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SOUNDINGS IN EXETER COLLEGE MS 15 AND THE EVOLUTION
OF VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS'S *SPECULUM NATURALE*¹

BY
SIMON TUGWELL OP

It is now well known that Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Maius* initially contained two parts, the *Specula naturale* and *historiale*, and was then expanded into three parts, the *Naturale* being divided into *Naturale* and *Doctrinale*; as an appendage to his study of the *Speculum historiale* Dr Voorbij accordingly listed the manuscripts of the *Naturale* under two headings, the version found in the two-part *Speculum* (his Na, for which I use the symbol N2), and that found in the three-part *Speculum* exemplified in the 'versie Douai' (his Nb, for which I use the symbol N3).² Although only eight out of N2's

SIGLA. B = Brussels, Bibl. Royale 18465 (xiii). C = Cambridge, Parker Library 39 (xiv) (II-XVII). E = Oxford, Exeter College 15 (xiii) (lacking I and XXXII). G = BNF lat. 6428B ('Hunc librum fecit scribi dominus B. de Castaneto diuina inspirante gracia episcopus albiensis anno domini .m.cc.lxxx.vii' [f.303^v at the end of book IX]) (II-X). L = Laon, Bibl. Mun. 426 (xiii) (XI-XVIII). M = Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 3574 (xiv) (XVI-XXXIII). N = BNF lat. 16172 (xiii) (IX-XIV 79). O = BNF lat. 6428A (xiv) (lacking XVI and most of XVII). P = BNF lat. 14387 (c.1260/1310) (I-XVI). Q = BNF lat. 14388 (xv) (XVII-XXXIII). R = Berlin, Staatsbibl. lat. fol. 76 (xiv) (I-XII). S = printed edition, Strasbourg, not after 15 June 1476. V = Tournai, Bibl. du Grand Séminaire, Abbaye de Bonne Espérance 3-5 (c.1300) (complete). PV are cited on the basis of information received from Isabelle Draelants, to whom particular thanks are due for her marvellous patience and generosity in responding to my requests for help. Albrecht = Eva Albrecht, *De ontstaansgeschiedenis en de compilatie van het Speculum Naturale van Vincent van Beauvais*, doctoral thesis Louvain 2007; I am grateful to her for sending me a copy. For other abbreviations see the bibliography at the beginning of the Appendix. Unless there is reason to do otherwise I cite the *Speculum naturale* according to the book-numbers in S.

¹ I am grateful to Mrs Joanna Bowring and the staff of Exeter College library, Oxford, who went beyond the call of duty in facilitating my consultation of their manuscript, and to my fellow Dominicans in Oxford whose prowess with the wheelchair, and in some cases the camera, enabled me to make and derive maximum benefit from visits to Exeter College over several years.

² J.B.Voorbij, *Het 'Speculum Historiale' van Vincent van Beauvais*, doctoral thesis Groningen 1991 (of which the author kindly presented me with a copy), 330-335. The

version of a quotation from Constantine (*Grad.* 369, Parker lib. 466 pp.49-50) which E shares with RS, as we have already noted. Of L's 72½ lines it has 45.

E only has one chapter *de galbano* instead of two (XII 122-123), whose ingredients all come from N2 VI 87 except that the initial quotation from Isidore is now worked into a comment by Actor, and the quotations from Pliny in XII 123 and Constantine in 124 are slightly longer than they were. E has the comment by Actor and the next two authorities (from Dioscorides Alph. 277, and Platearius G 4), but it lacks the final authority of XII 123 and the first of those in XII 124, Constantine (*Grad.* 375-376, Parker lib. 466 p.59) and Avicenna (*Canon* II ii 319). It has the two authorities from Pliny in their extended forms (*Nat. hist.* 12.126, 24.21-22). L's 76 lines are thus reduced to 48.

In XII 125 'De lasere' it is Pliny who is missing in E (*Nat. hist.* 22.101-106), leaving Dioscorides (Alph. 345) as the sole authority. L's 58½ lines are thus reduced to 39.

The second chapter *de opio* (XII 131) is missing in E, with its authorities from Avicenna (*Canon* II ii 525) and Pliny (20.203), but XII 130 is intact with quotations from Platearius (O 3, inherited from N2 VI 88), Dioscorides (Alph. 483), and Constantine (*Grad.* 384-385, inherited from N2). L's 70 lines are reduced to 37½.

Abstract

MS 15 of Exeter College, Oxford, is a not quite complete copy of the *Speculum naturale* from the tripartite version of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum*. The bulk of it was written by two scribes working in tandem; when they had finished, another scribe, using a different exemplar, supplied books XVI and XXXI and the last five chapters of XXIV. The exemplar used by the main scribes had an unusually primitive text, retaining some features from the bipartite *Speculum*, notably its treatment of winged insects as birds, but it also attests a partial attempt to reduce the size of the work by abridgement and excision. Its text of books XIII-XV aligns it with the version found in the printed editions rather than the one generally found in the manuscripts, which has more chapters. The latter represents Vincent's final arrangement of the *Speculum naturale*; the Exeter College manuscript sheds valuable light on its earlier evolution. The printed editions also contain some primitive elements, as well as showing signs of editorial 'improvement' of the manuscript text.

HUNTING DOGS? DOMINICAN MISSION TO THE JEWS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES*

BY
ELIAS H. FÜLLENBACH OP

An illustration of hunting a hare can be found in a Spanish Passover Haggadah dating from the fourteenth century and currently held by the Rylands Library in Manchester: a hare is being chased by a black-and-white hound; the dog has already bitten the hare in the leg and blood is streaming out¹. Presumably this is a cautious allusion to the contemporary activities of the *domini canes*, the ‘dogs of the Lord’ or Dominicans in the black-and-white habit of their Order, as missionaries among the Jews². This image could suggest that the Dominican Order was perceived by the Jews as a threat, and sometimes even as a serious danger.

