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The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century

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directed against the Jews. He also cites Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and David Kimchi.⁴¹

Finally, we should mention the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which consists of the charges made during the Dominican 'trial' in 1240 of the Talmud for advancing positions contrary to Christian doctrine. The *Extractiones* mainly single out Rashi from among Talmudic commentators for condemnation, and a great deal of him is quoted very exactly, obviously by someone working directly from the manuscripts.⁴²

There seems little question, then, that the Jewish commentaries were known to Christian Hebraists, either by direct consultation or at second hand through the contacts such men had with their Hebrew teachers. Nor can we doubt that the works of Rashi, Moses Kimchi and Levi ben Gerson — chief among the commentators included in all editions of the rabbinic Bibles — would have been of great interest to any Christian with a smattering of Hebrew. Yet we must concede that a missing link prevents a neat solution to the problem of our non-Biblical compass in the hand of God. We have not as yet found a Latin writer who specifically quotes the rabbinical interpretation of Proverbs offered in the present study. All that we can establish is a circumstantial case for Rashi, Moses Kimchi and Levi ben Gerson as the men who, however remotely, inspired the compass creation scenes based on the *Bible Moralisé* archetype.

Yet in the absence of any Christian source for our miniatures, a probable explanation is better than none at all.

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THE RITE FOR TAKING THE CROSS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY*

The liturgical ceremony for the taking of the crusading cross did not develop until well into the twelfth century. Texts which reveal how the cross was bestowed are relatively rare from the period 1095 to 1200.¹ It was not until the thirteenth century that pontificals commonly contained such a ceremony.² It

⁴¹ See André Berthier, 'Un maître orientaliste du XIII^e siècle: Raymond Martin O.P.,' *AFP* 6 (1936) 267-311, especially 309-310.

⁴² See H. Denifle O.P., ed. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris 1889) I 209-211. A manuscript of the *Extractiones*, Munich MS Lat. 26847, fol. 68 remarks of Thibaut de Sézanne, the probable compiler that 'quondam erat Judaeus.' A recent study of the *Extractiones* is that of Judah M. Rosenthal, 'The Talmud on Trial,' *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 47 (1956) 58-76, 145-169. In the second part of this article, Rosenthal prints the charges and the Hebrew passages quoted in them.

* I wish to thank Prof. J. A. Brundage for his helpful comments.

¹ Three twelfth-century English rites are published in J. A. Brundage, 'Cruce signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England,' *Traditio* 22 (1966) 289-310.

² Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge* [*Studi e Testi* 86-88; 99: Città del Vaticano 1938] contains the thirteenth-century Roman curial rite (2.418-20) and Gulielmus Durandus' Pontifical (3.541-45). These texts are analyzed by Brundage, 'Cruce signari,' 300-01. See also Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen in Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Frei-

is not clear why the rite for taking the cross took so long to develop, but two twelfth-century Italian pontificals from the Graz University library shed some light on how the liturgical ceremony evolved on the continent.

The rite for taking the cross grew out of the ceremony for bestowing the pilgrimage staff and scrip.³ Crusaders were considered pilgrims, and with the rise of the crusading movement, the pilgrimage rite became more elaborate.⁴ However, although the prayers used in the pilgrimage ceremonies which we have show a marked degree of affinity, the rite for taking the cross is very different in all the pontificals which are known.

In the Ely, Coventry, Roman Curial, Bari (see text below), and Durandus pontificals, the ceremony for the taking of the cross follows the same pattern: a short prayer is said to bless the cross, followed by a verse with which the cross is bestowed, and a series of prayers which closes the ceremony.⁵ The Lincoln Pontifical deviates slightly from this pattern.⁶ It has a short ceremony for blessing and bestowing the cross, which is followed by a mass for the crusaders with extensive special readings.

The Lambrecht Pontifical's ceremony — one of the two new texts presented below — is the most detailed that has yet come to light. It stipulates that the mass of the Holy Cross should be said before the ceremony. The rite for the taking of the cross is set out in some detail, and unlike the other pontificals, it would be possible to reconstruct with some accuracy the exact liturgical ceremony envisioned by the pontifical's author. The crusaders themselves are not merely passive actors in the ceremony, but participate by singing antiphons.

The complete texts of the Bari⁷ and Lambrecht⁸ pontificals are given below.

burg i/Br. 1909; repr. Graz 1960) 2.271-89, 302-7. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, Milwaukee, and London 1969) 120, reports from the inventories of V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris 1937), that twenty-seven pontifical manuscripts contain a rite for taking the cross. None of them, however, is from the twelfth century.

