THE NEW MIDDLE AGES

# SAINT VINCENT FERRER, HIS WORLD *and* LIFE

## RELIGION *and* SOCIETY *in* LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Philip Daileader

# THE NEW MIDDLE AGES

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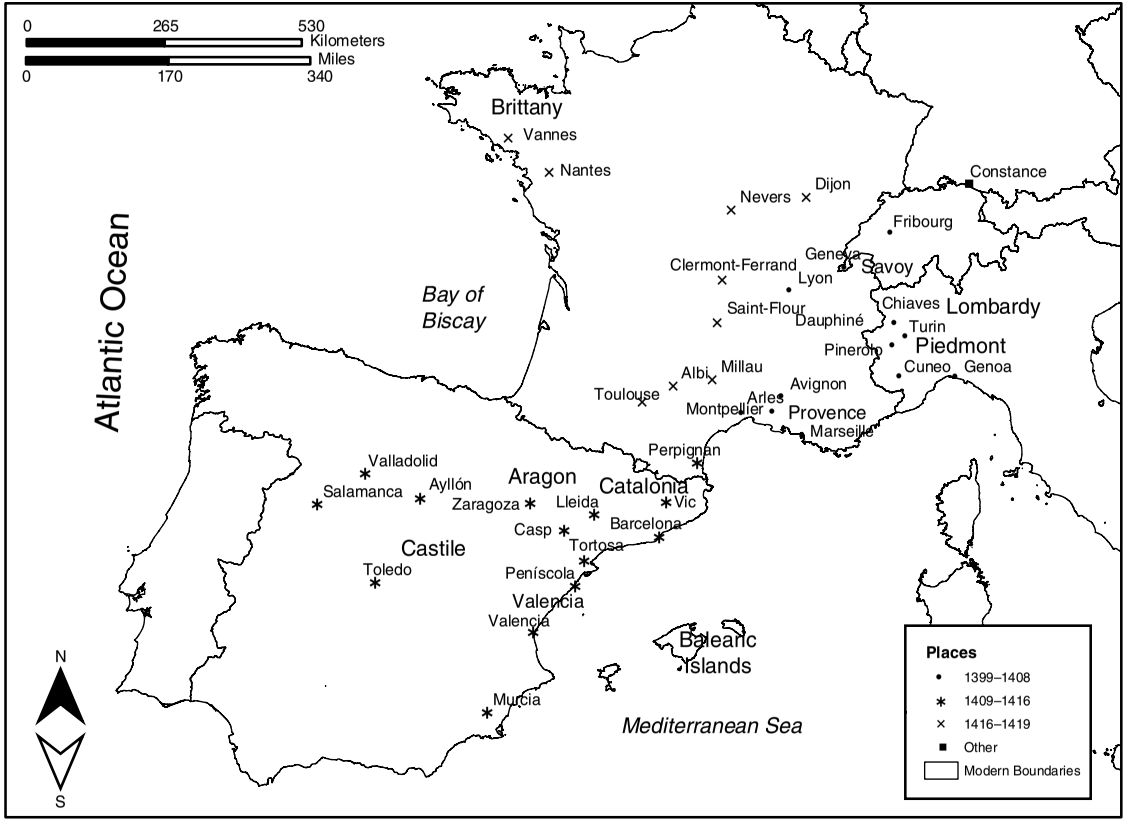
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Lombardy
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Pinerolo
Piedmont
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Albi
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Casp
Tortosa
Castile
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Balearic
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# SAINT VINCENT FERRER, HIS WORLD AND LIFE

## RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

*Philip Daileader*

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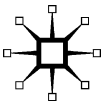

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*Dedicated with love to Claudia Daileader Ruland,*
*my sister (November 17, 1976–June 14, 2014)*

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *ATCA* | *Arxiu dels textos catalans antics* |
| *Ayora* | Adolfo Robles Sierra, ed. *Colección de Sermones de Cuaresma y otros según el Manuscrito de Ayora*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1995 |
| *BRABLB* | *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* |
| *BRAH* | *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* |
| *BSCC* | *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* |
| *CHCA* | *Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* |
| *Corpus Christi* | Francisco M. Gimeno Blay and Maria Luz Mandingorra Llavata, eds. *Sermones. Transcripción del manuscrito del Real Colegio y Seminario del Corpus Christi de Valencia*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2002 |
| *EV* | *Escritos del vedat* |
| *EVM* | Agustín Rubio Vela, ed. *Epistolari de la València medieval*. 2 vols. Valencia and Barcelona: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana/Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998, 2003 |
| *HCV* | Francisco A. Roca Traver and Ramón Ferrer Navarro, eds. *Historia de la cultura valenciana (1263–1499) (Documentos para su studio)*. 2 vols. Valencia: Real Academia de Cultura Valenciana, 2004 |
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| *Quaresma* | Manuel Sanchis Guarner, ed. *Sermons de Quaresma*. 2 vols. Valencia: Clàssics Albatros, 1973 |
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# A NOTE ON NAMES

In rendering proper names, I try to follow two principles, the first as a rule and the second as an exception to the rule. The first principle is to render most proper names in the modern form of each individual's native vernacular language. For example, I refer to King Fernando of Aragon, rather than to Ferran (Catalan), Ferrando (Aragonese), or Ferdinand, because Fernando was Castilian. The second principle is to violate the first principle whenever a person is today widely known, either in scholarly circles or more generally, by some name other than the one that the first principle would mandate. If I were to follow the first principle strictly, I should write of Vicent Ferrer rather than of Vincent Ferrer, and of Tommaso d'Aquino rather than Thomas Aquinas, but because Vincent Ferrer and Thomas Aquinas are familiar enough in English, I use Anglicized names in such instances. Writing of Breton dukes, I use their French names and numeration. When referring to kings of Aragon before Fernando I, I follow the *Història del país valencià* in using their Catalan names but their Aragonese numeration. Because, in their writings, Vincent Ferrer's contemporaries most often referred to him simply as Vincent, that is how I refer to him.

# INTRODUCTION

During his life's first 50 years, Vincent Ferrer enjoyed modest success in a career that, had it continued along the same trajectory, would not merit much attention today. Born in or around 1350, he joined the Dominican Order as a young man and then penned some minor treatises on logic and a polemical treatise on the papal schism that erupted in 1378. His native city of Valencia employed his services as a peacemaker who quelled feuds among its rival families and their supporters, and his preaching there moved prostitutes to abandon the profession. In the early 1390s, an Inquisitor General accused (and apparently convicted) him of heresy, but thanks to papal intervention, the episode had few repercussions for the friar. Afterward, he served as papal confessor, having already served as confessor for an Aragonese queen.

Then, in 1399, his life took an abrupt turn. Vincent proclaimed himself to be "Christ's legate" and spent the next two decades—the remainder of his life—as an itinerant preacher whose travels took him through Italy, Switzerland, France, and Spain. Hundreds of companions joined him, some flagellating themselves and one another in public penitential processions. Vincent announced the imminence of the apocalypse. He became a missionary whose proselytizing left Jewish communities of Castile and the Crown of Aragon, when they continued to exist at all, much smaller than they had been before. He became a kingmaker, doing what few in the Middle Ages ever had the chance to do, namely, select a ruler from a set of competing candidates. He thereby provided the Crown of Aragon with a new royal dynasty and altered the course of Spanish, if not European, history. He became a central figure in the ending of the papal schism; indeed, the question of whether the schism could be ended came to hinge, at least in part, on Vincent's words and actions. The friar also continued and extended his earlier work as a moral reformer, rehabilitating those concubines and prostitutes whom he could and quarantining those whom he could not; he was the scourge of magicians, gamblers, blasphemers, and those who worked on the Christian Sabbath. He continued his earlier work as a peacemaker too. In emotional public ceremonies, Vincent moved listeners—dozens in a single day, hundreds in a month, and who knows how many thousands during the course of his lifetime—to swear to forgo the vengeance of their murdered friends, parents, siblings, and children.

Among my goals for this book are to tell Vincent's story, focusing especially on his final and eventful 20 years, and to penetrate his thinking as accurately

and as deeply as I can. I hope to establish, notwithstanding persistent claims to the contrary, that apocalypticism was indeed the bedrock of Vincent's thinking and preaching throughout the mission that occupied his final two decades.[1] I hope to demonstrate that, during the course of his mission, Vincent's apocalyptic thinking and preaching changed in certain respects. The friar began his mission convinced that Antichrist would be born soon; later he became convinced that Antichrist had already been born. After he had written an exposition and defense of his apocalyptic views in July 1412, Vincent preached about the apocalypse differently than he had before. I hope to reconstruct the relationships among Vincent's myriad activities. Vincent's interest in moral reform predated his peripatetic preaching mission, but when he began that mission, his advocacy of moral reform became an extension of his apocalypticism. The Dominican's efforts to segregate and to convert Jews and Muslims were, in turn, an extension of his interest in moral reform. I hope to show a parallel between how Vincent preached to and thought about Jews and how he preached and thought about the apocalypse. In both cases, he blended a late medieval emphasis on immediacy—Jews, or most of them at least, must convert now; the world will end within the lifetimes of most of his listeners—with ideas and techniques that were more patristic and early medieval than late or even high medieval. Vincent's preaching to Jews ignored Dominican and mendicant innovations (especially those involving the Talmud) of the centuries immediately preceding his own and instead hearkened back to an older approach. Similarly, Vincent's beliefs regarding the specifics of the apocalypse (especially the length and nature of the period between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment) ran contrary to ideas that had been gaining ground since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and instead sprang from an older tradition.

I also question whether Vincent's story had the happy ending that scholars have sometimes wished it to have.[2] Vincent did indeed help to bring about the end of the papal schism, for which later generations lauded him. But the final outcome scarcely matched Vincent's own hopes and wishes, and it met with, at best, his ambivalence. Vincent, it would seem, never accepted the legitimacy of the Council of Constance, whose actions effectively ended the schism, or of the pope elected at that council. The friar's decision to leave Spain for the last time in 1416 was not a natural extension of his preaching mission. He left his native land embarrassed, caught in an impossible predicament, and, at least in the estimation of others, in physical danger.

Vincent's story is not just about Vincent, though. Through the wide-ranging activities of his final 20 years and the more limited activities of his first 50, his life offers a view—not all-inclusive, but uncommonly broad—of life in medieval Europe during the three generations following the Black Death. Another of my goals is to take in that view and to assess how Vincent sometimes changed, and sometimes failed to change (at least for very long), what is to be seen. His mission's consequences were substantial and durable as regards the diminution and elimination of Jewish communities, but short-lived as regards moral reform and peacemaking.

Yet another goal is to suggest how a fuller knowledge of Vincent's life and work can help historians as they continue to search for answers to enduring and much-debated questions: the question of just how broadly and deeply felt apocalyptic expectations were during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the question of how and why, during those same centuries, medieval Spain ceased to be a place of considerable religious diversity and instead embarked on the elimination of its non-Christian populations.

Vincent is a challenging subject to study for several reasons. The Dominican was canonized as a saint in 1455, 36 years after his death, and he has long been a source of Valencian pride. His sainthood and regional symbolism have shaped what scholars have written, and not written, about him.[3] Beginning in the fifteenth century and continuing through our own, there has been a tendency to write Vincent's life story in such a way as to make him a less unsettling figure. Pietro Ranzano's influential mid-fifteenth-century biography of Vincent, written just after the friar's canonization, depicts him not just as avidly desiring an end to the papal schism (a goal shared almost universally, even if there was much less agreement regarding how to reach that goal) but also as working long and hard to achieve the outcome that resulted from the Council of Constance. That outcome was clear to Ranzano in hindsight, but Vincent himself could not have foreseen it. Vincent's entanglement with heresy virtually disappears from biographies of him written after the 1920s and has only recently reappeared in the scholarly literature.[4] The historian Josep Perarnau i Espelt has admonished a fellow scholar for making no mention of Vincent's preaching against the popular Valencian Pere Çaplana, "a fact known through documents that scholars, above all the Valencians who know them, have kept silent about until now."[5]

I do not wish to suggest that there once existed a conspiracy to render Vincent more acceptable to the post-schism world, or that there exists a conspiracy to render him more acceptable to the modern world. There have been, however, recurring impulses to do one, the other, or both. Accordingly, this book applies to Vincent the critical scrutiny that historians customarily apply to their subjects. Before he was proclaimed a saint and hero, Vincent was a man, capable of error and deception. For example, in a letter of 1403, he gave an account of an early phase of his preaching mission. I hope to show that it provides a partial and selective account crafted to meet a specific recipient's expectations. The letter contains significant omissions that are almost certainly intentional and meant to mislead. Whitewash is to be avoided. So, too, is vilification. I have striven to treat Vincent critically, but fairly.

Vincent's vocation also makes him challenging to study. To study a preacher whose influence arose from the ephemeral spoken word more than from the hardier (if hardly permanent) written word is to invite difficulty. At the end of this book is an Appendix that discusses the major source materials on which this book is based, the problems that they pose, the decisions that I made in dealing with those problems, and the reasoning behind those decisions.

Still another challenge is assessing the relationship between Vincent, on the one hand, and his contemporaries and most especially his listeners, on the other. To what extent did listeners go beyond mere enjoyment of the friar's lively style

and proficiency in homiletic technique and also internalize what he said?[6] The Conclusion contains my thoughts on that matter. The friar and his sermons certainly elicited favorable comments from some of the day's leading figures, as well as from others more obscure. Nicolas de Clamanges, who served as rector of the University of Paris, gushed over Vincent after hearing him preach in Italy at Genoa: "So ardent is he and so efficacious in his speech while declaiming the Word of God, so vehemently fiery is his eloquence, that, like a burning torch, he inflames with devotion his listeners' hearts, even those that were frozen over, and hard and obdurate minds he softens until they dissolve in sighs and in lamentations."[7] Bertrand Boysset, a little-known layman and viticulturalist, reported that Vincent came in February 1401 to Arles, where he preached so well and so nobly that no one had seen or heard the likes of him since the time of the Apostles.[8] The usually terse Dominican Pere d'Arenys, whom not much excited or even interested—an unfortunate quality in a medieval chronicler—found Vincent's preaching in Barcelona remarkable:

> In that year, the honorable Master Vincent Ferrer entered Barcelona on the third day of June, with a great crowd of men and women from various parts of the world following him on account of his marvelous preaching and life. He preached here in the city's plazas, and he preached in the priory's garden and celebrated Mass there early in the morning, and the brothers had to abandon the garden and forsake it, and the whole city followed him because of the virtue that he exhibited, and he healed all people and [did] many other things, which it would take a long time to tell.[9]

Vincent's preaching overpowered even those most familiar with it. One anonymous reporter, who had been recording the friar's Lenten sermons at Valencia in 1413, found it impossible to take notes on the Friday before Easter and wrote only a single sentence of explanation: "On Good Friday, I was not able to write down the sermon on account of the weeping."[10]

Testimony regarding Vincent's appeal can be found in the archives of places through which he and his followers passed, testimony that is, in its own way, more telling than even Clamanges's florid praise and the anonymous reporter's teary admission. From Pollença, on the island of Mallorca: "Expenses paid when Vincent Ferrer came to preach . . . To clean up the plaza and to throw away the dung, 1 sou . . . To repair the street on which Master Vincent traveled the day when he left here for Alendia, next to the house of Joan Avartell, 2 sous. For the thread and the banners that decorated the catafalque, 3 sous . . . For building and disassembling the catafalque on which he preached: 1 lliura, 9 sous."[11] The friar moved his contemporaries both to weep and to sweep. At Millau and Nevers, where he preached some four years later, the enumerated expenses run well into the dozens: for cleaning; for construction; for decoration; for guards to watch what had been built; for clothing and shoes and food and drink for Vincent and his companions; and for repairs to all that the Dominican, his companions, and his listeners trampled, damaged, and destroyed.[12] In December 1412, the treasurer of Teruel added up all the expenses occasioned by the friar's visit there

during the preceding October and November. The total was the substantial sum of 1,211 sous, 7 diners—more than ten times the annual salary paid to Vincent when he had been papal confessor.[13]

Vincent's talk was not cheap, but these town officials (and others who underwrote his preaching) put their money where his mouth was. Their expenditures reflect interest and even commitment, for sometimes officials sent messengers to find Vincent and to persuade him to come and preach to them. If necessary, they shamed and browbeat the Dominican into paying them visits for which they, in turn, paid much. Some people paid more than others. When Vincent went to Valladolid, and as a result of the policies that he espoused and continued to espouse after their consequences had become known to him, Jews of Valladolid paid with their lives.

On at least one occasion, Jewish listeners confronted and challenged Vincent, which suggests that they looked askance at the friar and his mission. They were not alone. Vincent was a gifted speaker of tremendous energy, and he had many admirers and supporters. He also disappointed some of those admirers and supporters. He disturbed not a few of his contemporaries. To understand and explain why Vincent elicited the reactions that he did is my final, and most important, goal.

# CHAPTER 1

## VALENCIA, AVIGNON, AND IN BETWEEN

That Vincent Ferrer was born in 1350 is likely, but not quite certain. In 1357, Vincent was described as "now" having (with the "now" implying a recent development) a clerical tonsure; to receive the tonsure, he should have been seven years old. He first appears as a member of the Order of Preachers, the religious order founded by Dominic Guzmán in the early thirteenth century, in 1368, a date that jibes well with a birth year of 1350. The Constitutions of the Dominican Order required new brothers to be at least 18 years old, although adherence to the age requirement was never perfect and became increasingly difficult following the Black Death of 1347–1351, when the deaths of so many friars created vacancies that the Dominicans strove to fill.[1] Certainly Vincent was born in the city of Valencia, situated on Spain's eastern coast; its chief municipal officials, the *jurats*, referred to Vincent in 1387 as a "natural-born Valencian" (*natural d'aquesta Ciutat*).[2] The city of Valencia was the seat of the Kingdom of Valencia. That kingdom, the Principality of Catalonia, the Kingdom of Aragon, and other kingdoms and territories, comprised the medieval Crown of Aragon. King Jaume I of Aragon conquered the city of Valencia in 1238, ending roughly 500 years of nearly continuous Muslim rule, and he completed the conquest of the Kingdom of Valencia in 1245.

Vincent's father was a notary named Guillem, as a Valencian merchant testifying in Naples at Vincent's canonization inquest recalled. Guillem, Vincent, and Vincent's brother Boniface appear in a series of documents from the 1350s, 1360s, and 1370s pertaining to benefices held by members of the Ferrer family.[3] Vincent convinced Boniface to become a Carthusian monk (he went on to become head of the Carthusian Order) after the death of Boniface's wife—so recalled the Carthusian brother Jean Placentis, who had crossed paths with Vincent on more than one occasion and then, at Vincent's canonization inquest in Brittany, displayed considerable knowledge of the preacher's career.[4] Placentis also knew Vincent's older brother Pere, who married, and a Valencian Augustinian canon knew one of Vincent's sisters, named Inés.[5] All told, Vincent appears to have had seven siblings. Preaching at Chinchilla in 1411, he spoke of a Valencian man and his wife—seemingly his parents—who had eight children, five of whom had died by 1411 and were, he told his listeners, in heaven, where the three still living would surely end up as well.[6]

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About Vincent's life experiences before he entered the Dominican Order, there is no direct and reliable information. But growing up in Valencia in the 1350s and 1360s could not have been easy. When Valencians in the 1370s sorrowfully noted the depopulation of their city and kingdom, they blamed war and plague.[7]

The Black Death struck Valencia in May 1348. That year thousands of Valencians died in their beds or wherever they happened to find themselves, their bodies sometimes bulging with *la glànyola*—the swollen lymph node, or bubo, that accompanied bubonic plague.[8] Fearing the spread of the disease, Valencia's municipal government paid carters in early June to carry the bodies of the dead and the dying out of the city.[9] By the end of that month, Valencians were flocking to notaries to dictate their last wills and, when they could, fleeing the city. Chroniclers suggest that the number of deaths reached 300 per day.[10] July was just as bad as June; so many people died together with their heirs that Valencia was awash with ownerless goods and property. Municipal officials moved to secure such property, lest it be lost.[11] By the middle of August, the worst was over for the moment.[12] The extent to which plague afflicted Valencia in 1349, 1350, and 1351, years in which it ravaged most of Europe, is presently uncertain, but the city would have been unusual and lucky indeed if it did not similarly experience plague during that time. If Vincent was born in 1350, he entered the world in the middle of medieval Europe's most lethal event.

There is no way of knowing precisely how many Valencians died during the Black Death. Scattered bits of information, though, suggest the magnitude of loss. At least half of Valencia's parishes lost their parish priest during the plague. When the titular priest of the parish of San Esteban died, he was replaced; when the replacement died, the replacement was replaced; when the replacement's replacement died, he, too, was replaced; and then that fourth titular died as well—all in 1348.[13] Reasonable estimates of Valencia's population as of 1355, generated from tax records for that year, put it in the range of 21,000–28,000 inhabitants; there would have been substantially fewer inhabitants just a few years earlier, for migration from the countryside had already made up some losses.[14] But there are no Valencian records from which to hazard a guess at the city's population in 1347, before plague struck.

Those who survived this carnage recognized that their world had changed. In 1349, Valencia's *jurats* recommended that the city's council, or *Consell*, raise the salary of its notary and scribe, Pere Rovira, from 60 to 75 *lliures*, because Pere himself could not pay the higher salaries that his own assistants and servants were now demanding as labor became scarce. Although the new salary was "much more than they have been accustomed to pay," Valencia's *jurats* noted "that the present time does not resemble the past" and that past practice was of little use to those living in a starkly different and unimagined present.[15]

To distinguish the Black Death of 1348 from earlier episodes of high mortality, survivors called it *la gran mortaldat*, or the Great Mortality. Plague returned again and again in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As it did so, the Great Mortality came to be remembered as the Greatest Mortality, and subsequent outbreaks were given numbers; through 1401, *la segona*, *la terça*, *la quarta, la quinta*, and *la sisena mortaldat* followed *la gran mortaldat*. Plague, of course, was not

responsible for every fatality during these outbreaks, but references to buboes are common enough to indicate that bubonic plague was still at work.[16] The Second Mortality struck in 1362, moving from north to south through Catalonia and the Kingdom of Valencia; like the Great Mortality of 1348, it ran for about three months, beginning in late April rather than in May, occasioning once again flight from the city. Especially lethal to children, the Second Mortality also came to be called the *mortaldat dels infants*.[17] The Third Mortality struck Valencia in October 1374, after three nerve-wracking years when plague was active elsewhere in the Crown of Aragon (especially Catalonia) but not in Valencia, which monitored the situation. During the winter of 1374–1375, Valencia's magistrates were hopeful that the growing number of deaths reflected nothing more than a recurrence of pre-plague *malalties e morts*, but by February 1375 they were convinced that Valencia indeed faced a "*mortaldad general*." In April 1375, the *jurats*—two of the six had just died—remarked that the number of deaths was "growing terribly." By June, the *jurats* acknowledged that this Third Mortality had in no way spared Valencia, and they noted, too, how this latest outbreak was again proving especially deadly for young children.[18] The records of Valencia's *Hospital de En Clapers*, a charitable institution, provide a glimpse of what sort of mortality rates impressed the *jurats*. In a typical year, 10 to 20 of the hospital's residents died, but in May and June 1375, at the tail end of the Third Mortality, nearly 60 residents died during a two-month span.[19] A flare-up of plague from June to August 1380 was not sufficiently serious to count among the numbered mortalities, but the Fourth Mortality ran from November 1384 to July or August 1385, the Fifth Mortality from March 1395 to September 1395, and still more outbreaks followed in 1401, 1403 (possibly a continuation of the outbreak of 1401), 1410–1411, and 1414.[20] Plague, the memory of the last outbreak, and the fear of the next outbreak were always Vincent and his listeners' companions. It was one of the perils from which others wished Vincent to deliver them.

Valencia responded in ways that were sometimes traditional, sometimes new, and always ineffective. The most traditional of responses was to hold religious processions designed to placate God's anger, the ultimate source of plague. Once that anger subsided, the afflictions would end. Valencia's government organized penitential processions almost routinely, urging participants to confess their sins beforehand, to dress appropriately in mourning clothes, to carry candles, and to fast. The processions made their way from Valencia's cathedral to one of the city's religious houses, where priests celebrated Mass and preached, and then the processions returned to their point of departure.[21] When plague came despite these processions, Valencia celebrated the end of an outbreak with still more processions.[22]

Valencia also hired municipal physicians to attend to the ill, as, for example, in 1362, perhaps in anticipation of the Second Mortality then making its way toward Valencia. But recourse to physicians was of little help because physicians could not even save themselves, much less others. So many physicians and apothecaries died in the initial outbreak of 1348, replaced by people of unknown or dubious qualifications, that Valencia's *Consell* intervened and administered examinations to all these new physicians and apothecaries before permitting them to continue to practice. That Valencia's physicians sometimes took their families and fled

once plague had broken out, as happened in 1401 during the Sixth Mortality, could not have inspired much confidence in their services.[23]

A more novel and consequential response was the pogrom against Valencia's Jews that took place in 1348, seemingly an instinctive reaction to the first appearance of plague, for at Valencia there were no pogroms during subsequent Mortalities. Archeologists have located and excavated a fourteenth-century mass grave located within the Jewish cemetery of Valencia. The irregular positions of the bodies suggest a hasty, improvised burial before rigor mortis had set in. The unequal distributions of the 40 corpses by sex and age (of those whose sexes can be determined, men outnumber women by more than a 2:1 ratio, and most of the dead were adults in the prime of life, between the ages of 20 and 49) suggest unnatural death, as does the large number of staved-in and shattered skulls among those interred in the grave. Close to one-third of the bodies have skulls and other bones broken just prior to death by blows administered from above. The precise identities of those in the grave are elusive, but more likely than not, they were victims of the pogrom of 1348.[24]

Those who participated in the Valencian pogrom of 1348 and other pogroms throughout the Crown of Aragon appear to have regarded the attacks as expiatory and sacrificial acts that would assuage God's anger, rather than as preemptive or vengeful acts arising from fears of mass poisoning.[25] Within two to three years of the pogrom of 1348, the bishop of Valencia (among others) claimed that the physical proximity of Jews and Muslims to Christians who lived near or even within Valencia's Muslim and Jewish quarters, and the sins that arose from such proximity, had angered God and brought plague upon the city. They called upon Valencia's *Consell* to separate Christians from Jews and Muslims.[26] The bishop was preaching to the choir, for Valencia's *Consell* in 1349 had already ordered Christians out of the Jewish and Muslim quarters.[27] Later, Valencia sought to ward off the plague by separating Christian sinners from the city. In the tense years 1371 and 1372 when plague was not far from Valencia, and again in 1395 when it had just struck, Valencia rounded up and exiled gamblers, prostitutes, and others such as pimps and procurers involved in Valencia's sex trade.[28]

Plague kept returning anyway. Unable to march or to massacre their way to safety, Valencians worked for the quick entrance into heaven of those who had already perished and of those who would soon perish. That meant securing indulgences, especially plenary indulgences that remitted all temporal penalties due to sin (penance in this world, purgatory in the next world). During the Second Mortality of 1362, Valencia paid an emissary to travel to Avignon and to get from the pope an indulgence for all those whom plague had killed in the Diocese of Valencia. In 1370, word that plague had struck Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia reached Valencia's *Consell*, which in turn petitioned the pope for an indulgence to cover all those expected to die in Valencia during the next year or two. Plague missed Valencia in 1370, 1371, and 1372, but not in 1373, and Valencia continued to secure indulgences for those who perished, such as one in 1375 that covered deaths occurring during a period of three months—too short a period of time, the *jurats* complained, asking that it be extended to six months.[29]

A war between the Crown of Aragon and neighboring Castile overlapped with plague and compounded Valencia's suffering during these decades: the War of the Two Peters, which takes its name from the warring kings who fought it. Late in the summer of 1356, Castile attacked the Crown of Aragon.[30] In many ways, the War of the Two Peters resembled the more famous Hundred Years War between France and England, which it sometimes intersected. It was a stop-and-start affair, in which periods of intense fighting alternated with lengthy periods of unquiet truce (one from the spring of 1357 to the spring of 1358, one in the spring of 1361, and another one from July to December 1363), negotiated by a papal legate sent to keep two Christian kingdoms from battering each other. Both sides employed foreign mercenary soldiers with a propensity for violence against local civilian populations.[31] The War of the Two Peters saw numerous hit-and-run raids against undefended countryside. Raiders wasted crops, livestock, trees, buildings, and people, with the goal of destroying the opponent's will to resist.[32] The worst came between 1361 and 1364, when Castilian forces overran the southern half of the Kingdom of Valencia; in December 1363, they began an unsuccessful siege of the city of Valencia that lasted for four months.[33] The Castilian invasions unleashed a wave of refugees fleeing affected areas and brought about starvation. There are credible reports of cannibalism.[34]

Castile had the upper hand over the Crown of Aragon militarily, but King Pere IV of Aragon got the upper hand over King Pedro I of Castile politically, thanks to the spectacular success of one of Pere's plots against the Castilian king. When the War of the Two Peters broke out, Pedro's half-brother, Count Enrique de Trastámara, was in France, an exile from Castile with designs on its throne. Pere made contact with Enrique and encouraged him to return to Castile, where his presence would, or so Pere hoped, distract Pedro and weaken the Castilian war effort.[35] In March 1363, during a period of Castilian military success, Pere recognized Enrique's claim to the Castilian throne.[36] From the autumn of 1365 through the winter of 1366, Enrique defeated Pedro so thoroughly that he knocked Pedro from the throne, and Enrique was himself crowned king of Castile in March 1366. Although Enrique did not capture and kill Pedro until 1369, Castilian control over occupied regions of Valencia melted away with the change of ruling dynasty.[37] The rise of the Trastámara dynasty in Castile would come to complicate the internal dynastic history of the Crown of Aragon—and with it, Vincent's life too. But, in the 1360s, that complication was still far off in the future.

* * *

As of 1368, Vincent had joined the Dominican Order, and he moved through its educational system. In 1366, the Order's Master General established guidelines for schools within the Province of Aragon, to which Vincent belonged. All those joining the Dominicans should have had such a thorough knowledge of Latin grammar that, upon entering the order, they advanced immediately to the study of logic and then "natural philosophy" (which, in this context, was more or less logic by another name). After mastering these fields, friars from Catalonia were to go to Lleida for two years of theological study, after which they were to teach

natural philosophy in the Order's priories; then, the best of them were to go to Barcelona for further theological study. Upon completing theological study at Barcelona, friars might teach theology within the province, or they might study at a *studium generale* outside the province. Of these foreign schools, the one at Paris was the most prestigious—the Master General ruled that only scholars who had studied at Paris should teach Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which was the essential textbook for theological study, at Barcelona. (In the absence of a scholar with Parisian training, another theologian might substitute.) As for friars from Aragon and Navarre, they were to follow the same progression of subjects but conduct their theological study at Zaragoza rather than at Lleida and Barcelona.[38]

The guidelines handed down by the Master General roughly corresponded to the actual organization of Dominican schools within the province of Aragon. The main divergence involved grammar. Recruiting friars who knew enough Latin grammar to jump straight into logic apparently was not possible; when each year's provincial chapter assigned students to different priories, most houses had students assigned to them in order to study grammar. Insufficient training in grammar was an issue before the Black Death, but it became an even bigger issue afterward as the Dominicans brought in new friars to replace the dead. In 1350, students assigned to study logic outnumbered those assigned to study grammar, as had almost always been the case previously; but in 1351, 1352, and 1353, students assigned to study grammar outnumbered students assigned to study logic, and the provincial chapter of 1371 assigned nearly every third student to the study of grammar.[39]

The provincial chapter of 1368 assigned Vincent to the priory at Barcelona to study logic, and the provincial chapter of 1369 assigned him to the Order's *studium naturarum* at Lleida.[40] The acts of the provincial chapter of 1370 do not mention Vincent, but the chapter of 1371 assigned him to Lleida as a teacher of logic.[41] Vincent then became a student once again, assigned by the provincial chapter of 1372 to the Order's *studium generale* at Barcelona to study the Bible and assigned again to Barcelona for the same purpose in 1373.[42] Vincent was back in Valencia in 1376, when he served as a witness to an arbitrational sentence handed down by his brother Boniface and put in writing by his father Guillem.[43] The provincial chapter of 1376 assigned Vincent to the Dominican *studium generale* at Toulouse.[44] When Vincent returned to the Crown of Aragon from Toulouse is unknown, but by 1389 he bore the title of Master of Theology.[45]

Most likely, it was during Vincent's teaching stint at Lleida in 1371 and 1372 that he composed two treatises, the *Questio de unitate universalis* and the *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, both treating problems in the field of logic. Vincent defined the subject matter of logic as "the intent of acts of the intellect." That is to say, logicians should concern themselves neither with the grammar and syntax of any given sentence nor with the mental processes that give rise to thought, but rather with the connection between the two and with the extent to which words express what the mind wants them to express, which Vincent called the *intellectus*.[46] As *artifex intellectualis*, the logician analyzed, in John Trentman's formulation, "puzzling propositions in terms of their *intellectus*" or, put more elaborately, played "an active role in reconstructing propositions whose grammar or

linguistic expression lead to puzzles and difficulties in terms of the *intellectus* they might express."[47] In defining logic thus, Vincent rejected any attempt to define the logician's proper object of study "as either words or thought processes." Explicitly, he regarded the former as the subject of the grammarian rather than of the logician, and implicitly, he regarded the latter as the subject of what we might call psychology.

Vincent defined the *intellectus* as a "property of propositions," and all propositions consisted of terms.[48] Terms themselves have various properties, including signification, a "psychologico-causal property of a term . . . A term signifies that of which it makes a person think, so that, unlike meaning, signification is a species of the causal relation," or to put it another way, it is "the presentation of a form to the mind." When one sees or hears the term "chair" and seeing or hearing the word causes one to think of a chair, it is the signifying property of the term "chair" that causes the mind to think of a chair.[49] Another property of terms is supposition, which was the subject of Vincent's *Tractatus de suppositionibus*.

As Terence Parsons puts it, "A significant word (one which signifies) may be used in a proposition to stand for something, or for some things. This 'standing for' is the medieval relation of *supposition*. Supposition is a relation that an already signifying word has within a proposition."[50] The existence of multiple types of supposition was one of the few points on which medieval logicians agreed. What those types of supposition were, what it was that terms stood for, and how those terms did so occasioned much disagreement.

Take, for example, the following three sentences, which are among Vincent's own examples of how supposition works: *homo est animal*; *homo est species*; *homo est bisyllabum*.[51]

In the first sentence, "[The or a] man is an animal," the term *homo* stands for an individual man, such as Vincent himself. In the second sentence, "Man is a species," the term *homo* stands not for each individual man, but for man in general as a concept or as a form—one could say of individual men that Vincent is an animal but not that Vincent is a species. In the third sentence, "Man/*homo* is bisyllabic," the term *homo* stands neither for each individual man nor for man in general, but for a four-letter word that has two syllables. In medieval supposition theory, the first kind of supposition, where the term stands for an individual, was generally known as personal supposition; the second kind of supposition, where the term stands for a concept or a form, was generally known as simple supposition; the third kind of supposition, where the term stands for a collection of letters forming a word (that is to say, when it stands for itself), was generally known as material supposition.[52]

Personal supposition has various modes, and "a mode of supposition is something like a kind of quantificational status. It is a status that a term has in a proposition based on where it occurs in the proposition and what quantifier word occurs with it."[53] The modes of personal supposition include Determinate Supposition, Confused and Distributive Supposition, and Merely Confused Supposition (the last of which surely resonates with all those trying to come to grips with medieval supposition theory). Some fourteenth-century logicians argued against the existence of simple supposition; others argued that there were

four modes, not three, of personal supposition; still others argued that simple and material supposition, like personal supposition, had various modes that must be distinguished from one another.[54] Because Vincent maintained that "there is a correspondence between the logical structure of thought and the structure of the world," the problem of universals, which are the extralinguistic forms or concepts that words signify and whose nature and existence occasioned so much debate among scholastics, figures in both his *Tractaus de suppositionibus* and, as its title suggests, his *Questio de unitate universalis*.[55]

Vincent seems to have written his *Tractatus de suppositionibus* for the purpose of filling a gap in the writings of his Dominican predecessor, Thomas Aquinas, and for the purpose of providing a Thomist alternative to ideas proposed by William Occam and Walter Burleigh regarding supposition and universals.[56] In the opening lines of his *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, Vincent explicitly rejects both Occam's and Burleigh's conception of universals, ascribing to Occam the view that "the universal is in no way real" and to Burleigh the view that "the universal is a real thing, independent of any act of mind"—rather crude characterizations of Occam's and Burleigh's actual positions on universals.[57] Just as they misunderstood the nature of universals, so, too, Occam and Burleigh (in Vincent's estimation) misunderstood supposition. The correct understanding of both universals and supposition, according to Vincent, could only be achieved by adhering to the ideas of Aquinas, which represent a middle way between the two extreme positions of Occam and Burleigh. The universal does exist, but it does not have a separate physical existence independent of the mind. Aquinas's definition was also, according to Vincent, that of Albert the Great, Boethius, Avicenna, and Averroës.[58] Vincent's *Questio de unitate universalis* espouses the same concept of universals to be found in the *Tractatus de suppositionibus*—that, as Trentman puts it, "humanity (or any such nature) only has universality in so much as it exists in a mind, as it is 'rational.' There is, however, something in the various, different individuals that can be naturally represented by the universal concept of humanity in an act of mind. So universality is not *simply* a matter of mental acts."[59]

Vincent's profession of loyalty to Aquinas is no surprise. The Dominican Order's general chapters of 1309 and of 1313 required all Dominican teachers and students to follow the teachings of Aquinas and forbade teachers from teaching anything contrary to Aquinas. Subsequent general chapters repeated these commands.[60] The Aragonese provincial chapter of 1368 likewise forbade Dominicans from propounding any ideas or doctrines other than those of Aquinas. Provincial chapters in the 1370s and 1380s repeated the admonition and explicitly prohibited Dominicans from teaching Occam's logic.[61]

Aquinas's influence on Vincent's logical treatises is clear enough. In his *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, Vincent explicitly cited Aquinas 39 times. The only author whom he cited more frequently than Aquinas was Aristotle; aside from Aristotle, Vincent cited Aquinas more often than he cited all other authors combined.[62] Although the *Questio de unitate universalis* lacks any explicit references to Aquinas, "both the general point of his conclusions and some particular arguments are clearly Thomistic, and some of what he attributes to Aristotle seems more immediately to have come from Aquinas' commentaries."[63] Perhaps to

highlight better his Thomism, Vincent did not refer to any of the best known treaties on logic that circulated during his lifetime: those of Lambert of Auxerre, Peter of Spain, and William of Sherwood.[64]

That his treatises were quite as pure in their adherence to Aquinas and as complete in their rejection of Occam and Burleigh as Vincent maintained, is open to question. In the *Questio de unitate universalis*, Occamist presuppositions have been detected.[65] Regarding some specific points, Vincent's views overlapped with Burleigh's to such an extent that direct influence seems likely, and Vincent might well have borrowed some of his arguments against Burleigh from Occam.[66] Modern scholars have found within Vincent's treatises, notwithstanding the friar's protests to the contrary, originality and innovation, especially in Vincent's argument that only the subject, not the predicate, of a proposition can possess supposition.[67] One ebullient scholar has even called Vincent "one of the greatest geniuses of logic and the philosophy of language."[68]

When Pietro Ranzano composed his life of Vincent in the 1450s just after the latter's canonization, he knew about the *Tractatus de suppositionibus*.[69] Its three surviving manuscripts date to the fifteenth century; one of those three is certainly of Italian provenance and a second very likely is, too, which indicates that the treatise circulated beyond the Iberian peninsula.[70] Still, the ideas that modern scholars have identified as Vincent's most innovative were also the most ignored, even during the friar's own lifetime.[71] Oxford and Paris were the two most important centers of innovation in the field of logic; Vincent never studied or taught at either, which put him on the field's fringes.[72] The three surviving manuscripts of the *Tractatus de suppositionibus* are not numerically impressive, yet still three times as many as survive for the *Quaestio de unitate universalis*, whose sole extant manuscript is likely only an abbreviated copy of a version that no longer exists today. (In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Jewish philosopher Eli Habillo and the Christian philosopher Petrus Niger both explicitly quoted the *Questio de unitate universalis* at length, but the passages they quoted are not to be found in the text's extant manuscript, suggesting that both authors had worked with a different and longer version.)[73] Circulating on a modest scale in the fifteenth century, Vincent's logical writings then faded into obscurity. Spanish logicians cited his treatises in the sixteenth century, but not thereafter; by the nineteenth century, scholars regarded the *Questio de unitate universalis* and the *Tractatus de suppositionibus* as lost works. Only in the twentieth century were they rediscovered.[74]

The detail with which medieval logicians analyzed terms and their relationship to extralinguistic realities might seem extravagant today and the results too meager and abstruse to justify such expenditure of effort. At stake, however, was the nature of knowledge itself. These logicians conceived of logic as "a universal theoretical tool (*organon*) of reason in pursuit of truth and avoidance of error," and as a universal tool, medieval logic encompassed subjects generally regarded as distinct from logic today, such as "metaphysics, cognitive psychology, linguistics, the philosophy of science, and epistemology."[75] Without an understanding of what we know, how we know it, and how we express that knowledge, no other science could exist.

Be that as it may, Vincent's next datable treatise was less esoteric than his two works on logic. It dealt with the practical question of how to determine which of two contending popes was legitimate and with the obligations incumbent upon Christians during a time of papal schism.

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During the first three quarters of the fourteenth century, popes rarely resided at Rome. Instead, seven successive popes resided in what is today southern France, gradually making Avignon their primary residence and the seat of the papal court. These popes regarded southern France and Avignon as safer than Rome, where rival clans such as the Orsini, the Colonna, and the Gaetani violently clashed with one another and strove to secure the papal office for their own members and supporters. These rivalries, by riving the College of Cardinals so badly that no one affiliated with those families could command the two-thirds majority necessary to be elected as pope, contributed to the election in 1305 of the Gascon Bertrand de Got. As Pope Clement V, he was the first of the seven to live out his pontificate away from Rome.[76] Avignon's location also recommended it. Located north of the Alps and on the Rhône River, that city was better suited than Rome for frequent communication with the various kingdoms and territories comprising Latin Christendom.

Avignon in 1305 belonged to the count of Provence, but it was located on the western edge of the Comtat Venaissin, which was papal territory. Clement spent extended periods of time at Avignon from 1309 until his death in 1314. Then the College of Cardinals, whose members now included a substantial number of Gascons appointed by Clement, elected as pope Jacques Duèse, the bishop of Avignon. As John XXII, he spent even more time than Clement had in the seat of his former diocese. To accommodate a papal presence that was becoming more frequent and about to become continual, Benedict XII in 1336 began the construction of a papal palace at Avignon, one that could house the papal curia and its various departments. He had the papal archives brought to Avignon in 1339, and the papacy purchased the lordship of Avignon itself in 1348.[77]

Various groups and individuals protested the papacy's relocation to Avignon. Upon the election of Clement VI in 1342, Rome sent an embassy to the new pontiff, congratulating him but also urging him to come to Rome. Clement refused, citing his need to be closer to France and to England during a time of war between those kingdoms, and citing as well the family feuds that rendered Rome unsafe. Birgitta of Sweden (later canonized) took up residence in Rome in 1350 and announced that she would not leave until the papacy returned to its rightful home there. In the 1370s, Catherine of Siena came to Avignon and demanded the pope's return to the Eternal City.[78]

The reasons for these protests were both material and ecclesiological. For the people of Rome, the papal curia's relocation to Avignon was economically damaging; no longer did the papal curia draw in money from the whole of Latin Christendom to spend in Rome. Furthermore, as successive popes appointed more and more natives of their home regions as cardinals, the influence of

Roman families over papal elections waned. The College of Cardinals elected as pope not a single native of Rome, or even of Italy, between 1305 and 1378; the seven popes who served during that stretch of time were all natives of various French regions. Kings of France, on the other hand, welcomed the proximity of the Avignon papacy to their own kingdom, which stoked resentment in kingdoms other than France.

The ecclesiological problem was of greater concern to Birgitta of Sweden and Catherine of Siena. Papal claims to primacy rested on the Petrine supremacy and on popes' status as bishops of Rome. Jesus designated Peter as the head of the Church; Peter had been the bishop of Rome; the popes were Peter's successors as bishops of Rome; therefore, popes were the heads of the Church. But if popes were now bishops of Rome in name only, then why should one continue to regard them as heads of the Church? Moreover, reformers regarded clerical absenteeism as an abuse that interfered with the care of souls. Some bishops and other prelates did not live in the places entrusted to them and instead resided in more congenial locations, yet they still drew their incomes from dioceses and parishes in which they rarely or never set foot. Physical remoteness made it difficult for absentee clerics to address the spiritual needs of those for whom they were responsible. How could popes denounce absenteeism when they themselves were now absentees?

Continuing pressure to return the papacy to Rome eventually took effect. In 1367, following Cardinal Albornoz's military pacification of the Italian Papal States in the 1350s and during a period of peace between France and England, Urban V and a portion of the papal curia returned to Rome. When war resumed between England and France, however, Urban and the part of the curia that had gone with him to Rome returned in 1370 to Avignon. With part of the curia, Pope Gregory XI left Avignon in 1376 and entered Rome in 1377. There he died in 1378. As a result, the next papal election took place at Rome itself. A papal schism—to contemporaries, the Great Schism—followed.[79]

Sixteen cardinals, most of them natives of various French regions and nearly half of them from the Limousin, met in Rome some two weeks after Gregory XI's death to elect his successor. The inhabitants of Rome demonstrated in the streets, calling for the election of a Roman or at least an Italian. Fearing attack, the cardinals acceded to the Romans' wishes and chose an Italian who had held high office in the papal curia: the archbishop of Bari, Bartolomeo Prignano. Even after choosing the archbishop of Bari, the cardinals feared disappointing the crowd outside with their election of someone who was not a Roman. The cardinals dressed one of their own, a Roman, in the papal vestments and publicly presented him to the crowd, hoping that it would assume the Roman wearing the papal garb to be the new pope. The charade did not fool the crowd, which nevertheless accepted the election of the Italian archbishop of Bari.[80] Prignano took the name Urban VI.

Even during the April election, the College of Cardinals showed concern about the election's legitimacy. Any ecclesiastical election that took place under duress was canonically invalid; an armed and agitated crowd thronged near the cardinals as they deliberated and voted. Perhaps to forestall future challenges to the election, the cardinals took the unusual step of holding, in addition to the

initial election, at least one and likely two further elections on April 8 and April 9, each time voting again for Prignano, but with the crowd at greater remove and more peaceful.[81] The cardinals' attempt to safeguard the papal election against procedural challenge did not succeed. The very same cardinals (or at least a majority of them) who elected Prignano would be the ones to challenge and to deny its validity.

Popes did not choose their new names randomly, and three previous popes who took the name Urban were French. In choosing the name Urban, Prignano may have been making a conciliatory gesture toward France. If so, it was just about the last conciliatory gesture that he made toward anyone. Urban VI soon became known for his dyspeptic tirades, often directed against the same cardinals who had elected him and occasionally followed up with a punch thrown a cardinal's way. The recently elected pope targeted especially the cardinals' comfortable lifestyles and large entourages. By the summer of 1378, some of the cardinals who had elected Urban just a few months before were openly stating that the Church lacked a pope at that moment, because the April election had been canonically invalid.[82]

The seriousness of the rift became apparent when 13 cardinals met at Anagni to ponder their next move. Three Italian cardinals who initially remained at Rome then joined their colleagues at Anagni, seeking to negotiate a solution to the standoff between the pope and the rebellious cardinals, but nothing came of their mediating efforts. Instead, in August, one of the breakaway cardinals, Pierre Flandrin, wrote with his colleagues' assistance a treatise defending the rebellious cardinals' position vis-à-vis the man whom they no longer recognized as Pope Urban VI but called merely Bartolomeo Prignano. Having lost the support of most of the cardinals who had elected him in April, Urban appointed 25 new cardinals, nearly all of them Italian, on September 18. Two days later, the 16 cardinals (now at Fondi) held a new papal election. The mediating Italian cardinals abstained; the 13 other cardinals chose as pope one of their own, Robert de Genève, who took the name of Clement VII. Clement's initial goal was to seize Rome and to make good his claim to the papacy through military victory, but his forces were defeated in April 1379, and Clement relocated to Avignon two months later.[83]

Disputed and procedurally questionable papal elections were not new in 1378. Circumstances, however, made the double election of 1378 highly problematic. Before 1378, the individual who gained and kept control of Rome, and of the papal administrative apparatus located there, was pope. Whoever failed to gain control of Rome watched his support melt away and consequently would be known to history as an anti-pope. But in 1378, large portions of the papal administration (including the all-important archives) were still at Avignon. Clement took possession of this administrative machinery, and he could count on French recognition and support.[84] Urban's control of Rome would not be enough to end this schism.

Following Clement's election, both popes dispatched ambassadors to the courts of Europe, where they pled for recognition of the pope who had sent them. The diplomacy's outcome was geopolitically predictable. France recognized the Avignon papacy. England, wishing to check French influence,

recognized the Roman papacy. Scotland and Gaelic Ireland, wishing to check the English, recognized the Avignon papacy. Portugal, frequently allied with England, eventually recognized the Roman papacy, as did the Holy Roman Empire. But kingdoms were not monoliths, and regardless of which pope a king accepted, divisions between adherents of Urban and adherents of Clement penetrated each kingdom, each region, each town, each diocese, each religious order, and even each individual religious house.[85]

The papal schism affected Vincent as a subject of the Crown of Aragon, a Valencian, and a Dominican. In December 1378, Clement sent Cardinal Pedro de Luna, a native of Aragon, to the Iberian peninsula for the purpose of winning over its kings and kingdoms; the cardinal did not leave Spain again until 1390. Both the king of Castile and the king of Aragon took the schism seriously and proceeded cautiously. Juan I of Castile sent officials to Avignon and to Rome to gather information about the elections; the officials interviewed witnesses and brought their materials back to Castile, where, in November 1380, the king opened an assembly at Medina del Campo. The assembly remained in session for six months, examining evidence and listening to representatives of both Urban and Clement (Pedro de Luna was among those who spoke for the Clementists). Finally, in May 1381, more than two-and-a-half years after the elections of 1378, Juan gave his allegiance to Clement.[86]

The king of Aragon, still Pere IV, similarly launched an investigation of the elections. His commission operated at Barcelona from May until September 1379, at which point Pere announced that his position was one of neutrality: he neither recognized nor rejected either pope. Despite accusations made both during his own lifetime and by modern historians that Pere chose neutrality in order to make a quick profit—he sequestered papal revenues within his kingdom on the grounds that neither of the two claimants was entitled to them—Pere seems to have embraced neutrality for reasons both pragmatic and idealistic. The Crown of Aragon's expansion into the central Mediterranean inclined the king toward neutrality; the Crown of Aragon controlled both Sardinia and Sicily, where Urbanist sentiment was strong, and Pere did not wish to antagonize those islands' inhabitants. But his neutrality was not all the result of royal realpolitik. An old monarch (he had already reigned for more than 40 years when the schism broke out) with a strong sense of regal decorum (hence his sobriquet *Pere del Punyalet*, or Peter the Ceremonious), Pere genuinely wanted the schism to end. He also understood that achieving a solution would be more difficult if kings openly committed themselves to one pope or the other. Furthermore, denying papal revenues to both claimants could reasonably be expected to undermine their positions. Pere, although perhaps somewhat partial to Urban from time to time, held to his policy of neutrality for the rest of his life.[87] For the policy to be effective, though, other rulers would have had to adopt it. None did so, other than the king of Navarre, and the Crown of Aragon's neutrality became an eccentricity.

King Pere was neutral, but Elias Raymond, the Master General of the Dominican Order, was not. He recognized Clement and, at that pope's behest, ordered the Province of Aragon's Dominicans to break ties with their Urbanist confreres; Elias Raymond also appointed a fellow Clementist, Gombald d'Ulugia,

as vicar general of the province. Other of the province's Dominicans, too, belonged to the Clementist camp, most notably Nicolau Eymeric, the Inquisitor General of Aragon. Eymeric was at Rome during Urban's election; he joined the College of Cardinals at Anagni and, even before Clement's election, wrote works attacking Urban and arguing that his election was uncanonical.[88]

Elias Raymond's promotion of the Clementist cause within the Province of Aragon clashed with both the king's neutrality and the Urbanist sympathies of some of his fellow friars, including the Provincial (or head) of the Dominican Province of Aragon, Bernat Ermengol, who in January 1379 sought royal protection against Elias Raymond's command that the Dominicans obey Clement. Confronted with the schism opening within the Dominicans, Pere attempted to lock the status quo into place. In September 1379, he ordered the Dominicans of his kingdom to continue to recognize the Clementist Elias Raymond as Master General and the Urbanist Bernat Ermengol as Provincial. The king ordered the Dominicans not to preach about the papal elections and the schism. He also wrote to Elias Raymond and to Gombald d'Ulugia, informing them that he had taken Urban's supporters under his protection.[89]

Despite Elias Raymond's and Pere IV's commands, the Dominican Order and the Dominican Province of Aragon split into Clementist and Urbanist wings, each with its own head and chapter meetings. In 1380, Elias Raymond presided over a Clementist Dominican general chapter at Lausanne, but that same year, Urbanist Dominicans held their own general chapter at Bologna and elected their own Master General, Raymond of Capua, confidante and hagiographer of Catherine of Siena. At the provincial level, the split within the Dominican Order was serious enough for the normally unresponsive chronicler Pere d'Arenys to bestir himself. The provincial chapter that met at Xàtiva in 1379 was the last one at which both Urbanist and Clementist friars participated, he noted. Urbanist friars continued to recognize Bernat Ermengol as Provincial, and he presided over a provincial chapter at Barcelona in 1380, but the Clementist Dominicans held a separate provincial chapter at Zaragoza that same year and elected Gombald d'Ulugia as their Provincial. Henceforth, two separate provincial chapters met annually within the Province of Aragon; the Urbanist Provincial presided over one, the Clementist Provincial over the other. Pere d'Arenys also noted that there was a regional and ethnic component to the division within his order, with the Aragonese and Navarrese brothers on one side and the Catalans on the other—but, as Claudia Heimann notes, he did not bother to explain which pope the Aragonese and Navarrese favored and which pope the Catalans favored.[90] The locations of the rival provincial chapter meetings provide a clue, though. The Clementists met mostly in Aragon (Zaragoza, Huesca, Calatayud), while the Urbanists met mostly in Catalonia (Barcelona, Lleida, Tarragona)—and in Valencia itself.[91]

Although the Dominican house at Valencia seems to have skewed Urbanist, Vincent quickly became a supporter of Clement. Scholars have suggested that, in embracing the Clementist cause, Vincent was following the leads of Elias Raymond, Nicolau Eymeric, and Cardinal Pedro de Luna. An Aragonese from an illustrious noble family, Pedro de Luna was among those who elected Urban

at Rome and then elected Clement at Fondi. He arrived in the Crown of Aragon in June 1379; the king, adhering to his policy of neutrality, agreed to receive him as a native of the kingdom but not as a papal legate. From June to December 1379, Pedro de Luna remained in the Crown of Aragon, trying but failing to win the king over to the Clementist cause.[92]

At some point during Pedro de Luna's visit of 1379 to the Crown of Aragon, he met with Vincent, who had become prior of the Dominican house at Valencia. In December 1379, Valencia's *jurats* wrote to Pere regarding the recent activities of Prior Vincent, who a few days earlier had come to Valencia from Barcelona bearing a letter of commission issued to him by Pedro de Luna, as well as a letter from Pedro de Luna to the *jurats* and *Consell*, asking their permission to allow Vincent to address them regarding Clement's election. The *jurats*, at least as they told it to the king, responded to Pedro de Luna's request with a question of their own for Vincent: did he have a letter from the king authorizing him to speak to them about the schism? Vincent replied that he did not have such a letter and that he did not need one "insofar as this matter was spiritual rather than temporal, or something like that" (*per quant aquest fet era spiritual e no temporal, o semblants paraules*). In the absence of royal authorization and in light of the king's neutrality, Valencia's *jurats* told Vincent that they could not let him address the *jurats* and *Consell* about the schism.

Vincent's request to address the *jurats* was not what worried them, though; they reported that request to the king as contextual information (and, one imagines, to demonstrate their adherence to his policy of neutrality). The *jurats*' real concern, and the reason why they wrote to Pere, was that Vincent, who had been upholding in "private gatherings" the legitimacy of Clement's election, now intended to travel throughout the Crown of Aragon doing the same. Learning of this, the *jurats* told Vincent that he and other "notable brothers" of the Valencian convent should stop trying to convince others of either pope's legitimacy until the *jurats* had consulted with the king. Vincent agreed to the moratorium, and the *jurats* asked the king for further instructions.[93]

Vincent's intention to take his defense of the Avignon papacy public alarmed the *jurats*, and likely it displeased the king, but Vincent had a defender in the king's oldest son. In January 1380, the Clementist Joan wrote to Valencia's royal governor and *jurats*, expressing his dismay over how Vincent was being treated. Some people—regrettably, Joan did not name them—had slandered and maltreated the friar. Joan, therefore, ordered the governor and the *jurats* to defend Vincent so that he was no longer denigrated or otherwise harmed.[94] Vincent's open support of Clement, and the hostility that he incurred thereby, perhaps was responsible for his removal from his position as prior. The Clementist provincial chapter at Estella in 1381 excommunicated Vincent's replacement at Valencia, labeling him an "antiprior."[95]

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Nothing more is heard of Vincent's plan to preach openly on Clement's behalf, which suggests that the Dominican complied with the *jurats*' request to cease and desist.[96] But Vincent remained devoted to the Clementist cause, as is evident in

his *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* (*Treatise on the Modern Schism of the Church*) of 1380.

In his *Tractatus*, Vincent treated the schism much as he had treated supposition less than a decade earlier, which is to say, as a problem to be solved through the scholastic method. He organized his latest, and perhaps last, treatise around three questions that followed logically from one another. Vincent asked first whether, in a time of schism, it was necessary to accept a single true pope or whether one could accept both or neither. Having established in his response to the first question that one must accept either Urban or Clement as pope, Vincent then posed the second question, namely, which of the two men elected by the College of Cardinals was the true pope. Having established that Clement's election alone was valid, Vincent then asked whether this truth had to be preached and revealed to the Christian people. To each of these three major questions, the friar assigned five additional questions.[97] Vincent answered all 15 questions within a scholastic framework: he posed his answer; cited his rational arguments (*rationes*) and his authorities (chiefly Aquinas, named on several occasions, and the Bible, with some references to Augustine and Aristotle); raised objections to his own arguments; and then rebutted the objections.

By addressing not just the canonical validity of the papal elections of 1378 but also the obligations incumbent upon Christians during a time of schism, Vincent produced a treatise whose orientation is more theological and ecclesiological than juridical.[98] He mentioned jurists and juridical texts infrequently, strategically accepting their authority when it suited his purposes and rejecting their authority when it did not. He refuted those who, citing Gratian's *Decretum*, claimed that Christians must demand that the College of Cardinals hold a third election. However, Vincent also cited the *Decretum* in defense of the cardinals who, rather than allowing themselves to be killed, had elected Urban and pretended to be happy to do so when in truth they were deathly afraid; as the *Decretum* says, there was biblical precedent for "useful simulation."[99]

The *Tractatus* is as polemical as it is dialectical. Vincent wrote to convince Pere IV that Clement was the legitimate pope and that the king must recognize him as such. The Dominican's argument on behalf of Clement was simple, blunt, and largely derived from the writings of other Clementists such as Nicolau Eymeric and Cardinal Flandrin.[100] The College of Cardinals elected popes. The College of Cardinals had notified Christendom that the election of Urban was held under duress and canonically invalid; therefore, Urban never was pope. The College of Cardinals had elected Clement and reported that the election was canonical; therefore, Clement was pope.

The cardinals' fear during Urban's election was, for Vincent, beyond doubt—on this point, all Christians were bound to believe "simply and infallibly" the cardinals, who had the same authority that the Apostles had while Jesus lived.[101] The cardinals' experience of the Romans' wickedness was long and personal, and:

> even from antiquity the whole world has known how the Romans have always been accustomed to do evil, ready to fly into rages, rash in their plotting, reckless in their smashing and killing. Dear God, how many popes and holy cardinals; how

> often and how many holy martyrs, men and women, young and old; how often and how many good kings, pontiffs, and emperors, have been indecently treated, irreverently assaulted, and cruelly slain through the pride and wickedness of the Romans! Certainly no one who has read the chronicles and histories of that country can be ignorant of this.[102]

Another medieval thinker hostile to the new intellectual currents of his own day, the twelfth-century Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux, had unkind things to say about the Romans in his *De consideratione*, written to prepare a former pupil of his, recently elected as pope, for life in Rome. Vincent quoted Bernard's criticisms of the Roman people at length.[103]

Indeed, Vincent understood and described the schism in ethnic as much as in religious terms. The prophet Daniel foretold the schism in a vision in which he saw four terrible beasts, each of whom signified one of the four great schisms that had afflicted the Church. The first of these schisms was the "schism of the Indians" that occurred under the legendary Prester John, the second was the "schism of the Saracens" under Mohammad, and the third was the "schism of the Greeks" under the emperor of Constantinople. The papal schism was, like those three others, rooted in ethnicity, for it was the "schism of the Romans under Bartolomeo."[104]

Ethnic suspicion also underpinned Vincent's objections to the calling of a general Church council to end the schism. Two cardinals, according to the friar, were demanding such a council. But both cardinals were Italian and rightly confident that at any general Church council Italians would dominate the proceedings; Italian attendees would outnumber the combined number of those hailing from every other part of the world. Furthermore, for Vincent there were ecclesiological and logistical grounds for rejecting a conciliar solution. The College of Cardinals had already done its job; to call a general council now would be to call the legitimacy of the College of Cardinals into question. Given the wars that Christian princes were waging against one another and the diversity of opinion as regards the schism, there was no safe place where such a council might meet.[105]

Notwithstanding its obsequious preface, the *Tractatus* attacks Pere IV's policies and challenges the king, if not by name, throughout and directly. The second chapter's conclusion accusingly states that "From the aforesaid, it is plain that those who say that they are neutral (*indifferentes*) in this matter, and accept neither the one nor the other as pope, are very much wrong." Withholding obedience from the true pope—these words will come back to haunt Vincent—and adhering to a false pope were both great dangers to the Christian's soul.[106] All Christians were obliged to defend Clement spiritually through prayer, vocally through disputation, and materially through monetary donations on behalf of the Clementist cause and, if necessary, through arms and war as well.[107] Preachers had a special responsibility, for the *Tractatus* asserts that, while not all Christians were obligated to do so, preachers had to make the truth known publicly—they could not allow others to persist in error.[108] Preachers must fulfill their obligation to preach publicly on Clement's behalf, and Christians must fulfill their

obligation to defend him with prayer, disputation, and war, even when temporal rulers had forbidden them from doing so.[109]

The *Tractatus* allows that not all who failed to recognize Clement as pope were equally blameworthy, but Vincent seems to have drawn up the criteria for determining various degrees of culpability with King Pere IV in mind. Among the most blameworthy, those whose fault was so great that they committed mortal sin and incurred excommunication *ipso facto* were those who held greater office than others, and those who "knowing the truth, do not wish to acknowledge it because of the wealth that they gain thereby, namely that during the schism they receive ecclesiastical revenues."[110] This last accusation jabbed Pere for sequestering papal income.

In trusting scholastic dialectic to reveal the truth occluded by schism, Vincent explicitly rejected other ways by which the truth might have been discovered. His tenth question was whether the identity of the true pope ought to be determined through "modern prophets or apparent miracles or even declared visions."[111] The question was not a hypothetical one in 1380. Just as the Avignon papacy had given rise to visions that moved those experiencing them to urge popes to return to Rome, so, too, the outbreak of schism occasioned visions; visionaries claimed that the answer and solution to the schism had been given to them. One such visionary of especial importance to the Crown of Aragon was Brother Pere d'Aragó, uncle of Pere IV and a Franciscan who had experienced visions regarding the return of the papacy to Rome in the 1360s and 1370s and whose visions continued after the outbreak of the schism. Unsurprisingly, given his earlier visions indicating the necessity of the pope's return to Rome, Pere d'Aragó's post-1378 visions indicated that the Roman pope, Urban, was legitimate.[112]

In his treatise of August 1378, Nicolau Eymeric rejected the idea that prophetic visions could provide a basis for determining the true pope, and here, too, Vincent followed his fellow Dominican.[113] Immutable law had governed the Christian people from the very beginning of the Church, and no vision contrary to that law was legitimate—not even a pronouncement by an angel of God could be accepted if it were contrary to ecclesiastical law.[114] Visions always might be of demonic rather than divine origin, and any miracles adduced in support of Urban had to be demonic illusions.[115] Urban's supporters might claim that sweetness filled their souls and devotion filled their hearts during their religious contemplations, but it did not automatically follow that the Holy Spirit was the source of that sweetness and devotion.[116] Although Vincent encouraged Christians to take up arms on Clement's behalf, he simultaneously forbade Christians from trying to prove Clement's legitimacy by undergoing an ordeal by battle in the expectation that God would perform a miracle, because the miraculous could play no role in ending the schism. On those same grounds, Vincent forbade Christians from undergoing any sort of ordeal, whether by fire or by some other means, on behalf of Clement.[117]

If ever there was a time to be especially suspicious of prophets, visions, and miracles, that time, Vincent wrote, was the present. The authors of the New Testament warned their contemporaries against pseudoprophets and misleading signs that confused the faithful. Such deception was a problem then, but it was

even more of a problem now, for Vincent and his contemporaries lived closer to the time of Antichrist than did those biblical authors. False prophets, false visions, and false miracles would be common during the time of Antichrist: "therefore, we ought not to derive from those things [new prophecies, visions, miracles] an argument in matters that pertain to the faith or to the Church."[118] This last statement was indeed a strong one. In 1380, Vincent rejected the evidentiary and probative value of contemporary prophecy and vision not just as regards the schism but as regards any question of ecclesiology or belief.

As his rejection of new prophecies and visions indicates, the coming of Antichrist figured into Vincent's thinking at this still early stage of his life and career. In listing the various good things that arose from the schism and thereby demonstrated the Holy Spirit's continuing guidance of the Church, Vincent included how "especially Christ's faithful most plainly are warned and prepared for the time of Antichrist, since in no way are they led away from the true faith on account of the multitude and the greatness of princes, prelates, doctors, or of any others."[119] Adhering to the correct faith when the powerful and the learned were falling away was good practice for much more severe tests to come.

Yet the *Tractatus* is not an apocalyptic text, and Vincent in 1380 cannot be construed as an apocalyptic in any sense other than that in which all Christians are apocalyptic: Antichrist will come someday, there will be a Last Judgment, and then the world will end. When the *Tractatus* notes that Vincent and his contemporaries were closer to the apocalypse than biblical authors had been, it states an obvious truth that was not so much religious as mathematical. For Vincent to say that the schism prepared people for Antichrist was just as unobjectionable. The *Tractatus* does not expound upon the apocalypse; it does not call upon contemporaries to modify their behavior on account of the apocalypse's imminence; and it does not suggest that the apocalypse was more likely to occur in his and his contemporaries' lifetimes than at any other point in the future. Later in life, Vincent treated the schism insofar as it related to, and therefore as secondary to, the apocalypse. In the *Tractatus*, he did the opposite, treating the apocalypse insofar as it related to, and therefore as secondary to, the schism—the latter was his main concern, the former only a secondary one. He cited the Book of Revelation not to prepare his readers for astounding sights and terrors that they would themselves experience but to prove a rather mundane point, namely, that the Church must have one head. That mundane point was merely preliminary to his main argument, namely, that Clement was the only legitimate pope.[120]

Just as Vincent positioned himself against visionaries who claimed that divine revelation had shown them the identity of the true pope, so, too, he positioned himself against those who likened current conditions to those that would obtain at the end of time, or who identified the schism as a sign of Antichrist's imminent arrival. To those who believed that, during this time of schism, the Church was like a door that had been torn entirely off its hinges, Vincent replied that it was not wholly safe to say or believe such a thing, because it would not be true of the Church even during the time of Antichrist, with all of its tribulation and apostasy.[121] Far from linking the schism to the advent of Antichrist and urging his

readers to prepare for the end of the world, the friar here mentioned the apocalypse only for the purpose of reassuring his readers that the present could not be as bad as they claimed it to be.

At the end of his treatise, Vincent asked whether the Bible foretold the schism, and he responded that the Bible did so in two places: Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians and the Book of Daniel, both of them crucial texts for Christian apocalypticism. In the first text, Paul (the letter might be apocryphal) urged the Thessalonians not to expect the second coming of Christ anytime soon, for a great dissension must occur first. Vincent identified the schism as the dissension of which Paul spoke, "and it is greatly to be feared lest the schism endure until the coming of Antichrist and the end of the world."[122] As regards the Book of Daniel, Vincent identified the four beasts with four schisms; here, too, the Dominican raised the possibility and the fear that the present schism might endure until the Last Judgment.

But if Vincent raised the possibility of the schism enduring until the time of Antichrist, he did not commit himself to it. Speaking of the four beasts in Daniel's vision—a lion, a bear, a leopard, and another unlike any that the prophet could name—Vincent concluded his treatise as follows:

> It is greatly to be feared lest the cruel beast of this kind, namely, the present schism of the Romans, live and endure until the end, because Daniel, speaking of the fourth beast, then added there: And while I was looking, thrones were put in place and the Ancient of Days sat. Nevertheless, the Lord Jesus Christ—our David, who with strong hand and longed-for countenance killed the lion and the bear—is powerful enough to kill even this cruel beast and to extirpate it entirely from within the boundaries of His beloved Church, to the praise and honor of His holy name and to the advantage of all faithful Christians. Amen.[123]

If Jesus were not powerful enough to kill the fourth beast, then the schism might indeed last until the end of time, when the Ancient of Days will take His seat and judge all. But Jesus is powerful enough to kill the fourth beast, which prefigures the papal schism. And if Jesus is powerful enough to kill the fourth beast, would He refrain from doing so? Vincent, somewhat elliptically but nonetheless confidently, expressed his expectation that Jesus would end the schism before the coming of Antichrist. The schism was neither a necessary nor even a likely sign of the apocalypse's imminence.

★ ★ ★

Vincent's support of Clement challenged Pere IV but endeared him to the king's Clementist sons, Joan and Martí. In a letter dated only "day of Saint Matthias" (February 24) but related to the friar's movements in 1381, Vincent thanked Martí for inviting him to spend Lent with Martí at Segorbe, and he promised to leave for Segorbe on the Monday following the next Sunday, when the friar had a preaching commitment.[124] By February 1383, Vincent had become the confessor of Joan's wife, Violante de Bar, and Joan sought an episcopal appointment for

him. Specifically, Joan asked Clement not to appoint anyone as the next bishop of Huesca because he would soon send the pope, via a canon of Barcelona, a formal request that his wife's confessor, Vincent Ferrer, be given that office. The queen also supported Vincent's appointment as bishop, writing directly to the canon of Barcelona who was to relay Joan's request.[125] Joan's intercession failed to secure the see of Huesca for Vincent, though. Clement instead appointed Berenguer d'Anglesola, a supporter of Clement and also a favorite of the king, who had secured ecclesiastical positions for Berenguer d'Anglesola before and who lobbied on his behalf for the see of Huesca (which he held for only a year before transferring to the see of Girona—Vincent did not become bishop of Huesca after the transfer either).[126] Nobles and bishops, too, esteemed Vincent. The lord of Almenara in 1382 and the lord of Boïl in July 1383 each named him as executor of their wills, with the latter explicitly identifying Vincent as Violante de Bar's confessor.[127] In December 1385, the bishop of Valencia entrusted to Vincent the job of teaching theology at Valencia's cathedral school, and he assigned to the Dominican a benefice.[128]

Vincent, for his part, acted as courier between the royal brothers Joan and Martí. In 1387, Joan acknowledged receipt of a letter from Marti that Vincent had brought with him. The brothers made requests of Vincent, such as a cryptic one in which Martí asked the friar to send him an unspecified "ordinance" from an unspecified "lord."[129] Vincent also corresponded with the brothers, thanking Martí for interceding with the king on behalf of the Dominican house at Valencia. As a gesture of gratitude, Vincent promised to compose a book of his own sermons and to send it, together with a dedicatory letter in place of a prologue or other introduction, to Martí, who would be, he stressed, the first person ever to receive such a collection of the Dominican's sermons.[130]

Both Joan and Martí went on to become kings of Aragon: first Joan after the death of Pere IV in 1387, and then Martí after Joan's death in 1396. The month after his father's death in January 1387, King Joan I openly proclaimed his and his kingdom's allegiance to Clement. Pedro de Luna, who had not been in the Crown of Aragon since December 1379 when his efforts to sway Pere had failed, returned and was present for the announcement.[131]

Although Valencia's *jurats* tattled on Vincent in 1379 regarding the friar's plan to preach openly on behalf of Clement, doing so opened no long-term rift between them and Vincent. On the contrary, in the 1380s and 1390s, Vincent's ties to Valencia's *jurats*, like his ties to the royal family (although not to Pere IV himself), became stronger. The *jurats* relied on the friar to bring peace to the warring factions within the city; the magistrates even asked the royal family to release Vincent from his obligations to it so that he could devote himself to Valencia's pacification. In April 1381, Valencia's *jurats* wrote to Martí regarding his request that Vincent join him at Segorbe and preach there during Holy Week. Just a few days earlier, the *jurats* and the governor of Valencia had asked Vincent to help pacify the city, and he was deeply involved in that work, which could not be brought to a successful conclusion without his presence and active participation. The *jurats* therefore asked Martí to allow Vincent to remain in Valencia

and to find someone else to celebrate Holy Week services in Segorbe.[132] Whether Martí acceded to the *jurats*' request is uncertain.

Vincent also worked to keep the peace between Valencia's parish clergy and its mendicants. In 1389, Vincent and a parish rector mediated a dispute between parochial clergy and the Dominicans concerning who should attend to and pray over the dying in their final hours, who should perform funeral services, who should process with the dead on their way to burial, and where the dead should be buried. All of this mattered because those who performed such services received payments and donations for doing so. In general, the ruling carefully balanced the interests of parish clergy and the mendicants, but on one point, Vincent's voice seems to ring through clearly. Parish clergy had, with the support of the bishop of Valencia, limited when and where the Dominicans could preach and hear confessions, seemingly excluding the friars from certain places. The arbitrational sentence pronounced forcefully and even angrily that these limitations on when and where Dominicans could preach and hear confessions were now "totally withdrawn, utterly revoked and null, and the curates and their representatives must lift them in every respect, for real, and with effect."[133] It also forbade the parish clergy and their representatives from ever again limiting the Dominicans' freedom to preach and to hear confessions, because preaching to God's flock was the Dominicans' central mission, both by virtue of their vows and by ancient custom.

In addition to working to bring peace to Valencia, Vincent brought moral reform. In April 1390, Valencia's *Consell* granted 100 florins to be apportioned among Valencian prostitutes who had repented of their sins during Holy Week and who wanted to get married, but who could not do so because they and their prospective spouses were too poor. The *Consell* agreed to provide the money to the repentant prostitutes, pending consultation with the *jurats* and, if it seemed appropriate, with Vincent, whose preaching had brought about the prostitutes' repentance in the first place.[134] Whether for his work as a peacemaker, for his work as a moral reformer, for both, or for some other reason entirely, in December 1387, Valencia's *jurats* paid Vincent the considerable sum of 200 florins—twice the amount that they would pay to all the repentant prostitutes and their prospective husbands three years later.[135]

To sum up the first 40 years of Vincent's life: as of the 1380s, Vincent was playing roles and displaying characteristics that would be evident when he later became a figure of European, rather than of local and regional, significance. An uncompromising partisan in the matter of the schism, Vincent was nonetheless a conciliator at home, a person whose moral authority, when brought to bear against feuding and warring parties, led them to enter into peace agreements. Vincent was also acquiring the reputation of being a gifted, effective, and sought-after preacher. His sermons moved prostitutes to repent; he offered a written copy of his sermons as a gift. And yet, in the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate*, Vincent expressed ideas about visions and the apocalypse very much at odds with his later ideas and actions.

★ ★ ★

The 1390s did not begin so well for Vincent, and the decade turned out to be a tumultuous one for the friar. Nicolau Eymeric, the Inquisitor General of Aragon

whose writings on the schism had influenced Vincent's own writings, seems to have accused and convicted his fellow Dominican of heresy.

In 1398, most cardinals of the Avignon obedience broke openly with Pope Benedict XIII—formerly Cardinal Pedro de Luna—who, in 1394, had succeeded Clement VII as pope in Avignon. Among these cardinals was Leonardo da Giffoni, a Franciscan who wrote the treatise *Ex suptuplici medio* during the summer or autumn of 1398.[136] The treatise justified his and his fellow cardinals' renunciation of their allegiance to Benedict, who was, according to the cardinal, a schismatic and a heretic. As proof of Benedict's depravity, Giffoni pointed to the pope's protection of notorious heretics such as the man who was now the pope's confessor, Vincent Ferrer. Vincent had preached a Good Friday sermon in which he claimed that Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of Jesus, had been saved rather than damned. Repenting of his treachery, Judas tried to confess his crime to Jesus during the crucifixion, but the size of the crowd prevented him from drawing close enough to speak with Him, so he confessed to the crime silently in his heart. Jesus knew of Judas's contrition and forgave him; Judas, or so Vincent had preached, now resided in heaven alongside Jesus. In light of the preacher's statements, Eymeric had brought an inquisitorial process against Vincent and found him guilty. Pope Benedict XIII, to protect the reputation of his confessor, obtained the records of the process against Vincent and burned them, so that there would be no evidence or memory of the conviction. Cardinal Giffoni and other cardinals knew of these doings because Eymeric himself had told them.[137]

Others seconded the cardinal's accusations and elaborated upon them, even after Giffoni himself had returned with other cardinals to the Avignon obedience in 1403. (Boniface, Vincent's brother, described their return and submission with relish—he singled out Giffoni as having prostrated himself at Benedict's feet in a public street and confessed that, during his rebellion, he had written "damnably and traitorously.")[138] At the Council of Pisa in 1409, eight different witnesses mentioned Eymeric's inquisitorial process against Vincent; some of those witnesses spoke not of a single process but rather of multiple processes. Vincent, in their telling, appealed his conviction to the papal curia, and Clement VII appointed two cardinals to investigate the matter. Cardinal Pedro de Luna was away from the curia at that moment; when he learned of what had befallen Vincent, he wrote to one of the two cardinals tasked with investigating Vincent and urged him to close the investigation. Then Pedro de Luna returned to the papal curia himself. Upon his election as Pope Benedict XIII, he was able to take matters into his own hands, burning all the relevant records and imposing perpetual silence on those involved.[139]

Cardinal Giffoni and the eight individuals who testified at the Council of Pisa were hostile, not disinterested, witnesses. Within a few months of the cardinal's publication of *Ex suptuplici medio*, three anonymous authors published rejoinders. All three tried to raise doubts about whether Giffoni could be trusted on this matter. If the cardinals were so certain that Vincent was a convicted heretic unjustly pardoned, then why did they not seize him in 1398 when he was residing in the Dominican house at Avignon rather than in the papal palace? Giffoni said that Benedict burned the records, or had the records burned—well, which

was it? Did this hesitancy and inconsistency not call into question the reliability of the information gotten from Eymeric?[140]

The three anonymous rejoinders all sought to undermine Giffoni, but none of them denied outright that Eymeric had conducted an inquisitorial process against Vincent and convicted him of heresy, or that Benedict had burned the records of that process. Indeed, even as they raised questions about the cardinal's claims, they simultaneously assumed those claims to be true when they defended, or at least professed to withhold judgment on, Benedict's destruction of the records. The author of *Sapiens attendens* stated that he did not wish to comment on the matter, because he did not know what Benedict was thinking when he ordered the documents' burning.[141] The author of *Responsurus ad rationes* wanted the pope and Vincent to shed more light on the matter, which they seemingly never did; in his extant sermons that mention Judas (and all of which date, or seem to date, from the first two decades of the fifteenth century), Vincent simply asserted that Judas was damned and said nothing about having been accused and convicted of heresy for previously preaching otherwise.[142] The author of *Sicut dicit Isidoris* argued that the pope was well within his legal rights to assert his jurisdiction in this matter.[143] Giffoni himself in late 1398 or early 1399 wrote a response to the three anonymous treatises; he stood by his original accusation and added others that were vaguer: Vincent was also guilty of heretical errors involving the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist.[144]

Like the three anonymous authors of 1398 who questioned Cardinal Giffoni's allegation, Jean Gerson, too, hedged his bets against the possibility that the accusations were true. In 1402, Gerson addressed the cardinal's claims in his *Replicationes*, written, as Gerson said in the treatise's conclusion, not to excuse or to justify the actions of Benedict, whom he regarded as poorly advised, but to provide the pope with arguments that he could use to defend himself against the charges of heresy and especially of obstinacy or pertinacity, which was an element of heresy.[145] When Benedict's enemies pointed to his "machinations," the pope could easily respond "either by denying them or by giving a positive interpretation to his deeds that are interpreted negatively."[146] Among those machinations was Benedict's burning of the records of the inquisitorial process brought against Vincent. Gerson suggested that the pope might try denying the accusation, for "it will be difficult to prove" the accusation's truth. Denying an accusation because it is difficult to prove falls some way short of denying an accusation because it is false. Gerson also suggested that, if the accusation was true, the pope could abjure his actions, and in any case, although it is "perhaps suspect that Benedict XIII did not give another reason for burning the records," their immolation was not evidence of Benedict's pertinacity or heresy. The pope could absolve those who made heretical statements.[147]

Given how much Vincent borrowed from Eymeric in the former's *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate*, and given their common loyalty to Benedict, Eymeric's charge of heresy against Vincent is, in some respects, surprising. On the other hand, by the time he began his process against Vincent, Eymeric had accumulated nearly four decades of experience as an inquisitor, and during that time, he amply demonstrated his pugnacity and willingness to generate controversy,

especially in his struggle against Valencia's Llullists, adherents of the controversial Mallorcan Ramon Llull, who died most likely in the 1310s. That struggle likely had no direct bearing on Eymeric's decision to charge and to convict Vincent of heresy, but the struggle's curious denouement is relevant to the claims that Vincent had been convicted of heresy and that Benedict later destroyed all the records associated with that inquisitorial process.