The Order of Preachers (*Ordo fratrum praedicatorum*), approved in 1216 by Pope Honorius III, was from the start concerned with the conversion of heretics. In the years before that, Dominic himself had already preached against the Cathars in the south of France, and in 1217 Honorius commissioned the young order to spread ‘the word of God’ among the ‘enemies of the faith’³.

* Lecture at the German Historical Institute London, 7th March, 2014.

¹ See the University of Manchester Library, John Rylands Library, *Hebr MS 6*, fol. 29v. For the manuscript, see R. LOEWE (comp.), *The Rylands Haggadah. A Medieval Sephardic Masterpiece in Facsimile. An Illuminated Passover Compendium from Mid-14th-Century Catalonia in the Collections of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester with a Commentary and a Cycle of Poems*, London 1988.

² See U. SCHUBERT - K. SCHUBERT, *Pesach Haggadot*, in *Spharadim – Spaniolien. Die Juden in Spanien - die sephardische Diaspora*, ed. F. HEIMANN-JELINEK - K. SCHUBERT (Studia Judaica Austriaca, 13), Eisenstadt 1992, pp. 97-106, at p. 102. According to M. M. EPSTEIN, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature*, University Park, Pa., 1997, p. 27, in the Jewish perception the hare was transformed ‘from an emblem of infamy to a superlative metaphor for Jewish selfdefinition’. See also K. KOGMAN-APPEL, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain. Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday*, University Park, Pa., 2006, p. 149.

³ Bull *Gratiarum omnium* (21 Jan. 1217), quoted according to *Monumenta Diplomatica S. Dominici*, ed. V. J. KOUDELKA (Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum

fifteenth century, which takes us into another era that will not be discussed here any further.

In conclusion, I shall discuss a last example that shows that the Dominican proselytizers could sometimes even rethink their negative image of the Jews. I refer to *frater* Riccoldus de Monte Crucis OP (1243-1320), who long worked as a missionary in the Middle East. After returning to his home priory in Florence, he produced some polemical writings on Islam and on the Jews. He repeatedly reported about the two religions in positive terms, writing of the Jews that while they rejected the divinity of Christ as the Son of God, they regarded Jesus as exemplary in all respects; Riccoldus also wrote that they called Jesus a *homo sanctissimus*⁵⁶. He similarly emphasized the Muslims' devotion to prayer and strict adherence to their own customs, and praised their hospitality, which he had experienced personally in his travels as a missionary⁵⁷.

This brings us back to the depiction of the hunting of the hare in the Rylands Haggadah. It was also possible from time to time for the hound and the hare to lie down peacefully together. The fact that this vision, which recalls Isaiah 65⁵⁸, did not reflect what went on as a rule, and that the early *domini canes* were mostly avid hunters of hares if anything, as the illustration shows, has likewise become clear.

Abstract

The image of a black and white dog hunting and biting a hare, which is depicted in a Spanish Passover Haggadah of the 14th century (currently in the Rylands Library in Manchester), can be seen as an illustration of the Dominican mission regarding the Jews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It started in England, where the friars first settled in Oxford in a Jewish neighborhood. The Dominican efforts were in support of royal policy in England and contributed to anti-Judaism and anti-Jewish stereotypes. The English kings and the popes had charged all mendicant orders with preaching to the

⁵⁶ Cf. B. ROBERG, *Riccoldus de Monte Crucis. Konzepte und Erfahrungen der Mission unter Juden*, in *Dominikaner und Juden / Dominicans and Jews*, pp. 65-86, at p. 85.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*

⁵⁸ In the new heaven and the new earth of the prophet's vision all animals and men are living in peaceful harmony.

Jews. There was a wide range of positions towards the Jewish religion in the Dominican order alone, ranging from harsh to moderate ones. The same is true about the Dominican views towards post-Biblical Jewish writings. Special Hebrew studies were set up in the Order. Despite the Dominican efforts there were not many Jewish conversions.

OMNIBUS FUIT IPSE DILECTUS. DAS BILD DES HEILIGEN
DOMINIKUS UND DAS KETZERPROBLEM IN DER FRÜHEN
GESCHICHTE DES DOMINIKANERORDENS

VON
JÖRG OBERSTE

Das hier gestellte Thema ist ein großes Thema, in welchem sich weite Teile der dominikanischen Frühgeschichte spiegeln ließen¹. Daher konzentriert sich dieser kleine Beitrag auf die Frage, welche unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen und Einstellungen innerhalb und im näheren Umfeld des Ordens hinsichtlich des Themas Ketzerei aufeinander geprallt sind. Es wird insbesondere um die Frage gehen, wie vor allem die Dominikuslegenden des 13. Jahrhunderts, aber auch päpstliche und bischöfliche Urkunden oder historiographische Zeugnisse um den richtigen Weg zwischen Bekehrungspredigt, gewaltsamer Repression und inquisitorischem Verfahren ringen und wie das Bild des Ordensstifters in dieses Ringen einbezogen und in ihm verändert wurde. Das im Titel verwendete Zitat heißt vollständig in der maßgeblichen Göttinger Handschrift der Legende des Petrus Ferrandi (vor 1242): Der heilige Dominikus sei allen Häretikern im Geiste der Liebe begegnet, und weil er alle liebe, sei er von allen geliebt worden².