³ See the remarks of Brundage, 'Cruce signari' 291-95 and his *Medieval Canon Law* 118-121. This point is graphically illustrated by a pontifical from the monastery of St. Benedict in Wessobrunn. In the prayer which was said after the staff was given to the pilgrim [*Omnipotens sempiterna deus, humani generis reformator*; cf. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical* 2.544], a marginal gloss added to 'hos qui ad beatorum apostolorum tuorum et sancti Michaelis archangeli pergentes limina,' the addition 'uel ad sepulchrum domini pergentes.' This is an obvious adaptation of the pilgrimage rite for the crusade. The pontifical is contained in Clm 22039 fol. 206r-210r. It contains a long, detailed pilgrimage rite from the twelfth century.

⁴ Andrieu, *Le Pontifical* printed the twelfth-century Roman curial Pontifical's pilgrimage rite (1.265). See Brundage, 'Cruce signari' appendix I, tables I, II, III, V, VI for other twelfth-century rites.

⁵ Andrieu, *Le Pontifical* 2.418-20 (Roman curial), 3.541-45 (Durandus). The rites of the Ely and Coventry pontificals are printed in Brundage, 'Cruce signari' 303-07.

⁶ The rite of the Lincoln Pontifical is printed in Brundage, 'Cruce signari' 307-10.

⁷ The manuscript is dated by A. Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz* (Leipzig 1942) 124, to the second half of the twelfth century. I agree with his dating. Kern noted that the thirteenth-century additions on fols. 24r and 203r probably indicated a southern Italian provenance. Most likely, Kern hypothesized, Bari might have been the place of origin.

⁸ Kern, *Die Handschriften* 94. A later scribe bracketed the entire *ordo* for bestowing the

Both date from the last half of the twelfth century, but it is impossible to date them any more accurately.

A final word seems in order. The rites for taking the cross in the twelfth century, while having some affinities for pilgrimage rites, show hardly any relationships with one another. The Bari Pontifical's form is similar to Gulielmus Durandus' Pontifical, but all the prayers are different. The churchmen who composed these rites seem to have done so on an *ad hoc* basis, without having many established models on which to rely. Perhaps the crusade was not considered to be more than an ephemeral ecclesiastical institution, and the liturgical texts reflect this attitude.⁹

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THE BARI PONTIFICAL

Ms Graz Univer. 239 fol. 143^v-146^v

Officium pro illis qui uadunt Ierusalem. Qui habitat.¹ Beati immaculati.² Legem pone.³ Gloria patri. Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Ego dixi domine miserere. Sana animam meam.⁴ Mitte ei domine auxilium de sancto. Et de Sion.⁵ Nichil proficiet inimicus in eo. Et filius iniquitatis.⁶ Esto⁷ ei domine turris fortitudinis. A facie.⁸ Domine exaudi.⁹ Et clamor.¹⁰ Dominus uobiscum.

Domine deus pater omnipotens cuius sempiternae diuinitatis potentiam et immense maiestatis dominationem ubique credimus adesse presentem, respice quesumus ad deuotionem serui tui et in multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantis, atque ineffabilem tue pietatis gratiam humiliter postulantis, qui propter amorem nominis tui omnem impietatem et secularia desideria abnegans, ad locum ubi dominus noster Iesus Christus filius tuus secundum carnem ex uirgine nasci, mori, et resurgere atque in celum ascendere uoluit ire festinat. Iuxta prophetie uaticinium de eo dicentis, 'Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius,'¹¹ exaudi propitius preces eius et uota clementer inspira, et quia humana fragilitas nichil sine te potest dignum fructum penitentiae facere, tribue ei auxilium eumque uirtute custodiendo¹² protege et protegendo custodi, quatinus per uiam mandatorum tuorum iugiter gradiens a te uenie largitore et omnium honorum datore, peracto presentis uite cursu, suorum mercedem laborum recepturus feliciter ualeat. Per eundem.

Benedictio crucis

Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui in filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi obedientia et supplicio sanctae crucis hominem diabolica fraude deceptum redimere decreuisti, clementer respice

cross with a *uacat*. He included, however, not only the *ordo* for the cross, but, inadvertently, the rite *De aduentu fratrum* on fol. 84^v. Kern dated this manuscript in the twelfth century. The script is definitely Italian. Because of the unusual position of the rite for blessing a ship in this pontifical, the pontifical might have been from an Italian seaport city. It would be natural to have the blessing of a ship done with the crusading rite if the crusaders were to leave by boat.

⁹ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* 82-3, notes that the twelfth-century canonists did not include any of the famous crusading bulls in their canonical collections.

¹ Ps. 90.

² Ps. 118.1.

³ Ps. 26.11.