In the early 1370s, Eymeric developed an interest in Llull, whose religious orthodoxy he began to doubt on various grounds, not least of all because Llull wrote theological tracts in the vernacular language, thereby exposing the laity to difficult concepts and issues that it was not, in the inquisitor's estimation, prepared to handle.[148] In 1372, at Eymeric's urging, the pope ordered the archbishop of Tarragona to collect Llull's writings, examine them, and burn them if the archbishop found that they contained the heretical statements that Eymeric claimed were there.[149] Pere IV exiled Eymeric from the Crown of Aragon in 1375 for an unrelated matter. While in exile at Avignon, Eymeric continued to pursue his anti-Llullist agenda. In 1376, he secured the issuance of the papal bull *Conservationi puritatis catholice fidei*, which condemned 20 of Llull's books and 200 heretical statements allegedly contained in those books; the pope also ordered an examination of Llull's other writings to determine if they, too, were heretical.[150] After Pere IV's death in January 1387, Eymeric returned to the Crown of Aragon, and Joan I restored him to his position as Inquisitor General of Aragon in April 1387.[151]

The reappointed inquisitor began to investigate and prosecute Valencia's Llullists in keeping with the papal bull of 1376 and, at first, with the support of Joan, who in 1387 forbade the possession of Llull's writings and the teaching of Llull's ideas within the Crown of Aragon.[152] Eymeric's renewed prosecution of the Llullists provoked a strong and well-organized response within Valencia. In June 1388, a representative of the city, Joan de Cera, went to the Dominican house at Valencia and accused Eymeric of slandering Valencia and abusing his office. In support of the charges, Valencia collected the testimony of 48 witnesses, one quarter of them notaries who had recorded the interrogations that Eymeric conducted. According to these witnesses, Eymeric persecuted good people of whom there was no suspicion of heresy, and he and his officials unjustly demanded payment in return for granting absolution to those whom they convicted. Especially galling to these witnesses was Eymeric's treatment of Pere Çaplana, the pastor of Silla; when people spoke up in defense of Pere Çaplana, Eymeric launched inquisitorial processes against Çaplana's defenders as well.[153] In July 1388, Joan wrote to various royal officials and to Eymeric himself, suspending his inquisitorial activities at Valencia and ordering him to leave the Kingdom of Valencia.[154]

Faced with this opposition, Eymeric retreated to Avignon, where he spent the next two years. But in the early 1390s, he returned again to the Crown of Aragon and preached against Valencia, most notably at Lleida in 1392. Valencia, for its part, kept up its struggle against Eymeric, recruiting other cities and towns such as Barcelona, Zaragoza, and Lleida between 1390 and 1392 in support of its cause.[155] Valencia also tried to recruit Cardinal Pedro de Luna as an ally, telling the city's

representative at Avignon to inform the cardinal of what was happening.[156] Joan's support for Eymeric again wavered and then collapsed. In June 1391, the king wrote to Clement VII and told him to disregard any bad things that he might be hearing about the inquisitor, but with so many major towns and cities united in opposition, the tide was running against Eymeric, and Joan gave way before it. In July 1392, the king appointed a new Inquisitor General to replace Eymeric, and in April 1393, he banished Eymeric from the Crown of Aragon yet again. Eymeric, after stalling for perhaps as long as a year, finally left and made his way to Avignon.[157] There he continued to write treatises against the Llullists such as his *Contra prefigentes certum terminum fini mundi*, composed in 1395 or 1396.[158]

Some of the Valencian witnesses who testified in 1388 against Eymeric mentioned that the Dominicans themselves split over the inquisitor's activities, some siding with Eymeric and others siding with Bernat Ermengol, who headed a commission that investigated Llull's writings on three specific points and found that Eymeric tendentiously mistranslated Llull each time.[159] As for which side Vincent took, Josep Perarnau i Espelt reports that he sided with the inquisitor and preached against Pere Çaplana at Valencia.[160] Vincent's support of Eymeric during his struggle against the Llullists lends support to Claudia Heimann's suggestion that Eymeric brought his accusation of heresy against Vincent not because some personal animosity had developed between them but simply because he had heard about Vincent's heretical statements and then proceeded as an inquisitor was bound to do when faced with religious error.[161]

When Pedro de Luna became Pope Benedict XIII in 1394, he did everything within his power to make the conflict between Valencia and Eymeric go away quickly. During the final few months of Clement VII's pontificate, Valencia's representative at Avignon accused Eymeric himself of unorthodox views regarding the Immaculate Conception, which resulted in the beginning of an inquisitorial process against Eymeric. Shortly after becoming pope, Benedict stopped the process against Eymeric, who remained a supporter of Benedict until the inquisitor's death in 1399. But Benedict also did Valencia an equally large favor. In 1395, the keeper of the papal records made a surprising announcement. Valencia's Llullists claimed that the anti-Llullist papal bull of 1376, *Conservationi puritatis catholice fidei*, was not authentic, notwithstanding the facts that Pere IV had responded to it in 1377 and that copies were circulating within the Crown of Aragon. The keeper of the papal records searched the papal registers for a properly registered copy of the bull and reported that he could not find one. Therefore, the bull's various provisions and its condemnation of Llull were null and void, and the basis for Eymeric's offensive against the Llullists was gone.[162] In this instance, Benedict seems to have made the problem go away quite literally.[163] The new pope's desire to quiet the conflicts that he inherited from his predecessor, and the way that awkward documents unexpectedly vanished early in Benedict's pontificate, lend credibility to Cardinal Giffoni's accusation that Benedict burned the records associated with the investigation and trial of Vincent and ordered all involved never to speak of the episode.

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Aside from his time at Toulouse in the 1370s, Vincent spent the first four decades of his life within Valencia and the Crown of Aragon. But from the middle of the 1390s (perhaps as early as 1392) until the end of 1408, he seems never to have set foot in Valencia or the Crown of Aragon.

Precisely when and under what circumstances Vincent left his homeland are unclear. In a sermon that he preached at Valencia in 1413, Vincent stated that he was present at Avignon during Clement VII's pontificate, specifically at the moment when the pope's brother, the count of Geneva, died without a son to be his heir.[164] The count in question, Pierre, died at Avignon in March 1392.[165] Perhaps Vincent had gone to Avignon to appeal against his conviction of heresy. How long Vincent stayed at Avignon—whether he returned to Valencia, or whether he was still at Avignon in 1394 when the cardinals of the Avignon obedience elected Pedro de Luna as Benedict XIII—is unknown. Also unknown is the date when Vincent became Pedro de Luna's confessor. A knowledgeable but not infallible canonization witness, Jean Placentis testified that Vincent had become Pedro de Luna's confessor before the latter's election as pope.[166] Fiscal records from December 1395 to July 1398 show regular payments being made to Vincent for his service as papal confessor; his annual salary was 120 florins, paid in roughly quarterly installments of 30 florins each.[167] While at Avignon, Vincent remained in occasional contact with the royal house of Aragon. Martí, now king himself, wrote to Vincent, Master of the Sacred Page and Papal Confessor (but not Master of the Sacred Palace, an office historians sometimes ascribe to Vincent) in January 1398, asking the friar to send him a copy of an unidentified dictionary that the king believed to be available at Avignon.[168]

That the Avignon cardinals elected anyone to succeed Clement VII was controversial, and Benedict XIII's situation soon deteriorated badly. Clement was not the first of the two popes elected in 1378 to die. Urban VI went first in 1389, raising hopes that his supporters would end the schism by refraining from electing a successor. But the cardinals of the Roman obedience elected Pietro Tomacelli as Pope Boniface IX. The same hopes for an end to the schism arose when Clement died—with the death of the second of the two popes elected in 1378, the issue of which of those twin elections had been valid was no longer quite so tangible. Simon de Cramaud, effectively the head of the French clergy and representing the position of the French monarchy, upon hearing of Clement's death sent messengers to Avignon and asked the cardinals there not to elect a successor. The Roman *curia* made the same request, conveniently disregarding how the Roman cardinals had been unwilling to do the same just five years earlier. The Avignon cardinals disregarded these requests and instead moved forward with a papal election all the more quickly. Just 12 days after Clement had died, the Avignon cardinals elected Pedro de Luna as Benedict XIII.[169]

At the time of his election, Benedict pledged that he would work to end the schism. It soon became apparent, however, that he understood that pledge differently than did some of his supporters. In February 1395, Simon de Cramaud presided over a French assembly at Paris that considered various ways of ending the schism, such as calling a general Church council to settle the matter, or perhaps establishing a commission to resolve the conflicting claims of papal

legitimacy. In the end, the assembly of 1395 voted in favor of the "way of cession," or *via cessionis*, whereby both the Avignon pope and the Roman pope would resign their offices, clearing the way for the election of a new pope by a united College of Cardinals. When the assembly's representatives traveled to Avignon and informed Benedict of the decision, the pope refused to resign. The Roman pope was even less inclined to comply with the decision of a French assembly whose attendees were not even of his obedience.

As it became clear that Benedict would not embrace the *via cessionis* willingly, France began to pressure the pope to do so and encouraged others to join the effort. In July 1397, representatives of the French, Castilian, and English clergy delivered an ultimatum to Benedict. They gave him seven months to end the schism; if Benedict failed to do so, then France and Castile would abandon him. Benedict neither resigned nor found some other solution to the schism within the allotted seven months, and so in May 1398, another assembly convened in France. In keeping with the decision of that assembly, in July 1398 the king of France formally withdrew his kingdom from the Avignon obedience. Castile then did the same. In September 1398, a French army entered Avignon and besieged the papal palace. That same month, most of Benedict's cardinals withdrew from his obedience and left the papal palace.[170]

This collapse—not total, but substantial—of Benedict's support was the context within which Vincent began the peripatetic preaching mission for which he became famous. Vincent's commitment to preaching certainly predated the collapse, but this mission led him to redefine himself in terms of that preaching. Before 1399, Vincent signed his letters "Vincent Ferrer, sinner," but after 1399, he signed them "Vincent Ferrer, preacher." The man who in 1380 had written that preaching on behalf of the true pope was a most serious obligation paid little attention to the schism in sermons preached after 1399. And the man who in 1380 had evinced such suspicion of religious visions now made a vision the basis of his spiritual authority and the center of his life. The vicissitudes of the schism perhaps explain why Vincent's mission began when it did, but they did not cause that mission. The cause was a vision.

# CHAPTER 2

# *LEGATUS A LATERE CHRISTI*: PROVENCE, LOMBARDY, AND IN BETWEEN

Bernard Montagnes provides the standard account of when and how Vincent Ferrer went from being the pope's confessor to Christ's legate:

> After France's withdrawal of obedience on 1 September 1398, while remaining convinced that the only legitimate pope was the one at Avignon, but incapable of getting Benedict XIII to resign in order to end the Schism, Vincent Ferrer retired to the Dominican convent. There he experienced the vision of 3 October 1398, of which Vincent Ferrer himself wrote to Benedict XIII in his letter dated 27 July 1412. Around one year after he experienced his investiture, on 22 November 1399, Vincent Ferrer began his career as a wandering preacher in his capacity as *legatus a latere Christi,* Legate of Christ.[1]

The account is in some respects accurate, but in other respects at odds with what Vincent himself said. That he left Avignon on November 22, 1399, to preach as Christ's legate is correct. In a sermon delivered years later on Saint Cecilia's day (November 22), Vincent reminisced about how it was on Saint Cecilia's day that he had begun his preaching mission as *legatus a latere Christi*. [2] In his reminiscence, he specified only the day, not the year, when he began his itinerant preaching mission. But on other occasions Vincent spoke of how long he had wandered and preached, and he always dated the mission's start to 1399. In Vincent's letter of July 1412 to Benedict XIII, he wrote of a preacher—himself—who had spent the previous 13 years wandering and warning listeners of the apocalypse's imminence. Preaching at Zaragoza on December 3, 1414, Vincent stated that he had just finished the fifteenth year of his preaching mission and was now beginning the sixteenth.[3] Furthermore, the Dominican begins to turn up as a wandering preacher in Provençal town records starting in 1400.[4] Word that Vincent intended to leave Avignon seems to have reached Valencia by August 1399, three months before he actually left; in August 1399, Valencia's *jurats* wrote to Vincent "at Avignon, or wherever you might be" (*en Avinyó o llà on sia*) and asked him to return to his native city.[5]

That, prior to his departure from Avignon, Vincent had left the papal palace and taken up residence at the Dominican house there is reasonably certain. Pierre Blau, a cardinal who abandoned Benedict and himself withdrew from the papal palace in 1398, wrote in a letter of 1402 that Vincent at some point had left the papal palace as well, although the cardinal did not specify when.[6] At Vincent's Breton canonization inquest, Jean Jegoti, a 70-year-old deacon from the Diocese of Vannes, testified that he was at Avignon when the Kingdom of France subtracted its obedience from Benedict and the cardinals withdrew from the papal palace. Jegoti recalled that Benedict begged Vincent not to leave the papal palace, but Vincent left anyway, taking up residence in the Dominican house for a period of about six months and preaching on Sundays and religious feast days in the Celestine convent.[7] Pietro Ranzano's *vita* states that Benedict and a large group of clergy went to the Dominican convent at Avignon and offered Vincent the vacant see of Valencia or some other bishopric, and even offered to make Vincent a cardinal, if he would agree to return to the papal palace or at least to stay in Avignon.[8] The story does not entirely stand up to scrutiny, for reasons that go beyond its hagiographical function of emphasizing Vincent's humility (he refused the offer). The see of Valencia did indeed fall vacant on May 30, 1396, but Benedict named Hug de Llupià i Bages as bishop of Valencia on November 28, 1397, which is to say, before the French subtraction of obedience and before the cardinals' and Vincent's own departure from the papal palace.[9] Still, Ranzano's account likely has some basis in fact. The Carthusian Jean Placentis was among the best informed witnesses at Vincent's canonization inquests and also among the most judicious. He distinguished between what he had only heard from others but did not otherwise know to be true—for example, that Vincent was once elected a bishop and that the friar was always urging Benedict to resign in order to end the schism—and what he himself knew to be true. That Benedict had offered to make Vincent a cardinal and that he had refused the position, Placentis professed to "know well."[10]

As regards the religious vision that triggered Vincent's itinerant preaching mission, the standard account is not consistent with the historical evidence. The date of October 3—the eve of the feast of Saint Francis—comes from a sermon that Vincent preached at Montpellier in 1408.[11] The year given for the vision—1398—figures (if only implicitly) in the work of the sixteenth-century historian Antist, who states that Vincent experienced his vision after leaving the papal palace at Avignon, but it appears nowhere in Vincent's own writings and sermons, in documents from his own lifetime, or even in Ranzano's *vita*.[12]

Twice in his writings and sermons, Vincent indicated when he had experienced the vision that eventually inspired him to announce to the world that he, as Christ's legate, had a message of the greatest urgency to share. Preaching at Montpellier in December 1408, Vincent stated that fewer than 20 years had elapsed since the vision, which is to say, the vision occurred at some point from 1389 onward.[13] In his letter of 1412 to Benedict, Vincent stated that, while he had been preaching for 13 years, the vision took place more than 15 years earlier (*iam sunt elapsi plus quam 15 anni*), which rules out 1398 and—because Vincent wrote this letter in July—1397 as well. October 1397 was not more than 15 years

earlier than July 1412.[14] Vincent's vision, therefore, dates no later than October 3, 1396—well before he left the papal palace and at least three years before his departure from Avignon in 1399. The Dominican had many years to ponder and to digest the vision before he began his peripatetic preaching mission, which originated in neither impulse nor whim.

The vision was a wrenching experience with which Vincent struggled to come to terms for the rest of his life. Indeed, he never quite admitted that he was the one who had experienced the vision. In his letter of 1412, Vincent wrote that a friar belonging to either the Dominican or the Franciscan Order had shared a "most certain" revelation with him. The friar in question was once gravely ill and prayed to God for recovery, so that he could preach the word of God as fervently and as frequently as before. Saints Dominic and Francis then appeared to the sick friar; they were at Jesus's feet, beseeching Him, and in response to their prayers, Jesus and the two saints came down to the friar on his bed. Jesus touched the friar on his cheek, and at that very moment the friar understood that he must go forth and preach of the coming of Antichrist. Jesus's touch cured the sick friar, whose "divinely issued apostolic legation" was then confirmed by many signs and by scriptural authority. These signs were necessary because of the work's difficulty and the friar's frailty. Having received the divine commission, the friar had spent the last 13 years traveling throughout the world and was continuing to do so, even though he was now more than 60 years old. Some even said that this friar was the first of the three preachers, called angels, whom the Book of Revelation predicted would come before the Last Judgment to announce that all should fear God and honor Him, for the Day of Judgment was coming.[15]

That Vincent's account of the sick friar was autobiographical seems certain. Sexagenarian friars who had traveled throughout the world since 1399 preaching about the coming of Antichrist did not abound in 1412.[16] Vincent's contemporaries understood the sick friar to be Vincent. The anonymous author of the *Relación a Fernando de Antequera*, after hearing Vincent preach at Toledo in 1411 and relate the story of the sick friar, came to that conclusion: he and others who heard the Dominican at Toledo took Vincent and the sick friar to be one and the same.[17]

Vincent's letter of 1412 was not the first occasion on which he told the story of the sick friar's vision, and compared to those earlier accounts, the version in the letter of 1412 is relatively forthcoming. Preaching at Toledo in 1411, Vincent said nothing about the sick friar's religious order and his preaching throughout the world since 1399; instead, he allowed only that the sick friar was now about 60 years old, that he knew the sick friar personally, and that he had spoken with him many times—but, Vincent claimed, he could not say who the sick friar was.[18] Preaching even earlier at Montpellier in 1408, Vincent ruled out the possibility that he himself experienced the vision in question. There, Vincent told his listeners that the friar in question was a Franciscan—in other words, the friar had to be someone other than the Dominican Vincent.[19] In 1408, Vincent excluded the possibility that he himself had experienced the vision; in 1412, he allowed for that possibility, yet he still could not bring himself to admit to others that he was the sick friar. As the years passed, Vincent edged closer to the point of being able to acknowledge the experience of having nearly died, of being touched on the

face by Jesus, and of being commanded to go forth and preach about the coming of Antichrist, but he never quite reached it.

This pattern is understandable. For a man who in 1380 publicly wrote against those who claimed a visionary basis for their knowledge, to experience such a vision might well have been exceptionally traumatic. The continuing, if diminishing, obliqueness with which he spoke of the sick friar reflects just how disconcerting the vision was and always would be for Vincent.

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Vincent called himself *legatus a latere Christi*.[20] By the fourteenth century, the papal *legatus a latere* was a familiar part of the religious landscape. The qualifier *a latere* ("from the side," as if the legate was detached from the body of the pope himself) signified the close relationship between the pope and the legate who acted in his stead and, accordingly, possessed extensive powers. Some powers came automatically with the position, and popes conferred others on a case-by-case basis. By Vincent's lifetime, the *legatus a latere* always had to be a cardinal and had the right to lift sentences of excommunication in certain cases; his jurisdiction was nearly always superior to that of all other clergy. The pope established the additional powers that he granted to the *legatus a latere* in a written, sometimes quite lengthy, commission. So powerful was the *legatus a latere* that by the fourteenth century he was "a virtual pope himself," with the right to wear papal regalia. Such legates were "sent out only when dire necessity seemed to dictate the application of their vast and sometimes controversial powers."[21] In claiming the title of *legatus a latere Christi*, Vincent claimed for himself legatine status and powers, as well as an especially close relationship with Jesus that served as the basis of his status and powers.

From the fifteenth century onward, this aspect of Vincent's mission has made biographers and historians uneasy, and they have posited that, notwithstanding his use of the title *legatus a latere Christi*, the friar's mission and legatine powers derived from a papal commission. Already in his fifteenth-century *vita*, Ranzano claimed that, before Vincent's departure from Avignon, Benedict had bestowed specific powers and a specific title upon him: "so that he [Vincent] might more effectively and healthfully evangelize, traveling throughout the world, the same pope conferred on him the great power of binding and of loosing, sending him forth as a special legate of the Apostolic see" (*specialem Apostolicae Sedis Legatum*). Ranzano also claimed that, after the Council of Constance, Pope Martin V renewed the commission that Benedict had given to Vincent—the commissions from Benedict and Martin would have covered the whole of the Dominican's mission from 1399 to 1419.[22] Ranzano may have gotten these ideas from Jean Nider's *Formicarius* of circa 1437, which states that Benedict gave Vincent an "apostolic authority" to hear confessions that the friar then delegated to his companions and that the Council of Constance itself (rather than Martin, as Ranzano would have it) renewed Vincent's apostolic authority after deposing Benedict.[23]

Nider's and Ranzano's redefinitions of Vincent as the legate of a pope rather than of Christ were posthumous and historically inaccurate attempts to

reintegrate the friar within the Church hierarchy. Adolfo Robles Sierra points out that there is no contemporary evidence of either Benedict or Martin naming Vincent as a papal legate.[24] During his voyage through Castile in 1411 and 1412, Vincent stated at Toledo that Jesus had sent him and did not mention the pope; at Salamanca, Vincent stated flatly that "I am sent neither by king nor by emperor nor by pope, but only by Pope Jesus."[25] The chronicler Martín de Alpartil was a canon of Zaragoza who served in Benedict's curia, traveled with that pope, and then eventually returned to Zaragoza; he relates that even as late as 1414, Vincent was saying the same to his audience at Zaragoza: "And he said that he was *legatum a latere Christi*, and that Pope Jesus himself had sent him on account of his beneficial teaching."[26]

But Robles also maintains that, even if Benedict did not name Vincent a *legatus a latere* in any formal sense (and Benedict knew well what that title meant, having himself been a *legatus a latere* to the Iberian peninsula; his written commission and related documents survive today), Benedict in 1399 must have informally conferred upon Vincent the powers that the Dominican subsequently exercised.[27] This informal conferral of powers must have taken place because, upon leaving Avignon, Vincent exercised powers that he ought not to have exercised without such a conferral: going and preaching where he wanted, while rarely showing any recognition of the authority of the Dominican Master General and never acknowledging the authority of the head of the Dominican Province of Aragon; exercising jurisdictional authority over the clergy who traveled with him; lifting sentences of excommunication; and granting and denying indulgences. Furthermore, Robles notes that, in sermons of 1413 and 1414, Vincent spoke once of his and his companions' power to absolve sins as coming both from Christ and from the pope, and once of that power as coming just from the pope.[28]

That Benedict informally conferred specific powers upon Vincent at the time of the Dominican's departure from Avignon in 1399 is highly doubtful, though. Even before he had left Avignon, Vincent showed that he was capable of acting independently of that pope's wishes. In his letter of 1402, Cardinal Blau mentioned that Vincent had preached in Avignon after leaving the papal palace, even though the town was under papal interdict.[29] If Vincent did indeed receive informal powers from the pope in 1399, one must wonder why the Dominican waited until 1413 and 1414 to speak of them. His extant sermons from 1411 and 1412 number in the hundreds, and yet in them he did not state that his powers came from the pope. To the contrary, in 1411 he told his listeners that no human pope had sent him, only Pope Jesus. Neither in his letter to the Master General of the Dominican Order of 1403, which purports to give a general account of Vincent's activities during the previous 21 months, nor in his letter of 1412 to Benedict himself did Vincent mention that Benedict had bestowed powers on the Dominican in 1399 or at any time. And such a bestowal would have merited inclusion: in the first because there Vincent explained and defended what he was doing and why he was doing it; in the second because there Vincent defended the orthodoxy of his apocalyptic preaching mission, a defense that could only have been helped by prior papal authorization.[30]

Furthermore, Vincent crossed paths with Benedict on a number of occasions after departing Avignon in 1399: at Genoa in 1405, at Perpignan at the end of 1408 or the beginning of 1409, and at Tortosa in June 1413. The informal bestowal of powers, if it ever happened, could have occurred at any of those meetings, and given that it was only in 1413 and 1414 that Vincent began to speak of his powers as coming from the pope, the meeting at Tortosa in 1413 would seem to be the most likely place and time.

But it is also possible that Benedict never conferred any powers on Vincent. In 1412, Vincent addressed to the pope an epistolary defense of the friar's apocalyptic preaching, written, at least in part, to allay the pope's concerns about Vincent's orthodoxy: "These are the things, most Holy Father, that I, travelling throughout the world, preach concerning the time of Antichrist and the end of the word, subject to the determination and correction of your Holiness."[31] Benedict seems to have raised no objections to the letter's contents. That tacit approval may have been the reason why in 1413 and 1414 Vincent began to claim a papal authorization that supplemented rather supplanted Christ's own.

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When Valencia's *jurats* wrote to Vincent in August 1399 and asked him to return to his native city, they urged him to think of his physical and mental health, which would benefit from such a return. They urged him to think of the Dominican house at Valencia, where, according to the *jurats*, the brothers had grown weak in their religious observance and his presence was therefore needed. They urged him, too, to think of his family and friends, who wished to see him again.[32]

When Vincent left Avignon three months later, he did not return to Valencia. The comforting familiarity of his home city, the spiritual welfare of the Dominican brothers there, the sound of his family's and friends' voices, and the sight of their faces: these were not enough to bring him back. Instead, he spent the next decade traveling to places and regions where he had never been before and whose languages were not his own.[33]

Vincent himself never explained why he refused to return home in 1399. Perhaps memories of the Llullist controversy still rankled. Perhaps Vincent did not wish to become entangled in the local civic, ecclesiastical, and familial affairs mentioned by the *jurats*, lest those affairs interfere with his preaching mission. Perhaps he wanted to test the veracity of his vision by going to places where he was not well known and where he was not guaranteed a favorable reception or even his listeners' comprehension.

The friar, however, did write a letter on December 17, 1403, to the Master General of his order, Jean de Puynoix; then at Geneva, Vincent gave an account of where he had been and what he had been doing during the previous 21 months. He had spent the previous five months in Savoy, the thirteen months before that in Lombardy, and the three months before that in the Dauphiné; as for the future, he would soon leave Geneva for the Diocese of Lausanne. As for why Vincent, who had left Avignon more than four years earlier, limited his account to the previous 21 months, it appears that before

traveling to the Dauphiné he had met with Jean de Puynoix at Romans, at which place and time the Master General "sent away" Vincent.[34] Presumably, at that meeting Vincent informed the Master General of his travels since his departure from Avignon, and so there was no need to recount them again in the letter of 1403.

As an account of where Vincent had spent the previous 21 months, the letter of 1403 is accurate. The friar's travels left traces in municipal fiscal accounts and in town chronicles, which reveal that, during the decade following his departure from Avignon, Vincent moved and preached within an area bounded by the Rhône River to the west; extending to Lyon, Geneva, Fribourg, and francophone Switzerland to the north and the east; and extending to Liguria, Piedmont, and Lombardy to the east and south. The Dominican's travels were not linear; within any given region, he often visited the same place multiple times. Yet there was a broad pattern; in the decade after leaving Avignon, Vincent, however erratically, gradually drifted eastward, farther away from home and into increasingly unfamiliar regions.[35] From the moment of his departure through June 1402, Vincent showed up at various places in Provence: Sisteron (May 1400, August 1400, December 1401, June 1402), Arles (February 1401), Marseille (December 1400, March–April 1401).[36] Next Vincent was in Piedmont: at Turin (August and September 1402), Vigone (October and November 1402), Pinerolo (April 1403).[37] By December 1403, he was in Geneva, and as he had written to the Dominican Master General, he did indeed travel to the Diocese of Lausanne; in March 1404, Vincent was at Fribourg. In September 1404, he was at Lyon.[38]

By March 1405, Vincent was back in northern Italy, and he appears to have remained there until late 1408. He was at Genoa in July 1405; again in July and August 1406, when he led the city's residents in processions that tried to ward off plague; and then again in March 1407. (In a postscript to a letter sent by Jean Gerson to Vincent in 1416, Pierre d'Ailly mentioned having met and spoken with Vincent at Genoa and also at Padua.[39]) Between his various trips to Genoa, Vincent passed through Sanremo in November 1405 and Savona, where he preached two extant sermons, in April 1407.[40] He was at Vigone, which he had visited back in 1402, again in the summer of 1407.[41] In late November and December 1408, Vincent was back in France and well west of the Rhône River, preaching at Montpellier and heading even farther west, toward the Crown of Aragon. Montpellier's anonymous town chronicle, the *Petit thalamus*, records that he was on his way to Perpignan, where he arrived either late in 1408 or early in 1409.[42]

It is not always clear why Vincent went where he did, but three factors came into play: episcopal invitations, municipal invitations, and the presence of Benedict XIII. In his letter of 1403, Vincent stated that the bishop of Lausanne had invited him to visit the diocese and to preach there.[43] Pinerolo and Lyon authorized payments to messengers who brought letters to Vincent asking him to make his way to them.[44] Vincent's second visit to Italy coincided with Benedict's travels there; it began in 1405, when Benedict himself arrived in Italy, and it ended in 1408 when Benedict left Italy and went to Perpignan, which was precisely where Vincent himself went upon leaving Italy.

That Benedict was free to travel anywhere was rather surprising. In September 1398, most of his cardinals had abandoned him, and a French army was besieging him in the papal palace at Avignon. There was little reason to think that his pontificate would survive such a disastrous reversal of fortune. France and Castile had withdrawn their obedience, but not the Crown of Aragon, which dispatched a flotilla of 14 galleys to break the siege of the papal palace and rescue the pope. The flotilla arrived in December 1398 but failed to break through and withdrew in March 1399, having accomplished nothing. Benedict remained determined to outlast his enemies, and he signaled his defiance and resolve by refusing to shave until he had triumphed over those seeking to overthrow him. One contemporary chronicler remarked that, as the pope's beard grew massive, he came to resemble the Old Testament patriarch Abraham.

Benedict owed his survival not so much to his facial hair as to the fissures that he created within the coalition against him. When France proclaimed its subtraction of obedience in 1398, Louis II d'Anjou, who held the titles of King of Naples, Duke of Anjou, and Count of Provence, followed suit, but in January 1399, he instead pledged his personal support to Benedict. In May 1400, Benedict put himself under Louis's protection, and in August 1402, Louis formally returned to the Avignon obedience. The price that Benedict paid for Louis's support was to yield to him the papal revenues within Provence, but in a sense Benedict paid nothing for Louis's support, for, as Jean Favier observes, "without this restitution of obedience, there were no papal revenues in Provence."[45] In March 1403, Benedict escaped from the papal palace at Avignon and made his way to Provence, the start of a lengthy peregrination. The *via cessionis* had failed; Benedict had refused to resign in the face of the French and Castilian subtractions of obedience. Most of the cardinals who had withdrawn from the Avignon obedience returned to it and asked the pope's forgiveness; Benedict accepted their return, and his comeback thereby gained still more momentum. The king of France issued a royal ordinance in May 1403 returning his kingdom to Benedict's obedience. Castile had returned a month earlier.[46]

Benedict himself never returned to Avignon, though. After his escape, he stayed within Provence and continued to pursue his preferred solution to the schism, which he termed the "way of justice" (*via iusititae*) and which the University of Paris, less inspiringly, called the "way of compromise" (*via compromissi*). According to the *via iustitiae*, Benedict and his Roman counterpart would meet face to face and resolve the schism through direct dialogue. If that meeting did not take place or if the dialogue failed, then Benedict and the Roman pope would each appoint an equal number of arbitrators who, in turn, would constitute a single commission to work out a just compromise that both popes would be bound to accept. Benedict pursued this solution earnestly. From Marseille in June 1404, he sent ambassadors to his Roman rival Boniface IX; the ambassadors requested that the two popes meet in Italy in a suitably safe place. Boniface said no, as did his successor, Innocent VIII. The ambassadors, maltreated and detained, finally returned empty-handed to Marseille in April 1405. Benedict went to Italy anyway, arriving in May 1405 at Genoa (where Vincent joined him). He asked to meet with his rival; perhaps he also hoped to rally Italy to his

cause, raise an army, and take Rome by force. Neither the meeting nor the rally materialized, and Benedict returned to Provence.

By early 1407, though, the *via iustitiae* started to offer hope for success. Benedict's Roman counterpart (now Gregory XII) sent ambassadors to arrange a meeting between the popes, and by April 1407 the two popes had agreed to meet at Savona no later than the following September. Delighted that his long-wished-for meeting had been scheduled, Benedict left Marseille in August 1407 and arrived at Savona in September 1407. Gregory never came; in November 1407, the Roman pope suggested that they meet at Porto Venere instead. Benedict agreed, reached Porto Venere in January 1408, and again waited for Gregory—and, again, Gregory did not show up, stopping at nearby Lucca in January 1408 but never reaching Porto Venere. Benedict was still there in June 1408 when he finally gave up hope, if only for the time being, of meeting with his rival. Benedict summoned a church council to convene at Perpignan and made his way to the Crown of Aragon.[47]

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In his letter of 1403 to the Master General, Vincent explained not only where he had been for the last 21 months but also what he had been doing: he had been combatting heresy with great success. In the Dauphiné, Vincent had visited the three "most famous valleys of the heretics" in the Diocese of Embrun, including one "now called Pure Valley, formerly called Most Wicked Valley" (*Vallis pura, olim pessima*). His success in cleansing Most Wicked Valley and creating Pure Valley became an important component of his fame. In 1409, Barcelona's magistrates referred approvingly to his work in creating *Vallis pura* out of what they called *Vall puta*—the name of an actual Alpine village (Vallouise, once known as Valpute)—not *Vallis pessima*, as Vincent had done in his letter of 1403.[48] The *Vallis pura*/*Vallis puta* wordplay appealed to Vincent; when preaching in Castile in 1411, he himself spoke of his work in *Vallis puta* rather than in *Vallis pessima*.[49] The catchy pun proved enduringly popular. It appears repeatedly in testimony given by witnesses at Vincent's Toulousan canonization inquest, and it figures in testimony given at the Neapolitan inquest as well.[50]

Thanks to the wandering preacher's exertions, the heretics dwelling in the valleys of the Dauphiné had accepted "the doctrine of Catholic truth." Vincent would have remained there, reinforcing their faith, but "in response to the prayers and requests of many, both in speech and in writing," he went over the Alps to Lombardy. There he found still more valleys teeming with heretics, both Waldensians and Cathars, against whom Vincent preached. He uncovered their errors and won them over to the "truth of the Catholic faith," converting a heretical bishop with whom he met in secret and "destroying" Waldensian and Cathar schools. He also worked to bring peace to the feuding Guelf and Ghibelline factions, whose struggles had shaped Italian history for centuries. In Savoy, too, Vincent found heretics, here organized into confraternities dedicated to Saint Orient. Discovering these groups and their heresy, Vincent preached against their error, "and it was effectively destroyed." Next, the preacher intended to go to the

Diocese of Lausanne, "where they, most especially the peasants, commonly and openly worship the sun as a god." The heretics there were "very bold and audacious," but Vincent and his companion Anthony would confront them as they had confronted the Waldensians, Cathars, and Confraternities of Saint Orient and hopefully with the same success. As for why there was so much heresy in these parts, Vincent attributed it to a lack of preaching. In areas of Lombardy, the laity for 30 years had heard no Catholic preachers, only Waldensians. In Savoy, when Vincent learned of the Confraternities of Saint Orient, the local mendicants and parish clergy told him that they, fearing for their own lives, did not dare to preach against them.[51]

Regarding Vincent's activities between 1401 and 1404, much of what he related in his letter of 1403 is demonstrably true or at least plausible. Vincent did indeed concern himself with the struggles between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines; in an undated sermon contained in the homiliary of Perugia, Vincent characterized taking the part of either the Guelfs or the Ghibellines as an act of treachery against Christ, tantamount to divination, blasphemy, withholding tithes, persecuting clergy, and lazily waving one's hand in a circle when making the sign of the cross.[52] Vincent also brought peace between feuding parties more generally. In 1400, Sisteron gave wine and grain to the friar to recompense him both for preaching and for "ending feuds and other conflicts in the town." The *Chronica loca Cunei* mentions Vincent's passage through Cuneo and states that the Dominican worked to bring peace between feuding parties; in 1405, Vincent arbitrated a seigniorial dispute at Sanremo, and he continued his peacemaking activities in Italy until his final departure in 1408.[53]

In the regions through which Vincent passed, there were heretics, especially Waldensians. The Franciscan Inquisitor François Borrel in the 1380s proceeded against heretics with a thoroughness long remembered in the valleys that Vincent visited.[54] While Catharism had been all but wiped out in these alpine and subalpine regions, surviving mostly in the form of an occasional stray and poorly understood Cathar idea taken up by a Waldensian, official concern with Catharism remained real enough for Vincent to believe that there were Cathars against whom to preach.[55] Sun worship figures from time to time in the records of inquisitorial interrogations: a Waldensian in Piedmont confessed in 1387 to worshiping the sun and moon while saying the Our Father and the Ave Maria.[56] And Vincent's claims about the lack of Catholic preaching in areas through which he had passed were likely not far from the truth. Judging from local visitation and conciliar records, it appears that parish clergy, and especially rural parish clergy, administered sacraments and offered rudimentary religious instruction to parishioners, but did not preach.[57]

Concerning Vincent's first decade of peripatetic preaching, more than just his letter of 1403 and brief notices in local chronicles and fiscal accounts survives. Reports of Vincent's sermons survive as well—sermons that he preached at and near Fribourg in March 1404 and at and near Montpellier in November and December 1408. These surviving reports constitute only a small fraction of the sermons that Vincent preached between 1399 and 1408—he preached most every day and sometimes more than once a day. But at least they exist. There

are no surviving reports of Vincent's sermons preached before 1399 (or, at least, no reports of sermons that can be dated to that period). When Vincent traveled through the Diocese of Lausanne during Lent of 1404, a Franciscan theologian named Friedrich von Amberg followed him and recorded what the Dominican said. Thanks to these Swiss sermons, Vincent's preaching at last comes to life.

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The first step on the ladder by which one ascended to heaven was *credencia articulorum fidei*, belief in the articles of the faith. No amount of good works could earn entrance into heaven without correct belief. And yet, all too often, when confessors asked penitents whether they knew the Apostles' Creed by heart, penitents replied that they did not, because they could not read. A risible and wrong answer, Vincent told his listeners. How easily and quickly did people learn by heart the words to whatever new and silly song happened to be popular, and yet these same people claimed that they could not learn by heart the most noble and beneficial song of the Apostles' Creed, composed a thousand years earlier and taught to them from the age of five or six by their godparents. When the person asking whether they knew the Apostles' Creed was not their confessor but Jesus at the Last Judgment, then it would not go well for them.[58] And so, in Switzerland in 1404, Vincent instructed his listeners. He preached about the eight ways of praying and what each signified; the five times that Jesus had cried during his lifetime and the five times that He had bled and what each signified; the six virtues that Jesus had exhibited during the Passion and Crucifixion; the eight medicines by which Jesus cured the soul; and the seven steps by which one ascended to heaven.

His listeners' lack of contrition compounded their ignorance. They hid their sins from their confessors, just as patients, according to Vincent, fearing the treatments that their doctors would prescribe, tried to cheat on their urine tests by presenting someone else's urine as their own or diluting their urine with water to make it clearer. His listeners protested against the penances assigned to them, claiming that those penances were too hard and their constitutions too delicate to endure them—their constitutions were too delicate for penance but not, apparently, too delicate for the torments of hell, the friar noted.[59] (Vincent allowed that the sacrament of penance could itself lead to sinful behavior by laity and by clergy. He cautioned women not to allow their confessors to visit them at their homes for follow-up conversations.[60]) Neither did his listeners fortify themselves through the Eucharist as they should. In the apostolic age, people received the Eucharist daily; now people went years without taking communion or making their confession.[61]

In explicating the faith, Vincent fought against doubters: those who questioned the soul's existence because nothing was seen to leave the body of the recently deceased; those who questioned whether, during mass, bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ. Such "empty and superstitious" questions should be met with simple affirmations of belief.[62] To those who wondered whether the penance that confessors assigned was not arbitrary, Vincent acknowledged that

penance was arbitrary as regards the form that it took, but it was not arbitrary as regards its duration.[63] To those who thought it a shame that Jesus would, at the end of time, cleanse and destroy with fire "such a noble work" as the world, the Dominican responded that the world deserved such a cleansing. Peasants did not notice the stink of dung because it was everywhere and they lived with its smell for all of their lives, but a noble or a townsperson traveling to a farm found the stench overpowering. So, too, the world's inhabitants did not notice how foul it was, but Jesus, upon His return, would be revolted.[64]

Notwithstanding his ties to the royal house of Aragon, Vincent's view of nobles and secular lords was dim. No king protected his subjects because he loved them; he protected them because he himself wished to take his subjects' goods through exactions, tallage, and whatever unjust (*indebite*) means pleased him, bringing to his subjects poverty and misery.[65] Although religious observance had once been better in the apostolic age and then declined, the greed of rulers had not declined at all—it was a historical constant, just as bad in the past as in the present. The rapaciousness of kings, dukes, and counts was fully evident during Jesus's lifetime.[66] Royal servants were no better than their masters. For the grant of a castle worth 1,000 florins a year, royal servants would undertake any danger, but they would neither fast nor keep vigils, even though the reward for those labors was not a single castle but the whole kingdom of heaven.[67] The justice that kings and lords rendered was the opposite of God's justice. Confessing a great crime to a secular lord led to certain and swift execution; confessing such a crime to God led to forgiveness and salvation.[68]

Besides their confessors and Jesus at the Last Judgment, there was someone else who would one day ask Vincent's listeners what they believed: Antichrist. In these, his earliest dated sermons, Vincent preached of the apocalypse, which did not figure in all of his Swiss sermons, but nonetheless had a central place in them. Vincent dealt with most topics in one sermon; in a few instances (the seven steps by which one ascended to heaven, the eight ways in which sins were remitted), he dealt with topics in two successive sermons.[69] The apocalypse, however, required fuller exposition. Vincent preached four sermons on the topic: his final three sermons at Fribourg, and then one at Payerne.

No one knew precisely when Antichrist would come. It stood to reason that Jesus would never reveal the exact date of Antichrist's arrival, because humans, if they knew that date, would sin as much as possible in the meantime and wait until the last possible moment to repent, thereby maximizing their earthly pleasure while still managing to achieve salvation. However, there could be no doubt that Antichrist's arrival, the Second Coming of Jesus, the Last Judgment, and the final destruction of the world were near at hand. The world had grown old; declining virtue and religious observance signaled the world's senescence as surely as losing her teeth signaled dotage and impending death in an old woman. And the world was living on borrowed time. Jesus had nearly destroyed the world around 1200, when someone who later became a Franciscan had a vision of Jesus about to hurl three lances at the world and thereby destroy it, only to refrain from doing so thanks to the intercession of the Virgin Mary. She wanted first to send someone into the world to win it back for Jesus and someone to help

with that work: they were Francis of Assisi and Dominic Guzmán, founders of the two major mendicant orders.[70] The story of the three lances came from the life of Dominic Guzmán in the *Golden Legend*.

Antichrist would not arrive alone. He would come together with the prophets Elias and Enoch, who would preach against him for three years and five months, but their preaching would not prevent Antichrist from reigning over the world.[71] Antichrist was going to gain followers and sow disbelief among Christians by appealing to their greed and lust. He would distribute gold, silver, and gems to those who coveted them and grant permission to men and women to take four, six, or as many spouses as they desired in marriage—but some of those spouses, though outwardly beautiful, would be in fact demons. Christians who resisted the temptations of wealth and polygamy would then have their faith tested through the miracles that Antichrist performed, miracles that appealed not to base instinct but rather to familial love. Echoing and mimicking the miracles that Jesus had performed, Antichrist would cause trees to bloom and bear fruit suddenly. Antichrist would also cause (or at least seem to cause) deceased children, "your sons and your daughters," to speak once again to their parents and deceased parents to speak to their children—but the departed would urge the living to abjure Jesus and instead follow Antichrist.

Having acquired followers first through the fulfillment of desire and then through (false) miracles, Antichrist would then employ a third means of persuasion: disputation. Christendom's scholars would confront Antichrist to argue with and unmask him, but at these disputations, Antichrist would strike the scholars dumb and senseless, causing some of those in attendance to reject Jesus. And then, lastly, Antichrist would resort to torment, inflicting suffering upon those who still held fast to their faith, stripping them of their possessions, slaughtering their children before their eyes, and severing their limbs not all at once but slowly, one at a time, on different days. Thus would Antichrist reign for three-and-a-half years.[72]

Then Jesus would come to kill Antichrist, and during the following 40 days people might repent of having abjured Jesus and accepted Antichrist. Yet few would actually repent, even with Antichrist dead, because people would have become so attached to their new wealth and polygamy that they would not willingly give them up. Jesus would then purge and cleanse the earth with a sudden fire, not of natural but of divine origin. The fire would consume both land and sea, leaving the earth as vacant and empty as it had been at the time of creation, except that people would remain—Vincent chastised those who erroneously believed that the fire would consume humanity or that the world would remain in existence for 40 years after Eve had been seen again. The fire would injure the evil but not the good. Those who tried to repent in the aftermath of the fire would not be able to do so, as the time for repentance would have passed.[73]

After purging the earth through conflagration, God would resurrect the dead for final judgment, even those who were lost at sea or eaten by animals, which ought not to occasion astonishment—to resurrect the drowned and the devoured would hardly tax a God powerful enough to create the universe from nothing.[74] Unbaptized children, who had been residing in limbo, where one had "great

joy, more than is possible in this world," would also be resurrected, not as children but rather as 30-year-olds.[75] Angels would bring them all to the Valley of Josaphat for the Last Judgment, traveling not by land or by sea, for both would have been consumed by fire, but rather carrying them aloft. The angels would sing to the good. The evil, about to be damned, the angels would drag by the hair and hurl to the ground, "just as happens to any servant who offends his or her lord."[76]

Although there was a single Antichrist whom Jesus would kill, there were other Antichrists as well. Some may have lived in the past—Nero, "the first persecutor of Christians, is believed to be an Antichrist."[77] Others certainly lived in Vincent's own time. Those who outwardly appeared righteous and just, but secretly sinned, were Antichrists. So were those, heretics and others, who led Christians into error. Those who performed false miracles were Antichrists. And so were some secular rulers—indeed, while Vincent did not name names, secular rulers figured especially prominently among his contemporary Antichrists. Not only did secular lords figure among that broader group of Antichrists who outwardly appeared pious but secretly sinned; they also had to be reckoned among the Antichrists on account of the wrongs that only they, in their positions of power, could do. Valuing the tranquility of their lands over the correct teaching of faith, secular lords prevented clergy from preaching the truth and punishing error. They punished clergy who lived with concubines or who otherwise led depraved lives; secular lords might and should punish the concubines themselves, but the punishment of clergy was beyond secular jurisdiction.

Secular rulers who exalted Jews were also Antichrists. Secular lords ought to defend Jews from injury, "as it must be noted" (*notandum*), but to show favor to Jews was to dishonor the Christian religion, and any Christian ruler who did not enforce legal restrictions concerning Jews was, in fact, exalting them. Secular rulers were obliged to make certain that Jews did not touch meat meant for Christians or share abattoirs with Christians; did not touch anything, especially in the marketplace, that might be sold to and used by Christians; did not shop except in the places and at the times assigned to them; did not refuse to wear distinctive clothing and badges, which Jewish men should wear on their chests and Jewish women on their heads, presumably to keep Christian men from having an excuse to ogle Jewish women's breasts. (Vincent also specified that the badge had to go on the front of the head, likely to keep Jewish women from rendering the badge less noticeable by placing it on the backs of their heads.) Secular rulers must forbid Jews from hiring Christians as wet nurses for Jewish children and having Christian servants, especially servants who stayed in Jewish homes at night. Vincent allowed that Jews could hire Christian workmen such as carpenters for day work but not for night work; Jews could hire Christian field hands to work in their fields either day or night.[78]

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The Swiss sermons give insight into Vincent's thinking at a fairly early stage of his mission as *legatus a latere Christi*. They also raise questions. In his letter of

1403 to the Master General, the friar reported that he had spent the previous 21 months combating and crushing Waldensian heretics, Cathar heretics, and assorted other heretics, and that, when he traveled to the Diocese of Lausanne, where these sermons were preached, he would continue the struggle against heretics there. When preaching in Castile and in the Crown of Aragon nearly a decade later, Vincent referred to these past encounters with heretics, specifically mentioning Cathars but not Waldensians, perhaps because his Spanish listeners were more familiar with the former than with the latter.[79] But as the Swiss historians Kathrin Utz Tremp and Jean-Daniel Morerod point out, in his extant Swiss sermons, Vincent never mentioned Waldensians, Cathars, sun worshipers, or any of the other heretics about whom he had written in his letter of 1403.[80] Heresy, even of the most generic variety, received only passing mention in a few scattered asides.[81]

How to reconcile the discrepancy between Vincent's letter of 1403 to the Master General, on the one hand, and the extant Swiss sermons, on the other? Utz Tremp suggests that Vincent associated the Waldensian heresy and heresy more generally with peasants and the countryside; he did not preach against Waldensians and other heretics at Fribourg because he did not believe heresy to be a problem within that town.[82] The extant Swiss sermons would then be atypical of the sermons that Vincent preached in the Diocese of Lausanne and neighboring regions.

There are problems with this explanation, though. In 1399, the bishop of Lausanne—the same one who, according to Vincent, invited the Dominican to that diocese—dispatched, at the request of the town government, a Franciscan inquisitor to Fribourg to prosecute heretics.[83] If the host who invited Vincent to the Diocese of Lausanne, and who personally visited Vincent two or three times in order to persuade him to come to his diocese, believed that there were heretics at Fribourg, then it is reasonable to suppose that Vincent himself would have believed the same. Indeed, the letter of 1403 indicates that Vincent, even if he thought heresy was more prevalent in the countryside than in towns, recognized the problem of urban heresy. Vincent told the Master General that the sun worshipers against whom he intended to preach were "most especially peasants" (*maxime rustici*)—most especially peasants, but not only peasants. And some of Vincent's extant Swiss sermons were preached at places quite a bit smaller than Fribourg. Fribourg had perhaps 1,200 hearths or households around the time of Vincent's visit, but Avenches had only 70.[84] Yet even at a smallish place such as Avenches, Vincent did not engage with Waldensianism or any other heresy directly.

Furthermore, even if Vincent did believe that Fribourg and its environs were somehow free from heresy, that belief cannot explain an equally striking discrepancy between Vincent's letter of December 1403, on the one hand, and his Swiss sermons of March 1404, on the other. In his letter to the Master General, Vincent did not mention his preaching about Antichrist and the imminence of the apocalypse. Some scholars have cited this absence as proof that, at this early stage in his mission, the apocalypse and its imminence did not yet concern Vincent.[85]

The extant Swiss sermons indicate otherwise, and so does other evidence. By December 1403 and by his own account, Vincent had already acquired the reputation of being a preacher especially concerned with the apocalypse. In his letter of July 27, 1412, to Benedict XIII, Vincent related that he had been traveling through Italy nine years earlier—that is to say, in 1403, before he had gone to Geneva and written his letter to Jean de Puynoix—when a messenger came to him, sent by two hermits who had learned that Antichrist was already born.[86] At Toledo in July 1411, Vincent gave the same date for this encounter—it was eight years earlier, which is to say, in 1403. At Valladolid in December 1411, Vincent again mentioned the encounter and dated it to eight-and-a-half years earlier, which puts it in the late spring or early summer of 1403.[87] Vincent even gave the precise name of the place where he had heard the news, doing so both in sermons preached at Toledo and at Valladolid. Transcribed as "*Channas*" in the former and as "*Javas*" in the latter by scribes struggling with an unfamiliar place name, it was, José Guadalajara Medina suggests, Chiaves, in the Piedmont.[88] That suggestion is almost certainly right, for Vincent was at nearby Pinerolo in April 1403.

Most importantly, the hermits in 1403 sent Vincent news of Antichrist's birth not because they had chosen the friar randomly but because they knew he would be keenly interested. Preaching at Montpellier in 1408, Vincent told his listeners that the two hermits, who lived on a mountain whose name he could not recall, had sent the news of Antichrist's birth to Vincent via a fellow hermit "who had sought me out in many places so that he could make these things known to me, for he had heard it said that I was preaching about the coming of Antichrist."[89] At Toledo in 1411, Vincent again recounted that the messenger-hermit of 1403 had sought him out because others had told him that Vincent was preaching about the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist; Vincent had replied to the messenger-hermit that yes, it was so.[90] And Vincent's apocalyptic preaching did not begin in 1403, just before he learned of Antichrist's birth. At Zaragoza in December 1414, the Dominican reminisced about his preaching mission. Vincent, like Noah, warned people about impending danger, but whereas Noah warned of the flood and converted to penance only 7,000 people (all members of his household, the Dominican ungraciously noted, and presumably easy pickings), the modern Noah, Vincent himself, converted 70,000 people in a single day and had been warning of the apocalypse's imminence for 15 years, which is to say, since 1399, when he began his mission.[91] Yet, in his letter of 1403, Vincent said not a word about his apocalyptic preaching.

It is difficult to believe that, when Vincent sat down to write to the Master General, his own burgeoning apocalyptic fame and the preaching on which that fame rested just happened to slip his mind. Regarding the discrepancies between Vincent's account of his preaching contained in the letter of December 1403, on the one hand, and the sermons that Vincent actually preached in March 1404, on the other, the sermons are not the problem. The letter is the problem.

Vincent did not explicitly state in his letter of 1403 why he was bringing the Master General up-to-date regarding what the wandering Valencian had been doing during the previous 21 months and what he intended to do in the near future. However, the letter's self-congratulation and defensiveness provide

a clue. The rather testy opening words, "On account of how unbelievably busy I am" (*Propter inestimabiles me tenentes occupationes*), set the tone. Vincent was overwhelmingly occupied, preaching two or even three times each day, saying Mass, and finding time to eat, sleep, and travel as well. He juxtaposed his own bravery with the cravenness of the local friars and parish clergy; he shamed those who failed to do as Vincent had done ("Consider, Reverend Master, how great is the guilt of the Church's prelates and of others, who on account of their office or profession ought to preach to such people"), and he crowed over his own success. Regarding his conversions of a heretical bishop and other heretics, his destruction of heretical schools, his bringing peace between Guelfs and Ghibellines as well as between other feuding parties, "and regarding other innumerable things, which God deigned to achieve to His glory and the well-being of souls, I am silent at present." Of course, having just enumerated these achievements, Vincent did not actually remain silent about them. He also denied that his previous lack of communication with the Master General should be seen as "negligence or contempt."

When Vincent told Jean de Puynoix that he was devoting himself to the fight against heresy through his preaching, he told his religious superior precisely what a Master General of the Order of Preachers would want to hear, namely, that Vincent's activities and preaching were wholly in keeping with Dominican tradition and mission. A Master General would rather have received a letter recounting how a Dominican was trouncing and would continue to trounce heretics, than one recounting how a Dominican was preaching and would continue to preach about the apocalypse's imminence. When Vincent omitted from his letter of 1403 any reference to his apocalyptic preaching, he was being less than forthright. One must therefore also consider the possibility that, in depicting himself as directly and (at least by implication) only preaching against heretics, Vincent similarly misled the Master General and thereby misled future generations as well.

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Memories of Vincent's preaching persisted for decades. When a Brother Raphael (likely Raphael de Cardona, a follower of Vincent) visited Aubonne in 1423, the town repaired the "chapel of Brother Vincent" that it had constructed for Vincent almost 20 years earlier.[92] Vincent's Swiss preaching also moved others to action. It inspired individuals to repent and local rulers to implement laws that gave force to the friar's admonitions. But Vincent antagonized some listeners, too, and his preaching goaded them into vandalizing protest.

At Pinerolo on July 3, 1403, Prince Ludovico of Acaia issued statutes that reflect the influence of Vincent's preaching; just a few weeks later, on July 31, 1403, Count (after 1416 Duke) Amedeo VIII of Savoy issued statutes that applied to the whole of his territories and whose first seven articles echoed the statutes of July 3, 1403.[93] The articles of July 31, 1403, pertaining to moral reform contain some provisions that find no echo in Vincent's extant sermons and likely have, at most, only a tangential relationship to the Dominican's preaching—for example,

the forbidding of charivaris. Other articles, though, seem directly inspired by Vincent, figuring either in his Swiss sermons of 1404 or in his program of moral reform as implemented elsewhere at a later date. One article, "Concerning the sign of the cross," deals with a subject of considerable importance to Vincent (although the article itself treats the physical placement of crosses rather than how to make the sign of the cross). No one may call himself a Guelf or a Ghibelline; no one may blaspheme or curse, for such behavior leads to outbreaks of plague; no judicial or commercial activity should take place on Sundays; prostitutes must wear a distinguishing badge and live separately from the rest of the population.[94] The statutes of July 3, 1403, similarly penalize those who blasphemed, who bought and traded on religious feast days, and who affiliated themselves with the Guelf or Ghibelline parties.[95] The conflict between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines was a regional problem that would not carry over into Vincent's later reforming efforts. Stamping out blasphemy, enforcing observance of the Christian Sabbath, and segregating prostitutes would all loom large in those same efforts.

Few Jews lived within Prince Ludovico of Acaia's lordship, while many more lived within the larger lordship of Count Amedeo. That difference appears to explain why Jews do not figure in the statutes of July 3, 1403, but do figure in the statutes of July 31, 1403, which require Savoyard Jews to wear a badge and thereby did away with an older Jewish privilege—in 1385, Count Amedeo VII of Savoy had reaffirmed that Jews within his territory did not have to wear a distinguishing badge.[96] The statutes of July 31, 1403, also forbid Jews from having Christian servants and buying meat from Christian butchers, as well as Christian women from working as wet nurses for Jewish children.[97] Farther east, at Fribourg, in the year proceeding Vincent's preaching there, town officials introduced measures that the friar would have supported, such as requiring Jews to wear badges, forbidding Jews from touching food in the marketplace, and forbidding Christian butchers from using or selling the meat of animals slaughtered by Jewish butchers. Because these measures were taken shortly before rather than after Vincent's visit to Fribourg, his influence on them—if there was any—could only be indirect, as word of Vincent's preaching spread.[98]

What emerges from these Savoyard laws is how, in many respects, Vincent's program of moral reform was already well formed as early as 1403. Yet, in other respects, a gulf exists between the Savoyard legislation of 1403 and Vincent's Swiss sermons of 1404, on the one hand, and what we will see upon Vincent's return to Spain, on the other. The restrictions that Vincent advocated, and that Count Amedeo VIII imposed, were modest in comparison to what was to come. Vincent did not yet demand the complete physical separation of Jews and Christians or the Jews' mandatory residence within walled-in quarters, and Amedeo did not require any such enclosure. Vincent did not yet advocate a life-threatening economic embargo on Jews (in fact, in his Swiss sermons, Vincent specifically safeguarded Jewish access to certain types of Christian labor), and Amedeo did not impose such an embargo. Not until 1428 were Geneva's Jews required to live in a separate quarter, and not until 1430 did Savoyard law require Jews to live in separate quarters, ban forbidden Jewish texts, and treat the problem

of relations between Christian converts from Judaism and others.[99] The legislation of 1430 may well have been influenced by Spanish precedents for which Vincent was indeed partly responsible, but it did not grow directly out of the Dominican's local preaching.

In addition to moving lords to enact laws, Vincent moved humbler individuals to repent. In 1410, a married couple in Fribourg put into effect the provisions of the last will and testament of Hensli de Heitinwil, a tailor who in his will renounced some (but not all) of the usurious interest that he had charged on loans "before the coming of the good preacher Vincent Ferrer." The tailor's use of Vincent's arrival to date these usurious loans suggests that the friar's preaching had moved him to atone for them, albeit imperfectly.[100]

Indeed, failure was as much a part of Vincent's Swiss sojourn as success. The old rivalry between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines survived the Dominican's attempts to end it. At Cuneo, where Vincent's sermons perhaps tamped down the rivalry for a short while, the Guelfs and the Ghibellines were back, and their future existence taken for granted, by 1407.[101] And despite the claims that he made in his letter of 1403, Vincent by no means eradicated Waldensianism in the regions through which he passed.[102] In 1430, during an inquisitorial process against Fribourg's Waldensians, Perisonne Bindo testified that she became a Waldensian shortly before Vincent preached at Fribourg. As Utz Tremp notes, doubtlessly the friar would have been chagrined to know that a Waldensian used his preaching to date her conversion to that heretical sect.[103]

Not for the last time in his life, Vincent's preaching occasioned disapproval as well as contrition. At Geneva in 1405, Aymon Berrod was tried for the crime of having, with two companions and under cover of darkness, mounted the catafalque from which Vincent preached and slashed with knives the cloth that decorated it. The noise that Berrod and his companions made as they hacked at the drapery attracted attention; caught in the act, Berrod and his two companions were seized and beaten so badly that one companion died as a result of his injuries. Geneva's magistrates at first assumed that Berrod and his companions slashed the cloth because they wished to steal it, but at his trial, Berrod claimed that outrage, not greed, compelled him to deface Vincent's stage. Specifically, he objected to the friar's preaching against concubinage and adultery. Local court records show an increase in convictions for the crime of adultery during the year after Vincent had preached there, and the record of Berrod's trial suggests that Geneva did, in fact, penalize adultery more stiffly following Vincent's visit.[104]

As Utz Tremp and Pierrette Paravy point out, the Dauphiné, where Vincent preached, would soon play a crucial role in the emergence of a phenomenon that thereafter figured prominently in Europe's religious and cultural life: witch hunting. As Michael Bailey puts it, "The fully developed concept of witchcraft that held force throughout the years of the great European witch-hunts appeared only in the early fifteenth century, emerging from trials for heresy and sorcery conducted mainly in the high valleys of the western Alps and codified in a number of learned treatises in the 1430s."[105] Some of Europe's earliest witch hunts took place in the Dauphiné between 1415 and 1420 and then in francophone Swiss regions from the 1430s onwards, not long after Vincent

had passed through. One should not make too much of the possible connection between Vincent and the rise of witch hunting—the friar went a great many places that were not in the forefront of witch hunting. Nonetheless, as Paravy notes, witch hunting arose in the Dauphiné between 1415 and 1420 partly as a result of recent efforts to Christianize the area more completely, an effort of which Vincent was a part. Utz Tremp points out that Vincent's description of Antichrist, a being of pure evil and a rebel against God, prefigures descriptions of witches, and that the Dominican even acquainted his listeners with incubi and succubi. She suggests, with due caution, that "Ferrer perhaps laid the theoretical foundations of what would occupy officials at Fribourg and throughout francophone Switzerland from the beginning of the 1430s through the rest of the century."[106]

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Montpellier's *Petit thalamus*, an anonymous town chronicle, records that Vincent preached 14 sermons at and around Montpellier in November and December 1408. He preached twelve sermons at Montpellier itself, nine publicly and three privately to closed audiences of female religious; he preached the other sermons at Fabrégues and at Loupian, both in the direction of Perpignan, where Vincent was headed. Reports for five of the fourteen sermons (four public sermons preached at Montpellier and one sermon at Loupian) survive today in a manuscript located at Lausanne and copied by Claude Pirusset, a priest from the Diocese of Geneva active in the 1420s, 1430s, and 1440s. That a priest from Geneva acquired and copied Vincent's Montpellier sermons is evidence of the impression Vincent had made in Switzerland.[107]

The Montpellier sermons of 1408 make it possible to examine the development of Vincent's preaching and thought across time, and Franco Morenzoni superbly identifies some of the similarities and differences between the Montpellier sermons of 1408 and the Fribourg sermons of 1404. (The terms "Montpellier sermons" and "Fribourg sermons" are used loosely here, as in both cases some of Vincent's extant sermons were preached not in those two towns but in places nearby.) But one must keep in mind that some differences between the Montpellier and the Fribourg sermons, and indeed between any of Vincent's extant sermon collections, might be the result of differences in reporting practices rather than differences in what Vincent actually said. As Morenzoni notes, the Montpellier sermons are longer and fuller than the Fribourg sermons.[108] Whether Vincent preached longer sermons in Montpellier or the anonymous reporter at Montpellier merely took more copious notes than did the Franciscan Friedrich von Amberg is unknown.

Between the Fribourg and the Montpellier sermons, there is substantial continuity. Vincent vigorously chastised his audience at Montpellier for its moral lapses, just as he had done at Fribourg: for having recourse to divination; for giving to the Church its "scabbiest and sickest animals" when paying the tithe; for having recourse to prostitutes, who, "although they are public women, nevertheless are daughters of God like other women," as well as for incestuous sexual

relations, "which is a most wicked thing," and bestiality; and for failing to take sentences of excommunication as seriously as did Vincent, who professed that he would rather lose a finger, a hand, or his head than to be excommunicated for even one hour.[109] Some of the *exempla* that Vincent used at Montpellier were ones that he had used earlier at Fribourg, and the four ways in which Antichrist would deceive Christians (gifts and pleasures, false miracles, disputation, and torments) were the same.[110] At Fribourg, Vincent preached that the time between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment would be 40 days. At Montpellier, on December 5, Vincent preached the same, although on the previous day he offered a slight variation and preached that 45, rather than 40, days would elapse between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment.[111] Both at Fribourg and at Montpellier, Vincent professed himself to be in compliance with the biblical injunction against humanity knowing, or trying to know, the exact day or time of the apocalypse.[112]

According to the *Petit thalamus*, five of the public sermons that Vincent preached at Montpellier treated the coming of Antichrist, the end of the world, and the Last Judgment, and in some respects, Vincent now treated this material differently than he had in Switzerland. At Fribourg, Vincent addressed four questions regarding the apocalypse in a single sermon: how Antichrist would lure Christians from their faith and to their doom; why God would allow Antichrist to do this; when Antichrist would come; and how Christians might resist Antichrist. At Montpellier, Vincent instead devoted a single sermon, each preached on a different day, to each of the first three questions: on December 3, the question of how Antichrist would tempt Christians; on December 4, the question of why God would permit Antichrist to do this; and on December 5, the question of when Antichrist would come.[113]

In reorganizing his apocalyptic sermons, Vincent changed some picturesque details. At Fribourg, the theologians who attempt to dispute with Antichrist will be struck dumb, but at Montpellier, they will speak gibberish. But there are also more substantive differences. At Fribourg, Antichrist's victory over the theologians was purely an expression of Antichrist's great power—nothing that the theologians could do would help them make a better showing at their public disputations with Antichrist. At Montpellier, however, Vincent held the theologians to blame for their miserable performance. God would permit Antichrist to interfere with the theologians' ability to speak because theologians had neglected the study of the Bible to such an extent that even 13-year-old Jews knew the Bible better than did Christian masters of theology. Instead of studying scripture, theologians and religious studied "more diligently . . . various futile works such as sophismata, Virgil, and other frivolous poets."[114]

His antihumanist hostility to the study of Virgil and poets is not surprising; in Castile in February 1412, Vincent praised friars who preached "spiritual doctrine" that touched the heart, but chastised those who preached "philosophical doctrine with citations of poets." Some friars cited poets as many as 30 times in their sermons; those friars failed to move their listeners to moral betterment and should themselves be called sons of whores. As for those who claimed that Saint Paul cited poets when preaching, Vincent retorted that Paul, during the 37 years

of preaching following his conversion, cited poets only three times, a wholly insignificant total, like three barley grains in a large shipment.[115]

More surprising is Vincent's charge that sophismata—a genre of scholastic theology—were as much a waste of time as classical literature. At Montpellier, Vincent rejected the notion that the Christian faith could be defended through reason. Confronted by Antichrist, believers should recite the Creed and not attempt to argue on behalf of their beliefs. For every reason that a believer cited in defense of the Christian faith, Antichrist and his followers would cite a thousand and more counterreasons, confounding the believer. Nor should the believer be surprised that reason was the enemy rather than the friend of faith: "And we ought not to believe on account of this, that our beliefs are based in reason, but rather only through obedient devotion, because we have thus been commanded to believe."[116] Vincent's dim view of scholasticism, and his emphasis on the superiority of obedience to knowledge, would persist in decades to come.[117] But the former logician forever bore the imprint of his scholastic training; Vincent retained a liking for scholastic authorities and continued to engage in argument.[118] At Montpellier, Vincent attacked and tried to discredit "false theologians" who argued two "wrong opinions" concerning the apocalypse: first, that as many years would elapse after Christ's nativity as had elapsed before it; and second, that the number of years between Christ's incarnation and the end of the world would equal the number of verses in the Book of Psalms, which Vincent reckoned as 2,615.[119] What these two wrong opinions had in common was that each pushed the apocalypse into the distant future.

The most significant difference between Vincent's preaching at Fribourg in 1404 and his preaching at Montpellier in 1408 is the following: at Fribourg, he said nothing about Antichrist having already been born; at Montpellier, he preached that Antichrist had already entered the world and was now five years old. As for how Vincent knew that Antichrist had been born in 1403, it was through extraordinary events and visions about which others had told him and about which Vincent, in turn, told his audience. Some five years earlier, two Franciscan novices in an overseas friary had suddenly levitated and proclaimed that Antichrist was born that very day. A year earlier, while traveling through Lombardy, Vincent witnessed an exorcism at which a demon revealed that Antichrist had been born. Although the friar acknowledged that demons were notorious liars, in this instance, the demon's statement deserved to be believed, for other demons immediately reprimanded their fellow demon for having revealed something that he ought instead to have concealed. And at Montpellier, Vincent also included his account of how, while traveling through Italy in 1403, he was met by a hermit, sent by two other hermits, who informed Vincent that Antichrist had been born. The Dominican reported that at first he had disbelieved the hermit, for no one could know the day or the hour of Antichrist's coming, but the hermit replied that, while it was true during the time of the Apostles that no one could know the day or the hour, now it was expedient for people to know.[120]

That Vincent at first disbelieved the hermit's report of Antichrist's birth might well be true, because the birth of Antichrist in 1403 does not figure in his extant

Swiss sermons of 1404. Just as years elapsed between Vincent's vision and the beginning of his preaching mission, so, too, a significant amount of time appears to have elapsed between the moment when Vincent first heard that Antichrist was born and the moment when he began to preach that news openly. Vincent's mission and apocalypticism continued to be the products of long, sustained thought.

Notwithstanding that crucial difference regarding Antichrist's birth, Vincent proclaimed both at Fribourg and at Montpellier that the apocalypse was imminent. The world would come to an end "shortly" (*in brevi*), as he put it at Fribourg; and "soon, very soon" (*cito . . . et bene cito*), or "soon, very soon, and shortly" (*cito et bene cito et breviter*), as he put it even more emphatically at Montpellier, using expressions that would henceforth be, sometimes with slight variations, Vincent's signature catchphrases.[121] At Montpellier, Vincent had reason to heighten his emphasis on the apocalypse's imminence, for when he preached that Antichrist was born and five years old, he told his listeners that the one event that indisputably signaled the apocalypse's imminence had come to pass.

Regarding Vincent's Fribourg sermons, we have only Friedrich von Amberg's reports to go on. Regarding his Montpellier sermons, we have both anonymous reports and the testimony of Montpellier's town chronicle, the *Petit thalamus*. For the most part, the *Petit thalamus* has nothing to say about the sermons' content. It simply notes the day on which Vincent preached, the subject about which he preached, and the biblical theme for that day's sermon. On one day, Vincent preached about Saint Andrew, and the biblical theme was *Dives est in omnes qui invocant illum*; on another day, the friar preached about Antichrist and how he would win over followers, and the biblical theme was *Induantur arma lucis*; and so on. As for what Vincent said about Saint Andrew, about how Antichrist would attract followers, or about anything else, the chronicle has nothing to note. But there is one exception. Something that Vincent said in his sermon of December 5 struck the author of the *Petit thalamus* with sufficient force for him to mention it. The chronicler noted that, in preaching about the imminence of Antichrist's arrival, Vincent had informed his listeners that "Antichrist has already arrived and was born five years ago, as certain revelations have revealed."[122]

# CHAPTER 3

# IBERIAN RETURN AND THE COMPROMISE OF CASP

After an absence of 13 years if not more, Vincent Ferrer returned to the Crown of Aragon in December 1408 or January 1409 as he tracked, however loosely, the movements of Benedict XIII. Vincent played no formal role at the Council of Perpignan summoned by that pope and does not appear in the register of official attendees, but he was there, as he mentioned in later sermons.[1] The Council of Perpignan defended Benedict and his former confessor against Simon de Cramaud's allegation, made at the Council of Paris in 1398, that Benedict had Vincent announce in a public sermon that the pope would sooner die than resign his office.[2]

By the time that Vincent returned to the Crown of Aragon, the Kingdom of France had, for a second time, withdrawn its obedience from Benedict. In February 1407, a French assembly drew up articles for a partial subtraction of obedience—France would recognize Benedict's spiritual authority, but deny him access to French revenues—but the assembly did not yet publish the articles. Benedict, realizing that another subtraction of obedience might be in the offing, drew up a bull in May 1407 excommunicating the king of France and placing the kingdom under interdict but kept the bull in reserve. French royal counselors, acting in the king's name, in January 1408 threatened a subtraction of obedience if Benedict did not take significant steps toward ending the schism by the following March. In April and May 1408, France carried out its threat, publishing the articles of subtraction prepared in February 1407; the pope, in turn, retaliated with his prepared bull of excommunication and interdict. Genoa, where Benedict and Vincent had spent some time, followed France's lead in July 1408. After the latest French subtraction of obedience, Benedict came to doubt whether he could count on Louis II d'Anjou for protection, as had been the case after the pope's escape from Avignon. As a result, when Benedict left Italy, he did not go to Provence but instead sailed to the Crown of Aragon. The pope summoned the Council of Perpignan in June 1408, arrived at the port of Collioure in early July, and reached Perpignan in August.

What moved Benedict to summon a council was the summoning of a rival council by breakaway cardinals, some formerly of the Avignon obedience and others formerly of the Roman obedience. In 1408, cardinals of each obedience

despaired of the two popes ever ending the schism through their own efforts, and these cardinals gathered at Pisa to pursue another solution not yet tried: the holding of a council where cardinals would depose both sitting popes and elect a single, new pope. To that end, the cardinals summoned a council to convene at Pisa on March 25, 1409. When Benedict summoned the Council of Perpignan, he set it to open on November 1, 1408, which is to say, even before the Council of Pisa opened. The Council of Pisa opened in March 1409 (with Vincent's brother Boniface present as a hostile observer for Benedict), declared the depositions of Benedict and of his Roman counterpart, and then elected Pope Alexander V in June 1409.[3]

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Once back in Spain, Vincent spent nearly all of the next seven years traversing much of the Iberian peninsula and occasionally crossing paths with Benedict. After departing Perpignan, Vincent passed through Elne, where he resolved a conflict between its residents and a papal fiscal officer.[4] In late February and early March 1409, Vincent was at Peralada, and in April 1409, he spent two weeks at Girona.[5] In late May and early June 1409, Vincent was at Vic.[6] From June through September 1409, he was at Barcelona.[7] Officials at Manresa on September 30, 1409, made payments in connection with Vincent's future visit there and then more payments in January 1410 after the previous year's visit; in October 1410, they planned to invite Vincent back and ask him to settle a dispute over property boundaries.[8] The *Dietari del Capellá d'Anfos el Magnànim* reports that Vincent, "who called himself *legat a latere Christi*," was at Valencia from June 23 to August 26, 1410, while Valencia's records indicate that Vincent visited Tortosa before coming to Valencia.[9] In gratitude for Vincent's preaching, Valencia agreed to impose, at his request and in keeping with his fellow friars' wishes, a moratorium on building around the city's Dominican house.[10]

After two years in the Crown of Aragon, Vincent went south to the Kingdom of Murcia (ruled by the kings of Castile), arriving in the city of Murcia on January 19, 1411.[11] From there he went to Castile, where some religious customs differed enough from Valencian ones for the Dominican to remark upon the differences.[12] Vincent reached Toledo on June 30, 1411, and stayed there for a month. He traveled to Ayllón, which he reached on September 10, 1411, and where he spent some two months. From Ayllón, the friar traveled toward Valladolid, where he was in December 1411 and January 1412. From Valladolid, Vincent headed southwest, visiting Tordesillas and Medina de Campo in January 1412 and then making his way to Salamanca. The end of Vincent's visit to Castile came in late March or early April 1412, when he went to Casp in Aragon.[13]

From April 1412 until January 1416, and perhaps a few months after that, Vincent remained almost exclusively within the Crown of Aragon. He passed through Teruel in April 1412 on his way to Casp, where he stayed through the end of June. He spent July and August 1412 in Barcelona; then he returned to Teruel in October 1412, where he stayed into early November.[14] Vincent was at Valencia from November 15, 1412, to late January 1413 and then again from March 4 to

April 27, 1413, having passed through Xàtiva toward the end of February 1413.[15] In June 1413, Vincent was at Tortosa, having passed through Albocàsser and Sant Mateu at the beginning of that month.[16] At Barcelona in August 1413, he sailed to Mallorca, where he arrived on September 1, 1413, and from whence he departed on or just after January 22, 1414.[17] Vincent preached Lenten sermons at Lleida in 1414 and then wrote to the king of Aragon from Tamarit de Llitera in May 1414.[18] He was at Zaragoza from November 1414 to January 1415.[19] He briefly left the Crown of Aragon to visit Narbonne in November 1415.[20] From there he returned to Perpignan, and he was still there in January 1416.