¹ Ich verweise nur auf die noch immer wertvolle Dominikus-Biographie von Père M.-H. VICAIRE, *Histoire de Saint Dominique*, vol. 1-2, Paris 1957 (ND 1982), auf den Band *Le credo, la morale et l'inquisition en Languedoc au XIII^e siècle*, in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 6 (1971) und S. TUGWELL, *Notes on the life of St. Dominic*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 65 (1995), S. 5-169; 66 (1996), S. 5-200; 67 (1997), S. 27-59; 28 (1998), S. 5-116; 73 (2003), S. 1-141. Es handelt sich hier um die erweiterte Fassung eines Vortrags, den ich am 18. Juni 2016 auf dem Regensburger Symposium „Mehr als Schwarz und Weiß. 800 Jahre Dominikanerorden“ der Katholischen Akademie Bayern gehalten habe.

² *Legenda sancti Dominici auctore Petro Ferrandi*, in *Monumenta historica Sancti Patris nostri Dominici*, ed. M.-H. LAURENT (Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum historica, 16), Romae 1935, S. 197-260, hier Nr. 45: *Omnnes hereticos largo sinu caritatis excepit et cum omnes diligeret, omnibus fuit ipse dilectus*. Vgl. auch die Neuedition: *Petri Ferrandi Legenda Sancti Dominici*, ed. S. TUGWELL (Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum historica, 32), Romae 2015.

der frommen Prediger in ihrer sozialen Umgebung nachhaltig ruinierten. Die Hagiographen der früheren Zeit wie Jordan von Sachsen, Petrus Ferrandi, Konstantin von Orvieto, Gerardus de Fracheto, Humbert de Romanis oder die weitverbreitete Dominikus-Legende in der „Legenda aurea“ des Jacobus de Voragine (um 1264) bemühten sich deswegen aktiv darum, ihren Ordensgründer als Gegner inquisitorischer Härte und als Bürgen für eine friedliche und wirkungsvolle Bekehrungspredigt zu inszenieren.

Abstract

Early Dominican hagiography reveals serious contradictions on the question how the founder of the Order dealt with the problem of heresy. Taking into account the eminent and expanding role of the Dominican Order in papal concepts against heterodox movements in the 13th century, this question focusses a crucial point in the memory of Saint Dominic. The earliest of the texts in question, the *Libellus* of Jordan of Sachsen and the testimonies of the brethren in the canonization process in 1233 and 1234, are contemporaneous to the very first steps of the Order into the inquisitorial procedure. Most of the early legends date to the 1240s, such as Ferrandi, Constantine of Orvieto and Humbert of Romans, when the Order was confronted seriously with the problems and dangers resulting from the inquisitorial office. Quite soon inquisitors themselves contributed to the legends and miracles of the founder. In view of the above the texts in discussion draw several images of Saint-Dominic: the humble preacher, who is convincing heretics by his love and exemplary life, the savant scholar who is convincing by his words, the strict persecutor of heretics or even the first inquisitor of the order. This paper discusses the historical backgrounds and the narrative strategies in this conflict on the memory of Saint-Dominic.

DIE BEDEUTUNG VON KLOSTERBIBLIOTHEKEN
ALS ÜBERLIEFERUNGSTRÄGER FRÜHNEUZEITLICHER
PRIVATBIBLIOTHEKEN. EIN BEISPIEL AUS DER
BIBLIOTHEK DES WIENER DOMINIKANERKONVENTS¹

VON
SONJA REISNER

Der Bibliothek des Wiener Dominikanerkonvents kommt in doppelter Hinsicht eine historische Sonderstellung zu: Erstens wurde das Kloster seit seiner Gründung durch Herzog Leopold VI. um 1225/26 nie aufgelöst oder abgesiedelt, wodurch auch seine Bibliothek eine Kontinuität besitzt, die bis ins frühe 13. Jahrhundert zurückreicht. Dieses außergewöhnliche Schicksal teilt die Wiener Niederlassung der Dominikaner innerhalb des Predigerordens weltweit nur mit den Konventen in Krakau und Dubrovnik. Zweitens ist diese Bibliothek nach der des Wiener Schottenstifts, deren Anfänge im frühen 12. Jahrhundert liegen, die zweitälteste Bibliothek Wiens².

In einer Hinsicht kann jedoch der Buchbesitz der Wiener Dominikaner geradezu als paradigmatisch für solche Klosterbibliotheken gelten, die historisch gewachsene Bestände ihr Eigen nennen, nämlich in seiner Bedeutung als Überlieferungsträger

¹ Dieser Artikel basiert auf den Ergebnissen meiner 2015 approbierten Master Thesis, die ich im Rahmen des Universitätslehrganges „Library and Information Studies“ an der Universität Wien zum Thema *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Roland. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung frühneuzeitlicher Privatbibliotheken* verfasst habe. Eine Publikation der gesamten Thesis ist für 2018 im Rahmen der Reihe „Singularia Vindobonensia“ (herausgegeben von C. GASTGEBER und E. KLECKER) geplant. Mein besonderer Dank gilt dem leider mittlerweile verstorbenen P. Prof. Dr. Isnard Frank OP, der mir in seiner Funktion als *pater bibliothecarius* Zugang zu den gesamten Beständen der Konventsbibliothek gewährte. Ebenso danke ich seinem Nachfolger P. Dr. Viliam Štefan Dóci OP, der mir die notwendigen Recherchen im Konventsarchiv ermöglichte und stets ein offenes Ohr für meine Fragen hatte.

² B. M. BUCHMANN, *Bibliotheken in Wien*, in *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Österreich. Bd. 1: Wien. Teil 1*, hg. von der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek unter der Leitung von H. W. LANG, Hildesheim - Zürich - New York 1994, S. 21-33, dort S. 21.

Schriften, die in der Regel Teil einer typischen protestantischen Hausbibliothek waren, bestehen berechnete Gründe zur Annahme, dass Johannes Rolands ursprüngliche Büchersammlung etwas größer war, als sie sich heute darstellt.