⁴ Ps. 40.5.

⁵ Cf. Ps. 19.3.

⁶ Ps. 88.23.

⁷ Fol. 144^v.

⁸ Ps. 60.4.

⁹ Ps. 16.

¹⁰ Ps. 101.2.

¹¹ Ps. 131.7.

¹² Fol. 144^v.

hoc uexillum sancte crucis et benedicere tua pietate digneris ut cuicumque ad honorem sancti tui nominis illud sumpserit, sancti spiritus gratia illuminatus omnium peccatorum remissionem digno fructu penitentiae et uitam mereatur adipisci perpetuam. Per eundem.

Alia. Benedic domine hanc crucem quam famulus tuus pro deuotione sancti nominis tui suscepturus est. Tribue quesumus ei ut¹³ sicut in ipsa penitenti penitentia<m> ac confessionis suae extrinsecus humilitatem demonstrat, ita ueram anime innocentiam a te piissimo largitore et peccatorum purgationem consequatur. Per.

Quando datur crux

Accipe hanc crucem itineris signum in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut protectione illius ab omnibus malis offensis ad locum destinatum peruenias, ut oportuno tempore ad propria remeas, suffragiis eius adipisci merearis custodiam. Qui cum patre.

Alia. Accipe hanc crucem itineris signum in nomine eiusdem redemptoris domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut ipse famulo tuo Tobie angelum suum ducem et preuium itineris prestitit,¹⁴ ita et tecum angelum suum dirigat, qui te ad loca destinata perducatur, sitque tibi comitatus et iocundus ut nullum uie tue commodum subripiat inimicus. Procul¹⁵ a te sit malignorum accessus, et comes tibi esse dignetur spiritus sanctus. Per eundem. In unitate eiusdem. Alia. Suscipe frater mi N. uictoriosissimum sancte crucis uexillum per quod secure possis omnium inimicorum tuorum maliciam superare, et cum ceteris Jesu Christi sequacibus milicia uictoriosus existere, quatinus in ultimo retributionis tempore prostratis hostibus cum uictorie palma de bello rediens ab eodem domino nostro Jesu Christo imperatore summo inaccessibiles glorie coronas recipere, et in eterno suo palatio cum eo ualeas sine fine regnare. Qui cum patre.

Benedictio sporte et baculj

Domine Jesu Christe mundi redemptor et conditor qui beatis apostolis tuis precepisti ut euntes in predicationem uirgas tantum sumerent,¹⁶ te supplicii deuotione deposcimus, ut digneris hanc sportam et fustem istum benedicere, quatinus eos qui illos¹⁷ in signum peregrinationis et suorum corporum sustentationem sunt recepturi, tue celestis gratiae recipiant plenitudinem, ut in eis munimen tue benedictionis percipere possint, ut quemadmodum uirga Aaron in templo domini florens a rebellium Iudeorum numero ipsius stirpem rite seiunxit,¹⁸ ita et hos signaculo seruorum beati Petri adornandos ab omnibus peccatis absoluas quo in die iudicii ab impiis separati in dextera sint parte coronandi. Per.

Quando accipit sportam

In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, accipe hanc sportam peregrinationis habitum, tue ut bene saluus atque emendatus ualeas peruenire ad limina beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum quo pergere cupis, et peracto itineris cursu ad nos incolumnis reuerti merearis. Per.

Ad baculum

Accipe hunc baculum sustentationis¹⁹ itineris ac laboris uie peregrinationis tue, ut deincere ualeas omnes cateruas inimici, et peruenire securus²⁰ ad limina sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum quo pergere cupis, et peracto obedientie cursu ad nos reuertaris. Amen.

¹³ Fol. 145r.

¹⁶ Mar. 6.8.

¹⁹ Fol. 146v.

¹⁴ Tob. 5.14-19.

¹⁷ Fol. 146r.

²⁰ *expun.* ualeas *post* securus.

¹⁵ Fol. 145v.

¹⁸ Num. 17.10-11.

THE LAMBRECHT PONTIFICAL

MS Graz Univer. 186 fol. 81^r-84^r

Ordo ad suscipienda signacula sancte crucis euntibus Iherusalem. In primis cantetur missa de sancta cruce, sicut in libro sacramentorum continetur, et missa cantata prosternant se in modum crucis qui ituri sunt, et ponant uestimenta et signacula prope altare et cantentur isti psalmi: Dominus regit.²¹ Deus misereatur.²² Cantate Domino.²³ Dominus regnauit, exultet.²⁴ Amen.

Saluator mundi salua nos qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti, nos auxiliare nobis te deprecamur deus noster.²⁵

Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. Pater noster.