It did not take long for inhabitants of the Crown of Aragon to note Vincent's return. Already on January 22, 1409, King Martí wrote to the friar and asked to meet with him so that they could discuss some matters that the king preferred not to put in writing.[21] Valencia's *jurats* wrote to Vincent on June 12, 1409, asking him to visit as soon as possible.[22] On occasion, Vincent showed signs of affection for his native city; when preaching at Lleida in 1414, the Dominican warned his listeners that failing to abolish sinful practices would lead to the divine destruction of that "noble and ancient" town, which Vincent would greatly regret, for he knew how residents of Lleida, "the mother of Valencia," had helped to populate Valencia after its Christian conquest.[23] But Vincent, who had not heeded the *jurats*' call to return to Valencia in 1399, was slow to go to Valencia even after returning to the Crown of Aragon. Valencia's letter of June 12, 1409, appears not to have been the first such missive sent to Vincent upon his return, for it refers to other letters that had previously passed between the Dominican and his native city, including at least one reply from Vincent himself. Nor was the letter of June 12, 1409, the last such letter that Valencia sent to the friar. Indeed, more than a year's worth of correspondence was needed to get Vincent to come to Valencia. On August 28, 1409, on December 4, 1409, and again on April 25, 1410, Valencia wrote to Vincent, expressing gratitude for his promise to come to Valencia and, in the last letter, puzzlement about what was taking him so long.[24]

His first return to Valencia left Vincent no more eager to visit there in the future. On June 25, 1412, Valencia asked Vincent to return again to his native city. Perhaps recalling how long it last took the friar to accept their repeated invitations, Valencia's *jurats* even threatened him with eternal damnation if he once again failed to respond to their request, for if Vincent did not come to Valencia and help to bring peace there, then he would have to answer to God for it at the Last Judgment.[25] The threat had no apparent effect, as Valencia followed it up with yet another plea, less aggressive than the previous one, in November 1412, which did lead to a visit from Vincent later that same month. After Vincent had departed, in February 1413 Valencia sent yet another request for his return.[26]

Cities and towns other than Valencia sought out Vincent too. In March 1409, Girona's magistrates sent a messenger to Perpignan whose job was to look for Vincent and ask him to visit Girona.[27] In June 1409, Barcelona's government discussed how much to spend in conjunction with a future visit by Vincent. Lest other towns and cities be seen to give the Valencian a better greeting than Barcelona offered, the municipal government decided to appoint two officials to oversee the necessary purchases, allotting them 300 florins with which to

buy food, drink, clothing, and other necessities.[28] The *jurats* of Vila-real in June 1410 commissioned two messengers to find Vincent and ask him to preach there, offering to pay all of his expenses.[29] The *jurats* of Orihuela sent letters of invitation to Vincent in August 1410 and again in March 1411.[30] In January 1411, two days after consulting with the head of the local Dominican convent about the idea's suitability, the town of Murcia's magistrates chose messengers to ask Vincent to visit there, which he did, although he stayed not for the eight days that the magistrates intended, but for a month.[31]

Bishops, too, invited visits from Vincent, as had happened in Switzerland. Murcia and Orihuela were well positioned to issue their own invitations to Vincent because the bishop of Cartagena, Pablo de Santa María, had himself already invited the Dominican to come to his see, which encompassed both towns.[32] Pablo de Santa María was an unusual bishop, for he had been born Solomon ha-Levi, a member of a prominent Jewish family in Burgos who became a rabbi but then converted to Christianity around 1391. He had close ties to the Castilian monarchy and especially to Fernando de Trastámara, the brother of King Enrique III (d. 1406) and uncle of King Juan II (d. 1454); the bishop served as royal chancellor in Castile as of 1407. Benedict XIII also counted Pablo de Santa María among his confidantes and supporters. The *converso* was at Avignon when Vincent served as the pope's confessor in the 1390s; Benedict appointed Pablo de Santa María first as bishop of Cartagena in 1403 and then as bishop of Burgos in 1415. Bishop Pablo de Santa María attended the Council of Perpignan in 1408 and 1409 and possibly crossed paths with Vincent there.[33] An episcopal invitation likely brought about Vincent's voyage to Mallorca. The bishop of Mallorca, Lluís de Prades, who also served as papal chamberlain, corresponded with the *jurats* of Palma de Mallorca in November 1412; the bishop alerted them to an upcoming visit from Vincent and urged them to make preparations. The same bishop also wrote to the king of Aragon in August 1413 about Vincent's voyage to Mallorca, and he personally accompanied the Dominican as he sailed from Barcelona to the Balearics.[34]

The king of Aragon, too, played a role in determining where Vincent came and went. In April 1413, the king asked Vincent to meet with him at Tortosa, an invitation that Vincent apparently accepted; he preached at Tortosa in June 1413.[35] In June 1413, the king asked Vincent to join him at Barcelona and preach there.[36] In November 1413, the king asked the friar to go to Tortosa again and then travel to Zaragoza; in a series of letters between January and April 1414, the king repeated his request that Vincent go to Zaragoza.[37] The king also provided logistical support for Vincent's travels. He reimbursed the abbot of Poblet 100 florins for expenses occasioned by Vincent as he passed by the abbot's monastery on his way to Barcelona; in November 1413, he ordered royal officials at Mallorca to ready ships and make all other necessary preparations for returning Vincent and his companions to the mainland.[38]

The reasons for Vincent's return to the Crown of Aragon at the end of 1408 or beginning of 1409, and for his visit to the Kingdom of Murcia in 1411, are clear—in the first instance, he was following Benedict XIII; in the second

instance, the bishop of Cartagena had invited him. What remains unclear is the reason for his visit to the Kingdom of Castile in 1411 and 1412. Toledo's magistrates, upon the advice of its clergy, did not organize a procession to accompany Vincent as he entered the city on June 30, 1411; their refusal to greet him in any official manner suggests that they had not invited him. The Castilian monarchy did not invite Vincent to come to Castile, although it took an interest in him after his arrival. In 1411, Castile was experiencing an interregnum. King Juan II was still a minor (he attained majority at the age of 14 in 1419); his mother Catherine of Lancaster and his uncle Fernando de Trastámara were co-regents. (In theory, each co-regent's authority extended throughout Castile; in practice, Catherine of Lancaster's authority covered the northern half of Castile, and Fernando de Trastámara's authority covered the southern half.) According to Álvar García de Santa María's *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*, Catherine and Fernando heard about Vincent's presence in Castile as the friar passed through the Diocese of Toledo in the spring of 1411. They then invited Vincent to meet with them and with Juan II at Ayllón in August and September 1411, which Vincent did.[39] Pedro Cátedra proposes that the idea for Vincent's visit to Castile was Bishop Pablo de Santa María's, which is possible, although it would also have been somewhat unusual. In every other instance when a bishop issued an invitation to Vincent, it was to visit that bishop's own see, not to travel somewhere else.[40] On the other hand, Pablo de Santa María might well have wanted his native Castile to benefit from Vincent as much as his current see was benefiting.

It is also possible that Vincent entered Castile on his own initiative. The *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla* implies as much; it makes no mention of an invitation from Bishop Pablo de Santa María and instead states that Vincent came to Castile because he had heard of its sinfulness.[41] This explanation ought not to be dismissed out of hand, in light of a curious remark that the friar made when he preached at Valencia on December 27, 1412. He proclaimed that, in maintaining his virginity until the time of his marriage, Fernando de Trastámara showed himself to be Catalan and Aragonese rather than Castilian. Apparently, Vincent believed Castilians to be more lascivious than other Iberians.

But what drew Vincent to Castile might not have been its sinfulness but rather its large and imperfectly segregated Muslim and Jewish communities. As we will see, during the visit to the Kingdom of Murcia that directly preceded his visit to Castile, Vincent enjoyed his first major successes in converting Jews to Christianity. If Vincent wanted to build upon his Murcian work, then Castile, not the Crown of Aragon, was the place to go. Many of the Crown of Aragon's once major Jewish centers, such as at Valencia and Barcelona, no longer existed by the time that Vincent returned to Spain. In 1411 and 1412, Castilian towns and cities still typically had substantial Jewish communities and therefore offered target-rich environments and better prospects for swift, massive conversion.

We do know why Vincent left Castile in 1412. On March 20, 1412, a Catalan assembly at Tortosa sent the friar a letter calling him back to the Crown of Aragon, where Vincent and eight others would name the contender who was to

be the next king.[42] Vincent, sometimes slow to accept invitations, was quick to accept this one.

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When Martí el Jove died in July 1409, the subjects of the Crown of Aragon (excepting perhaps those who themselves aspired to become king) recognized the event as a calamity. Martí el Jove was only in his mid-thirties and, holding the title of king of Sicily, died shortly after winning a notable victory against Sardinian rebels. But what made the death of Martí el Jove a kingdom-wide disaster rather than just a personal one were the facts that Martí el Jove was the last surviving child of King Martí I of Aragon and that all the children from Martí el Jove's two marriages had predeceased him. As of July 1409, Martí I had no heir apparent, and he himself was in his mid-fifties, having outlived all four of his own children.

The good news—for the necessities of dynastic politics sometimes transmuted bereavement into hope—was that Martí I's own wife had died in 1406. Queen Maria de Luna, had she survived, would have been too old to produce another heir in 1409, but her death left Martí free to remarry, a course of action that, according to the king himself, both Benedict XIII and Vincent urged upon him after Martí el Jove had died.[43] When Martí married Margarita de Prades, more than 30 years the king's junior, in September 1409, Benedict attended the nuptials and Vincent said Mass, but no children came of the marriage.[44] In January and February 1410, Martí wrote to the various kingdoms and territories comprising the Crown of Aragon and asked them to provide him with expert legal advisers; the advisers were going to scrutinize his royal predecessors' wills and testaments and counsel the king about how best to arrange the succession. But when Martí died on May 31, 1410, he still had not made any clear disposition regarding who should succeed him. For several months after the king's death, some subjects still hoped that his widow might turn out to be pregnant, but as time passed, it became clear that she was not, and some other solution had to be found.[45] And one was found, although more than two years elapsed between the death of Martí and the day when Vincent read aloud the name of the man whom he and eight others declared to have the best claim to be king.

The extinguishing of a dynasty was a nightmare that haunted every medieval kingdom, for the consequences were easy to foresee: a violent struggle among various claimants to the throne and their followers. When Valencia learned of Martí I's death, it immediately posted guards at the city's gates and on its walls, as if trouble might arise instantaneously and sweep across the city and kingdom. It also wrote to Vincent and asked him to return to his native city.[46] Valencia's fears, although they came to pass more slowly than initially expected, proved to be well founded.

None of the children from Martí el Jove's two marriages survived him, but an illegitimate son, Frederic, did. Toward the end of his life, Martí I seems to have entertained the possibility of Frederic inheriting the throne; he asked Benedict to legitimize Frederic, which would make Frederic eligible to inherit Martí el Jove's title of king of Sicily and, perhaps, render him a stronger contender for

Martí I's own throne. Although Martí I died before the pope did what the king had asked of him, Benedict legitimized Frederic in August 1410.[47] But Frederic still bore the taint of bastardy, and he was a child. His elevation to the throne would have entailed a royal minority and a regency, which might prove awkward to arrange and difficult to end. Aside from the fact that he descended directly from Martí I through the male line, Frederic had nothing to offer those who would choose the next king. While he enjoyed some popular support, Frederic lacked strong advocates for his case.

Other aspirants spotted the opening. In September and October 1410, several contenders, all related to the royal house of Aragon in various ways, publicly declared their rights of succession. There was Alfons, duke of Gandía, a grandson of King Jaume II (d. 1327) and related to the royal house through the paternal line, but also quite old. In fact, the octogenarian did not live to see the matter of the succession settled, and upon his death in March 1412, his son, also called Alfons, took up his father's claim.

There was also Louis III d'Anjou, sometimes called Louis III of Calabria. Louis III d'Anjou was the grandson of King Joan I (d. 1396), who had been Martí I's brother and royal predecessor. Like Frederic, Louis III d'Anjou was a child, and while he did not share with Frederic the stigma of illegitimate birth, he had other liabilities: he was related to the royal family of Aragon through the maternal rather than paternal line (his mother, Violant d'Aragó, was King Joan I's daughter); he was also a foreigner. On the other hand, he enjoyed strong and active support from his grandmother, Violante de Bar, the widow of Joan, who had no son to become king when her husband had died but who now had a chance to see the throne pass to one of her grandchildren. Louis III d'Anjou also enjoyed the support of the king of France because he was related to the French royal family though his father, Louis II d'Anjou, titular king of Naples since his ouster in 1399, but still duke of Anjou and count of Provence. (Louis II d'Anjou's restoration of obedience to Benedict XIII had started that pope's comeback after the French and Castilian subtractions of obedience in 1398 and the siege of the papal palace in Avignon.) Because he enjoyed the support of the king of France, Louis III d'Anjou also enjoyed the support of those within the Crown of Aragon who, for one reason or another, had obligations to the French royal family and its cadet branches.

Then there was Count Jaume II d'Urgell, related to the royal house both through descent and through marriage. He was a great-grandson of King Alfonso IV (d. 1336), and he married Isabel d'Aragó, daughter of King Pere IV and half-sister of Kings Joan and Martí. It is possible that, for a time, Martí entertained the possibility of naming Jaume II d'Urgell as his heir. Martí appointed the count as governor general of Aragon, an office traditionally held by the king's oldest son (which is to say, by the next king); in March 1410, one of Benedict XIII's confidantes wrote that Jaume II d'Urgell thought of himself as a future king.[48] A native of the Crown of Aragon, governor general, an adult in the prime of life, and related to the royal family through the male line, Jaume II d'Urgell was positioned well to succeed Martí. But as an Aragonese noble, he and his family had rivals and enemies within the Crown of Aragon, such as the Urrea family.[49]

Then there was Fernando de Trastámara. His mother, Leonor, was a daughter of King Pere IV and sister of Kings Joan and Martí; his father was King Juan I of Castile (d. 1390). As co-regent for Juan II of Castile, Fernando had access to extensive military, diplomatic, and economic resources with which to press his claim.[50] He also had a significant record of military accomplishment. At the moment when Martí I died, Fernando was besieging the town of Antequera, then part of the Muslim Kingdom of Granada. Antequera's fall to Fernando and his Christian forces brought to the victor the prestige of military triumph against the infidel, and he came to be called Fernando de Antequera in recognition of the victory. A good age to assume royal responsibilities (he was in his thirties), Fernando had, however, two weaknesses: he was related to the Aragonese royal family through the maternal rather than paternal line, and he was Castilian. Castile and the Crown of Aragon had recently fought the War of the Two Peters. Their rivalry had not disappeared.

Candidates abounded; procedures for adjudicating their conflicting claims lacked. By 1410, representative parliamentary institutions had existed for some two centuries in the Kingdom of Valencia and in the Principality of Catalonia (their *Corts*) as well as in the Kingdom of Aragon (its *Cortes*), and these seemed to offer an institutional basis for achieving a solution. *Cort(e)s*, though, were presided over by kings, and there was no king at the moment. So it was through a different sort of assembly called a *parlament*—typically summoned on an ad hoc basis to solve specific problems rather than meeting more or less regularly to deal with issues of general interest and royal requests for money—that the Crown of Aragon wrestled with the interregnum.[51] The Kingdom of Aragon, the Principality of Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Valencia each convened its own *parlament*. Aspirants to the throne made their claims known to these *parlaments*, which communicated with one another and decided early in the process that, come what may, the Crown of Aragon must remain intact, rather than its constituent kingdoms and territories splitting apart and choosing their own rulers. They decided, too, that any solution must have the approval of the Kingdom of Aragon, the Principality of Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Valencia.[52] To communicate more quickly with one another, these *parlaments* moved from their initial locations to places in greater proximity to one another. The Catalan assembly, which convened first and did so in August 1410, began in Montblanc, then moved to Barcelona, and then to Tortosa. The Aragonese assembly convened at Calatayud in February 1411, then moved to Zaragoza, and then to Alcañiz. Rival *parlaments* arose in the Kingdom of Valencia, with the first convening in May 1411; both originated in the city of Valencia, but one relocated to Vinaròs and the other to Trahiguera and from there to Morella.

Until September 1411, the solution that seemed to have the greatest traction was the summoning of a single great assembly or general *parlament*, to be attended by representatives of Aragon, Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Valencia; it would have superseded the three regional *parlaments* currently meeting. At Calatayud in May 1411, representatives from Aragon, Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Valencia met to plan just such a general assembly.[53] However, from the moment that the regional *parlaments* began to meet, they were stormy affairs. At the Catalan

*parlament* meeting at Barcelona, a rift opened between the supporters of Jaume II d'Urgell and the supporters of Louis III d'Anjou.[54] Elsewhere the rifts were even worse as rival *parlaments* sprang up and gave institutional form to the divisions generated by the interregnum. In Aragon, the main *parlament* met at Alcañiz and came to be dominated by the Trastamarans, but the Urgellists organized their own *parlament* at Mequinenza. In the Kingdom of Valencia, the *parlament* at Vinaròs was Urgellist, but the *parlament* at Trahiguera and then at Morella was Trastamaran.[55] If regional *parlaments* experienced such fissures, a general *parlament* likely would experience even worse. Even under the best of circumstances—and these were not the best of circumstances—summoning such a great ad hoc assembly would have posed large logistical problems. Who, exactly, would attend? Would it be held in Aragon, Catalonia, or the Kingdom of Valencia? What procedures would the general assembly follow, and on what basis would it decide among the competing claims?

The general assembly offered a cumbersome and slow solution, and as 1411 progressed, time did not appear to be a luxury that the Crown of Aragon could afford. Conflicts among various candidates and their supporters turned violent. On June 1, 1411, supporters of Jaume II d'Urgell killed García Fernández de Heredia, who opposed that count and supported Louis III d'Anjou. Fernández was also the archbishop of Zaragoza, and the murder of such an important prelate did not bode well for the future.

Jaume II d'Urgell refused to disavow the archbishop's killers, and the murder galvanized the count's opponents in Aragon, who swung their support from Louis III d'Anjou to Fernando de Trastámara. The Angevins were too distant to provide the count's enemies with the military support they needed to fight, but Fernando, lurking near the frontier (where he met with Vincent at Ayllón), was happy to intervene. Castilian troops entered Aragon and beat back the forces of Jaume II d'Urgell; the supporters of Fernando gained control of the Aragonese *parlament* at Alcañiz.[56] The king of France cheekily suggested that, because they had resorted to arms, both Jaume II d'Urgell and Fernando ought to be disqualified from consideration for the crown—which would have mightily benefited the chances of his preferred candidate, Louis III d'Anjou. Neither the French king's suggestion nor his offer to send troops to help maintain order was accepted.[57] Fernando's representatives produced correspondence proving, they claimed, that Jaume II d'Urgell, whose supporters had brought in Gascon troops, had entered into a secret agreement with the governor of Mallorca for the purpose of seizing the crown by force. (Mallorca formed part of the Kingdom of Majorca, one of the kingdoms comprising the federative Crown of Aragon. Aragon, Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Valencia had frozen the smaller Kingdom of Majorca out of the succession process.) Even more seriously, the correspondence indicated that Jaume II d'Urgell was allying with the Muslim King of Granada.[58] Meanwhile, the Kingdom of Valencia was, like the Kingdom of Aragon, slipping into civil war.[59]

As the situation deteriorated, in September 1411, the Aragonese assembly at Alcañiz scotched the idea of a general *parlament* and instead recommended that the *parlaments* of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia each choose a small number

of representatives to decide which contender had the best claim to be the next king.[60] On December 23, 1411, the Catalan *parlament* meeting at Tortosa took a step in that direction, electing 24 people to whom the *parlament* would entrust the responsibility of acting in the *parlament*'s name as regards the succession crisis.[61] It was Benedict XIII, however, who soon thereafter put forth the plan that would actually be followed. On January 23, 1412, he published a detailed proposal recommending that nine arbitrators, three each for Aragon, Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Valencia, be chosen within the next 20 days. The nine arbitrators would solicit and receive each of the claimants' arguments and weigh their merits. After due deliberation, the nine arbitrators would then proclaim which candidate had the best claim to the throne and deserved to be recognized and obeyed as ruler of the Crown of Aragon.[62] The Aragonese *parlament* moved quickly to embrace this plan, reaching an agreement on February 15, 1412, with representatives of the Catalan *parlament* to that effect and then notifying the Valencians. The nine arbitrators, who were to be men, as the agreement put it, "suitable for the great task at hand, of pure conscience and good reputation," would meet in Aragon at Casp.[63] The outcome of the deliberations at Casp would be decided by a vote of the nine. The successful candidate would have to receive at least six of the nine votes, including at least one vote from an Aragonese, a Catalan, and a Valencian.[64]

Even as plans to have the nine arbitrators meet at Casp moved forward, the forces of Jaume II d'Urgell and of Fernando de Trastámara continued to clash. As in Aragon, in the Kingdom of Valencia different noble families lined up behind different contenders—the Centelles supported Fernando, while the Vilaragut and the municipal government of Valencia supported Jaume II d'Urgell. As he had done in Aragon, Fernando dispatched Castilian troops to the Kingdom of Valencia. The Trastamaran forces gained the upper hand there at a battle near Murviedro on February 27, 1412.[65] With that victory, the Trastamaran forces took control of the Valencian *parlament* meeting at Morella, while the rival *parlament* at Vinaròs, which had previously enjoyed more recognition from the Catalan *parlament* at Tortosa than did the *parlament* of Trahiguera and then Morella, faded away. Valencia's *jurats*, previously supporters of Jaume II d'Urgell, switched their allegiance to Fernando. The Urgellists continued to put up a fight, managing to defeat the Valencian Trastamarans in April 1412 and thereby achieving a victory that, while not decisive enough for the Urgellists to wrest control of Valencia away from the Trastamarans, nonetheless demonstrated that Jaume II d'Urgell and his supporters were still to be reckoned with. Fernando sent more troops to Valencia to replace those who had been lost.[66] Still, the defeat of the Urgellists near Murviedro on February 27, 1412, meant that, when the Kingdom of Valencia chose its three representatives for the meeting at Casp, the Trastamarans were in a position to make certain that those three represented Fernando's interests.

Having, at long last, agreed upon a mechanism for selecting those who would decide which candidate was worthiest of being the next king, the *parlaments* turned to the task of deciding upon the nine individuals. The Aragonese *parlament* entrusted the task to two officials, including the governor of Aragon.[67]

The governor of Aragon drew up a list of nine names, and he did not merely propose three representatives for Aragon; he also proposed three representatives for Catalonia and three for Valencia. The list included Vincent, whose possible involvement in settling the succession had been suggested already by the archbishop of Tarragona in a letter to the Catalan *parlament*, on the grounds that "clearly our Lord is accustomed to achieve wonderful works through instruments" such as the esteemed Valencian.[68]

The *parlament* at Alcañiz approved the list of nine and forwarded it to the Catalan *parlament* at Tortosa, where the 24 representatives chosen in keeping with the *parlament*'s decision of December 23, 1411, debated and voted on the list. Some names proposed by the Aragonese proved to be controversial, especially those of the Valencian Boniface Ferrer and the Catalan Bernat de Gualbes. Loyalists to Jaume II d'Urgell wanted both of them replaced. Bernat de Gualbes, a jurist from Barcelona and a municipal officeholder, had spoken publicly against Jaume II d'Urgell in the past, denouncing his use of royal battle standards when he was not yet crowned king.[69] Loyalists to Louis III d'Anjou also wanted Boniface Ferrer stricken from the list. Vincent, on the other hand, encountered no opposition.[70] The Aragonese held their ground and would accept no substitutes, and so, lest the selection of the nine result in a rupture between the Aragonese and the Catalans, the Catalan *parlament* approved all nine arbitrators proposed by the Aragonese. Valencia's *parlament* and its ambassadors then gave their approval to the list of nine that the 24 representatives of the Catalan *parlament* at Tortosa had approved, doing so by accepting the three Aragonese and the three Catalans and by proposing three sets of three Valencians who would be acceptable. Vincent appeared in only one of those three sets, while Boniface Ferrer appeared in all three, presumably to force his inclusion among the nine arbitrators.[71] The Urgellists continued to call for the exclusion of Boniface Ferrer and Bernat de Gualbes; the kings of France and of Sicily joined them, formally protesting on March 15, 1412. According to the ambassadors of the French and Sicilian kings, Boniface Ferrer should have been struck from the list because of his hostility to the French king and because he was a Carthusian monk whose contemplative vocation was unsuited to this public duty. The French and Sicilian kings also protested the inclusion of three other arbitrators on various grounds, but they did not challenge the inclusion of Vincent.[72] The French and Sicilian protests came too late, though, because the nine arbitrators had been publicly proclaimed the day before.

In the maneuverings leading up to the naming of the arbitrators, no one challenged Vincent's inclusion among the nine. On the contrary, there was enthusiasm for him. The public declaration of the nine arbitrators spoke of their outstanding qualities and especially of Vincent's, whose undoubted sanctity guaranteed that the outcome of the Compromise of Casp would be just.[73] The friar's long experience as a peacemaker and a healer of feuds likely made him an appealing choice as well.[74] Indeed, Vincent's appeal transcended both region and faction. At one point, the representatives of Girona at the Catalan *parlament* proposed that Vincent be included not among the Valencian representatives but among the Catalans.[75] Jaume II d'Urgell requested that the other arbitrators not

begin their deliberations until Vincent had arrived from Castile.[76] But such confidence in Vincent's rectitude would also be a problem. Each camp believed that Vincent, being just, would do the right thing, which is to say, he would choose the candidate whom the camp supported. But Vincent would vote for only one candidate, and only one could become king. In that sense, although the outcome came to be known as the Compromise of Casp, no compromise was possible. Disappointment and disillusionment among supporters of the candidates for whom Vincent did not vote were unavoidable.

On March 29, 1412, the arbitrators convened at Casp, although Vincent was not yet present; he reached Casp during the next two weeks. They had a deadline of two months within which to name the next king. If they deemed it necessary, the arbitrators could grant themselves an extension of an additional month, which would move their deadline to June 29. To prevent any of the claimants from influencing or disrupting the proceedings by force, armed guards were posted on Casp's walls and at its gates. Throughout the meetings at Casp, the nine arbitrators corresponded frequently with the various claimants, their supporters, and with the regional *parlaments*. The first three weeks were given over to procedural matters, information gathering, and paperwork. By the middle of April, the arbitrators were ready to tackle the job entrusted to them, but by then another problem had emerged. The Valencian representative Giner Rabassa kept missing meetings, and he appeared to be too ill, both physically and mentally, to continue. The next month was given over to the scrutiny not of the various claimants but of Rabassa. Physicians examined him and even sought to assess his mental and physical fitness by drawing up a questionnaire to be administered to people who had recent dealings with him. In mid May, the Valencians replaced him with Pere Beltrán. The arbitrators were now only two weeks away from their deadline; on May 28, they announced that they would need an extra month to complete their work. On June 25, the nine arbitrators voted. The Valencian Pere Beltrán abstained on the grounds that, as a late replacement for Giner Rabassa, he had not had as much time as the others to consider each claimant's merits. One Catalan voted for Jaume II d'Urgell, and another split his vote between Jaume II d'Urgell and Alfons, Duke of Gandía. The remaining six—the Catalan Bernat de Gualbes, all three Aragonese, and the Valencian brothers Boniface and Vincent Ferrer—voted for Fernando de Trastámara, who thereby gained the bare minimum of votes needed to win. By agreement of the nine arbitrators, Vincent cast the first vote and publicly proclaimed their decision on June 28, 1412.[77]

* * *

Before the arbitrators had selected Fernando de Trastámara, Queen Violante de Bar believed that the outcome had already been determined. A supporter of Louis III d'Anjou, she wrote unhappily to the nine arbitrators on April 21, 1412. Among the nine arbitrators there were, she stated, so many with personal ties to Benedict XIII that "the whole world knows that this decision is in his hands," and she alleged that Benedict and one of the candidates had already agreed on that candidate's selection.[78] The queen was not alone in alleging that

the outcome was rigged. On March 23, 1412, after the nine arbitrators had been chosen but before they had assembled at Casp, representatives of Count Jaume II d'Urgell appeared before the Catalan *parlament* and presented letters that they claimed to have been written by the governor of Aragon, who had first proposed the nine arbitrators. The letters stated, in effect, that the election of Fernando was a foregone conclusion.[79]

The case for Benedict's influence on the outcome of Casp—an influence exercised through those arbitrators loyal to him, including Vincent—rests on strong circumstantial evidence and a smattering of direct evidence that, taken together, suggest that the accusations were correct.[80] It was Benedict who proposed the mechanism that led to the selection of Fernando. Even scholars disinclined to attribute to Benedict much of a role in determining the outcome of Casp acknowledge that, considering how little time passed between Benedict's proposal on January 23, 1412, and the Aragonese (and staunchly pro-Trastamaran) *parlament*'s acceptance of that proposal on February 15, 1412, Benedict seems to have laid the groundwork for that acceptance before going public with his plan.[81] The Aragonese *parlament* then entrusted the task of choosing the nine arbitrators to two officials who, in turn, selected nine people of whom at least six, including at least one from Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia (a sufficient number and geographical distribution to determine the outcome), had close ties to Benedict.[82] The Aragonese *parlament* rejected any attempts by its Catalan counterpart and its 24 representatives to change the list of nine arbitrators. The most pro-Trastamaran members of the Catalan *parlament*, such as Bishop Francesc Climent, a confidante of Benedict whom that pope controversially transferred to the see of Barcelona as the succession crisis approached, seemingly to have a close ally located in the chief Catalan city, simply accepted the list without demurral.[83]

Fernando's correspondence with his own ambassadors indicates that he was in contact with Benedict and the pope's advisors and was even prepared to provide military assistance to the defenders of the papal palace in Avignon—Benedict would have liked to keep the palace under his supporters' control, but it was under attack and finally fell in November 1411 after a 19-month siege. The correspondence of Benedict's close advisors indicates that in 1411, even before Benedict had publicly proposed the procedures that would later be followed at Casp, they were confident in the pope's ability to determine who would become the next ruler of the Crown of Aragon. In July 1411, when negotiating possible meeting places between himself and his rival pope, Benedict provided his ambassador with a list of places where such a meeting might take place. The list included places within the Crown of Aragon, as one might expect, but it also included places such as Cartagena, which was part of the Castilian territory administered by Fernando as co-regent. Apparently, in July 1411, Benedict already regarded Fernando as a firm ally.[84] Josep Perarnau i Espelt's codicological analysis of Benedict's registers also indicates that documents pertaining to that pope's behind-the-scenes maneuverings were excised from his registers at some point, perhaps to hide evidence of the degree of his involvement.[85]

Benedict arrived at his support of Fernando only over time, though, and after entertaining the possibility of supporting other contenders. The pope's hostility

to Jaume II d'Urgell appears to have been well established even before the death of Martí I, in part because of that count's relations with Benedict's rival, Pope John XXIII—there was no possibility of Benedict supporting Jaume II d'Urgell's claim to the throne.[86] However, Benedict seems to have contemplated, at least at the beginning of the interregnum, the thought of supporting Frederic, as legitimizing him could not have helped Fernando. And as Perarnau argues, the candidate whose accession to the throne might have served the pope's interests best was Louis III d'Anjou. If he had become king, then Provence and the Crown of Aragon would have been brought into a close relationship, strengthening the pope's position in his struggle against his two rivals; perhaps a grateful France would have restored obedience to Benedict once again.[87] Unfortunately for Louis III d'Anjou, however, his father, Louis II d'Anjou, had switched his obedience from Benedict to the Pisan Pope Alexander V, who supported Louis II d'Anjou's territorial designs in northern Italy and even invested him with the title of king of Sicily.[88] Louis II d'Anjou remained outside Benedict's obedience after Martí I's death in 1410, and Benedict accordingly did not support his son's candidacy for the throne in the Crown of Aragon. If Louis II d'Anjou had returned to Benedict's obedience in return for the pope's support of Louis III d'Anjou, then the Compromise of Casp might have turned out differently.

In the end, Benedict supported Fernando—even before the arbitrators notified the *parlaments* that they had selected the Castilian claimant, they notified Benedict.[89] Castile had already withdrawn its obedience from Benedict once before, and if the pope failed to support Fernando's claims, a second Castilian withdrawal of obedience might have resulted.[90] While we will never know the full extent and nature of Benedict's involvement in shaping the Compromise of Casp, enough is known to support Thomas Bisson's finely calibrated assessment of the pope's influence: Benedict's role in shaping the outcome of Casp was "powerful, perhaps decisive."[91]

Benedict's interest in the outcome was both personal and procedural, and making certain that Fernando became the next king was only half of what the pope wanted to achieve. As Perarnau points out, just as important was that the process proposed by Benedict prove workable. The pope needed that process to work because he himself was involved in a disputed succession, and the method that he proposed for settling the royal succession was simply an extension of the method that he had proposed for settling the papal schism, namely, the *via iustitiae* or the *via compromissi*. Given the growing strength of those proposing conciliar solutions to the schism, as evidenced by the meeting of the Council of Pisa in 1409, Benedict could hardly be enthusiastic at the prospect of a general assembly meeting in the Crown of Aragon and settling the royal succession successfully. The *via iusititiae*, which Benedict had embraced long before the death of Martí I and never abandoned, proposed that if the rival popes could not meet face to face, then each pope should appoint an equal number of arbitrators and those arbitrators would then make a determination. Benedict's proposal for settling the royal succession left aside the face-to-face meeting—any such meeting would likely have been bloody—and instead went straight to arbitration. Aside from that variation, though, his proposal for ending the interregnum was the same

as his proposal for ending the schism. If the Compromise of Casp worked, then the feasibility and value of the *via iustitiae* were proven, and the likelihood that it rather than a general council would settle the schism increased.[92] That Benedict was indeed thinking along these lines is evident in the fact that, when the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund later pressured him to resign as pope and to let the Council of Constance choose the next pope, Benedict refused and pointed to the Compromise of Casp as the model that should be followed for settling the papal schism.[93]

As important as Benedict's influence on the outcome of Casp was, purely pragmatic considerations in the spring of 1412 pointed to the same outcome as well. On the field of battle, Fernando was winning in Aragon and in Valencia, while Jaume II d'Urgell was losing. Had the nine arbitrators pronounced in favor of someone other than Fernando, it is doubtful whether the Castilian troops then occupying Aragon and Valencia would have saluted the new king, gracefully accepted the outcome, and then returned home in good order. Jaume II d'Urgell initially accepted, or at least appeared to accept, the outcome of Casp; he recognized Fernando as king in October 1412. The count then rebelled against Fernando the very next month. Although Jaume II d'Urgell still had supporters in the Kingdom of Aragon willing to fight on his behalf, his supporters elsewhere, however much they grumbled about the outcome of the Compromise of Casp, were unwilling to gamble on rebellion. Fernando defeated the count, who surrendered in October 1413 and spent the remaining 20 years of his life in captivity, thereby earning the sobriquet Jaume el Dissortat, or Jaume the Unfortunate.[94]

Beyond loyalty to Benedict and his desire to avert, or at least mitigate, civil war, Vincent perhaps had his own reasons for voting for Fernando. He knew Fernando personally, having met him at Ayllón in Castile—and one wonders whether Fernando solicited the report of Vincent's preaching and activities contained in the *Relación a Fernando de Antequera* and then met with the preacher, precisely because he foresaw that a relationship with Vincent might prove valuable in the contest to become king.[95] Furthermore, as we will see, the Castilian royal family supported Vincent's spectacularly successful proselytizing efforts in 1411 and 1412. A Trastamaran on the Crown of Aragon's throne might facilitate similarly massive conversions there as well.

★ ★ ★

In July of an unknown year but most likely 1413, a royal agent in Valencia named Bartolomé Miralles wrote a disquieting report to King Fernando I of Aragon: the king had many enemies in that city among those who had lost their devotion to Vincent.[96] Vincent's vote at Casp occasioned controversy and opposition, some of it directed at the friar himself and lasting for years.

When preaching at Valencia on December 27, 1412, Vincent defended himself and his role in making Fernando king.[97] He assured his listeners that he and the other eight arbitrators had given full consideration to all contenders. Both biblical and local history proved that Fernando had every right to rule

the Crown of Aragon, even though he was related to the Aragonese royal family through the maternal rather than paternal line. Jesus belonged to the House of David through his mother Mary, and the marriage of Queen Petronilla of Aragon and Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Catalonia in the twelfth century had given rise to the Crown of Aragon itself, whose rulers all inherited the kingship of Aragon through the maternal line. Vincent also argued against those who rejected Fernando on the grounds that he was a Castilian and therefore a foreigner, and the Dominican made a surprising declaration: "I tell you that on his father's side and on his mother's side, this king is entirely Aragonese and Valencian." As for how Fernando's father, King Juan I of Castile, had come by his Aragonese and Valencian ethnicity, it was through prenatal and postnatal osmosis: Juan I had been conceived in Valencia, born at Tamarit de Llitera, and nursed in the Kingdom of Valencia. Fernando's uncle showed that he, too, was Catalan and Aragonese, for he had fought against the Castilian King Pedro the Cruel, who, as Vincent reminded his listeners, had ravaged the Kingdom of Valencia during the War of the Two Peters. Fernando's speech showed fine Aragonese and Valencian qualities, for he was succinct, while Castilians were long-winded. That Fernando was more Catalan or Aragonese than Castilian was also evident in his sexual restraint, for he was a virgin at the time of his marriage.

All these were reasons why Fernando could be king, but they were not reasons why he should be king. Vincent defended his choice at Casp on dynastic, legal grounds: there was no other man in the world, "male and legitimate," related as closely to King Martí I and to his father Pere IV. In stressing that there was no "legitimate" claimant to the throne with closer blood ties to the royal house, Vincent was ruling out Martí's illegitimate grandson, Frederic, the only candidate whom Vincent mentioned by name on this occasion (although, in a self-defeating moment, the friar acknowledged that Benedict had declared Frederic legitimate). Vincent also justified the choice of Fernando on utilitarian grounds. Upon the election of Fernando, all the fighting and feuds (*bandositats*) within the Crown of Aragon supposedly stopped. (Vincent did not mention Count Jaume II d'Urgell's rebellion, which was underway by December 1412.) The Genoese, who had armed themselves to invade Aragon, dropped their plans to attack, and Muslims trembled at the news of Fernando's selection.[98] Furthermore, Vincent invited his listeners to marvel at the number of heirs that the king had produced, heirs who were old enough to ride and hunt and who therefore could be expected to live through adulthood. The election of Fernando meant that the Crown of Aragon would not have to face another interregnum in the foreseeable future.

The defense of the Compromise of Casp that Vincent articulated at Valencia in December 1412 did not convince everyone within the Crown of Aragon, and the Dominican repeatedly attacked his critics and defended himself for at least the next two years—and the lack of apologetics beyond that might simply reflect the relative paucity of surviving sermons datable to 1415 and 1416. As Vincent traveled between Valencia and Barcelona from May to August 1413, the Compromise of Casp cropped up, as Perarnau puts it, "almost in every village where he preached." At Albocàsser on June 1, Vincent charged those who

criticized the Compromise of Casp with passing judgment on something that they knew nothing about. At Tortosa on June 29, the friar assailed those who criticized Benedict XIII and the nine arbitrators and who said ominously that Fernando's reign would be a short one. Vincent predicted that it was not the king who would soon come to a bad end and be destroyed; rather, that fate would befall the grumblers themselves and the candidate whom the grumblers supported. So frequent were Vincent's allusions to Casp on this trip that the reporter recording his sermons stopped writing down what the Dominican had to say on the subject and instead merely advised readers to look at Vincent's other sermons to get the gist of what the preacher had said.[99]

Vincent's defense of himself and the Compromise of Casp in the spring of 1413 sounded some new notes too. Rather than trying to make Fernando seem more like a native of the Crown of Aragon than he actually was, Vincent emphasized the divine inspiration that had led to the decision at Casp: "There are many of you who do not fear to defame the men to whom God entrusted his legateship, and who spoke with God as was necessary, and are friends of God. I feel sorry for you; I am talking about the election of the king of Aragon."[100] In a Lenten sermon that he preached at Lleida on March 8, 1414, Vincent defended the Compromise of Casp entirely on religious, and indeed theological, grounds. All writings other than the Bible were flawed, in that cases arose for which they made no provision. Only the Holy Scriptures were perfect. For that reason, theology rightly figured in the decision made at Casp; if it had not, then the crown of Aragon would still have no king (*Sed non defficit Theologia, ymo fuit necessarium in declaracione, alias adhuc non haberitis Regem*).[101]

Vincent did not elaborate on the biblical and theological imperative that necessitated the election of Fernando. Possibly the religious justifications that Vincent proffered in 1413 and 1414 were tactical, deployed only because his earlier attempts to convince Fernando's subjects that their new king was not really a foreigner had failed. Given the intensity of Vincent's religious vocation, however, the opposite seems more likely: the utilitarian and cultural arguments that Vincent offered in 1412 were more tactical than heartfelt, and the religious arguments of 1413 and 1414 accurately reflected what had guided Vincent's thinking at Casp. In stressing the friendship between the nine arbitrators and God, as he did in 1413, and in rooting the Compromise of Casp in theological considerations, as he did in 1414, Vincent gives the impression that his vote for Fernando had little to do with degrees of kinship, but much to do with the needs and wishes of Benedict XIII. And Vincent's defensiveness hardened over the years. In 1413, he foretold the physical destruction of those who opposed Fernando and sought to bring him down. In 1414, he foretold their damnation: "I say these things to shut up the murmurers. See how many are damned for thinking otherwise, and this on account of their ignorance."[102]

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Even before the Compromise of Casp, Vincent had enemies: the Swiss man who, on account of the Dominican's attacks on concubinage, slashed the fabrics

decorating the catafalque from which Vincent preached; the cardinals at the Council of Pisa who charged that Vincent was a notorious and convicted heretic. Other enemies, too, appeared during Vincent's Iberian return. Castilian court poets lamented Vincent's arrival because their patrons spent their time listening to his sermons rather than to poems. The poets also lamented how Vincent extolled poverty, which, they assured their readers, was not so much a source of virtue as a source of unhappiness, as they knew from their own experiences.[103] Toledo's magistrates showed a wariness of Vincent when they refused to greet him or hold a procession upon his arrival there. The *Relación a Fernando de Antequera* notes that although some residents went forth to welcome Vincent, the city government, upon the advice of the local clergy, did not organize any reception for him, "because he was not an approved prelate or holy man, nor the sort of person whom, according to the law, they ought to receive."[104]

Sometimes people confronted Vincent directly or denounced him publicly. At Valladolid in 1411, Vincent reported that he had encountered Antichrist's ambassadors in Lombardy, where one tried to convince Vincent that Christians ought to keep Saturday rather than Sunday holy, and then he encountered them again at Perpignan.[105] (In claiming that the ambassadors of Antichrist who opposed him also advocated the observance of the Sabbath on Saturday rather than on Sunday, Vincent linked his enemies to Judaism.) At Chinchilla earlier that same year, Vincent recalled that Antichrist's ambassadors had spoken ill of him at Lleida, Barcelona, and Tarragona. At the last of these three places, the archbishop seized and imprisoned Vincent's enemies, but they escaped and left behind only the chains used to bind them, their supernatural jailbreak being evidence of the prisoners' demonic nature.[106] At Barcelona in 1413, Vincent spoke of how Antichrist's messengers, demons in human form, preached against him at the Council of Perpignan, at Lleida, at Valencia, and in Castile, accusing Vincent of being a hypocrite interested only in money.[107] These critics, too, being demons, either disappeared when local officials tried to apprehend them or escaped from prison afterward, but the accusation of greed rankled. In Castile, Vincent attributed his success at converting the Swiss heretics of "*valle puta alias pura*" to his refusal to ask for money for his preaching or to accept money if offered. That claim might, in the narrowest sense, have been true, but it sidestepped the fact that he and his companions accepted clothing, food, and wine bought with money.[108]

Vincent claimed that the messengers of Antichrist who opposed him had a solution in mind, as did their allies. At Toledo in July 1411, Vincent mentioned an incident that occurred at "*Burges, que es en Verbería*," a place where, on account of the lack of preaching, people mistakenly kept Saturday rather than Sunday holy.[109] There, a messenger of Antichrist publicly proclaimed that Vincent did not preach the truth. The same messenger showed up at the Council of Perpignan and even stood close by the pope, to the amazement of Vincent's companions, who spotted him there. Antichrist's messenger then went from Perpignan to the monastery at Montserrat, where he denounced the friar for traveling "throughout the world in order to get money." Two others traveling with the messenger suggested that Vincent ought to be burned to death.[110]

To judge from Vincent's preaching and from the report of the royal agent Bartolomé Miralles, the Compromise of Casp added to the number of those who thought poorly of the Dominican. Yet one should not overemphasize the size or significance of this opposition. After the Compromise of Casp, Vincent continued to travel throughout the Crown of Aragon. Crowds still turned out for his sermons; towns and bishops still sought out his visits. There was no reason to think that Vincent would ever leave, or feel the need to leave, his native land again.

# CHAPTER 4

# MORAL REFORM AND PEACEMAKING

In his letter to King Fernando about Vincent Ferrer's imminent voyage to the Balearics, the bishop of Mallorca stated why he wanted the Dominican to visit his diocese: Vincent's preaching, teaching, and good works would lead to moral reform.[1] When Fernando wrote to Vincent and asked him to come to Barcelona, he gave the same reason: the friar's preaching would eradicate vice and change behavior for the better.[2] When Orihuela's *jurats* wrote to Vincent and requested his presence, they, too, cited the need for moral reform. All those who heard the friar's sermons "left the road of perversity and evil" and then took the road of God and Jesus Christ; because Orihuela and the land around it were "very vicious, abounding in malice, such that people practice divination (*creure en señals*) and all other vices," it needed his preaching.[3] In thanking the bishop of Cartagena for inviting Vincent to the Kingdom of Murcia, Orihuela's magistrates claimed that Vincent's preaching had inspired the residents of Oriheula and of other places to start observing the Christian Sabbath and to stop blaspheming, gaming and gambling with dice, and practicing magic. They also attributed the recent absence of plague to the moral improvement that Vincent had brought about.[4] (Later, a royal official writing from Mallorca credited a much-needed rainstorm occurring three days after Vincent's arrival, ending a drought, to the Dominican's presence.[5]) Bishops, kings, and urban magistrates all believed in Vincent's efficacy as a moral reformer who brought his listeners to abide by the moral precepts of Christianity.

Urban magistrates had another reason for seeking out the friar's help, one that perhaps they felt more keenly than did bishops and kings: Vincent's ability to bring peace to feuding parties and quell their violent *bandositats*. Valencia in 1409 pled with Vincent to return to his native city and put a stop to the "*guerras et discordias incarnatas*" that caused neighbor to war against neighbor; in 1412, Valencia asked for yet another visit so that the friar might finalize the work of bringing peace and ending *bandositats* within both the city and the kingdom.[6] When Vila-real in June 1410 invited Vincent, it, too, hoped that the preacher would make peace among Vila-real's inhabitants and put an end to *bandositats*.[7] Vincent had already used his spiritual authority to bring about moral reform and peace at Valencia in the 1380s and the early 1390s; he did so again during

his wanderings between Provence and Lombardy from 1399 to 1408. But it was during his return to Spain that Vincent's efforts at moral reform and peacemaking left the greatest mark in the historical record, because of the immense interest that he attracted upon his return and (perhaps not coincidentally) because many more datable reports of his sermons survive from this phase of his mission.

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Whether violence and vice directly affected Vincent during his formative years at Valencia is unknown, but his reforming efforts indicate that the friar knew of their deep-rooted prevalence.

The rising sun sometimes revealed corpses strewn across Valencia's streets—enough of them for the *Consell* to bring this problem to the king's attention in 1334. The dead men whose bodies came to light at dawn were not victims of that year's famine and illness, the *malalties e morts*. They had been murdered. The *Consell* did not know the individual identities of the killers and so could not bring them to justice. Yet the *Consell* knew more generally who and what were to blame for the slayings. Valencia's most powerful families were forming *bandòls*, which were, in turn, responsible for the *bandositats* that made Valencia dangerous.[8]

*Bandòls* were factions. The core of each faction consisted of a noble family and the head of that family, but the faction included other allied noble families as well as nonnoble servants and henchmen (*mossos*, *macips*, *escuders*) whom noble families housed, clothed, fed, and paid. Vagabonds and petty criminals joined factions, usually hiring themselves out. Unlike servants and henchmen, artisans supported themselves financially and were not on the nobles' payrolls, yet they also aligned themselves with factions despite laws forbidding craftsmen from joining *bandòls* or taking part in *bandositats*.[9] Even clerics attached to Valencia's cathedral church were involved. In 1347, Valencia ordered the reconciliation or, failing that, the expulsion of two noble canons and of each canon's allies, both horsemen and footmen, who had been gathering at Valencia in large numbers "*per rao del bando*."[10] By the 1370s and 1380s, families of skilled artisans such as butchers and weavers had formed their own *bandòls* in Valencia, squaring off against rival families practicing the same trade.[11] The fighting took various forms. Factions ambushed individuals or small groups belonging to rival factions, sometimes on the city streets, sometimes on the roads and paths outside Valencia. Factions brawled on the city streets too—a chance encounter between, typically, 3 to 12 men from one faction and a roughly equal number from another resulted in an armed melee. Sometimes several dozen men from a faction gathered and assaulted an enemy's house, fortified against just such an attack.[12]

The emergence of artisanal *bandòls* and *bandositats* merely made Valencia even more unsettled, for by the 1370s the enmities and alliances that fueled Valencia's noble *bandositats* were fully established. The most important noble feud was that between the Centelles and the Vilaragut families. They fought against one another for control of the city government and various municipal offices, although those offices were held not by members of the two families themselves but by their allies. They fought for control of the various parishes that comprised

Valencia; when a parish fell under the control of one faction, residents allied with the other faction moved to a safer parish. And they fought for honor, prestige, and to avenge earlier attacks.[13] The Centelles allied with the Maça and the Romaní families, just about equal to the Centelles in reputation, while the Vilaragut allied with the similarly prestigious Boïl family. Families of the lesser nobility chose sides. The Centelles could count on the Díez, Castellà, Montagut, Pardo, and Valldaura families for assistance; the Vilaragut could count on, among others, the Soler and the Vilarassa.[14]

From the early 1370s onward, Valencia experienced hardly any respite from the *bandositats*. The Centelles family, allied with the bishop of Valencia, Jaume d'Arago, battled the Vilaragut family for nearly a decade after 1373. An outbreak of plague in 1375 brought the fighting to a temporary halt, as nobles fled from Valencia to escape the danger, but after the outbreak had passed, they returned and resumed their battling.[15] There was another brief lull in the early 1380s, but the *bandositats* flared anew in 1384 and 1385 with the killings of several members of the Vilaragut family and their allies, killings in which Bishop Jaume d'Arago was implicated—investigators searched the bishop's residence for the killers and forbade his brother from leaving that residence during the investigation. During the late 1390s and the earliest years of the fifteenth century, the *bandositats* reached a new level of intensity, resulting in, as Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno puts it, "an interminable succession of assassinations and acts of vengeance" that felled members of both factions year after year.[16]

The *Consell* of Valencia, in 1334 and on other occasions afterward, called on the king to put the *bandositats* to an end; kings and their officials responded by ordering the warring *bandòls* specifically, or all royal subjects generally, to swear to accept the royal Peace and Truce and to come to terms with one another, under threats of fines or exile from their home cities. But the customs of the Kingdom of Valencia, which the *Consell* otherwise guarded jealously, stated that nobles had the right to wage private war in response to acts of dishonor and defiance. Nobles protested or ignored, except on rare occasions, all attempts at pacification.[17]

The upsurge of *bandositats* in the last few decades of the fourteenth century was not peculiar to Valencia. At precisely the same time, *bandositats* throughout the Crown of Aragon became an increasingly grave problem, even if the reasons for their worsening are still not well understood. At some places, such as Barcelona, municipal and royal officials had some success in tamping down the violence; at places such as Orihuela, officials were not so successful. Modern historians of Valencia, whose officials could only hope to reconcile warring factions without punishing their members, regard it as having been one of the cities least able to cope.[18]

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Gaming and gambling, swearing, prostitution, and magic, all of which Vincent wanted either to restrict or abolish, were part of the fabric of medieval Valencian life.

Valencians, like townspeople everywhere in medieval Europe, played games to relieve and stave off the tedium of sedentary existence—"*per solaç e passar temps*," as Valencia's *Consell* put it in 1384.[19] Urban nobles and those who aspired to be nobles jousted and practiced falconry. Target shooting using crossbows was popular not just among those for whom fighting was a way of life but even among artisans. Towns held annual target-shooting contests with prizes for the winner, but townspeople shot year-round at targets such as animals, birds, and fruit hanging from trees. They also threw darts and engaged in less martial games such as bowling, board games, card games (especially popular among women), and *creueres*, which was a bit like tic-tac-toe. A game that rivaled target shooting in popularity was the *joc de pilota*, in which a player banged a ball made of cloth wrapped in leather off a wall, using either the player's hand (sometimes gloved, sometimes not) or a racquet.[20]

Not all of these games met with the approval of urban magistrates. In 1391, Valencia outlawed the *joc de pilota*, at least among those who were ten years or older, citing the physical danger that the game posed to people as they traveled through the streets, as well as the blasphemous cursing that passersby heard as they encountered these games. Ballers took the prohibition badly. Nobles and others set themselves up in a major thoroughfare and, complaining that they could no longer play the *joc de pilota*, instead began playing the *joc de palet* (called here *xoqua*), a game that involved hurling disks at a stick in the ground. The disgruntled former ballplayers imperiled bystanders with their whizzing disks, and they threatened to do even worse: if anyone dared to interfere with their game of *xoqua*, they would start bowling at pedestrians, hurling stones at the legs of people as they walked down the street. At night, those forced to play *xoqua* rather than their beloved *joc de pilota* rode through the streets defaming the town government; they even appeared before the homes of each of the *jurats*, calling the officials "cuckolds and other very vituperative names."[21] Valencia was not the only place to prohibit ball games. Terrassa outlawed the *joc de pilota* (only briefly, on account of the outcry against the prohibition) because of its noisiness and instead advised gamers to play at something less loud, such as target shooting. But target shooting posed its own problems. Barcelona outlawed using pigeons or hanging fruit as targets, because the popularity of target shooting led to shortages of both.[22]

When a game involved gambling, players risked losing much more than the game itself. In the game of *palet* or *xoqua*, the stake at which players hurled disks had money and valuables on it, and players kept whatever fell from the stake when they hit it. Other games, including card games but most especially games of dice, also lent themselves to gambling. In 1384, Valencia's *Consell* noted that a "new game, called the game of cards," had recently become popular; no sooner did card playing become popular than people began to gamble with cards. Unskilled or unlucky players sustained enormous losses, so Valencia's *Consell* decreed that gambling with cards would henceforth be treated in the same manner as gambling with dice, which is to say, it was forbidden.[23] Gambling losses ruined Valencians such as Jofré de Thous. In 1378, he borrowed a gold florin from an *onzener* (a loan shark who made a living from loaning money to gamblers) and lost it gambling.

The loan shark took all his property, even his clothes, as compensation.[24] Losing gamblers sometimes turned violent and touched off brawls.[25]

Yet games and gambling were so popular that Valencia's gaming houses (*tafureries*), which were sometimes legal but more often illegal, proved impossible to close for any length of time. In 1310, King Jaume II conceded to Valencia a third of all fines levied on those who ran illegal gaming houses.[26] In 1334 and in 1343, Valencia acknowledged a royal order outlawing public and private gaming houses entirely.[27] In 1390, Valencia's *Consell* noted that although gaming houses were illegal there, such houses were operating in the Jewish quarter and others in the Muslim quarter; the *Consell* demanded their closure.[28] But at least one gaming house was still operating in the Muslim quarter 11 years later when the king ordered its closure; Valencia agreed to compensate the individual who collected rent on the house.[29] Valencia's magistrates themselves did not always enforce these periodic prohibitions. The *jurats* made exceptions for those who had royal privileges allowing them to operate gaming houses; they looked the other way as regards gambling in certain parts of the city; they leased out municipal revenues from gambling houses even as they condemned gambling itself.[30]

The proprietors of gaming houses had a dismal reputation. In 1375, Valencia arrested two such *tafurs*, citing the city's "antique privileges and ordinances," which forbade the existence of gaming houses within the city in order to avoid "injuries and blasphemies against our Lord God and the saints, and various other vices and evils." (Blasphemy in general, and not just that occasioned by gambling, was prohibited.[31]) Valencia fined the two *tafurs* and threw them into prison, where they promptly organized gambling among their fellow prisoners. That, in turn, led Valencia's *jurats* to order the public whipping of both, which was the customary punishment for *tafurs* and other gamblers who were repeating offenders.[32]

The illegality of gambling, routinely and publicly announced in Valencia, was not peculiar to it.[33] In 1390, King Joan outlawed all gambling in Barcelona and threatened gamblers with severe punishments. For a first offense, they would be exiled from Barcelona (between 1401 and 1469, Barcelona exiled for gambling-related offenses at least 117 individuals for periods ranging from 2 to 50 years). For a second offense, gamblers would serve as oarsmen on royal galleys. For a third offense, gamblers would hang from the neck until dead.[34]

Unlike gambling, prostitution, at least in some forms, was legal in Valencia. It was also municipally regulated; indeed, "in Christian Spain, Valencia seems to have been the first city to regulate prostitution."[35] This regulation took various forms. Sumptuary regulations, such as those of 1334 and 1383, forbade prostitutes from wearing garments that might have caused others to mistake them for "good women."[36] Especially sensitive was the issue of contact between female Christian prostitutes and men who were not Christian. A Christian convert from Islam named Gil Garcia arranged for Muslim men to have access to Christian prostitutes and was sentenced to death for that crime.[37]

Although some forms of prostitution were legal, Valencia tried to segregate its prostitutes.[38] In 1325, acting at the request of Valencia's *jurats*, King Jaume II established a prostitutes' quarter, located adjacent to but beyond Valencia's walls,

within which prostitutes had to live and work.[39] Such enclosure was new to the Crown of Aragon, although not elsewhere—in 1285, the king of Majorca ordered prostitutes in Montpellier to live in a quarter outside its walls.[40] The expansion of Valencia's walls in the 1350s brought the prostitutes' quarter within them, although in 1397 Valencia's *Consell* deemed the district to be insufficiently enclosed and ordered that measures be taken to lessen access to the rest of the city.[41] In the second half of the fourteenth century, smaller towns in the Kingdom of Valencia, with populations of only a few thousands, established prostitutes' quarters patterned after Valencia's, and Catalonia and Aragon had them too. At Barcelona, two such quarters existed by the end of the fourteenth century, and by the end of 1391, kings and queens had ordered the establishment of similar quarters in towns such as Calatayud, Huesca, and Jaca.[42] In the late fifteenth century, they became common in Castile as well.[43]

Confining prostitution to a separate quarter was a never-ending challenge because prostitutes tried to live and work elsewhere, perhaps to escape stigmatization and taxation, perhaps because their prostitution was occasional rather than full-time, and perhaps to make it easier to attract clients—prostitutes working outside their district tended to operate from houses located along roads leading into and out of Valencia. As a result, clandestine (and therefore illegal) prostitution was a perpetual problem.[44] In 1350, Valencia ordered all prostitutes living in the city and its suburbs to relocate to their quarter.[45] Similarly, in 1373, Valencia ordered all prostitutes operating from houses located outside their quarter to move there within two days. When the pogrom of 1391 left many houses in the Jewish quarter vacant, prostitutes began to work out of them; in 1394, Valencia's *Consell* ordered these prostitutes back to the prostitutes' quarter.[46] In the records of one of Valencia's criminal courts, between 1367 and 1399, 145 prostitutes were cited for living and working outside their quarter.[47]

One way for prostitutes to leave their profession was through Valencia's "House for Repentant Women," which opened in 1345, founded by a woman affiliated with the Franciscans.[48] (In fact, not all women housed in the House for Repentant Women were former prostitutes: adulteresses, thieves, and victims of rape sometimes found themselves there as well, although laws forbade married men from confining their wives within.) In 1385, Valencia ordered all prostitutes, repentant or not, to stay within the House for Repentant Women during Holy Week, a practice continued in subsequent years. Life there was monastic in nature: women maintained silence and devoted themselves to prayer. At the end of a year's stay, women who wished to leave the House for Repentant Women could do so, and they received upon their departure a small dowry with which to marry. If such women returned to prostitution, though, they were publicly whipped and then banished from Valencia forever. The money for the dowries and for the house's expenses more generally came from individual charitable donations, supplemented by municipal funds; Valencia also paid for those prostitutes confined to the House for Repentant Women during Holy Week. In 1381, Valencia provided money for dowries; it did so again in 1390 in conjunction with Vincent's preaching, and it continued to provide financial and material support for decades to come.[49]

Magic was just as widespread as gambling and prostitution, but it differed from those activities in an important respect. Prostitution did not interest medieval and patristic theologians overmuch, as Augustine's approval of legalized prostitution carried not just the day but the subsequent millennium (and more). Gaming interested patristic and medieval theologians even less than prostitution did. Magic, on the other hand, interested theologians very much.

By Vincent's lifetime, Christian condemnation of magic was more than 1,000 years old. Among those patristic and early medieval authors whose writings on magic remained touchstones throughout the Middle Ages, Augustine (as usual) and Isidore of Seville held pride of place. Both condemned magic as inherently and inevitably demonic. Only through demonic intervention could magicians produce, or appear to produce, effects; such was the case even when magicians themselves did not understand or recognize their reliance on demons. And while magic might take various forms, Augustine, Isidore, and theologians for centuries to come equated magic largely with divination, so much so that "Up through the twelfth century, if you asked a theologian what magic was you were likely to hear that demons began it and were always involved in it. You would also be likely to get a catalogue of different forms of magic, and most of the varieties would be species of divination."[50]

The condemnation of all magic as demonic, and its equation with divination, did not go unchallenged. By Vincent's lifetime, some theologians had come to accept both the natural efficacy and the moral legitimacy of forms of magic other than divination. In the thirteenth century, the bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne, having digested Arabic scientific treatises, began to distinguish between demonic magic and natural magic. So did his contemporary, the Dominican Albert the Great.[51] Natural magic depended not on demons to produce an effect but rather on objects' hidden (or occult) and natural properties. Defenders of natural magic assumed that, in nature, "objects had relationships of sympathy and antipathy to one another in a cosmos that was knit together by mutual attractions and repulsions. The idea of hermetic influences, of a reality replete with sympathies and correspondences that could be understood and even manipulated, was to prove immensely influential in Renaissance Italy, but it was very much alive in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."[52] This acceptance of natural magic caught on: "during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries . . . the notion of natural magic took firm hold in European culture, even if it still was not universally recognized or uniformly described."[53]

Natural magic was not universally recognized because some authors, such as Thomas Aquinas, did not categorize the manipulation of natural objects' hidden properties as a form of magic—magic, for Aquinas, involved deceit, so if the manipulation of an object's hidden properties had a genuine effect, then that manipulation was not a magical act.[54] There was also the practical problem of determining which forms of magic were natural and therefore licit and which were demonic and therefore illicit. That one could never make such a determination with absolute certitude rendered all magic potentially dangerous, for if "many types of magic might be natural . . . virtually all types might be demonic . . . To some extent the second conclusion canceled out the first. It made

little difference that much magic could be explained in natural terms if the suspicion of demonic intervention remained."[55]

Magic that manipulated natural relationships, if used for beneficial purposes such as healing, need not be condemned. But the growing, if limited, theological acceptance of natural magic rarely extended to the form of magic that especially exercised Augustine and Isidore, namely, divination.[56] By its nature, divination differed from, say, healing magic. Healing magic was a way "of manipulating nature to affect one's destiny. Divination was a means for knowing a destiny that was foreordained."[57] Perfectly accurate foreknowledge of future events pertained to God alone. For Aquinas, therefore, "divination outside divine revelation . . . constitutes a sin," and it involved, whether the diviner knew it or not, demons.[58] Even William of Auvergne saw divination as demonic.[59]

Continuing theological hostility to divination did nothing to lessen its popularity and that of its various exotic subfields, such as catoptromancy (divination using a mirror), chiromancy (palm reading), geomancy (divination using clods of soil, or lines drawn on the ground in various patterns), lecanomancy (divination using a wash basin), oneiromancy (divination through dreams), onomancy (divination through an analysis of names, and the number of letters in different combinations of names), and onychomancy (divination using fingernails), among many others. To gain knowledge of the future, people rolled dice, with certain combinations of numbers foretelling certain outcomes, or they opened books and pointed randomly to passages. Divination through the observation and interpretation of natural events, such as birdsongs and thunder, was commonplace. So was astrology, which, however, enjoyed some respectability when used for purposes other than divination.[60]

Medieval Valencians practiced magic. The city's *jurats* in 1326 mandated observance of the Christian Sabbath, forbade Jews and prostitutes from living outside their assigned quarter, and, at the same time, also forbade Christians from visiting magicians, both diviners and sorcerers.[61] In 1402, a physically ill cloth finisher from Valencia named Jaume Leves discovered that someone had hexed him by hiding within the walls of his house a collection of magical bric-a-brac wrapped in linen: human and animal bones, bird feathers, dried human excrement, and a sack with a human tooth in it, among other items. Someone had also written a spell consisting of three words on his door. After removing the offending items, Leves felt much better. Valencia's criminal court proceeded against the magician who had made Leves ill and against two women accused of convincing the magician to do so.[62]

This episode of maleficent magic is not unique within the records of Valencia's criminal court, which penalized those whom it found guilty of engaging in harmful magical practices such as stringing up frogs in their houses, some with their feet pointed up and some with their feet pointed down, or slitting open chickens to gather their innards for magical use. Especially common were prosecutions for the magical use of amulets and potions, practices associated with procurers who, when not arranging meetings between prostitutes and clients, magically helped seducers overcome the resistance of the unwilling.[63] Bishops of Valencia assumed that magic was a problem within their diocese. When they

sent officials to conduct pastoral visits of parishes, the officials carried with them questionnaires that included questions about magicians and those who worshiped demons. Local priests, in responding to these questions, identified specific parishioners reputed to be magicians.[64]

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Much of Vincent's work in Spain centered on his efforts to quell feuds and eradicate vice. The best-documented episode of Vincent's peacemaking comes from Vic where, in 1409, he brokered a peace agreement between the Savassona and Sala families and their allies, on the one hand, and the Malla family and its allies, on the other. As Vincent preached there at the end of May and the beginning of June, listeners cried out publicly and in loud voices that they would forgo all vengeance and legal recourse against those who had injured them, so that they might have peace with everyone. From May 31 to June 3, some 80 persons swore oaths to that effect, oaths duly recorded by a notary so that they were legally binding. Some 50 persons swore such oaths on May 31, the first day of Vincent's preaching: "Pere des Soler, draper of Vic, pardoned the murder of Bernat Ferrer, merchant of Vic, his brother-in-law . . . Item, a certain young boy standing with Narcissus Fexes, barber of Vic, pardoned the murder of his father . . . Bernat de Jovetay, shoemaker of Vic, pardoned the murder of his son Jovetay." The oaths make for sobering reading. Together, these 80 or so individuals swore to pardon those responsible for some 30 or so murders.[65] Even after Vincent had left Vic, individuals continued to swear oaths renouncing vengeance and place themselves under the protection of the peace made by the friar. More than 530 individuals swore such oaths through June 27, 1436, a period lasting so long that a second notary had to take over the responsibility for recording these oaths after the first notary had died.[66] Some of the 530-plus individuals were self-identified participants in the *bandositats* and members of one or the other faction. Others claimed not to have taken part in the *bandositats*, but identified themselves as "friends" of one or the other faction. Still others claimed to have no affiliation with either faction, but wanted the protection afforded by Vincent's peace agreement anyway.[67]

The Dominican brought about similar renunciations and peace agreements elsewhere. At Murcia in January 1411, Vincent's preaching moved his listeners—including, a municipal document claims, Christians, Muslims, and Jews—to forgo vengeance for the injuries done to them. On this occasion, it was not a local notary but rather one who traveled with Vincent, named Lleonardo Gayca, who recorded the renunciations, which caused a small legal problem. Gayca was not authorized to work as a notary at Murcia, so the town government hastily deputized him, thereby giving the renunciations and his written records of them legal force.[68] When Orihuela's *jurats* thanked the bishop of Cartagena for bringing the friar to his see, they claimed that Vincent had caused all enmity among persons to disappear at Orihuela, except for the enmity felt for one Juan Flavia Prevere, a Jewish convert to Christianity who had little faith in his new religion and caused scandals. That all enmity (excepting that which the unpopular

*converso* inspired) entirely disappeared is doubtful. But given what had transpired at Vic, one can believe the *jurats*' numerically precise claim that Vincent brought about 123 separate peace agreements at Orihuela involving 66 homicides.[69] The contemporary evidence for Vincent's peacemaking makes credible later evidence that speaks of the same. The *Dietari del Capellá d'Anfos el Magnànim* relates that during his stay at Valencia in 1413, the friar brokered many peace agreements and convinced Valencians to pardon murders.[70] Witnesses at Vincent's Toulousan and Neapolitan canonization inquests knew about his peacemaking at Vic and also spoke of his peacemaking at places such as Lleida, among others.[71]

Although initiated by urban magistrates, Vincent's work of pacification had royal support. On July 29, 1409, King Martí wrote separate letters to royal officials and to the bishop of Vic, ordering them to publicize and enforce the peace that the Dominican had brokered, and on January 29, 1410, he issued a general pardon (excepting serious crimes of lese majesty) for all the *bandositats* committed at Vic.[72] In June 1415, King Fernando ordered payment of 30 florins to a royal official who supported Vincent's peacemaking at Castellón de la Plana and at Onda; in October of that same year, the king confirmed both the peace agreement that Vincent had brokered at Vic and Martí's related amnesty of those guilty of *bandositats* there.[73]

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At Jumilla on April 19, 1411, Vincent mentioned how its magistrates had asked the Dominican to preach about how the town ought to be governed so that it might enjoy spiritual and material prosperity. He obliged, informing his audience and the magistrates that they must take measures against magic, blasphemy, inobservance of the Christian Sabbath, gaming and gambling, and extramarital sex (*fetellerias diabolicales, blasfemias divinales, rupimientos festivales, tafurerias humanales, corrumpimientos personales*).[74] When towns eliminated these five abominations, they would be free from drought, famine, earthquake, and plague.[75] Vincent called upon urban magistrates to quash precisely these five sins with such consistency and frequency that his attacks against them constitute a veritable program of moral reform.[76]

Blasphemy, according to Vincent, might take different forms: negative, in which people denied that God possessed His divine attributes and powers; affirmative, in which people attributed to God qualities incompatible with His divinity; and usurping, in which people attributed to creatures powers that were divine, as necromancers did.[77] Vincent encouraged parents to join with magistrates in stamping out blasphemy that consisted of taking the Lord's name in vain—mothers who heard their children swear should strike those children in the mouth hard enough to make blood flow, because the taste of blood would help those children to remember not to swear.[78] The magic that Vincent denounced took many forms and served many purposes. The loss of a precious object; the wandering off of an animal; the inability of a woman to conceive a child; the illness of oneself or of one's parents, spouse, or children: all these sent the friar's listeners to sorcerers, in the hope of learning the whereabouts of what had been

lost, of becoming fertile or regaining health, and of learning what the future held.[79] The man whose mother was ill and asked him to consult a magician about her recovery should tell her that she was a renegade traitor to God and no longer his mother.[80] Those in need of help should not do as diviners did and scrutinize the manner in which a snake crossed the road, or observe the behavior of birds, or cross swords, or read too much into a sneeze. Instead, they should make the sign of the cross. Vincent advised even his Jewish listeners to do the same, claiming that from the time of Moses until the time of Jesus, Jews made the sign of the cross in order to defend themselves against venomous snakes. Contemporary Jews who began making the sign of the cross would simply be returning to an ancient Jewish tradition.[81]

Gaming with dice and gambling were sinful because the latter was a form of theft, but also because they were gateway sins that led gamers to commit additional sins: usury, other acts of theft, blasphemy, fighting, and murder.[82] In one of his most inspired moments, Vincent noted how, when one cast a die, the number showing at the top and the number hidden and facing the ground always added up to seven, which corresponded to the seven types of people damned through gaming, including the bystanders who watched others play, the one who brought the dice, the one who provided the table on which the dice were tossed, and so on.[83] The failure to keep holy the Sabbath day manifested itself both during and after Mass. During Mass, the faithful chatted with one another, ate, drank, and were generally inattentive, turning around whenever a great lord or lady walked in and remarking upon the entrance.[84] After Mass, people might without sin spend their free time in "honest games," and Vincent specifically recognized archery to be one such game; target practice served a useful purpose, making people better marksmen and, presumably, better able to serve in local militias.[85] However, too many people devoted Sunday to frivolous activities, travel, work, and trade at markets.[86]

As for extramarital sexuality, Vincent preached that all women who engaged in such behavior should be made to live in a single and separate section of each town. This separation ought to apply both to prostitutes and concubines who lived with men to whom they were not married—the friar carefully spelled out how these measures must apply not just to "public women," which is to say, prostitutes, but also to "notorious whores" who had illicit sexual relations with only one man and whose relationship with that man was known to many others and could be proven.[87] Vincent specifically enjoined against the residence of prostitutes and concubines in hospitals and in private houses maintained by wealthy nobles or chaplains.[88] Separation was necessary because the presence of prostitutes and concubines corrupted nearby good women. The corrupting power of prostitutes and concubines was considerable, even if it fluctuated inexplicably—in some sermons, the friar described how the presence of a single prostitute or concubine would corrupt 50 good women, which rose to 70 in other sermons, to 100 in still others, and elsewhere reached a depraved peak of 120.[89]

Following Augustine, Vincent maintained that prostitution ought not to be outlawed but restricted; blasphemy, magic, failure to observe the Christian Sabbath, concubinage, gambling, and at least some games all had to be abolished.

The punishments that he recommended for those who failed to embrace these moral reforms, and for magistrates who failed to enact ordinances that gave force to the same, were severe. The friar approved of how the count of Cardona pulled down the houses of gamers and gamblers.[90] As for those who practiced magic, Vincent recommended death by stoning, citing Deuteronomy and Leviticus. Drowning or hanging could be carried out by a single person, whereas stoning required mass participation. Because the sin was of concern to all and, through divine retribution, had damaging consequences for all, all should be involved in its punishment.[91] At Zaragoza in 1414, Vincent spoke of how it needed to enact ordinances against vices, "for it is better to burn, or to draw and quarter, 10 or 12 persons, so that this city is spared such destruction, because through the one who is burned to death, a thousand others would be punished."[92]

Vincent's program of moral reform was almost entirely unoriginal. His native Valencia had expelled and otherwise penalized gamblers, prostitutes and others involved in the sex trade, blasphemers, those who worked on Sundays, and magicians long before the friar began his preaching mission. To the extent that Vincent departed from previous Valencian efforts, it was through his advocacy of the collective execution of magicians and through his insistence that concubines and prostitutes ought to be segregated together.

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In addition to exhorting urban magistrates to segregate prostitutes and concubines, and to put an end to magic, blasphemy, gaming and gambling, and inobservance of the Christian Sabbath, Vincent excoriated his listeners for other moral failings to be vanquished not through municipal law but solely through contrition and penance. The Dominican reminded his listeners that they were not to marry within the fourth degree of kinship and that this ban extended not just to blood kin but to affinal kin and to spiritual kin created through godparenthood. A man who fornicated with a woman's relative or spiritual kin related within the four prohibited degrees could never marry that woman, and a man could never marry a woman if the man's first wife had served as godmother for that same woman.[93] Some moral failings were peculiar to different groups of people. The rich used their money to substitute almsgiving, which barely affected them on account of their wealth, for fasting, which brought discomfort to rich and poor alike.[94] Knights ought to have no more than two or three "ruffians" in their households, and they ought to pay them adequately. Women ought not to wear ostentatious ornamentation.[95]

The eating of meat and the drinking of wine, especially in excess, were to blame for what Vincent believed to be the progressive shortening of human life expectancies since biblical times. From the time of Adam to the time of Noah, people lived for upward of 900 years because they ate only bread and fruit and drank only water. Humans began to eat meat and drink wine at the time of Noah's flood—Noah himself ate meat and drank wine only once each day, yet that was enough to cut his life short by more than 700 years, as he lived to be only 130 years old. As people ate more meat and drank more wine, their lives

grew shorter still. At the time of King David, people began to eat meat and drink wine twice a day and lived only about 70 years; in Vincent's time, people ate meat and drank wine twice as often as in King David's time, and so he and his contemporaries lived only a very short time—people appeared old even at the age of 30.[96]

Vincent also condemned customs that either were themselves sinful, such as widows not attending Mass for a year following a husband's death, or facilitated sinning by others, such as parents attending Mass but leaving their children home unsupervised—small wonder, preached the Dominican, that the daughters of such parents tended to show up at their weddings already pregnant.[97] Some beliefs were so outlandish that Vincent condemned them as heretical, although in his Iberian sermons (as in his earlier Swiss and French sermons) Vincent did not engage with heresy in any systematic fashion or to any appreciable extent. Instead, he noted infrequently and in passing some heretical ideas: small children must suffer in the afterlife for the pain that they caused their mothers in childbirth; one must be baptized with water from the River Jordan.[98] That God would never forgive a cleric's concubine unless she first had sexual intercourse with a layman was a belief that, notwithstanding its obvious appeal to laymen of a certain bent of mind, Vincent deemed to be both heretical and stupid. God did not forgive sins by means of other sins.[99] And, as in his Swiss sermons, Vincent dealt with rationalist critiques of Christianity, addressing the question of why God would punish eternally human beings who lived only 50 or at most 100 years, rather than acting in a more proportional manner and having the length of punishment correspond to the amount of time that one had spent sinning.[100]

Vincent's moral condemnation extended to clerics as well, and given the friar's searching critique of the clergy, one can well understand why he preached to the clergy separately, without the laity present.[101] He cautioned clerics against taking women as their "spiritual daughters," presumably because such relationships might turn carnal.[102] Clergy lazily waved their hand in a circle when they made the sign of the cross (a failing that Vincent also had criticized in Switzerland), bobbled or waggled their heads for no reason during consecration, elevated the Eucharist twice even though Jesus died only once, and mumbled their grammatically incorrect prayers during Mass.[103] Clerics needed to observe proper decorum during confession, sitting down in the manner of a judge while the penitent genuflected.[104] Confessors also needed to restrain themselves during confession, because it was worse for a cleric to break the vow of chastity than for a cleric to murder.[105] Clergy ought to say Masses for the dead in accordance with the provisions of deceased's will, and not haggle with family members over the payment or extort even more money from the grieving.[106] Vincent also urged friars and parish clergy to be at peace with one another over questions of who had the right to conduct funerals, to hear confessions, and to preach—the same issues that he himself had arbitrated at Valencia well before the start of his preaching mission.[107]

Vincent called his listeners to penance, but even those who heeded his call and presented themselves before a confessor might try to avoid fully reckoning for their sins. Confession required full disclosure, and merely telling the confessor

that one had fornicated did not suffice. Penitents must specify when, where, and with whom they had fornicated, and Vincent offered specific examples for his listeners to digest: if a man had fornicated with a nun, he must specify which nun; if a man had committed incest with his biological sister, he had to specify which sister.[108] Women especially, according to Vincent, tended to confess some of their sins to one confessor and some to another, in order to hide from their confessors the true scope of their wrongdoing. Instead, penitents must confess all their sins to a single confessor.[109] Another dodge that the friar denounced was feigned amnesia. Penitents should not go to confession, declare their inability to remember their sins, and then ask their confessors to ask them about various sins that the penitents might possibly have committed, with the penitents either admitting to or denying the sins that the confessors proposed—all presumably in the hope that confessors would guess wrongly, grow weary of the game, and then send the penitents away. His listeners had no trouble remembering their neighbors' sins; how then, Vincent asked, did they fail to remember their own?[110]

Men and women on their deathbeds ought to confess not just all the sins that they had committed since their last confession but all the sins that they had committed throughout their lives, even those for which they had already done penance. The confessors who had heard their earlier confessions might not have had the power to absolve them or might have done so incorrectly. All clergy, however, had the same power to absolve the sins of the dying, so, to be safe, the dying ought to repeat all their sins. To concentrate the mind of the dying person on God, Vincent urged that all family members and friends be banished not just from the dying person's room but from the entire house. Only clergy and other religious should be present, for the weeping of children, spouses, parents, and others was distracting: "many men and women have been condemned to hell through those tears."[111]

Although Vincent raised the unsettling prospect of a confessor's ineptitude or malice rendering a seemingly valid confession invalid, he nonetheless exhorted his listeners to take part in the penitential system, including the acquisition of indulgences. On occasion, Vincent cautioned his listeners against erroneously regarding certain types of indulgences as being more meritorious than they possibly could have been. In response to a listener's question, the friar preached that saying certain prayers, such as the prayer called "soul of Christ," could not earn 1,000 and more years of remission of sins—after all, the feast of Corpus Christi brought with it only 200 days.[112] But Vincent had no problems with indulgences per se. Indeed, he encouraged his listeners to seek them out and make use of them.[113] To residents of Lleida who complained that they had accrued 200 years of penance, more than they could possibly do in a lifetime, he recommended that they acquire an indulgence.[114]

No matter how fleeting the moment of contrition, its power was immense. The Church was right to deny Christian burial to suicides because the Church could only judge from externalities, and outward appearances indicated that suicides had committed self-murder. Yet, as Vincent reminded his listeners, one ought not to assume that a suicide was in hell, for one who threw oneself from a bridge might, at the moment before the fatal impact, feel contrition for that sin

and for all of one's sins, a contrition powerful and sincere enough to merit salvation.[115] The hundreds of companions and flagellants who traveled with Vincent embodied and manifested contrition's power.

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When Vincent's companions became hundreds rather than a handful is unclear, as is the date at which those companions began to practice public flagellation.[116] From near the very beginning of his itinerant preaching, Vincent traveled in the company of others. At Sisteron in 1400, the town paid for wine and food both for Vincent and for his companions.[117] In Castile on December 20, 1411, the Dominican remarked that one woman in his company had lived on bread and water for eight years, perhaps implying that she had followed him since 1403.[118] Pere d'Arenys's chronicle states that Vincent entered Barcelona in 1409 "with a great multitude of men and even of women from various parts of the world following him on account of his marvelous preaching and life."[119] Coming as they did from "various parts of the world," these followers might have joined Vincent during the course of his wanderings in France, Italy, and Switzerland.

On the other hand, there is also evidence suggesting that, between his departure from Avignon and his return to Spain a decade later, Vincent's companions were very few in number. Jean-Daniel Morerod, studying local expenditures occasioned by the friar's travels within the Diocese of Lausanne, found that, except at Fribourg, the expenditures were so modest as to suggest that Vincent traveled through Switzerland in 1404 accompanied by only one or two other people. As Morerod notes, the absence of large expenditures does not prove the absence of followers; at several places, no municipal expenditures at all were made for feeding and sheltering Vincent, which suggests that some other entity paid the Dominican's way.[120] Still, the modest expenditures are noteworthy, especially when compared to the expenditures associated with Vincent's later travels, and Fribourg's uncommonly large expenditures likely reflected an expectation that many people from the surrounding region would come to hear Vincent preach, not that he would arrive accompanied by a sizable troupe. In July 1403, Ivrea paid for food and other necessities that the crowd coming to hear Vincent would need, but the crowd consisted of "*forenses*," which is to say, of people who lived in the vicinity of Ivrea, not of permanent companions traveling with the friar. Just three months earlier, in April 1403, Pinerolo merely paid for clothing for Vincent and one companion.[121] In his letter of December 1403 to the Master General Jean de Puynoix, Vincent wrote of himself as traveling with only a single companion, named Anthony. The anonymous chronicle of Cuneo and Giorgio Stella's Genoese chronicle say nothing of Vincent traveling with numerous companions, much less flagellants—and while Vincent led religious processions at Genoa, Stella indicates that these processions would have taken place even if Vincent had not been there. The Dominican was asked to head them merely because he happened to be at Genoa at that moment.[122] Most significantly of all, Montpellier's *Petit thalamus* speaks of only two individuals traveling with Vincent in December 1408, just before his return to Spain and at the very end

of his wanderings through Provence, Switzerland, and Italy. The *Petit Thalamus* is a chronicle rather than a record of expenses, so local housing and financial arrangements cannot explain why it would fail to mention a sizable group of permanent companions if such existed.[123] On balance, therefore, it seems that Vincent's companions became many only upon his return to Spain.