Die Erhaltung von frühneuzeitlichen Privatbibliotheken wie der vorliegenden wäre ohne öffentliche oder kirchliche Institutionen wie Stadt- und Universitätsbibliotheken oder eben Klosterbibliotheken nicht denkbar. Auf diese Weise wurde der für viele Jahrhunderte maßgebliche Bibliothekstyp der Klosterbibliothek, der in der Frühen Neuzeit seine bis dahin unbestrittene Führungsposition an die von Humanisten, Gelehrten und „einfachen“ Akademikern wie Johannes Roland angelegten Büchersammlungen verloren hatte, letztlich wieder zum Hort der Bewahrung und Erhaltung dieses in seinem Quellenwert einzigartigen kulturellen Erbes, eines Schatzes, der derzeit noch in großen Teilen unentdeckt darauf wartet, gehoben und erforscht zu werden.

Abstract

The present article is based on the research results of my master thesis, written in 2015, about a private library owned by an early-modern physician, which has been preserved in the library of the Viennese Dominicans. It aims primarily to show how important monastic libraries are to the preservation and exploration of private libraries dating back to the 16th-18th century. The original owner of the library in question was a certain Johannes Roland, who lived from the turn of the 16th century to the 17th century, a time marked by significant historical, political, social, scientific and religious changes, which are reflected in his book collection. He was born in Schweidnitz in Silesia at about 1564 and grew up in a predominantly Protestant region, studied medicine in Vienna, Padua and in several other Italian cities and finally graduated from the University of Padua as doctor of medicine in 1591. In the same year he started working as a so-called *Viertelmedicus* for the estates of Lower Austria – first in Mistelbach, and from 1596 onwards, in Wiener Neustadt, where he died in 1618. Especially due to Roland's handwritten *exlibris* inscriptions it was possible to identify his books within the library of the Viennese Dominicans as an originally coherent *corpus* and to reunite them. The analysis of handwritten *exlibris* inscriptions of further owners showed that the books in question were first transferred to Adam Olitorius (c. 1586-1637), who had married

Roland's daughter Catharina in 1613 and who, too, was a physician, and afterwards to Olitorius' sons Johann Wilhelm (born in 1631) und Georg Albert (1632-1700). These were neither Roland's own grandchildren nor physicians: They were sons of Adam Olitorius and his second wife Anna Maria (née Sidenitschin von Seydenberg) and both had embarked on clerical careers. Georg Albert joined the monastery of Klosterneuburg in 1648, and his elder brother became a novice of the Viennese Dominicans in 1656. Johann Wilhelm (monastic name: *Dominicus*) was the one who brought the 168 volumes (containing 304 bibliographic entities) originally belonging to his "step-grandfather" to their current repository. Private book collections like Johannes Roland's form an important part of our cultural heritage and are unique sources for the lives, convictions and personal networks of their former owners. But they would not have been preserved without institutions such as the Viennese convent of the Dominicans that looks back onto a continuous history since the 13th century.

PER L'EPISTOLARIO DI OSANNA ANDREASI:
UN'INEDITA LETTERA DI FINE QUATTROCENTO

DI
GIUSEPPE GARDONI

L'epistolario di Osanna Andreasi – ben nota 'santa viva' mantovana del Terz'ordine domenicano morta nel 1505¹ – risulta essere composto, per quanto è noto stando all'edizione fattane già un secolo fa², dalle 43 lettere, di cui non possediamo gli originali, che inviò al suo discepolo prediletto, Girolamo Scolari (1459-1524)³,

¹ Oltre al fondamentale contributo dato da G. ZARRI, *Le sante vive. Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500*, Torino, Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990, pp. 62-71, si vedano *Osanna Andreasi da Mantova 1449-1505. La santità nel quotidiano*, a cura di R. SIGNORINI - R. GOLINELLI BERTO, Mantova, Casandreasi, 2005; *Osanna Andreasi da Mantova 1449-1505. L'immagine di una mistica del rinascimento*, a cura di R. CASARIN, Mantova, Casandreasi, 2005; *Osanna Andreasi da Mantova 1449-1505. Tertii praedicatorum ordinis diva*, a cura di G. ZARRI - R. GOLINELLI BERTO, Mantova, Casandreasi, 2006; *La beata Osanna e i Domenicani a Mantova. In memoria di Nicola Fiasconaro*, a cura di A. GHIRARDI - R. GOLINELLI BERTO, Mantova, Casandreasi, 2011; *In gloria 1515-2015. Osanna Andreasi da Mantova*, a cura di A. GHIRARDI - R. GOLINELLI BERTO, Mantova, Casandreasi, 2016.

² G. BAGOLINI - L. FERRETTI, *La Beata Osanna Andreasi da Mantova Terziaria Domenicana 1449-1505*, Firenze, Tipografia domenicana, 1905: le lettere sono pubblicate in appendice alle pp. III-XCIX.

³ Per quanto attiene allo Scolari, biografo di Osanna (*Vita et porta paradisi: ac omnium virtutum*, Mantova, Leonardo Bruschi, 1507; *Libretto della vita e transito de la Beata Osanna da Mantua novamente corretto e con una nuova aggiunta*, Bologna, Eredi di Benedetto Ettore Faelli, 1524), si vedano le scarse informazioni biografiche reperibili in BAGOLINI - FERRETTI, *La Beata Osanna*, pp. 92-98, 142-152; G. FESTA, *Le «lettere spirituali» a Girolamo Scolari: lo stilema della modernità*, in *Osanna Andreasi 1449-1505. Tertii praedicatorum ordinis diva*, pp. 69-87. Le lettere allo Scolari sono state ristampate in *Osanna Andreasi da Mantova 1449-1505. La santa dei Gonzaga. Lettere e colloqui spirituali*, a cura di G. FESTA e A. RONCELLI, Mantova, Casandreasi – Bologna, Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2007, pp. 135-192, cui seguono alle pp. 193-292 i *Colloqui spirituali*; di questo stesso volume si vedano poi in particolare A. RONCELLI, *Fonti e leggende della beata Osanna Andreasi da Mantova*, pp. 75-87 e G. FESTA, *Scrivere in assenza: le lettere a Girolamo Scolari*, pp. 89-110. Dello Scolari sono sopraggiunte numerose lettere inviate ai Gonzaga di cui mi sto occupando in uno specifico contributo in fase di redazione.