Preces. Per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos deus noster. Adoramus te Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum. Hoc signum crucis erit in celo, cum dominus ad iudicandum uenerit. Salua nos Christe saluator per uirtutem crucis, qui saluasti Petrum in mari, miserere nobis.

Benedic domine hec signacula sancte crucis ut sint remedium salutare humano generi, et presta per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, ut qui ea susceperint uel gestauerint, corporis sanitatem et anime tutelam percipiant. Per.

Alia. Creator et conseruator humani generis, dator gratie spiritualis,²⁶ largitor eterne salutis, tu domine emitte spiritum tuum super hanc creaturam tuam, ut armata celesti defensione, qui ex ea gustauerint, proficiat illis ad eternam salutem. Per.

Alia. Dominus Abraham, Dominus Ysaac, dominus Iacob, dominus qui famulo tuo Moysi in monte Synai apparuisti, et filios Israel de terra Egipti eduxisti, deputans eis angelum pietatis tue, qui custodiret eos die et nocte, te quesumus ut mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum qui similiter hos famulos tuos custodiat et ab omni diabolice lesionis incursu defendat. Per.

Alia. Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui es ductor sanctorum et dirigis itinera iustorum, dirige angelum pacis cum famulis tuis qui eos ad loca destinata perducat. Sit eis comitatus iocundus ut nullus uie eorum subripiat inimicus, procul sit ab illis malignorum accessus, et comes illis dignetur adesse spiritus sanctus. Per eundem dominum.

Tunc aqua benedicta aspergantur et thurificentur et imponantur signa.

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, accipe signum²⁷ crucis Christi tam in corde quam in corpore ut sis defensus ab omnibus inimicis tuis et ab omnibus insidiis ipsius diaboli. *Interim a circumstantibus cantetur antiphona ista.*

O — crux glorio — sa, o — crux adoranda, o — lignum preciosum et — ammira — bile signum per — quod et dia — bolus est uictus et mundus Christi san — guine redemptus.²⁸

Finita illa dicat sacerdos, flectum genu et preces.

Omnis terra adoret te dominus et psallat tibi. Psalmum d. n.²⁹

Oremus. Adesto domine, quesumus familie tue ut in aduersis et prosperis preces nostras

²¹ Ps. 22.

²² Ps. 66.

²³ Ps. 95, 97, 149.

²⁴ Ps. 96.

²⁵ Neumes are provided for Saluator — noster.

²⁶ Fol. 81^v.

²⁷ Fol. 82^r.

²⁸ Neumes are provided for O — crux — redemptus.

²⁹ Ps. 45.

exaudias, et nefas aduersariorum nostrorum per uexillum sancte crucis digneris contere, ut portum salutis ualeant apprehendere. Per.

Leuate. Postea ipsi, si fieri potest, cantent hanc antiphonam. Sanctifica nos domine signaculo sancte crucis ut fiat nobis obstaculum contra seua iacula inimicorum, defende nos domine per lignum sanctum et per pretium iusti sanguinis tui cum quo nos redemisti.³⁰

Ver. Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi. Quia per crucem tuam.

Adesto nobis domine deus noster et quos sancte crucis³¹ letari fecisti honore eius quoque perpetuis defende presidiiis. Per.

Benedictio in nauis

Propiciare domine supplicationibus nostris et mitte sanctum angelum tuum de summitate celorum qui liberet nauim istam cum omnibus nauigantibus in ea. Perduc eam ad loca destinata ut transactis omnibus negociis, iterato eam tempore ad propria reuocare digneris cum omni gaudiorum effectu. Per.

Benedictio super capsellas et baculos

Deus in adiutorium, per totum.³² Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. Pater noster. Credo in deum. Per. Dominus regit, per totum.³³

Preces. Exsurge domine deus et exaltetur manus tua, ne obliuiscaris in finem.³⁴ Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis, ut non moueantur uestigia mea.³⁵ Mirifica misericordias tuas, qui saluos facis sperantes in te. Mitte nobis domine auxilium de sancto, et de syon tuere nos.³⁶ Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor.³⁷

Oratio. Domine Ihesu Christe mundi redemptor et conditor qui beatis apostolis tuis precepisti ut euntes in predicationem uirgas tantum sumerent, te supplici deuotione deposcimus, ut capsellas has et baculos benedicere³⁸ digneris quatenus hii, qui illos in signum peregrinationis et suorum corporum sustentationem sunt recepturi, tue gratie celestis plenitudinem accipiant, ut tue munimen benedictionis percipere possint, et quemadmodum uirga Aaron in templo domini florens a rebellium Iudeorum numero ipsa se seiunxit, ita et hos famulos tuos hoc signaculo beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli patrocinia petiuros, ab omnibus peccatis absoluas, quo in die iudicii ab impiis liberati in parte dextera sint coronandi. Per.