Numerous companions followed Vincent when he entered Barcelona in June 1409, and numerous companions accompanied him throughout his subsequent Iberian travels; they constituted what he called his "society" or "company." The *Relación a Fernando de Antequera* reports that some 300 men and dozens of women accompanied Vincent to Toledo at the end of June 1411; Teruel in 1413 provided more money for the support of men than of women, which suggests that men did indeed outnumber women.[124] The *Cronica de Juan II de Castilla* states that, as the Dominican traveled from Toledo to Ayllón, an additional 200 people joined the 300 who usually accompanied him.[125] In April 1413, Vila-real made preparations for the arrival of Vincent and his company, which town officials estimated to consist of some 300 people.[126]

In Spain, some of Vincent's companions practiced public flagellation as they followed the friar on his journeys. That not every member of Vincent's company did so is evident in Vincent's claim of 1411 that, while a number of his companions had died over the years, none of those who flagellated themselves had perished.[127] Yet the connection between flagellation and Vincent's preaching came to be so close in the minds of contemporaries that when an archdeacon of Elne encountered the preacher Manfredi da Vercelli in Milan, he wrote of how much Manfredi da Vercelli, who preached that the world would end in ten years, reminded him of Vincent, but with one important difference: no flagellants accompanied Manfredi da Vercelli.[128] Vincent also inspired others who were not his companions to flagellate themselves. At Salamanca in 1412, the friar preached that even Queen Catherine of Lancaster and her daughter María were now practicing penitential flagellation, and that King Juan II of Castile would have done the same if not for the fact that he was too young to do so.[129]

By Vincent's lifetime, flagellation and self-flagellation—as a sharing in the sufferings of Jesus, as a form of personal penance, and, when practiced in public, as a model of penitence for others to follow—were centuries old. Several variants existed: private practice by individuals; public practice by itinerant groups that emerged sporadically and swept across Europe during the space of a year or so; and public practice by permanent confraternities whose local processions became a regular feature of late medieval religious culture.[130] Flagellating others for the purpose of correcting them occasioned no controversy; the Rule of Saint Benedict sanctioned this form of chastisement for Benedictine monks. More problematic was self-flagellation. In the eleventh century, Peter Damian defended the practice, spoke of its growing popularity, and recommended it to others.[131]

Although initially a monastic form of penance, flagellation and self-flagellation came to have a broader appeal to the laity. In 1260, laic flagellants appeared at Perugia in Italy and held public penitential processions. In the space of a year, similar laic flagellant processions appeared in other parts of Italy and then beyond

the Alps in German, Magyar, and Slavic central Europe, all the way to Poland. Almost 90 years passed before Europe witnessed another such transregional efflorescence of flagellant processions. During that interlude, newly emerged flagellant bands remained local or regional, as at Strasbourg in 1296, in Tuscany in 1310 and 1311, at Montpellier in 1312, and at Cremona in 1340. The itinerant Dominican preacher Venturino da Bergamo, active in Italy in the 1320s and 1330s until his imprisonment, attracted flagellant followers and led them to Rome in 1335. The Black Death triggered a second explosion of transregional flagellant processions, originating this time not in Italy but in central Europe and in areas not yet affected by the plague, moving northward and westward until the flagellant bands reached plague-stricken zones. As in 1260, local movements succeeded the wide-ranging flagellant bands: in 1351 at Tournai, in 1353 at Utrecht, in 1357 at Cologne, in 1361 at Naples, between 1370 and 1372 at Würzburg, and between 1391 and 1392 at Heidelberg. In 1399, northern Italy experienced the emergence of the *Bianchi*, another laic and processional movement that sometimes involved flagellation, although it was a minor part overall.[132]

Out of the flagellant movement of 1260 emerged laic flagellant confraternities, the first of which appeared at Perugia already in the 1260s, followed by similar confraternities founded in other Italian towns and cities, as well as by three more at Perugia by 1326.[133] Governed by written statutes and with well-defined memberships, these flagellant confraternities processed regularly, according to a specific schedule dictated by the liturgical calendar.

Although self-flagellation and public flagellant processions became more common and, in the case of confraternities, even routine, unease about both persisted. Some towns denied entry to flagellants in 1349, and others expelled them after their entrance. In October 1349, responding to the University of Paris's claim that flagellants had been involved in, among other crimes, pogroms against Jews, the pope condemned the flagellant bands then circulating in Europe for their alleged violence. (In fact, there is little evidence to suggest direct or indirect flagellant involvement in these pogroms or physical attacks against clergy.) The pope also condemned the flagellants for their usurpation of clerical prerogatives such as wearing habits and preaching, and he ordered secular authorities to disperse the flagellant bands. The University of Paris followed with its own condemnation in November 1349.[134] The accusation of clerical usurpation likely had some basis in truth; especially disturbing was the flagellants' assumption of the power to hear confessions and to absolve sins.[135] Inquisitors condemned and prosecuted the flagellant followers of Conrad Schmid in Thuringia in the late 1360s, charging them with maintaining that the blood they shed during flagellation constituted a second baptism. There were further executions of flagellants at Erfurt in the early 1390s, and at Sangerhausen between 1414 and 1416.[136]

Scattered remarks in Vincent's sermons make it possible to flesh out, as it were, a picture of Vincent's company. His companions who underwent public flagellation did so with covered faces. Children too young to commit great sins took part, as Vincent noted and as a royal official at Mallorca confirmed when he remarked upon the presence of children among the flagellants.[137] Vincent recommended that a trumpeter ought to march at the head of flagellant processions and

that flagellants ought to cry aloud that they were traitors to God.[138] In addition to processing, some companions heard confessions and absolved sins. At Lleida in 1414, Vincent acknowledged that he had bestowed on some of his companions the power to forgive sins; the friar promised to strip his companions of this power if they demanded money or anything else in return for absolution, although they were free to accept alms.[139] Vincent's companions confessed their own sins every Sunday, and like the Dominican himself, some did not eat meat.[140] One of his companions, a priest, specialized in exorcisms, which Vincent had witnessed "many times."[141] Teruel paid 30 sous to the "head" (*regidor*) of the men among Vincent's companions and 20 solidi to the "head" of the women, which suggests an internal organization based on a division by sex.[142] Similarly, at Vila-real, local officials arranged for the housing of Vincent's company by placing its members, first the women and then the men, in the houses of local residents.[143] Vincent's companions sometimes broke off from the main body for extended periods of time. When the Dominican departed Teruel in 1413, he left behind six companions who continued to enjoy the town's financial support: two who were too sick to travel, two to tend to their sick companions, and two more to continue Vincent's instructional work for 17 days, at which point they were to leave and catch up with the friar.[144] Fernando I asked a departing Vincent to allow his companion Jofré de Blanes to remain behind with the king at Barcelona for the purpose of preaching Lenten sermons.[145]

Vincent defended flagellation, both private and public. He cautioned against excessive flagellation; those who would flagellate themselves needed to take into account their physical condition before doing so. But he ridiculed knights who did not mind shedding their blood when it meant taking an enemy's lance thrust, yet quailed at the thought of shedding their blood through flagellation.[146] Flagellation itself was a good work, "and whoever denounces this good work is a minister of Antichrist."[147] Those who claimed that God did not value flagellation as a form of penance were false prophets. Saint Dominic, according to Vincent, flagellated himself three times each day.[148] Against those who argued that priests ought not to take part in the flagellants' penitential processions because canon law required the excommunication of those who shed clerical blood and priests were forbidden from doing public penance, Vincent replied that surgeons shed clerical blood all the time without incurring the penalty of excommunication, because they did so to benefit the cleric's physical health. The flagellating cleric shed his blood for his spiritual health, which was even more important than his physical health, so his actions were permissible and meritorious. As for the objection that priests should not perform any sort of public penance, Vincent explained that the prohibition was intended to shield clerics from the suspicion of having committed great sins. Therefore, it did not apply to clerics in his company, because their faces were hidden and their identities concealed as they processed, and because they marched among small children of whom, on account of their young age, there could be no suspicion of their having committed great sins. Vincent ended his defense of priestly public flagellation with an exhortation: "And so, religious and priests, if you are inclined to flagellate yourselves, do so strongly."[149]

Vincent discouraged some listeners from joining his company. Many might want to join in order to be sanctified through hearing sermons and Masses and, curiously, through "earning indulgences"—the friar did not explain why his listeners would think that following him and flagellating themselves would merit indulgences—but they needed to scrutinize their own motives. Vincent and those who were already his companions would interrogate them about their reasons for wanting to join. Married individuals, parents with children (presumably very young children, for at least one mother and daughter were members of Vincent's company at the same time), and regular clergy should not try to join, for they would be turned away. Those who tried to join in order to get away from an unwanted spouse, or to avoid having to work, or to have food and drink, would be damned. One squire failed the entrance examination by acknowledging that he wished to follow the friar on account of the victuals that his companions received wherever they went. As the friar recognized, some aspiring companions saw his train of followers as their gravy train.[150]

The company did not consist entirely (or perhaps even mostly) of the desperately poor, though. In 1410, Queen Margarita de Prades recommended to Vincent a woman named Gonsalvet; in 1413, the son and heir of King Fernando, Alfonso, commended to Vincent two women of Cuenca who were already among Vincent's companions, Caterina Martínez and her daughter Maria, whose family had friends who had served Fernando well in some capacity.[151] These royal endorsements suggest a certain level of respectability. On the other hand, the questioning of potential members might not have caught all those who wished to join for the material benefits, and at least one of Vincent's companions had a troubling past. At Chinchilla, Vincent (or, in a different version of the same story, one of Vincent's companions who then consulted with the friar) heard the confession of a squire who had killed many men "as easily as one might kill lice or fleas," but the squire felt no contrition for the killings and would not do penance. The Dominican proposed that the squire join his company, where the sight of others flagellating themselves and crying out "Mercy!" would move the squire to contrition. It worked. Vincent reported that the murderous squire had gone on to become the most vigorous of flagellants, lashing himself so hard that others had to make him stop.[152]

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The flagellants accompanying Vincent sought to bring about moral improvement through contrition; the laws that urban and local officials passed in response to his preaching sought to bring about the same, but through coercion. On July 15, 1410, with Vincent present in the city, Valencian officials enacted ordinances against blasphemers, gamblers, diviners, and bad women who lived among the good, while noting that there were old but unenforced Valencian laws against all these groups—an acknowledgment of how unoriginal Vincent's program of moral reform was.[153] Murcia on February 11, 1411, enacted ordinances, explicitly said to have been inspired by Vincent's preaching and for the purpose of warding off plague, against playing games of dice and against Christians who

worked or traded on Sundays. Murcian officials ordered these ordinances to be read aloud on the occasion of Vincent's preaching from the very catafalque on which he stood; because so many people would be in attendance at the sermon, it was the best way to notify large numbers of residents quickly.[154] Some two months later, Murcian officials also committed to continuing Vincent's educational work. While the Dominican preached, some of his companions gave religious instruction to youths in attendance, teaching them prayers and the Nicene Creed. Murcia arranged for more such instruction after Vincent had left.[155] In June 1414, some six months after Vincent had preached there, royal and municipal officials at Palma de Mallorca enacted ordinances that do not mention the friar, but are reminiscent of others that do. The officials took measures against blasphemy, as well as against gaming and gambling. The ordinances also required that there be only one prostitutes' quarter (*bordell públich*) and that "every woman who is publicly accustomed to sin carnally" move there by the end of the month. After the end of June, "any woman who . . . will be found to sin carnally with any man who is not her husband or her friend (*amich*) with whom she is accustomed to live in a house," was to take up residence in the quarter too.[156] The quarantining, therefore, extended to women who were not prostitutes, but contrary to Vincent's wishes, it did not extend to women who resided with partners to whom they were not married.

The extent to which magistrates enforced these laws, and to which gamblers, blasphemers, diviners, and others found their lives changed by Vincent's coming, is difficult to assess, but there was some enforcement and impact. In December 1416, King Alfonso corresponded with an official at Zaragoza about actions taken there, upon Vincent's recommendation, regarding clerical concubines.[157] In December 1413, officials at Elx in the Kingdom of Valencia dealt with the case of a woman named Ceciliana who had given birth to a child whose father was a priest. Because both the mother and the father had acted contrary to ordinances enacted at Elx in response to Vincent's preaching (as the officials themselves noted), the officials decided to consult with the friar about whether Ceciliana should be expelled from Elx or whether some other punishment was more suitable.[158] Unfortunately, it is not clear what Vincent recommended or what the officials of Elx did with the woman in the end. Vincent's preaching inspired officials of Elx to go after not just this clerical concubine but also a figure of some local importance, the commander of the local religious house belonging to the Order of Merced. The commander played at dice and brought prostitutes into parts of the city where they were forbidden, again acting contrary to the ordinances inspired by the Valencian's preaching; when confronted by Elx's officials, the commander refused to change his ways. So the officials wrote to the head of the Order of Merced, asking for a new and less dissolute commander.[159]

Witnesses at Vincent's canonization inquests of the mid-1450s testified that the moral transformation wrought by his preaching was widespread and lasted long after his death; people stopped swearing in God's name and instead used inoffensive exclamations such as "surely" or "truly."[160] Such assertions, however, are commonplace in testimony given at canonization inquests.[161] Contemporary

evidence suggests that the impact of Vincent's moral reform was limited. Churches and religious houses in which the friar preached profited from his presence—at Palma de Mallorca, the Dominican convent generally took in about ten sous at Mass, but on days when Vincent preached, it routinely took in four times that amount, and sometimes fifteen times that amount.[162] But for municipalities, enacting Vincent's program of moral reform was expensive, for while vice ruined partakers, it enriched purveyors. Localities absorbed both the direct and indirect costs occasioned by the friar's activities, reimbursing rent collectors for revenue lost not just when Vincent's preaching caused local laborers to stop working in order to attend his sermons, but also when Vincent and local officials shut down activities that were occasions for the prodigality from which rentiers profited. At Murcia on March 22, 1411, some six weeks after enacting ordinances against games of dice, officials reimbursed a man who had collected rents from gaming houses; the officials imposed new municipal taxes whose revenue was dedicated to covering the landlord's financial losses.[163] Royal officials, too, complained of how Vincent's preaching hurt the royal budget by reducing the value of rents that the crown tried to sell.[164]

Those who profited from or enjoyed the activities that Vincent proscribed were quick to evade the prohibitions and restrictions that he enjoined. At Murcia, already in February 1413, local officials acknowledged that prostitutes were living outside their designated area and that dice playing and gambling were problems.[165] Even the Dominican's peacemaking threatened to come undone quickly. Vincent was aware that those who entered into peace agreements might do so deceitfully, and among the various perpetrators of fraud whom he chastised, he included those who made peace with their enemies but had no intention of keeping that peace.[166] In December 1412, Vic notified the king of Aragon that new and even worse *bandositats* were about to break out there, and it asked the king to force both factions to accept the peace agreement brokered by Vincent three years earlier.[167] Such a reversion was perhaps to be expected, because to renounce vengeance was no easy matter. Those who failed to avenge the murder of their parents were derided and called Jews, notwithstanding the fact that Valencian Jews and *conversos* engaged in feuds every bit as murderous as those of Christians.[168]

At Lleida in 1414, Vincent confronted and denounced those who would ignore or rescind the ordinances that his preaching inspired. He reminded listeners of his earlier visit to Lleida, when the town had taken measures against gambling and blasphemy and had also ordered prostitutes and concubines to reside in a separate quarter. Now, the friar informed Lleida's residents that he and God did not want the ordinances regarding gambling, blasphemy, and the like to be reversed, which suggests that Lleida was contemplating doing exactly that. The Dominican also chastised Lleida for failing to enforce the segregation of prostitutes and concubines. Prostitutes were operating out of the town's hospitals, which was bad on several levels: clerics, Jews, and Muslims visited hospitals and thereby gained access to these prostitutes; those who visited hospitals for purposes other than whoring might succumb to temptation if the opportunity presented itself; fathers and sons might inadvertently have intercourse with the same woman.[169]

However shaky and short-lived, Vincent's success as a moral reformer and as a peacemaker was still substantial enough for towns, bishops, and others to continue to put their hopes and faith in him. Even more substantial was Vincent's success as a proselytizer in Spain, which owed something—but not everything—to his preaching.

# CHAPTER 5

# SEGREGATION AND CONVERSION

Vincent Ferrer spent much, if not most, of his life in the city and the Kingdom of Valencia. He belonged to the city's Christian majority and to the kingdom's Christian minority—a dominant minority, but a minority nonetheless. Muslims constituted a majority of the kingdom's population through the fourteenth century and perhaps into the fifteenth.[1] About any contacts that Vincent might have had with Valencia's Jews and Muslims during his life's first decades, there is no surviving information. Nonetheless, as was the case with his efforts at moral reform and peacemaking, Vincent's proselytizing did not occur in a vacuum. It was part of a longer history.

Shortly after the Christian conquest of Valencia in 1238, royal officials ordered the city's remaining Muslims to live in a separate quarter, the *morería*, located outside the city's walls and on its western side; when Valencia's walls were expanded in 1356, the *morería* fell within the new walls.[2] The *morería* contained a mosque, baths, a meat market (owned, until 1376, by the nuns of Saint Clare), and other buildings for the use of the city's Muslims, who practiced a variety of trades but mostly earned a living either as petty merchants or in the pottery industry.[3] Valencia's Muslim *qadi* judged cases between Muslims according to Islamic law; in 1337, the king of Aragon ordered royal officials, when appointing the *qadi*, to ascertain first whether the appointee had a good knowledge of Islamic law, to appoint only someone who lived in Valencia, and to consult with the elders of Valencia's Muslim community before making an appointment.[4] Christian officials could not enter the Muslim quarter unless accompanied by Muslim officials.[5]

As of Vincent's lifetime, the kingdom's and the city's Muslims had not much assimilated. Valencian Muslims still spoke Arabic, as they would for centuries to come.[6] Kings of Aragon tolerated the Muslim practice of polygyny (which Valencia's Jews also practiced, to the puzzlement of their co-religionists in France and Germany).[7] The lack of assimilation was partly the result of demography, partly the result of policy. Most Muslims lived in rural rather than urban areas and so were physically distant from Christians. Furthermore, Christian rulers worked to keep Muslims recognizable and separate.

To make Muslim identity visible, royal laws created the necessary visual differences through clothing and most especially through hairstyle. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 decreed that, throughout Christendom, rulers had to require Jews and Muslims to wear distinctive garments or badges; the council justified the requirement by citing the possibility that, without identifying markers, Christians might have sexual intercourse with Jews and Muslims whom they failed to recognize as such.[8] The veil worn by Muslim women solved the problem of distinctive dress for them. Inventories of clothing drawn up when Muslims emigrated from the Kingdom of Valencia include the *aljuba*, or veil, but otherwise suggest that Muslim clothing was indistinguishable from Christian clothing, which explains the fixation with how Muslim men wore their hair. In 1341, King Pere IV forbade the Muslims of Valencia from wearing a hairstyle known as the *garseta*, which appears to have consisted of hair worn short in the front, parted in the middle, and half covering the ears on the side. The hairstyle was fashionable among Christians at that moment; Muslims sporting the *garseta* were to be enslaved, although, in response to Muslim protests against the initial punishment's severity, the king quickly reduced the penalty to a fine. In 1347, perhaps in response to widespread noncompliance, Pere reversed himself and, instead of forbidding the *garseta* to Muslim men, made it mandatory, under pain of a fine or, as of 1349, two lashes. (In practice, royal officials sometimes went beyond the stipulated punishments and enslaved Muslims not wearing the *garseta*.) Kings Joan and Martí in 1394 and 1409, respectively, reaffirmed the law obliging Muslim men to wear only this hairstyle.[9] Muslims who were royal favorites received, both for themselves and their families, exemptions from laws regulating their physical appearance. Such was the case with the formidable Faraig de Belvis, who, thanks to royal support, in the 1350s and 1360s simultaneously served as *qadi* for the two largest Muslim communities in the Kingdom of Valencia, those of Valencia and Xátiva, while holding many other positions besides.[10]

Keeping Christians out of the Muslim quarter was a perpetual challenge. In 1346, Pere ordered all Christians living in the *morería* to leave. The Christian residents, who included converts from Islam and their descendants, thwarted the king's orders. They pointed out that, in fact, more Christians than Muslims were living in the *morería*, which contained at least 80 Christian houses and only 15 or 16 Muslim houses. If anyone had to leave, the Christians asserted, it should be the numerically inferior Muslims, not themselves. Furthermore, some Christians living in the Muslim quarter had every right to do so, thanks to Jaume I's ruling that Christian converts from Islam and their descendants should be permitted to live in the familiar surroundings of the *morería*. That same year, Pere again reversed himself and acknowledged the right of Christian converts and their descendants to remain in the *morería*; as for other Christians, those who had acquired houses there before 1346 had to leave (and to be indemnified). Henceforth, no Christian should acquire a residence within the *morería*.

In fact, such acquisitions continued, and subsequent royal attempts to drive Christians out of the *morería* failed as badly as the attempt of 1346. In 1371,

Christian residents of the *morería*, faced with a new attempt to make them leave, convinced Pere to reaffirm the right of converts and their descendants to live in the Muslim quarter. They also convinced the king to waive all punishment of Christians who had purchased homes in the *morería* after 1346 in violation of the king's previous ruling, provided that such Christians left the *morería* within a year. But Pere could not enforce this latest and limited expulsion either; the very next year, he removed all restrictions on Christian residence in the *morería* and even ordered that the keys to one of its gates be given to its Christian residents so that they could come and go as they wished. The same king again tried to evict Christians from the *morería* in 1384, citing both religious and economic reasons. Co-residence of Muslims and Christians endangered the latter's faith, while the growing number of Christians in the Muslim quarter forced Muslims out of Valencia altogether. These deracinated Muslims then settled not in other royal lands but in the lordships of Valencia's nobles and prelates, to those lords' benefit and the king's disadvantage. In 1409, King Martí issued yet another directive ordering Christians out of the Muslim quarter. The constant reiteration of these orders suggests just how intractable a problem co-residence was.[11]

In addition to the problem of Christian residence within the *morería*, there was the problem of Christian visitation. Christians who lived in other parts of Valencia came to the *morería* because there, away from their Christian neighbors, they could more freely engage in unseemly behavior. Prostitution, practiced both by Christian and Muslim women, flourished in the Muslim quarter. It was legal for Christian men and properly registered Muslim prostitutes to have sexual intercourse. In all other instances, however, Christian law criminalized intercourse between Christians and Muslims. Christian men who had intercourse with Muslim women faced no penalty, but Muslim women other than registered prostitutes who had sexual intercourse with Christian men faced punishment both under Christian law (where the penalties were either exile or enslavement) and Islamic law (where the penalties were 100 lashes with a whip or death by stoning). Muslim women caught in relationships with Christian men sometimes converted to Christianity in the expectation that they would then escape punishment; those who did not convert sometimes opted for immediate enslavement in the hope of avoiding the *qadi*'s sentence. Punishments for sexual relations between Muslim men and Christian women were more severe still: death by burning for both, although the Muslim might be drawn and quartered instead, and in practice, the death penalty for the Muslim male was sometimes commuted to a fine.[12]

Other activities, more convivial than erotic, also brought Christians into the Muslim quarter. Chief among them were gaming and gambling. Judicial records suggest that in a single year royal officials caught and punished as many as 500 Christians and Jews for entering Valencia's *morería* to play games of chance.[13] Municipal ordinances of 1326 forbade Christians from eating with Muslims and Jews during their religious feasts and celebrations.[14]

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After his return to Spain, Vincent converted Muslims, but Jews loomed larger than did Muslims in his missionary work and his thinking. While Jews were not as numerous as Muslims in the Kingdom of Valencia, they were a more urban population. The Jews' concentration made mass conversion all the more practicable; their greater proximity to Christians made conversion all the more necessary and desirable.

Jews resided in Valencia when Jaume I captured it in 1238; the city already possessed a Jewish quarter (*barrio Judeorum*), and the victorious king granted property in that quarter to newly arriving Jewish settlers. In 1244, Jaume designated a precisely described section of Valencia as its Jewish quarter. The extent to which this section overlapped with the older Jewish quarter is unknown, but a document of 1263 speaks of the "new" Jewish quarter, suggesting that its boundaries differed at least somewhat from what had existed before. The Jewish quarter established in 1244 was situated within the town's walls and on Valencia's eastern and southeastern sides. Jaume expanded the Jewish quarter in 1273, permitting Jews to purchase Christian houses for that purpose and forbidding Christian owners in the affected area from selling their houses to anyone but Jews. By 1299, the Jewish quarter was enclosed on all sides with a wall whose gates could be locked.[15]

Valencian Jews, like Valencian Muslims, had to make their religious identity visible; in 1283, King Pere III ordered Valencia's Jews to wear the Jewish cape, just as Barcelona's Jews did.[16] Jews, like Muslims, were required to keep physical distance between themselves and Christians. Valencia's thirteenth-century customary laws, the *Furs*, forbade Jews from attending feasts or other communal celebrations with Christians, practicing medicine with them, and slaughtering animals in Christian abattoirs.[17] Such prohibitions continued to be proclaimed during Vincent's lifetime. In 1383, Valencia's *consell* forbade Christians from attending Jewish feasts and at the same time forbade Christian women from entering Jewish homes for any reason or lodging in homes owned by Jews.[18]

Christian missionaries worked among Valencia's Jews, just as they worked among its Muslims. Valencia's documents speak more about the proselytizing of Jews than the proselytizing of Muslims, and that is likely an accurate reflection of where missionaries directed their efforts—it was easier for them to preach to Romance-speaking Jews than to Arabic-speaking Muslims. But it perhaps also reflects the greater clout of Valencia's Jews, who were generally wealthier than their Muslim neighbors and who, being more urban than rural, could more easily organize collectively against such preaching. In 1243, Jaume I made Muslim and Jewish attendance at Christian sermons mandatory; when the archbishop of Tarragona, local bishops, Dominicans, or Franciscans summoned Jews to attend sermons, Jews had to obey, and royal officials were to enforce their attendance. It appears that Dominicans took the lead in such preaching—when Jaume's decree was reissued in the 1290s, it did not mention bishops or even Franciscans asking for a Jewish audience, only Dominicans. Pau Cristià, a Dominican and a converted Jew active in the 1260s, made use of this royal support. Jaume ordered Jews to attend Cristià's sermons, to respond to his arguments (apparently, Jews

resisted his attempts to engage them in disputation and preferred to remain silent), and to pay his expenses.[19]

Already during Cristià's lifetime, Jewish audiences listening to Christian sermons faced intimidation and the threat of violence. Kings of Aragon, responding to Jewish protests, limited the number of Christians who could accompany such missionary preachers, so that Jewish listeners did not find themselves ringed by hostile Christian crowds. Pere III in 1279 wrote to the priors of Dominican houses, warning them that Dominican preachers should speak calmly, not incitingly, and that Christian crowds should not accompany Dominicans who preached to Jews. No more than 15 to 20 Christians should be in attendance, but even that number proved to be too many; later that same year, Pere limited the number of Christians accompanying missionary Dominican preachers to three or four. The venue where such preaching took place was also a point of contention. When Jews had to venture beyond the Jewish quarter's walls to listen to sermons, the unpleasantness and danger were greater. Valencia's Jews, like those of Barcelona in 1268, petitioned successfully for the right to attend Christian sermons only within their own quarter.[20]

During the fourteenth century, Dominicans seem to have reduced their proselytism—or, at least, the sources say relatively little about it and more about Jewish converts who preached to Jews by virtue of royal licenses granted to them. These were men such as the Navarrese Jimeno Pérez, who in 1333 preached to Valencia's Jews both in their synagogue and, contrary to the Jewish privilege of 1268, in the episcopal palace, located outside the Jewish quarter. Fourteenth-century proselytizing *conversos* seem to have hailed mostly from the ranks of the less well-to-do and the less educated; converts seeking to preach to their former co-religionists first had to take an examination that tested not just their knowledge of Christianity but also their knowledge of Judaism. In 1383, Pere IV freed Mallorca's Jews from the obligation to listen to sermons preached by *conversos*, and he ordered royal officials to stop forcing Jews to attend such sermons. So coveted was this privilege that Jews from throughout the Crown of Aragon, including Valencia, soon won the same privilege for themselves. In 1390, King Joan repeated to royal officials that, in keeping with his father's privilege, they could not compel Valencia's Jews to support or to receive *conversos* who wished to preach to them, especially considering that—as the king stated with some frankness—such preachers were not as interested in winning new converts as in enriching themselves at the expense of the Jews, who had to cover the preachers' costs.[21]

The threat of violence against the Jewish community, or *aljama*, extended beyond the moments when missionaries preached. During Holy Week, when Christians dwelled upon the crucifixion of Jesus, such violence occurred so routinely as to become ritualistic.[22] The feast of Corpus Christi, when Christians processed while carrying the Eucharist through the streets, brought danger too. Since the thirteenth century, royal law required non-Christians to keep themselves from being seen by processors. In 1385, Jews and Muslims tried to comply with this requirement by ducking into houses or down nearby streets when they encountered such processions, but, as the *aljama*'s representatives complained to

Valencia's *Consell*, Christians tossed the Jews and Muslims out of the sheltering houses or streets; processors then hurled stones at them and set upon them with sticks. The *Consell* received the complaint favorably and ordered Christians to refrain from beating and stoning Jews and Muslims while the Eucharist was carried aloft through Valencia.[23]

Jews circulated through Valencia's streets, but they were not to live outside the Jewish quarter. In 1326, municipal officials ordered Jews to reside within their own quarter, the first of many such orders issued throughout the fourteenth century, and all seemingly ineffective. The Jewish quarter overspilled its allotted space; the Jewish *açoch*, a neighborhood consisting of shops, workshops, and homes, was situated near the Jewish quarter's entrance but beyond its walls. Officials conducting pastoral visitations to the parishes of Sant Tomàs in 1337 and of Sant Andreu in 1354 reported that Jews resided there.[24] Some Christian protests against Jews working outside the Jewish quarter were rooted in economic competition, as when Christian tailors complained about Jewish tailors who worked in Christian neighborhoods.[25] More often than not, though, orders to return to the Jewish quarter applied not just to the practitioners of a single trade but to all Jews regardless of occupation. Christians protested general Jewish encroachment on Christian neighborhoods in 1369–1370 and again in 1371, which led Pere IV to decree in 1371 that all Jews must reside in their quarter.[26] In 1377, Valencia's *Consell* also ordered all Valencian Jews to live in the Jewish quarter.[27] In 1386, Pere again ordered Jews to return to the Jewish quarter, specifically forbidding them from living in the parishes of Sant Tomàs and Sant Andreu because the growing number of Jews had diminished those parishes' revenues. Jews did not need or pay for the various Christian services, such as burials, that those parishes offered. As late as 1388, Valencians were still protesting that Jews lived in neighborhoods previously inhabited by Christians.[28]

In 1390, royal officials bowed to reality and ordered the adjustment of the Jewish quarter's boundaries, so that it would encompass additional spaces where Jews were already living. Work began on an extension of the quarter's walls. Christians, including the residents of Valencia's Dominican house, vehemently protested the extension, claiming that it would make travel through certain sections of the city more difficult. When Christians attacked workers as they started to build the Jewish quarter's new and extended walls, royal officials stationed guards near the laborers. Disputes over the construction associated with the Jewish quarter's expansion continued into May 1391. Within two months, the project fell into abeyance when a new problem, far more pressing than traffic patterns, emerged.[29]

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At Valencia, as throughout the Crown of Aragon and neighboring Castile, the summer of 1391 brought anti-Jewish pogroms. In their scale, intensity, and ramifications, they went well beyond ritualized Holy Week and Corpus Christi violence.

The assault against Valencia's Jewish quarter began on July 9, 1391, with 40 to 50 Christian youths marching to its gates.[30] Carrying crosses, they shouted that the Archpriest of Seville was coming to Valencia and that all the Jews would have to convert or die. The Archpriest of Seville was Fernando Martínez, whose preaching and agitation against the Jews (since 1378, he had urged their expulsion and even their killing) earned him royal threats, archiepiscopal suspicion, and suspension from office. But with the deaths of the archbishop of Seville and the king of Castile in 1390, and with the royal minority that followed, Martínez's followers grew bolder. Their verbal and physical attacks against Seville's Jews culminated in the pogrom of June 4, 1391, which, in turn, touched off a wave of similar attacks that washed across Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia through August.[31]

Word of the Castilian pogroms reached Valencia by late June. On June 27, 1391, and at the request of Valencia's Jews and bailiff, the *jurats* ordered the destruction of two Christian houses near the wall surrounding the Jewish quarter, on the grounds that Christians could easily leap from the houses' roofs over the wall.[32] The *Consell* ordered the suppression of all news and rumors coming from Castile, the posting of guards day and night throughout Valencia, and the erection of gallows throughout the city, especially near the Jewish quarter, to remind Christians that a death sentence might await those who attacked the Jews.[33] It is not clear where the guards were on July 9 or whether the *Consell*'s orders were followed at all.

A crowd joined the youths outside the Jewish quarter, and some Christians managed to make their way inside; Jews then closed and locked the quarter's gates. Christians outside demanded that the Jews open the gates and release the Christians; when the Jews kept the gates shut, Christians outside cried out that the Jews were killing the Christians caught in the quarter. King Joan's brother, the future King Martí, happened to be in Valencia; Martí and other officials met the crowd and attempted to defuse the situation, ordering the Jews to open the gates and show that the Christians inside had suffered no harm, while promising that no more Christians would enter once the gates had been opened. The Jews, apparently not believing the promise, still kept the gates closed. The Christians outside then came over the walls anyway.

Twelve days later, Joan Pérez de Sent Jordi described his personal experience of the attack. On July 9, his name was still what it had always been up to that moment, Jucef Abarim—he was Jewish, and he changed his name to Joan Pérez de Sent Jordi when he accepted baptism in the pogrom's aftermath. He recounted that even before the Christians had made it across the walls, he had locked himself and his family in his house. The locks did not succeed in keeping the Christians out, and when Abarim protested to the Christians, some of whom wore masks, against their invasion of his home, they beat him; when Abarim's brother turned a crossbow on the Christians, they slashed his face several times. The Christians who entered his house broke open and took everything—even his mattresses, he noted. (Joan Pérez de Sent Jordi provided this account when he sued for the restitution of his stolen property.) The attackers also raped his niece, as well as a slave who was wet nurse to his son.[34]

Some 10 or 12 Christians and some 200 Jews died in the assault. That day and during the next few days, most of Valencia's surviving Jews—somewhere in the range of 2,000 to 2,500 souls—were baptized. Perhaps another 200 managed to avoid baptism by hiding successfully during the pogrom and the days that followed.[35] Jews baptized during and immediately after the pogrom sometimes took the names of important Christians with whom they were friends or otherwise connected, seemingly in the hope that a prestigious name would bring respectability and facilitate Christian acceptance.[36] Sometimes the new converts took the name of the governor of Valencia, whom the king and queen of Aragon thanked in 1391 in separate letters for sheltering 30 Jewish families during the pogrom.[37]

The aggression let loose in 1391 very nearly made Valencia's Muslims its victim too. Christian pogromists threatened to invade the city's *morería* and force the conversion of its Muslim residents, but Martí seems to have had some success in organizing the Muslim quarter's defenses, and no assault took place. Fearing aftershocks, the inhabitants of the *morería* armed themselves and stored provisions, lest an assault materialize in the days and weeks to come; some fled Valencia entirely. And assaults did materialize, although it took years, not days or weeks. In 1394, 1397, and again 1399, Christians attacked the *morería*.[38]

The assault of July 9, 1391, nearly annihilated Valencia's Jewish community. By September, people no longer spoke of the Jewish quarter but rather of the "old Jewish quarter" and of the "new town which used to be the old Jewish quarter"; a document of 1399 records the sale of houses in what had "formerly" (*olim*) been the Jewish quarter.[39] Following the pogrom of 1391, the old Jewish quarter contained only the remnant of Valencia's Jews and a larger number of *conversos*. Its emptiness invited gamblers, prostitutes, and various criminals.[40]

In assaulting and decimating the Jewish community, Christians offended their king, because Jews, like Muslims, were part of the "royal treasure." The Jews' primary tax obligations were to the king, and they enjoyed royal protection; any harm done to those who were part of the "royal treasure" was an act of lese majesty. So absolute was the king's power to tax Jews as he wished, and so widely known was that power, that Valencia's *jurats* protested a new royal tax by claiming that the king was turning his cities into so many *aljamas* and treating his Christian subjects as though they were Jews, when, in fact, Christians would rather die than be like the Jews, or so the *jurats* said.[41]

Those persons and institutions that might have stepped in to prevent the assault, namely, the king's brother Martí and Valencia's *Consell*, scrambled to explain how they could have allowed the royal treasure to be plundered and sacrificed. A week after the attack, Joan wrote to his "very dear brother" and expressed his amazement that Martí did not stop the attack. If Martí had just "run through or hanged 300 or 400 people during the attack against the Jews, as we would have hoped you would do," the rest would have been too terrified to continue with their crimes.[42] The *consellers* justified the destruction of the Jewish quarter by citing the miracles that had occurred before, during, and immediately after the attack—miracles, they acknowledged, that might be hard to believe, considering the circumstances. Priests baptized so many Jews that the chrism

ran out, but soon after, the same priests found the containers fully replenished.[43] Joan himself in 1392 pardoned all but 20 individuals for the attack on the Jewish quarter, and it is not clear whether any of those 20 individuals was ever brought to justice.[44]

On August 19, 1391, Valencia's *jurats* announced their intention to transfer the 200 or so Jews remaining in Valencia to the nearby town of Morvedre, known today as Sagunto. Joan had already written to his brother Martí on two different occasions about the possibility of such a move, and he had the main synagogue in Valencia turned into a Christian chapel.[45] Nevertheless, Joan still harbored hopes for the restoration of Valencia's Jewish community. In 1392, he drew up plans for a new Jewish quarter to be located in the parish of Sant Andreu; the next year, acting through Rabbi Hasday Abraham Cresques of Barcelona, he attempted to recruit Jews from Aragon to settle in Barcelona and Valencia.[46] But little came of the recruitment effort, and the new Jewish quarter existed only notionally. Valencia's *jurats* opposed all attempts at revival. In 1396, they asked King Martí to promise that any Jews living in the old Jewish quarter would be expelled and that Valencia would never again have a Jewish *aljama*; the king granted their request.[47] A small number of resident Jews lingered in Valencia until the end of the fourteenth century, but after that, Jews resided exclusively in villages and smaller towns such as Morvedre, where, as Mark Meyerson has shown, they recovered both demographically and economically after 1416—the year in which Vincent left Spain once and for all.[48]

Valencia was not alone in blocking the reestablishment of Jewish communities. Barcelona did the same in 1397, and in 1401 it received a royal privilege, issued not perpetually but for as long as it pleased the king, forbidding permanent Jewish residence there. The privilege seems to have lapsed upon the death of Martí in 1410, and a few Jewish families trickled into Barcelona thereafter, but in 1423 Barcelona again secured a royal privilege forbidding permanent Jewish residence, and this time the privilege was issued in perpetuity.[49]

In 1391, so many Jews were baptized at Valencia and elsewhere that they came to constitute a distinct group, called "new Christians" or "neophytes," to distinguish them from those born Christian. The new Christians converted in order to avoid immediate death; one might expect their enthusiasm for their new religion to have been tepid or nonexistent. Yet old Christians could not in good conscience allow new Christians to return to Judaism or even run the risk of apostasy. For that reason, King Joan blocked the emigration of new Christians from the Kingdom of Valencia in the years immediately following the pogrom of 1391, anticipating that new Christians would return to Judaism once they reached North Africa or Palestine. Royal officials enforced this prohibition, catching *conversos* about to embark at Valencia. In 1393, Joan eased restrictions on temporary travel outside the Kingdom of Valencia for commercial purposes, but traveling new Christians still had to leave behind their families and sums of money, which served to guarantee that temporary travel did not turn into permanent flight.[50]

As long as Jews remained nearby, the risk of apostasy among new Christians was higher than it would have been otherwise. The Jewish community of

Morvedre served as a reminder of the life and religion renounced. In some cases, Morvedre's Jews actively strove to keep Jewish belief and ritual alive among the new Christians, and they continued to do so through the fifteenth century.[51] The need to keep—or, really, to make—the new Christians "Christian" fuelled the drive to separate Jews and new Christians. In 1400, Valencia's *jurats* asked the king to forbid Jews from entering Valencia at all, because visiting Jews conversed with their *converso* relatives and friends, as well as with other Christians.[52] At the Corts of 1403, Martí issued a relatively comprehensive set of regulations governing contact between Jews and new Christians at Valencia. Jewish visitors had to wear a badge, half red and half yellow, and of a specified size, on their clothing. They could remain in Valencia for only ten days per visit; those wishing to extend their visit had to secure a license from the bailiff general of Valencia, and the extended visit could not last for more than four months. While in Valencia, visiting Jews could not lodge in any house owned by a *converso* or in any of the three parishes where *conversos* lived; they could not slaughter animals or bake matzo either. On Jewish religious feast days, visiting Jews had to leave the city entirely.[53]

The long-standing problem of keeping Christians separate from Muslims and Jews; the pogroms of 1391, their aftershocks, and the possibility that pogroms of equal brutality might occur again; the problems caused by the large number of *conversos* generated by the pogrom of 1391: these provided the context for Vincent's missionary work in Spain upon his Iberian return. They shaped what he thought and preached, as well as the decisions that he made.

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During the decade preceding his return to Spain, Vincent preached both to and about Jews. At Arles in 1401, Jews attended his sermons, apparently at the friar's request.[54] In his Swiss sermons of 1404, Vincent preached about Jews, although likely he had no Jewish listeners when he preached at Fribourg, because it had expelled its Jews in 1401.[55] Back in Spain, he continued to preach to and about Jews. In March 1409, Vincent preached to Jews at Girona, a fact known only because Girona in August 1409 reimbursed the person who had built the fence that enclosed Girona's Jews when they attended the Dominican's sermons, and also reimbursed an official (the *alguatzil*) who had escorted the Jews to their fenced-in area. As Lluís Batlle y Prats points out, the *alguatzil*'s escort suggests that Jewish attendance was compulsory, while the *alguatzil*'s presence and the fenced-in enclosure suggest that the Jews required physical protection.[56] Vincent himself praised the mandatory attendance of Jews and Muslims at Christian sermons and recommended that all Christian preachers require infidels to attend them.[57] On this point, the friar practiced what he preached. In January and February 1412, Vincent spoke of his Jewish listeners as having been forced to come and hear him preach in accordance with a royal ordinance.[58]

Although Vincent preached to Jews at Arles in 1401 and at Girona in 1409, it appears that he enjoyed little or no success in converting Jews (or Muslims) to Christianity until he visited first Murcia and then Castile in 1411 and 1412. In

April 1411, most likely while preaching in the city of Murcia, Vincent spoke of his success at converting unbelievers; henceforth, the Dominican referred to his efficacious proselytizing with some frequency.[59] Admittedly, Vincent's extant sermons dating to 1411 and 1412 are far more numerous than those that survive for any preceding years, but the evidence for his missionary success from 1411 onward comes not just from his sermons. It comes, too, from royal and municipal archives and from chronicles, which speak of the conversions occasioned by Vincent's preaching beginning in 1411, but not before then. Neither Bertrand Boysset's chronicle of Arles nor the archival documents from Girona that speak of Vincent's preaching there in 1409 say anything about the friar's Jewish listeners converting.

If Vincent's eloquence alone was responsible for his missionary success, then one would expect the success to have begun the moment he began his peripatetic mission and encountered non-Christian audiences. Instead, more than a decade elapsed between Vincent's departure from Avignon and the first mass conversions; more than two years elapsed between his return to Spain and said conversions. To the extent that Vincent's oratory led to his missionary success, it was not directly by persuading Jews and Muslims to accept Christianity, but indirectly by inspiring local and then royal officials to impose on Jews and Muslims onerous legal restrictions that drove them to convert.

On March 24, 1411, the town council of Murcia enacted ordinances regarding the separation of Jews and Muslims from Christians and credited the inspiration for these ordinances to Vincent, whose preaching had opened the council's eyes to the problems that arose when there was overmuch familiarity between Christians and infidels. Henceforth, Christians were not to slaughter animals in the Jewish abattoir and not to help Jews to observe the Saturday Sabbath by lighting fires or cooking for Jews. Jews and Muslims were not to serve as godparents [!] for Christian children during baptism. Married Christian women were not to enter the Jewish quarter, either alone or accompanied. The only Christians who might spend time continuously with Jews were Christian shepherds and field hands, and even they were not to eat meals with Jews or attend Jewish festivities such as circumcisions. Within 30 days, Christians were no longer to have Jews or Muslims as their apothecaries, surgeons, or physicians—the delay of 30 days was granted so that Murcia had time to help Christians to find Christian replacements. Jews and Muslims were not to live or have shops and workshops outside their respective quarters; Jews and Muslims currently with homes, shops, or workshops outside their quarters had 30 days to relocate them. Christians who used to sell bread, produce, and other items in the Jewish quarter were now to sell them elsewhere. Fines would be imposed on those who violated this ordinance.[60] On April 29, 1411, the Castilian co-regents and king approved the Murcian ordinance, but with one substantial change: it should apply to Jews only, not to Jews and Muslims both.[61]

Before he came to Murcia in 1411, Vincent had already called on rulers to impose and enforce restrictions on Jews, as in Switzerland in 1404. But in Switzerland, Vincent called for the marking of Jews with badges, not for their residential segregation; the Murcian ordinances of March 1411 imposed residential

segregation, as well as limited but substantial economic segregation. And the Murcian ordinances, although their individual provisions had ample historical precedent, immediately produced Jewish conversions numerous enough to impress Vincent in April 1411. The friar saw the connection and drew the lesson, for in April 1411, the same month in which he began to remark on his missionary success, he also preached (specifically on April 23, 1411, at Hellín) that Christians must not live together with Jews and Muslims.[62] He thereafter made the physical segregation of Jews and Muslims the cornerstone of his missionary program, repeating his calls for separation at Illescas in August 1411 and at Valladolid in December 1411, and rarely saying anything about the need to mark Jews with badges or distinctive garments.[63]

The next year's events suggest that the efficacy of segregation in fostering conversion was not the only lesson that Vincent learned from his Murcian experience. If the relatively traditional ordinances of March 1411 moved unbelievers to convert, then even stronger measures—unprecedentedly strong measures—might achieve even greater results.

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At Valladolid in December 1411, Vincent offered an expansive vision of what the segregation of Jews and Muslims should entail. Jews ought not to serve as judges, notaries, landlords, lawyers, tax collectors, physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries, among other professions. Jews must not sell food to Christians, but Christians could accept gifts of live animals from Jews. Christians ought not to work in Jewish houses for more than one or two days at a time or for a week at most, as carpenters did. Christians ought not to work as wet nurses for Jews or cook for them on the Jewish Sabbath; Christians could work for Jews as shepherds and field hands, as long as they did not enter Jewish houses. At the same time, the friar justified such segregation. Jews and Muslims must live separately from Christians to avoid unrecognized miscegenation. When Christians, Jews, and Muslims lived together, they interbred surreptitiously. Furthermore, Jews ought not to think of themselves as being injured or wronged when they were physically separated from the Christian population, for Jewish law itself required differentiation and separation.[64]

This segregationist agenda and its limits were already familiar in many particulars. In his Swiss sermons of 1404, Vincent had considered whether Jews could hire agricultural laborers and concluded that they could, with some restrictions; he had also considered whether Christian workmen could enter Jewish houses and concluded that they could, with some restrictions based on time of day in Switzerland, on length of stay in Castile. (Vincent even used the example of carpenters both in Switzerland in 1404 and in Castile in 1411.) The specific measures that Vincent advocated at Valladolid were similar to the measures enacted at Murcia and that he then advocated as he traveled from Murcia to Valladolid. At Illescas in August 1411, Vincent preached that Jews and Muslims must not sell food to Christians, have judicial authority over Christians, or work as surgeons or physicians.[65]

In some respects, though, the measures that Vincent advocated at Illescas and Valladolid went beyond Murcian precedents, for Vincent now advocated the total exclusion of Jews from the medical profession. And what was most genuinely new, or at least newly explicit, in Vincent's preaching at Valladolid in December 1411 was his rationale for forbidding Jews from selling food to Christians and from becoming physicians: Jews would murder Christians at any opportunity, as Vincent had found out, or so he stated, during his travels. Christians could accept live animals from Jews, but not buy meat or prepared foods from them, because living animals could not contain poison while meat and prepared foods could. As for Jewish physicians, Vincent had heard of one who, on his deathbed, consoled his weeping relatives with a satisfying recollection of medical massacre: "Do not cry, for it is no sorrow to me that I am dying, because through my medicine I killed more than 500 Christians."[66] In the same sermon, Vincent reminded his Christian listeners that they were not to harm Jews and that they should bring Jews to Christianity "in a good way and not by force."[67] One wonders to what extent his Christian listeners could muster the will not to harm those who, as Vincent himself had said just moments earlier, wanted only, like the devil, to hurt Christians.

The link between Satan and unbelievers went beyond simile. To observers, demonic possession might seem to be more common among Christians than among Jews and Muslims, but appearances were deceiving. Christians, unlike Jews and Muslims, had ways to make such demons appear, such as the nearby presence of a holy man—Vincent knew because, while at Vic, he had caused five people who did not know themselves to be demonically possessed to rise up bellowing as their demons exited them. But an accidental byproduct of exorcism was the illusion that Christians were more susceptible to demonic possession than others. All infidels were, in fact, demonically possessed, as Vincent did not hesitate to tell his Christian, Jewish, and Muslim listeners.[68]

When Vincent preached at Valladolid, Queen Catherine of Lancaster, co-regent for her son Juan II, was there, and throughout December 1411, the friar spoke as though he was in frequent communication with her. Vincent mentioned that "the lord queen said to me that she wants *conversos* to be able to enjoy the privilege of *infanzones*, which is to say of *hidalgos* [nobles]," and that he concurred with the queen.[69] Eight days later, the Dominican preached that the segregation of Jews and Muslims from Christians "well pleases the queen, the king, and the *infante* [co-regent Fernando de Trastámara]."[70] On December 21, 1411, Vincent again claimed to know what the queen was thinking: not only had the queen decided that *conversos* could enjoy noble status, she had also decided to grant *conversos* a ten-year moratorium on royal taxes, to protect them against falling into poverty after becoming Christians.[71]

On January 2, 1412, Juan II and Catherine issued the Laws of Valladolid. Those laws required that in every Castilian locality, Jews and Muslims each live in a separate quarter enclosed by a wall and with a single gate leading to the outside. Jews and Muslims who did not relocate to their new homes were to lose all their property and their bodies were at royal disposal for punishment. The Laws of Valladolid stripped Jewish and Muslim communities of their autonomy,

requiring them to seek royal approval before levying any internal taxes and forbidding them from having Jewish or Muslim judges with jurisdiction over criminal or civil cases between co-religionists; instead, Christian judges (albeit ones respecting Jewish and Islamic law and custom) would hear these cases. Social contacts (the sharing of meals together, the attending of ceremonies) between Christians and infidels were forbidden. Jews and Muslims were not to wear clothing worth more than 30 *morabetins* and were not to carry weapons.

Most of the specific provisions contained in the Laws of Valladolid had earlier precedents in Castilian secular and ecclesiastical law. Just four years earlier, Juan had reaffirmed, in keeping with the thirteenth-century *Siete Partidas*, that Jews could not have the power to judge Christians or collect rents from them.[72] That Jews should live in separate quarters figured in the canons of the Council of Palencia (over which Cardinal Pedro de Luna had presided in 1388), as well as in the enactments of the Cortes of Valladolid in 1351 and of Jerez in 1268.[73] Provisions of the Laws of Valladolid also had precedent in Vincent's preaching or at least were consistent with his recently expressed fears of serial-killing Jewish physicians and poisoning. Jews were not to be apothecaries, surgeons, or physicians; Jews and Muslims were not to visit sick Christians or give them medicine, syrups, dead meat, dead fish, or fruit. Other prohibitions appeared explicitly in Vincent's earlier sermons or were consistent with his fears of undetected miscegenation. As usual, Jews were not to have Christian servants or wet nurses; Christian women (including married Christian women, concubines, and prostitutes) were not to enter Jewish or Muslim quarters at any time.

In several respects, though, the Laws of Valladolid were newly and truly devastating for Jews and Muslims. The amount of time within which each locality had to establish a single Jewish and a single Muslim quarter, and within which Jews and Muslims had to relocate to their respective quarters, was short. The Murcian ordinance of March 1411 allowed an already ungenerous month for the establishment of new quarters and for relocation. The Laws of Valladolid allowed only eight days—and it was the beginning of January, hardly the best time of year to uproot people and deprive them of shelter. Moreover, the Laws of Valladolid severed economic contacts between infidels and their Christian neighbors so completely that they indeed constituted, as Benzion Netanyahu puts it, an act of "economic strangulation."[74] When, in 1329, the Castilian Cortes petitioned the king and asked him to prohibit Jews from exercising certain professions, the king rejected the petition.[75] Now, Jews were not to be (in addition to apothecaries, physicians, and surgeons) brokers or moneychangers. Jews and Muslims were not to work as smiths, shoemakers, tanners, and tailors for Christians or sell their wares to Christians. Jews were not to sell food to Christians; Jews and Muslims were not to carry food that would be sold to Christians or have markets in their quarters where food was sold to Christians. Jews were not to hire Christians as shepherds or field hands. And Jews and Muslims were not to escape these hardships through emigration. Any Jew or Muslim found trying to leave Castile would lose all the property carried on his or her person (to be given to whoever tipped off officials to the attempted emigration) and would be enslaved. Any Castilian lord who received a Jew emigrating from royal lands faced the

startlingly large fines of 50,000 *morabetins* for the first offense, 100,000 *morabetins* for the second offense, and the loss of the entire lordship for the third offense.

The Laws of Valladolid stated that the segregation of Jews and Muslims from Christians was necessary to prevent Christians from falling into error. But that cannot be the whole reason or even the primary reason for enacting such laws. If the architects of the Laws of Valladolid wanted to keep Christians from falling into error through contact with Jews and Muslims, then the architects should not have forbidden emigration; instead, they should have encouraged emigration or even mandated expulsion. Examples of mass expulsion were near at hand, for the Kingdom of France had expelled its Jews in 1394, and Catherine's native England had expelled its Jews in 1290. In forbidding Jewish emigration, Juan II and Catherine guaranteed that Christian exposure to Jews and Muslims, however limited, would continue. Taking away the option of emigration, while simultaneously imposing physical segregation and an unprecedentedly strict economic embargo, reveals the purpose of the Laws of Valladolid. The purpose was to make certain that Castile's Jews and Muslims felt the full force of the Laws of Valladolid for however long they remained Jews and Muslims, which might not be very long at all, because inescapable pressure would push Jews and Muslims to convert.[76] A letter from Juan to royal officials in October 1412 states this position clearly. Jews who had run afoul of the Laws of Valladolid were converting to Christianity, but local officials tried to punish the newly converted for their earlier infractions anyway, which discouraged Jews from converting. The local officials, as Juan told them repeatedly, were defeating the whole purpose of the Laws of Valladolid, "which were enacted to this end only, that the Jews, rejecting their error, enter into knowledge of the truth." Or, as the king put it even more plainly, "the goal for which these penalties were imposed is achieved when the said infidels convert to the holy faith."[77]

The precise role that Vincent played in inspiring, or perhaps even drafting, the Laws of Valladolid is uncertain and likely will forever remain so.[78] In several instances, the Laws of Valladolid went beyond what the friar had advocated in his earlier extant sermons. In his Swiss sermons of 1404, Vincent preached that Jews could hire agricultural laborers such as shepherds and field hands, and the Murcian ordinances of March 1411 allowed for it as well. The Laws of Valladolid flatly forbade Jews from hiring Christians to work in their fields and vineyards. Before January 1412, Vincent did not preach that Jewish and Muslim smiths, shoemakers, tailors, and tanners should never be allowed to sell their wares to Christians, but the Laws of Valladolid prohibited such sales. Before January 1412, Vincent did not preach that Jews and Muslims should be forbidden from emigrating, but the Laws of Valladolid prohibited it.

Still, the Castilian *Crónica de Juan II* states that Vincent, desiring to separate Jews and Muslims from Christians, moved Catherine to enact the Laws of Valladolid.[79] Given Vincent's role in inspiring segregationist legislation at Murcia in March 1411; given Vincent's presence at Valladolid in December 1411 and January 1412; given how frequently Vincent spoke in December 1411 of conversations between himself and those who would issue the Laws of Valladolid a month later, and of how he knew and agreed with their thinking about *conversos*

and the segregation of Jews and Muslims; it seems certain that Vincent participated in the deliberations that led to the issuing of the Laws of Valladolid. And notwithstanding the differences between the Laws of Valladolid and the measures that the friar publicly advocated before January 1412, Vincent might indeed have been the inspiration for, or even the author or co-author of, the Laws of Valladolid and their more restrictive measures. At Valladolid in December 1411, Vincent's public statements regarding Jews were more provocative—he accused them of desiring and perpetrating the mass murder of Christians—than they had been before. The months leading up to his visit to Valladolid were heady ones, as Vincent enjoyed his first successes in achieving mass conversion and as the number of those accompanying him, both flagellants and others, grew as well. Under those circumstances, Vincent might have arrived at Valladolid in December 1411 ready to consider, to embrace, and perhaps even to propose measures going beyond any that he had previously enjoined.

It is certain that, after the promulgation of the Laws of Valladolid, Vincent celebrated and defended them. Already on January 9, 1412, the friar openly praised the Laws of Valladolid. True, those laws were like the north wind, bringing adversity and trouble to Jews, but adversity and trouble would cause Jews to convert, and therefore the laws enacted by Juan II and Catherine were just—so much so that God would damn the souls of those members of the royal council who had argued against their enactment.[80] At Tordesillas on January 13, Vincent urged local magistrates to take measures like those just taken at Valladolid; addressing Tordesillas's Jews directly, Vincent urged them to accept their new quarter or to go to Valladolid, where a separate quarter awaited them. The next day, Vincent berated Tordesillas's magistrates for their unwillingness to obey the Laws of Valladolid and to segregate Jews and Christians, accusing them of cruelty in impeding conversions and of corruption in accepting Jewish bribes. Three days later, Vincent told those same magistrates that, if they failed to segregate Jews, they would have to answer to the king and queen of Castile for it.[81] In February 1412, Vincent informed his Jewish listeners that they were like the Jews of the Exodus, caught between a high mountain and the Red Sea. The mountain, so strong that the Jews could not pass it, was the king of Castile who had issued the Laws of Valladolid; the Red Sea was the water of baptism, made red through the crucifixion of Jesus. The Jews must enter the Red Sea and accept baptism.[82]

The Laws of Valladolid were fatal to Jews living there. Writing in 1415, the Jewish author Solomon Alami described what had happened: eight days were insufficient to arrange an orderly relocation or even a minimally adequate reception of Jews in the new quarter. Forced from their previous homes and without new ones to which to go, Jews sought shelter in huts and caves, and some died from exposure to snow and cold.[83] Vincent knew of these consequences. On January 14, 1412, while lambasting Tordesillas's magistrates for their unwillingness to implement the Laws of Valladolid, he cited their foot-dragging as evidence of their cruelty toward Jews. If Tordesillas's magistrates did not begin the segregation of the Jews immediately, then, when they did segregate the Jews, they would have to do so hastily and in chaotic conditions—and if that

happened, then Jews "will die of the cold, just as some did at Valladolid."[84] The Jewish deaths at Valladolid were not what Vincent wanted, and he sought to avoid more such deaths at Tordesillas, but one wonders whether advocating a mitigation of the Laws of Valladolid, rather than their continuing and breakneck implementation, might not have been a better way of saving lives, if such was the friar's goal.

Vincent recognized the coerciveness of the Laws of Valladolid. Certainly he rejected forced conversion when the force applied was that of the pogrom, or *avalot*.[85] Yet Vincent preached in February 1412 that some force was necessary when dealing with Jews, for Jews never did anything good except when forced to do so.[86] At Tordesillas a month earlier, Vincent rejected the use of "injurious force" against the Jews, but preached that the Laws of Valladolid were not an instance of "injurious force." They represented instead "just and reasonable force," which could and must be brought to bear against Jews, who, as he would repeat a month later, never did anything good except through force and even harm.[87] Pedro Cátedra suggests that, on the "few" occasions when Vincent preached in this manner, the friar became a "subliminal apologist" for forced conversion.[88] One can easily agree that Vincent became an apologist for forced conversion, but there was nothing subliminal about these apologies.

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When Vincent returned to the Crown of Aragon in 1412, he played a leading role in selecting Fernando de Trastámara as its new king; that choice met with the approval of, and may well have been orchestrated by, Pope Benedict XIII, who now resided in the Crown of Aragon and whose personal confessor Vincent had once been. The friar's ties to Benedict and Fernando render apt David Nirenberg's characterization of Vincent as "the most important evangelist of the day and the impresario of the massive effort taken by papacy and monarchy in the early fifteenth century to reform Christian spirituality and to achieve the conversion of all the Jews of the Peninsula."[89]

In the Crown of Aragon, Vincent continued his calls for the segregation of Jews and Muslims, and he cited both royal and papal support for such segregation.[90] Fernando provided logistical support and suggested destinations to the wandering preacher. In November 1413, the king invited Vincent to attend the upcoming royal coronation at Zaragoza and to preach to Zaragoza's Jewish community—perhaps the largest one in the Crown of Aragon at the time, for there had been no Jewish pogrom at Zaragoza in 1391, thanks to King Joan's presence.[91] To facilitate the friar's attendance and mission, Fernando provided a boat to bring Vincent back from Mallorca. The Dominican did not actually make it to Zaragoza in time to attend the royal coronation, but Fernando was not discouraged. In January 1414, the month of his coronation, and again in March 1414, and again in April 1414, Fernando reinvited Vincent to Zaragoza.[92] At long last, the friar made his way there; in November 1414, Fernando ordered his son Alfonso, who was at Zaragoza, to receive Vincent well and make Zaragoza's Jews attend the friar's sermons.[93] Less than a week later, Alfonso confirmed both Vincent's

arrival and Jewish attendance at his sermons.[94] In January 1416, Fernando paid for the catafalque from which Vincent had preached at Zaragoza.[95]

Benedict's interest in the conversion of Jews long predated Vincent's mission. As Cardinal Pedro de Luna, he engaged Rabbi Shem Tob ibn Shaprut in a disputation at Pamplona in 1379.[96] In 1395, Benedict confirmed his predecessor's authorization allowing a *converso* named Jean Alcher to preach in Avignon's synagogues, and he remitted 405 days of penance for anyone who, during the next decade, provided financial support to Alcher and any Jews whom he might convert.[97]

Benedict backed Vincent on specific points, such as allowing new *conversos* and their Jewish spouses to remain married in the hope that the spouses might convert. In 1411 Vincent proclaimed his approval of such arrangements. Benedict gave his approval as well in 1415, while limiting the continuation of such marriages to one year.[98] Vincent wanted *conversos* who were already married but within the prohibited degrees of kinship to remain married, at least in some instances. Benedict agreed and went farther, ruling on two occasions that *conversos* who before their conversions had contracted marriages, but had not yet married, should be permitted to go ahead with their marriages even if they were related within the prohibited degrees of kinship.[99] Benedict shared Vincent's concern about sexual intercourse between Jews and Christians, which was a problem in Switzerland as well as in Spain. In 1396, Benedict responded to the complaints of a rector in Geneva regarding how, within his parish, Jewish men mixed with Christian women and Jewish women mixed with Christian men. The pope ordered local ecclesiastical officials to enforce the wearing of distinctive badges by Jews and to forbid these Swiss Jews from living among Swiss Christians.[100] And Benedict, like (as we will see) Vincent, defended and protected *conversos* against those who would punish them overmuch for religious lapses that fell short of apostasy. In 1410, Benedict responded favorably to *conversos* of Mallorca who protested the actions of a local inquisitor, who had convicted them of Judaizing (failing to observe Christian feast days and continuing to practice unspecified Jewish rites) and otherwise injured them. Benedict ordered an abbot in the Diocese of Mallorca to absolve the *conversos* and to impose penance on them; however, he also ruled that the *conversos* should suffer no other punishment and should not otherwise be harmed.[101]

Although they agreed on many issues, Benedict supported Vincent's missionizing more indirectly than directly. The pope, unlike Fernando, does not seem to have suggested destinations to Vincent or to have covered travel and construction costs. And Benedict's support came a bit later than it might have—as the prologue to Benedict's bull of 1415, *Etsi doctoris gentium*, relates, the papal schism had kept him busy. But his involvement was no less powerful for its indirectness and delay. Again according to *Etsi doctoris gentibus*, Vincent's conversionary successes inspired Benedict to join in the effort by organizing the Tortosa Disputation. There, Christian scholars (chiefly the *converso* Jerónimo de Santa Fe, a former rabbi once named Joshua ha-Lorki whom Vincent himself had converted) gathered with Jewish leaders and scholars so that the Christians could demonstrate, in Yitzhak Baer's formulation, "the tenets of Christianity, which

were beyond all doubt, from the Talmud."[102] Benedict issued invitations to the Tortosa Disputation in November 1412 and scheduled its opening for January 1413.[103] The Disputation opened a month late, in February 1413. In late June and early July 1413, Vincent was present and preached there, but he did not participate in the Tortosa Disputation in any formal way. Perhaps it is a coincidence, but two rabbis and five other Jews fled Tortosa around the time of Vincent's arrival; on June 23, 1413, Benedict wrote to the Jews who had left Tortosa without papal permission and ordered them to return within ten days.[104] The Tortosa Disputation broke for a long recess between late August and late November 1413. During the course of 1414, sessions were held less frequently; the sixty-ninth and final session took place at Sant Mateu del Maestrat in November 1414.[105]

The Tortosa Disputation ratcheted up the pressure that Vincent was already exerting on Jewish communities, but its results dissatisfied Benedict. In January 1414, as he opened a new series of sessions, Benedict announced that, after the conclusion of the Disputation, he would issue "certain edicts against the Talmud and concerning the Jewish way of life."[106] Benedict followed through on this promise more than a year later with the publication of *Etsi doctoris gentium* at Valencia on May 11, 1415. This bull, unlike the Laws of Valladolid, applied only to Jews rather than to Muslims and Jews, and it did not impose economic restrictions on Jews as strong as those contained in the Laws of Valladolid. Still, the restrictions were severe enough. *Etsi doctoris gentium* voided all current contracts that involved Christians paying or giving anything to Jews in the future, and it forbade Christians and Jews from entering into any such contracts henceforth. Notaries who recorded such contracts were to be excommunicated, as were Christians who agreed to serve as dummies for Jews in contracts. The bull also forbade Jews from becoming physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries for Christians. However, *Etsi doctoris gentium* did not exclude Jews from those professions entirely or forbid Jewish artisans from selling to Christian customers.

*Etsi doctoris gentium* did reiterate some provisions contained in the Laws of Valladolid and thereby extended those provisions to the Crown of Aragon. Jews were to live in separate quarters, and Jews were not to serve as judges, even for cases internal to Jewish communities. The bull also sought to make permanent the sort of preaching that Vincent was doing. Henceforth, all Jews, if they were 12 years or older, had to attend Christian sermons at least three times each year. Benedict decreed the specific days on which the sermons were to be preached and what the subject of each sermon must be: the first sermon would instruct Jews that the Messiah had already come; the second would treat the various Jewish heresies that had emerged following Jesus's lifetime, especially those contained in the Talmud; the third would inform Jews that they had been in captivity ever since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and then conclude with a reading of *Etsi doctoris gentium* in its entirety.

Concern with the Talmud permeated *Etsi doctoris gentium*. Ecclesiastical officials were to confiscate copies of the Talmud, all glosses and commentaries on the Talmud, and all other ancillary works treating the Talmud. Officials had a month to collect these works. At the end of that month, bishops and inquisitors were to take legal action against Jews who still possessed such works. *Etsi doctoris*

*gentium* does not mention expunging specific passages from the deposited texts and then returning the books to their owners; the sequestering was indefinite and seemingly perpetual. Furthermore, Jews were not to build new synagogues or expand old ones. In places where there was more than one synagogue, all but one should be closed down, and any synagogue built on the site of a former Christian church, or even just rumored to be built on the site of such a church, should be closed down as well. To this fistful of sticks, *Etsi doctoris gentium* added a carrot: *conversos* retained their right to inherit from Jewish relatives. On July 1, 1415, Fernando ordered his subjects to comply with *Etsi doctoris gentium*, under pain of a 1,000-florin fine.[107]

Both the Tortosa Disputation and *Etsi doctoris gentium* triggered still more conversions. During the course of the Tortosa Disputation, Jews presented themselves at the papal court for baptism.[108] The vicar general of Girona implemented Benedict's bull, sequestering Jewish books and closing down synagogues at Girona, Besalú, and Castellón de Ampurias; at the last of these three, Jews converted en masse in February 1417.[109] *Etsi doctoris gentium* inspired and emboldened local officials to impose still stronger measures, and Benedict found himself having to rein in those officials and to repudiate their actions, as at Urgell, whose Jews Benedict took under his protection and whose officials he ordered to impose nothing beyond what *Etsi doctoris gentium* stipulated.[110]

New *conversos* needed financial support, and Christians who had drawn revenue from Jewish communities demanded compensation. Kings and popes provided both, thereby lending further indirect support to Vincent's mission. In 1412, Juan II of Castile compensated a monastery for the money that it had previously received from the Jews of Palencia.[111] Fernando found positions in the royal administration for *conversos*, made members of well-to-do *converso* families eligible for elevation to the nobility, granted to *conversos* clothing or cloth with which to make clothing, safeguarded *converso* property, freed *conversos* from the payment of taxes for a certain number of years, and even helped a Muslim *converso* to regain the children whom his relatives had kidnapped lest they convert too.[112] Benedict granted positions and pensions to *conversos*, sometimes threatening officials unwilling to follow through on his orders with severe sentences of excommunication that could not be lifted in the offender's lifetime, even on one's deathbed.[113] Municipalities, too, contributed to the cause. Murcia bought homes, clothing, and food for former rabbis; assigned a salary to a *converso* physician and provided him with money for buying a house outside the Jewish quarter; paid a lump sum to a *converso* locksmith; and agreed to pay the way for a *converso* who intended to travel to the papal curia and seek employment there, because he could find none at Murcia itself.[114] Not all those whom Vincent converted fared even that well. At Tamarit de Llitera, the friar converted a Jewish rabbi, the rabbi's wife, and their five children. The former rabbi began to preach proselytizing sermons himself, supposedly using his knowledge of Hebrew to good effect, but he failed to secure much in the way of financial support. Having lost his salary as a rabbi, he received as a Christian preacher only a license permitting him to beg for alms in public.[115]

With this papal, royal, and municipal support, Vincent continued within the Crown of Aragon the same work that he had done in Murcia and Castile. At Teruel, where the friar preached in October and November 1412, he urged the construction of a separate Jewish quarter similar to the Muslim one that already existed there.[116] Although Vincent usually had to rely on others to command the segregation of Jews and Muslims, in some instances his role was more direct. Documents from Teruel speak of the ordinances (*capítoles*) that Vincent enacted—not local magistrates acting at Vincent's behest, but Vincent himself. Teruel's magistrates themselves were uncertain about the legality and propriety of what the friar was doing. They sent secret ambassadors—apparently, they did not want townspeople to know of their hesitation to support Vincent—both to Fernando and Benedict, asking for guidance regarding the Jews' segregation.[117] At Alcolea del Cinca in 1414, local Jews tried to circumvent "the ordinance that Vincent Ferrer enacted in that place regarding contact and trade with Jews and Muslims of the city and their separation." In response to that circumvention, Fernando upheld the physical segregation of Jews and Muslims "lest they infect the faithful, especially new converts, with a grave disease," and he ordered Jews and Muslims to leave their old homes and move to the place that Vincent had appointed for them—here, too, Vincent himself was said to have decreed the segregation of Jews and Muslims and even to have determined the locations for their new quarters.[118] After Zaragoza's Jews had arrived late for one of Vincent's sermons, the Dominican secured permission from Alfonso, son and heir to Fernando, to determine a suitable punishment. With that permission secured, Vincent imposed a fine of 1,000 florins on the tardy Jews.[119]

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Although Vincent's proselytism in the Crown of Aragon had papal and royal support, Fernando's support had its limits. Before the issuance of the Laws of Valladolid, Fernando had supported the segregation of Jews in separate quarters, but not their near-total incarceration or their economic strangulation. At Ayllón in August 1411, he warned Murcia's magistrates (Murcia pertained to his jurisdiction as co-regent in Castile) that they must protect Jews from attack and that they must permit Jews to exercise any professions not explicitly forbidden to them by the Murcian ordinance of March 1411. In November 1411, Fernando reiterated the obligation of Jews to live separately from Christians, but he also reiterated the right of Jews to be shoemakers, silversmiths, peddlers, tanners, and anything else not expressly forbidden by the Murcian ordinance of March 1411. He also abrogated one of that ordinance's articles and restored to Jews their right to buy from and to sell to Christians, including any foods that both ate and excepting only medicinal items. Fernando's reason for restoring commercial contacts between Jews and Christians at Murcia was avowedly financial and self-interested: the prohibition of commerce between Jews and Christians impoverished the former and diminished the value of royal rents.[120]

According to the Castilian chronicler Álvar García de Santa María, Vincent met with Juan II, and his co-regents Catherine and Fernando, at Ayllón in

September 1411, four months before the issuance of the Laws of Valladolid; the friar urged the king and his co-regents then and there to take segregationist measures. Nothing came of that meeting with the king and both co-regents, however; it was only when Vincent was at Valladolid with Juan II and Catherine, but not Fernando, that his pleas bore fruit.[121] The delay suggests Fernando's wariness of the sorts of measures imposed by the Laws of Valladolid. Indeed, Juan Torres Fontes plausibly suggests that Catherine might have been displeased by Fernando's undercutting of the Murcian ordinance of March 1411 and so (together with Juan II, but without the assent of Fernando) forced the issue in January 1412 with the even stronger Laws of Valladolid.[122]

Fernando delayed and blocked the implementation of the Laws of Valladolid within the Castilian territory that he administered as co-regent. On January 25, 1412, some three weeks after the issuance of the Laws of Valladolid, Fernando wrote to Toledo and prohibited the implementation of the Laws of Valladolid there; he subsequently extended that prohibition to all other places under his co-regency's administration. When Muslims of Arrixaca protested to Fernando against an attempt to implement the Laws of Valladolid in the Kingdom of Murcia, he intervened in March 1412 to prevent their implementation.[123] When Murcia's Jews, too, protested the Laws of Valladolid, Fernando (again in March 1412) informed Murcia that no ordinances had any validity within his kingdoms, including that part of Castile under his co-regency, unless he himself had approved them. Because he had not approved the Laws of Valladolid, they were suspended within the territories under his co-regency's administration until further notice.[124]

Even after Vincent had voted for and announced Fernando's kingship at Casp, Fernando remained unwilling to impose the Laws of Valladolid that Vincent championed. On July 17, 1412—less than a month after the Compromise of Casp—Fernando headed off the possibility that the Laws of Valladolid might be extended to the Crown of Aragon by enacting the Ordinance of Cifuentes, which applied to all the kingdoms and territories within the Crown of Aragon. The stated purpose of the Laws of Valladolid was to segregate Jews and Muslims from Christians so that the latter would not fall into error, while the actual purpose (unstated in the Laws themselves, but later publicly acknowledged) was to foster conversion. The stated purpose of the Ordinance of Cifuentes, on the other hand, was to protect Jews by forestalling dangers and preventing attacks against them. Fernando declared that he wanted the Jews of the Crown of Aragon to enjoy the same protections that they had enjoyed under his (Aragonese) royal predecessors.[125] That is to say, he would not be introducing the Laws of Valladolid into the Crown of Aragon.

The Ordinance of Cifuentes was segregationist, but considerably milder than the Laws of Valladolid, and it applied only to Jews, not to Jews and Muslims.[126] Jews had to live in separate quarters, but the Ordinance of Cifuentes gave Jews one year, not eight days, to find new homes and relocate. Fernando also decreed that for each locality he himself would appoint two good men to select a location for the Jewish quarter and establish its boundaries; presumably, the new king was trying to keep local officials from making Jewish quarters overly small and placing

them in undesirable locations. Where the Laws of Valladolid imposed corporal punishment and enslavement, the Ordinance of Cifuentes imposed monetary fines; where the Laws of Valladolid imposed monetary fines, the Ordinance of Cifuentes imposed smaller fines. The Laws of Valladolid mandated the beating of Jews and Muslims who used the honorific title "Don," imposing 100 lashes for each offense, but the Ordinance of Cifuentes lowered that penalty to a fine of 500 *morabetins*. The Laws of Valladolid penalized Jews and Muslims who cut their hair and beards short with 100 lashes for the first offense and a fine of 100 *morabetins* for each offense after that; the Ordinance of Cifuentes imposed a fine of 50 *morabetins* for each offense.

Fernando's Ordinance of Cifuentes weakened some of the Laws of Valladolid, ignored others, and sometimes explicitly granted to the Crown of Aragon's Jews rights and powers that the Laws of Valladolid stripped from their Castilian coreligionists. The Laws of Valladolid forbade Jews and Muslims from selling foodstuffs (including bread, wine, oil, flour, and butter) to Christians. The Ordinance of Cifuentes allowed Jews to sell to Christians some foodstuffs, both those that they produced themselves and those that they received as rents, such as oil, vegetables, living animals, and eggs. Jews could sell these items not only within the Jewish quarter but also in their gardens, on their farms, and in shops outside their quarter (provided that Jews did not sleep in those shops or occupy them except when selling)—in other words, Jews could sell these foodstuffs in places to which Christians had access. Jews were also permitted to travel through towns and villages, selling to Christians whatever permissible foodstuffs they could carry by hand. The Ordinance of Cifuentes explicitly permitted Jews to hire Christian laborers such as carpenters, shepherds, plowmen, and other agricultural workers, and while it forbade Jewish tailors from making clothing for Christian women, the Ordinance of Cifuentes otherwise dropped entirely the prohibition against Jewish artisans selling goods to Christians. Fernando also recognized the right of Jews to emigrate and permitted social contacts between Jews and Christians that the Laws of Valladolid prohibited. The latter forbade Jews from attending Christian funerals; the former did not. The latter forbade Jews from eating with Christians; the former permitted Jews to eat with Christians and in Christian houses under certain circumstances, such as when Jews were traveling and encountered only inns and houses owned by Christians or when Jews attended market fairs in places that had no Jewish quarter in which to eat.

Despite its relative leniency, the Ordinance of Cifuentes brought little peace and seemingly little protection to the Jews of the Crown of Aragon, for Vincent's preaching touched off strong local responses. Fernando spent his four years as king both supporting Vincent's mission and grappling with the disruption that it caused. Such grappling required him, in several instances, to side with others against the friar. In September 1412, Fernando fielded complaints from the Jews of an unspecified town (likely Alcañíz) alleging that, in the wake of Vincent's preaching there, local leaders had instituted new restrictions regarding the Jews, who were now afraid even to appear in public. Fernando ordered local leaders to respect the Jews' rights and also made clear that Vincent did not have carte blanche, for "if the aforesaid Master Vincent in his preaching to you has said

or ordered anything about this matter, let us know and we will deal with it appropriately."[127]

Yet such problems continued. The Jewish *aljama* of Tamarit de Llitera, where Vincent was in May 1414, protested to Fernando that a *converso* had seized their synagogue and that local ecclesiastical officials had imposed new restrictions on the Jews and then expelled them from Tamarit de Llitera entirely, making it impossible for the Jews to feed themselves. Tamarit de Llitera's Jews also feared that, should they return, Christians inflamed by Vincent's preaching would attack them. Fernando ordered local officials to defend the Jews and their synagogue, because Jews ought not to be converted through force; the officials were also to make suitable arrangements for housing the Jews until a separate Jewish quarter had been established.[128] In September 1414 and apparently not for the first time, Fernando chastised Jaca's magistrates for the ordinances that they had enacted after Vincent preached there: no Christian was to sell food to Jews or mill the Jews' grain or bake their bread, under pain of excommunication; Jewish shops were shut down; Jews were to wear an exceptionally large badge; Jews who entered Christian homes were to have a foot amputated. Fernando professed himself to be astonished by these measures and, promising that he himself would come up with a more suitable set of measures regarding the segregation of Jews, ordered Jaca in the meantime to treat its Jews precisely as it had treated them before the coming of Vincent.[129]

In August and again in October 1414, Fernando dealt with a difficult situation at Ainsa, whose Jews left in anticipation of Vincent's arrival, fearing maltreatment by the large crowds that would attend his sermons. Royal officials did not allow the Jews to return; in August 1414, Fernando ordered his officials to allow the Jews back, although they were to live separately from Christians.[130] Instead of complying with this royal order, officials at Ainsa seized and inventoried Jewish property and enacted measures so onerous that Ainsa's Jews did not wish to return; fearing that the Jews would flee to seigniorial lands, officials managed to get hold of and detain some of the Jews. The Jews of Ainsa indicated that they would convert to Christianity if allowed to return and reclaim their property. Fernando, writing in October to his son Alfonso, ordered the relinquishing of seized Jewish property and again commanded that Jews be permitted to return to Ainsa, where they could take up residence in their quarter and where a good and religious man should instruct them in the Christian faith.[131]

Fernando's son Alfonso, too, found himself undoing work that Vincent had done or that others had done because they believed it to be in keeping with the friar's wishes. At Calatayud, Alfonso deemed the segregation of Jews to have gone too far. Alfonso supported and upheld restrictions on the ability of Jews and Christians to eat and drink together and to buy and sell to one another. But local officials at Calatayud had forbidden Jews from leaving their quarter at all; Jews were prohibited from going to the local river to draw water and from entering any mill or bakery, even when such trips involved no contact with Christians. Calatayud, as Alfonso bluntly put it, was depriving Jews of their ability to survive and thereby murdering them, for if Calatayud starved its Jews to death, it would be as guilty of murder as surely as if it had killed those Jews with a sword.