APPENDICE

<1495> marzo 10

Lettera di Osanna Andreasi a <Francesco Gonzaga>

Archivio di Stato di Mantova, *Archivio Gonzaga*, b. 2447, n. 398; sul verso, di mano coeva, diversa però da quella che ha steso il testo della lettera: «Al mio ill(ustrissi)mo signor el signor marchese de Mantua».

La lettera, priva dell'indicazione del millesimo, è stata collocata dagli archivisti in un fascicoletto di lettere (aventi tutte come mittenti delle religiose) datate 1495. Nel testo compare solo l'indicazione del giorno («die 10»), seguito da quella del mese (marzo), indicazione che peraltro si ha il dubbio che sia stata aggiunta da altra mano sia pur coeva. Una annotazione archivistica sul *recto*, di età moderna, probabilmente settecentesca, data la lettera: «1495 10 Marzo». Una ulteriore annotazione archivistica anteriore, forse del '500, la data: «1495 die XIII marcii». Tali elementi suggeriscono sia verosimile la riconduzione del documento a quell'anno.

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo signor mio, la pace del bon Jesu semper sia cum vostra signoria et cetera. Ho inteso che la excellentia vostra ha fatto mutatione de soy officiali, como è debita et honesta cosa, e per questo vene a rema<ne>re casso mio fratello vicario a Castelugio, il quale signor mio car<o> prego per amor de Idio e mio lui sia raccomandato ala excellentia vostra. O quanto ben anno receputo la casa nostra dala signoria vostra, prego al presente non ne volia abandonar, como ho speranza, ho relasare lii ov(ver)o darli uno altro bono como me promise la signoria vostra quando per gratia sua ie dete questo. Prego e de singular gratia dimando a quella non sia mosso de quello loco vada a uno altro officio, non altro per ora, se non semper son obligata a pregar Idio per la signoria vostra et cossi me semper ala gratia sua me raccomando. Die 10 marzii.

Sor Osanna deli Andriasii indigna serva di servi de Jesu Christo e de v. s. cum humile racomanda(t)ione.

Abstract

This article contributes to study the letters of Osanna Andreasi, who was consecrated during her life and died on 18th July 1505 in Mantova. She was close to the Gonzaga's family, with

whom she shared a great correspondence and interests. Most of the letters (published in the first half of the 20th century) were sent from Osanna to Francesco Gonzaga, who was helped by his wife Isabella d'Este in the spread his religion. The letter published in this article was also sent to Francesco and it was written at the end of the 15th century, probably in 1495. In this case Osanna wrote to the marquis and recommended her brother Antonio for an administrative office.

LOS RECTORES DEL COLEGIO DE SANTO DOMINGO
Y SAN JORGE DE TORTOSA (1534-1803)*

POR

RAFAEL RAMIS-BARCELÓ - PEDRO RAMIS-SERRA

En las páginas siguientes se presenta la transcripción de la “Nomina Rectorum” del Colegio de Santo Domingo y San Jorge, que junto con el de San Jaime (Santiago) y San Matías, fueron conocidos bajo el nombre de los Reales Colegios de la ciudad de Tortosa, ambos regidos por los dominicos hasta el siglo XIX. El Colegio de Santo Domingo y San Jorge fue el germen del Estudio General que la Orden de Predicadores tuvo en esta ciudad ribeña del Ebro, que llegó a ser, con el tiempo, una de las Universidades más prestigiosas que los hijos de Santo Domingo tuvieron no sólo en el Principado de Cataluña, sino también en la Península Ibérica.

Esta “Nomina Rectorum” procede de un manuscrito custodiado en la Biblioteca de Catalunya¹, salvado de la más que probable destrucción durante la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939), gracias al empeño de Jordi Rubió. Junto a la nómina de los Rectores se registraron en dicho libro numerosos grados y otras noticias de interés, que intentaremos precisar en trabajos sucesivos. Asimismo, se han conservado otros manuscritos de carácter económico e incluso alguno con carácter histórico, que ayudan a perfilar mejor

* Las abreviaturas que utilizaremos son las siguientes:

ACA = Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona.

ACBE = Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Ebre, Tortosa.

AHN = Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

AGS = Archivo General de Simancas.

BC = Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona.

¹ BC, Ms. 3918, *Libro de la Universidad del Colegio de Santo Domingo y San Jorge de la ciudad de Tortosa erigida por los sumos pontífices Sixto Quarto, Paulo Tercero y Clemente Octavo de buena memoria y nuevamente autorizada con la autoridad y Privilegio de Universidad Real por ... Philippe Quarto... a veinte y siete de agosto del año 1645.*

[f. 99v]

A 10 de Mayo 1677 vino asignado a este Collegio el hermano fray Joan Vidal hijo del Convento de Ontiñente.

A 6 de Diciembre 1677 vino a este Colegio el Ermano fray Luis Terol hijo del Convento de Ontiñente.

A 1 de Julio de 82 vino a este Colegio el hermano fray Juan Lorente de la Obediencia hijo de [Convento de] Predicadores de Gotor, de Aragon.

A 9 de setiembre de 83 vino a este Collegio el hermano fray Fulgencio Zuñiga de la Obediencia hijo del Convento de Zaragoza.

A 12 de Noviembre 1690 vino a este Colegio con assignacion fray Francisco Gormedino de la Obediencia hijo del Convento de san Pedro Martyr de Calatayud.

