed by heretics was to die for Christ, his faith, and his church, but also that God himself cooperated in and approved of the discovery, examination, and punishment of those who rejected him. The saint thus asserted what Dominicans already knew: the conflict between good and evil transcended this world alone, and God deployed various weapons both here and beyond in order to crush wickedness. Those Dominicans who promoted this inquisitor as a saint, and who surrounded him with a glow of sanctity that fully encompassed the destruction of heresy, knew where to locate the respective opponents.

Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance (New York 1993); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: the Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore 1992), and *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore 1983).

¹¹⁰The antiphons for Peter's feast were confirmed in 1266. *ACG* 1.132. In 1321 the general chapter specified the antiphons and verses to be said at matins and vespers "ad memoriam que fit de beato Petro martyre per totum annum," *ACG* 2.129.

The construction and promotion of Peter as saint was not a superficial representation, but rather expressed and in turn reinforced a specific mentality of inquisition, as this particular negotiation of sanctity demonstrated both how qualities in Peter Martyr could be identified as holy, and also how holiness could be understood to encompass inquisition. Thus in addition to these repercussions for the relationship of laity and inquisition, and for Dominican inquisitorial identity, the celebration of a dead inquisitor as saint comments more broadly on later-medieval conceptions of sanctity. The celebrations of Peter Martyr were not simply clever propaganda by the papacy or by the order, an attempt to render an inquisitorial yoke more palatable, or an uncomfortable stuffing of inquisition into the framework of holiness. Instead, the inquisitor saint was a natural expression of Dominican conceptions of heresy, orthodoxy, good, evil, and violence; in a world where the devil set himself against God, sanctity could encompass coercion and force just as inquisition was a religious activity. In a 1248 letter to a prioress, Peter Martyr encouraged her to be as “John to the incestuous, Phineas to fornicating apostates, Peter to liars, and Paul to blasphemers.”¹¹¹ While the future inquisitor did not expect her to assume similar duties, it is significant that his biblical sources of emulation included wielders of pious violence, when a rejection of God’s truth demanded a just death. This reminds us of what holiness could mean and accommodate in the Middle Ages, as does the miracle of a skeptic who saucily remarked that if Peter Martyr were a saint, then God should strike him dead. He was soon trampled by a horse.¹¹² As God wielded his own violence to ensure that good and evil were clearly recognized, it should be no surprise that he allowed his saints, and other less holy Christians, to do the same.

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¹¹¹“Exhibe te Iohannem incestuosus, heu apostatis fornicantibus Finees, Petrum mentientibus et blasphemantibus Paulum.” “Epistola beati Petri martiris ordinis praedicatorum ad priorissam sancti Petri in campo sancto” in Dondaine (n. 1 above) 92.

¹¹²Berengar collection (n. 65 above) 713.