Accordingly, Alfonso revoked all local ordinances that must have necessarily led to the Jews' deaths, and he assured local officials that he was acting in consultation with, and with the approval of, Vincent.[132] That might or might not have been true. Both Alfonso and Vincent were at Zaragoza when the former wrote to Calatayud (November 23, 1414), but they seem to have been on bad terms, for, as we will see, Vincent at that very moment seems to have been accusing Alfonso of laxness toward the Jews. Be that as it may, Alfonso's assurance to Calatayud's officials that he had Vincent's support is revealing. It suggests that those local officials believed their actions, which aimed at depriving Jews of the necessities of life, to be in keeping with Vincent's wishes.

Even at Zaragoza, which Vincent visited in response to repeated royal entreaties that he preach to its Jews, there was trouble and royal disapproval. After the friar had preached, Christians kept watch for Jewish and Muslim men supposedly prowling for Christian women with whom to have sexual intercourse and seized Muslim men suspected of having met with success.[133] In March 1415, Fernando wrote to Zaragoza's magistrates and expressed his displeasure with them. Christians there, moved by Vincent's sermons, had been injuring the Jews. Fernando stated that he would write to Vincent about this matter and that, if Zaragoza's Jews were harmed during Holy Week, the king would hold the magistrates responsible.[134]

Fernando went so far as to pardon and defend Jews who publicly confronted and challenged Vincent. The incident in question occurred at Perpignan in 1415, witnessed by a Catalan priest named Guillem Portas who was a student there at the time and who happened to be at Toulouse in the 1450s, when he testified at Vincent's canonization inquest. Portas recalled how, on each day that Vincent had preached at Perpignan, royal officials brought all of the town's Jews (excepting children, the elderly, and the sick) to the place where the friar was speaking. The Jews had to sit in a group and very close to the pulpit so that they could hear Vincent well, so that it could be seen whether they were paying attention to him, and for their own safety. To guarantee further the Jews' safety, royal officials stayed with them throughout the sermon. When preaching to the Jews, Vincent liked to quote the Old Testament both in Latin and in Hebrew, in order to demonstrate that the Jews' understanding of the Old Testament was deficient. Being told by the friar that his understanding of Hebrew was better than their own proved to be too much for some rabbis to bear. One day, when Vincent was preaching at the Dominican house in Perpignan, three or four rabbis stood up and shouted at the Dominican that his, not their, understanding of Hebrew was deficient, for the Old Testament passage in question did not mean what Vincent said that it meant. The rabbis' outburst touched off a disturbance, and royal officials had to restore order; Vincent told the rabbis to meet with him privately after the sermon, so that he could show them how the error was theirs.

Two or three days later, while Vincent was again preaching, he informed his audience that he had indeed met with the rabbis and demonstrated their error and that he was going to have the rabbis fined for causing the disturbance. Following Vincent's remarks, the rabbis in question stood up, admitted their error, begged the friar's pardon, and admitted that they deserved any punishment meted out to

them. Seeing the humiliation of their rabbis, "many Jews" of Perpignan accepted baptism, and at Vincent's request, Benedict XIII ordered that Perpignan's Jews should have to attend four Christian sermons each year (one more than *Etsi doctoris gentium* required). Portas also recalled that, for as long as he was a student at Perpignan, Jews did indeed have to attend those four sermons.[135]

Portas was right about the confrontation, and he was right that Perpignan's Jewish community suffered severe diminution in 1415, but he did not know the whole story.[136] In October 1415, Fernando pardoned Jaume and Vidal Struch, two Jews of Perpignan who had interrupted Vincent's sermon and insulted the Dominican. Members of the royal court had intervened on their behalf; in return for a payment of 1,200 gold florins, Fernando decreed that Jaume and Vidal Struch should suffer no other punishment for their affront to Vincent and specifically forbade the bringing of any inquisitorial process against them.[137]

On at least one occasion, Vincent seems to have grown frustrated with what he perceived to be a lack of sufficiently strong royal support. Alfonso, on November 7, 1414, assured his father that he was requiring Zaragoza's Jews to attend the Dominican's sermons. Two weeks later, the son was on the defensive. Alfonso had made Jews attend Vincent's sermons each time that the friar ordered it (implying that Vincent required Jewish attendance only at some sermons), and Alfonso had even agreed to impose the fine that Vincent publicly levied on the Jews for showing up late. Now, though, someone (apparently Vincent himself) was accusing Alfonso of accepting bribes and failing to make Jews attend the friar's sermons. In defending himself, Alfonso stated that, considering the poverty of the *aljama*, he regarded the 1,000-florin fine as excessive. He had agreed to its imposition only because he wished to keep Vincent happy; he would have liked to see the fine lifted, without giving offense to the Dominican.[138] The father sympathized with his son's plight and took the hint. Less than a month later, Fernando wrote to Alfonso and asked him to tell Vincent that the king, with what he hoped would be Vincent's benevolent forbearance, was forgiving the fine that the friar had decreed.[139]

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Just as Vincent, on the one hand, and Fernando and Alfonso, on the other, were not always in agreement, so, too, Vincent and his Christian listeners differed. In the former case, the problem was Fernando and Alfonso's unwillingness to impose upon Jews the full measure of coercion that Vincent demanded. In the latter case, the problem was his listeners' treatment of the *conversos*, which jeopardized the Dominican's proselytizing efforts.

Vincent and Fernando admitted the possibility that *converso* Christian observance was of a low quality and risked deterioration. On March 20, 1413, acting in response to information provided by an inquisitor, Fernando issued for Palma de Mallorca and for the Kingdom of Majorca a modified version of Ordinance of Cifuentes that required, among other items, Jewish relocation within one year to a walled-in quarter with single gate. Jews had to be separated from *conversos* because contact between the two encouraged the latter

to Judaize by observing the Sabbath on Saturday rather than on Sunday.[140] Judaizing by *conversos* concerned Vincent too. In March 1413, Valencia's *jurats* asked two Valencian ambassadors at the royal court to sound out the king about the separation of Jews from *conversos*, whose physical proximity to their former co-religionists encouraged apostasy, manifested in the *converso* practices of secretly circumcising sons; washing off baptismal chrism and all other signs of baptism from infants; refusing to have their children confirmed or allowing only children too young to remember the ceremony to undergo confirmation; and rejecting communion and last rites on their deathbeds.[141] In April 1413, Valencia's *jurats*, explicitly acting upon Vincent's advice, forbade the city's *conversos* from living grouped together in the old Jewish quarter. Instead, *conversos* had to live scattered among those who were Christians by birth and from whom they would absorb correct belief and practice. *Conversos* living in the old Jewish quarter had 50 days to find new homes outside it, and henceforth no one was to sell or rent a house in the old Jewish quarter to a *converso*. Valencia's *jurats* even provided for the establishment of a commission to help *conversos* to secure their new housing, although logistical problems necessitated the postponement of the order's implementation to July, and it is unclear whether it was ever fully implemented.[142] Vincent also advocated the separation of *conversos* from Jews at Lleida in 1414.[143]

For *conversos* who self-consciously and intentionally Judaized, the Dominican had no sympathy. At Ocaña in August 1411, Vincent noted that *conversos* who "return to infidelity, living like Jews," caused scandal; *conversos* who did not atone for such lapses through penance ought to be burned alive.[144] But elsewhere and more often, Vincent defended the *conversos*, even urging Christians to tolerate Judaizing practices and to accept the *conversos* socially. At (most likely) the city of Murcia in April 1411, Vincent urged Christians to instruct *conversos* in their new faith and to allow them to hold public office.[145] He preached that Christians ought not to vilify *conversos* and call them *marranos*, dogs, and "circumcised ones," especially considering that Jesus and all the apostles had been circumcised.[146] At Valladolid in January 1412, Vincent defended *conversos* who did not eat pork and other foods from which they had once abstained on religious grounds. *Conversos* continued to avoid such foods out of habit and because they had developed no taste for them, just as Vincent himself ate snails but not, as they did in Lombardy, frogs.[147] In May 1414, Vincent again chastised Christians for their maltreatment of *conversos*; it caused *conversos* to regret their conversions and Jews not to convert at all. *Conversos* ought to be allowed to hold any public office. Christian women refused to go to church with *converso* women, but they should do so and show their new co-religionists how to say their prayers, for the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene were both Jews. Parents should allow their children to marry *conversos*.[148]

But Vincent sometimes undercut his own efforts to win Christian acceptance of the *conversos*. To an audience of old Christians, Muslims, and *conversos*, Vincent announced that he would preach "for the information of the *conversos*, for the consolation of us [old Christians], and for the information of the Muslims."[149] Vincent and others like him needed consolation, but the *conversos*

needed information, and in that respect they were more like Muslims than like, as the friar put it, "us."

In defending *conversos*, even those whose lifestyles continued to reflect their Jewish pasts, and in calling upon Christians to accept *conversos* as their social and religious equals, Vincent defined Christians and Jews through belief rather than through blood. Jews who converted to Christianity and accepted the tenets of that faith, but did not eat pork, were Christians, the same as those born into the Christian faith. Yet in demanding that his listeners regard the *conversos* as their religious and social equals, Vincent demanded more than those listeners could or would do. For some old Christians, at least, the *conversos* were to be shunned because they still bore the taint of their Jewish and Muslim origins.

So powerful was the association between religious identity and blood that even Vincent himself could not entirely escape it. At Valladolid in December 1411 and at Tordesillas in January 1412, the friar preached that when Christians and Jews lived in proximity to one another, there was sexual intercourse between adherents of different faiths. Christian children were born who thought that they were Jewish, and Jewish children were born who thought that they were Christian.[150] If religious identity was truly a matter of belief, as Vincent insisted when preaching tolerance for the *conversos*, then there would not and could not have been Jewish children thinking that they were Christian, and Christian children thinking that they were Jewish—children raised by Christian parents in the Christian faith would be Christians, and children raised by Jewish parents in the Jewish faith would be Jews. Yet Vincent spoke otherwise. Children raised to believe in Christianity but of Jewish parentage were Jews without realizing it; children raised to believe in Judaism but of Christian parentage were Christian without realizing it. Seeing as how Vincent, at the cost of his own logical consistency, could not fully eradicate from his own language and thinking the notion that Christian and Jewish identity were matters of blood, his inability to eradicate that notion from the thinking of others comes as little surprise—although the self-conscious articulation of these assumed notions, as well as the working out of their full implications, would have to await the 1430s and 1440s and generational change.[151]

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Neither the Laws of Valladolid nor *Etsi doctoris gentium* remained in effect for as long as a decade. After succeeding his father in 1416, Alfonso treated *Etsi doctoris gentium* and his father's order that it be obeyed as if they were null and void.[152] Not all royal subjects regarded the bull and the order as abrogated, though, and their status remained unclear until February 1419 when a papal legate, acting at Alfonso's insistence, suspended *Etsi doctoris gentium*; Alfonso upheld the suspension even in the face of his subjects' protests, lodged at the Corts of Sant Cugat-Tortosa (1419–1420) and by towns such as Girona.[153] As for the Laws of Valladolid, when Juan II of Castile reached the age of majority in 1418, he suspended them. Nonetheless, to those directly affected by the Laws of Valladolid and by *Etsi doctoris gentium*, six years of the former and four to seven years of the

latter probably felt long enough, and during that time they had no way of knowing that either, much less both, would ever be suspended or revoked. Together, Vincent's sermons, the Laws of Valladolid, the even more injurious local ordinances enacted in places where Vincent preached, the Tortosa Disputation, and *Etsi doctoris gentium* piled pressure on Muslim and most especially on already battered Jewish communities, to whom Fernando offered only some protection and Benedict offered even less. The relatively close relationships among preacher, pope, and king, and their broad (although far from perfect) agreement regarding segregation and conversion left Jewish communities still weakened by the pogroms of 1391 without their most traditional and effective defense mechanism: playing king off pope, pope off king, each off local authorities, and local authorities off each. The result was mass conversion.[154]

Vincent referred to his proselytizing success on several occasions, not just at Murcia in April 1411 but also at Valladolid in December 1411, and then again at Lleida in 1414, where he spoke of baptizing 15,000 Jews and Muslims in Castile during a 13-month period, and of converting with only five sermons a famous Muslim and many others with him in the Kingdom of Valencia.[155] The Muslim in question may have been Hazmet Hannaxe, who, after his conversion, sought papal permission to undertake his own preaching mission among Muslims. He would have liked to preach to Christians as well, but doing so would have required an interpreter, because he spoke only Arabic. Notwithstanding the fact that, as a monolingual speaker of Arabic, he might not have understood a single word that Vincent said, Hazmet Hannaxe took as his own new Christian name: Vincent Ferrer.[156]

In noting and in marveling at the number of Jews and Muslims whom he converted, Vincent was not alone. In March 1413, Juan II mentioned how very few Jews remained at Salamanca.[157] When, in August 1413, Valladolid's Jews arranged to pay rent to a monastery on whose land the new Jewish quarter was partly located, the Jews and the monks agreed that the contract would be void if all of Valladolid's Jews converted to Christianity—both Jews and monks saw such an outcome as a realistic possibility.[158] In 1414, Benedict authorized turning Tamarit de Llitera's synagogue into a church, nearby Jewish houses into a hospital, and another Jewish area into a pauper's cemetery. The buildings were all vacant now, because most Jews at Tamarit de Llitera had converted to Christianity.[159] That same year, Benedict also authorized turning a synagogue into a church at Monzon and on the same grounds: most of Monzon's Jews had converted to Christianity.[160] The conversion of Jews at Palencia and Alcañíz was said to be total.[161] After Vincent's final departure from Spain and then death, his preaching and the conversions that it brought about were well remembered. At Ocaña in 1427, there was only one synagogue instead of the two that had once existed, but one synagogue sufficed in 1427 because, as it was then noted, Jews at Ocaña had been so few ever since Vincent's preaching there.[162] Jaume Riera i Sans estimates that by 1419 the Jews of the Kingdom of Aragon were only one-half as numerous as they had been in 1391; the Jews of Catalonia, one-fifth as numerous; the Jews of the Kingdom of Majorca, one-tenth; the Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia, one-twentieth. He proposes that pogroms, preaching, and

segregation had whittled down the Crown of Aragon's Jewish population to about 8,000 persons.[163]

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Vincent's peacemaking and rehabilitation of prostitutes predated the start of his peripatetic preaching mission in 1399. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he preached to Jews and Muslims or actively pursued their segregation and conversion until after that mission had started. The chronology suggests some sort of connection between Vincent's determination to segregate and to convert, on the one hand, and the apocalypticism at the heart of his mission, on the other. In his Spanish sermons, sometimes the friar did indeed connect the need to segregate and convert Jews and Muslims with the imminence of the apocalypse. Yet Vincent did not make that connection as strongly as he might have.

At Lorca in March 1411, while preaching a sermon to a mixed audience of Christians and Jews, Vincent used his apocalypticism to demonstrate Jewish error. Jews failed to distinguish correctly between prophecies that spoke of Jesus's first coming ("simply and as a pauper") and ones that spoke of His second coming ("in power and magnificence"); specifically, Jews wrongly understood prophecies that referred to the second coming as referring to the first. But Jews would soon see how wrong they were. The Last Judgment would happen soon and very soon, "and I am of the opinion that within 30 years Christ will come, and then you will see the prophecies that speak clearly of the first and of the second coming of Christ."[164] The Dominican drew a direct connection between his apocalypticism and his proselytism on December 9, 1411, at Valladolid, where he offered as proof of the apocalypse's imminence the many Jewish conversions that his preaching had inspired recently at Murcia and Toledo, and that, God willing, would soon happen at Valladolid too.[165] Vincent sometimes argued against Christian Judaizing on apocalyptic grounds. At Lleida in 1414, he urged Christians not to eat lamb on Easter. In the past, Christians could eat lamb on Easter safely, but no longer, for when Antichrist came, he would encourage Judaizing among Christians. To eat lamb on Easter was to imitate Jewish observance of Passover and to Judaize, and so Christians must abandon the practice now lest they make themselves more susceptible to Antichrist's temptations during the tribulation.[166]

Yet Vincent's apocalypticism and his missionary work intersected only occasionally. If, at Lleida in 1414, he warned Christians against eating lamb on Easter because such Judaizing would facilitate the work of Antichrist, at Hellín and at Lorca in 1411, and at Valladolid in 1412, Vincent issued the same warning and also cautioned priests against blessing Easter lamb, but without referring to Antichrist or to the apocalypse at all. Christians should not eat lamb on Easter for the same reason that they should not attend Jewish circumcisions, burials, and other events: to avoid the appearance of honoring Jewish practices.[167] When, at Valladolid, Vincent cited his successful conversions of Jews and Muslims as evidence that his apocalyptic predictions ought to be heeded, he did not ascribe to

those conversions a specific eschatological significance. Rather, the conversions merely signified the divine favor that the friar enjoyed—they were no more eschatologically significant than Vincent's ability to inspire others to practice flagellation, which he cited alongside the conversion of unbelievers as evidence of God's approval of his preaching and teaching.[168] Significantly, Vincent's argument that the conversion of unbelievers and the increasing popularity of flagellation proved the imminence of the apocalypse, voiced at Valladolid in December 1411, did not appear in his letter of July 27, 1412, to Benedict XIII. That letter contained the definitive statement of the Dominican's apocalyptic beliefs; evidently, upon further reflection, Vincent decided that to posit any link between conversion and apocalypse was to stand on shaky ground, and he withdrew the suggestion. Indeed, Vincent cut one possible connection between his missionary success and the apocalypse by insisting that his listeners ought not to expect the conversion of all unbelievers to Christianity before the coming of Antichrist. The total conversion of the world would occur only after Jesus killed Antichrist, not before then.

Vincent's missionary work and the legal measures (most notably physical segregation) that he came to enjoin upon secular rulers were more closely connected to his program of moral reform than to his apocalypticism per se—although Vincent's program of moral reform itself became an outgrowth of his apocalypticism, and to the extent that his proselytizing shared common goals with his program of moral reform, the proselytizing, too, can fairly be described as an outgrowth of his apocalypticism. The close relationship between Vincent's segregationist and missionary work, on the one hand, and his moral reform of Christian society, on the other, is evident in a variant that he sometimes offered of his five-point program for moral reform. At Illescas in August 1411, Vincent presented his familiar five demands: the outlawing of divination, blasphemy, and gaming; the proper observance of the Christian Sabbath; the segregation of "bad women" (*mugieres malas*). He also added, on this occasion and on others, a sixth demand: Jews and Muslims must be segregated from Christians and must not live among Christians.[169]

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When Vincent preached to Jews and Muslims, they formed part of a larger crowd that included Christians, and so the Valencian proselytized piecemeal. Rather than presenting his Jewish and Muslim listeners with a single, sustained, and thoroughly developed argument, much less with a series of such arguments, Vincent instead inserted observations and arguments addressed directly to his Jewish and Muslim listeners throughout sermons preached always with the interests of a Christian audience in mind.[170] On one occasion when Vincent avoided his usual discontinuous and scattershot approach, and instead offered sustained (albeit familiar) arguments for the superiority of Christianity to Islam and most especially to Judaism, he was not preaching to Jews. Instead, he was preaching to a mixed audience consisting of Muslims, old or natural Christians, and *conversos*.[171] By engaging with Judaism most fully when preaching to *conversos* rather

than to Jews, Vincent tacitly admitted the relative unimportance of argument in bringing about the latter's baptism and conversion.

Amos Funkenstein characterizes patristic and early medieval anti-Jewish polemic as "a stereotyped enumeration of proofs taken from the Bible for the truth of Christianity, and the detection of prophecies and prefigurations that were enriched with arguments taken from the present status of the Jews in 'servitude' and dispersion."[172] This description applies almost perfectly to Vincent's sermons. The Jews' present captivity was a sign of divine disfavor.[173] The Old Testament prefigured the New Testament, and those of God's mandates that were figural, such as the command that believers should circumcise male children and observe the Sabbath on Saturday, no longer applied. Their figural nature was evident in the fact that even the ancient Hebrews, knowing them to be figural, did not observe them perfectly. Vincent culled from the Old Testament examples of Jews working, blowing trumpets, defending themselves, and traveling on the Sabbath, as well as examples of Jews who were not circumcised.[174] Moses's failure to enter the Promised Land himself signified that no one could be saved by observing the Mosaic Law.[175] Old Testament prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah had been fulfilled, as was proven by the fact that the Jews had no prophets and received no divine revelation since the time of Jesus.[176] Equally indicative of divine disfavor was how all Jewish attempts at animal sacrifice had gone awry after that time. Flies alighted on the carcasses of sacrificed animals, which stank; suffocating smoke surrounded those performing animal sacrifice, or rain put out the sacrificial fire. Before Jesus's lifetime, no such mishaps occurred, for the flies stayed away, the carcasses did not smell badly, the smoke ascended to heaven, and the weather always cooperated.[177]

Vincent's arguments against Islam were just as commonplace as his arguments against Judaism.[178] The Mosaic Law was inferior to Christian Law because the former promised only earthly things, the latter divine; Islamic Law was patently unjust because it permitted men to have multiple wives but not women to have multiple husbands, and it promised beastly things.[179] Muhammad, worse than the apocalyptic figures of Gog and Magog, was lustful, vain, deceitful, and, "because he was a merchant, greedy." Muslims were only renegade Christians, their religion inspired by the Benedictine monk Sergius who, denied promotion by the pope, went to Arabia, met Muhammad, and falsely confirmed and preached the truth of Muhammad's revelations, thereby giving rise to Islam.[180]

Where Vincent's sermons diverged from patristic and early medieval polemic was in their audience, for the earlier polemical literature "had long ceased to be missionary, that is, to appeal to Jews directly, or even to be based on real experience . . . [I]ts function was both to assist the self-interpretation of Christianity and to supply the community with an explanation for the existence of Jews and the relative tolerance which they enjoyed—or were supposed to enjoy."[181] Vincent, though, posed these arguments directly to Jews and Muslims, and his sermons functioned differently than the patristic and early medieval polemic from which he drew inspiration. The Dominican never explained why Jews continued to exist or why they enjoyed the relative tolerance that they did. On the contrary,

he wanted to circumscribe that tolerance and, ideally, end the need for it through conversion.

For all of the friar's reliance on the most traditional forms of polemic, lived experience informed Vincent's missionary preaching in one crucial way. Vincent adhered to the notion that Jews were obstinate and that their obstinacy blinded them to the truth of Christianity. However, he also confronted and analyzed the practical reasons why, even in the face of his sermons and Christian truth, Jews and Muslims hesitated to convert to Christianity. About Jews' reluctance to forgo the collection of usury from Christians, Vincent could do nothing, but he recognized the plight of rabbis for whom conversion would mean a loss of status, and of well-to-do Jews who feared that after conversion they would be unable to arrange good marriages for their daughters.[182] *Conversos* ought to be allowed to enjoy the titles and privileges of nobility, "for, just as they were great and honored among the Jews, thus much more they ought to be honored and great among us, for there ought not to be any deterioration of their condition, but rather an improvement, if it is possible. And thus we draw them to us, and thus infidels are converted to the faith." Similarly, the property rights of *conversos* must be protected: women must have their whole dowry, and sons must keep their rights of inheritance.[183] At the opposite end of society, poor Jews hesitated to convert because they feared losing access to the Jewish alms that sustained them.[184] Although he recognized these fears and tried to assuage them, Vincent did not always sympathize with them; on one occasion, he grouped together the anxieties of rabbis and the rich, on the one hand, and the anxieties of the poor who depended on charity, on the other, under the rubric of "greed." Habit and custom, too, kept Jews from converting, as did shame (which Christians must help them to overcome) and dread of being called *marranos* and other insulting names by "bad Christians."[185] Christians must not interfere with conversions, as masters sometimes did with their slaves.[186]

In his sermons, Vincent played defense as well as offense, fielding questions from Jews and Muslims about why, if the Messiah had already come, the curses that God had laid upon humanity, such as the need to earn bread by the sweat of one's brow and the pain of women in childbirth, had not been lifted yet. The Dominican refuted Jews and Muslims who claimed that Christians were polytheist worshipers of bread and wine.[187] Jews who considered Christians foolish for confessing their sins to priests were themselves foolish, for the Old Testament contained passages that spoke of confession and getting rid of sin.[188] Jewish resistance was futile, because after Jesus killed Antichrist, all Jews and other infidels would convert to Christianity anyway.[189]

Vincent's proselytism was not purely adversarial. When it was possible to find common ground between Judaism and Christianity, he did so: just as Jews adored God invisibly in the sky, so, too, Christians adored God existing invisibly in the Eucharist.[190] Vincent made concessions too. At Valladolid in December 1411, Vincent allowed that a male *converso* might continue to live with his Jewish wife without sin for a certain (unspecified) length of time, provided that the *converso* had ecclesiastical approval to do so and that there remained hope of the wife's conversion. In the absence of such permission and hope, the husband must dismiss

the wife, but he was then free to remarry.[191] A month later, Vincent allowed that all Jewish marriages not expressly prohibited by the Book of Leviticus, including marriages to cousins, should remain valid after the Jewish husband's conversion to Christianity.[192] The friar even offered one positive enticement to potential converts that might have left his Christian listeners wondering about its underlying fairness. Jews who accepted baptism had an even better chance of entering heaven than those born Christian had. Christians, baptized as infants, might live long enough to commit additional sins that jeopardized their salvations. Jews were fortunate in that they could accept baptism, which wiped away all previous sins, as adults. Adults who died soon after baptism, without having had the opportunity to commit additional sins, enjoyed better salvific odds.[193]

Still, Vincent's sermons did not lack for invective, even if that invective was not as sharp as that attributed to him by fifteenth-century Jewish authors such as Isaac Nathan of Arles.[194] The Jews were sons of a whore who had been repudiated. They lacked the understanding of beasts, for during the birth of Jesus even the animals in the manger had sense enough to recognize in Jesus the Messiah.[195] Jews and Muslims who persisted and died in their faith could not be saved, and Christians and Jews who averred the contrary were wrong to do so.[196]

Vincent employed Hebrew philology in his sermons, using the meaning of Hebrew words to buttress his defense of Christianity and his attack on Judaism. Jews were wrong to criticize Christians for failing to observe the Sabbath on Saturday, for the word Sabbath in Hebrew meant only rest or repose and did not therefore refer to any specific day of the week.[197] Moses's use of "*Eloym*" rather than "*El*" to refer to God showed that Moses knew of the Christian Trinity.[198] When and where Vincent learned what appears to be a smattering of Hebrew is unknown—perhaps it was from Pablo de Santa María during their time together at Avignon. Infrequent though Vincent's excursus into Hebrew philology were, they were still too many for the rabbis of Perpignan who interrupted and confronted Vincent and then had to abase themselves several days later.

Vincent's sermons are just as noteworthy for what is almost totally absent as for what is present: the Talmud, and arguments based on the Talmud and Jewish postbiblical literature. Only on the rarest of occasions did Vincent mention, much less cite, the Talmud in his preaching, such as in January 1412 when he tried to show that Jews were idolaters who worshiped "Bartoch" and "Bencotba."[199]

Christian condemnation of the Talmud and use of it in missionizing both originated in the thirteenth century. In the 1230s, a Jewish convert to Christianity, Nicolas Donin, alleged to the pope that the Talmud blasphemed against Christianity and encouraged anti-Christian behavior. The pope in 1239 ordered the confiscation of all copies of the Talmud throughout Christendom and dispatched Donin to France, where King (later Saint) Louis IX, acting with the cooperation of Franciscans and Dominicans, placed the Talmud on trial, convicted it, and organized burnings of the Talmud at Paris in 1242. Jews protested a subsequent papal order of 1244 to burn surviving copies of the Talmud; the pope, in response, upheld the condemnation but mitigated the penalties imposed at the French Talmud trial. Henceforth, Jews should be allowed to use the Talmud, provided that Christian officials first had expurgated all passages

offensive to Christianity—although periodic burnings of the Talmud still continued for centuries.[200]

Jeremy Cohen argues persuasively that, beyond the issues of Jewish blasphemy and overreliance on the Talmud as opposed to the divinely inspired Old Testament, the existence of the Talmud and a growing awareness of its contents disturbed Christians at an even deeper level. The Talmud and especially its halachic material, "the constantly evolving legal tradition (*halakhah*), which regulated the conduct of every facet of Jewish life," upset the Christian notion that contemporary Jews simply practiced and observed the same unchanging Judaism as their biblical forbearers. This putative and perfect continuity underpinned Christians' acceptance of Jews living in their midst. Jews were "living letters of the law."[201]

However unsettling the Talmud might have been to Christians, they found a use for it. In the decades following the Parisian Talmud trial, as the mendicants began what Robert Chazan calls "the first truly serious Christian proselytizing campaign among the Jews" in perhaps a millennium, friars began to employ the Talmud as part of their missionizing. The mendicants maintained that some parts of the Talmud were fraudulent (in the sense that no genuine oral tradition leading back to the Mosaic period underpinned it). At the same time, they maintained that some parts were authentic and contained passages demonstrating that the Messiah had already come. As Chazan argues, missionary reliance on the Talmud rather than on the Old Testament had several advantages for Christians. First, older patristic and early medieval polemics had not worked; the Talmud offered novelty and new hope of success. Second, debating the Talmud posed no risk to Christians. If Jews should confound Christian arguments about the Talmud, the Christians suffered no loss thereby, because Christians did not hold the Talmud (unlike the Old Testament) to be a sacred and divinely inspired text.[202] In 1263, the *converso* Dominican Pau Cristià engaged in a public disputation with Rabbi Moses Ben Nahman, or Nahmanides, at Barcelona. The status and correct interpretation of the Talmud were at the heart of the Barcelona Disputation.[203]

Of course, not every Dominican converted from Judaism and knew Hebrew. To make the Talmud more accessible to all Christian missionaries, around 1280 the Catalan Dominican Ramon Martí produced his treatise entitled *Pugio fidei* (*Dagger of Faith*), "the magnum opus of medieval Christian missionizing among the Jews." Written in Latin, *Pugio fidei* made Talmudic material available to Christian preachers; it contained rabbinic literature in Hebrew and Aramaic, as well as "painstakingly accurate Latin translations. In many instances, the translation of key words or phrases is buttressed by appeal to medieval Jewish authorities."[204] While Talmud-based argumentation did not entirely displace older lines of argumentation, nonetheless *Pugio fidei* became "a regular and heavily utilized weapon in the arsenal of missionaries."[205]

Vincent did not take up the *Dagger of Faith* that Ramon Martí had smithed. Instead, he hearkened back to a pre-mendicant (indeed a patristic and early medieval) polemical approach that centered on Messianic passages of the Old Testament. Cátedra notes Vincent's neglect of and apparent disinterest in the

Talmud, calling it "strange," which, in a sense, it was, considering its importance to Benedict XIII.[206] The Talmud loomed large in the Tortosa Disputation and in *Etsi doctoris gentium*. In another sense, though, Vincent's disinterest in the Talmud was not at all strange, but rather quite characteristic of him. Shunning the intellectual developments of the previous two centuries, embracing an earlier patristic and early medieval tradition, and then putting that older tradition to a use that the older tradition's originators did not foresee or intend: that was not just Vincent's modus operandi regarding conversion. It was also how he approached the apocalypse.

# CHAPTER 6

## ANTICHRIST, 1403

Vincent Ferrer returned to Spain after a decade spent preaching of the apocalypse's imminence. He had come to believe not only that the world would end soon but also that Antichrist had been born in 1403. Preaching to Spanish audiences, the Dominican expanded his proofs of the apocalypse's imminence, as well as his counterarguments against those who disagreed; at Alcañíz on July 27, 1412, Vincent penned a letter to Benedict XIII that contains the wandering friar's most systematic elaboration and defense of his apocalyptic views. The letter treats "those things that I have preached throughout the world for a long time, namely, concerning the end of the world and the time of Antichrist" and states that Vincent wrote it because Benedict had bade him to do so.[1] The pope may have been wondering about the orthodoxy of Vincent's apocalypticism, because the Dominican concluded his letter by acknowledging that all the views contained therein were subject to the pope's "correction and determination."[2] Nonetheless, what had become the core concept of his apocalypticism, namely, Antichrist's birth in 1403, remained the core concept. How he preached about the apocalypse changed, but the hallmarks of Vincent's apocalypticism in Spain and beyond were continuity and consistency.

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Vincent's letter to Benedict and the Iberian sermons that he preached beforehand share much in common with his Fribourg sermons of 1404 and especially his Montpellier sermons of 1408. The four methods that Antichrist would use to deceive and destroy Christians remained the same, even down to the detail of Antichrist quartering children ripped from their mothers' arms ("but you [the mothers] will be saved and the children will be martyrs").[3] As regards how Antichrist would deceive and torment believers, the few differences are matters of additional illustrative detail—when bribing knights to follow him, Antichrist and his servants would claim that he was taking them into his service in order to destroy the infidels (who, Vincent elsewhere noted, would be Antichrist's first and most enthusiastic followers).[4] The story of the three lances continued to figure prominently: Jesus would have destroyed the world more than 100 years

earlier if Mary had not stayed His hand. The prorogation was now over, though, and Vincent held the Franciscans and his fellow Dominicans especially responsible: "sadly it must be reported that those religious orders given to the conversion and correction of the world now really are destroyed, so puny is their religious observance."[5] The time between the death of Antichrist and the end of the world continued to be 45 days, a time of penance.[6]

Vincent also adhered firmly to 1403 as the year of Antichrist's birth. Twice in Castile—at Toledo in July 1411 and at Ayllón in (likely September) 1411—the friar preached that Antichrist had been born eight years earlier. At Valladolid in December 1411, he preached that Antichrist had been born eight-and-a-half years earlier.[7] In Vincent's letter to Benedict of July 1412, Antichrist was now nine years old.[8] Taken together, these references indicate that Vincent believed Antichrist to have been born in June 1403. And the world would end "soon, very soon, and indeed shortly" (*cito et bene cito, ac valde breviter*).[9] In Spain, Vincent ventured some estimates regarding when the world would actually end. To Jews of Lorca in March 1411, the friar predicted that Jesus's second coming would occur within 30 years.[10] At Tortosa in 1413, he did not expect the world to last long past 1433.[11] José Guadalajara Medina, noting how Vincent consistently adhered to a birth date of June 1403 in his Iberian sermons, proposes that the Dominican expected the world to end in January 1437.[12]

In Spain, Vincent continued to refute objections that he had refuted earlier: that the number of years between Jesus's lifetime and the coming of Antichrist must correspond to the number of Psalms and that as many years must pass between Jesus's lifetime and the coming of Antichrist as had passed between the creation of the world and Jesus's lifetime.[13] Vincent also repeated proofs of Antichrist's birth that he had already offered, sometimes adding new details. He continued to cite the levitating Franciscan novices, specifying now that the incident took place in 1403 and that the man who told him about it was a trustworthy Venetian or Genoese merchant. The friar continued to cite the Italian hermit who had sought him out in 1403 and the exorcised demon who, in Italy in 1407 or 1408 and to the consternation of his fellow demons, had admitted to Antichrist's birth. Vincent continued to mention the sick friar healed by Jesus's touch and commanded to travel throughout the world preaching the imminence of the apocalypse, adding in 1412 that, in addition to visions and "many signs," even the Bible legitimated the sick friar's mission. The Book of Revelation speaks of three preachers to be sent "under the name of angels" to men before the end of the world. People believed the sick friar to be one of those three preachers, an angel of the apocalypse.[14] Vincent, too, believed it. In an undated Castilian sermon, he preached of how Jesus, who is like the sun, had sent John the Baptist at dawn. Now that it was dusk, Jesus had sent another messenger, the "messenger of the end of the world" foretold by the Book of Revelation.[15]

To his earlier arguments demonstrating the apocalypse's imminence, the Dominican added new ones. Like the Italian hermit in 1403, others had sought out Vincent, at Ayllón and the city of Murcia; they confirmed that Antichrist had been born in 1403.[16] A new proof figuring both in Vincent's sermons and in

his letter to Benedict was the presence of Antichrist's ambassadors in the world. They traveled about and maligned Vincent.[17]

More numerous than new proofs were Vincent's new counterarguments against those who objected to his assertions. Doubters claimed that the end of the world could not be imminent because Enoch and Elias had not yet come; because there had been no signs in the sky, and not all infidels had converted to Christianity; because Christians had not conquered Jerusalem and did not rule there; because the Gospel had not yet been preached throughout the world; and because they had seen rainbows recently, and no rainbows would be seen during the 40 years preceding the apocalypse, on account of a prolonged drought that would make possible the conflagration that would consume the world.

Vincent refuted each of these. Rainbows offered no defense against Antichrist, and no 40-year drought (and corresponding lack of rainbows) would precede Antichrist's arrival. The fire that consumed the world would be divine rather than natural and so needed no drought; furthermore, a 40-year drought would wipe out humanity, leaving no one for Antichrist to destroy when he entered the world. Christians had conquered Jerusalem at the time of the First Crusade; continuing Christian rule there was never eschatologically necessary, so the subsequent Christian loss of Jerusalem to Islam was irrelevant. Vincent cited Luke 21:24–27, which speaks of Jerusalem being trampled by the gentiles "until the times of nations are finished," as evidence that Jesus Himself foretold the Christian loss of Jerusalem before the coming of Antichrist. Nor should Christians expect to reconquer Jerusalem again, because the First Crusade had taken place before plague carried away so many people, leaving alive too few Christians to take it back. The Gospel had indeed been preached throughout the world, by the Apostles and then by the Franciscans and Dominicans. Enoch and Elias would come with, not before, Antichrist. Signs in the sky and the conversion of all infidels would happen after, not before, the coming of Antichrist. For good measure, Vincent also refuted those who accepted that the conversion of infidels would occur after rather than before Antichrist's coming, but who, on that account, claimed that the length of the period between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment must be more than 45 days, which would be too little time to bring about so many conversions. To them, Vincent replied that 45 days were ample, because the conversions would be achieved by supernatural means.[18] In short, all the apocalyptic preconditions that needed to be met had been met. Preconditions that had not been met were not actually preconditions at all.

The only statement attributed to Vincent that served to delay, however briefly, the end of the world appears in the *Relación a Fernando de Antequara*, which has Vincent saying at Toledo in 1411 that the world would not end while the sick friar's preaching mission lasted.[19] But that delay would not be very long. According to a Castilian report of the same sermon, Vincent also stated that the sick friar did not have long to live.[20]

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The two most significant developments in Vincent's apocalypticism between his initial return to Spain and his letter of July 27, 1412, are the following: first, Vincent now linked the papal schism and the apocalypse; second, he openly espoused as his own the view that biblical injunctions against knowing the time of Antichrist's coming—what Robert Lerner dubs the "uncertainty principle"—were obsolete, rendered inapplicable by Antichrist's birth.

In his *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* written some three decades earlier, Vincent had considered the possibility that the schism and the apocalypse were linked in some way. He found that apocalyptic biblical texts, namely, II Thessalonians and the Book of Daniel, did refer to the schism. The papal schism was the "falling away" or *discessio* mentioned in II Thessalonians and one of the four schisms prefigured by the four creatures that Daniel had seen. Back in Spain, Vincent still regarded the schism as the *discessio* of II Thessalonians.[21] Daniel's vision, too, continued to prefigure the schism, although in a significantly different way than it had for Vincent back in 1380. In the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate*, the four creatures prefigured the four schisms of which the papal schism was one; now, the beast's ten horns prefigured the ten divisions of Christianity, while the little horn that emerged among the ten prefigured Antichrist. Both at Valladolid in December 1411 and in his letter to Benedict XIII, Vincent reckoned that the ten divisions signified by the ten horns were: (1) the Indians under Prester John; (2) the "Orientals under some tyrant or other"; (3) the "Africans under Muhammad"; (4) the Greeks under the emperor of Constantinople; (5) the Armenians under their king; (6) the Georgians under a pseudo-prophet; (7) the "Christians of the Belt" (Copts and other eastern Christians) under a pseudo-prophet; (8) the Italians under Bartholomeo of Bari (Bartholomeo Prignano, or Urban VI); (9) the French under Petros Philargis (Alexander V, elected as pope at the Council of Pisa in 1409); and (10) the Spanish under Benedict XIII, "the true vicar of Christ."[22] (Vincent continued to see schism in ethnic terms, notwithstanding the fact that not all supporters of Urban were Italian, not all supporters of Alexander were French, and not all supporters of Benedict were Spanish.)

As for why it matters that Vincent came to identify the papal schism with the beast's ten horns among which the little horn emerged, rather than with the fourth and final beast that Daniel saw: in doing so, the friar gave the schism a direct role in the historical process that culminated in the birth of Antichrist. In 1380, Vincent had affirmed his confidence in the power of Jesus to kill the four creatures, including the beast that prefigured the schism, before the coming of Antichrist. But his confidence had been misplaced; Jesus did not kill the beast and end the schism before Antichrist's birth. Vincent therefore needed to rethink Daniel's vision and where the schism fit into it. Accordingly, the friar identified the schism not with the killable beast but with the beast's inanimate and imperishable horns, among which emerged the little horn that was Antichrist.

At Valladolid in 1411, Vincent offered another ten-part reading of history that again linked the schism to Antichrist's coming. The friar explained how the ten plagues that had befallen the Egyptians before the Exodus prefigured the ten afflictions that had befallen Christians since the time of Jesus. The ninth Egyptian plague, the plague of shades and darkness, prefigured the papal schism. Just as

the Egyptians could not see or know on account of the shades, so, too, Vincent's contemporaries could not see or know which of the three popes was the true pope. And just as, during the plague of shades and darkness, the only way to see the truth was through Moses and Aaron, so, too, Vincent's contemporaries "cannot know who is the true pope, unless God, through His grace, wants to reveal it to them by some holy person. And if you want to know which of the three is the true pope, I tell you that it is Pope Benedict de Luna, because I know something of that business through the grace of God, and they believed that they could take two popes and make one, and they made three." The tenth Egyptian plague, the deaths of the firstborn, prefigured the coming of Antichrist.[23]

Over time, therefore, Vincent came to connect the schism to the apocalypse, but the process was slow (neither in his Swiss sermons of 1404 nor in his Montpellier sermons of 1408 did the Valencian connect the two), and even in Spain, the connection between schism and apocalypse was not especially strong. At Toledo on July 7, 1411, Vincent preached that God would allow Antichrist to torment Christians on account of the seven different ways in which Christians betrayed God. One of those betrayals was disobedience to God and to the Church, a disobedience manifest in the papal schism; especially loathsome were secular rulers who transferred, or who threatened to transfer, their obedience from one pope to another in return for temporal rewards.[24] Here, the schism was not a singular and discrete link in a chain of events leading to the apocalypse, but merely an occasion for sinning that justified the loosing of Antichrist. Furthermore, the schism was only one of seven acts of betrayal, each of which, Vincent himself emphasized, was sufficiently heinous to warrant the suffering that Antichrist would bring. By implication, even if the schism had never happened, the other six acts of betrayal would still have superabundantly justified God's permitting the birth of Antichrist; even if the schism had been brought to an end, Antichrist's arrival would not have been delayed at all. The next day, Vincent offered the schism as one of eight proofs—but only one of eight—that the world would end soon, very soon, and indeed shortly.[25]

One can only speculate as to why Vincent finally came to link the schism to the apocalypse. Perhaps it was because, in Spain, he found himself more frequently in close proximity to Benedict XIII than had been the case during the first decade of his mission. To posit no connection between schism and apocalypse was to devalue Benedict's travails; to link them was to elevate those travails to world-historical significance. Judging from Vincent's letter of 1412 to the pope, Benedict began to take a greater interest in Vincent's apocalypticism after he and the friar had retreated to Spain; presumably the pope preferred elevation to devaluation. As for why Vincent linked the schism and the apocalypse so slowly and weakly, perhaps his memory of the reservations that he had expressed in the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* restrained him.

Regarding the uncertainty principle's obsolescence, at Toledo on July 8, 1411, Vincent acknowledged that some listeners would be shocked by his claim that he and his contemporaries knew something that had been hidden to the Apostles and to all the saints.[26] In his letter to Benedict, Vincent states early on: "The second conclusion is that, before the birth of Antichrist, that time [of his coming] was

wholly (*generaliter*) hidden from all men," and the Valencian waited until later in the letter to state and develop the second conclusion's logical and more provocative corollary: that after the birth of Antichrist, the time of Antichrist's coming was no longer hidden from men.[27] Yet in Spain, with some lingering trepidation but unequivocally, the friar made that argument, doing so both in sermons preached at Toledo and in his letter to Benedict. Jesus withheld knowledge of the time of Antichrist's coming from humanity—even from the Apostles and from the Church Fathers—and from all generations that lived before Vincent's own day and age, because for them the time of Antichrist's coming was immaterial. They would not experience it in their lifetimes and be put to the test. But for Vincent's contemporaries, the time of Antichrist's arrival was quite material, for they would be put to the test, and so the uncertainty principle no longer applied, at least not in the same way that it had before Antichrist's birth:

> And it is just as if it was said to the knights and learned men of Spain, "it is not for you to know the time or the day of a future war in the lands of the Tartars, or in Armenia, because it does not affect you." But nonetheless, to know the time of that Tartar or Armenian War is of great interest to the Tartars and to the Armenians, even to the peasants, who will be affected and who will prepare themselves. Thus it was not necessary for the Apostles or the Church Fathers or the saints of old to know the time of Antichrist and the end of the world, even though those men were most illuminated by the revelations of divine wisdom. Nevertheless, it is expedient and very necessary that, after the birth of Antichrist, men know the time in order to prepare and to fortify themselves (*ut homines post nativitatem Antichristi scirent illud tempus ad se premuniendum et preparandum*) even though they are sinners and ignorant in comparison to the Apostles and Church Fathers and other saints of old.[28]

The Dominican used the same analogy at Toledo, merely substituting Hungary for Armenia as his example of a faraway place.[29]

Vincent concluded his letter of 1412 with a carefully worded statement:

> Wherefore, from all the aforesaid, I have formed in my mind an opinion and an apparently true belief that, although not certain knowledge, is worthy of being preached concerning the birth of Antichrist nine years ago . . . the aforesaid conclusion, which states that the time of Antichrist and the end of the world will come soon, very soon, and indeed shortly, I preach everywhere, with assurance and certitude, with God's cooperation and confirmation through the following signs. [A series of scriptural citations follows.][30]

Vincent's belief that Antichrist was born in 1403 might not be "certain knowledge," and the friar held out the possibility that he might be wrong about the date of Antichrist's birth. Yet Vincent maintained that it was "apparently true" and therefore "worthy of being preached" (*predicabilis*), and even if he had not gotten the date of Antichrist's birth quite correct, he was certain about the imminence of the end. Vincent's alter ego, the sick friar touched and healed by Jesus, was even more convinced: "Because, therefore, the said friar has now traveled throughout the world for 13 years, and is still traveling continuously, preaching

daily, and working in various ways, and now he is an old man more than 60 years old, the aforesaid conclusion is held by him as most certain (*pro certissima*)."[31]

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As Richard Emmerson points out, "Medieval apocalypticism and belief in Antichrist resulted from serious theological and exegetical interpretations of the obscure language of the biblical apocalypses. They were products of intellectual, rather than naïve or opportunistic, endeavor."[32] A crucial biblical text was the Book of Daniel, "the most important Old Testament source of the Antichrist tradition . . . and . . . the major source for the medieval portrayal of Antichrist as a great tyrant, a warrior who would conquer all nations." The Book of Daniel also bequeathed a problem of dating, for it speaks of an "abomination" that will last for 1,290 days, but also speaks of the "blessed who wait" for 1,335 days, leaving a gap of 45 days between the end of the abomination and the end of the blessed's waiting. The gap's nature and purpose exercised medieval theologians.[33] From the New Testament, the crucial texts were I John and II John, which specifically mention Antichrist by name and connect him to the events leading to the end of the world; they also suggest that, in addition to the Antichrist who will come toward the end of time, there can and will be other Antichrists who come before then, because anyone who denies Christ is an Antichrist.[34] II Thessalonians adds further details concerning the end of the world: there will first be a "falling away" from Christianity; at the end of time, a deceiver will come who works false miracles and thereby tests the faith of Christians; human beings cannot defeat the deceiver, but Jesus will come and kill him.[35] The Book of Revelation contributes a set of symbols, such as the seven seals and the seven-headed beast that will rule for 42 months, echoing the 1,290 days of the Book of Daniel. The Book of Revelation also speaks of Jesus binding Satan and ruling with the saints for 1,000 years, at which point Satan will be loosed, only to be defeated, along with Gog and Magog, once and for all by Christ.[36]

Theologians and exegetes strove to make sense of these various pronouncements, and when doing so, they had to remain mindful of Jesus's admonitions, both in Matthew 24:36 and Acts 1:7, that no human could know the times or days that God had chosen for Jesus's return and the apocalypse—the uncertainty principle.[37] Augustine of Hippo and his contemporary Jerome (d. 420) rejected the notion that the Book of Revelation foretells an earthly kingdom over which Jesus will rule for 1,000 years. Augustine stressed that the world was old and would only grow more decrepit with the passage of time; there would be no future improvement. The 1,000 years of which the Book of Revelation speaks ought to be understood symbolically rather than literally, and it refers to the present reign of the Church. Jerome, too, rejected the idea that Jesus with the saints would reign over an earthly kingdom for 1,000 years and instead postulated that their kingdom would be celestial. Regarding the 45 days that followed the death of Antichrist, Jerome suggested that it would be a period of peace whose purpose was to test the saints' faith once more.[38] Regarding when Antichrist would come, Augustine adhered to Jesus's admonitions closely: no one knew, no one

had ever known or would ever know, and there was no point in trying to figure it out.[39]

Some 1,000 years separated Augustine and Jerome from Vincent, and during that time, Augustinian and Hieronymite ideas remained influential. But theologians and exegetes also tweaked Augustine's and Jerome's readings of apocalyptic biblical passages, and as they did so, they came closer and closer to cobbling these disparate and allusive passages into a single coherent narrative concerning the end of the world. Bede in the seventh century and Haimo of Auxerre in the ninth century followed Jerome in positing that 45 days would elapse between the death of Antichrist and the end of the world. Bede, Haimo, and then in the tenth century Adso of Montier-en-Der shared Augustine and Jerome's hostility to the notion of a 1,000-year earthly kingdom over which Jesus and the saints would rule.[40] But in his influential *vita* of Antichrist, Adso deviated from Jerome as regards the period between the death of Antichrist and the end of the world. According to Adso, that period would be one of penance rather than peace, and it would last for 40 rather for 45 days. As for why Adso reduced the period to 40 days, it was perhaps to reinforce his contention that the time was to be used for penance—the penitential period of Lent lasted 40 days.[41] Bede, Haimo, and Adso also deviated slightly from Jerome, perhaps in deference to the uncertainty principle, by entertaining the possibility that the 45 days (or, in Adso's case, 40 days) should not be considered a precise reckoning. At times, Bede seems not to have taken the 45 days literally; Haimo held that the period following the death of Antichrist would be 45 days and a little bit longer; Adso stated there would be time added to the 40 days following Antichrist's death, but gave no indication of how much extra time there would be.[42]

Augustinian and Hieronymite ideas persisted into the second millennium; thirteenth-century Dominicans such as Vincent of Beauvais and Hugh of Saint-Cher stuck closely to Jerome's assertion that 45 days would follow the death of Antichrist.[43] But during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, apocalyptic interpretations veered farther and farther away from the Augustinian and Hieronymite tradition. As Robert Lerner demonstrates in a series of now classic articles, "by 1500 printing presses were turning out numerous expressions of chiliasm—that is to say of hope for impending, supernaturally inspired, dramatic betterment on earth before the End—that were fundamentally at odds with St. Augustine's pessimistic views."[44]

The crux of the problem was Jerome's puzzling statement that the 45 days following the death of Antichrist would be a period of peace that tested the saints in their faith. As tests of faith go, having to live in peace is not especially trying. Adso addressed this problem by turning the period from one of peace into one of penance. Others addressed the problem by following Jerome in designating the period as one of peace, but abandoning his notion that the period would serve to test the saints' faith; at the same time, they expanded the 45-day period itself, bringing it ever closer to the 1,000 years mentioned in the Book of Revelation. Twelfth-century authors such as Honorius of Autun, Hildegard of Bingen, Otto of Freising, and Gerhoh of Reichersburg did not speak of 40 or 45 days following

the death of Antichrist and simply left the duration undefined; they also saw this period in an increasingly positive light, as a period when (as the *Glossa ordinaria* puts it) the saints would not be tried but rather "refreshed" and when Jews and other unbelievers would convert to Christianity. There were, of course, differences among these twelfth-century authors, with Gerhoh going so far as to say that the period following the death of Antichrist would be one of great joy, and Honorius stating that the period would last a long time.[45]

Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) departed even more dramatically from the Augustinian tradition. Augustine posited that human history passed through six ages; that he and his contemporaries lived in the sixth age, which would end with the Last Judgment and give way to an eternal seventh age during which the world no longer existed; and that the future held, until the time of Antichrist's coming, his death at the hands of Christ, and the Last Judgment, no hope for anything other than increasing decrepitude. Joachim reconfigured Augustine's ages as a new and original division of human history into three overlapping "*status*," each of which corresponded to a person of the Holy Trinity. Joachim situated himself toward the end of the second *status* and near the full emergence of the third *status*, which had begun with the life of Saint Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century. The second *status* would end with the coming and defeat of the "Great Antichrist." The fully emerged third *status*, the *status* of the Holy Spirit, would not be a period of decline; rather, it would be a period of advance in the form of universal Christianity, world peace, spiritual understanding, and ecclesiastical improvement. The third *status* was of unknown duration, but it would end with the coming of a second Antichrist who, like the Great Antichrist, would initiate a period of persecution. Then Jesus would defeat the second Antichrist, bringing an end to the world and all history.

Joachim gave no date for the coming of the Great Antichrist and the full emergence of the third *status*, but he expected it to happen within two generations of his own lifetime, and those influenced by his ideas focused on the year 1260—perhaps not coincidentally, that year also saw the emergence of Europe's first mass flagellant movements. When 1260 came and went without the appearance of the Great Antichrist, some who had accepted Joachim's ideas became disillusioned and abandoned their hopes for the third *status*. Others remained Joachimists and continually moved the date back.[46]

During the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the trends toward leaving undefined or explicitly expanding the amount of time to follow Antichrist's death, and depicting that time as both earthly and good, accelerated. The Catalan physician Arnau de Vilanova (d. 1311) postulated that the period following the death of Antichrist would last for 45 years. Theologians such as Jean Quidort and Henry of Harclay, the Chancellor of Oxford University, criticized Arnau de Vilanova for misinterpreting the Book of Daniel, but Nicholas of Lyra, "the most prestigious fourteenth-century authority on Scripture," inclined toward and came to be associated with the notion that 45 years would follow the death of Antichrist. The Franciscan Jean de Roquetaillade (d. 1366) predicted 45 years of war after Antichrist's death and then a full 1,000 years of Jesus reigning on earth.[47] Vincent's contemporary, the Catalan Franciscan Francesc

Eiximenis (d. 1409), likewise wrote in 1385 that Jesus's reign on earth would last for 1,000 years.[48]

Some of Joachim of Fiore's ideas figured in the writings of others who used those ideas in ways that Joachim himself would have rejected. In the 1250s, the Franciscan Gerardo di Borgo San Donnino proclaimed that the life of Francis of Assisi marked the advent of the third *status* and that the Franciscans would bring about the earthly improvements that Joachim predicted in his writings, which constituted an "Eternal Gospel" superseding the New and the Old Testaments. For these statements, the Franciscan's writings incurred papal condemnation.[49] Joachim also influenced the Franciscan Peter John Olivi (d. 1298), who calculated that the period of peace between the (initial) defeat of Antichrist and the Last Judgment would last for nearly 700 years and who, like the controversial Gerardo di Borgo San Donnino, saw in the life of Francis of Assisi an eschatologically significant event.[50] Olivi took up Joachim's distinction between the "Great Antichrist" and a second Antichrist to follow and gave a name to that second Antichrist: the "Mystical Antichrist" (*Antichristus mysticus*), which was not so much an individual person as "the body of evildoers within Christianity, consisting of both evil laity (carnal Christians and their leaders) and also the wicked clergy (false religious and false prophets)."[51]

As theologians and exegetes increasingly disregarded biblical and Augustinian strictures against trying to identify the specifics of the apocalypse, they set specific dates for Antichrist's arrival and sometimes even identified specific contemporaries as Antichrist: "one extremely popular eschatological jingle predicted the birth of Antichrist for 1250, but when that year passed uneventfully the date was successively postponed to 1260, 1290, 1300, 1310, 1360, 1365, 1374, 1400, and probably several other years as well."[52] Jean de Roquetaillade put the coming of Antichrist at 1366.[53] Friedrich von Braunschweig claimed in 1392 that Antichrist would come within four-and-a-half years and that a great Franciscan (whose herald Braunschweig claimed to be) would kill the Antichrist, become pope and Holy Roman emperor, and reign for 1,000 years. For these claims, the German was convicted of heresy.[54]

Assertions that Antichrist had already been born sometimes accompanied predictions of when Antichrist would begin the tribulation. A letter, written circa 1305 and supposedly by a certain Brother Columbine, announced that Antichrist had been born in 1287 and would begin the tribulation in 1316. A letter dated 1385 and allegedly written by the Grand Master of the Hospitallers claimed that Antichrist had already born; it circulated and excited comment through the end of the fifteenth century.[55] In different treatises, Arnau de Vilanova assigned different dates to the moment when Antichrist would begin the tribulation, dates ranging from 1365 to 1378—which would have made for a rather elderly Antichrist, because in 1305 Vilanova stated that Antichrist had been born three years earlier.[56] A likely pseudonymous author calling himself Telesforo di Cosenza, writing in the second half of the fourteenth century and much influenced by Joachim of Fiore, claimed that the Mystical Antichrist had been born around 1365 and that the Great Antichrist would be defeated in 1393.[57]

As for the identification of specific individuals as Antichrists, Peter John Olivi suggested that the pope might become Antichrist's servant and persecute the saints and that Antichrist might himself become pope.[58] In the late fourteenth century, John Wycliffe identified both the Roman pope and the Avignon pope with Antichrist; by January 1412, Jan Hus's followers publicly proclaimed that Antichrist had entered the world in the form of the pope, even though Hus's own position was slightly more reserved—he maintained that a pope might be Antichrist, but he did not identify any specific contemporary popes as being such.[59]

The advent of the papal schism in 1378 increased apocalyptic speculation. In the early years of the schism, Pierre d'Ailly contemplated its apocalyptic implications and seems to have expected Antichrist to arrive around 1400. At roughly the same time, his friend and pupil Nicolas de Clamanges speculated that the apocalypse was perhaps no more than three years in the future. Matthias of Janov, an affiliate of the University of Paris, claimed that Antichrist had already been born and had fooled that University and its members, a claim that caused controversy in 1380.[60]

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Where did Vincent fit into these various traditions of apocalyptic thought? Very little was original in his descriptions of the apocalypse. The four ways in which Antichrist would assault Christians were already standardized by the time of Honorius of Autun, and Vincent's contention that Jews would welcome Antichrist as their messiah was also an old one.[61] The friar's notion that the world had grown old and was in irreversible decline was Augustinian. His argument that the period following the death of Antichrist was to be used for penance, rather than for refreshment (much less enjoyment), put him in the tradition of Adso of Montier-en-Der, as did Vincent's occasional assertion that the period between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment would last for 40 rather than 45 days. Vincent's insistence in his letter of 1412 that the period following the death of Antichrist would last for 45 days, and not a moment longer, put him in the tradition of Jerome. As Lerner observes, Vincent showed himself to be a "true literalist" whose strict adherence to the Book of Daniel, and especially to Jerome's interpretation of that book, represented among the various positions articulated by his lifetime one of the "extremes," with those who embraced an earthly and 1,000-year-long period of peace and even joy representing the other extreme.[62] It is also noteworthy that, while his contemporaries and immediate predecessors singled out specific individuals as the Antichrist, Vincent never did so—yet another recent trend that he bucked.

Vincent's apocalypticism did not merely rehash the ideas of Jerome and Adso: the latter was interested in biographical matters such as the places of Antichrist's birth and upbringing, subjects that, as we will see, Vincent explicitly refused to address.[63] On the whole, though, Vincent embraced patristic and early medieval apocalyptic ideas and distanced himself from more recent developments. Unlike the theologians and exegetes mentioned above, Vincent was first and foremost

a preacher, but it is difficult to see how his preaching mission would have led him to embrace patristic and early medieval apocalyptic interpretations. If anything, one would expect it to have done the opposite. Twelfth-century exegetes such as Honorius of Autun and Gerhoh of Reichersburg, who extended the length of time following the defeat of Antichrist and made it into a period of joy, "seem to have been inspired by intense wishes: what they could not realistically hope for in the present they could predict for the miraculous but still earthly future."[64] By hewing to older interpretations, Vincent deprived his listeners of the hope that penitence in the present and steadfastness during the coming tribulation would be rewarded with both 1,000 years of earthly joy and then the bliss of heaven; he left audiences with their expectations of the latter, but dashed their dreams of the former. The patristic and early medieval content of Vincent's apocalypticism is perhaps a matter of temperament, for, as we have seen, when preaching to Jews the Dominican eschewed the innovations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and instead used arguments that would not have been out of place 1,000 years earlier. Or it might have purely intellectual roots; perhaps Vincent simply regarded Jerome's reading of the Book of Daniel as more accurate than any other. But perhaps his apocalypticism had an emotional wellspring too. Vincent's sense of the world's decrepitude and sinfulness—a point to which we will return in the Conclusion—might not have allowed him to conceive of it as a place where human beings could dwell in happiness for 1,000 years under any circumstances.

Be that as it may, Vincent's insistence on the apocalypse's imminence and his repeated assertions that Antichrist was born in 1403 put the Dominican decidedly outside the Augustinian and Hieronymite tradition to which he otherwise held. By claiming that Antichrist had been born and was advancing toward adulthood, Vincent put the coming tribulation tangibly close to the present; his listeners, if they did not die in the near future, would witness it in their own lifetimes. Vincent's claims also put him outside the Thomist tradition. Certainly Vincent continued to cite his fellow Dominican, and his indifference to Joachimist ideas was consistent with Aquinas's hostility to them.[65] But Aquinas doused apocalyptic expectations by noting that "the full spread of the Gospel had not in fact been achieved throughout the entire world."[66] Vincent fired up apocalyptic expectations by preaching that the full spread of the Gospel had in fact been achieved throughout the entire world. Above all else, Vincent demonstrates the broad range of available apocalyptic options. He formulated an apocalypticism that blended a deeply conservative content, rooted not in the ideas of Joachim of Fiore but in Church fathers such as Jerome, with an intense and characteristically late medieval sense of the apocalypse's imminence.

Vincent's apocalypticism also demonstrates the broad range of options available during the papal schism, for when contemporaries such as Pierre d'Ailly and Nicholas de Clamanges zigged, Vincent zagged. The schism's opening years had seen an eruption of visions and apocalyptic prophecies, but by 1400 the visions and prophecies were many fewer, and those who initially had spoken of the schism as an eschatologically significant event were retreating from that position.[67] Already by 1394, Henry of Langenstein wrote to Pierre d'Ailly suggesting

that, in Laura Smoller's characterization, "an apocalyptic interpretation of present events served only to hinder efforts to end the Schism." By 1403, d'Ailly himself was backpedalling from his earlier position; in 1414, he enlisted astrology to demonstrate that the apocalypse was not necessarily imminent, provided that the schism was brought to an end. On the basis of his astrological studies, d'Ailly claimed that the date of Antichrist's arrival would be, in fact, 1789—a year that later proved to be of some historical significance, but not quite in the way that d'Ailly expected.[68]

Vincent followed a different trajectory. During the opening years of the schism, when visions proliferated and apocalyptic expectations rose, he rejected such visions and expressed his confidence in Jesus's ability to end the schism before the apocalypse came to pass. In 1399, when the pace of visionary experience had slowed down and when those who earlier had accepted the schism's apocalyptic significance were backing away from that position, Vincent began to preach that Antichrist's arrival was indeed imminent, as a vision had revealed to him.

The Dominican and those who had rushed to assert the schism's apocalyptic significance did not just reverse positions with one another, though. That the disastrous deterioration of Benedict XIII's position in 1398 triggered first Vincent's withdrawal from the papal palace and then his decision to leave Avignon in 1399 is plausible. In 1380, Vincent assumed that the schism would end with the triumph of Clement VII; by 1398, however, it looked as though the schism, if it ended at all, would end with the defeat of Clement's successor Benedict. The prospect of the schism ending in such a manner might well have moved Vincent to act in keeping with his vision and launch his preaching mission. But even if the schism's vagaries explain why Vincent began his preaching mission when he did, they cannot fully explain Vincent's apocalypticism or actions. He experienced his vision at least two years before Benedict's debacle of 1398, and he might well have experienced it before the French subtraction of obedience. Once he began his preaching mission, Vincent was slow to link the schism and the apocalypse. When he did begin to link them, that link was not as strong for him as it was for those who had hastened to embrace apocalypticism at the schism's outset. For Vincent, the schism came to be a sign and a reason that world would end "soon, very soon, and indeed shortly," but it was never the sign and the reason. It was only one of many and a latecomer to Vincent's thinking at that.

An even more substantive difference separated Vincent from Pierre d'Ailly, Nicholas de Clamanges, and others who at its outbreak hailed the schism as apocalyptically significant: Vincent thought through and accepted the logical implications of his apocalypticism in a way that others did not. As Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski points out, there was "a most interesting contrast between the often fantastical or apocalyptic frameworks used for thinking about the Schism . . . and the actual proposals for ending this crisis . . . Thus, we find no calls for the exorcism of schismatic demons, for example, but rather rational analyses of what needs to be done."[69] As Smoller argues for d'Ailly and others who retreated from apocalypticism during the schism, their retreat arose, at least in part, from tactical rather than theological considerations: "If the Last

Judgment were imminent, the only proper response would be to pray and repent for one's sins. There would be little sense in trying to bring the church back to unity. If a reformation of the church could postpone the apocalypse, however, people would have a strong motivation to work together to end the Schism."[70] Apocalypticism made implementing reform and ending the schism less likely. Compared to Antichrist and the coming tribulation, the schism and the problems that it occasioned were minor nuisances, calls to end the schism rather beside the point, and calls for administrative reforms such as rejiggering the College of Cardinals inconsequential if not silly.

D'Ailly and others like him extricated themselves from this conundrum of their own making by abandoning their apocalypticism. Vincent, on the other hand, never stumbled into their conundrum. Instead, he recognized and accepted what Smoller calls "the only proper response." If Antichrist's arrival was imminent, and especially once Antichrist had been born, then Christians must prepare themselves for the onslaught. Warned of what was about to happen, Christians must purge their vices, make peace with one another, and solidify their faith. That was the work to which Vincent devoted himself from 1399 onward.

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Ought Vincent to be regarded as an apocalyptic preacher at all? Josep Maria de Garganta argues that the friar was "an eschatological preacher more than an apocalyptic one . . . Vincent Ferrer did not have the theme of the Last Judgment as the central object of his preaching; rather, it was the mystery of Jesus Christ as Savior and, as regards its moral application, the personal conversion of sinners . . . and the restoration of Christian society."[71] As for the evidence that Vincent was not an apocalyptic preacher, Garganta proposes that "at least 90 per cent of Vincent Ferrer's sermons, do not refer at all . . . to the Last Judgment."[72] Garganta does not specify the numerical threshold that Vincent and preachers more generally must reach or cross before qualifying as apocalyptic (50 per cent? 100 per cent?). No systematic examination of the Dominican's sermons underpins his calculation; it is not clear why he regards only sermons that refer to the Last Judgment, as opposed to other events such as the coming of Antichrist, as apocalyptic. Yet his figures and argument have been accepted and repeated by other scholars such as Sebastián Fuster Perelló and Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, who maintain that Vincent's reputation as an apocalyptic preacher is undeserved.[73]

Roberto Rusconi accepts Vincent's apocalypticism but argues that, between 1409 and 1419, the apocalyptic elements of his preaching were stronger and "darker" than they had been before, a shift that Rusconi attributes to the continuation and then the worsening of the schism after the Council of Pisa of 1409, when the Church had three rather than two popes.[74] Like Rusconi, Carlo Delcorno identifies a chronological division within Vincent's preaching and downplays the apocalypticism of the friar's first decade as a wandering preacher, although he offers a slightly different periodization, dividing Vincent's preaching into a first phase lasting from 1399 until 1408 and then a second phase from 1408 onward, with the Montpellier sermons of 1408 marking a "decisive change."

And, whereas Rusconi speaks of a more intense apocalypticism in the second phase, with the implication that the first phase was at least somewhat apocalyptic, Delcorno goes even farther, identifying the first phase as a period of moral and penitential preaching and the second phase as a period of apocalyptic preaching.[75] Rusconi and Delcorno's evidence for the existence of these two phases is an alleged lack of apocalypticism in Vincent's Swiss sermons in 1404 and, in Delcorno's case, a quantitative argument reminiscent of Garganta's, namely, the relative fewness of sermons treating apocalyptic themes in the homiliary of Perugia, whose sermons, Delcorno believes, Vincent "perhaps" preached in Italy in 1406.

The evidence supports neither Rusconi's nor Delcorno's periodizations and characterizations. Vincent's apocalyptic preaching is well attested before 1408. The Italian hermit who in 1403 brought Vincent news of Antichrist's birth did so because he knew of Vincent's reputation for apocalyptic preaching. The imminence of the apocalypse figures in the Swiss sermons of 1404. As for the notion that the homiliary of Perugia shows that Vincent did not preach apocalyptically in northern Italy in 1406: the homiliary of Perugia contains Vincent's letter of 1412 and, therefore, cannot be assumed to contain only, or even mostly, sermons preached in Italy in or around 1406.[76] One cannot designate the Montpellier sermons of 1408 as marking a turning point in Vincent's thought when there are no extant sermons securely datable to November 22, 1399–March 9, 1404, March 22–December 31, 1404, the whole of 1405, the whole of 1406, all but two days of 1407 (assuming that Perarnau is correct that the two sermons in question date to 1407), and January 1–December 2, 1408. For the Montpellier sermons of December 1408 to mark, as Delcorno suggests, the moment when Vincent switched from penitential to apocalyptic preaching would require Vincent to have happened to switch at just the precise moment when a reporter took datable notes that, in turn, just happened to survive to the present—an unlikely chain of coincidences.

Rusconi's suggestion that the outcome of the Council of Pisa caused Vincent's apocalypticism to "darken" from 1409 onward overlooks how the friar connected the schism to the apocalypse only weakly. Nothing illustrates better how modestly the schism figured into Vincent's apocalypticism than the fact that, as we will see, the end of the schism did not mean the end of his apocalypticism. Furthermore, the single most momentous change in Vincent's apocalyptic preaching, namely, his announcement that Antichrist was born, predated the opening of the Council of Pisa and the election of a third pope, for it already figured in Vincent's preaching at Montpellier in December 1408.

In establishing the chronology of Vincent's apocalypticism, it is essential to recognize that what Vincent was willing to preach in public at any given moment, and what he himself thought or knew, were not necessarily the same. Take, for example, Vincent's account of the sick friar's vision. In his sermons of 1404, Vincent did not mention the sick friar or his vision. In his sermons of 1408, he stated that the sick friar was a Franciscan. In his letter of 1412, Vincent stated that the sick friar was either a Franciscan or a Dominican. Which is the more likely explanation: that Vincent knew nothing of the sick friar in 1404, that

between 1404 and 1408 he learned of the sick friar's existence but believed him to be a Franciscan, and that between 1408 and 1412 Vincent learned additional information about the identity of the sick friar, information that raised the possibility of the sick friar being a Dominican? Or that Vincent in 1404 and in 1408 knew quite well that the sick friar was a Dominican, but could not yet bring himself to allow for that possibility in public? Considering that Vincent himself was the sick friar, the second explanation is more likely, and what changed was not Vincent's thinking or knowledge, but his willingness to preach to others what he knew to be true.

Increasing boldness and a greater willingness to state publicly what he had already for many years believed likely explains Vincent's changing treatment of the uncertainty principle too. At Montpellier in 1408, Vincent put the rejection of the uncertainty principle (or, more precisely, its obsolescence following the birth of Antichrist) in the mouth of the Italian hermit who had told him of Antichrist's birth—Vincent neither rejected nor endorsed the hermit's argument. In his letter of 1412, however, the Dominican made the rejection of the uncertainty principle one of his own four conclusions. This sequence suggests that, already by 1408, Vincent had decided that Antichrist's birth nullified the uncertainty principle, but he had not yet mustered the courage to say so, at least not in his own words, so he attributed that view to the anonymous Italian hermit. By 1412, he was ready to espouse that view himself.

Especially problematic is the attempt to settle the question of Vincent's apocalypticism quantitatively. Having preached of the apocalypse over the course of four or five days at a place such as Toledo, Vincent was not likely to spend the next few weeks or months repeating over and over again sermons that merely restated what his listeners had already heard. Moreover, apocalyptic and nonapocalyptic do not constitute discrete categories into which one can place Vincent's sermons. Hervé Martin notes that apocalypticism figures in the friar's sermons on topics such as the three magi, whose subject matter might not seem to be apocalyptic at all.[77] In a sermon on Saint Thomas the Apostle, Vincent interjected apocalyptic material by answering one of his listener's questions about Antichrist.[78] Would one classify these sermons as apocalyptic or as nonapocalyptic? What about sermons that contain no apocalyptic content beyond Vincent's assertion that the world would end "soon, very soon, and indeed shortly"?

Furthermore, not all extant sermon collections are the same, which renders quantification suspect if not impossible. The process by which Vincent's sermons passed from speech to writing was complex. Reporters took notes while he preached; reporters or other scribes then made fair copies of the reporters' notes; scribes then copied the fair copies into larger collections of sermons, which might themselves be recopied. During this multistage process, scribes tended to render these sermons usable by other preachers by Latinizing them and by stripping them of elements that other preachers could not use—dialogues, asides, answers to specific questions posed to Vincent, digressions, contemporary references.[79] Because some extant sermons have gone through this process of Latinization and stripping, and others have not, one cannot merge these sermons into a single database and then analyze them quantitatively. This stripping is especially

far advanced in the collection that Delcorno cites as proof that Vincent rarely preached about the apocalypse before 1408, namely, the homiliary of Perugia. The sermons contained in the homiliary of Perugia are bare Latin outlines, with each sermon reduced to a biblical theme, the corresponding thematic division, and a list of scriptural citations corresponding to each thematic division. The sermons in the homiliary of Perugia read as if they might have been preached by anybody, perhaps because they were intended to be preached by anybody.

Indeed, the homiliary of Perugia can just as easily support a quantitative argument in favor of Vincent's apocalypticism as an argument against it. Appended to the sermons in the homiliary of Perugia are a series of "notes" and "questions" that do not provide model sermons for others to preach, but instead address points of interest and concern. For example, Vincent raised and answered questions such as whether, because Muslims rather than Christians controlled the Holy Land, one ought to conclude that Islam was more pleasing to God than Christianity.[80] (His answer was no.) He considered whether adding holy water to water that had not been similarly blessed caused all the water to become holy water.[81] (His answer was yes.) These notes and questions bring us much closer to Vincent's own concerns than do the outlines, and Antichrist and the apocalypse figure much more frequently in the notes and questions than in the outlines. Of the 44-odd notes and questions in the homiliary of Perugia, some 18 take as their subject Antichrist and the apocalypse, and 10 take as their subject the imminence of both. A similar removal of apocalyptic material from the friar's sermons, and the consignment of such material to accompanying notes, is perhaps also evident in Vincent's unpublished sermons preached at Mallorca in 1413–1414. Those sermons say little, if anything, about Antichrist and the apocalypse, but inserted among those sermons are Vincent's apocalyptic letter of July 1412 as well as two separate "notes," both of which discuss Antichrist.[82]

Not only do quantitative solutions founder on the diverse natures of Vincent's extant sermon collections, they also overlook how the liturgical calendar shaped his preaching. On the feast days of saints, for example, Vincent explicitly recognized his obligation to preach about those saints and their virtues; he was not entirely free to preach on any topic that he might choose, and therefore simply counting how many sermons he devoted to any given topic cannot be used to measure his interest or disinterest in that topic. At Chinchilla in 1411, the demands of the liturgical calendar interfered with Vincent's apocalyptic preaching quite evidently. The friar preached a sermon concerning Antichrist on April 30, and he promised to follow it up with another sermon on the same subject the next day. But on May 1, Vincent told his listeners that he had to postpone the promised apocalyptic sermon until the following day, because May 1 was the feast of Saints Philip and James, so Vincent would preach a sermon about Philip in the morning, and one of his companions would preach about James in the afternoon.[83]

Ultimately, the question of Vincent's apocalypticism—its existence, centrality, and supposed waxing and waning—cannot be answered quantitatively. How then to do so? One way is to measure Vincent against current definitions of the apocalyptic and the eschatological, such as Bernard McGinn's:

> General eschatology becomes apocalyptic when it announces details of the future course of history and the imminence of its divinely appointed end in a manner that manifestly goes beyond the mere attempt to interpret the Scriptures. New and more precise descriptions of the last events are incorporated, frequently from a new revelatory source (the Sibyl was a popular one); and traditional eschatological imagery is made more vital by being applied directly to current historical events. In many cases those involved in such activity seem to have a sense of personal mission different from traditional teaching and preaching; they receive the reputation of prophets, those in control of the future . . . It is true that when the times were bad—when physical or moral catastrophes seemed about to overwhelm Christianity—there were many who did not hesitate to speak of the approaching end of history. But it is the fervor with which such predictions are made and the centrality that they hold in an author's thought which determine whether or not he can be described as an apocalyptic. There is a considerable difference between the customary bow to traditional eschatology that one may find in many medieval authors and the burning conviction of the end that is present in others.[84]

In some respects, Vincent does not qualify as an apocalyptic preacher under this definition. Compared to some of his contemporaries and predecessors, he was not much given to the application of traditional eschatological imagery to current historical events, and while witnesses at his canonization inquests attributed to him prophetic powers, his contemporaries do not appear to have done so during his own lifetime. In most other respects, though, Vincent does qualify. The Dominican's claim that Antichrist was born in 1403 "manifestly" goes "beyond the mere attempt to interpret the Scriptures"—his proofs were necessarily visionary rather than scriptural—and that claim heightened the sense of apocalyptic imminence. Vincent possessed the requisite "sense of personal mission different from traditional teaching and preaching," for he proclaimed himself to be Christ's legate and likened himself to Paul. For a man of Vincent's age to spend the final two decades of his life traversing Spain, France, Switzerland, and Italy, while announcing that the world would end "soon, very soon, and indeed shortly," suggests a "burning conviction of the end" and speaks to the "centrality" of apocalyptic notions in his thinking.

Still, assessing Vincent's apocalypticism by measuring him against modern scholarly definitions has its limitations as well. There are, besides McGinn's, other definitions that one could employ, such as those provided by Emmerson and Richard Landes. Those definitions are in some respects similar to McGinn's, but they also differ from his definition and from each other in various particulars, and there is no reason to prefer one definition over the others.[85]

Another way to gauge Vincent's apocalypticism is by posing and answering two questions: Why did he preach about the apocalypse on some occasions but not on others? And did his apocalyptic preaching differ from his other preaching? Vincent's sermons on Antichrist and the apocalypse corresponded to no specific points on the calendar, liturgical or otherwise: he preached his Fribourg sermons in March, his Montpellier sermons in December, his Toledo sermons in July. Something other than the calendar determined whether Vincent would or

would not preach about the apocalypse on any given day. That something was the expectation of large crowds or especially distinguished attendees.