A 18 de Mayo 1691 vino a este Collegio fray Joseph Marió de la Obediencia hijo de Vique.

A [-] de [-] 1692 vino a este Colegio fray Fulgencio Zúñiga de la Obediencia hijo de [el Convento de] Predicadores de Zaragoza.

A de 20 Junio de 1702 vino asignado a este Collegio fray Domingo Sabater y Bernusell y se fue a su Convento de san Francisco de Tortosa en 20 de Diciembre de 1703.

A 2 de Abril de 1703 vino asignado a este Colegio el hermano fray Fulgencio Zuñiga. Segunda vez.

A 20 de Diciembre de 1703. Vino asignado a este Colegio el Hermano fray Joseph Lacambra hijo del Convento de Predicadores de Zaragoza.

Abstract

This paper presents the “Nomina Rectorum” of the College of Santo Domingo and San Jorge of Tortosa. This is a contribution to the educational history of the Dominicans in the Crown of Aragon, because this College was, in germ, the University of Tortosa, developed by the Order of Preachers, which was in operation from 1600 to 1715. The knowledge of the “Nomina Rectorum” is also a contribution to the intellectual and university history during the modern era.

LOS GRADOS EN TEOLOGÍA TOMISTA EN LA UNIVERSIDAD LULIANA Y LITERARIA DE MALLORCA (1692-1820)*

POR

ALBERT CASSANYES-ROIG - RAFAEL RAMIS-BARCELÓ

En las páginas siguientes se presenta la nómina de graduados en Teología tomista en la Universidad Luliana y Literaria de Mallorca. Abarca unos ciento treinta años: desde el comienzo de las colaciones de grados en Teología de dicha Universidad hasta 1820, el inicio del denominado «Trienio Liberal». El conjunto de estos graduados, pese a lo que pudiera parecer, no comprende tanto a los religiosos dominicos, cuanto a clero regular y secular (especialmente este último). De hecho, lo normal era que los dominicos sólo recibiesen el grado cuando pasaban a leer una cátedra universitaria. Por ello, la lista de graduados no sólo interesa para la historia de la Orden de Predicadores, sino también para conocer su influencia ideológica en la historia eclesíastica de Mallorca y, especialmente, para el conocimiento más amplio del clero del siglo XVIII en la isla.

1. *Introducción*

La presencia de los hijos de Santo Domingo en Palma empezó, como es sabido¹, con la Conquista de Mallorca. Miquel de Fabra y Berenguer de Castellbisbal llegaron hacia 1230 e iniciaron la docen-

* Las abreviaturas que utilizaremos son las siguientes:

ACM = Archivo Capitular de Mallorca.

ADM = Archivo Diocesano de Mallorca.

AHUIB = Archivo Histórico de la Universitat de les Illes Balears.

ARM = Archivo del Reino de Mallorca.

BPM = Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Palma de Mallorca.

BSFN = Biblioteca del Convento de San Felipe Neri de Palma de Mallorca.

¹ Este es un hecho muy recalcado en la historiografía dominicana. Véase F. DIAGO, *Historia de la provincia de Aragón de la Orden de Predicadores ...*, Barcelona, impressa por Sebastian de Cormellas en sancta Catherina martyr de Barcelona, a costa de la Prouincia, 1599, p. 11.

Rullan i Rubert, Antonio José	Bachiller	5/8/1816	6/8/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	9/8/1816	11/8/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Sampol, Sebastián	Bachiller	14/6/1816	15/6/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	19/6/1816	25/6/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Sans i Vicens, Salvador	Bachiller	17/6/1816	18/6/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	22/6/1816	25/6/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Curso 1816/1817				
<i>Nombre</i>	<i>Grado</i>	<i>Fecha examen</i>	<i>Conferido</i>	<i>Documento</i>
Abraham, Antonio	Bachiller?		14/6/1817	Leg.38
Cerdó i Llopart, Pedro Juan	Bachiller	28/11/1816	29/11/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	2/12/1816	4/12/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Ferragut i March, Jaime	Bachiller	24/4/1817	25/4/1817	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	28/4/1817	1/5/1817	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Guasp i Mut, Antonio	Bachiller	17/7/1817	18/7/1817	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	6/8/1817	10/8/1817	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Riutort i Sard, Miguel	Bachiller	11/11/1816	12/11/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	15/11/1816	17/11/1816	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Curso 1818/1819				
<i>Nombre</i>	<i>Grado</i>	<i>Fecha examen</i>	<i>Conferido</i>	<i>Documento</i>
Aloy, Miguel	Bachiller?	15/9/1819	16/9/1819	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor?	22/9/1819	27/9/1819	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Oliver, Joaquín	Bachiller?	9/7/1819	10/7/1819	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor?	15/7/1819	17/7/1819	Leg.38 / Leg.38
Curso 1819/1820				
<i>Nombre</i>	<i>Grado</i>	<i>Fecha examen</i>	<i>Conferido</i>	<i>Documento</i>
Salom, Bernardo	Bachiller	10/12/1819	11/12/1819	Leg.38 / Leg.38
	Doctor	18/12/1819	19/12/1819	Leg.38 / Leg.38

Abstract

This article presents the list of graduates in Thomist theology at the Lulian and Literary University of Mallorca. It covers about one hundred and thirty years since the beginning of the collations of degrees in Theology at the University until 1820, the beginning of the so-called "Liberal Triennium". This paper shows the importance of the theology of St. Thomas as a scholastic specialty, in a context of ideological confrontation with Lullism.