Alia. Signaculum dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti descendat super hos baculos et super has peras quas uolunt homines isti gestare pro signo peregrinationis, et qui illos portauerint tuti et defensi consistant ab omnibus humanis ac diabolicis insidiis. Per.

Alia. Dominus qui dispersa congregas et congregata conseruas, auge fidem et fiduciam seruis tuis, et concede prospicius ut per intercessionem beate dei genitricis Marie et sanctorum N., quorum cupiunt inuisere limina, et per interuentum³⁹ omnium sanctorum atque electorum tuorum mereantur in hoc seculo accipere remissionem omnium peccatorum et in futuro consorcium omnium beatorum. Per.

Antiphona. Aduenerunt nobis dies penitentie ad redimenda peccata, ad saluandas animas.

Antiphona. Commendemus nosmetipsos in multa patientia per arma iusticie uirtutis dei.⁴⁰

Hic dentur baculi dicendo

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi accipite hos baculos in sustentationem itineris ac laboris in uia peregrinationis uestre, ut deincere ualeatis cateruas inimicorum et peruenire

³⁰ Neumes are provided for Sanctifica ——— redemisti.

³¹ Fol. 82v.

³² Ps. 69.

³³ Ps. 22.

³⁴ Ps. 9.4.

³⁵ Cf. Ps. 16.5.

³⁶ Cf. 19.3.

³⁷ Ps. 101.1.

³⁸ Fol. 83r.

³⁹ Fol. 83v.

⁴⁰ Neumes are provides for Aduenerunt———dei.

ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum ad quos pergere cupitis, ut peracto itinere uestro ad nos incolomes redire mereamini, prestante domino nostro.

Ad peras oratio ista dicatur

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi accipite has peras in habitum peregrinationis uestre ut bene castigati et saluati et emundati peruenire mereamini ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum ad quos pergere cupitis ut peracto itinere uestro, ad nos incolomes reuertamini, quod ipse prestare dignetur qui cum esset diues propter nos peccatores et indignos pauper⁴¹ et egenus factus est Ihesus Christus, dominus noster, qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat, deus per omnia secula seculorum.

Preces. Prosperum iter faciat nobis deus salutarium nostrorum. *Ver.* In uiam pacis dirige nos domine. *Per.* Benedictus dominus.⁴²

Oratio. Exaudi nos domine deus noster, et uiam famulorum tuorum in salutis tue dignare prosperitate dirigere, ut ad omnes uarietatum secularium casus, tuo semper protegantur auxilio. *Per.*

Alia. Deus infinite misericordie et maiestatis immense quem nec⁴³ spacia locorum nec interualla temporum ab his quos tueris abiungunt, adesto famulis tuis in te ubique fidentibus, et per omnes quas ituri sunt uias, dux eis et comes esse dignare; nichil eis aduersitatis noceat, nichil difficultatis obsistat, cuncta eis salubria, cuncta sint prospera, ut sub ope dextere tue quicquid iusto expecierint desiderio, celeri consequantur effectu. *Per.*

FRANCISCAN EDUCATION AND MONASTIC LIBRARIES: SOME DOCUMENTS

A strong attachment to education and scholarship very early distinguished the orders of friars established in the thirteenth century. Although Francis of Assisi had made no provision for such activities in the new religious movement which he founded, nevertheless, not long after his death in 1226 the Franciscans had already begun to show a pronounced intellectualist bent. In a sermon delivered in 1229, Odo of Châteauroux noted the influx of scholars into the Order and the prominence of the Franciscans in the Paris schools.¹ Subsequently, some of the finest minds in Europe were converted to the Franciscan style of Christian life; and the enthusiasm and aptitude of the friars minor for teaching became very apparent — transforming them into almost a separate *universitas*.

The intellectualization of English Franciscanism dates from the time of the first provincial minister, Agnellus of Pisa, who persuaded Robert Grosseteste, Chancellor of Oxford, to assume the office of lecturer to the Oxford friars.² From 1230 until his elevation to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1235 Grosseteste, one of the early-thirteenth century's most illustrious and productive Biblical scholars, interpreters of Aristotelian science, and translators from the Greek, lectured to the Oxford friars on theology and Scripture. It was, however, the

⁴¹ Fol. 84r.

⁴² Ps. 143.1.

⁴³ *nec deest.*

¹ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford 1968) 131.

² Daniel A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as Scholar,' *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop* (ed. D. A. Callus, Oxford 1955) 10-11.