Vincent, with very few exceptions, preached his sermons on the apocalypse when he was in urban centers. As he passed through villages, he preached about other subjects. This pattern is especially clear during Vincent's sojourn of 1411 and 1412 in Murcia and Castile, for which an exceptionally good run of sermons survives. Vincent preached of the apocalypse at the city of Murcia, Chinchilla, Ciudad Real, Toledo, Salamanca, and at Ayllón where the king of Castile and the king's co-regents were. At smaller places where he spent only a few days at most, such as Tobarra, Vincent took note of how rarely their inhabitants heard sermons on account of their isolation, and he adjusted his preaching to account for his rural milieu. At Tobarra, for example, the friar urged his listeners not to steal one another's crops and not to sue their neighbors for the damage caused by wandering animals unless they were quite certain that their neighbors owned the animals in question. Vincent also preached a simplified sermon on predestination, watered down seemingly to make it more comprehensible to his rural audience.[86] And, when in the countryside, Vincent preached on subjects other than the apocalypse. The same pattern also obtained in the Swiss sermons of 1404; Vincent preached three apocalyptic sermons at Fribourg and one at Payerne, but none in the smaller places that he visited. When Vincent left Castile in 1412 and returned to the Crown of Aragon, he continued to preach of the apocalypse in urban centers and on especially important occasions, such as when the Dominican, at the king's invitation, came to Tortosa in 1413 while the Tortosa Disputation was taking place. That Vincent preached of the apocalypse when the crowds were at their largest and the occasions were at their greatest indicates that, for him, the apocalypse was not merely one subject among many that he addressed. Rather, it was of considerable importance.

Of course, when Antichrist revealed himself to the world and began the tribulation, he would test not just the residents of towns and cities such as Fribourg, Montpellier, Toledo, Salamanca, and Tortosa. He would test all Christians, including those of the villages through which Vincent passed. Not to inform villagers of Antichrist's birth and the coming tribulation might seem uncharitable or even illogical, but the anonymous author of the *Relación a Fernando de Antequara*, without meaning to do so, indicates why (beyond the requirements of the liturgical calendar) Vincent did not and could not preach about the apocalypse on every possible occasion and to every audience. On Sunday, July 5, 1411, the anonymous author heard the friar preach at Toledo about Antichrist and the four ways in which he would ruin Christians; Vincent ended the sermon with a promise that the next day's sermon would address why God would permit Antichrist to harm so many Christians so terribly. The *Relación*'s author also noted that, by the end of Sunday's sermon, the Dominican had grown hoarse. When the author arrived the next day, Monday, to hear the promised sermon, he was disappointed to learn that Vincent could not preach that day because his voice would not bear it. Vincent's companions were not surprised, though; they told those who had come to hear the second sermon on Antichrist that rarely, if ever, did Vincent preach about Antichrist without his first sermon on the

subject leaving him hoarse.[87] Vincent's sermons on Antichrist and the apocalypse—apparently more than his other sermons—shredded his voice and left him physically debilitated. Given the effect of one such sermon on Vincent, one can understand why he did not deliver these draining sermons at every place where he preached.

The most compelling reason to characterize Vincent as apocalyptic is to be found not in his sermons but rather in his correspondence with King Fernando I of Aragon. On May 10, 1414, Fernando wrote to Vincent and presented him with a Rorschach inkblot test of sorts. On March 18, 1414, while a Franciscan was preaching at Guadalajara about the Eucharist, a shining cross appeared in the sky, seen both by Christians and by Jews. Some four or five days later, 123 Jews of Guadalajara converted. What, the king asked Vincent, did the shining cross mean and how did it relate to the events following its appearance?[88]

Vincent, often so slow to act on letters sent to him, responded to this letter quickly. A week later, on May 17, 1414, he wrote to Fernando and explained what the shining cross over Guadalajara meant. Its significance was twofold. First, it signified God's approval of preaching, just as a royal seal appended to a document signified royal approval. Second, it signified the coming of Antichrist and the imminence of the apocalypse. Vincent provided for the king specific interpretations of the shining cross's various parts, assigning to them apocalyptic meanings: three objects that appeared on the shining cross's right branch signified the three preachers of the apocalypse who were themselves signified by the three angels in Revelation 14; another part of the shining cross signified Enoch and Elias, whose return would coincide with Antichrist's coming. Having explained the apocalyptic significance of the shining cross over Guadalajara, Vincent urged Fernando to take specific actions: "And on account of all those things, moreover, your Excellent Royal Majesty ought to work with the greatest diligence toward the conversion of the Jews and the other infidels, and toward extirpating notorious and corrupting communal crimes, namely those of the seducers, especially of fornicators; and of gamblers, and of the like; and your ordinances ought not to be ignored, but rather ought to be firmly and irrevocably instituted."[89] Vincent desired the conversion of the Jews and the reform of Christian morals, which he (yet again) mentioned in the same breath. Nonetheless, even though Fernando's inquiring letter specifically mentioned the conversion of Jews and said nothing of the apocalypse, Vincent interpreted the shining cross as a direct affirmation of his apocalyptic views and preaching mission. Only secondarily and indirectly did the cross over Guadalajara point to the need for the reform of Christian morals and the conversion of Jews.

Implicit in Vincent's letter about the shining cross over Guadalajara was the idea that his calls for moral reform were not an alternative to his apocalypticism, but rather an extension of his apocalypticism. In his sermons, Vincent expressed the dependence of his calls for moral reform on his apocalypticism explicitly, as at Chinchilla on April 30, 1411: "And so, because I know from Holy Scripture that the coming sword of God's anger, namely, Antichrist, will come shortly and most shortly, therefore I, a preacher, continually sound the trumpet of preaching and give notice, just as you want, so that you will look to change your lives for

the better."[90] Or again, in an undated sermon: "And for this reason I go through the world preaching to people that they prepare themselves with good penance, prayer, fasting, et cetera, against the attack of Antichrist: magistrates must tolerate neither divination, nor swearing, nor games of dice, nor more than one prostitutes' quarter; communities must be cleansed."[91]

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At first glance, the sermons that Vincent preached from 1413 onward seem to indicate that a major shift in his apocalyptic thinking had taken place. The Dominican no longer spoke of the sick friar and his vision, of the Italian hermit whom he had met in Italy in 1403, of the levitating Franciscan novices, or of the ambassadors of Antichrist who followed Vincent and contradicted his preaching—the personal and visionary proofs that Vincent had previously offered to demonstrate the apocalypse's imminence disappeared. Instead, the friar offered only arguments and proofs based on world-historical development. At Valencia in 1413 and again at Lleida in 1414, Vincent preached that Christianity was now in the last of its seven stages of historical development, the age of the mendicants.[92] Also at Valencia in 1413, the world must pass through four "days" before the end of time. The first two days were done, namely, the day of nature before Moses and the day of scripture from Moses to Jesus. The third day, the day of grace that lasted from Jesus to Antichrist, was about to end. The fourth day, the day of the law of anger, had not yet commenced.[93] At Zaragoza in 1414, Vincent identified three stages through which Christianity had passed: the age of the Apostles, martyrs, and Church doctors; an age of religious decline; and then the present papal schism, wherein many learned doctors supported each of the three popes and could not see that "the true pope is Benedict."[94] In a sermon dating to 1417, Vincent offered a variation on his earlier argument that the ten plagues afflicting the Egyptians during the time of Moses prefigured ten signs of the apocalypse's imminence; these ten signs were again world-historical events, including imperial Rome's persecution of the martyrs; the life of Muhammad and the emergence of Islam; and the coming of the "hypocrites," of whom the friars were the most noteworthy.[95] Regarding the birth of Antichrist in 1403, Vincent stopped offering any proofs at all.

This shift in Vincent's preaching does not, in fact, reflect any shift in Vincent's thinking. The key to understanding why Vincent's preaching changed is to be found in a sermon that the friar preached at Barcelona in 1413, where he related the story of the three lances and began to refute those who objected to his assertion that the apocalypse was imminent, specifically those who maintained that no rainbows would be seen for 40 years before the coming of Antichrist—but Vincent cut short his refutation, stating that "this and many other opinions are disproved through the reasons laid out in the letter that I wrote to the pope."[96] Similarly, at Zaragoza in 1414, Vincent stated that he would rehash neither the material that he had covered in a sermon delivered eight days earlier nor the arguments concerning the apocalypse's imminence contained in his letter to Benedict XIII; instead, he would cover new material unfamiliar to his listeners.[97]

Vincent preached differently from 1413 onward because he regarded his letter of 1412 to Benedict as constituting his definitive public statement on the subject of the apocalypse, and he expected his listeners to be familiar with that letter and the arguments contained therein. The Dominican merely supplemented those arguments with others, and he referred listeners wanting a fuller demonstration back to his letter. That letter circulated widely enough for the Piedmontese artist Dux Aymo to know about it. In 1429 or 1430, he painted at the Church of Santa Maria Assunta di La Stella (near Macello and Pinerolo) a series of frescoes that constitute the oldest known artistic depiction of Vincent; the frescoes also depict a scroll that has written on it extensive excerpts from Vincent's letter to Benedict.[98] Fifteenth-century manuscript copies of the letter survive from Castile, France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, and a printed edition appeared at Cologne in 1529.[99] (That penning his letter of July 27, 1412, affected how Vincent subsequently preached is yet another reason why the friar's apocalypticism cannot be measured simply by counting extant sermons and then tabulating how many are "apocalyptic.")

The core elements of Vincent's apocalypticism remained the same. Regardless of whether the world or Christianity would pass through three, four, or seven stages, apocalyptic imminence was just as strong in the sermons that Vincent preached after writing his letter to Benedict as in the sermons that he had preached before. At Zaragoza in 1414, the world was broken, smashed, and at its end: "*Ja.s romp, ja.s trenqua, ja som en la fi*."[100] The apocalypse's imminence was "pure truth," and the world would end "shortly and very soon" (*breument e ben tost*) or "soon, soon, and very soon" in 1413, and still "soon" in 1417.[101] Lest anyone misunderstand how soon was soon, Vincent drove the point home at Valencia on April 3, 1413. Saint Gregory the Great (d. 604), Vincent acknowledged, many centuries earlier had said that the famines, earthquakes, and other disasters in his lifetime signaled that the world would end soon. But Gregory the Great was speaking "comparatively," and he meant only that the end of the world was, relatively speaking, closer than it had been before. Vincent, however, told his listeners that he himself was speaking "absolutely" rather than comparatively; when the friar said that the end of the world was at hand, he meant that he and his contemporaries lived at the very end of the last of the world's ages.[102] The time between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment continued to be 45 days.[103]

Most importantly, Vincent never changed his mind about or stopped referring to the birth of Antichrist, who continued to grow older. In a sermon that he preached on the Friday after Pentecost but is otherwise undated, the Dominican spoke of Antichrist having reached the age of 14. Antichrist's birth in June 1403 means that this sermon dates either to 1417 (just after Antichrist's birthday) or to 1418 (just before Antichrist's birthday). Because Vincent also stated that the papal schism, which began in 1378, was "nearly" 40 years old, 1417 is the year. In 1417, the Friday after Pentecost fell on June 4, which, in turn, shows that Vincent dated Antichrist's birth to one of the first three days of June 1403.[104]

The sermon of June 4, 1417, was not the last one in which the friar spoke of Antichrist continuing to grow older. In an otherwise undated sermon

preached on the Thursday after the Second Sunday of Lent, Vincent criticized those who spoke of the places of Antichrist's birth and death and of who his father and mother would be, for none of those things were to be found in the Bible, and Vincent promised to speak only of what was in Bible.[105] But he did not keep that promise, for the Valencian also preached that "as some people say they know through revelation, Antichrist was born fifteen years ago," and if what those people say was true (here, as always, Vincent hedged), then the apocalypse would come soon and indeed shortly (*cito et valde breviter*).[106] The sermon in question comes from a collection of sermons that Perarnau dates, "globally considered," to Lent of 1417, but he recognizes that the collection includes some sermons preached in other years.[107] The sermon in question is among those that do not date to 1417. If Antichrist was 15 years old and if Antichrist was born in 1403, then this sermon cannot date to 1417. It cannot date to 1418 either; Antichrist's birthday was in June, so Antichrist was only 14 years old during Lent of 1418. Antichrist was 15 years old during Lent of 1419, when the Thursday after the Second Sunday of Lent fell on March 16, 1419. Vincent died on April 5, 1419.[108] For all that had changed in his life after he had preached at Montpellier in 1408—including the end of the papal schism and the election of Pope Martin V—Vincent remained, less than a month before his death, as committed as ever to the idea that Antichrist was born in 1403.

When Vincent preached on June 4, 1417, that Antichrist was 14 years old and then preached on March 16, 1419, that Antichrist was 15 years old, he was no longer in the Crown of Aragon. On June 4, 1417, he was near Albi in France; on March 16, 1419, he was in Brittany, perhaps at or near Nantes. Witnesses at Vincent's Toulousan and Breton canonization inquests confirm that the friar continued his apocalyptic preaching after he had left Spain for the last time. Regarding the friar's preaching at Toulouse in 1417, Jean Inardi remembered that Vincent "was always repeating that the coming of Antichrist was at hand, and he said that Antichrist was about to come soon, and very soon" (*cito, et bene cito*).[109] Several witnesses recalled an incident when a Franciscan, whom the 64-year-old Toulousan judge Galhard Dalousti identified as François Laborie, "a good and honest man," repeatedly interrupted Vincent during an apocalyptic sermon at Toulouse. Claiming that Babylon must be destroyed before Antichrist came, Laborie challenged Vincent to explain what he understood Babylon to be.[110] Alieta Alanou, a 60-year-old woman from Vannes, recalled that she had heard Vincent preach about the coming of Antichrist while he was in Brittany.[111]

Vincent left Spain in 1416, no later than April and perhaps as early as February. He continued in France and in Brittany the preaching mission that he had begun with his departure from Avignon on November 22, 1399, but the Dominican's journey to France and to Brittany was not simply a natural extension of that mission. He departed his homeland in an act of self-exile, and he exiled himself because, toward the end of his Iberian return, events went wrong—at least from his perspective. Vincent himself bore much of the responsibility for events turning out as they did.

# CHAPTER 7

# FINAL JOURNEYS: PERPIGNAN, VANNES, AND IN BETWEEN

Vincent Ferrer's appearance at Tortosa during the Tortosa Disputation was neither his idea nor Benedict XIII's. The friar went there in the summer of 1413 because King Fernando I had invited him in April 1413 to do so, and the king invited him because he wished to speak with Vincent and Benedict about the papal schism. Now in its thirty-fifth year, the schism was a "very difficult matter," as Fernando put it, and after the salvation of his soul, the union of the Catholic Church was what the king most desired.

Fernando anticipated that Vincent might not receive the invitation happily. When the king invited the friar to preach at Barcelona and Zaragoza, he did not back those invitations with threats. When he invited Vincent to Tortosa, however, Fernando informed the Dominican that if he failed to come it would displease both king and God. But, Fernando assured Vincent, such menacing surely was not needed; the king could not believe that the friar would ever think of refusing to come to Tortosa and discuss the schism.[1] In March 1413, a month before inviting Vincent to Tortosa, Fernando wrote to Benedict himself. He asked to meet with the pope and for Benedict's permission to have Vincent and Boniface Ferrer present at the meeting. Fernando did not disclose to Benedict why he wanted to meet with him.[2]

When Fernando pursued his meeting with Vincent and Benedict, less than a year had passed since the Compromise of Casp. Benedict's support appears to have been, and Vincent's support certainly was, instrumental in Fernando becoming king at all; to embrace any solution to the schism other than Benedict's *via iusticiae* was to risk alienating those who had helped to make him king. Furthermore, the king had not yet quelled the armed resistance against him. Given these circumstances, one can well believe that his conscience rather than realpolitik moved Fernando to call for a discussion that, the king anticipated, Vincent and Benedict might not want to have. Fernando's route to the throne left him uniquely well positioned to do something about the schism, for he was not only ruler of the Crown of Aragon but also a Castilian and still co-regent for Juan II. To some extent, he could speak on behalf of both Castile and the Crown of Aragon.[3]

And Fernando's poor health made the question of the schism personally urgent. Although in his early thirties, he was often sick; by January 1416, he was too ill to sign documents issued under his name, and he never recovered.

Vincent went to Tortosa. Any conversations that took place there did nothing to disrupt the interdependence and loyalty among friar, pope, and king—at least not yet. Afterward, Fernando continued to support the Dominican's mission, and in July 1415, he confirmed Benedict's *Etsi doctoris gentium*. Vincent's loyalty to the pope, too, remained as strong as ever. Scholars such as Ramón Arnau García, Sigismund Brettle, Pedro Cátedra, and Bernard Montagnes have proposed that, at some point well before the end of the schism, Vincent drifted away from Benedict's obedience and lost confidence in his ability to determine who was the legitimate pope. (These scholars differ as to when Vincent began to doubt and distance himself from Benedict. Arnau proposes that it was after 1408, when some of Benedict's cardinals abandoned him, while Montagnes suggests that it was in the 1390s.) The evidence for Vincent's wavering is the fact that, on some occasions, Vincent spoke of there being more than one pope in the world; each pope was recognized by many people, including learned individuals whose disagreements indicated that their judgments in this matter could not be trusted. Furthermore, the canonization witness Jean Placentis "heard it said" that Vincent, even before leaving Avignon in 1399, had urged Benedict to resign, but the pope dissembled in his responses and refused.[4]

But Josep Perarnau i Espelt correctly argues that as late as November 1415, Vincent's support of Benedict remained as firm as ever. In 1412, Vincent submitted his views on the apocalypse to Benedict, not to his papal rivals and not to anyone else, for judgment and correction. In the summer of 1413, the friar called Benedict the "Vicar of Jesus Christ," a straightforward recognition of undiminished papal authority.[5] At Lleida in 1414, Vincent again asserted that Benedict was the true pope.[6] When Vincent sometimes stipulated in 1413 and 1414, as he had not stipulated before, that his powers came from the pope as well as from Jesus, his public recognition of Benedict's authority was, if anything, stronger than it had been previously. In stating that there was more than one pope in the world and that each pope had a substantial following, Vincent merely acknowledged a fact. Neither explicit nor implicit in that acknowledgment was a growing doubt about Benedict's legitimacy. Indeed, at Valladolid in December 1411, Vincent followed up his observation that there were three popes in the world with the assertion that only one of them was the true pope—Benedict.[7] And the canonization witness Jean Placentis, as he stated, had no direct knowledge of Vincent's time at Avignon; his information about Vincent's attempts to convince Benedict to resign there was, at best, secondhand. When historians posit that Vincent gradually detached himself from Benedict well before the schism's end, they are trying to put the Dominican on the winning side of history at too early a date.

As Perarnau demonstrates, Benedict's confidence in and support for Vincent remained undiminished into the second week of November 1415. In the autumn of 1413, an ambassador from Count Amedeo VIII of Savoy arrived at Peníscola looking for Vincent. Amedeo had withdrawn from Benedict's

obedience, but he would return to it if Vincent advised him to do so. The friar was not at Peníscola at that moment, so Benedict helped the ambassador to find him, fully expecting that Vincent would counsel Amedeo to accept once again Benedict as pope; in February 1414, Benedict reimbursed the ambassador and his entourage for their trip to Mallorca, where Vincent had been. (The reimbursement names the ambassador in question: Jean Placentis, who later testified at Vincent's Breton canonization inquest in the 1450s and whose claims to have heard Vincent preach both in Savoy and at Lluchmayor on the island of Mallorca thus find support in the papal fiscal records.) In the spring or early summer of 1415, Benedict asked an ambassador to bring peace between the counts of Armagnac and Foix. He advised the ambassador to start by seeking out Vincent and asking for his assistance—the pope did not want Vincent to break off his preaching mission, but he would be grateful if the friar intervened in the dispute and reconciled the counts, who were among the pope's supporters. Papal fiscal accounts reveal that in October and through November 12, 1415, when Benedict and Vincent were at Perpignan, the pope kept the friar on his payroll, distributing bread to him.[8]

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Fernando was not the only ruler looking to bring the schism to a close. In August 1413, the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund summoned a council to meet at Constance, where attendees would deal with many issues but, first and foremost, try to end the schism.[9] Sigismund set November 1, 1414, as the date for the council's opening. The Council of Constance's predecessor, the Council of Pisa in 1409, had failed, leaving Catholic Christendom with three popes rather than two. But that failure did not discredit the conciliar solution; instead, it provided conciliarists with an invaluable lesson that they put to good effect at the Council of Constance. The Council of Pisa had declared the depositions of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII and then elected Alexander V, but without first securing subtractions of obedience from Benedict's and Gregory's most important followers. As a result, the depositions did not work. Subtractions of obedience had to precede, not follow, depositions, most especially in Benedict's case. Safely ensconced in the Crown of Aragon and enjoying its support as well as that of Castile and Navarre, Benedict was untouchable. Without Spanish support, Benedict would be defenseless.

The Council of Constance dispatched Benedict's two rivals, the Pisan Pope John XXIII and the Roman Pope Gregory XII, without much difficulty. John belatedly played a role in summoning the Council of Constance, issuing his own convocation in December 1413—a month after Sigismund had issued his. John attended the council, but as it became increasingly clear that he could not control its proceedings, he fled Constance in March 1415. With the April 1415 issuance of *Haec sancta synodus*, the Council of Constance, in turn, declared that all Christians, including popes, must accept the Council's authority and decrees. The next month, it deposed the now captured John, who eventually accepted his deposition, and in July 1415 the council accepted Gregory's resignation.

Emperor Sigismund went to great lengths to secure Benedict's resignation and Fernando's support. Imperial ambassadors traveled to the Crown of Aragon, treating with Fernando and Benedict in July, August, and September 1414. Sigismund himself agreed to meet with Fernando and Benedict; in May 1415, Fernando asked Vincent to join the king and pope at Collioure, from whence they were to sail to Nice and meet with Sigismund in June.[10] The emperor got a late start, departing Constance for Nice in July 1415, and Fernando grew so ill that he could not travel as far as Nice; obligingly, Sigismund agreed to travel to the Crown of Aragon and Perpignan instead. On his way to Perpignan, Sigismund passed through Narbonne, where 12 ambassadors sent by Benedict, including Vincent, met him in August. When Sigismund reached Perpignan on September 19, 1415, Fernando and Benedict were already there.

During the nearly two months that he spent at Perpignan, Sigismund sought Benedict's resignation. The emperor produced documents showing that John XXIII and Gregory XII had abdicated; a Spanish commission that included Bishop Pablo de Santa María examined the documents and vouched for their authenticity. Benedict refused to resign, though, and Fernando feared that the talks would collapse—in October, he forbade any galley to sail from Collioure without the king's permission, apparently to prevent Benedict from fleeing. After weeks of fruitless discussion, Sigismund announced that he and most of his entourage would leave Perpignan on November 3 and make their way back to Constance. They did leave, although on November 7.

Sigismund's departure from Perpignan galvanized Fernando. The emperor got as far as Salses, at the far northeastern corner of Catalonia, when an ambassador from Fernando arrived and asked the emperor to travel no farther, because the king would soon have some news for Sigismund and wanted him near at hand. On November 9, Fernando met with the Count of Foix, the son of the king of Navarre, Fernando's own son and heir Alfonso, representatives from the constituent territories of the Crown of Aragon, and Castilian representatives as well. Together, they agreed to call upon Benedict, three times and publicly, to resign. If Benedict refused, then, after the third refusal, they all would withdraw from his obedience. The next day, November 10, they issued their first public call for Benedict's resignation. Benedict said that he would answer soon, left Perpignan, and made his way to Collioure. There, on November 14, he responded to Fernando's call for his resignation: he answered no and sailed from Collioure to Peníscola. Benedict also responded negatively to the second and third public calls for his resignation. When Benedict's final answer reached Perpignan on December 21, 1415, Fernando announced that he would soon proclaim the subtraction of obedience and send participating representatives to the Council of Constance.

The gravely ill Fernando neither wrote nor read aloud the subtraction of obedience. Alfonso wrote the subtraction, which was read aloud at Perpignan on January 6, 1416, by Vincent, following a sermon. The next day, Fernando sent a letter to one of his sons confirming that Vincent had indeed read aloud the subtraction of obedience and indicating that the king expected the kings of Castile and Navarre, and the counts of Armagnac and Foix, to withdraw their obedience

from Benedict, as they all had already agreed to do.[11] Vincent was available to read aloud the subtraction of obedience because, when Benedict left Perpignan for Collioure on November 13, 1415, having already received the first public call for his resignation, Vincent did not accompany the pope and instead remained behind. That same day, the friar stopped receiving bread disbursed by the pope. Late in the day on November 12, if not early on November 13 itself, Vincent and Benedict reached what Perarnau calls the "point of rupture," which paved the way for Vincent's reading aloud the subtraction of obedience some two months later.[12]

Queen Margarita, the widow of King Martí, witnessed Vincent's sermon of January 6, 1416, and his announcement of the subtraction of obedience. Writing two days later to her uncle, who was the bishop of Mallorca (the same one who had brought Vincent there in 1413) and Benedict's chamberlain, she reported that during his sermon Vincent asserted "very affirmatively, that our Holy Father is the true Vicar of Christ, and that he knows things that make him quite certain of that." Nonetheless, despite his continuing affirmation of Benedict's legitimacy, Vincent also preached that Benedict had been blocking the union of the Church, and so the king was enacting certain ordinances "that will be bitter to our Holy Father, yet beneficial for the health of his soul, like medicine." The ordinances themselves were, Margarita wrote, too long for her to recall in their entirety or to include in her letter, but she related their gist: "the subtraction of all power that the Holy Father has regarding temporal goods, which is to say, the power to receive revenues and distribute benefices." Vincent also informed his listeners that the kings of Castile and Navarre, and the counts of Armagnac and Foix, were likewise subtracting obedience. Writing from Narbonne some four days later, Jean Le Comte, another eyewitness to Vincent's sermon and announcement, noted that the friar read aloud the subtraction of obedience first in Latin and then in the vernacular.[13]

With the Spanish subtraction of obedience secured, the Council of Constance moved forward with Benedict's deposition. It found him guilty of obstinacy and heresy on July 26, 1417, and publicly proclaimed his deposition on September 3, 1417. Even at this late date, a lingering regional pride in the Iberian pope was evident—none of the Spanish representatives, neither the Castilians nor the Aragonese (who constantly squabbled with one another at Constance) were present for the public proclamation. With all three popes now deposed and stripped of their most significant support, a new and single pope could be elected, and on November 11, 1417, a conclave at Constance elected a new pope, Martin V. King Fernando of Aragon did not live to see the election of Martin and the end of the schism, for he died on April 2, 1416, less than three months after the subtraction of obedience, at the age of 36.

Benedict reacted sharply to Vincent's collusion in the subtraction of obedience. The bitterness spilled over into his copy of Vincent's *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate*, where the Dominican stated that to deny obedience to a true pope was just as reprehensible as to adhere to a false pope. In the margin next to that passage, someone wondered whether Vincent was not himself guilty of precisely this fault and alleged that Vincent had counseled Fernando to withdraw his

obedience from Benedict.[14] On January 21, 1416, the bishop of Mallorca wrote to his cathedral chapter; the letter, read aloud at Mallorca in March, informed listeners that Benedict was revoking all the ordinances that the bishop had enacted at Mallorca during Vincent's visit there and afterward.[15] The pope wanted nothing to remain in effect that bore the friar's mark.

In the spring of 1416 and at some point after Fernando's death, Benedict wrote *Super horrendo et funesto casu obedientiae papae subtractae in Regno Aragoniae* (*On the Horrendous and Dismal Case of the Subtraction of Papal Obedience in the Crown of Aragon*), where he related how a certain unnamed man, "held in high enough opinion," had at the outset of the schism written to the king of Aragon and told him that the king "could not and should not withdraw obedience from the pope." Benedict was referring to the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate*, and the man was Vincent. But now, the same man had "asserted that, although he himself believed and held Pope Benedict to be the true pope until the Council of Constance declared otherwise, he said that, nevertheless, he was not of the pope's obedience; and he advised the king to withdraw his obedience." As Perarnau points out, Benedict emphasized not once but twice how sudden and unexpected this man's change of opinion was—additional evidence that Vincent remained loyal and committed to Benedict late into 1415. The change took place over the course of just a few days, much too short an amount of time, in the pope's view, for such an important matter. Vincent, as Benedict told it, regarded the pope's refusal to resign as evidence of madness, which, in turn, justified the subtraction of obedience. For someone allegedly out of his mind, Benedict pointed out Vincent's inconsistencies with clarity and ease. How could the friar maintain that Benedict was the true pope and that the Council of Constance had the authority to depose Benedict, when Benedict himself had condemned and anathematized the council? Even as *Super horrendo* took Vincent apart, though, it expressed a residual admiration for him: "Oh, what an astonishing opinion, and one to be shunned, from such a Catholic man!"[16] The opinion was to be shunned, but in Benedict's eyes the man remained, even still, *virus catholicus*.

The subtraction of obedience dismayed other Spaniards too. In Castile and in the Crown of Aragon, years of protest and resistance followed. In October 1418, Pope Martin V ordered the removal from office of Bishop Ganzalo de Zúñiga of Plasencia, who remained loyal to Benedict and denied the legitimacy of the Council of Constance and its actions. Zúñiga and others who shared his views resisted the bishop's deposition violently and, for a year, successfully, until Zúñiga finally abdicated. In 1418, Martin ordered the bishop of Burgos, Pablo de Santa María, to take measures against those in his diocese who deprecated and defied what the Council of Constance had done. In December 1422, Martin granted to the archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of Calahorra inquisitorial powers for the purpose of prosecuting those who remained loyal to Benedict and any who supported the deposed pope's loyalists.[17]

As for the Crown of Aragon, at the Valencian Corts of 1417–1418, all three Valencian estates protested the subtraction of obedience, and when royal officials penned each estate's representatives into their meeting places and refused to let them out until the estates withdrew their protests, the estates protested that too.[18]

In August and September 1418, Alfonso had the vicar of Barcelona forbid that city's inhabitants to come any closer to Peníscola than one league by land and two nautical miles by sea, lest the inhabitants try to assist Pedro de Luna; the following October, Barcelona's *consellers* protested the restriction.[19] In 1421, Martin V ordered the archbishop of Zaragoza, the bishop of Mallorca, and Francesc Climent at Barcelona (a former confidante of Benedict) to capture two individuals who were preaching openly the legitimacy of Benedict and the illegitimacy of the Council of Constance. (One of the two was later captured and imprisoned for life.) Martin also ordered these same prelates to excommunicate individuals, and to impose interdict on places, receiving or in any way supporting the two defiant preachers. In 1422, Martin empowered the archbishop of Zaragoza both to proceed against Benedict's followers as provided for in 1421 and to pardon those who switched their allegiance to Martin. In 1423, the same pope tasked an inquisitor in the Kingdom of Valencia with the pursuit of Benedict's followers, while also granting to the inquisitor the power to free from prison those who repented as well as to restore to former prisoners their confiscated property.[20]

Fernando continued to look to Vincent as a counselor and spiritual advisor after the subtraction of obedience and during the final three months of the king's life. Back in 1414, Fernando had asked Vincent whether the king was bound to recognize Jaume II d'Urgell's sale of some rents at Girona, a sale made, in the king's estimation, at too low a price.[21] In March 1416, Fernando asked a messenger to consult with Vincent once again about this matter.[22] But if, following the subtraction of obedience, Fernando held Vincent in the same esteem as before, the same cannot be said of some of the king's subjects. On January 8, 1416, Fernando notified his officials that Vincent intended to wander throughout the king's lands and preach, "as is his custom." However, Fernando also ordered his officials to provide Vincent and his companions with an armed escort whenever the Dominican asked for one, or whenever the officials deemed that he needed one, so that no one harmed him or his companions.[23] Never before had Fernando's support of Vincent taken the form of weapon-carrying bodyguards; now the king believed Vincent and his companions to be in danger. In choosing a Castilian king for the Crown of Aragon, Vincent forfeited some of his popularity there. In helping that Castilian king to depose an Aragonese pope, Vincent forfeited even more.

An incongruity within Fernando's letter of January 8, 1416, points both to Vincent's fading reputation at home and to his humiliation. The king told his officials that Vincent proposed to travel within the king's lands, but among the officials whom he notified, Fernando specifically mentioned "border agents who watch the passes and ports, and with responsibility for goods that cannot be exported beyond the boundaries of our kingdoms." If Vincent intended merely to travel within the Crown of Aragon, there was no need to single out border agents and to inform them that Vincent and his companions were allowed to go wherever they wished, carrying whatever goods they wished.[24] By notifying his border agents in this manner, Fernando reveals that, just two days after announcing the Spanish subtraction of obedience, Vincent was believed to be contemplating a departure from the Crown of Aragon and Spain and perhaps had

already made up his mind to do just that. Word of the Dominican's imminent departure spread fast and far. On January 19, 1419, a Valencian in Paris wrote to Fernando and told him of rumors circulating in the French capital about Vincent's coming there.[25]

Vincent's fellow Valencians did not try to dissuade him from leaving. When, in 1399, the friar was about to leave Avignon, Valencia wrote to him and asked him to return, tempting him with thoughts of his family, his friends, and his fellow Dominican brothers at his old convent. When, in 1409, Vincent returned to the Crown of Aragon, Valencia peppered him with letters asking him to return to his native city and threatened him with hellfire if he failed to do so. But when, in January 1416, word began to circulate that Vincent intended to leave the Crown of Aragon yet again, and when, no later than April 1416, Vincent did leave the Crown of Aragon, Valencia wrote nothing. Apparently it made no effort to bring the friar back to his native city or keep him in his native land.

The shock that Vincent's abrupt about-face touched off in Spain registered as far away as Italy. There, most likely at the end of 1423 or the beginning of 1424, or perhaps a few years later, the Augustinian friar Andrea Biglia wrote his *Admonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercellensem ordinis fratrum predicatorum* (*Admonition to Brother Manfredi da Vercelli, Order of Preachers*), a treatise hostile both to Manfredi da Vercelli and to Vincent. The improper mixing of the sexes in Vincent's company; the crowds that tore at his clothing and ripped tufts of hair from the animal on which he rode; the carrying of an elevated cross before Vincent as if he were a cardinal; the maltreatment at Toulouse of friars who did not support Vincent and, as a result, faced personal danger and fell into poverty so acute that they had to flee to Padua, where Biglia himself had been a student and gotten to know them: all these Biglia condemned. He also condemned and found amazing, if not Vincent's reversal itself, its suddenness and unexpectedness, and he believed that he was not alone in his amazement, "for certainly we have heard the whole population of Spain to have been astounded, so quickly were those things turned upside down that just a short time before had been taught to them, as if Vincent had formerly acted in error."[26]

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No one seems to have asked Vincent to remain in Spain, but Fernando, his son and heir Alfonso, Jean Gerson, and perhaps also Emperor Sigismund did ask him to go somewhere: Constance. On January 31, 1416, Alfonso instructed his ambassador at the Council of Constance, in keeping with Fernando's wishes, to ask Sigismund and others in attendance to write to Vincent and urge him to attend the council. They should write to Vincent as soon as possible, Alfonso stressed, because the friar would soon resume his wandering and preaching.[27] Some two weeks later, the ambassador acknowledged receipt of Alfonso's instructions. He reported that he had seen the emperor order the writing of a personal letter of invitation and that Sigismund also had asked the Council of Constance to issue its own invitation.[28] In April 1416, less than two weeks after the death of his father, King Alfonso V himself wrote to Vincent (now in France) and asked him

to go to Constance, "so that the whole world knows of your fervent desire for the unification of the Church." The king would pay 500 florins a month, for a period of six months, to cover Vincent's expenses at Constance; if he stayed there longer than six months, then Alfonso would also cover any additional expenses that the Dominican might incur. In August 1416, Alfonso again asked Vincent to go to Constance.[29] On June 9, 1417, Jean Gerson congratulated Vincent on the role that he had played in helping to bring the schism to its fast approaching end, for without the weight of his authority behind it, there would have been no Spanish subtraction of obedience. Gerson invited Vincent to Constance to see the election of the new pope and the end of the schism. Pierre d'Ailly added an encouraging postscript, recalling earlier meetings with Vincent in Italy.[30]

To read the writings of Benedict and Gerson, Vincent's attendance at Constance should have been easily accomplished—on this point, both the deposed and the deposer could agree. Benedict's *Super horrendo* states that Vincent recognized the Council of Constance's authority to declare that pope's illegitimacy. In his *Contra sectam flagellantium* (*Against the Sect of Flagellants*) of July 1417, Gerson claimed that Vincent had "most recently" sent letters to attendees at Constance who had written to Vincent first. In these letters, according to Gerson, the Dominican subjected himself, all his writings, and all his pronouncements to the determination and correction of the Council of Constance. Furthermore, Vincent had taught and was continuing to teach that all faithful Christians must do the same.[31] In his *De examinatione doctrinarum* (*On the Examination of Teachings*) of 1423, a treatise that evinces, in Brian McGuire's characterization, "great pessimism about the possibility that visionaries, whether male or female, were to be trusted to provide guidance especially for the direction of the Church," Gerson made the claim again.[32] He wrote that those who professed themselves to have a gift of the Holy Spirit must be willing to submit themselves to the judgment of superior religious authorities, especially that of general Church councils, just as the "illustrious preacher" Vincent Ferrer once had done.[33] Witnesses at his Toulousan and Neapolitan canonization inquests testify that Vincent worked for and preached on behalf of the Church's unity at Narbonne, at Perpignan, and, after the Spanish subtraction of obedience, at Toulouse.[34] Testifying at the Breton inquest, the 50-year-old priest Olivier le Bourdiec claimed that, while in Brittany, Vincent had urged his listeners to pray for Martin V and asserted that Martin was the only and true pope.[35]

Modern historians such as Sebastián Fuster Perelló, Paul-Bernard Hodel, and Hervé Martin, among others, accept these claims that Vincent recognized the authority of the Council of Constance and of Martin V; they accordingly identify the Council of Constance as marking the moment when Vincent retreated from or abandoned his apocalypticism and regained his serenity.[36] Jean-Christophe Cassard points out that flagellants, who figure frequently in the testimony given at Vincent's Toulousan canonization inquest, do not similarly appear in the Breton inquest; he suggests that Vincent parted ways with his flagellant followers at some point before he came to Brittany in 1418 and that they parted ways because, with the summoning of the Council of Constance and the election of Martin, Vincent was no longer the agonized apocalyptic that he once had been.[37]

However, the apocalyptic element did not drop out of Vincent's preaching during or after the Council of Constance. As late as June 1417 and even as late as March 1419—the latter well after the election of Martin V—Vincent continued to maintain that Antichrist was born in 1403. The absence of references to flagellants in the Breton testimony might not reflect an absence of flagellants among Vincent's followers in Brittany, but rather a difference in how officials gathered testimony at Toulouse and in Brittany. The articles of interrogation used at Toulouse specifically asked about public penance, which is to say, about flagellation—if that question had been omitted, then the testimony at Toulouse might have wound up as devoid of references to flagellation as the testimony in Brittany, where articles of interrogation were not used. Testimony at Naples, where the articles of interrogation contained nothing about public penance, is just as devoid of references to flagellation as the Breton testimony, even though the witnesses at Naples were usually Spaniards speaking of Vincent's Iberian travels between 1409 and 1416, when flagellants certainly did accompany the friar. As for the witnesses who spoke of Vincent's work at Narbonne, at Perpignan, and then later to end the schism, their interrogators actively solicited such testimony. The articles of interrogation used at Naples included a leading question, asking witnesses to testify about how Vincent "worked most miraculously for the union of the Holy Church of God, in such a way that he brought many princes and kingdoms separated by their obedience to various popes into union and the obedience of a single pope."[38]

Ultimately, the claims of Benedict, Gerson, and the canonization witnesses regarding Vincent's recognition of the Council of Constance and Martin V have to be weighed against other evidence pointing in a different direction: the testimony of people who, unlike Benedict and Gerson, were on speaking terms with Vincent after the subtraction of obedience; Vincent's sermons; and Vincent's actions. All of these indicate that Vincent, even after reading aloud and thereby sanctioning the Spanish subtraction of obedience, never accepted the legitimacy or the authority of the Council of Constance or of the pope elected there.

Of all the witnesses who testified at Vincent's canonization inquests, Ferrando Gimel de Urrea, who testified at Naples and was bishop of Talese from 1453 to 1458, was especially knowledgeable and interesting—even his questioners regarded him as such. Witnesses are almost always introduced simply by their name and title: for example, "Reverend in Christ, Father and Lord Bernard de Rosergio, Archbishop of Toulouse, Master of Theology and Doctor of Civil and Canon Law;" or "Joan Campello, a merchant of Perpignan living in Naples." But Gimel is introduced differently: "Reverend in Christ, Father and Lord Ferrando, Bishop of Talese, once a royal chaplain, and a disciple of the aforesaid Master Vincent who, for many years, followed Vincent Ferrer in his preaching and teaching and who heard him in Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca, and the Kingdom of Castile, and then in the Kingdom of France as far as the Duchy of Brittany."[39] Gimel had traveled with Vincent in Spain and then in France. The questioners realized that the bishop was a witness who had known Vincent for a long time and well.

Gimel related that, when Vincent was at Dijon in Burgundy (he was indeed at Dijon in the late summer or early autumn of 1417—the bishop, off by a year, said it was 1416), the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo and two theologians arrived from Constance with a theological question for Vincent. The question—unfortunately, the bishop did not specify what it was—had stumped those attending the council, so the Master General of the Dominican Order (still Jean de Puynoix, to whom Vincent had written his letter of 1403) urged those at Constance to put the question to Vincent. The friar answered the question acidly:

> And among the various things that Master Vincent said in front of the messengers, he said this one thing: that on account of the pride and arrogance of some of those present at the council, God would not show them the answer, because the devil is at the council and the devil does not permit them to see the truth. Nonetheless, this question is child's play, and Vincent Ferrer said that he is astonished that so many illustrious men, full of knowledge, are ignorant of such things: thus and thus is, and so thus is the truth. And he gave them the answer, and what he told them was accepted as the correct answer. And the whole council thought it such a miracle that nothing could surpass it.[40]

Gimel had no firsthand knowledge of how the attendees at Constance received Vincent's response. However, the bishop was well positioned to know how, in France in the second half of 1417, Vincent felt about the Council of Constance and had responded to its messengers. According to Gimel, Vincent thought poorly of the Council of Constance and upbraided those it sent. The devil was active there, blinding attendees to obvious truths.

Benedict and Gerson wrote contemporaneously or shortly after Vincent's death, while Gimel testified in the 1450s. Ordinarily, one would therefore be inclined to believe the former rather than the latter. In this instance, though, there are good reasons to believe the latter rather than the former. Both Benedict and Gerson had reasons, albeit quite different ones, for claiming that Vincent had submitted himself to the authority of the Council of Constance. For Benedict, ascribing to Vincent an acceptance of the Council of Constance made it even easier to hoist the Dominican by his own petard. As Benedict pointed out in *Super horrendo*, Vincent had in his *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* of 1380 written that no council's authority could be superior to that of the pope. If Vincent now held the Council of Constance's authority to be superior to that of Benedict, whom Vincent still maintained to be the true Vicar of Christ, then the Dominican was even more thoroughly trapped in a web of contradictions. When Gerson claimed that others at the Council of Constance had received letters in which Vincent submitted himself entirely to the council's authority and advised all Christians to do the same—no such letters seem to exist today—he was trying to persuade the council to adopt his plan for disbanding the flagellants who followed Vincent, about which more below. The chances that the council would adopt his plan could only have been helped if those in attendance believed that Vincent had already and wholly submitted himself to the council's authority.

Bishop Gimel, on the other hand, had no reason to fabricate his account of Vincent's sharp and dismissive answer to the Council of Constance, no reason to

have the Dominican chastise the attendees for their arrogance and to allege that Satan was active among them. Given that Vincent was under consideration for sainthood, the bishop had every reason not to speak of Vincent's scorn for the council. Yet he did speak of it. Furthermore, one of Vincent's contemporaries, someone who spoke with Vincent directly about the possibility of the Dominican going to Constance, also found him hostile to the council, even after the subtraction of obedience: King Fernando. When, on January 31, 1416, Alfonso instructed his ambassador to ask Emperor Sigismund and others at Constance to invite Vincent there, he did so because Fernando himself had already failed in his efforts to convince Vincent to attend. When Fernando had broached the subject with the friar, he found Vincent to be "very hard"—perhaps, in this context, even "very harsh"—in his refusal.[41]

Then there are Vincent's sermons, which similarly indicate that Vincent never accepted the Council of Constance's legitimacy or authority. Extant sermons datable to the years 1415–1419 are fewer than sermons datable to the years 1411–1414. Nonetheless, they do exist. One searches them and Vincent's undated sermons in vain for passages in which he advised his listeners to follow his example and submit themselves to the authority of the Council of Constance, as Gerson would have it, or urged his listeners to pray for Pope Martin V, the one and only true pope, as the canonization witness Bourdiec would have it. Instead, after January 6, 1416, Vincent said little about the schism, and what little he said indicates his continued rejection of the Council of Constance. On June 4, 1417—a date known through his reference to the age of Antichrist—and now in France, Vincent told his listeners that the schism had lasted nearly 40 years (*ja ha prop de .XL. anys que dura lo cisma*) and that presently there were three popes in the world: John, Gregory, and Benedict.[42] For Vincent to assert on June 4, 1417, that there were three popes in the world was both stupefying and revealing. The Council of Constance had deposed John XXIII and Gregory XII fully two years earlier; Vincent had read aloud the Spanish subtraction 18 months earlier; the Council of Constance was still in session. Vincent mentioned none of these facts. The only concession that the friar made to changed circumstances was this: unlike earlier in Spain, he did not follow up his observation that there were three popes in the world with the even more provocative proclamation that, of the three, Benedict was the legitimate one. But there were still three popes. For Vincent, preaching in France in June 1417, the Council of Constance had done nothing to change the status of these three. The deposing of even Benedict's rivals was illegitimate.

Just as significantly, Vincent passed over obvious opportunities to proclaim his acceptance of the Council of Constance or Martin V. In an undated Lenten sermon that Vincent composed late in life and preached to a clerical audience most likely in 1417, 1418, or 1419—that is to say, either during the final years of the Council of Constance or the opening years of Martin's pontificate—the friar spoke of the seven things that God wanted from "us religious and priests."[43] The fifth of the seven was amicable unity among the clergy. Just as a mother hen safeguarded her chicks by gathering them under her wings, so, too, God wanted the clergy to gather together for their protection in the mystical body

of a single Church, so that they might be kept safe from Satan. Harmful divisions that undermined amicable unity made Satan's work easier. But the harmful divisions and schisms that Vincent mentioned were all geographically distant: those of Prester John, the Armenians, and the Georgians. The Dominican said nothing about the papal schism. Even as he spoke of the need for unity within the Church, Vincent neither called upon his listeners to obey and support the Council of Constance or Martin V, nor spoke of his own obedience to and support for the same.[44]

Then there are Vincent's actions. The friar refused every invitation to travel to Constance. Neither money nor blandishment persuaded him to go. His refusal is more consistent with a rejection than with an acceptance of the council's legitimacy. Scholars who argue for Vincent's acceptance of the Council of Constance's authority suggest that he declined to attend because he did not wish to interrupt his preaching mission.[45] Such concerns had never stopped Vincent before. The friar attended Benedict's Council of Perpignan in 1409 and managed to keep his conciliar attendance from interfering with his preaching mission; in order to attend the Council of Perpignan, Vincent traveled all the way from Italy to Catalonia, where he had not set foot for some 15 years, and he went despite the fact that he had no official role to play at the Council of Perpignan. When Vincent regarded a council as legitimate and worth attending, he went. He did not go to Constance.

Gerson's invitation to attend the council hints at additional reasons why the friar would have wanted to steer clear of Constance. Although Gerson flattered Vincent, he also revealed that some at Constance found the Dominican troubling. Despite having praised Vincent for his role in securing the Spanish subtraction of obedience, Gerson concluded his letter ominously, sending to the friar (apparently in a separate document) the "complaints of some" (*quaerelas aliquorum*) against the preacher. Gerson professed sympathy for Vincent, for he knew how very often views were attributed falsely to preachers, sometimes through listeners' obtuseness, sometimes through their malice; he passed along the complaints "not for your damnation, not for your condemnation, and not, God knows, for your irritation." Still, Gerson regarded the friar as having brought these troubles upon himself. He sent the complaints to Vincent so that the preacher henceforth would be "more cautious when speaking about such things" (*ad cautelam super his ampliorem*).[46]

Among those at the Council of Constance who found Vincent troubling was Gerson himself. A month after writing to Vincent, Gerson composed his *Contra sectam flagellantium*, which called upon the Council of Constance to adopt a four-part plan designed to disassociate Vincent from his flagellant followers either immediately or, if the friar felt that he could not comply so soon, at some later date, perhaps when he visited Constance. Flagellation, Gerson argued, was against the Law of Christ, which opposed superstitious and cruel practices. Jews, Muslims, and pagans who saw Christians practicing flagellation would think badly of Christianity and incorrectly regard it as a religion "nurtured in miseries." Furthermore, experience had shown that flagellants neglected the Church's own penitential system and the sacrament of confession. Their bands gave rise

to heresies, thefts, and sex crimes. The Church had "always" reproved flagellant movements, such as those in Germany and in France, "as many men alive today remember," and as chronicles and other trustworthy writings confirmed; so, too, contemporary prelates and secular leaders should strive to "destroy" the flagellants.[47] When Vincent Jean Marcel, a Franciscan theologian of Toulouse who testified at Vincent's canonization inquest there, was asked for examples of Vincent showing patience in the face of adversity, he replied that Vincent had borne patiently the criticisms leveled against his company.[48] Perhaps he had Gerson's criticisms in mind.

Certainly Gerson, at some level, respected Vincent and his work. He wanted the Council of Constance to proceed "gradually" and "cautiously" as regards Vincent and his flagellant followers, lest the grain that was Vincent's preaching the word of God be thrown out together with the chaff of flagellation. But Gerson objected to more than just the flagellants who followed Vincent; he also objected to Vincent's apocalyptic preaching. Having laid out his plan regarding the Dominican and the flagellants, Gerson added that any preaching about the Last Judgment or Antichrist ought to be done "generally," rather than with too many specifics or too much detail. Listeners should simply be told that all individuals, upon their deaths, would experience their personal judgments both soon and at an unknown time. Anyone who cited "new miracles" as a sign of the apocalypse's imminence ought to be doubted, for as the world grew old it experienced the fantasies of false miracles.[49] The Council of Constance did not adopt Gerson's plan regarding the flagellants and Vincent, although the latter probably became aware of it. The *Contra sectam flagellantium* ends with the curious statement that a copy of the treatise was sent (by whom, and for what purpose?) to Vincent "around the time" that Gerson presented it to the council.

Bad receptions at the Council of Constance could be very bad indeed, taking the form of fiery death. That fate befell the incinerated Jan Hus, the Czech preacher who accepted an invitation to attend the council, failed to convince the attendees of his orthodoxy, and perished at the stake in 1415. The Council of Pisa, when trying to depose Benedict XIII, had openly discussed Nicolau Eymeric's conviction of Vincent for heresy. The friar might not have been eager to attend a council that was similarly bent on deposing Benedict, and that, in looking for reasons to do so, might dredge up the conviction once again. After all, Vincent preached that Antichrist's ambassadors wanted to see him burned.

If conversion to conciliarism and recognition of the Council of Constance's authority were not behind Vincent's sudden break with Benedict and then his announcement of the subtraction of obedience, then what was? The chronology of events in November 1415, as well as the two eyewitness accounts of Vincent's sermon and announcement of January 6, 1416 (Queen Margarita's letter of January 8, 1412, and Jean Le Comte's letter of January 12, 1416), suggest an answer. Perarnau dates the rupture between Vincent and Benedict to November 12. It was on November 9, two days after Sigismund had left Perpignan and begun to make his way back to Constance after failing to convince Benedict to step down, that Fernando finalized and put into motion the plan that would lead to the subtraction of obedience. On November 10, Fernando and his allies

issued their first public call for Benedict's resignation. Fernando's decision to join the chorus of those calling for Benedict's resignation; his decision, if need be, to subtract obedience from that pope; and his public call for Benedict's resignation—these came before, not after, Vincent's own break with Benedict. And according to Queen Margarita's and Jean Le Comte's letters (the former written to a supporter of Benedict, the latter to someone at the Council of Constance), Vincent himself on January 6 presented the subtraction of obedience to his audience as a settled matter. It was happening because the kings of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre, and the counts of Armagnac and Foix had decided that it would happen. If Vincent presented the subtraction of obedience to his listeners as a fait accompli, likely that is because, as Perarnau suggests, Fernando had presented it to Vincent as a fait accompli.[50]

Vincent did not have to read aloud the subtraction of obedience. He could have refused and followed Benedict to Peníscola where, surrounded by a handful of followers, he maintained until his death in 1423 that he was pope. But refusing to read and countenance Fernando's subtraction of obedience would have required Vincent to acknowledge that he had made a grievous mistake at Casp. There, Vincent had given his support to Fernando de Trastámara, casting the first vote for him and publicly announcing the election's outcome. Then he had publicly defended his vote and the outcome, even arguing that theological imperatives and divine inspiration had determined that Fernando should rule the Crown of Aragon. To defy Fernando's subtraction of obedience would have been to give the lie to everything that Vincent had done at Casp and said about Casp. But to accept and endorse Fernando's subtraction of obedience was to give the lie to what Vincent had written in 1380 and then maintained for the next 35 years: that the line of Avignon popes was legitimate and must be obeyed. Believing himself to be near the end of his life, Vincent found himself in a predicament of the utmost difficulty. No matter which way he chose, he had to repudiate a substantial part of his life's work.

The predicament's severity explains why Vincent tried to split the difference, committing himself fully neither to Benedict nor to the repudiation of Benedict. He read aloud the subtraction of obedience, and he spoke of the heavenly rewards that the kings and counts responsible for it would receive. But Vincent also maintained that Benedict was still the true pope, and Vincent would not go to Constance and assist the council in its work. He would not praise its work. Unless forced to do so when attendees and others badgered him, Vincent would not even acknowledge its work. By continuing to uphold Benedict's legitimacy while announcing and countenancing Fernando's subtraction of obedience, Vincent tried to steer a course that allowed him to have been correct both in 1380 and 1412 and to repudiate nothing. Under the circumstances, though, to repudiate neither the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* nor the Compromise of Casp was to repudiate both. And so Vincent would die not in Peníscola serving Benedict and not in the Crown of Aragon serving Alfonso V, son of the man whom Vincent had made king yet who did more than anyone to undermine the pope whose confessor the friar once had been. Vincent would die in distant Vannes among the Bretons. For in 1416, Vincent did again what he had

done in 1399. He launched himself into distant and unfamiliar parts of Europe, places where he had never been before and whose languages were not his own, although, this time, he would first pass through some familiar places, including Toulouse, where he had studied theology some 40 years earlier.

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Toulouse from April 11 to May 2, 1416; Albi from June 5 to June 12; Saint-Affrique (via Rodez) and then Millau from July 23 to July 29; Saint-Flour in September; perhaps Puy-en-Velay in October; Clermont-Ferrand in late November and December; Riom and Moulins in late January and February 1417; Lyon, perhaps in May or June; Dijon, perhaps in September or October; Decize and then Nevers in December 1417. Such was Vincent's itinerary in the year and a half following his departure from the Crown of Aragon, according to local fiscal records.[51]

Local officials from Toulouse to Nevers welcomed the prospect of his visit and covered the expenses of Vincent and his company. Albi, Millau, Lyon, and Nevers paid messengers to find Vincent and invite him; Saint-Affrique began preparations for the Dominican's arrival weeks in advance, just in case he showed up.[52] At Toulouse, flagellants still accompanied Vincent. Canonization witnesses noted that children, some as young as four, participated in the processions and flagellated themselves, as did doctors of theology and law, and as did some witnesses themselves, who had fashioned their own whips for the occasion. One witness recalled that Vincent's company carried before it two raised crosses: on one cross hung an image of Jesus, and on the other hung the "instruments of the Passion of Christ," which in this context seems to mean whips. Another recalled that prostitutes carried candles. When some flagellants whipped themselves overzealously, others intervened and took the whips from their hands.[53] There was trouble after Vincent departed, though. He left behind some companions to preach and lead still more processions, but the seneschal of Toulouse disapproved, arresting some of the processions' leaders and forbidding such processions on the grounds that they might lead to scandal.[54] Vincent seems to have continued to lead flagellant processions even after Toulouse; at Montferrand (today Clermont-Ferrand), fiscal records refer on four occasions to expenses occasioned by "*lez disciplines*" or "*la discipline*."[55] As he had done in Spain, Vincent enacted laws; Rodez paid a notary "to copy the ordinance that Master Vincent enacted."[56] The friar's five-point plan for moral reform remained unchanged.[57]

Crowds appear to have been large; to accommodate them, Moulins declared a tax holiday, permitting bread to be brought into town duty-free. Work stopped when Vincent preached. Canonization witnesses who had seen the friar at Toulouse stated that the university canceled classes, most law courts shut down, and all other preaching stopped when Vincent was there; the tax farmers of Moulins demanded from the town compensation for the revenue that they had lost on account of Vincent's visit and related work stoppages.[58] The Dominican's sermons attracted illustrious listeners; at Dijon, wood and other materials were delivered for the construction of a grandstand to be used by Marguerite de

Bavière, duchess of Burgundy, and by other noblewomen who would listen to Vincent's sermons.[59] However, from Toulouse to Nevers, nobles spectated while towns sponsored.[60]

That was not the case with Vincent's visit to Brittany, which took the Valencian farther north than he had ever been before. It was, both geographically and linguistically, an unlikely place for him to go. Perhaps to cope with the linguistic challenges, Vincent traveled mostly within the more francophone eastern regions of Brittany, but Vannes, the effective capital of the Duchy of Brittany, was in the predominantly Breton-speaking western region and Vincent went there.[61] Monolingual speakers of Breton could not understand what Vincent said. Several witnesses at the Breton canonization inquest, including a sexagenarian who himself spoke neither "French nor Catalan," acknowledged as much; the monolingual Breton-speakers "understood" Vincent through his tone of speech and physical gestures.[62] Vincent and his companions had long lived off the charity of towns through which they passed. Brittany, however, was rather rural, and the winter weather was not conducive to their peripatetic way of living. At least one of Vincent's companions, Ferrando Gimel, did not go with him to Brittany, although the friar still had other companions who continued to give Christian instruction to children while he preached.[63]

The idea of bringing Vincent to Brittany was Duke Jean V's, fully supported by the bishop of Vannes. Jean Bernier, a witness at Vincent's Breton canonization inquest, claimed that he had visited Vincent three times at the duke's behest (at Le Puy, Bourges, and Tours) and asked the Dominican to come to Brittany; another witness, although without knowledge of the precise circumstances, agreed that Jean V had arranged for Vincent to come to Brittany.[64] When Vincent left Nevers, his destination was Brittany—among Nevers's expenditures was one for feeding "Master Philippe Clément at the house of Master Regnault Reclan; Master Philippe is bringing the aforementioned Master Vincent to Brittany."[65] Vincent reached Nantes in February 1418 and then proceeded to Vannes; Jean V and his court went forth to meet the Dominican and escort him into the town. There the duke lodged Vincent in the home of one of the duke's courtiers and paid for the construction that the friar's preaching required.[66] Vincent never again ventured outside Brittany, with the possible exception of a journey in 1418 to Normandy, accompanied by Jean V, for a meeting with King Henry V of England at Caen. Two witnesses at the Breton canonization inquest spoke of this meeting. One of the two testified that the English king had first sent a herald to Vincent to bring him; a witness at Toulouse also mentioned the meeting, and it figures in a sixteenth-century English chronicle.[67] That Vincent actually met with Henry V, who, after his victory at Agincourt in 1415 and in the latest twist to the Hundred Years War, was subjugating Normandy, is not impossible. The Hundred Years War seems to have weighed on the friar's mind as he ventured through the north. In a sermon preached on March 16, 1419, Vincent remarked that Antichrist would scarcely need to wage war against Christians, because Christendom was so divided; its kings and princes were already waging war against one another, perhaps an oblique reference to the recent revival of the Hundred Years War.[68] But it is not certain that a meeting between Henry V and Vincent actually took

place. Indeed, about Vincent's movements in Brittany, there is little precise information. Municipal financial records of the sort that allow one to trace the friar's wanderings elsewhere do not exist here, although ecclesiastical records sometimes mention expenditures occasioned by Vincent's presence.[69]

As for why the duke and duchess of Brittany wanted Vincent to visit the far northwestern corner of the French hexagon, and why they took such pains to associate themselves closely with the friar while he was there, one can well believe Jean-Christophe Cassard's suggestion that they were interested in Vincent's peacemaking skill.[70] However, it was also, at least in part, because they had an unusual problem. The Montforts, Jean V's family, had not been dukes of Brittany for long. Jean V's father, Jean IV (d. 1399), became duke of Brittany in 1365 after a two-decade-long war in which he vanquished Duke Charles I of Brittany (d. 1364), who died in battle defending his claim to the duchy. That their claim to Brittany had been made good in blood was not the Montforts' unusual problem, though; the unusual problem was the dead Charles I, whose reputation for piety and saintliness persisted after his death. A posthumous cult of Charles I arose in Brittany, and he was seriously considered for canonization. A canonization process took place in the 1370s, complete with inquests; the canonization process advanced so far that in 1378, as Pope Gregory XI prepared to depart Avignon for Rome, he delayed his departure by a week in order to complete the canonization process—but Gregory appears never to have finalized the canonization, despite later claims to the contrary.[71] To have won the duchy by defeating and killing a Breton who was the object of a regional *cultus* and who came as close to canonization as one could get without actually being declared a saint embarrassed the Montforts. Jean V, by bringing Vincent to Brittany and embracing him, stole some of his opponents' sacral thunder.[72]

Vincent inspired Breton preachers, such as Thomas Cornette, to emulate him. These Bretons preached to large crowds in open-air venues, sometimes fanning out across Europe much as Vincent had done. But even in Brittany, Vincent's style of preaching made some ecclesiastics uncomfortable. The Council of Nantes in 1431, and then the Council of Angers in 1448, forbade preaching outside churches and on wooden catafalques constructed specifically for that purpose; they forbade preachers from uttering terrible cries and making excessive gestures, and instead ordered them to preach with proper reverence and humility. The prohibitions did not work, as preachers sometimes received dispensations allowing them to ignore the canons and sometimes found ways to work around the canons and continue in Vincent's tradition. The careers of those who followed that tradition did not always end well. Thomas Cornette, like Vincent, died far from home, at Rome in 1433, but he was burned at the stake, thereby dying the death that Vincent believed Antichrist's ambassadors to have in mind for himself.[73]

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According to Prigent Floevigner, a witness at the Breton canonization inquest who admitted that he had gotten this information from someone else who was

now dead, Vincent fell sick near Nantes. His companions, believing that he was fatally ill and not wanting him to die in Brittany, convinced Vincent to return to his native land (*induxerunt eum ad repatriandum*). Together, they rode through the night, but when dawn broke, they found themselves precisely where they had started. Vincent took it to be a sign that God wished him to die in Brittany.[74] The duchess of Brittany then had the "miraculously returned" Vincent brought to Vannes, where she personally attended to the Dominican until his death on April 5, 1419.[75]

Elements of this story, and some of its modern interpretations, are dubious. Even if one takes the secondhand story at face value, there is no reason to think, as Cassard suggests, that Vincent was already in the process of leaving Brittany when he fell deathly ill—Floevigner stated that his companions suggested a return to Valencia after, not before, Vincent had fallen ill and that leaving Brittany for Valencia was the companions' idea, not Vincent's.[76] One doubts that Vincent and his company traveled all night yet found themselves at the point from which they had started. The purpose of this story, like that of so much testimony at the Breton inquest, was to demonstrate that Vincent's death in Brittany and in Vannes was God's will—and to underscore that Vincent's body ought to remain in the cathedral of Vannes (rather than be relocated to a Dominican house) because Vincent was happy to be buried there. Other witnesses testified that Vincent, asked where he should be buried, left the decision to the bishop of Vannes.[77] Questioners in Brittany repeatedly asked witnesses, in connection with the friar's burial, whether Vannes had a Dominican house—a simple question of fact that did not need the verification of so many different witnesses (they were in Vannes and could have verified it themselves), but whose negative answer the Breton interrogators wanted to pound into the heads of readers in Rome.

That the duke and duchess of Brittany, as well as the bishop of Vannes, had the dying Vincent moved from the vicinity of Nantes (near Brittany's French border) to Vannes is plausible, though, because they worked hard to secure Vincent's body. With perhaps more candor than he intended, the canonization witness Bourdiec acknowledged that "The Lord Bishop diligently watched over Vincent Ferrer's body both in illness and in death, lest it be buried anywhere other than in the cathedral at Vannes."[78] When Vincent died in Vannes, those in attendance barricaded the house in which he had breathed his last and then waited until after sundown to move the corpse to the cathedral; they feared that his body would be stolen, either by the Dominicans (who had no house at Vannes, but who did have a house at Guérande) or by the Franciscans (who did have a house at Vannes). So real was the threat of theft that those who moved Vincent's body posted guards along the roads between the Franciscan house and the cathedral, watching lest the Franciscans sally forth and try to claim the remains. Still somewhat hesitant to go through with the bishop's plan, those who possessed the body awaited word from Jean V, who gave the final order for the burial of Vincent in the cathedral.[79] The interment took place on April 8, 1419, with the duke and duchess present. Four decades of claims and counterclaims followed the burial, coming to an end only when Pope Pius II in 1459 ruled that the body of the recently canonized

Vincent must stay in the cathedral of Vannes and imposed perpetual silence on those who would argue otherwise.[80]

The duke, duchess, and bishop insisted that Vincent be buried in the cathedral at Vannes and remain buried there because they intended his tomb to become a pilgrimage site and the pope to canonize Vincent. Within months of Vincent's death, the bishop of Vannes entered into agreements with the cathedral chapter and other parties regarding how to divide the donations that they received from those visiting the tomb.[81] The Breton Henri le Medec kept written records of the miracles that occurred at Vincent's tomb and sent the records to Pope Martin V—but the pope elected at Constance made no effort to canonize the friar.[82] Jean V had another tomb built near Vincent's own, and the duchess of Brittany was laid to rest there in 1433. Jean V's successors continued to pursue the declaration of Vincent's sainthood, levying taxes to cover the considerable expenses associated with canonization, and their efforts finally met with success in 1455. Indeed, to the dukes of Brittany and to the bishops of Vannes, Vincent was worth as much dead as alive, and perhaps worth even more. Not only was his tomb a site of miraculous power; his possessions and body were relics to be divided, dismembered, and distributed. Upon Vincent's death, the duchess took the friar's cape. In 1454, while affirming the rights of the cathedral of Vannes over Vincent's body, Duke Pierre II reserved for himself the right to have relics from the body, either for his own personal use or for the use of those to whom he gave them.[83]

The determination of duke, duchess, and bishop to have Vincent buried in Vannes, to keep him buried in Vannes, and to have him canonized perhaps sheds light on why they wanted the Valencian to come to Brittany in the first place. When he preached in Castile, Vincent spoke of himself, in the guise of the sick friar healed by Jesus, as not having long to live. He got no younger between Castile and Brittany. The Dominican's advanced age could not have escaped the notice of Jean V, his wife, and the bishop of Vannes after Vincent came to Brittany; it might not have escaped their notice even before. If his senectitude figured into their decision to invite Vincent and host him for the rest of his life—14 months, as it turned out—then duke, duchess, and bishop brought Vincent to Brittany not just to preach but also to die.

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Three years after Vincent's death, one of his companions, Brother Pere Cerdán, was back in the Crown of Aragon. There, Cerdán preached that Jewish greed was responsible for the high prices of goods. He preached, too, that Jews should be forbidden from working as artisans, owning ovens and mills, and selling goods freely—in other words, he advocated the sort of economic strangulation of Jewish communities once mandated by the Laws of Valladolid. Jews protested against these accusations and proposals, and they countered with accusations of their own. To the archbishop of Zaragoza, they averred that Cerdán's preaching showed contempt for Pope Martin V and for that pope's wishes and rulings. The archbishop of Zaragoza took the Jews' point and, lest Cerdán trigger

disturbances and move his listeners to attack Jews, forbade him from preaching anymore. In Naples, King Alfonso V heard of what was happening and backed the archbishop; if Cerdán would not comply with the archbishop's order and stop preaching, then officials should proceed against him with all due rigor.[84]

Vincent's companion returned to the Crown of Aragon only to find that sermons like those once preached by Vincent were no longer welcome there—not to the archbishop of Zaragoza, not (or so the archbishop believed) to the pope, and not to the king of Aragon. At Naples in the 1450s, that same king testified at Vincent's canonization inquest; he supported the declaration of Vincent's sainthood, and his testimony (which survives today only in fragmentary form) was part of the process that transformed the Vincent of history into the Vincent of myth. But in 1422, when the Vincent of history was better known than he would be in the 1450s, Alfonso silenced the friar's former companion. If Vincent himself had returned to his native land in 1422, he might well have faced the same censorious reception.

# CONCLUSION

The value of the biographical approach to the past is a matter of ongoing debate, and biography's limitations and pitfalls are well known. A scholar who spends many years studying a single individual tends to develop feelings, whether admiring or antipathetic, toward the subject; those feelings can cloud the scholar's powers of discernment and judgment. The dates of a subject's birth and death set chronological parameters that rarely correspond to moments of broader historical significance. Biographies that aim for cradle-to-grave exhaustiveness can become cluttered with personal and professional details of no historical import. The conventional narrative structure of biography does not lend itself especially well to the analytical scholarship valued by academic historians. The messiness of individual lives, wherein people engage in disparate activities and play multiple roles while responding to events beyond their control, works against the imperative to formulate a grand thesis.[1] Such criticisms are valid. A historical discipline that consisted entirely (or even predominantly) of biographies would be an impoverished discipline indeed.

But biography's vices are sometimes also virtues, and a historical discipline that eschewed entirely the biographical approach would be impoverished as well. Academic history is highly specialized. Within the field of medieval history, we tend to be historians of apocalypticism, of Judaism, of heresy, of the Church, of urbanism . . . the list goes on, and each of those subfields has many sub-subfields. Specialization fosters productivity, technical proficiency, and understanding, but it comes at a cost, because those whom we study never led lives corresponding to our categories of professional organization. No one was ever just a believer (or not) in the imminence of the apocalypse, ever just a Jew, a heretic, a friar, or a Valencian; individuals were many of those things at the same time, and many others besides, all interconnected. Biographical studies reveal what those many things were and enable us to recapture connections that academic specialization obscures. And because biography requires scholars to address a range of phenomena that can only be understood within broader contexts, it illuminates the many milieux within which the subject lived. As David Nasaw has put it, "Historians are not interested in simply charting the course of individual lives, but in examining those lives in dialectical relationship to the multiple social, political, and cultural worlds they inhabit and give meaning to."[2]

At the same time, scholars are right to expect that biographies not just illuminate a place and time but also address enduring historical questions and debates.

This book's contributions are relevant, I think, to two issues especially: first, the question of how widespread and intense apocalyptic expectations were during the Late Middle Ages; and second, the process by which the kingdoms of Spain, the "land of three religions" and medieval Europe's most religiously diverse region, eventually came to expel their non-Christians, most famously with the Jewish expulsions from Castile and the Crown of Aragon in 1492.

As regards late medieval apocalypticism, Vincent's life and preaching suggest that some of his listeners took to heart his predictions of the world's imminent end. At Lleida in 1414, the preacher addressed a question that "perhaps" had crossed his listeners' minds: whether, given that the world would end soon, his listeners should bother getting married in the meantime. He responded that those who could live unmarried and chastely until Antichrist revealed himself should do so; those who could not remain chaste while awaiting the apocalypse, however, should marry. The same principle held true for other plans and projects, such as whether to build a house. If those projects were very important, then his listeners should go ahead with them, but if they were not so important, then his listeners ought not to bother, considering how few years were left. Vincent raised this question at Lleida because, he said, he had been asked and had answered the question before.[3] Those who raised the question had absorbed the Dominican's apocalyptic message and were thinking through its practical implications.

His listeners' apocalyptic curiosity, attentiveness, and responsiveness also appear elsewhere. The only specific point that the anonymous author of Montpellier's *Petit thalamus* took away from Vincent's sermons was the news that Antichrist had been born five years earlier. On the sixth day of his preaching at Chinchilla in 1411, Vincent announced that, because his listeners had expressed an interest in hearing more about Antichrist, he would preach two sermons on the subject: first a sermon on how Antichrist would subjugate the world, and then, the next day, a sermon on when Antichrist would do so.[4]

Yet, at the same time, Vincent's life points to the limits of apocalyptic intensity and expectation, because what he wanted others to take away from him was not always the same as what others wanted from him or what others actually took away from him. When towns, bishops, and kings invited Vincent to visit and preach, they wrote of how his preaching would improve morals and end feuds. To that extent, hosts and guest shared similar aspirations. Similarly, when Fernando I invited Vincent to Zaragoza, it was to convert Jews there, a goal that was as much Vincent's as the king's. But when they invited Vincent to preach, neither towns, nor bishops, nor kings mentioned the apocalypse's imminence or the need to warn people about it. His hosts valued the practical consequences of Vincent's preaching and evinced little interest in his apocalypticism itself.

One host whose curiosity Vincent did pique was Lluís de Prades, the bishop of Mallorca who brought the friar to the Balearics in 1413. By 1424, Prades was in Rome, where he died in 1429.[5] There, an anonymous author writing in the 1420s relates, Prades encountered a hermit from the mountains of Tuscany near Lucca. The bishop recalled that, back in the Crown of Aragon, he had heard Vincent relate how hermits dwelling in the Tuscan mountains near Lucca had sent one of their own to inform the Dominican of Antichrist's birth. Seizing the

opportunity, Prades posed to the hermit two questions: did the hermits actually believe that Antichrist had been born? Did the hermit in Rome happen to know the hermit who had brought to Vincent word of Antichrist's birth? The hermit replied that he did not know the messenger and that none of the region's hermits dressed in the manner that the bishop had described. As for Antichrist's birth, the hermits had no certain knowledge of it, but they all believed that Antichrist had been born.[6] Whether the hermit's answers bolstered or weakened Prades's belief in Vincent's apocalyptic pronouncements—indeed, whether Prades believed them at all—is unknown. But the fact that he bothered to pose such questions suggests doubt and reserve, as if Vincent had failed to convince him. That doubt and reserve may have been of long duration, for when Prades wrote to Fernando in 1413 about Vincent's upcoming visit to the Balearics, the bishop, like other hosts, said nothing of Vincent's apocalypticism and spoke only of how the friar's preaching would inspire listeners to lead better lives.[7]

There is reason to think that more people valued Vincent for his practical functions than for his apocalyptic warnings. Contemporaries treated the Dominican as a talismanic source of numinous, prophylactic power, as was evident in 1416 at Toulouse. At the canonization inquest later held there, the Dominican Guillaume Michel and the Carmelite Galhard de Ruppe each recalled that, as soon as Vincent had finished preaching, his listeners rushed forward to touch him and his clothing. They surrounded him in such numbers that only with great difficulty could he make his way back to his lodging, and according to Ruppe, they touched the Dominican despite his demurrals.[8] Jacques Ysalgueri, a Toulousan knight, recalled people trying to rip bits of Vincent's clothing off him and tear tufts of hair from his donkey, again despite the preacher's protestations against such idolatrous behavior.[9] Vincent's critic Andrea Biglia, like his admirer Ysalgueri, also mentioned the tearing of hair from the animal on which Vincent rode. The *Relación a Fernando de Antequara* (written during Vincent's visit to Castile, and not decades after the fact like the records of the Toulousan canonization inquest) reports that, at Toledo in 1411, "we forbade that men and women come up to him and kiss his hands and clothing."[10] Even as early as Vincent's visit to Genoa during his mission's first decade, the Genoese put him at the head of processions to ward off plague.

In 1409, Martí I wrote to his captain in Sicily about that year's visit by Vincent to Barcelona. The king praised the Dominican fulsomely; to impress his captain, Martí related that when Vincent preached at Barcelona, 7,000 to 8,000 people attended his sermons, and that when he led public processions (probably, as elsewhere, to prevent plague), 25,000 people took part.[11] The king had no way of knowing the precise number of those attending Vincent's sermons or participating in the processions, but surely he could judge the crowds' relative sizes, and in his estimation, more than three times as many people turned out for the processions as for the sermons—and this in a Catalan-speaking city whose inhabitants would have had no trouble understanding what Vincent said. Martí's numbers suggest that those who looked to Vincent for deliverance from immediate earthly suffering substantially outnumbered those who looked to him for apocalyptic description and revelation.

As regards relations between Christians and non-Christians in Spain, Vincent's life reveals just how important contingency and accident were in determining the fate of Iberian Jews. David Nirenberg has shown how many ideas, some older and some newer, figured in the anti-Judaism of late medieval Spain. Apostolic and patristic associations of Jews with carnality fed into medieval associations of Jews with royal fiscal burdens. These ideas operated throughout Europe, providing a conceptual framework that made possible and even desirable the expulsions of Jews from England and France. The same ideas operated in Spain, too, where an important regional peculiarity pointed in the same direction. That peculiarity was the unusually large number of Jewish converts to Christianity within Castile and the Crown of Aragon following the pogroms of 1391 and then Vincent's proselytizing. The converts blurred the line between Jew and Christian and created anxieties about Christian identity that manifested themselves throughout the fifteenth century (and even beyond) and fuelled the Jewish expulsions of 1492.[12]

Nirenberg warns readers that a recognition of deep cultural patterns ought not to result in a deterministic reading of history, and Vincent's life illustrates why he is right to do so.[13] Vincent's missionary success almost did not happen, and in a sense, it never should have happened. The friar's return to Spain in late 1408 or early 1409 was a chance and unlikely event. He spent his mission's first decade away from Spain, turning an unhearing ear to those who pled for his return. That he returned at all was due to the vagaries of the papal schism. Had Benedict XIII not retreated to Spain after losing his support and protectors in Provence and Italy, then Vincent likely would have spent the rest of his life outside Spain—and the lives of a great many people in Castile and the Crown of Aragon would have followed a quite different course.

Just as important is the roughly two-year chronological gap between Vincent's return to Spain in late 1408 or early 1409 and his first substantial conversions of Jews in Murcia in early 1411. Vincent's inability to convert a noteworthy number of Jews during that two-year interval seems not to have been for a lack of effort; he certainly preached to Girona's Jews in 1409, and he had preached to Jews before then. The gap suggests that Vincent was not destined to trigger a wave of mass conversions; if he had been so destined, then the conversions would have begun immediately upon his return. Something must have changed between 1409 and 1411 to make Vincent's missionary success possible. That something, I have suggested, was the restrictive Murcian ordinance of 1411, which gave force to Vincent's exhortations and led him to advocate for the even more punishing Laws of Valladolid. Without that conjuncture in Murcia, the lives of a great many people in Castile and the Crown of Aragon would, yet again, have followed a quite different course. In some cases, those lives would have lasted longer.

★ ★ ★

Not all of Vincent's contemporaries shared his views, but his vision of the world reveals an important strand in the cultural and religious history of late medieval Europe. If more people turned out for Vincent's processions than for his sermons,

if they were so in need of help that they ripped tufts of hair from the donkey on which he rode, Vincent understood why. The world, as he saw it, was a place of ineffable sadness and unavoidable suffering.

This idea was the subject of no single sermon. Rather, it was a leitmotiv that ran through them all, so obvious that it required no lengthy demonstration, only occasional exposition and, more often, passing recognition and acknowledgment. As Vincent told his Swiss listeners in 1404, Jesus cried on the day of His birth when Joseph and Mary placed Him among the animals in the manger, for those animals signified the "beastliness" of the world in which He now lived, a world "which is our first misery." Jesus never laughed during His lifetime, for He knew that there was no joy here. Jesus rejoiced to hear that Lazarus had died and left this world; He wept when Lazarus returned from the dead.[14]

In an undated sermon, Vincent developed this point more systematically. Jesus wept when He came into this world because it was not made for humans. At the beginning of time, God had created three types of beings and a place suitable for each: immortal and spiritual angels, for whom God made heaven; corporeal beasts "without spiritual substance," for whom God made the earth; and humanity, which is both spiritual and corporeal, and for whom God made the earthly paradise between heaven and earth, where Elias and Enoch resided until their return with Antichrist. There were no beasts in the earthly paradise, not even parrots, "for some say that parrots come from the earthly paradise, but they are not telling the truth; Scripture says the opposite." God cast humanity out of the earthly paradise and into a place where people were never meant to live. Because humans now occupied their world, beasts such as wolves attacked them.[15]

Humanity did not belong in this world because it was both beast and not beast, and what separated human from pure beast was reason, defined not as the capacity for intellectual inquiry and problem solving but rather as the capacity to channel, to control, and to eliminate sensuality: "And thus the proud, the greedy, the extravagant, and so on, dependent upon sensuality in the manner of irrational animals, are called beasts, and through sin they are made beasts . . . Against this, God gave reason and understanding to us but not to beasts, so that, if sensuality leads us to do wrong, reason resists."[16] Sometimes humans were worse than beasts, for animals stopped drinking when they had enough, but humans drank to excess. In such cases, beasts displayed a greater temperance than "rational man" could muster.[17]

The bleakness of Vincent's worldly vision and his scorn for beasts may discomfit many modern readers; so may his promotion of flagellation and of the fatal Laws of Valladolid, and his erroneous belief that Antichrist was born in 1403. But if Vincent discomfits, he is not for that reason to be dismissed. His desires for peace among those who crave vengeance and for a morality to guide human conduct are not to be scoffed at. And as for his declaration that this world is no place for humankind—that it is inimical to us, and we to it—our species may yet prove Vincent right.

# APPENDIX: SOURCES

The major sources for this book are Vincent Ferrer's writings, his sermons, and the records of his canonization inquests. All three pose problems at every turn.