DES DOMINICAINS FRANÇAIS EN AMÉRIQUE DU SUD (1850-1914):
MISSIONS EN AMÉRIQUE HISPANIQUE ET
FONDATION BRÉSILIENNE

PAR
AUGUSTIN LAFFAY OP

Dès le XIII^e siècle, les Prêcheurs se sont voulu missionnaires. Pour William A. Hinnebusch, «Les missions dominicaines ont surgi spontanément du sein de l'Ordre et ont été vivifiées par l'esprit du fondateur. [Dominique] qui avait soif d'aller convertir les Cumans à l'est, les Maures dans son Espagne, et les païens au nord, transmit cette flamme à ses fils.»¹ À l'époque contemporaine, dans l'Ordre renouvelé en France par Henri-Dominique Lacordaire, la question des missions *ad extra* se posa de nouveau.

La mission dominicaine ouverte par la province dominicaine de Toulouse au Brésil dans les années 1880 a récemment donné lieu à une double analyse historique: Bernard Montagnes en a étudié la genèse² et Claire Pic s'est attachée aux mutations substantielles qui ont fait passer en soixante-dix ans les dominicains français puis brésiliens d'une mission *ad gentes* en Amazonie à un apostolat intellectuel concentré dans les centres urbains³. Il m'a semblé utile de compléter ces travaux en resituant cette mission dans le mouvement qui a conduit de nombreux dominicains français à se tourner vers

¹ W. A. HINNEBUSCH, *Brève histoire de l'Ordre dominicain* présentée, traduite et complétée par G. BEDOUELLE (Petit Cerf Histoire), Paris Éd. du Cerf, 1990, p. 81.

² B. MONTAGNES, *Une mission pour le Province de Toulouse. Les projets apostoliques du père Cormier*, in H. DONNEAUD - A. LAFFAY - B. MONTAGNES, *La Province dominicaine de Toulouse (XIX^e-XX^e siècles). Une histoire intellectuelle et spirituelle*, préface d'É. Fouilloux; postface de F. Bouthillon (Signes des Temps), Paris, Karthala, 2015, pp. 85-97.

³ C. PIC, *Les Dominicains de Toulouse au Brésil (1881-1952). De la mission à l'apostolat intellectuel*, thèse pour le doctorat en histoire de l'Université de Toulouse préparée sous la direction de Richard Marin et soutenue le 12 septembre 2014, Université Toulouse 2 Le Mirail, pp. 338.

mise en scène soigneuse dans une période de crise politico-religieuse en France. En s'y prêtant et en acceptant que la France soit glorifiée à travers leur geste, les religieux de la province de Toulouse confirmèrent le mot de Léon Gambetta selon lequel «l'anticléricalisme n'est pas un article d'exportation».

Cette première analyse, globale mais sommaire, concernant la présence des dominicains français en Amérique du Sud de 1850 à 1914 appelle de nouvelles études. L'importance de l'élément féminin a été mentionnée, mais pas approfondie. Les relations entre les dominicains français et les dominicains américains nécessitent par ailleurs des recherches dans les fonds provinciaux⁶¹. Une étude comparative permettrait d'étudier les éléments de rivalité et de stimulation entre des hommes de cultures religieuses et dominicaines différentes. La concurrence entre dominicains français et dominicains italiens (en Argentine, en Équateur) ou irlandais (à Trinidad) pourrait également être mesurée. Enfin, il conviendrait de mettre à jour continuités et ruptures de ces missions du XIX^e siècle avec le grand mouvement d'intérêt des catholiques européens pour l'Amérique latine après la Deuxième guerre mondiale.

Abstract

The project of restoring and reforming Dominican Life, conceived in France by Henri-Dominique Lacordaire during the 19th Century, responded principally to the problematic issue of the French Revolution of 1789. The perspective of the French Dominicans was thus generally contained within the borders of the country. However, the generations which followed opened themselves up to the New World. Between 1850 and 1914, 157 religious from the three French Dominican provinces and from the Teaching Congregation established themselves, more or less stably, in South America. In these circumstances, they worked to both support the existing local provinces as well as to create new apostolic structures. The Province of Toulouse distinguished itself in founding, without great means, an audacious mission *ad gentes* to the natives in the Brazilian Amazon. Such contacts with distant peoples prepared the French Dominicans to establish new modes of relation with non-European nations.

⁶¹ Une amorce de réflexion existe dans le livre d'A. ROZE, *Les Dominicains en Amérique*, Paris, 1878.

SANCTIFYING LIBERALISM: THE CANADIAN
DOMINICAN PROVINCE 1873-1960

BY
DARREN J. DIAS OP

The year 2017 marks two anniversaries: the 800th anniversary of the confirmation of the Order of Preachers by Pope Honorius III and the 150th anniversary of Canadian confederation¹, thus, it seems fitting to explore the foundations of the Canadian Dominican province. Specifically, this article explores how a particular strain of “liberalism” inherited from the founding French Dominicans was inculcated into the fledgling Canadian province and developed in its new and unique context². The Canadian Dominican province developed in French-speaking, Roman Catholic contexts where Catholicism enjoyed an unofficial established position, yet surrounded by a vast English-speaking, Protestantism majority. While significantly influenced by contemporary French social-theological movements, the liberalism that developed in the Canadian Dominican province was unlike forms of indifferentism and Gallicanism suspected in France³ or the Americanism of the United States of America. In France the church had long enjoyed privileged national

¹ On July 1, 1867 several British North American colonies were united into a federal entity. The new Dominion of Canada was constituted by four provinces: Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

² I am indebted to Jean-Jacques Robillard, O.P., who brought to my attention the importance of liberalism in shaping the foundation of the Canadian Dominican province in a succinct article, J.-J. ROBILLARD, *Désirés et craints: le défi des premiers Dominicains français au Canada*, Conference given on the occasion of the centenary of the Canadian Dominican Province, St-Hyacinthe (Quebec) 2011. Available at: <http://www.dominicains.ca/PDF/ROBILLARD.pdf> (accessed June 8, 2016).