## Writings

Vincent did not write much, and he may have written even less than is generally supposed. I reckon the number of extant and complete letters whose authorship can be securely attributed to Vincent as five. Among the various treatises attributed to him, three (or, more precisely, two treatises and one "question," a genre characteristic of medieval scholasticism) pose few problems of authenticity and localization: the *Questio de unitate universalis*, the *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, and the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate*. The *Questio de unitate universalis* and the *Tractatus de suppositionibus* date to 1371 or 1372, and their manuscripts explicitly identify "Vincent Ferrer" as their author.[1] Pietro Ranzano's *vita* of Vincent, written in the 1450s just after the late friar's canonization, identifies Vincent as the author of the "*opus de Dialecticis suppositionibus*," as Ranzano called it.[2] Vincent's *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* survives in a single Parisian manuscript that identifies "Vincent Ferrer" as the author and 1380 as the date of composition. Ranzano did not mention the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* in his *vita*, but that omission, if intentional, is easily explained. Ranzano wished to portray Vincent as a healer of the schism; mentioning a polemical and partisan work written in support of the Avignon papacy would have been counterproductive. Other authors and sources besides Ranzano's *vita* do mention the treatise. Pope Benedict XIII's library catalogue, compiled either in 1405 or 1408, includes the *Tractatus magistri Vincentii de scismate*; Jean Carrier, whom Benedict named a cardinal, in a letter of 1429 mentioned it as well.[3]

If a modern reader has read any of the treatises attributed to Vincent, it is almost certainly not one of those three, but rather the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* (*Treatise on the Spiritual Life*), which has been translated into English and Chinese. Its popularity stretches back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Latin, or in German or Italian translations, the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* exists in nearly two dozen fifteenth-century manuscripts, nearly all of Italian, Swiss, and German provenance. The first published editions appeared in the final decade of the fifteenth century. Printers published 19 different editions in the sixteenth century

and 12 more in the seventeenth century; every century since has seen the publication of multiple editions.[4]

For all of its popularity, the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* is a puzzling work; in 1923, Matthieu-Maxime Gorce aptly characterized it as "*bien énigmatique*."[5] Some confusion arises from the proliferation of early printed editions, whose editors freely changed words and sentences, reordered passages, introduced divisions and chapter headings, and lopped off multiple chapters.[6] (Even today, there is no modern critical edition of the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*.[7]) Some confusion arises from the text itself. Of the various fifteenth-century manuscripts, two are crucially important: Basel, Univ. Bibl. A.X.129, which dates to 1438; and most especially Basel, Univ. Bibl. A.VIII.8, which contains the oldest known version of the *Tractatus de vita spritiuali*. A note at head of the treatise states that the Dominican Giovanni di Ragusa (d. 1443) copied the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* at Bologna in 1428, possibly in January; the manuscript attributes authorship to "Master Vincent, of the Order of Preachers."[8] Ragusa presided over the Council of Basel in the early 1430s and gifted manuscripts to the Dominican house there, which would explain how the oldest version of the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* wound up in Basel.[9] Also from Basel comes the only surviving Latin manuscript of the brief *Tractatus consolatorius in temptationibis fidei* (Basel, Bibl, univ. A.X-41). Just as Ragusa claimed Vincent's authorship of the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*, so, too, he vouched for Vincent's authorship of the *Tractatus consolatorius*, doing so in a letter that he sent (along with a copy of the treatise) to a correspondent, thereby seconding the manuscript's own affirmation of Vincent's authorship.

The *Tractatus de vita spirituali* gives no indication of where or when Vincent composed it. He traveled in northern Italy—although he did not go as far to the east as Bologna—in the first decade of the fifteenth century, and it is conceivable that Vincent wrote the treatise during his time there. Alfonso Esponera Cerdán proposes circa 1407 as, possibly, the date of composition.[10] On the other hand, Sebastián Fuster Perelló, Adolfo Robles Sierra, and others date the treatise to 1394 or 1395, and there are indeed reasons to think that Vincent might have written the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* much earlier than 1407.[11] Regarding the issue of religious visions and their authority, the opinion expressed in the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*—namely, that visions ought to be regarded with great suspicion, as they might be of demonic inspiration—echoes the opinion expressed in the *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate* of 1380.[12] From 1399 onward, Vincent traveled across much of Europe in compliance with a vision that he himself experienced. One wonders whether, after 1399, he still would have expressed the same hostility to religious visions that he had expressed in 1380. But even 1394 or 1395 might be too late a date for the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*. Vincent's responsibilities for the spiritual direction of younger friars came earlier in his career, in the 1370s and the 1380s, when he was a teacher and a prior—and when he was an active writer of treatises.

Then there is the question of whether Vincent authored the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* at all. Ranzano knew about the *Tractatus de suppositionibus* and cited it by name; he did not, however, name or mention the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*, and neither did Pope Calixtus III in his canonization bull. Robles suggests that the

*vita* and bull's "concrete objectives" rendered any mention of the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* superfluous.[13] That explanation is most unlikely. Given that both the *vita* and the bull were concerned, above all else, with the attestation of Vincent's holiness, surely a treatise offering spiritual guidance to others was at least as germane and worthy of mention as a treatise on supposition theory.[14] The more likely explanation for Ranzano and Calixtus III's failures to mention the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* is that neither knew of its existence and that few if any of their contemporaries knew of its existence—or, if they did know of its existence, they did not believe Vincent Ferrer to have been its author.

Modern attempts to demonstrate Vincent's authorship from the treatise's internal characteristics have been unsustainably speculative. While the author of the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* seems familiar with the Dominican Rule and Constitutions, that hardly proves Vincent's authorship, as Dominicans besides Vincent were familiar with those texts, and others were familiar with the Rule and Constitutions who were not themselves Dominicans. While the author's thoughts on preaching might reflect substantial personal experience, that hardly proves Vincent's authorship, as there were other experienced preachers besides Vincent. As for the argument that Vincent should be regarded as the author of the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* because its author possessed "clearly a maturity and experience of religious life that matches the maturity and experience of Saint Vincent," there is no objective way to demonstrate or measure authorial maturity in a text, still less to use its presence or absence to determine authorship.[15]

Furthermore, the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* is largely a work of compilation. Several chapters are copied from the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph von Sachsen (d. 1378); other passages are taken from the writings of the Franciscan Venturino da Bergamo (d. 1346); still others depend heavily on the Franciscan Peter John Olivi.[16] The last of these three was an apocalyptic thinker with whose ideas Vincent did not at all sympathize. For Vincent, at any stage of his career, to have drawn upon Olivi when offering spiritual guidance to others would be surprising.

In the end, there is just enough manuscript evidence for one, if one so chooses, to follow Sigismund Brettle, Gorce, and Thomas Kaeppeli in attributing the *Tractatus de vita spirituali* to Vincent. But there is also sufficient evidence to justify withholding one's acceptance of that attribution, especially considering that, from the fifteenth century onward, scribes and publishers repeatedly associated Vincent with works that were not his, so that those works might share his fame, circulate widely, and sell well.[17] Even if Vincent did write the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*, its value to historians is slight, because he might have written it at any point between the 1370s and his death in 1419. For those reasons, I do not draw upon the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*.

## The Sermons

Many hundreds of Vincent's sermons are extant today, but they survive as *reportationes*, or reports, made by his usually anonymous listeners.[18] The act of reporting was a multistage process. At the first stage, a reporter or several reporters

took notes while Vincent spoke—a Valencian retable shows the friar preaching while two reporters sit nearby, one writing and one resting, which suggests that reporters (at least sometimes) took turns writing, rather than every reporter taking a full set of notes throughout the sermon. It is possible that some reporters wrote their notes after Vincent had finished preaching, not while he spoke. After the initial taking of notes, someone—perhaps a reporter, perhaps someone else—rewrote and expanded the notes as a fair copy, sometimes collating various reports in the process. Then, after the expansion and collation of the initial notes, the fair copy was itself recopied. The initial notes, fair copy, and copies of the fair copy might themselves be recopied again and again.[19]

There was always a gap, and sometimes a considerable gap, between the moment when Vincent preached and the moment when a scribe wrote down the sermon in the form in which it survives today. Some manuscripts date to Vincent's own lifetime. The manuscript containing his Swiss sermons of 1404 dates to 1406.[20] Composition of the homiliary of Perugia apparently began in 1407 but must have continued for several years, because it contains Vincent's letter of 1412 to Benedict XIII as its 430th item. More often, manuscripts date from after Vincent's death. The homiliary of Ayora dates to 1435.[21] Paleographical analysis suggests that the composition of Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, began in the 1430s and continued well into the second half of the fifteenth century.[22] Madrid, Real Academia Española, ms. 294, was copied in 1448.[23]

Scribal actions and decisions played a role in determining which sermons were reported and copied and which were not. Some omissions were more accidental than deliberate. A reporter who took notes in Castile explained that his own illness prevented him from attending Vincent's sermons during an extended period of time. Elsewhere he noted that he was unable to report a sermon because there was no sermon to report—Vincent had been too ill to preach that day.[24] In other instances, scribal selection and omission were deliberate. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, contains sermons that Vincent preached between Valencia and Barcelona from April to August 1413, but it does not include all the sermons that he preached there and then. Instead, the scribe seems to have copied only sermons corresponding to Sundays and to the feast days of the most important saints.[25] Copyists sometimes left blank pages interspersed within Vincent's sermons, apparently intending to add still more sermons at a later date.[26]

Many of Vincent's sermons have disappeared over the centuries. As early as 1386, Vincent promised to send to a recipient a collection of his sermons. That collection—assuming that the friar made good on his promise—apparently does not exist today. The Spanish Civil War of the 1930s claimed among its victims several manuscripts containing Vincent's sermons (one from the see of Valencia and three from the Arxiu Arxipretal de Morella, although one of the three manuscripts at Morella seems to have turned up once again).[27] No one knows when the manuscript once housed at the Biblioteca Provincial de Cáceres disappeared; in the 1870s, the Spanish periodical *La cruz* published sermons contained in that manuscript, which vanished some time later.[28] On a brighter note, the manuscript of Ayora came to light in 1994; it contains (among others) previously unknown Lenten sermons that Vincent preached at Lleida in 1414.[29]

Scribal practice and decision shaped the texts of those sermons that have survived. As they took notes, collated, and copied, scribes sometimes truncated sermons and, rather than writing out material similar to that available elsewhere, inserted cross-references to other of Vincent's sermons (usually identified by place—"in the sermon of Ribaroja" or "in the sermons of Valencia," for example).[30] In some instances, scribes evidently misunderstood what Vincent said, or they wrote down incorrectly something that they did understand, or they were confused by the abbreviations, truncations, and language of the written document from which they were working. Scribes accidentally substituted "test" for "testament," "prophecy" for "philosophy," and "misery" for "mercy"—the last of these was an especially unfortunate mistake, as one might imagine.[31]

But scribal practice and decision shaped the written record of Vincent's sermons in ways even more profound and problematic. The reasons why scribes copied his sermons at all, to the extent that one can deduce those reasons from the manuscripts, varied. Some manuscripts seem to have been produced for unknown readers with specific topical interests, such as Antichrist and the apocalypse, sin and death, and Good Friday.[32] Vincent's Mallorcan sermons of 1413–1414 in Avignon, Bibliothèque municpale, ms. 610, do not appear there in a strictly chronological order; instead, they are organized according to some other principle that remains elusive.[33] Often, though, scribes copied Vincent's sermons so that other preachers could use them as the basis for their own preaching.[34] To make Vincent's sermons more useful to other preachers, scribes Latinized the sermons, so that preachers who did not know vernacular languages such as Catalan could still read and understand the text. Even more importantly, scribes, to varying degrees, stripped Vincent's sermons of material that was not useful to other preachers, while preserving material that was useful to other preachers. They kept the sermon's basic structure, which is to say, its theme and the thematic division; they also kept the scriptural citations. They stripped away—again, to varying degrees—evocative and historical detail: exclamations, onomatopoeic words that Vincent invented, dialogues, asides, answers to specific questions posed to him beforehand, and references to contemporary conditions and events.[35] Sometimes scribes took material that they had stripped out of Vincent's sermons and placed it at the end of manuscripts in the form of "notes."[36] But that was not always the case. Scribes copying Vincent's sermons for the use of other preachers did historians the favor of preserving them, but, in the process, they tended to remove materials of historical interest.

Also stripped away—if they were ever there in the first place—were the date when and the place where Vincent preached any given sermon. For other preachers, all that mattered was the liturgical day on which Vincent had preached; they needed to know that a sermon was to be preached on, say, Jubilate Sunday, and scribes usually preserved information pertaining to the liturgical day. The precise Jubilate Sunday on which Vincent had given the sermon—whether on May 6, 1403, or May 3, 1411, or May 2, 1417—was irrelevant to other preachers and so that information tended to drop out.

For preachers, the most useful sermon collection was one that covered the entire liturgical year, providing all the models that one would ever need. Even

before Vincent's death, copyists were working on such a project using the friar's sermons. The copying in 1416 of two Toulousan manuscripts containing Vincent's sermons was an important stage in the process.[37] About a decade after Vincent's death, a three-volume collection of his sermons, organized according to the liturgical calendar (it consists of *Sermones de sanctis*, *Sermones de tempore—pars hyemalis*, and *Sermones de tempore—pars aestivalis*) and covering virtually the whole of it, existed. This three-volume collection formed the basis of the printed editions that constituted, until the nineteenth century, the known corpus of Vincent's sermons.[38]

Just as scribes copying Vincent's sermons to provide material for other preachers cared little about the precise day, month, and year when any given sermon had been preached, so, too, they cared little about historical sequence. When scribes had access to a continuous run of sermons that covered a part of the liturgical year and that Vincent had preached sequentially in a single year, scribes were happy to copy the sermons in their historical order. But when scribes did not have access to such a continuous run, they acquired copies of sermons that Vincent had preached in different years and places and rearranged the sermons according to the liturgical calendar. This practice is evident in the homiliary of Ayora, where sermons for Palm Sunday and for the Tuesday of Holy Week, preached at Lleida in 1414, are immediately followed by sermons for the Thursday of Holy Week, Good Friday, and Easter Sunday, but preached a year earlier at Valencia in 1413.[39] Because scribes mixed and matched sermons in this way, even if one succeeds in localizing a single sermon in any given collection, one cannot assume that the other sermons in the collection were preached at or around the same time. And sometimes manuscripts intermingle Vincent's sermons with those of others. That is the case with Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, mss. 476 and 477, and Vincent's well-localized Swiss sermons of 1404 are in a fifteenth-century homiliary that contains various preachers' sermons.[40]

Using a knowledge of the liturgical calendar, a knowledge of Vincent's movements and whereabouts, and references within the sermons to contemporary events or Vincent's immediate surroundings, it is sometimes possible for historians to deduce when and where Vincent preached sermons that are otherwise of unknown date and location. Perhaps the best example of such detective work is Josep Perarnau i Espelt's localization of the sermons contained in Valencia, Seu de Valencia, ms. 277 (*olim* 279). Perarnau has demonstrated that those sermons were preached at Valencia between December 19, 1412, and January 1, 1413, and at Zaragoza between November 13 and December 23, 1414.[41] (This manuscript was one of those that disappeared at the time of the Spanish Civil War. Scholars had transcribed some of its sermons before its disappearance, but its present location, or even existence, is unknown.)[42] Perarnau points out that the Lenten sermons in Clermont-Ferrand, BMI, ms. 45, contain substantial amounts of incidental information that point to their having been preached in France: Vincent offhandedly mentioned the king of France, French units of currency, and the Rhône River.[43] Given that Vincent's sermons at Montpellier in 1408 also contain references to rulers and coinage that would have resonated with a specifically French audience, this French localization of the sermons in Clermont-Ferrand,

BMI, ms. 45, is sound.[44] Perarnau also suggests that these sermons, "globally considered," ought to be dated to 1417, which seems likely. But, as Perarnau recognizes, the manuscript was copied for the use of someone who wanted a complete run of Lenten sermons preached by Vincent, and to fill in the gaps, sermons preached in years other than 1417 were mixed in. As discussed in chapter 6, the age of Antichrist dates at least one of these sermons not to 1417, but to 1419.

Attempting to localize sermons in this manner sometimes yields debatable results, though. There is no consensus concerning the dating of sermons 1 to 51 in Valencia, Seu de Valencia, ms. 279 (*olim* 281). Martín de Riquer dates these sermons to the period from May 27, 1416, to July 28, 1416, when Vincent was in France.[45] Gret Schib dates these same sermons to 1412 and believes that Vincent preached them in Aragon and Valencia.[46] In fact, neither of these dates can hold true for all the sermons in question because, as discussed in chapter 6, the age of Antichrist dates one of them to 1417.

Some sermons attributed to Vincent are his while some are not, and some sermons attributed to other preachers are Vincent's. Perarnau proposes five criteria for assessing whether a questionable sermon should be attributed to Vincent: *cotinuïtat serial*, or whether the sermon makes reference to other of Vincent's sermons; *coninuïtat sermonal*, or whether the sermon replicates an authentic sermon; *continuïtat structural*, or whether the sermon contains structural elements typically found in Vincent's sermons; *continuïtat doctrinal*, or whether the sermon's ideas are consistent with those that Vincent expressed elsewhere; and, finally, *continuïtat exemplal*, or whether the sermon's illustrative examples overlap with examples that Vincent used elsewhere.[47] Using these criteria, Perarnau makes a strong case for attributing four sermons in Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 476, to Vincent, even though the manuscript itself attributes those four sermons to another preacher. Perarnau has questioned Clovis Brunel's identification of Vincent as the preacher responsible for two sermons that Brunel published; Pedro Cátedra has similarly questioned the attribution to Vincent of a sermon that Maximiliano Canal published.[48]

There are three especially important cases of unclear or disputed authenticity. The first case is that of the apocalyptic sermon on the biblical theme *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam multorum*. Fifteenth-century manuscripts attribute it to Vincent; the frequent publication of this sermon in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (still attributed to Vincent) attests to its popularity.[49] José Guadalajara Medina regards the sermon as authentic and believes that Vincent both preached it and had a hand in its copying; Perarnau includes it in his repertory of Vincent's sermons.[50] However, Brettle, Cátedra, and Fuster deem the sermon to be apocryphal, perhaps containing some ideas derived from Vincent but not his handiwork.[51] The second case is that of four sermons attributed to the otherwise unknown Pedro Marín. Cátedra argues that they should be attributed to Vincent; Manuel Ambrosio Sánchez Sánchez doubts it.[52] The third case is that of a fragmentary account of Vincent's preaching at Salamanca that Cátedra dubs the *Declaración de Salamanca*, but regards as apocryphal.[53]

I cannot definitively prove or disprove the authenticity of *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam multorum*, the four sermons attributed to Pedro Marín, or the *Declaración*

*de Salamanca*, but here are my opinions. *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam multorum* is apocryphal. Although its author uses some of Vincent's favorite catchphrases and seems to want us to believe that he is Vincent, the sermon espouses a Joachimite-influenced apocalypticism (it distinguishes between a "pure Antichrist" and a "mixed Antichrist") consistent with nothing else that Vincent wrote or preached. Guadalajara accounts for this difference by claiming that the preaching of this sermon represents a major shift in Vincent's thinking. In the absence of any other sermons or documents indicating that such a shift ever happened, the likelihood that Vincent never preached this sermon is greater than the likelihood that Vincent briefly became a disciple of Joachim of Fiore.

The four sermons attributed to Pedro Marín should not be attributed to Vincent. Cátdera finds points of commonality between these four sermons and sermons that Vincent preached, but, as Sánchez suggests, these points of commonality might result from two different preachers drawing upon common sources. More importantly, Sánchez correctly points out that the four sermons in question sometimes diverge greatly from what Vincent consistently preached elsewhere. Whoever preached, these four sermons appreciated humanism—the preacher praised poets and cited Petrarch favorably—in a way that Vincent did not. In his extant sermons, Vincent criticized poets, and Virgil and Dante by name, for their spiritual uselessness.[54]

But if Perarnau's five criteria work against the authenticity of *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam multorum* and the four sermons attributed to Pedro Marín, they work for the authenticity of the *Declaración de Salamanca*. The preacher of the *Declaración de Salamanca* states that he has been preaching throughout the world for 13 years; Vincent was in the vicinity of Salamanca in 1412, 13 years after he had departed Avignon and begun his itinerant preaching mission. Furthermore, many statements in the *Declaración de Salamanca* also appear in sermons that Vincent preached elsewhere in Spain, as well as in his letter of July 27, 1412, to Benedict XIII. In the *Declaración de Salamanca*, those sermons, and that letter, Vincent identified himself as one of the three angels mentioned in the Book of the Apocalypse; he placed himself in a tradition of divinely sent messengers such as Noah, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist, who announced or warned of imminent events whose world-historical import was manifest, and he boasted of how his preaching inspired his listeners to flagellate themselves.[55] The consistency between the *Declaración de Salamanca*, on the one hand, and Vincent's other sermons and letter, on the other, and the factual accuracy of the *Declaración de Salamanca*'s autobiographical statements indicate that it is authentic. Cátedra regards the *Declaración de Salamanca* as apocryphal because, in medieval manuscripts, it consistently appears directly before the sermon *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam multorum*, which Cátedra (rightly, I think) regards as apocryphal. But apocryphalness is not contagious. Physical proximity between an authentic document and a spurious one does not make the former any more spurious, or the latter any more authentic. Accordingly, while I have excluded *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam multorum* and the four sermons attributed to Pedro Marín from among my sources, I do include the *Declaración de Salamanca*.

Further complicating the study of Vincent's sermons is uncertainty about the language or languages in which Vincent preached and the relationship between the language(s) in which he preached, on the one hand, and the languages in which reporters wrote down his sermons, on the other.

Testifying at the canonization inquest at Naples, a lawyer named Miquel Arbiol related that, when Vincent preached to crowds containing speakers of various languages, his listeners argued among themselves over whether Vincent was preaching in the friar's native tongue or in the native tongues of his listeners.[56] Disagreement over the language or languages in which Vincent preached continues even today.[57] Between 1399 and 1419, the Dominican traveled to places where at least some part of the local population spoke a Romance language and where he could hope and perhaps expect to be understood. (No source suggests that Vincent made use of a translator when he preached.) In Switzerland, he traveled in predominantly French-speaking regions but not in predominantly German-speaking regions. In Brittany, he again tended to travel within more francophone areas, rather than areas where Breton-speakers predominated. But which Romance language(s) did Vincent use when he preached to the laity (his sermons to closed audiences of clergy might have been in Latin) of Brittany, Castile, France, Italy, and Switzerland?

Brettle and Schib, among others, maintain that Vincent preached in the Valencian dialect of Catalan wherever he went.[58] The first witness at the Toulousan inquest, Archbishop Bernard de Rosier, was a student and about 16 years old when he saw and heard Vincent at Toulouse in 1416; he recalls that the Dominican preached in "Catalan or Valencian" and that all his listeners, including Gascons, natives of Toulouse, and the French—whom he regarded as speakers of distinct languages—proclaimed that they understood the preacher perfectly.[59] Prigent Floevigner, a 66-year-old resident of Vannes, was just as certain: in Brittany, up to the moment of his death, Vincent preached in what the Breton called Catalan.[60] At Toulouse and also at Naples, other witnesses similarly testified that Vincent preached only in his native tongue.[61] The Aragonese chronicler Martín de Alpartil saw the Dominican preach at Genoa and reported that he preached in Valencian there. While listening, Martín de Alpartil wondered aloud: how could those standing around him have understood Vincent's Valencian? A nearby German who overheard Alpartil's query replied that he understood Vincent very well, to the chronicler's amazement.[62]

Some historians argue for Vincent's multilingual preaching. Cátedra attributes to Vincent an Aragonese-tinged Castilian good enough for him to preach in that language. The anonymous author of the Castilian *Relación a Fernando de Antequera* understood Vincent well, but he did not comment on the language that Vincent used at Toledo and evinced no wonder at his ability to understand the preacher, which points toward Vincent's use of the anonymous author's own Castilian rather than Valencian. The Latin versions of Vincent's Castilian sermons contain Castilian words and phrases. The sermons' thematic divisions, which provided Vincent's listeners with an outline of the sermon, frequently appear in Castilian, and that is significant because the items comprising the thematic division typically rhymed, the better for the preacher and the listener to remember them. If

Vincent preached in Valencian while in Castile, Cátedra reasons, then the thematic divisions should be in Valencian, in order to preserve the rhyming scheme. But the thematic divisions tend to be in Castilian. While Valencian and Catalan words and phrases appear alongside Castilian ones, Cátedra attributes the former two to the native language of the reporter writing down the sermon, the latter to Vincent himself.[63]

Antoni Ferrando Francés, although attributing those Valencian and Catalan words to Vincent rather than to his reporter, agrees with Cátedra that Vincent preached in Castilian in Castile. He points out that Castilian words appear even in sermons that Vincent preached in the Crown of Aragon and southern France, often coming immediately before or after a Catalan or Valencian version of the same word; Ferrando views this quick succession of synonymous words in different languages as a "faithful reflection of Vincentian oratory."[64] Indeed, Ferrando goes even farther than Cátedra and argues that Vincent was a polyglot who preached in Castilian to Castilians, in French to the French, and in Italian to Italians: "It is beyond doubt that the saint had the ability to make himself well understood in all these Romance languages [Aragonese, Castilian, French, Italian, and Occitan]." Vincent studied at Toulouse in the late 1370s; he served as the confessor of Violante de Bar, who was French; he lived at Avignon for a good part, and perhaps most, of the 1390s; he then spent nearly a decade traveling in Provence, francophone Switzerland, and northwestern Italy—that provided sufficient time and opportunity to learn Romance languages other than Valencian.[65] Provençal words appear in Vincent's Montpellier sermons, which are otherwise written in Latin; specifically, when Vincent performed mock conversations with himself playing the roles of the two interlocutors, the direct speech sometimes appears in Provençal.[66] At the Breton canonization inquest, witnesses testified that listeners understood Vincent even though those listeners knew no Catalan or Valencian, and no French—and sometimes just no French. If Vincent preached only in Valencian, then there would be no reason for these witnesses to mention that the listeners could not understand French.[67] One of Vincent's contemporaries, Nicolas de Clamanges, states in a letter of 1405 that Vincent, just after his arrival in Italy, suddenly began to preach in Italian so fluently and beautifully that Italians could easily have mistaken the friar for a native speaker.[68] Ferrando disbelieves those who spoke of Vincent preaching always in his native tongue. Their claim suggested, implicitly and sometimes explicitly, that Vincent possessed the miraculous gift of tongues, and those making the claim wished to attest to Vincent's sanctity.[69]

But the desire to attribute miraculous qualities to Vincent colors the evidence for his multilingualism as much as the evidence for his Valencian monolingualism. Clamanges's claim that Vincent began to speak perfect Italian just after his arrival in Italy has supernatural overtones. Clamanges regarded Vincent's instant Italian to be a great miracle—he merely moved the miracle's physiological location from the listeners' ears, where those who spoke of Vincent's monolingualism put it, to the preacher's larynx, and he specifically stated that he thought it likely that Vincent possessed the gift of tongues. He also asserted that even those who spoke no Italian could understand him—like Martín de Alpartil, Clamanges

trotted out a handy German who claimed to comprehend Vincent's Italian even though, as a speaker of German, he did not understand any Romance.[70] As Clamanges's letter indicates, the gift of tongues did not require Vincent's admirers to claim that he preached only in Valencian; it merely required all his listeners to understand him, no matter what language Vincent used. The questionnaire used at the Neapolitan canonization inquest illustrates this point well. It did not steer witnesses toward testifying that Vincent preached only in Valencian; rather, it specifically asked witnesses to comment on how listeners of various languages all heard Vincent preaching as if in their own tongues.[71]

Furthermore, Clamanges's claim that Vincent preached in a language other than Valencian is unique. While witnesses at the Neapolitan, Toulousan, and Breton canonization inquests positively affirmed (as did Martín de Alpartil) that Vincent preached only in Valencian or Catalan, no witnesses affirmed that Vincent preached in French. Breton witnesses merely asserted that listeners who did not understand French, or French or Valencian or Catalan—which is to say, listeners who did not understand Romance—still understood Vincent, which is not the same as asserting that Vincent actually preached in French. To suggest, as Ferrando does, that French-speakers in Brittany who reported understanding Vincent were simply telling the truth, while Breton-speakers who similarly reported understanding Vincent were mistaken and under the influence of some sort of "psychological predisposition," is arbitrary.[72] As regards the Castilian and the Valencian words that co-exist in Vincent's Latin sermons from Castile, to see in the Castilian words evidence of Vincent's fluency, and in the Valencian words scribal interpolation and the friar's occasional interjections, is also arbitrary. Given that Valencian was Vincent's native tongue, the opposite is more likely. Vincent interjected Hebrew words into his sermons, too, but no one has suggested his fluency in Hebrew on that account.

I can offer no definitive answer to the question of which language or languages Vincent used when preaching. In the end, though, I think it likely that Vincent preached primarily in the Valencian dialect of Catalan everywhere he went, sprinkling in words and phrases from the local vernacular, most often when performing mock dialogues. The burden of proof is on those who would have Vincent preaching entire sermons fluently in Castilian, Italian, and French, and while one cannot rule out that possibility, there is no conclusive evidence that he did so. Given Friedrich von Amberg's reporting of Vincent's Swiss sermons—he was a local resident whose native tongue was not Valencian—I think it likely that some Romance-speaking listeners comprehended Vincent's Valencian. Given Martín de Alpartil's doubt that Vincent's Italian audience could understand him, I also think it likely that some Romance-speaking listeners did not comprehend it.

## The Canonization Process

By the fifteenth century, both the canonization process and the written records that it generated had become, to some extent, standardized across Catholic Christendom.[73] An essential part of the canonization process was the *inquisitio in*

*partibus*, wherein subcommissioned local officials (chiefly bishops, abbots, other clergy, and sometimes law professors), acting at the behest of cardinals whom the papal curia commissioned to oversee and conduct the canonization process, collected testimony regarding the candidate for sainthood.[74] Notaries recording testimony swore oaths binding them to record all the testimony faithfully and to say nothing to anyone regarding the testimony that they heard; in Vincent's case, to guarantee the accuracy of what they recorded, notaries went back and corrected their original transcriptions.[75] The notaries and local officials conducting the inquests were not responsible for passing judgment on the testimony, deciding on the case's merits, or advocating for or against canonization. Those responsibilities pertained to the commissioners and the papal curia. The job of the notaries and the local officials was to collect as much relevant information as possible and to pass it along, so that the commissioners and the papal curia could, in turn, do their jobs. Of course, local officials might have a stake in the outcome of the canonization process, and that stake, in turn, could affect their collection and transmission of testimony.

During Vincent's canonization process, four *inquisitiones in partibus* took place in 1453 and 1454: one in Brittany, chiefly in the town of Vannes and the surrounding countryside; another at Toulouse and its vicinity; another at Naples; and another at Avignon.[76] Those places were not chosen randomly; at all four, the odds of finding witnesses capable of providing relevant information were reasonably good. Vincent had resided at Avignon in the 1390s, visited Toulouse in 1416, and spent his final years in Brittany. Even Naples made sense, although, at first glance, it might not seem so, because Vincent had never gone there—his travels in Italy were all in the northwest. But King Alfonso V of Aragon captured Naples in 1442, made it the seat of his royal court, and spent much of the rest of his life there or nearby.[77] As an Aragonese possession populated by Aragonese officials, Naples was a place where one could find Vincent's compatriots; at the Neapolitan inquest, "91 percent of witnesses had roots or connections in the Iberian peninsula . . . [and they] provided much information about Vincent Ferrer's activities in Aragon and Catalonia."[78]

That no inquest took place at Valencia has puzzled historians. Chapter 7 argues that Vincent departed his native land in 1416 under fraught circumstances. Perhaps the failure to hold an inquest at Valencia reflects just how polarizing Vincent remained in his native city and kingdom. Witnesses hostile to Vincent, still smarting from the Compromise of Casp and the Spanish abandonment of Benedict XIII, would have been more likely to surface in Valencia than in Naples, where witnesses were more likely to have royal ties and say what Alfonso, the conqueror of Naples, would have liked them to say. Alfonso, nearly 40 years into his reign at the time of the canonization process, had witnessed and participated in the events that precipitated Vincent's departure. He knew what had happened.

The officials who conducted the four inquests sent the testimony to Rome, but those manuscripts have long been missing; Dominican scholars in the second half of the sixteenth century searched for them at Rome but could not find them, and no one has found them since. However, some of the testimony

survived elsewhere. In the case of the Breton inquest, a local copy survived. In 1590, Justiniano Antist found and copied a Valencian copy (now lost) of a manuscript (already tattered in the sixteenth century, and also now lost) in Palermo that contained most of the testimony collected at the Breton, Neapolitan, and Toulousan inquests, thereby preserving it. None of the testimony collected at Avignon survives in any known form today.[79]

Local officials conducting an *inquisitio in partibus* had specific interests, and they solicited from witnesses information pertaining to those interests. Above all else, officials wanted to know about two items: miracles that could be credited to the intercession of the candidate for sainthood, and *publica vox et fama*, which is to say, the public reputation for sanctity that the candidate had enjoyed while alive and continued to enjoy posthumously. To keep the inquests properly focused, the papal curia usually provided officials with a set of articles of interrogation to pose to witnesses; if articles of canonization listing specific miracles or saintly qualities had been drawn up beforehand, local officials sometimes presented the articles of canonization to witnesses and asked them to comment on the articles of canonization point by point. In some instances, officials also invited witnesses at the end of their testimony to share any other information that they might have regarding the candidate, but opportunities for spontaneity were few.[80]

To a certain extent, this approach typified the local *inquisitiones in partibus* during Vincent's canonization process, although Laura Smoller's careful studies of their records show that local officials operated idiosyncratically. At Naples and at Toulouse, officials asked witnesses about specific articles of interrogation. Toulousan officials asked witnesses about seven articles: the excellence of Vincent's life, his chastity, his fruitful preaching, his patience in adversity, his observance of the vows and constitutions of the Dominican Order, his calls to penance and public discipline, and the miracles that had occurred by virtue of his merits and intercession.[81] The Master General of the Dominican Order provided Neapolitan interrogators with 27 articles.[82] Those who drew up these articles were mindful of how witnesses in different localities were qualified to address some topics but not others. The articles used at Naples addressed Vincent's conversions of Jews and Muslims; those used at Toulouse did not. The reason for this difference was most likely the realization that witnesses at Toulouse—most of them local residents—would possess little or no direct knowledge of Vincent's missionary activities in Spain, while witnesses at Naples—most of them Spaniards—would possess such knowledge. Officials in Brittany seem not to have used any articles of interrogation, possibly in keeping with Breton tradition.[83] Even in the case of the Breton inquests, however, officials still asked questions of witnesses, who "could find their testimony interrupted by their interlocutors when their answers seemed inadequate, incomplete, or simply lacking in details the commissioners deemed important."[84]

Just as local officials interrogated witnesses about different subjects, so, too, they called different numbers and different kinds of witnesses. The inquests at Naples and Toulouse involved unusually small numbers of witnesses, who had all been identified as such even before the inquests began. There were only 28 witnesses at Naples (the testimony of 23 survives), which constitutes the smallest number

of witnesses at any of the fifteenth-century inquests that Thomas Wetzstein has studied. There were 48 witnesses at Toulouse (the testimony of 44 survives). In Brittany, officials received testimony from volunteers who unexpectedly showed up and from others whom officials had not initially intended to interview; in the end, they examined 313 witnesses, the single largest number of witnesses in a fifteenth-century canonization inquest. At Toulouse, most of those who testified were clergy and all were male, a profile similar to that of the witnesses at Naples. In Brittany, only nine percent of those who testified were clergy and thirty percent were women; some ten percent of the witnesses were peasants, sailors, or fishermen. There was also a notable age difference among witnesses, who were older at Naples and at Toulouse, younger in Brittany. More than half of the Breton witnesses were no older than 40 years when they testified—they would have been young children, if they had been born at all, at the time of Vincent's stay in Brittany. The average age of the witnesses questioned at Toulouse was 58.[85] At the Breton inquest, witnesses spoke mostly about miraculous events, especially posthumous ones associated with Vincent's tomb at Vannes; only 29 percent of witnesses there had anything to say about his life. At Toulouse and Naples, while miracles constituted an important part of the testimony (roughly two-thirds of witnesses talked about them), witnesses also emphasized Vincent's proselytizing and peacemaking: "the northern Vincent Ferrer was primarily a charismatic miracle-worker, while the southern Vincent Ferrer emerges as a holy ascetic, an inspiring preacher, and a healer of feuds."[86]

There were reasons for these differences. In the case of the Breton inquest, the duke of Brittany, the bishop of Vannes, and the local clergy were eager to appropriate Vincent for themselves and their region; they wanted to make Vincent's tomb into a widely recognized shrine and a destination for pilgrims.[87] Accordingly, local officials in Brittany cast their net widely, interviewing many witnesses who had never seen or known the friar, but who could testify about posthumous miracles, especially those associated with his burial site. Breton officials facilitated broad local participation; they began interviewing witnesses in December, but the shortness of the days and the inclement weather limited how much interviewing they could do, so they made plans to increase their efforts in the early part of the new year, when daylight would last longer and better weather would make travel easier.[88] Bishop Ivo of Vannes, himself a postulator for Vincent, organized ceremonies to mark the opening and closing of the Breton inquest. He pushed the questioners to get their written evidence to Rome as quickly as possible, even if it meant omitting evidence of miracles that otherwise might have been included.[89] At Toulouse and Naples, on the other hand, there was not the same imperative to draw attention to the necessarily posthumous miracles associated with Vincent's tomb. There, "the Dominican Order, the Roman curia, and to a certain extent the crown of Vincent's native Aragon" were more concerned with identifying Vincent as "a committed healer of division (most importantly the Great Schism) and an exemplary Christian."[90]

Officials, whether at the Roman or the local level, were not the only ones who shaped witness testimony for specific purposes. Witnesses themselves did the same, as Smoller has demonstrated in her studies of miracle stories told at

Vincent's canonization inquests. Conflicting and diverging testimony shows the tendency of each witness to put himself or herself at the center of events, claiming credit for the invocation of the saint and, by extension, for the miracle itself.[91] Testimony includes details drawn from homiletic and hagiographical literature as witnesses, perhaps subconsciously, fit themselves into recognized patterns of behavior. Women and men testified in ways that reflected their own gender roles and possibilities. Men highlighted the significance of fellow men in securing Vincent's assistance, while women highlighted the significance of fellow women in doing the same; Smoller argues that female witnesses who testified in this manner were making a distinctly female claim to a spiritual authority not otherwise available to them.[92]

Historians using the canonization inquests to study Vincent must keep in mind the procedures used to gather testimony, the reasons why the testimony was gathered in the first place, the questioners' expectations and promptings, and the witnesses' own agenda. And that is not all. Witnesses who testified about Vincent were speaking of events that had happened some 35 to 40 years earlier and sometimes even earlier than that. Much of the testimony was formulaic in nature. Bollandist scholars of the seventeenth century, pioneers in the study of hagiography, regarded the canonization records as "little more than a jumble of stereotyped declarations."[93] Stereotyped declarations abounded at Vincent's canonization inquests. Over and over again, witnesses testified that morals changed for the better and lastingly after Vincent's preaching. Over and over again, witnesses at Brittany, Naples, and Toulouse testified identically about Vincent's fasting, his traveling on a donkey—the preferred ride of holy men everywhere in medieval Europe—and his abstemiousness, describing the Dominican's favorite beverage with the proportionate precision of a cocktail guide. That so many witnesses testified so similarly is disconcerting, especially considering that the reasons for the similarities remain unclear. Was it because witnesses knew what they were supposed to say before the questioning began? Were witnesses speaking among themselves ahead of time? Were local officials coaching witnesses? The first of these seems certain, but one cannot rule out the other two possibilities as well.

André Vauchez points out that "the depositions of the witnesses tell us less about the lives of the servants of God than about how their contemporaries remembered them, that is, in the last analysis, about their conception of sanctity."[94] Smoller's many fine studies of Vincent's canonization records are models of how to extract conceptions of sanctity, and much else regarding the religious life of late medieval Europe, from these depositions. At the same time, the testimony remains useful for the study of Vincent himself. Witnesses declined to comment on specific articles because they acknowledged that they knew nothing pertaining to those articles. Some witnesses can be shown to have known a fair amount about Vincent. And some testimony surprises; its presence cannot be explained by the interests either of the officials conducting the inquest or of the witnesses themselves. To take one example pertaining not to Vincent's life but rather to his afterlife: at the Breton inquest, two witnesses testified that, in the decades following Vincent's death, both the number of pilgrims visiting

his tomb and the number of miracles associated with the tomb had tailed off, recovering only during the last few years.[95] The witnesses offered no explanation for Vincent's several-decade-long hiatus from miracle-working, or for why he unexpectedly resumed it just as the final push for his canonization gained momentum. Those eager to see Vincent canonized might have gritted their teeth at this testimony. Yet the notaries recorded it with the rest, and it survives.

# NOTES

## Introduction

1. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, writing in 1999, gently chided modern Dominican historians for shying away from Vincent's apocalypticism: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Cent anys d'estudis dedicats als sermons de sant Vicent Ferrer," *ATCA* 18 (1999): 61. Perarnau's statement no longer holds quite as true as it did then, but twentieth- and twenty-first-century historians have consistently downplayed the friar's apocalypticism. Josep Maria de Garganta and Sebastián Fuster Perelló argued that the friar was not an apocalyptic preacher, but rather a moral reformer who occasionally spoke of the apocalypse: Josep Maria de Garganta, "San Vicente Ferrer, predicador de penitencia y de reforma," in *Agiografia nell'Occidente cristiano, secoli XIII-XIV*, ed. Enrico Cerulli (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Linei, 1980), 151–5; Sebastián Fuster Perelló, *Timete Deum: El anticristo y el final de la historia según san Vicente Ferrer* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2004), 132–7. Alfonso Esponera Cerdán characterized Vincent as "an eschatological preacher more than an apocalyptic one" or, put another way, an "eschatological preacher who used apocalyptic language": Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, *El oficio de predicar. Los postulados teológicos de los sermones de san Vicente Ferrer* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2007), 57. Carlo Delcorno writes that "As regards Ferrer, his preaching does not consist of the announcing of the Antichrist and the end of the world, but in the urgent invitation to penance": Carlo Delcorno, "Da Vicent Ferrer a Bernardino da Siena. Il rinnovamento della predicazione alla fine del medio evo," in *Mirificus praedicator. A l'occasion du sixième centenaire du passage de saint Vincent Ferrier en pays romand. Actes du colloque d'Estavayer-le-Lac, 7–9 octobre 2004*, ed. Paul-Bernard Hodel and Franco Morenzoni (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2006), 15. Hervé Martin inclines toward the view that Vincent's "apocalyptic evocations" were nothing more than an attention-grabbing device, effective in swaying crowds, but unoriginal and therefore incidental (at least by the end of the Dominican's life) to his message: Hervé Martin, "La mission de saint Vincent Ferrier en Bretagne, 1418–1419: un exercice mesuré de la violence prophétique," *Comptes rendus, procès verbaux, mémoires: Association bretonne et union régionaliste bretonne* 106 (1997): 136. The works of Perarnau and Jose Guadalajara Medina are exceptions to this trend. The latter accepts Vincent's ardent apocalypticism and rejects the notion that the Dominican calculatingly used "didactic terror" to mend his listeners' ways: José Guadalajara Medina, "La edad del Antichristo y el año del fin del mundo, según fray Vicente Ferrer," in *Pensamiento medieval hispano. Homenaje a Horacio Santiago-Otero*, ed. José María Soto Rábanos, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998), 1:333.

2. Fuster proposes that, with the meeting of the Council of Constance, Vincent returned to a state of the "greatest tranquility": Fuster, *Timete Deum*, 284. Paul-Bernard Hodel speaks of how, with the calling of the Council of Constance, Vincent enjoyed a "renewed confidence in the institution of the Church": Paul-Bernard Hodel, "Commentaire et analyse," in *Le* Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate *de saint Vincent Ferrier: Edition et étude*, ed. Paul-Bernard Hodel (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2008), 239.
3. Noted by Jaume Riera i Sans, who treats the existing scholarship severely: "It is very difficult to judge the extraordinary personality of Brother Vincent Ferrer, his political interventions and his particular method of converting Jews and Muslims. The posthumous circumstance of having been declared a saint by the Catholic Church has transformed his biographies into distorted hagiographies that cannot be recommended": Jaume Riera i Sans, "Judíos y conversos en los reinos de la Corona de Aragón durante el siglo XV," in *La expulsión de los judíos de España. Conferencias pronunciadas en el II curso de cultura Hispano-Judía de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, celebrado en Toledo del 16 al 19 de septiembre de 1992*, ed. Ana María López Álvarez et al. (Toledo: Caja de Castilla-La Mancha and Asociación de Amigos del Museo Sefardí, 1993), 71n130.
4. Noted by Claudia Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymerich (vor 1320–1399), praedicator veridicus, inquisitor intrepidus, doctor egregious. Leben und Werk eines Inquisitors* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001), 144n594. For a more recent consideration, see Esponera, *El oficio de predicar*, 59–62.
5. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Sobre l'eclesiologia de sant Vicent Ferrer. A propòsit del llibre de Ramon Arnau i Garcia," *Revista catalana de teologia* 12, no. 2 (1987): 428.
6. On the techniques that Vincent used to keep his audience's interest—exclamations, mimicry, parody, onomatopoeia, elongation, singing, silence, gestures, and dialogues in which he took the roles of each interlocutor and used for each a different voice; his use of signposts throughout his well-structured and well-balanced sermons to help his listeners to follow along; and his accessible manner of speaking, see Manuel Ambrosio Sánchez Sánchez, "Vernacular Preaching in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, fasc. 81–83 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2000), 804–9; Joan Fuster, "Notes per a un estudi de l'oratoria vicentina," *Revista valenciana de filología* 4 (1954): 87–185; Tomàs Martínez Romero, "Pedagogia de la predicació: els nivells estructurals dels sermons vicentins," in *En el món de sant Vicent Ferrer*, ed. Emili Casanova and Jaume Burgues (Valencia: Teulada, 2008), 107–21; Pedro Cátedra, *Sermón, sociedad y literatura en la edad media. San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411–1412), estudio bibliográfico, literario y edición de los textos inéditos* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), chapter 5.
7. Nicolas de Clamanges, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Johannes Martinus Lydius, 3 vols. (1613; reprinted in one volume; Farnsborough: Gregg, 1967), 315 (no date). On Clamanges, see Christopher Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges: Spirituality, Personal Reform, and Pastoral Renewal on the Eve of the Reformation* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001).
8. Franz Ehrle, ed., "Die Chronik des Garoscus de Ulmoisca Veteri und Bertrand Boysset (1365–1415)," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 7 (1900): 311–420; the passage concerning Vincent is at pp. 362–3. Pierre-Henri Fages signaled the passage's existence, but misdated the visit to 1400 and transcribed Boysset's chronicle poorly: Père (Pierre-Henri) Fages, *Notes et documents*

*de l'histoire de saint Vincent Ferrier* (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst/Paris: A. Picard & fils, 1905), 101. On Boysset, see Murielle Faudot, "Redécouverte d'un arpenteur arlésien: Bertrand Boysset (vers 1355-vers 1416)," *Dialogues d'histoire anciennes* 22 (1995): 360–9; Pierre Portet, *Bertrand Boysset, la vie et les oeuvres techniques d'un arpenteur médiéval (1355–1416)* (Paris: Editions le Manuscrit, 2004).

9. Petrus de Arenys, *Chronicon*, ed. José Hinojosa Montalvo (Valencia: Anubar, 1975), 43. Perhaps it was the unfamiliar sensation of volubility that caused Arenys to get the year wrong. He placed Vincent at Barcelona in 1408, but he was thinking of Vincent's visit to Barcelona in 1409.
10. "*Die veneris sancta non valui scribere sermonem propter fletum*," *Quaresma* 2:170 (April 21, 1413).
11. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 271–2. On Vincent's time at Pollença, see Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, "'*Hi era ab la ajuda de Déu ops de las animas molt profitos*.' San Vicente Ferrer en Mallorca," *EV* 35 (2005): 106–8.
12. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 334–7, 354–6.
13. Antonio Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," *BRAH* 84 (1924): 566.

## 1 Valencia, Avignon, and In Between

1. Pere d'Arenys entered the Dominican Order in 1363 at the age of 12, and his contemporary Joan de Mena entered at the age of 10; the general chapter of 1378 allowed priors to accept oblates who were only seven years old and who had no schooling: William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order. Growth and Origins to 1500*, 2 vols. (Staten Island: Alma House, 1966, 1973), 1: 282–3, 317–8, 328, 330.
2. José Martínez Ortiz, ed., "Relaciones entre san Vicente Ferrer y el municipio valenciano. Colección documental," in *IV CHCA*: *Actas y comunicaciones*, 3 vols. (Palma de Mallorca: Diputación Provincial de Baleares/ Barcelona: Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 1959–1976): 2:597 (December 22, 1387).
3. For the canonization testimony, Père (Pierre-Henri) Fages, ed., *Procès de la canonisation de saint Vincent Ferrier* (Paris: A. Picard/Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1904), 430. For the documents pertaining to the Ferrers in the 1350s, 1360s, and 1370s, Fages, *Notes et documents*, 35–6.
4. Fages, *Procès*, 241–2. Jean Placentis, who was 73 years old at the time of the Breton canonization inquest, had encountered Vincent in Savoy and then again at Lluchmayor on the island of Mallorca. Documents dating to Vincent's own lifetime confirm Placentis's contact with Vincent: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "El punt de ruptura entre Benet XIII i sant Vicent Ferrer," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 71 (1998): 628–9.
5. Fages, *Procès*, 435.
6. *Corpus Christi*, 344 (June 24, 1411).
7. Miquel Batllori et al., *De la conquesta a la federació hispànica*, vol. 2 of *Història del País Valencià*, ed. Ernest Belenguer (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1989), 211; *EVM*, 1:179–80 (February 27, 1375).
8. Agustín Rubio Vela, *Peste negra, crisis y compartamientos sociales en la España del siglo XIV. La ciudad de Valencia (1348–1401)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1979), 72–3.
9. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 111 (June 7, 1348).
10. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 25.

11. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 112–3 (July 21, 1348).
12. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 25–9. A document of August 10, 1348, speaks of plague as having subsided at Valencia.
13. José Trenchs Odena, "El reino de Valencia y la peste de 1348. Datos para su estudio," in *Estudios de historia de Valencia* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1978), 38–41.
14. For an estimate of 21,000 in 1355, see Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, *Pueblo, poder y sexo. Valencia medieval (1306–1420)* (Valencia: Diputació de València, 1992), 169; for an estimate of 25,000–28,000, see Agustín Rubio Vela, "La población de Valencia en la baja edad media," *Hispania: revista española de historia* 55 (1995): 520–5.
15. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 113 (October 10, 1349); see also 32–3.
16. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 15–6, 20–3, 72–3; Agustín Rubio Vela, "Las epidemias de peste en la ciudad de Valencia durante el siglo XV. Nuevas aportaciones," *Estudis castellonencs* 6 (1994–1995): 1189–92.
17. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 29–33; *HCV*, 1:222 (June 28, 1362).
18. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 35–9; 119–20 (February 13, 1375).
19. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 71.
20. Mercedes Gallent Marcos, "Valencia y las epidemias del siglo XV," *Estudis de historia social* 3 (1979): 115–35; Rubio, *Peste negra*, 39–48; Rubio, "Epidemias de peste," 1185–7, 1192–6.
21. Rubio, "Epidemias de peste," 1194; Rubio, *Peste negra*, 87–90, 116 (December 10, 1371), 116–7 (July 16, 1372), 121–2 (April 4, 1375), 122–3 (November 6, 1383).
22. *EVM*, 1:184–5 (August 9, 1401); 1:185 (August 13, 1401).
23. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 57–60, 73–4; *HCV*, 1:201 (November 1, 1349); *EVM*, 1:184 (July 30, 1401).
24. Matías Calvo Gálvez and Josep Vicent Lerma, "Peste negra y pogrom en la ciudad de Valencia: la evidencia arqueológica," *Revista de arqueológia* 19 (1998): 50–9.
25. David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 231–41.
26. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 97.
27. *HCV*, 1:198 (March 1, 1349).
28. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 98–9; 129 (July 14, 1395).
29. Rubio, "Epidemias de peste," 1194; Rubio, *Peste negra*, 84–6; 115–6 (November 29, 1370); 117–8 (December 11, 1374); 120–1 (February 20, 1375); 127–8 (June 17, 1395); *EVM*, 1:180–1 (May 9, 1375); *HCV*, 1:254 (February 6, 1375).
30. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "La frontera meridional Valenciana durant la guerra amb Castella dita dels Dos Peres," in *Pere el Cerimoniós i la seva època* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d'Investigacions Científíques, 1989), 245–7.
31. Ferrer, "La frontera meridional," 329–30.
32. Donald J. Kagay, "The Defense of the Crown of Aragon during the War of the Two Pedros (1356–1366)," *The Journal of Military History* 71 (2007): 19.
33. Kagay, "Defense of the Crown of Aragon," 29.
34. Ferrer, "La frontera meridional," 268–75, 277–84, 287–99, 300–1, 314.
35. Ferrer, "La frontera meridional," 248.
36. Ferrer, "La frontera meridional," 283.
37. Ferrer, "La frontera meridional," 329–41.
38. Adolfo Robles Sierra, ed., "Actas de los capítulos proviniciales de la Provincia dominicana de Aragón de los años 1363, 1365 y 1366," *EV* 26 (1996): 129–30.

39. For the assignations of 1350–1353, Michael Vargas, "How a 'Brood of Vipers' Survived the Black Death: Recovery and Dysfunction in the Fourteenth-Century Dominican Order," *Speculum* 86 (2011): 704, especially n.65; for 1371, Vito-Tomás Gómez García, ed., "Actas de los capítulos provinciales de la Provincia dominicana de Aragón, pertenecientes a los años 1371, 1372 y 1373," *EV* 31 (2001): 202.
40. Vito-Tomás Gómez García, ed., "Actas de los capítulos provinciales de la Provincia dominicana de Aragón, pertenecientes a los años 1368, 1369, y 1370," *EV* 27 (1997): 260, 272. That Vincent's first recorded assignation involved logic rather than grammar might indicate that he already knew grammar well when he joined the order. It is possible, however, that the provincial chapter of 1367, whose acts do not survive, assigned him to study grammar. The provincial acts of 1363, 1365, and 1366, which do survive, do not mention Vincent.
41. Goméz, "Actas . . . 1371, 1372 y 1373," 211.
42. Goméz, "Actas . . . 1371, 1372 y 1373," 224, 236.
43. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 58.
44. Vito-Tomás Gómez García, ed., "Actas de los capítulos provinciales de la Provincia dominicana de Aragón, pertenecientes a los años 1376, 1377, 1378 y 1379," *EV* 32 (2002): 351–2.
45. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 64 (February 1, 1389).
46. "As we shall see from his distinction between the *intellectus* of a proposition and the words that express the proposition, St. Vincent thinks language expresses something that the mind intends. Every meaningful proposition has a sense or an *intellectus* that is intended by one who expresses the proposition. This *intellectus* may be considered the content of a mental act by which someone intends something and expresses what he intends in language, but it is independent of any particular acts of mind and cannot be identified with them." John A. Trentman, "Vincent Ferrer on the Logician as *Artifex Intellectualis*," *Franciscan Studies* 25 (1965): 326, and more generally 322–6.
47. Trentman, "Vincent Ferrer on the Logician," 330, 335.
48. On Ferrer, Trentman, "Vincent Ferrer on the Logician," 324. On the distinction between propositions and terms, see Paul Vincent Spade, "The Semantics of Terms," in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 188–96; Gabriel Nuchelmans, "The Semantics of Propositions," *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, 197–210, especially 197–8.
49. For the definitions of signification, Spade, "Semantics of Terms," 188; Vicente Forcada, "Momento histórico del tratado '*De suppositione*' de san Vicente Ferrer," *EV* 3 (1973): 52.
50. Terence Parsons, "The Development of Supposition Theory in the later Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries," in *Handbook of the History of Logic*, vol. 2, *Medieval and Renaissance Logic*, ed. Dov Gabbay and John Woods (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 2008), 187.
51. Vincent Ferrer, *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, ed. John A. Trentman (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1997), 93.
52. Parsons, "Development of Supposition Theory," 187, 193–4.
53. Parsons, "Development of Supposition Theory," 222.
54. Catarina Dutilh Novaes, "Logic in the Fourteenth Century after Ockham," in *Handbook of the History of Logic*, 2:449–61.
55. Trentman, "Vincent Ferrer on the Logician," 327.

56. José Angel García Cuadrado, "Tradition and Innovation in the Logical Treatises of St. Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419)," in *Medieval and Renaissance Logic in Spain*, ed. Ignacio Angelelli and Paloma Pérez-Ilzarbe (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2000), 180–1.
57. John A. Trentman, "The *Questio de unitate universalis* of Vincent Ferrer," *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 110.
58. Ferrer, *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, 88.
59. Trentman, "*Questio de unitate universalis*," 116.
60. Jordán Gallego Salvadores, "Santo Tomás y los dominicos en la tradición teológica durante los siglos XIII, XIV, y XV," *EV* 2 (1974): 498–9.
61. Gómez, "Actas . . . 1368, 1369, y 1370," 258; Gómez, "Actas . . . 1376, 1377, 1378 y 1379," 366; Vito-Tomás Gómez García, ed., "Actas de los capítulos provinciales de la Provincia dominicana de Aragón pertenecientes a los años 1380, 1381, 1387 y 1388," *EV* 33 (2003): 411.
62. Garcia, "Tradition and Innovation," 167.
63. Trentman, "*Questio de unitate universalis*," 115.
64. García, "Tradition and Innovation," 168.
65. Trentman, "*Questio de unitate universalis*," 116–7.
66. García, "Tradition and Innovation," 169–75.
67. Forcada, "Momento histórico," 88; García, "Tradition and Innovation," 161.
68. Mauricio Beuchot, "La lógica en la España medieval," *Revista española de filosofía medieval* 3 (1996): 45.
69. Pietro Ranzano, *Vita*, in *AASS*, Aprilis I, 487, column 1.
70. John A. Trentman, "The Text of *De Suppositionibus*" in Ferrer, *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, 83–5.
71. García, "Tradition and Innovation," 181.
72. Dutilh Novaes, "Logic in the Fourteenth Century," 435–6.
73. Mauro Zonta, "The Original Text of Vincent Ferrer's *Tractatus de unitate universalis* Discovered in an Unknown Hebrew Translation?" *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 39 (1997): 148–51.
74. John A. Trentman, introduction to Vincent Ferrer, *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, 12; José Ángel García Cuadrado, "Los tratados filósoficos de san Vicente Ferrer: nota histórica y bibliográfica," *Revista española de filosofía medieval* 1 (1994): 65.
75. Gyula Klima, "The Nominalist Semantics of Ockham and Buridan: A 'Rational Reconstruction,'" in *Handbook of the History of Logic*, 2:390.
76. Jean Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 38–45.
77. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 109–14, 121–31, 288, 510–3.
78. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 135, 137, 539. For a fine analysis of Birgitta of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, the Avignon papacy, and the schism, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism* (College Park, PA: The Pennsylvania University State Press, 2006), chapter 2.
79. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 474–82, 530–45.
80. Some fourteenth-century contemporaries and modern historians have proposed that the cardinals retrospectively exaggerated or fabricated the threat that the Roman crowds posed to them; see, for example, Marc Dykmans, "La troisième election du pape Urbain VI," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 15 (1977): 262; Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1967; first published 1948), 31, 44. In the months and weeks leading up to Gregory XI's death and the election of Urban VI, though, the Roman populace menaced the College of Cardinals, and fears of assassination were sufficiently real for

alleged plotters to be executed. See Richard Trexler, "Rome on the Eve of the Great Schism," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 489–509. On the election more generally, see Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 549–57.

81. Marc Dykmans makes a case for three separate elections on April 8 and April 9: Dykmans, "La troisième élection," 217–64. See also Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 552–3, who speaks of two rather than three elections.
82. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 558–62; Ullmann, *Origins*, chapter 3.
83. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 562–71, 595; Ullmann, *Origins*, chapter 4.
84. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 572–4.
85. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 578–9.
86. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 568, 587–9; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Castilla, el cisma y la crisis conciliar (1378–1440)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960), 6–11.
87. For overviews of the schism and the Crown of Aragon, see Henri Bresc, "La maison d'Aragon et le schisme: implications de politique international," *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident a Catalunya, les illes i el país Valencià*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1986, 1988), 1:37–51; Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 587–90; Andrés Ivars, "La 'indiferencia' de Pedro IV de Aragón en el Gran Cisma de Occidente (1378–1382)," *Archivo ibero-americano* 29 (1928): 21–87, 161–86. Bernard Montagnes proposes that Pere IV's neutrality was tactical and adopted largely so that the king could commandeer papal revenues: Bernard Montagnes, "Saint Vincent Ferrer devant le Schisme," in *Genèse et débuts du Grand Schisme d'Occident (1362–1394)*, ed. Michel Hayez (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1980), 607. Henri Bresc argues, I think persuasively, against the notion that Pere adopted neutrality in order to maximize his material gain: Bresc, "La maison d'Aragon," 37–8.
88. Laureano Robles, "Tratados sobre el cisma escritos por dominicos de la Corona de Aragón," *EV* 13 (1983): 198.
89. Gómez, "Actas . . . 1376, 1377, 1378 y 1379," 377–8; Gilles-Gérard Meersseman, "Etudes sur l'ordre des frères prêcheurs au début du Grand Schisme," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 26 (1956): 227.
90. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 107; Petrus d'Arenys, *Chronicon*, 21; Robles, "Tratados," 203–4.
91. Robles, "Tratados," 203.
92. José Zunzunegui, "La legación en España del Card. Pedro de Luna, 1379–1390," *Miscellanea historiae pontificiae* 7 (1943): 104–5.
93. Martínez Ortíz, "Relaciones," 594–5 (December 14, 1379).
94. Jésus Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real de Aragón. Documentación conservada en el Archivo Real de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Balmesiana, 1955), 26 (9 February [1383]).
95. For appointment of the new prior, see Fages, *Notes et documents*, 49. For excommunication, see Gómez, "Actas . . . 1380, 1381, 1387 y 1388," 403.
96. Pietro Ranzano's *vita* states that Vincent accompanied Pedro de Luna as he traveled around the Iberian peninsula between 1378 and 1390: Ranzano, *Vita,* 487, column 2. However, Alfonso Esponera Cerdán rightly points out the lack of contemporary evidence for Vincent's participation in Pedro de Luna's Castilian and Portuguese legations. Every extant document puts him somewhere in the Crown of Aragon, and usually in Valencia, in the 1380s: Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, "San Vicente Ferrer y la Iglesia de su tiempo," in *En el món de sant Vicent Ferrer*, ed. Emili Casanova and Jaume Buigues (Valencia: Editorial Denes, 2008), 74–5.

97. For a thoughtful discussion of the treatise's structure, see Vicente Forcada, "El 'Tratado del cisma moderno' de san Vicente Ferrer," *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana* 23 (1955): 77–91.
98. Hodel, "Commentaire et analyse," 210; Ramón Arnau García, *San Vicente Ferrer y las eclesiologías del cisma* (Valencia: Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer, 1987), 49, 91, 99; Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 79; Alvaro Huerga Teruelo, "El 'Tratado del cisma moderno,' de san Vicente Ferrer," *Revista española de teología* 39–40 (1979–1980): 147, 159.
99. *TMES*, 36, 69.
100. Hodel, "Commentaire et analyse," 207–9; Arnau, *San Vicente Ferrer y las eclesiologías*, 27–9, 47–8; Huerga, "El 'Tratado,'" 159.
101. *TMES*, 71, 73.
102. *TMES*, 55.
103. *TMES*, 55–7, 60.
104. *TMES*, 116–7.
105. *TMES*, 83–4.
106. *TMES*, 37.
107. *TMES*, 104–6.
108. *TMES*, 98–104; for the obligation of preachers, but not others, to proclaim publicly the truth of Clement's legitimacy, see 103–4.
109. *TMES*, 107–11.
110. *TMES*, 42.
111. *TMES*, 52.
112. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 36, 55–8.
113. Arnau, *San Vicente Ferrer y las eclesiologías*, 48.
114. *TMES*, 92–3.
115. *TMES*, 92, 95.
116. *TMES*, 96.
117. *TMES*, 106.
118. *TMES*, 94.
119. *TMES*, 112.
120. *TMES*, 32.
121. *TMES*, 74–5.
122. *TMES*, 113–4.
123. *TMES*, 115.
124. Adolfo Robles Sierra, ed., "Correspondencia de san Vicente Ferrer," *EV* 17 (1987): 180 (24 February [1381]). Although Robles proposes 1386 as the year in which Vincent wrote this letter, in light of the *jurats*' letter of April 1381 regarding Vincent's trip to Segorbe, it almost certainly dates to 1381 as well.
125. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 26–7 (February 10, 1383). When Vincent stopped serving as Violante de Bar's confessor is unclear, but in 1388, she had a confessor other than him: Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 26n2.
126. On Berenguer d'Anglesola, see Salvador Miranda, "The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," Florida International University Libraries, http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1397-ii.htm (accessed April 25, 2012). At the Breton canonization inquest, the Carthusian Jean Placentis testified that "he has heard it said that" Vincent was chosen as bishop for a see in Aragon whose name he cannot recall and that Vincent declined the office: Fages, *Procès*, 245. This testimony is perhaps a distant echo of Joan and Violante de Bar's efforts to secure the see of

Huesca for Vincent, but there is no other evidence indicating that Clement VII offered a see to Vincent or that Vincent declined it.

127. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 52.
128. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 55–6.
129. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 29–30 (January 4, 1387).
130. Martínez, "Relaciones," 597–8 (January 20, no year), dating the letter to 1387; Robles, "Correspondencia," 179–80 (January 20, no year), suggesting a date of 1386.
131. Zunzunegui, "La legación," 123–4.
132. Martínez, "Relaciones," 595 (April 1, 1381).
133. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 67 (February 1, 1389).
134. Martínez, "Relaciones," 598–9 (April 15, 1390).
135. Martínez, "Relaciones," 597 (December 22, 1387).
136. Clément Schmitt, "La position du cardinal Léonard de Giffoni, O.F.M. dans le conflit du Grand Schisme d'Occident," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 51 (1958): 33–4, 39–40.
137. Leonardo da Giffoni, *Ex suptuplici medio*, in Schmitt, "La position," 71–2.
138. Schmitt, "La position," 470; Boniface Ferrer, *Tractatus pro defensione Benedicti XIII*, in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717) 2:col. 1493 (January 9, 1411).
139. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 143–5; Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass*, 41–4. The testimony itself is published in Johannes Vincke, ed., "Acta Concilii Pisani," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 46 (1938): 202, 204–5; Franz Ehrle, ed., "Aus den Akten des Afterkonzils von Pisa (1408–1409)," in Martín de Alpertil, *Chronica actitatorum temporibus domini Benedicti XIII,* ed. Franz Ehrle (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1906), 404–7.
140. Schmitt, "La position," 427, 432.
141. Schmitt, "La position," 432.
142. Schmitt, "La position," 415; *Sermons*, 1:99–100. Laureano Robles speculates that Vincent did, in fact, preach in the early 1390s that Judas was saved, or at least that Judas's salvation was possible, as God's damnation of Judas simply for doing what God had predestined him to do would have been unjust: Laureano Robles, "San Vicente: ¿el sermón de Judas?" *Levante*, April 24, 2006: 14. On Judas in medieval Catalan thought, with frequent reference to Vincent's sermons, see Albert Toldrà, "Judes a l'Edat Mitjana," *Afers* 45 (2003): 447–62.
143. Schmitt, "La position," 427.
144. Schmitt, "La position," 436–9, 454.
145. Jean Gerson, *Replicationes*, in Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, *L'oeuvre ecclésiologique*, ed. Monseigneur (Palémon) Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1965), 42.
146. Gerson, *Replicationes*, 40.
147. Gerson, *Replicationes*, 41.
148. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 79.
149. Jaume de Puig i Oliver, "El procés dels lul.listes valencians contra Nicolau Eimeric en el marc del Cisma d'Occident," *BSCC* 56 (1980): 336.
150. Puig, "El procés," 336–7.
151. Jaume de Puig i Oliver, "Documents inèdits referents a Nicolau Eimeric i el Lullisme," *ATCA* 11 (1983): 329–30 (April 15, 1387).
152. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 120–1; Puig, "El procés," 339–40.

153. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 122–3, 128; Puig, "El procés," 330, 340–6, 356–9.
154. Puig, "Documents inèdits," 330–4 (July 23, 1388). See also Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "El rei Joan I donà força legal a les còpies del dictamen de la comissió Ermengol sobre el llibre de Ramon Llull, [*Arbre*] *de Fiolsofia d'Amor* (Barcelona, Arxiu Reial (ACA), Canc. r. 18902, f. 217v.)," *ATCA* 28 (2009): 629–33.
155. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 133.
156. Puig, "El procés," 391.
157. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 136–9; Puig, "El procés," 380–1, 389–90, 393–4; Puig, "Documents inèdits," 339–40 (September 12, 1392), 344–5 (March 23, 1394).
158. On the dating of Eymeric's treatise, see Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 152, 200. Brettle, Esponera, and Heimann have suggested that Eymeric might have written his *Contra prefigentes* against Vincent; see Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass*, 44; Esponera, *El oficio de predicar*, 62; Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 144. Michael Ryan's recent examination of the *Contra prefigentes*, however, indicates that it was written not against Vincent but against Ramon Llull, and against diviners and astrologers more generally: Michael A. Ryan, *A Kingdom of Stargazers. Astrology and Authority in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 133–8, especially 138. The treatise's existence, therefore, does not constitute evidence that, already in the middle of the 1390s and before Vincent had begun his preaching mission, others associated him with apocalyptic imminence.
159. Jaume de Puig i Oliver, "Notes sobre l'actuació inquisitorial de Nicolau Eimeric," *Revista catalana de teologia* 28, no. 1 (2003): 226, especially n18. On Bernat Ermengol's commission and its work, see Jaume de Puig i Oliver, "La sentència definitiva de 1419 sobre l'ortodòxia lul.liana. Contextos, protagonistes, problemes," *ATCA* 19 (2000): 299–338; Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 112–7. On Eymeric's misrepresentations of Llull, see Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "De Ramon Llull a Nicolau Eymeric. Els fragments de l'*Art Amativa* de Llull en còpia autogràfa de l'inquisidor Nicolau Eymeric integrats en les cent tesis antil.lullianes del seu *Directorium inquisitorum*," *ATCA* 16 (1997): 7–129.
160. Perarnau, "Sobre l'eclesiologia de sant Vicent Ferrer," 428.
161. Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 144.
162. Puig, "El procés," 409–12.
163. For debates over whether this papal bull ever existed, see Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymeric*, 86–8.
164. Adolfo Robles Sierra, "San Vicente Ferrer y los poderes especiales de su itinerancia apostolica," *Communio. Commentarii internationales de ecclesia et theologia* 27 (1994): 72, especially n24; *Quaresma*, 2:174 (April 22, 1413).
165. Pierre Duparc, *Le comté de Genève, IXe-XVe siècle* (Geneva: Alexandre Jullien, 1978), 327–32.
166. Fages, *Procès*, 243: "Et deinde processit ad civitatem Avinionensem, et fuit confessor domini Petri de Luna cardinalis, qui postea fuit nominatus Papa Benedictus decimus tertius."
167. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 90–2.
168. Robles, "Correspondencia," 180–1 (January 15, 1398).
169. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 611–3.
170. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 658–87.

## 2 *Legatus a latere Christi*: Provence, Lombardy, and In Between

1. Bernard Montagnes, "La guérison miraculeuse et l'investiture prophétique de Vincent Ferrier au couvent des frères Prêcheurs d'Avignon (3 octobre 1398)," in Institut de Recherches et d'Etudes du Bas Moyen Age Avignonais et al., *Avignon au Moyen Age: Textes et documents* (Avignon: Aubanel, 1988), 193.
2. The sermon in which Vincent states that he began his preaching mission on Saint Cecilia's day was in a Valencian manuscript that disappeared at the time of the Spanish Civil War. This passage is known today thanks to Pierre-Henri Fages and especially to Roc Chabás, who, at the beginning of the twentieth century, extracted passages from the now missing manuscript. See Roc Chabás, "Estudio sobre los sermones valencianos de san Vicente Ferrer que se conservan manuscritos en la Biblioteca de la Basílica Metropolitana de Valencia," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 8 (1903): 111; Fages, *Notes et documents*, 97; on the disappearance of these manuscripts more generally, see the Appendix in this volume.
3. For the sermon, see *Sermons*, 6:282 (December 3, 1414). On the sermon's date, see Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "L'antic mss. 279 de la Catedral de Valencià, amb sermons de sant Vicenç Ferrer, perdut durant la Guerra de 1936–1939. Intent de reconstrucció," *Bulletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 10 (1982–1984): 29–44, especially 35, 40. For the letter, see *Perugia*, 560 (July 27, 1412).
4. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 101–9.
5. Robles, "Correspondencia," 181 (August 20, 1399).
6. For the relevant extract from the letter, see Fages, *Notes et documents*, 96; on the letter itself, see Henri Gilles, "La vie et les oeuvres de Gilles Bellemère," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 124 (1966): 114, especially n6.
7. Fages, *Procès*, 61–2.
8. Ranzano, *Vita,* 491–2.
9. Vicente Cárcel Ortí, *Historia de la Iglesia en Valencia*, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Valencia: Arzobispado de Valencia, 1987), 1:96, 116.
10. Fages, *Procès*, 243, 245.
11. Franco Morenzoni, "La prédication de Vincent Ferrier à Montpellier en décembre 1408," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 74 (2004): 265 (December 5, 1408).
12. Antist, "Vida y historia," 193–4.
13. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 265 (December 5, 1408).
14. *Perugia*, 559 (July 27, 1412).
15. *Perugia*, 559–60 (July 27, 1412).
16. Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass*, 47.
17. *RFA*, 672.
18. *RAE294*, 571 (July 8, 1411); *RFA*, 672.
19. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 265 (December 5, 1408).
20. Chabás, "Estudio sobre los sermones," 8 (1903): 111.
21. On the *legatus a latere*, see Blake R. Beattie, *Angelus Pacis: The Legation of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, 1326–1334* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 65–76; the quotations come from pp. 71 and 75.
22. Ranzano, *Vita*, 492, 497.
23. Catherine Chène, "La plus ancienne vie de Vincent Ferrier racontée par le dominicain allemande Jean Nider (ca. 1380–1438)," *Mirificus praedicator*, 163–4.
24. Robles, "San Vicente Ferrer y los poderes especiales," 68.
25. Toledo: *RFA*, 672: "E antedía avía dicho que él era enbiado a pedricar lo del Antichristo e que era enbiado por el papa Ihesús." Salamanca: *Declaración de*

*Salamanca*, in Cátedra, *Sermón*, 631: "E non soy enbiado por rrey nin por enperador nin por papa, salvo por el papa Ihesús."

26. Martín de Alpartil, *Cronica actitatorum temporibus Benedicti XIII pape*, ed. José Angel Sesma Muñoz and María del Mar Agudo Romeo (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragon, 1994), 228.
27. For Pedro de Luna's commission as *legatus a latere* and related documents, see Zunzunegui, "La legación en España," 97–101, 131–7.
28. Robles, "San Vicente Ferrer y los poderos especiales," 68–78.
29. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 96.
30. Letter of 1403: Paul-Bernard Hodel, "D'une édition à l'autre. La lettre de saint Vincent Ferrier à Jean de Puynoix du 17 décembre 1403," *Mirificus praedicator*, 199–203 (December 17, 1403); Letter of 1412: *Perugia*, 552–62 (July 27, 1412).
31. *Perugia*, 562 (July 27, 1412).
32. Martínez, "Relaciones," 599 (August 20, 1399).
33. Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass*, 49.
34. Hodel, "D'une édition à l'autre," 200 (December 17, 1403): "Postquam recessi de Romanis, ubi me ultimo dimisisti(s), per tres menses continuos fui adhuc in Delfinatu predicando in circuitu verbum Dei."
35. For accounts of Vincent's itinerary more detailed than that provided here, see Ugo Camarino, "I viaggi di S. Vincenzo Ferreri in Italia," *Memorie Domenicane* 52 (1955): 3–18; Laura Gaffuri, "'*In partibus illis ultra montanis*.' La missione subalpine di Vicent Ferrer (1402–1408)," *Mirificus praedicator*, 105–20; Jean-Daniel Morerod, "Les étapes de Vincent Ferrier dans le diocese de Lausanne," *Mirificus praedicator*, 259–84.
36. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 101–9. As mentioned earlier, Fages incorrectly dates Vincent's appearance at Arles to 1400, but 1401 is the correct year: see Ehrle, "Die Chronik des Garoscus de Ulmoisca Veteri und Bertrand Boysset," 362–3.
37. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 114–5; Franco Monetti, "Una documentazione della presenza di Vincenzo Ferreri nel Pinerolese," *Studi Piemontese* 7 (1978): 386–7.
38. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 123–6.
39. The chronicler Martín de Alpartil has Vincent arriving at Genoa on July 8, 1405, and meeting with Benedict there; the chronicler himself heard Vincent preach on this occasion: Martín de Alpartil, *Cronica*, 151. The Genoese chronicler Giorgio Stella puts Vincent at Genoa in July and August 1406, as well as in March 1407: *Georgii et Iohannis Stellae. Annales Genuenses*, ed. Giovanna Petti Balbi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1975), 278–80. See also Camarino, "I viaggi," 280–7; Fages, *Notes et documents*, 127–8, 138; Robles, "Correspondencia," 212–4 (June 9, 1417).
40. Sanremo: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 130–1 (November 20, 1405); Savona: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Els dos sermons de sant Vicent Ferrer al Capitól Provincial de Savona, 1408," *Dominican History Newsletter* 9 (2000): 215, especially n1, where Perarnau argues that, notwithstanding the article's title, the two sermons from Savona date to 1407 rather than to 1408.
41. Monetti, "Una documentazione della presenza," 388.
42. *Thalamus parvus. Le petit thalamus de Montpellier*, ed. La Société Archéologique de Montpellier (Montpellier: Jean Martel, 1840), 448.
43. Hodel, "D'une édition à l'autre," 203 (December 17, 1403).
44. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 114, 123. Within the Diocese of Lausanne, whose bishop had invited Vincent to come and preach, individual towns seem not to have sent messengers soliciting the Dominican's presence: Morerod, "Les étapes," 278.
45. Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 680.

46. On these events, see Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 674–87; Suárez, *Castilla, el cisma*, 43–8.
47. Suárez, *Castilla, el cisma*, 51–63.
48. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 147 (June 22, 1409).
49. *Corpus Christi*, 504 (December 6, 1411).
50. Fages, *Procès*, 288, 321, 338, 342, 375, 395, 430.
51. Hodel, "D'une édition à l'autre," 200–3 (December 17, 1403).
52. *Perugia*, 313 (no date), 464 (no date).
53. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 105, 130–1. On Vincent's peacemaking at Cuneo, see Rinaldo Comba, "Da Vincenzo Ferrer ad Angelo Carletti: predicazione itinerante e dinamiche di disciplinamento nella Cuneo del XV secolo," *Bollettino della Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della provincia di Cuneo* 118 (1998): 127; Rinaldo Comba, "Il progetto di una società coercitivamente Cristiana: gli statuti di Amedeo VIII di Savoia," *Rivista storica italiana* 103 (1991): 41; Gaffuri, "*In partibus illis ultra montanis*," 114–5.
54. Pierrette Paravy, "Remarques sur les passages de Saint Vincent Ferrier dans les vallées vaudoises (1399–1403)," *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes de Hautes-Alpes* (1985–1986), 149.
55. Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 290–6.
56. Euan Cameron, *Waldenses. Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 165; see also Paul-Bernard Hodel, "Sermons de saint Vincent Ferrier à Estavayer-le-Lac en mars 1404 (édition critique et traduction de texte inédit)," *Mémoire dominicaine* 2 (1993): 150. The sermons that Hodel published here are also to be found in *Suíza*.
57. Louis Binz, *Vie religieuse et réforme ecclésiastique dans le diocese de Genève, 1378–1450* (Geneva: Alexandre Jullien, 1973), 391–2; Paul-Bernard Hodel, "Saint Vincent Ferrier à Aubonne?" *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 69 (1999): 181–3; Paravy, "Remarques," 148.
58. *Suíza*, 109 (March 18, 1404).
59. *Suíza*, 89–91 (March 15, 1404).
60. *Suíza*, 114–5 (March 19, 1404).
61. *Suíza*, 104–5 (March 17, 1404).
62. *Suíza*, 108 (March 18, 1404).
63. *Suíza*, 145 (March 21, 1404).
64. *Suíza*, 61 (March 11, 1404).
65. *Suíza*, 110–1 (March 18, 1404).
66. *Suíza*, 84 (March 14, 1404).
67. *Suíza*, 116 (March 19, 1404).
68. *Suíza*, 123 (March 20, 1404).
69. *Suíza*, 108 (March 18, 1404).
70. *Suíza*, 101–6 (March 17, 1404).
71. *Suíza*, 57 (March 10, 1404).
72. *Suíza*, 54–6 (March 10, 1404).
73. *Suíza*, 60–3 (March 11, 1404).
74. *Suíza*, 65–6 (March 12, 1404).
75. *Suíza*, 69 (March 12, 1404).
76. *Suíza*, 74–5 (March 13, 1404).
77. *Suíza*, 57 (March 10, 1404).
78. *Suíza*, 66–8 (March 12, 1404).
79. *Corpus Christi*, 504 (December 6, 1411); *Sermons*, 6:155–6 (November 28, 1414).