³ See, P. BERNARDI, SJ, *Social modernism: the case of the Semaines sociales*, in *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*, ed. by D. JODOCK, Cambridge 2000, pp. 277-307. See also M. D'AMBROSIO, *Ressourcement Theology, Aggiornamento, and the Hermeneutics of Tradition*, in *Communio*, 18 (1991), pp. 530-555.

theological anthropology articulated by Henri-Dominique Lacordaire. The second episode, the non-confessionality crisis, illustrates how this affirmed liberalism developed in its new, and often tumultuous, context. The next episode explores how the province sought to diffuse its collective and democratic vision of church and society through the work of the *Editions du Lévrier*. The last episode demonstrates the fruition of nearly a century of development in the project of St Albert the Great. These episodes illustrate the manner in which Lacordaire's liberalism found fertile ground in the Canadian Dominican province where it developed into a collective work of sanctification.

Abstract

This article traces the development of the phenomenon termed "liberalism" in the Canadian Dominican province from the establishment of the Dominican presence in the mid-19th century until the Second Vatican Council. It explores four episodes in the history of the province: the initial arrival of the French Dominicans, the non-confessionality crisis, the provincial publication house, and the construction of the St Albert the Great complex. Such an exploration not only highlights the development of the Canadian province but demonstrates nuances in how the term "liberalism" should be understood. A theological evaluation of the development of this particular strain of "liberalism" has implications for understanding the relationship between church, state and society and the work of sanctification.

GROWTH OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS IN
NORTH AMERICA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:
THE FIRST DOMINICAN FRIARS IN CANADA

BY
MICHAEL ATTRIDGE

Introduction

History has recorded well that the Order of Preachers first arrived in Canada from the France Province in 1873. They established themselves in St. Hyacinthe, Quebec and from there began their ministry of preaching¹. In 1885, the community opened a novitiate in St. Hyacinthe, which was later relocated 250 km away in Ottawa in 1900. In 1909, they opened a studium. Two years later, in 1911, the Canadian Province of St. Dominic was founded as an autonomous province, separate from France.

The first expansion of the community was into the United States, to Lewiston, Maine in 1881 and then into Fall River, Massachusetts in 1887. In Canada, they were slower to grow, but did so finally into Montreal in 1901; Quebec City in 1919; Sackville, New Brunswick in 1926; Prince Albert, Saskatchewan in 1929; and Sherbrooke, Quebec in 1939. This though was not the end of their expansion. In the years that followed, members of the community would assist in countries abroad. In 1931, they were called to minister to the diocese of Hakodate, Japan and in 1960 they would establish themselves in

¹ For an overview of the history of the St. Dominic of Canada (Canadian) Province, see: J-J. ROBILLARD, *Désirés et craints: le défi des premiers Dominicains français au Canada*, Conference given on the occasion of the centenary of the Canadian Dominican Province, St-Hyacinthe (Quebec), 2011. Available at: <http://www.dominicains.ca/PDF/Robillard.pdf> (accessed May 8, 2017). For a more complete history of the province, see: J. A. PLOURDE, ed., *Dominicains au Canada. La Fondation Canadienne à Saint-Hyacinthe (1830-1886)*, Vol. 1, Montréal, Les Éditions du Lévrier, 1973; and Id., *Dominicains au Canada, les cinq fondations avant l'autonomie (1881-1911)* Vol. 2, Montréal, Les Éditions du Lévrier, 1973.

western Canada. Pineseault was only in his early 50s in 1868. If he had stayed until his natural retirement, the See would perhaps have remained in Sandwich at least for another decade or so, before a successor moved it. The parish of London would have grown, other parishes would have been created, and the Order of Preachers might have been firmly rooted in the region. The work of the community was clearly successful given the number of vocations that were attracted in only seven years. As Anglophone Upper Canada, and the Catholic population of the dioceses north-east of London grew in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries – Hamilton, Kingston, and especially the populous diocese of Toronto – the likelihood of this missionary community expanding would have been very good, even to the point of forming a separate and distinct province in the Order. In this case, the province would have expanded to the territorial border of the French-Canadian province of Dominicans in Quebec and Ottawa that arrived in Canada in 1873 and grew accordingly.

All of this though is speculative. The fact is that this early community, that so greatly shaped the area around London between 1861 and 1868, left. Although their legacy has faded over the generations – the last of their vocations having died in 1950 – a remnant of their presence remains. And it is a mystery today for many citizens of London. In the region to the west of St. Peter's Cathedral Basilica, just outside of the heart of the city, there are vestiges of these early friars. There is there a well-known bridge, once for vehicular traffic and now for pedestrian traffic, called Blackfriars Bridge. There are also some businesses that have included the word "Blackfriar" in their names – restaurants, salons, etc. No doubt the businesses are reflecting the heritage of the area that was once traveled by the friars, unaware of the reason why the word "Blackfriar" even appears. Nevertheless, their presence does stand as a reminder of the community that was once there, both as a testament of the past and perhaps a beckoning for their future return.

Abstract

The commonly-known history of the first Dominican friars in Canada is that they came from the French Province in 1873. They established houses, opened a novitiate and a studium, and eventually became an autonomous province in 1911. In actuality though, this is not the history of the first Dominicans in Canada. Instead, this

should be considered the establishment of the first Dominican province in Canada. The history of the first friars in Canada goes back to 1861, twelve years before the arrival of the French. They came from the United States; they belonged to the still-somewhat-fragile Province of St. Joseph, and due to unfortunate circumstances left Canada after just six and a half years. Using secondary literature and also primary archival sources in London Ontario, Providence Rhode Island, and Rome, this paper will chronicle: the circumstances surrounding their arrival; their ministry to the local church; the relationship they had to the local bishop and laity; factors that led to their departure; and the lasting effect they've had in the region. It also contributes to a deeper understanding of the history of the Diocese of London Ontario as it struggled in the earliest decades of its settlement.

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