80. Kathrin Utz Tremp, "Les vaudois de Fribourg (1399–1430): Etat de la recherche," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 217 (2000): 129–30; Morerod, "Les étapes," 283.
81. *Suíza*, 82–3 (March 14, 1404), where Vincent criticizes heretics for maintaining that children bear the guilt for the suffering that their mothers endure in childbirth.
82. Kathrin Utz Tremp, "Hérétiques ou usuriers? Les Fribourgeois face à saint Vincent Ferrier (début du XVe siècle)," *Mémoire dominicaine* 7 (1995): 129–30, 137n 6; Morerod, "Les étapes," 283.
83. Utz Tremp, "Hérétiques ou usuriers?" 124.
84. Morerod, "Les étapes," 261–3.
85. Gaffuri, "*In partibus illis ultra montanis*," 108–9.
86. *Perugia*, 560 (July 27, 1412).
87. *RAE294*, 571–2 (July 8, 1411); *RFA*, 672; *Corpus Christi*, 521 (December 9, 1411).
88. Guadalajara, "La edad del Antichristo," 337–9.
89. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 266 (December 5, 1408): "Et ipse hermita per multa loca me investigaverat ut illa posset michi manifestare, attento quod audiverat dici quod ego predicabam adventum antichristi."
90. *RAE294*, 571 (July 8, 1411); Guadalajara, "La edad del Antichristo," 340.
91. Chabás, "Estudio sobre los sermones valencianos," 8 (1903): 111–2.
92. Hodel, "Saint Vincent Ferrier à Aubonne?" 186.
93. For the statutes of July 3, 1403: P. Datta, *Storia dei principi di Savoia del ramo d'Acaia, signori del Piemonti*, 3 vols. (Turin: Stamperia Reale, 1832), 2:285–7; for the statutes of July 31, 1403, see Laurent Chevailler, "Une source inédite du droit savoyard: Les '*Antiqua Sabaudiae Statuta*' d'Amédée VIII de 1402–1404," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1960): 361–91 (368–71 for the statutes germane to Vincent), based on a manuscript at Geneva; and Gian Carlo Buraggi, "Gli statuti di Amedeo VIII di Savoia del 31 luglio 1403," *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 2nd series, 70 (1942): 1–38 (9–12 for the statutes germane to Vincent), based on the manuscript at Geneva and others. For the date of July 31, 1403, see Gian Carlo Buraggi, "Una nuova fonte legislative sabauda," *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 75 (1939–1940): 280, especially n1. See also Comba, "Il progetto," 33–56.
94. Chevailler, "Une source inédite," 368–71.
95. Comba, "Il progetto," 36.
96. Comba, "Il progetto," 42–3.
97. Chevailler, "Une source inédite," 369.
98. Utz Tremp, "Hérétiques ou usuriers?" 126–7.
99. *L'affaire du juif Sanson de Jérusalem. Edition des actes relatifs au process d'appel de Sanson de Jérusalem (1406) et des actes du procès contre Josson, juif de Genève (1405*) (Geneva: Université de Genève, 2010), 2–7, http://www.unige.ch/lettres/istge/hma/ressources/Introduction_et_edition.pdf (accessed May 2, 2012).
100. Utz Tremp, "Hérétiques ou usuriers?" 127–8.
101. Comba, "Da Vincenzo Ferrer ad Angelo Carletti," 133.
102. Pierrette Paravy, *De la chrétienté romaine à la Réforme en Dauphiné. Evêques, fidèles et déviants (vers 1340-vers 1530)*, 2 vols. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993), 1:353–4.
103. Utz Tremp, "Hérétiques ou usuriers?" 128–9.

104. Franco Morenzoni, "Vincent Ferrier et la prédication mendiante à Genève au XVe siècle," *Mirificus praedicator*, 287.
105. Michael D. Bailey, "From Sorcery to Witchcraft: Clerical Conceptions of Magic in the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum* 76 (2001): 960.
106. Paravy, *De la chrétienté romaine*, 2:353–4; Utz Tremp, "Hérétiques ou usuriers?" 124.
107. *Thalamus parvus*, 446–8; Morenzoni, "La prédication," 226–7.
108. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 230.
109. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 252–6 (December 4, 1408).
110. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 231–2.
111. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 258 (December 4, 1408); 259 (December 5, 1408).
112. *Suíza*, 57 (March 10, 1404); Morenzoni, "La prédication," 259–60 (December 5, 1408).
113. *Thalamus parvus*, 447; *Suíza*, 53–8 (March 10, 1404).
114. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 246 (December 3, 1408).
115. *RAE294*, 385–6 (February 7–12, 1412). See also *Corpus Christi*, 395 (July 22, 1411) and 505 (December 6, 1411), where Vincent criticizes his peers for imitating and citing Ovid and Virgil; and *Sermons*, 1:32 (no date), where he posits the superiority of preachers to Virgil and Ovid.
116. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 247 (December 3, 1408): "Et non debemus credere propter hoc quod fundantur ex racione, ymo solum propter devocionem obediencialem, quia ita mandatur fieri."
117. See *Corpus Christi*, 768 (January 14, 1412), where Vincent chastises those who engage in disputations over matters of the faith. See, too, Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 610, fol. 150v (November 17, 1413), where Vincent identifies three "grades of belief": intellectual knowledge, heartfelt reverence, and general obedience. Only the last of these three, the friar preached, saves humanity. For the dating of the sermon of November 17, 1413, see Esponera Cerdán, "*Hi era ab la ajuda de Deu*," 110.
118. See *Corpus Christi*, 766 (January 14, 1412), where he cites Aristotle favorably.
119. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 260–2 (December 5, 1408).
120. Morenzoni, "La prédication," 265–6 (December 5, 1408).
121. *Suíza*, 57 (March 10, 1404); Morenzoni, "La prédication," 264–5 (December 5, 1408).
122. *Thalamus parvus*, 447.

## 3 Iberian Return and the Compromise of Casp

1. Hélène Millet, "Introduction. Une Eglise entre deux papes et trois conciles," in *La concile de Perpignan (15 novembre 1408–26 mars 1409). Actes du colloque international (Perpignan, 24–26 janvier 2008)*, ed. Hélène Millet, Etudes Roussillonnaises, 24 (Perpignan: Trabucaire, 2009), 14.
2. Ehrle, "Aus den Akten des Afterconcils," 423–4. At the Council of Paris in 1398, Simon de Cramaud spoke of Benedict having his ambassadors make this statement in the presence of the king of Aragon, but on this occasion, Simon de Cramaud did not identify the ambassadors by name: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Johannes Domenici Mansi et al., 31 vols. (Florence and Venice, 1759–1798), vol. 26, col. 860.
3. Favier, *Les papes de Avignon*, 694–6, 699–701, 707–9.

4. Mentioned in a later royal letter concerning the agreement: Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 49–54 (May 21, 1410).
5. Lluis Batlle y Prats, "San Vicente Ferrer en Gerona," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 26 (1953): 145; José María Coll, "Ascendensia gerundense de San Vicente," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* 10 (1955): 160–2; Miguel Pujol i Canelles, *La conversió dels jueus de Castelló d'Empúries* (Castelló d'Empúries: Ajuntament de Castello, 1997), 87.
6. Honorio García y García, *San Vicente Ferrer en Vich* (Castellón de la Plana: Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura, 1951), 10.
7. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 32 (March 14, 1409), 32–4 (July 22, 1409), 41 (September 23, 1409); Fages, *Notes et documents*, 147–8 (June 22, 1409).
8. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 164 (September 30, 1409), 164–5 (January 2, 1410), 165 (October 17, 1410), 164–5 (October 26, 1410).
9. José Sanchis Sivera, ed., *Dietari del Capellá d'Anfos el Magnànim. Introducció, notes i transcripció* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 2001; first published 1932), 98; Fages, *Notes et documents*, 172 (May 10, 1410); Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "Sobre la '*traditio*' de los sermones de San Vicente Ferrer. El de Valencia de 1410 acerca de la predestinación," *BSCC* 35 (1959): 139, 143–4.
10. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 175 (August 14, 1410).
11. Leandro Rubio García, "Documentos sobre la estancia de san Vicente Ferrer en Murcia," in *Estudis en memòria del professor Manuel Sanchis Guarner: Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1984), 1:323 (January 19, 1411).
12. Vincent found it strange and deplorable that in Castile, when priests brought the Eucharist to the sick in their homes, they also administered the Eucharist to the healthy residents there, which struck him as reminiscent of heretical practices: *Corpus Christi*, 687–8 (January 3, 1412). To Castilians, Vincent explained that Valencians placed a cross before the dying on their deathbeds "according to the custom of that land": *RAE294*, 429 (August 15, 1412).
13. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 21–6.
14. Antonio Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," *BRAH* 84 (1924): 558–61; Petrus d'Arenys, *Chronicon*, 50.
15. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 262–3; Sanchis Sivera, *Dietari*, 99; *Quaresma*, 1:17, 184–5 (March 26, 1413).
16. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Sermones de sant Vicent Ferrer en los mss. de Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya 477 y Avignon, Musée Calvet 610," *EV* 4 (1974): 613–4.
17. Esponera, "*Hi era ab la ajuda de Deu*," 89–95.
18. *Ayora*, 16; Robles, "Correspondencia," 206–8 (May 17, 1414).
19. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 283.
20. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 307.
21. Robles, "Correspondencia," 184 (January 22, 1409). Martí continued to correspond with Vincent almost to the moment of that king's death: Robles, "Correspondencia," 185 (May 18, 1409); 188–9 (May 13, 1410).
22. Robles, "Correspondencia," 185–6 (June 12, 1409).
23. *Ayora*, 250 (March 15, 1414).
24. Robles, "Correspondencia," 186–7 (August 28, 1409), 187 (December 4, 1409), 188 (April 25, 1410).
25. Robles, "Correspondencia," 192–3 (June 25, 1412).
26. Robles, "Correspondencia," 195 (November 26, 1412), 196 (February 11, 1413).
27. Batlle, "San Vicente Ferrer en Gerona," 145.

28. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 147–8.
29. *HCV*, 2:475 (June 1, 1410), 2:476 (June 26, 1410).
30. Robles, "Correspondencia," 191–2 (August 26, 1410), 192 (March 14, 1411).
31. Rubio, "Documentos sobre la estancia," 322 (January 5, 1411); Juan Torres Fontes, "Moros, judíos y conversos en la regencia de don Fernando de Antequera," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 31–32 (1960): 85–6.
32. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 14–5. Orihuela's *jurats* wrote to Bishop Pablo de Santa María in March 1411 and thanked him for having brought Vincent to the diocese: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 189–90 (March 4, 1411).
33. On Pablo de Santa María, see R. P. Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Hebraicos, 1942), 9–117; Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María. Historia de la Judería de Burgos y sus conversos más egregios* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1952), 274–351. For the bishop's presence at the Council of Perpignan, see Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos*, 54.
34. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 60–1 (August 10, 1413); on the Mallorcan voyage, see Esponera, "*Hi era ab la ajuda de Deu*," 89–126.
35. Robles, "Correspondencia," 198–9 (April 12, 1413), 203 (January 4, 1414), 204 (March 6, 1414), 205–6 (April 16, 1414).
36. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 59–60 (June 29, 1413).
37. Robles, "Correspondencia," 202–3 (November 20, 1413).
38. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 62–3 (September 22, 1413), 65 (November 20, 1413).
39. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 14–5.
40. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 15–6.
41. The relevant section of the chronicle is published in Cátedra, "La predicación castellana de san Vicente Ferrer," *BRABLB* 39 (1984): 307–9.
42. Lorenzo Galmés Más, "San Vicente Ferrer y el Compromiso de Caspe," in *Saint Vincent Ferrier et le monde de son temps, 1352–1419*, 2 vols. (Le Barroux: Centre d'Etudes du Château du Barroux, 1994), 2:101.
43. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 38–40 (August 18, 1409).
44. On the wedding, see Petrus d'Arenys, *Chronicon*, 44.
45. Beatriz Canellas Anoz, "Actas de los parlamentos de Cataluña y Aragón tras la muerte de Martín el Humano y del Compromiso de Caspe y elección de Fernando de Antequera," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1410–1412. El Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe. Zaragoza y Alcañiz, 24, 25 y 26 de novembre 2010*, ed. J. Ángel Sesma Muñoz (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragon, 2011), 12–3, http://www.aragon.es/estaticos/GobiernoAragon/Departamentos/EducacionUniversidadCulturaDeporte/Genericas/05_Publicaciones/03_Publicaciones_Electronicas/03_Patrimonio_Cultural/Congreso%20el%20Interregno%20%20y%20el%20compromiso%20de%20Caspe.pdf (accessed May 10, 2012).
46. Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, "Las elites políticas valencianas en el Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1410–1412*, 209–10.
47. Juan Abella, Maria Lafuente, and Sandra de la Torre, "De Martín I a Fernando I: Itinerario de un compromiso (1410–1412)," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1410–1412*, 62–5.
48. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "El Cisma d'Occident i el Compromís de Casp," *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident a Catalunya*, 1:56–7.

49. Manuel Dualde Serrano, "La Concordia de Alcañiz," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 18 (1947): 269.
50. José Manuel Nieto Soria, "Fernando de Antequera, regente de Castilla," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1410–1412*, 293.
51. On the distinction between the *Cort(e)s* and the *parlaments*, see Dualde, "Concordia de Alcañiz," 312–5.
52. Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 65–6.
53. Manuel Dualde Serrano, "La elección de los compromisarios de Caspe," *Estudios de edad media de la Corona d'Aragón* 3 (1947–1948): 356–7.
54. Dualde, "La elección," 356.
55. Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 74–5; Narbona, "Las elites políticas," 192–3.
56. Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 71.
57. Armand Jamme, "Benoît XIII, le Schisme et la Couronne: regards sur le croisement des enjeux politiques au temps de l'interrègne aragonais," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1410–1412*, 139.
58. Dualde, "La Concordia de Alcañiz," 294, 298.
59. Narbona, "Las elites políticas,"192.
60. Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 78–9.
61. Dualde, "La elección," 358.
62. Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 80–1.
63. Dualde, "La elección," 360.
64. Dualde, "La Concordia de Alcañiz," 338n5.
65. Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 81.
66. Narbona, "Las elites políticas," 192–229.
67. Dualde, "La elección," 373.
68. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró et al., *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón*, 41 vols. (Barcelona, 1847–1910), 2:317 (September 18, 1411).
69. Dualde, "La Concordia de Alcañiz," 293.
70. Dualde, "La elección," 384–6.
71. Dualde, "La elección," 387–9.
72. Dualde, "La elección," 391–2.
73. Dualde, "La elección," 390.
74. Galmés, "San Vicente Ferrer y el Compromiso de Caspe," 96.
75. Dualde, "La Concordia de Alcañiz," 317.
76. Ferran Soldevilla, *El Compromís de Casp (Resposta al Sr. Menéndez Pidal)* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1965), 129.
77. Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 81–9. On the timing of Vincent's arrival at Casp (sometime between March 29 and April 12), see Francisco M. Gimeno Blay, ed., *El Compromiso de Caspe (1412). Diario del Proceso* (Zaragoza: Institución 'Fernando el Católico', 2012), 71–4.
78. Soldevilla, *El Compromís de Casp*, 18–20.
79. Soldevilla, *El Compromís de Casp*, 136.
80. Joan Manyà argues that, as regards Vincent's vote for Fernando, "the decisive reason (unconfessed then and unconfessable before the Christian world) seems to have been Vincent Ferrer's papal partisanship in support of Benedict XIII: we say partisanship not in the sense of a blind passion, but rather in the sense of a serene conviction": Joan-Baptista Manyà, *Sant Vicents Ferrer a Casp i a Perpinyà* (Tarragona: Diputación Provincial de Tarragona, 1962), 27. Other scholars deny

the suggestion that Benedict influenced Vincent's vote on the grounds that it impugns the friar's character: see Galmés, "San Vicente Ferrer y el Compromiso de Caspe," 102, which claims that allowing the pope to influence his vote "does not fit" Vincent's "temperament, or his sense of responsibility."

81. Jamme, "Benoît XIII," 142.
82. On the personal ties between various arbitrators and Benedict, see Abella, "De Martín I a Fernando I," 81–2; Soldevilla, *El Compromís de Casp*, 20–1; Francesca Vendrell de Millás and Angels Masia de Ros, *Jaume el Dissortat, darrer comte d'Urgell* (Barcelona: Editorial Aedos, 1956), 85–7.
83. On the relationship between Francesc Climent and Benedict, see Perarnau, "El Cisma d'Occident," 1:56–8; on Francesc Climent's vote, see Dualde, "La elección," 384–5.
84. Perarnau, "El Cisma d'Occident," 1:56–61; Jamme, "Benoît XIII," 131.
85. Perarnau, "El Cisma d'Occident," 1:63–5.
86. Manyà, *Sant Vicents Ferrer a Casp*, 21–2.
87. Jamme, "Benoît XIII," 142.
88. Jamme, "Benoît XIII," 130.
89. Antoni Borràs i Feliu, "L'actuació de Benet XIII al Compromís de Casp," *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident*, 2:401.
90. Manyà, *Sant Vicents Ferrer a Casp*, 22.
91. Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 139.
92. Perarnau, "El Cisma d'Occident," 1:63, 68–9.
93. Jamme, "Benoît XIII," 144.
94. Millás and Ros, *Jaume el Dissortat*, 109–225.
95. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 14–5.
96. "Senyor virtuós, molts vassalls enemichs intrinsichs e cuberts ha la vostra gran senyoria, e la conexença plus universal que és de aquets tots aquells qui han [per]duda devoçió del sant hom Maestre Vicent": Francisca Vendrell de Millás, "Seis nuevos documentos sobre san Vicente Ferrer," *Miscelánea de textos medievales* 2 for 1974 (1975): 225 (July 5, 1413?); for the likely year, see p. 220.
97. *Sermons*, 6: 205 (December 27, 1412). For the dating of this sermon, see Perarnau, "L'antic ms. 279," 33–41, especially 41; Perarnau, "Sermones de Sant Vicent Ferrer," 612, especially n2. For a perceptive analysis and gloss of Vincent's remarks on Casp in this sermon, see Xavier Renedo i Puig, "Del quadern al sermó, i al sermó al manuscrit. Unitat i diversitat en els sermons de sant Vicent Ferrer," in *El fuego y la palabra. San Vicente Ferrer en el 550 anniversario de su canonización*, ed. Emilio Callado Estela (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007), 104–10, which suggests (mistakenly, in light of Perarnau's analysis) that Vincent preached this sermon in 1414 at Zaragoza.
98. As Renedo suggests, the references both to the Genoese and to the Muslims of Granada were likely digs at Jaume II d'Urgell, whom the Castilians accused of allying with Granada during the interregnum and whose uncle was the Count of Montferrat and a threat to Aragonese interests in Sardinia: Renedo, "Del quadern al sermó," 109.
99. Perarnau, "Sermones de Sant Vicent Ferrer," 612–4.
100. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, f. 28v. (June 4, 1413); Perarnau, "Sermones de Sant Vicent Ferrer," 613n9.
101. *Ayora*, 197–8 (March 8, 1414); Renedo, "Del quadern al sermó," 101–4.

102. *Ayora*, 198 (March 8, 1414): "Dico, ut claudatur os murmurancium. Videte quot dampnantur per ultra putare, et hoc propter ignoranciam."
103. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 251–9.
104. *RFA*, 665. Pedro Cátedra suggests that Toledo's clergy did not welcome Vincent's arrival because the Dominican routinely chastised the clergy for its moral failings: Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 239. Elsewhere, Cátedra suggests that Toledo's clergy feared that Vincent's preaching would trigger pogroms against Jews, especially considering that there was an interregnum in Castile in 1411, just as there had been at the time of the pogroms of 1391: Cátedra, *Sermón*, 22. The prior of the Dominican house at Toledo met with Vincent at Illescas before he reached Toledo, and, when Vincent was himself too sick to preach at Illescas, the prior substituted for him, which suggests that the Dominican prior, at least, did not object to Vincent's visit to Toledo: Cátedra, *Sermón*, 23.
105. *Corpus Christi*, 522 (December 9, 1411).
106. *Corpus Christi,* 224–5 (May 2, 1411).
107. Perarnau, "Sermones de Sant Vicent Ferrer," 633–4 (August 13, 1413).
108. *Corpus Christi*, 504 (December 6, 1411).
109. Vincent never actually went to *Verbería*, which is to say, North Africa, any more than he went to Granada, Ireland, or even more fantastical places in which hagiographical works sometimes place him. The reporters who took notes of his sermons and scribes who copied those sermons and Vincent's letters often had trouble with unfamiliar place names (see Hodel's discussion of how scribes copying Vincent's letter of 1403 mangled the names of the Swiss places that he visited: Hodel, "La lettre à Jean de Puynoix," 197). Perhaps *Burges, que es en Verbería*, refers to the town of Bourges in the central French region of Berry. If Vincent had indeed traveled as far north as Bourges, most likely it was in the second half of 1404; he was at Lyon in September 1404.
110. *RAE294*, 572 (July 8, 1411).

## 4 Moral Reform and Peacemaking

1. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 60–1 (August 10, 1413).
2. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 59–60 (June 29, 1413).
3. Robles, "Correspondencia," 191–2 (August 26, 1410).
4. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 189–90 (March 4, 1411).
5. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 61–2 (September 11, 1413).
6. Robles, "Correspondencia," 192–3 (June 25, 1412).
7. *HCV*, 2:475 (June 1, 1410), 2:476 (June 26, 1410).
8. Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, *Valencia, municipio medieval. Poder politico y luchas ciudadanas, 1239–1418* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1995), 141; *EVM*, 1:271 (August 13, 1334).
9. Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, "Violencias feudales en la ciudad de Valencia," *Revista de història medieval* 1 (1990): 68–9; Narbona, *Valencia, municipio medieval*, 129–30.
10. *HCV*, 1:194–5 (November 19, 1347).
11. Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, *Malhechores, violencia y justicia ciudadana en la Valencia bajomedieval* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1987), 108–20.
12. Narbona, *Valencia, municipio medieval*, 132–3, 172; *EVM*, 1:271–7 (July 18, 1399); 1:277–9 (July 26, 1399); 1:279–82 (March 5, 1400); 282–4 (February 3, 1410).

13. José Hinojosa Montalvo, "Bandos i *bandositats* en la gobernación de Oriheula en la baja edad media," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36 (2006): 716–7; Narbona, "Violencias feudales," 63, 72–5; *HCV*, 1:258 (July 7, 1375).
14. Narbona, "Violencias feudales," 61–2, 66–8.
15. Rubio, *Peste negra*, 60.
16. Narbona, *Valencia, municipio medieval*, 132–7 (the quotation is from 132), 167–70; Narbona, "Violencias feudales," 61, 82–4, 86.
17. Remedios Ferrero Micó, "Bandosidades nobiliarias en Valencia durante la época foral," *Saitabi* 35 (1985): 95–102; Remedios Ferrero Micó, "'*Pau e treua*' en Valencia," in *Estudios dedicados a Juan Peset Aleixandre*, 3 vols. (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 1982), 2:1–15.
18. Hinojosa, "Bandos i *bandositats*," 717; Ferrer, "Bandosidades nobiliarias," 96; Maria-Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Lluites de bàndols a Barcelona en temps del rei Martí l'Humà," *Estudis d'història medieval* 1 (1969): 77; Narbona, "Violencias feudales," 76–82.
19. *HCV*, 1:306–7 (June 23, 1384).
20. Josep Ramon Julía i Viñamata, "Jocs de guerra i jocs de lleure a la Barcelona de la baixa edat mitjana," *Revista d'etnologia de Catalunya* 1 (1992): 10–23; Roger Benito Juliá, "Jocs i jugadors a la Barcelona baixmedieval (segles XIV-XV)," http://www.scribd.com/doc/53067755/Jocs-i-jugadors-a-la-Barcelona-Baixmedieval (accessed February 28, 2012).
21. José Hinojosa Montalvo, "Espacios de sociabilidad urbana en el Reino de Valencia durante la edad media," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 26 (2005): 991–2; *HCV*, 1:347 (June 14, 1391); *EVM*, 1:287–9 (June 15, 1391).
22. Benito, "Jocs i jugadors," 5.
23. *HCV*, 1:306–7 (June 23, 1384).
24. Narbona, *Malhechores*, 137.
25. Narbona, *Pueblo, poder y sexo*, 181–2.
26. Vicent Goméz Chornet, *Compte i raó. La hisenda municipal de la ciutat de Valencia en el segle XVIII* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002), 25.
27. *HCV*, 1:144 (January 18, 1334), 1:176 (December 24, 1343).
28. *HCV*, 1:339–40 (May 18, 1390).
29. *HCV*, 2:405 (October 11, 1401).
30. Narbona, *Malhechores*, 142.
31. *HCV*, 1:155 (May 23, 1337); 1:204 (April 8, 1351); 1:218 (February 28, 1359).
32. *EVM*, 1:314–5 (February 6, 1375).
33. Narbona, *Malhechores*, 141.
34. Benito, "Jocs i jugadors," 10–2.
35. Eukene Lacarra Lanz, "Legal and Clandestine Prostitution in Medieval Spain," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 79 (2002): 268.
36. María del Carmen Peris, "La prostitución valenciana en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV," *Revista d'historia medieval* 1 (1990): 184; *HCV*, 1:143–4 (January 23, 1334), 1:297–8 (March 12, 1383).
37. Carmen, "La prostitución valenciana," 185.
38. Narbona, *Pueblo, poder y sexo*, 178–9.
39. Narbona, *Pueblo, poder y sexo*, 149.
40. Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society. The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 25–7.
41. Narbona, *Pueblo, poder y sexo*, 153, 165; *HCV*, 1:379–80 (July 28, 1397).

42. María del Carmen García Herrero, "El mundo de la prostitución en las ciudades bajomedievales," *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 4 (1996): 89–90.
43. Lacarra, "Legal and Clandestine Prostitution," 270–1; Narbona, *Pueblo, poder y sexo*, 167–70.
44. Carmen, "La prostitución valenciana," 180, 187; García, "El mundo de la prostitución," 89–90.
45. Carmen, "La prostitución valenciana," 184; *HCV*, 1:202 (December 1, 1350).
46. *HCV*, 1:368 (August 19, 1394).
47. Carmen, "La prostitución valenciana," 186.
48. Lacarra, "Legal and Clandestine Prostitution," 269; *HCV*, 1:183–4 (May 12, 1345).
49. Narbona, *Pueblo, poder y sexo*, 193–203; Carmen, "La prostitución valenciana," 196–9. For the order of 1385: *HCV*, 1:309 (March 17, 1385). For examples of municipal support: *HCV*, 1:356 (December 20, 1391), 2:420 (October 23, 1404), 2:453 (October 6, 1408). On the enclosure of wives: *HCV*, 1:374 (February 19, 1396).
50. Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 10–1.
51. Jean Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'occident medieval* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 131–3, 214–22.
52. Simon A. Gilson, "Medieval Magical Lore and Dante's *Commedia*: Divination and Demonic Agency," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society* 119 (2001): 30–1.
53. Kieckhefer, *Magic*, 12.
54. Kieckhefer, *Magic*, 12; Gilson, "Medieval Magical Lore," 32–3.
55. Kieckhefer, *Magic*, 184.
56. Gilson, "Medieval Magical Lore," 34–7.
57. Kieckhefer, *Magic*, 85.
58. Ryan, *Kingdom of Stargazers*, 28–35; the quotation is from p. 29.
59. Gilson, "Medieval Magical Lore," 31.
60. Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, 372–5; Kieckhefer, *Magic*, 85–90. On astrology, see especially Ryan, *Kingdom of Stargazers*, chapter 2.
61. *HCV*, 1:128–9 (September 16, 1326); Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, "Tras los rastros de la cultura popular. Hechicería, supersticiones y curanderismo en Valencia medieval," *Edad media* 1 (1998): 95–6.
62. Narbona, "Tras los rastros," 107.
63. Narbona, "Tras los rastros," 100–2, 104–7.
64. Narbona, "Tras los rastros," 95–7.
65. The oaths are in Honorio García y García, *San Vicente Ferrer en Vich* (Castellón de la Plana: Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura, 1951), 104–8.
66. García, *San Vicente Ferrer en Vich*, 12.
67. García, *San Vicente Ferrer en Vich*, 16–101.
68. Rubio, "Documentos sobre la estancia," 323 (January 29, 1411).
69. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 189–90 (March 4, 1411).
70. Sanchis, *Dietari*, 99.
71. Fages, *Procès*, 334, 412, 424, 427, 440–1. The ninth question put to witnesses at Naples asked specifically about Vincent's peacemaking and his conversion of infidels: Fages, *Procès*, 409.
72. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 35–6 (July 29, 1409), 36 (July 29, 1409), 41–7 (January 29, 1410).

73. Martinez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 93 (June 18, 1415), 97–9 (October 31, 1415).
74. *Corpus Christi*, 165–6 (April 19, 1411).
75. *Corpus Christi*, 172–3 (April 21, 1411).
76. For other instances when Vincent denounced these five sins as a set, see *RAE294*, 334–5 (August 16, 1411); *Corpus Christi*, 90 (March 3, 1411), 177 (April 22, 1411), 386 (July 19, 1411), 431 (July 31, 1411), 460 (August 9, 1411), 791 (January 17, 1412); *Sermons*, 1:21–2 (no date), 2:97 (no date); 3:111–2 (no date). Perhaps the most surprising omission from this list of five sins is usury, which Vincent, of course, denounced on occasion—see, for example, *Corpus Christi*, 68 (February 26, 1411); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, fol. 28r (June 4, 1413)—but whose prohibition he did not make part of his program. On Vincent as a moral reformer, see Garganta, "San Vicente Ferrer, predicador de penitencia y de reforma," 162–5; Narbona, *Pueblo, poder, y sexo*, 79–121. On Vincent and usury, see Miguel Llop Catalá, *San Vicente Ferrer y los aspectos socioeconómicos del mundo medieval* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1995), 112–4, 137–52.
77. *Quaresma*, 2:114 (April 12, 1413).
78. *Corpus Christi*, 386 (July 19, 1411).
79. *RAE294*, 551–2 (July 7, 1411).
80. *RAE294*, 439 (September 6, 1411).
81. *Corpus Christi*, 90 (March 3, 1411), 460 (August 9, 1411).
82. *Corpus Christi*, 90 ( March 3,1411), 167 (April 19, 1411), 386 (July 19, 1411).
83. *Sermons*, 3:183 (no date).
84. *RAE294*, 289 (September 13?, 1411).
85. *Corpus Christi*, 166 (April 19, 1411); *Sermons*, 4:37–8 (no date).
86. *RAE294*, 289 (September 13?, 1411); *Corpus Christi*, 90 (March 3, 1411); *Ayora*, 286–7 (March 20, 1414).
87. *Corpus Christi*, 167 (April 19, 1411).
88. *Corpus Christi*, 167 (April 19, 1411), 177 (April 22, 1411), 461 (August 9, 1411); *Sermons*, 6:249 (January 1, 1413).
89. *Corpus Christi*, 90 (March 3, 1411), 177 (April 22, 1411), 751 (January 11, 1412); *Ayora*, 300 (March 22, 1414).
90. *Sermons*, 5:32 (no date).
91. *Corpus Christi*, 165 (April 19, 1411). For instances when Vincent called for the killing of those involved in divination, but without specifying the means of execution, see *Quaresma*, 2:84 (April 8, 1413); *Ayora*, 177–8 (March 4, 1414).
92. *Sermons*, 6:164 (November 14, 1414).
93. *RAE294*, 556–7 (July 7, 1411).
94. *RAE294*, 281 (no date). Vincent did not completely forbid the substitution of almsgiving for fasting, but he required those seeking to do so to get clerical permission and to have a valid reason. Vincent exempted from Lenten fasting, on account of their age or the demands of their work, many types of people: *Corpus Christi*, 61–5 (February 25, 1411).
95. *Corpus Christi*, 68 (February 26, 1411).
96. *RAE294*, 361 (July 23, 1411); see also *Sermons*, 1:219 (no date).
97. On widows: *RAE294*, 291 (September 13?, 1411).
98. *Sermons*, 1:68 (no date); *Corpus Christi*, 582 (December 20, 1411).
99. *Corpus Christi*, 576 (December 19, 1411).
100. *Corpus Christi*, 783 (January 16, 1412).
101. *Corpus Christi*, 242–6 (May 4, 1411).

102. *RAE294*, 492, 494–5 (August 9–14, 1411).
103. *RAE294*, 558 (July 7, 1411); *Corpus Christi*, 687 (January 3, 1412).
104. *Ayora*, 250 (March 15, 1414).
105. *Corpus Christi*, 244–5 (May 4, 1411); *Sermons*, 1:25 (no date).
106. *Sermons* 4:39–40 (no date).
107. *Corpus Christi*, 245 (May 4, 1411).
108. *RAE294*, 316–8 (no date); *Corpus Christi*, 306 (June 14, 1411).
109. *Corpus Christi*, 531 (December 11, 1411).
110. *Ayora*, 250 (March 15, 1414).
111. *RAE294*, 426–8 (August 15, 1411); see also *Sermons*, 5:124 (no date), where Vincent warns parents not to mourn dead children.
112. *Corpus Christi*, 576 (December 19, 1411).
113. On indulgences, see, too, *Quaresma*, 2:174–5 (April 22, 1413), where Vincent states that he disagrees with Aquinas over the question of whether Jesus, during the three days following His crucifixion and before His resurrection, released all the souls then in purgatory. Vincent maintains that Jesus in fact did so, and it was easily done; if the pope had the power to release souls from purgatory through indulgences, then Jesus certainly had the same power to release souls from purgatory as well, and mercy dictates that Jesus would not have visited the souls in purgatory only to leave them in their suffering.
114. *Ayora*, 251 (March 15, 1414).
115. *Corpus Christi*, 610 (December 23, 1411).
116. On Vincent's companions, see Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, "San Vicente Ferrer, su compañía de discípulos y las procesiones de penitentes," *EV* 40 (2010): 203–39. On medieval flagellants, see Giuseppe Alberigo, "Flagellants," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie écclesiastique* 17 (1971): cols., 327–37; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium. Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, revised edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), chapter 7; Etienne Delaruelle, "Les grandes processions de penitents de 1349 et 1399," in Etienne Delaruelle, *La pieté populaire au Moyen Age* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975; first published 1962), 277–313; Gary Dickson, "Revivalism as a Medieval Genre," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000): 473–96, especially 482–5; John Henderson, "The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy, 1260–1400," *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 147–60; Richard Kieckhefer, "Radical Tendencies in the Flagellant Movement of the Mid-Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s. 4 (1974): 157–76; Robert Lerner, "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities," *American Historical Review* 86 (1981): 533–52; Lodovico Scaramucci, ed., *Il movimento dei Disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio (Perugia 1260). Convegno internazionale: Perugia, 25–28 settembre 1960* (Spoleto: Arti grafiche Panetto & Petrelli, 1962); G. Szëkely, "Le mouvement des flagellants au 14e siècle, son caractère et ses causes," in *Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe pré-industrielle, 11e-18e siècles*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris and the Hague: Mouton, 1968), 229–38; Catherine Vincent, "Discipline du corps et de l'esprit chez les flagellants au Moyen Age," *Revue historique* 302 (2000): 593–614.
117. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 165 (May 27, 1400): "pro sumptibus suis et expensis et ejus sociorum, Dei amore, viginti cuppe boni vini et octo emine annone."
118. *Corpus Christi*, 584 (December 20, 1411).
119. Petrus de Arenys, *Chronicon*, 43.

120. Morerod, "Les étapes," 281, 284; see also Fages, *Notes et documents*, 105; Hodel, "Sermons de saint Vincent Ferrier à Estavayer-le-Lac," 152; Utz Tremp, "Hérétiques ou usuriers?" 122–3.
121. Gaffuri, "*In partibus illis ultra montanis*," 107–8.
122. Petti Balbi, *Georgii et Iohannis Stellae. Annales Genuenses*, 278–9.
123. *Thalamus parvus*, 447.
124. *RFA*, 665; Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," 565.
125. Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 241.
126. *HCV*, 2:485 (April 25, 1413).
127. *Corpus Christi*, 584 (December 20, 1411).
128. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 95–6 (October 19, 1415).
129. *Declaración de Salamanca*, in Cátedra, *Sermón*, 633.
130. Vincent, "Discipline du corps," 599–606, 613.
131. Henderson, "Flagellant Movement," 148.
132. Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399. Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 36–9, 46–7, 119–20; Dickson, "Revivalism as a Medieval Religious Genre," 482–5; Henderson, "Flagellant Movement," 149–54; Mitchell B. Merback, "The Living Image of Pity: Mimetic Violence, Peace-Making and Salvific Spectacle in the Flagellant Processions of the Later Middle Ages," in *Images of Medieval Sanctity in Honor of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Higgs Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 147–56; Vincent, "Discipline du corps," 595–7.
133. Henderson, "Flagellant Movement," 154–60; Vincent, "Discipline du corps," 597–8.
134. Henderson, "Flagellant Movement," 160; Kieckhefer, "Radical Tendencies," 159–62; Szëkely, "Le mouvement des flagellants," 232–4; Vincent, "Discipline du corps," 596.
135. Kieckhefer, "Radical Tendencies," 163–4.
136. Vincent, "Discipline du corps," 606; Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 144–7.
137. *Corpus Christi*, 252 (May 6, 1411); Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 61–2 (September 11, 1413).
138. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Els quatre sermons catalans de sant Vicent Ferrer en el manuscrit 476 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya," *ATCA* 15 (1996): 224–8 (May 6, 1414).
139. *Ayora*, 223 (March 11, 1414).
140. *Ayora*, 241 (March 14, 1414); *Sermons*, 3:93 (no date).
141. *Corpus Christi*, 660 (December 30, 1411).
142. Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," 565.
143. *HCV*, 2:485 (April 25, 1413).
144. Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," 565–6.
145. Robles, "Correspondencia," 198 (February 19, 1413).
146. *Corpus Christi*, 771 (January 14, 1412).
147. *Corpus Christi*, 584 (December 20, 1411).
148. *Corpus Christi*, 439 (August 2, 1411), 449 (August 5, 1411).
149. *Corpus Christi*, 252 (May 6, 1411); see also 496 (December 4, 1411), 817 (January 21, 1412).
150. *Corpus Christi*, 328 (June 23, 1411).
151. Robles, "Correspondencia," 201–2 (November 11, 1413).
152. *Corpus Christi*, 610–1 (December 23, 1411); Perarnau, "Sermones de sant Vicent Ferrer," 638–9 (August 13, 1413); *Sermons*, 4:31–2 (no date).

153. Emilio María Aparicio Olmos, "Algunos aspectos inéditos de la visita de San Vicente Ferrer a Valencia en el año 1410," *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana* 57 (1972): 129–35.
154. Rubio, "Documentos sobre la estancia," 323 (February 11, 1411).
155. Rubio, "Documentos sobre la estancia," 325 (April 18, 1411). The instruction that his companions provided to youths while Vincent preached figures frequently in the witness testimony given at his Breton canonization inquest: see Fages, *Procès*, 4, 41, 55, 207, for examples.
156. The ordinances are published in Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons," 336–40 (June 14, 1414). See also Angelina Puig Valls and Nuria Tuset Zamora, "La prostitución en Mallorca (siglos XIV, XV, y XVI)," in *La condición de la mujer en la edad media*, ed. Yves-René Fonquerne (Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1986), 278–9.
157. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 128–9 (December 30, 1416).
158. *HCV*, 2:487 (December 8, 1413).
159. *HCV*, 2:488–9 (February 25, 1414).
160. Fages, *Procès*, 290–1, 297–8, 394.
161. André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 473.
162. See the records in Fages, *Notes et documents*, 270. Esponera reckons that the Dominican house took in more than 1,000 sous as a result of Vincent's visit: Esponera, "*Hi era ab la ajuda de Deu*," 96n29.
163. Rubio, "Documentos sobre la estancia," 324 (March 22, 1411). For the compensation paid to those who lost income because of the stoppage of work, see Torres, "Moros, judíos," 86n29.
164. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 86–8 (December 9, 1414).
165. Torres, "Moros, judíos," 90.
166. *Corpus Christi*, 272 (May 10, 1411).
167. Vendrell, "Seis nuevos documentos," 223–4 (December 1412).
168. *Sermons*, 1:155 (no date); Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons," 229 (May 6, 1414). On the association between Jews and cowardice, see also Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 610, fol. 152v (November 18, 1413): Vincent preached that six things were necessary for the defense of a castle or town, one of which was that the defenders be brave "and not timid, like Jews." On the dating of this sermon: Esponera, "*Hi era ab la ajuda de Deu*," 110. On fifteenth-century feuding among Jews and *conversos*, see Mark D. Meyerson, "The Murder of Pau de Sant Martí: Jews, *Conversos*, and the Feud in Fifteenth-Century Valencia," in *A Great Effusion of Blood? Interpreting Medieval Violence*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 57–78.
169. *Ayora*, 249–50 (March 15, 1414).

## 5 Segregation and Conversion

1. John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure. Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 7; Dolors Bramon, *Contra moros i jueus: formació i estratègia d'unes discriminacions al país Valencià* (Valencia: Eliseu Climent, 1981), 80–3; María del Carmen Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas en el país valenciano. Historia y dialecto* (Valencia: Universitat de València-Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1984), 64–70.

2. Robert I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 147–9; Eliseo Vidal Beltran, *Valencia en la época de Juan I* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1974), 13–4.
3. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 56–7, 99–101.
4. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 79–80.
5. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 65–6.
6. On the language of Valencia's Muslims, see Dolors Bramon, "Una llengua, dues llenguës, tres llenguës," in *Raons d'identitat del país Valencià*, ed. Pere Sisé (Valencia: Eliseu Climent, 1977), 17–47.
7. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 353n95; Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, 214–5; Jaume Riera i Sans, "Jafudà Alatzar, jueu de València (segle XIV)," *Revista d'història medieval* 4 (1993): 68.
8. James A. Brundage, "Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law," *Jewish History* 3 (1988): 26–33.
9. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 331; Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *Els sarraïns de la Corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV. Segregació i discriminació* (Barcelona: Consell Superior de Investigacions Científíques, 1987), 41–53.
10. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 43–9.
11. Ferrer, *Els sarraïns*, 5–7.
12. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 343–7; Ferrer, *Els sarraïns*, 19–29.
13. Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 70–2.
14. Ferrer, *Els sarraïns*, 11.
15. Bramon, *Contra moros i jueus*, 40; Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, 149; José Hinojosa Montalvo, *En el nombre de Yahveh. La judería de Valencia en la Edad Media* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2007), 419–22.
16. José Hinojosa Montalvo, "Los judíos valencianos durante la epoca de la Visperias Sicilianas, 1276–1336," in *XI CHCA: La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro,* ed. Pietro Corrao and Francesco Giunta, 4 vols. (Palermo: Accademia di scienze, lettere, e arti, 1983), 2:204.
17. Hinojosa, "Los judíos valencianos," 204.
18. José Hinojosa Montalvo, "La comunidad hebrea en Valencia: del esplendor a la nada (1377–1391)," *Saitabi* 31 (1981): 51.
19. Jaume Riera i Sans, "Les llicències reials per predicar als jueus i als sarraïns (segles XIII-XIV)," *Calls* 2 (1987): 115–8.
20. Robert I. Burns, "Journey from Islam: Incipient Cultural Transition in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia," *Speculum* 35 (1960): 352–3; Hinojosa, "La comunidad hebrea," 203–4; Riera, "Les llicències reials," 115–8.
21. Riera, "Les llicències reials," 119–26.
22. David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), chapter 7.
23. Hinojosa, "La comunidad hebrea," 51; *HCV*, 1:310 (April 13, 1385).
24. Piles, "El açoch de la aljama judaica," 75–7; Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 68–9, 423–8, 490–6.
25. *HCV*, 1:347 (June 14, 1391).
26. Hinojosa, "La comunidad hebrea," 52–3.
27. *HCV,* 1:266 (March 10, 1377).
28. Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 68, 423.
29. *HCV*, 1:335–6 (February 19, 1390), 1:340–1 (June 4, 1390), 1:341 (July 9, 1390); Vidal, *Valencia*, 17–9.

30. The *Consell*'s deliberations on July 10, 1391, are an especially important source for the pogrom; as an internal document, they lack the self-exculpatory agenda of the *Consell*'s letters to the king. Deliberations: *HCV*, 1:348–51 (July 10, 1391). Letters: *EVM*, 1:247–9 (July 9, 1348); *EVM*, 1:251–2 (July 17, 1348).
31. Philippe Wolff, "The 1391 Pogrom in Spain: Social Crisis or Not?" *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 4–18; Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995), 127–67.
32. Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 73.
33. José Hinojosa Montalvo, *The Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia: from Persecution to Expulsion, 1391–1492* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1993), 23.
34. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 28.
35. Mark D. Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 22; Vidal, *Valencia*, 55–7; Bramon, *Contra moros i jueus*, 58; Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 35.
36. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 36.
37. Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 101.
38. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV. Cristians i sarraïns al país Valencià* (Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanals/Consell Superior de Investigacions Científíques, 1988), 25–9.
39. Vidal, *Valencia*, 73–4; Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 433.
40. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 262.
41. Bramon, *Contra moros i jueus*, 65.
42. Leopoldo Piles Ros, *La judería de Valencia: estudio historico*, ed. José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1991), 99–100.
43. Vidal, *Valencia*, 67–9; *EVM*, 1:251–2 (July 17, 1348).
44. Vidal, *Valencia*, 65–6; Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 34; *HCV*, 1:362 (November 15, 1392).
45. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 39–40.
46. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 259–64.
47. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 264; Meyerson, *Jewish Renaissance*, 20–1, 43.
48. Meyerson, *Jewish Renaissance*, 4, 240–2; Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 109.
49. Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 82.
50. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 41–2; Meyerson, *Jewish Renaissance*, 36–7.
51. Meyerson, *Jewish Renaissance*, 10.
52. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 124–5; *EVM*, 1:253–4 (June 9, 1400).
53. Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 133; Meyerson, *Jewish Renaissance*, 55. On royal legislation regarding *conversos* at other times and places (Mallorca in 1391; Barcelona, Tortosa, Girona, and Murviedro in 1393; the Crown of Aragon in 1400), see Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 83.
54. Ehrle, "Die Chronik," 363: "Item, los juzieus a totz los sermons quel dis en Arla, foron presens, por auzir los, que eser i volc."
55. Peter Schickl, "Von Schutz und Autonomie zu Verbrennung und Vertreibung: Juden in Freiburg," in *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, ed. Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1992–96), 1:544–5.
56. Batlle, "San Vicente Ferrer en Gerona," 146–50; for the document itself, see pp. 149–50 (August 30, 1409).
57. *Sermons*, 2:40 (no date).
58. *Corpus Christi*, 800 (January 19, 1412); *RAE294*, 384–5 (February 7–12, 1412).

59. *Corpus Christi*, 144 (April 13, 1411).
60. Rubio, "Documentos sobre la estancia," 324–5 (March 24, 1411).
61. Torres, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 75n16; for the confirmation itself, embedded in a later document, see pp. 95–7 (April 29, 1411).
62. *Corpus Christi*, 186 (April 23, 1411).
63. *RAE294*, 334–5 (August 16, 1411); *Corpus Christi*, 536 (December 12, 1411). For a rare Iberian sermon in which Vincent called for local magistrates to enforce the wearing of distinguishing garments, see his sermon at Medina: *Corpus Christi*, 815 (January 21, 1412).
64. *Corpus Christi*, 536–7 (December 12, 1411).
65. *RAE294*, 335 (August 16, 1411).
66. *Corpus Christi*, 536 (December 12, 1411).
67. *Corpus Christi*, 536 (December 12, 1411).
68. *Corpus Christi*, 658–61 (December 30, 1411).
69. *Corpus Christi*, 493 (December 4, 1411).
70. *Corpus Christi*, 536 (December 12, 1412).
71. *Corpus Christi*, 596 (December 21, 1411).
72. Yitzhak Baer, ed., *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929, 1936), 2:260–1 (October 25, 1408).
73. José María Monsalvo Antón, *Teoría y evolución de un conflicto social. El antisemitismo en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1985), 157, 171, and for other precedents, 170–9; Netanyahu, *Origins*, 185–6; Torres, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 66.
74. Netanyahu, *Origins*, 195.
75. Monsalvo, *Teoría y evolución*, 172–3.
76. Netanyahu, *Origins*, 195; David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth Century Spain," *Past & Present* 174 (2002): 12.
77. Baer, *Die Juden*, 2:273–4 (October 4, 1412).
78. Yitzhak Baer, Pedro Cátedra, and Juan Torres Fontes see Vincent as a catalyst for the Laws of Valladolid: Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961, 1966), 2:166–9; Pedro Cátedra, "La modificación del discurso religioso con fines de invectiva. El sermón," *Atalya. Revue française d'études médiévales hispaniques* 5 (1994): 113; Torres, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 76–7. Benzion Netanyahu claims that Bishop Pablo de Santa María, rather than Vincent, was behind the Laws of Valladolid: Netanyahu, *Origins*, 196–201; Adolfo Robles Sierra, without making any attempt to substantiate the claim quantitatively, states that the responsibility of Pablo de Santa María rather than of Vincent for the Laws of Valladolid is the majoritarian view: Adolfo Robles Sierra, "Sant Vicent Ferrer en el context de dialèg. Les minories religioses," in *Paradigmes de la història, I. Actes del Congrés "Sant Vicent Ferrer i el seu temps" (València, 13–16 maig, 1996)* (Valencia: Editorial SAÓ, 1997), 33. Neither Netanyahu nor Robles cites any evidence of Pablo de Santa María's involvement in drafting the Laws of Valladolid. It is certainly ironic that blaming a *converso* bishop and exculpating Vincent should appeal, albeit for very different reasons, both to a Dominican friar and to one of the foremost proponents of Revisionist Zionism.
79. The relevant section of this chronicle is published in Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 307–9; on Vincent and the Laws of Valladolid, see pp. 308–9.
80. *Corpus Christi*, 736 (January 9, 1412).

81. *Corpus Christi*, 763 (January 13, 1412), 769 (January 14, 1412), 790 (January 17, 1412).
82. *RAE294*, 384–5 (February 7–12, 1412).
83. Netanyahu, *Origins*, 1099–100.
84. *Corpus Christi*, 769 (January 14, 1412).
85. Robles, "Sant Vicent Ferrer en el context de dialèg," 30–1.
86. *RAE294*, 385 (February 7–12, 1412): "E, jodíos, esta propriedat que tenedes non es agora de nuevo, ca nunca jamás fezistes algún bien sinon por fuerça."
87. *Corpus Christi*, 769 (January 14, 1412): "nam iudei sunt talis condicionis, quod nunquam facerent aliquid boni, nisi cum malo et per vim. Non dico quod eis faciatis iniuriosam vim, quia non placeret Deo, sed bene vim iustam, et racionabilem, quod apartentur, etc. Nam nunquam facerent aliquid boni, nisi per vim."
88. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 251.
89. David Nirenberg, "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain," *American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 1081.
90. Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons," 232 (May 6, 1414).
91. Jewish community of Zaragoza: David Romano (Ventura), "Los judíos de la Corona de Aragón en la primera mitad del siglo XV," in David Romano Ventura, *De historia judía hispánica* (Barcelona: Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, 1991; first published 1959), 124–5. Letter: Robles, "Correspondencia," 202–3 (November 20, 1413).
92. Robles, "Correspondencia," 203 (January 4, 1414), 204 (March 6, 1414), 205–6 (April 16, 1414).
93. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 77–8 (November 1, 1414).
94. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 78–9 (November 7, 1414).
95. Francisca Vendrell de Millás, "La actividad proselitista de San Vicente Ferrer durante el reinado de Fernando I de Aragón," *Sefarad* 13 (1953): 89n7, 91–2.
96. J. V. Niclòs Albarracin, "La disputa religiosa de D. Pedro de Luna con el judío de Tudela D. Shem Tob ibn Shaprut en Pamplona (1379): el context en la vida y predicación de Vicente Ferrer," *Revue des études juives* 160 (2001): 409–33.
97. Shlomo Simonsohn, ed., *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 8 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988–1991), 2:553–4 (September 12, 1395), 554–5 (September 12, 1395).
98. Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion," 15–6.
99. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:587–8 (March 22, 1415), 592–3 (May 6, 1415).
100. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:555–6 (October 27, 1396), 556 (October 27, 1396).
101. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:571 (June 19, 1410).
102. Baer, *History of the Jews*, 2:175. On Jerónimo de Santa Fe's relationship with Vincent, see Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, "El dominico san Vicente Ferrer y los judíos," *EV* 38 (2008): 243. For *Etsi doctoris gentium*, see Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:593–601 (May 11, 1415).
103. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:574–5 (November 26, 1412).
104. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2: 575–6 (June 23, 1413).
105. For a more detailed narrative, see Antonio Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2 vols. (Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957), 1:31–84.
106. Baer, *History of the Jews*, 2:197.
107. Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 72.
108. Pacios, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 65–6, 74, 76–7.

109. Riera, "Judios y conversos," 73.
110. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 614 (September 13, 1415).
111. Monsalvo, *Teoría y evolución*, 274–5.
112. Francisca Vendrell de Millás, "La politica proselitista del rey Don Fernando I de Aragón," *Sefarad* 10 (1950): 349–55.
113. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:588–9 (April 5, 1415), 589–90 (April 21, 1415), 590–1 (April 23, 1415), and for a dozen other examples from June and July 1415, pp. 602–12.
114. Torres, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 87–8.
115. Andrés Jiménez Soler, "Los judíos españoles a fines del siglo XIV y principios XV," *Universidad: revista de cultura y vida universitaria* 27 (1950): 411.
116. Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," 561–2.
117. Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," 564; for the documents themselves, see pp. 575–6 (November 19, 1412), 579 (February 9, 1413).
118. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 73–4 (June 19, 1414).
119. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 88–9 (December 17, 1414).
120. Torres, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 75–6; for the document of November 1411, see pp. 95–7 (November 15, 1411).
121. Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 307–9.
122. Torres, "Moros, judíos, y conversos," 76–7.
123. Torres, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 69–70.
124. Torres, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 77–8.
125. Baer, *Die Juden*, 2:264 (July 17, 1412).
126. Baer, *History of the Jews*, 2:169.
127. Vendrell, "La actividad proselitista," 97 (September 2, 1412); on Alcañíz as the likely location, see p. 90, and also Baer, *History of the Jews*, 2:170–1.
128. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 72–3 (May 25, 1414).
129. Vendrell, "Seis nuevos documentos," 227–8 (September 4, 1414); Miguel Angel Motis Dolader and Eliezer Gutwirth, "La aljama judía de Jaca en la época de la Disputa de Tortosa (1410–1420)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 26, no. 1 (1996): 227–9.
130. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 74–5 (August 21, 1414).
131. Vendrell, "La actividad proselitista," 100–1 (October 24, 1414).
132. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 83–6 (November 23, 1414). On the Jews of Calatayud, see Ovidio Cuella, "Los judíos bilbilitanos en tiempos del Papa Luna," in *Primer encuentro de estudios bilbilitanos. Calatayud, 18–20 noviembre 1982*, 2 vols. (Calatayud: Centro de Estudios Bilbilitanos de la Institución Fernando el Católico, 1982, 1983), 2:133–40.
133. David Nirenberg, "Enmity and Assimilation. Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain," *Common Knowledge* 9 (2003): 143.
134. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 90–1 (March 25, 1415).
135. Fages, *Procès*, 392–3.
136. On the diminution, see Richard W. Emery, "The Wealth of Perpignan Jewry in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *Les juifs dans l'histoire de France. Premier colloque international de Haïfa*, ed. Myriam Yardeni (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 85.
137. Vendrell, "La actividad proselitista," 102–4 (October 12, 1415).
138. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 80–3 (November 19, 1414).
139. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 88–9 (December 17, 1414).
140. Jaime Villanueva, ed., *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid, 1803–1852), 22:258–64 (March 20, 1413); for the reference to *conversos*, see p. 258.

141. *EVM*, 2:311–2 (March 13, 1413).
142. Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 111–2.
143. *Ayora*, 300–1 (March 22, 1414).
144. *Corpus Christi*, 453 (August 6, 1411).
145. *Corpus Christi*, 144 (April 13, 1411).
146. *Corpus Christi*, 307 (June 14, 1411), 810 (January 20, 1412); *Ayora*, 284 (March 20, 1414); *Sermons* 3:70 (no date).
147. *Corpus Christi*, 719 (January 7, 1412).
148. Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons," 257–9 (May 6, 1414).
149. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, fol. 125v (no date).
150. *Corpus Christi*, 764 (January 13, 1412).
151. Nirenberg, "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation," 1091–3.
152. Jiménez, "Los judíos españoles a fines del siglo XIV," 408–10.
153. Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 74–7.
154. Hinojosa, *En el nombre de Yahveh*, 98–9; Netanyahu, *Origins*, 1099–100.
155. *Ayora*, 283 (March 20, 1414).
156. Robles, "Correspondencia," 200 (May 11, 1413). See also the series of letters relating to Hazmet Hannaxe in Fages, *Notes et documents*, 256–9, one of which is also published in *EVM*, 2:332–3.
157. Baer, *Die Juden*, 2:275 (March 30, 1413).
158. Baer, *Die Juden*, 2:279–81 (August 18, 1413).
159. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:577–8 (July 27, 1414).
160. Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:581–2 (December 7, 1414).
161. On Alcañíz: Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, 2:585–6 (March 6, 1415). On Palencia: Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "San Vicente Ferrer, predicador de sinagogas," *Salmanticensis* 2 (1955): 672–3.
162. Beltrán, "San Vicente Ferrer, predicador de sinagogas," 672–3.
163. Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 78.
164. *Corpus Christi*, 87 (March 2, 1411).
165. *Corpus Christi*, 522 (December 9, 1411).
166. *Ayora*, 320 (April 1, 1414).
167. *Corpus Christi*, 82 (March 1, 1411), 186 (April 23, 1411), 752 (January 11, 1412).
168. *Corpus Christi*, 522 (December 9, 1411).
169. *RAE294*, 334–5 (August 16, 1411). At Lleida, too, Vincent merged his call for moral reform with his call for the segregation of Jews; see *Ayora*, 267 (March 18, 1414). See also *Sermons*, 3:111–2 (no date).
170. Pedro Cátedra, "Fray Vicente Ferrer y la predicación antijudaica en la campaña castellana (1411–1412)," in "*Qu'un sang impur…" Les Conversos et le pouvoir en Espagne à la fin du moyen âge*," ed. Jeanne Battesti Pelegrin (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1997), 27.
171. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, fols. 125v-129r. (no date); see also Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "La compilació de sermons de sant Vicent Ferrer de Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477," *ATCA* 4 (1985): 235–6, 242.
172. Amos Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 2 (1971): 374.
173. *RAE294*, 341 (August 30–September 5, 1411); *Corpus Christi*, 52 (March 22, 1411), 455 (August 7, 1411).
174. *Corpus Christi*, 53 (February 22, 1411), 362–3 (July 2, 1411), 365 (July 3, 1411), 612–3 (December 23, 1411), 673 (January 1, 1412); *RAE294*, 391 (February 7–12, 1412); Perarnau, "La compilació de sermons," 252 (June 25, 1413).

175. *Corpus Christi*, 821 (January 22, 1412).
176. *Corpus Christi*, 49 (February 22, 1411), 176 (April 22, 1411), 591 (December 21, 1411).
177. *Corpus Christi*, 563 (December 17, 1411).
178. On Christian polemic against Islam, see John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
179. *Corpus Christi*, 176–7 (April 22, 1411), 807 (January 20, 1412); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, fol. 47v (July 9, 1413).
180. *Corpus Christi*, 821 (January 22, 1412); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, fols. 38r (June 29, 1413), 48r (July 9, 1413).
181. Funkenstein, "Basic Types," 374; see also Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 19–23.
182. *Corpus Christi*, 554 (December 15, 1411).
183. *Corpus Christi*, 493 (December 4, 1411). On the right of *conversos* to be *hidalgos*, so that Jewish leaders would not hesitate to convert, see also *Corpus Christi*, 596 (December 21, 1411).
184. *Corpus Christi*, 596 (December 21, 1411).
185. *Corpus Christi*, 784 (January 16, 1412).
186. *Corpus Christi*, 554 (December 15, 1411); *Quaresma*, 2:43 (April 2, 1413).
187. *Corpus Christi*, 81 (March 1, 1411), 366 (July 3, 1411), 456 (August 7, 1411), 544 (December 13, 1411), 578 (December 19, 1411), 661 (December 30, 1411), 697 (January 4, 1412).
188. *Corpus Christi*, 390 (July 20, 1411).
189. *Corpus Christi*, 383 (July 18, 1411).
190. *Corpus Christi*, 84 (March 2, 1411). See also *Corpus Christi*, 176 (April 22, 1411), 567 (December 18, 1411), where Vincent identified Old Testament passages about whose interpretation Jews and Christians could agree.
191. *Corpus Christi*, 493 (December 4, 1411).
192. *Corpus Christi*, 796 (January 18, 1412).
193. *Corpus Christi*, 117 (March 9, 1411).
194. Ram Ben-Shalom, "A Minority Looks at the Mendicants: Isaac Nathan the Jew and Thomas Connecte the Carmelite," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 236.
195. *Corpus Christi*, 763 (January 13, 1412), 767 (January 14, 1412).
196. *Corpus Christi*, 381 (July 17, 1411), 697 (January 4, 1412).
197. *RAE294*, 353 (August 30–September 6, 1411); see also *Corpus Christi*, 688 (January 3, 1412).
198. *Corpus Christi*, 760 (January 13, 1412). For other instances where Vincent used Hebrew philology, see *Quaresma*, 1:121 (March 17, 1413); *Ayora*, 221 (March 11, 1414); *Sermons* 1:240 (no date), 3:220 (no date).
199. *Corpus Christi*, 808–9 (January 20, 1412).
200. Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith. Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 32–4; Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 69–76.
201. Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 75, 144–5; see especially his later and fuller development of this argument in Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 317–63.
202. Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 3, 67–8.

203. Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 70–103; Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 108–28.
204. Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 115–6.
205. Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 160–1.
206. Cátedra, "Fray Vicente Ferrer," 22; see also Cátedra, *Sermón*, 243.

## 6 Antichrist, 1403

1. *Perugia*, 552 (July 27, 1412).
2. *Perugia*, 562 (July 27, 1412).
3. *RAE294*, 544 (July 5, 1411).
4. *RAE294*, 537–8 (July 5, 1411); *Corpus Christi*, 209–211 (April 30, 1411).
5. *RAE294*, 570–1 (July 8, 1411); the quotation is from Vincent's letter to Benedict: *Perugia*, 559 (July 27, 1412).
6. *Corpus Christi*, 255 (May 7, 1411); *RAE294*, 562 (July 8, 1411).
7. Guadalajara, "La edad del Antichristo," 329–30, 334–5. For the sermons themselves, see *RAE294*, 573 (July 8, 1411), 581 (September 24?, 1411); *Corpus Christi*, 521 (December 9, 1411).
8. *Perugia*, 562 (July 27, 1412).
9. *Perugia*, 558 (July 27, 1412).
10. *Corpus Christi*, 87 (March 2, 1411).
11. Perarnau, "La compilació," 255 (July 1, 1413).
12. Guadalajara, "La edad del Antichristo," 341.
13. *Corpus Christi*, 222–3 (May 2, 1411); *RAE294*, 564–6 (July 8, 1411).
14. *Perugia*, 559 (July 27, 1412); on the revelations, see *Perugia*, 560–2 (July 27, 1412); *Corpus Christi*, 224–5 (May 2, 1411); *RFA*, 672; *RAE294*, 571–3 (July 8, 1411). Regarding these revelations, the only inconsistency between Vincent's Iberian sermons and his Montpellier sermons involves the month in which the exorcised Italian demon blurted out news of Antichrist's birth. At Montpellier in December 1408, Vincent stated that the episode had happened about a year earlier, which suggests a date of late 1407 or early 1408; at Chinchilla in May 1411, Vincent stated that Antichrist was five years old at the time of the exorcism, which would date it to the period between June 1408 and December 1408 (by which time Vincent had left Italy), rather than early 1408; at Toledo in July 1411, Vincent merely stated that the episode had happened three years earlier, which is to say, in 1408.
15. Anonymous, ed., "Sermones de San Vicente Ferrer sobre el anticristo," *La cruz: revista religiosa de España y demás paises católicos* 1873, no. 2: 412 (no date).
16. *Corpus Christi*, 521 (December 9, 1411).
17. *Corpus Christi*, 225 (May 2, 1411), 522 (December 9, 1411); *RAE294*, 572–3 (July 8, 1411); *Perugia*, 561–2 (July 27, 1412).
18. *Corpus Christi*, 224 (May 2, 1411); *RAE294*, 569–70 (July 8, 1411); *Perugia*, 557–8 (July 27, 1412).
19. *RFA*, 672: "La II por revelación que fue fecha a un omne religioso que era enfermo e non podía guaresçer, al qual dixo Dios que veniese e pedricase este del Antichristo, e quanto durase el pedricar suyo, duraría el mundo."
20. *RAE294*, 571 (July 8, 1411).
21. *RAE294*, 573 (July 5, 1411).
22. *Perugia*, 560 (July 27, 1412); see also *Corpus Christi*, 505 (December 6, 1411).
23. *Corpus Christi*, 485 (December 2, 1411).

24. *RAE294*, 557 (July 7, 1411). The *Relación a Fernando de Antequara* similarly notes the link that Vincent made in this sermon between the schism and the apocalypse: *RFA*, 670.
25. *RAE294*, 573 (July 8, 1411).
26. *RAE294*, 564 (July 8, 1411).
27. *Perugia*, 553 (July 27, 1412).
28. *Perugia*, 554 (July 27, 1412).
29. *RAE294*, 564 (July 8, 1411).
30. *Perugia*, 562 (July 27, 1412).
31. *Perugia*, 560 (July 27, 1412).
32. Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 11.
33. The quotation is from Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 43–4; see also Robert E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 101–3.
34. Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 35–6.
35. Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 37–9; Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist. Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994), 42.
36. Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 39–42, 56; Bernard McGinn, "Early Apocalypticism: the Ongoing Debate," in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, ed. C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 27.
37. Lerner, "Refreshment," 105.
38. McGinn, *Antichrist*, 75.
39. Lerner, "Refreshment," 97–8; Robert E. Lerner, "The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 52–3; McGinn, "Early Apocalypticism," 28–9.
40. Lerner, "Refreshment," 103–8.
41. McGinn, *Antichrist*, 103.
42. Lerner, "Refreshment," 105–8.
43. Lerner, "Refreshment," 121.
44. Lerner, "Refreshment," 98–9.
45. Lerner, "Refreshment," 102–3, 109–15.
46. Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993; first published 1969), 16–21, 39–41, 48–55, 302–5; Lerner, "Refreshment," 116–20; Lerner, "Medieval Return," 57–60; Lerner "Black Death," 539–40; McGinn, *Antichrist*, 136–42.
47. Lerner, "Refreshment," 129–33; on Jean de Roquetaillade, see Leah DeVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time: John of Rupecissa in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
48. Lerner, "Medieval Return," 69.
49. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 59–65; Lerner, "Refreshment," 120.
50. David Burr, "Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse," *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 61–2.
51. McGinn, *Antichrist*, 161.
52. Lerner, "Refreshment," 138.

53. Lerner, "Medieval Return," 66–8.
54. Lerner, "Refreshment," 141.
55. Lerner, "Refreshment," 138–40.
56. Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 90–1; Lerner, "Medieval Return," 63.
57. McGinn, *Antichrist*, 177–8.
58. Burr, "Mendicant Readings," 96–7; McGinn, *Antichrist*, 161.
59. McGinn, *Antichrist*, 182–7.
60. Smoller, *History, Prophecy*, 92–6; Blumenfeld-Kosinksi, *Poets, Saints*, 211, and more generally chapters 3–6.
61. Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 91–2, 217.
62. Lerner, "Refreshment," 132–3; Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine. Crisi della società, profezia ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande scisma d'Occidente (1378–1417)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1979), 223–4.
63. Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi, necnon et tractatus qui ab eo dependunt*, ed. D. Verhelst (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 23–4.
64. Lerner, "Refreshment," 115.
65. On Vincent's citations of Aquinas, see Fuster, *Timete Deum*, 271–2; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, fol. 88v (no date).
66. Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 187.
67. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints*, 211.
68. Smoller, *History, Prophecy*, 4, 118–9.
69. Blumenfeld-Kosinki, *Poets, Saints*, 209. On how Nicolas de Clamanges put apocalypticism in the service of reform (rather than the other way around), see Christopher M. Bellitto, "The Rhetoric of Reform: Nicolas de Clamanges' Images of the End," in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, S. J.,* ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 141–54.
70. Smoller, *History, Prophecy*, 102.
71. Garganta, "San Vicente Ferrer, predicador de penitencia," 151–2.
72. José M. de Garganta and Vicente Forcada, "Introducción a la obra literaria de san Vicente," in *Biografía y escritos de San Vicente Ferrer*, ed. José M. de Garganta and Vicente Forcada (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1956), 360.
73. Fuster, *Timete Deum*, 132–7; Esponera, *El oficio de predicar*, 57; Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, "Uno de los focos de la presentación apocalíptica de la figura de san Vicente Ferrer," *EV* 30 (2000): 351–6.
74. Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine*, 223–4, 228–9.
75. Delcorno, "Da Vicent Ferrer a Bernardino da Siena," *Mirificus praedicator*, 10–3.
76. Perarnau demonstrates that the homiliary of Perugia is not an autograph written by Vincent himself, even though a scribe copying the manuscript appears to have wanted his readers to believe that he was Vincent: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Algunes consideracions entorn dels tres primers passos dels sermons de Sant Vicent Ferrer," *ATCA* 18 (1999): 460–1; Perarnau, "Cent anys," 56–8, especially n146 and n150.
77. Martin, "La mission," 134.
78. *Corpus Christi*, 598 (December 22, 1411).
79. For a lengthier discussion of this process, see the Appendix of this book.
80. *Perugia*, 578 (no date). The four reasons that Vincent gave for God allowing Muslims to control the Holy Land are of some interest, and his apocalypticism

informed even these four. First, it was to keep Christians from committing especially grave sins, because sins committed by Christians in the Holy Land were worse than sins committed by Muslims; second, to enable Christian pilgrims to travel among Muslims, make known to them the truths of the Christian faith, and thereby sow "great confusion" among infidels; third, to prevent the Jews from possessing the Holy Land; and fourth, to help Christians to reject and hate Antichrist, because Antichrist would arrive first in the Holy Land, and Christians would learn of Antichrist from despicable Muslims who had already made Antichrist's acquaintance. See also *Quaresma*, 2:64–5 (April 5, 1413).

81. *Perugia*, 543 (no date).
82. Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 610, fols. 189r-190r (no date).
83. *Corpus Christi*, 213 (May 1, 1411). See also Vincent's sermon preached on the Feast of Saint Lawrence at Ocaña, where he stated that he would preach about that saint in recognition of the day: *Corpus Christi*, 463 (August 10, 1411); his sermon preached on the Feast of the Epiphany at Tordesillas, where he stated that, in recognition of the day and "wanting to conform with the Holy Mother Church," he would preach about Jesus's baptism: *Corpus Christi*, 759 (January 13, 1412); *Sermons* 1:182 (no date); *Sermons* 2:45 (no date). For an exception when Vincent did preach an apocalyptic sermon on a feast day (specifically, the Feast of Saint George), see *Suíza*, 65 (March 12, 1404).
84. Bernard McGinn, "Apocalypticism in the Middle Ages: an Historiographical Sketch," *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975): 253–4.
85. "Eschatological refers to any belief in a climactic, God wrought conclusion to history in which the good are rewarded and the evil suffer... Apocalyptic (literally, 'revelatory') refers to the belief that this final moment when God's ways are revealed is imminent, a period ranging from a generation (within one's lifetime) to any day": Richard Landes, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Modern and Medieval," *Speculum* 75 (2000): 101. "Thus in the Middle Ages, apocalypticism was closely related to eschatology. Of course, the two should not be confused. Eschatology is the doctrine of the 'last things,' whereas apocalypticism involves an unveiling of the 'divine secrets which God made known to certain select individuals... initiated into an understanding of the secrets of heaven...' Apocalypticism is essentially secretive; it develops strange and fantastic symbols that are a special language for the initiated... Apocalypticism includes more than the last things. It sets eschatology in a historical context; it looks backward to the beginning of history as well as forward to the end of history. It posits a unified and dualistic view of history that envisions man and the agents of evil deterministically working out God's purpose": Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 13–4. Vincent qualifies as apocalyptic under Landes's definition, but perhaps less so under Emmerson's, with its emphasis on secrecy and esotericism.
86. *Corpus Christi*, 188 (April 24, 1411). Typically, when Vincent preached about predestination, he likened God's choice of the elect to a king holding a wedding feast and choosing guests. The friar also explained that God's foreknowledge of people's behavior did not constrain their free will, and he engaged with those who wondered why they should do good works if God had already decided who would be saved and who damned—the friar explained to those who questioned the need for good works that God decided upon both the individual's salvation or damnation and the means (good works) by which the individual was saved: see, for example, his sermons at Chinchilla: *Corpus Christi*, 247–9 (May 5, 1411);

at Valladolid: *Corpus Christi*, 653–6 (December 29, 1411); at Tortosa: Perarnau, "La compilació," 260 (July 4, 1413); and at Zaragoza: *Sermons*, 6:172–3 (November 29, 1414), where Vincent ambitiously explained to his listeners that knowledge of salvation had two "proportions," the first of which was affirmative, absolute, and belonged to God, and the second of which was negative, conditional, and belonged to humanity. At rural Tobarra, however, Vincent's sermon on predestination was much simpler and quite different; he merely told listeners that good behavior was a sign that one was among the elect and that bad behavior was a sign that one was among the damned. See, too, Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "La (darrera?) Quaresma transmesa de sant Vicent Ferrer: Clarmont-Ferrand, BMI, ms. 45," *ATCA* 22 (2003): 435–6 (no date), where Vincent again preached a sermon about predestination that simply focused on signs that one had been chosen; although preached at an unknown date and unknown place, Vincent mentioned that his listeners had come from a long way away to hear him that day, which suggests that this sermon, too, was preached in the countryside. To urban audiences, the friar preached a complex and more Catholic view of predestination; to rural audiences, Vincent preached a simpler and more purely Augustinian (in fact, a rather Calvinist) view of predestination.

87. *RFA*, 667: "Otro día, lunes, vino e sobió en el pedricatorio e dixo misa rezada e non pedricó por quanto estava rronco. E dizen los de su compañía que pocas vezes o ningunas pedrica del Antichristo que el primero sermon non enrronquezca."
88. Robles, "Correspondencia," 206 (May 10, 1414).
89. Robles, "Correspondencia," 206–8 (May 17, 1414).
90. *Corpus Christi*, 209 (April 30, 1411).
91. *Sermons*, 3:24 (no date).
92. *Sermons de Quaresma*, 1:168–70 (March 24, 1413); *Ayora*, 204–6 (March 9, 1414).
93. *Sermons de Quaresma*, 2:146 (April 17, 1413).
94. *Sermons*, 6:156–7 (November 27, 1414).
95. *Sermons*, 1:208 (June 4, 1417).
96. Perarnau, "La compilació," 274–5 (August 4, 1413).
97. *Sermons*, 6:151 (November 27, 1414): "Ara no havem cura de les evidéncies de la epistola que he tramesa al papa ne de les [que] vos preÿqui huy ha huit jorns."
98. Monetti, "Una documentazione della presenza," 388–92; Roberto Rusconi, "Vicent Ferrer e Pedro de Luna: sull'iconografia di un predicatore fra due obbedienze," in *Conciliarismo, stati nazionali, inizi dell'Umanesimo. Atti del XXV Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 9–12 ottobre 1988* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), 215–20.
99. For the manuscripts and editions: Thomas Kaeppeli and Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome: Ad. S. Sabinae/Istituto storico domenicano, 1970–1993), 4:463–4.
100. *Sermons*, 6:157 (November 27, 1414).
101. *Sermons de Quaresma*, 1:170 (March 24, 1413); *Sermons de Quaresma*, 2:146 (April 17, 1413); *Sermons*, 1:208 (June 4, 1417).
102. *Sermons de Quaresma*, 2:46 (April 3, 1413): "Sent Gregori, que venc après entorn de set-cents anys aprés de Jesu-crist, e de llavors encà atretant més; sent Gregori, veent tantes tribulacions, fams, terrestrèmols, fo forçat de dir que la fi del món seria tost 'cum ex hiis signis non est dubium, quod non exequetur' breu la fi del món. Encara parla comparative, no comparant-lo a la eternitat, mas comparant est món a les tribulacions. Mas jo parle absoludament, que tan clar vos parle,

absoludament, que no solament som a la darrera edat, mas a la fi de aquella, e així jo ho creu, e ho sé cert e ben cert, que tost e ben tost, e tot és ja passat, e som a la fi de la darrera edat. Així, no m'exponga nengú mon enteniment." For other instances when Vincent continued to assert the proximity of the world's end, see Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 477, fol. 60v (July 30, 1413); *Ayora*, 304 (March 22, 1414), 327 (April 3, 1414). For similar assertions in Vincent's undated sermons, see *Sermons*, 1:163 (no date), 2:35 (no date), 2:154 (no date), 2:159 (no date).

103. Perarnau, "La compilació," 273 (August 4, 1413).
104. *Sermons* 1:208 (June 4, 1417). Guadalajara, following Martín de Riquer, dates this sermon to 1416, although doing so requires him to stipulate arbitrarily that the "14" is a scribal mistake and should read "13": Guadalajara, "La edad del Antichristo," 329–30. The cleaner solution is to accept what the manuscript and sermon say and to reject Riquer's date accordingly.
105. Perarnau, "La (darrera?) quaresma," 383 (March 16, 1419).
106. Perarnau, "La (darrera?) quaresma," 385 (March 16, 1419).
107. Perarnau, "La (darrera?) quaresma," 350–4.
108. As Antist deduced in the sixteenth century: Vicente Justiniano Antist, "La vida y historia del apostólico predicador fray Vicente Ferrer," in *San Vicente Ferrer, vida y escritos*, ed. Alfonso Esponera Cerdán (Madrid: Edibesa, 2005; first published 1575), 375–6.
109. Fages, *Procès*, 390.
110. Fages, *Procès*, 298–9, 322–3, 341. Some Toulousan witnesses reported that Vincent had responded to his Franciscan antagonist by explaining that Babylon meant "confusion." At Valladolid in December 1411 and at Zaragoza in 1414, Vincent did indeed preach that Babylon meant "confusion": *Corpus Christi*, 519 (December 9, 1411); *Sermons* 6:156 (November 28, 1414).
111. Fages, *Procès*, 36.

## 7 Final Journeys: Perpignan, Vannes, and In Between

1. Robles, "Correspondencia," 198–9 (April 12, 1413).
2. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 57–8 (March 16, 1413).
3. Suaréz, *Castilla, el Cisma*, 68.
4. Arnau, *San Vicente Ferrer y las eclesiologías*, 132–44; Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass*, 59–69; Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 240; Montagnes, "La guérison miraculeuse," 193; Fages, *Procès*, 243.
5. Perarnau, "Sobre l'eclesiologia," 434–5.
6. *Ayora*, 271 (March 18, 1414).
7. *Corpus Christi*, 485 (December 2, 1411).
8. Perarnau, "El punt de ruptura," 626–41, 649.
9. The following narrative draws on Favier, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 722–6; Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 63–7; Suaréz, *Castilla, el Cisma*, 67–101.
10. Robles, "Correspondencia," 208–9 (May 18, 1415).
11. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 99–100 (January 7, 1416).
12. Perarnau, "El punt de ruptura," 649.
13. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 307–8 (January 8, 1416), 308–9 (January 12, 1416); Hermann Von der Hardt, *Rerum Concilii oecumenici Constantiensis de pace ac unione ecclesiae*, vol. 2, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Consilium: de universali*

*ecclesiae reformatione, unione, et fidei* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1697–1742), cols. 564–7 (January 12, 1416).

14. Paul-Bernard Hodel, introduction to *TMES*, 15, especially n30.
15. Perarnau, "El punt de ruptura," 644–6.
16. The relevant section of *Super horrendo* is published in Perarnau, "El punt de ruptura," 648–9.
17. Vicente A. Alvarez Palenzuela, "Ultimas repercusiones del Cisma de Occidente en España," *En la España medieval* 5 (1986): 65–6, 70, 76–7.
18. Remedios Ferrer Micó, "Reinvindicaciones estamentales frente al poder monarquico," in *XVI CHCA: La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, ed. Guido d'Agostino and Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples: Paparo Edizioni, 2000), 1:327–8.
19. Carme Batlle i Gallart, "La ciutat de Barcelona i el Cisma," *Jornades sobre el Cisma d'Occident a Catalunya*, 2:322.
20. Alvarez, "Ultimas repercusiones," 65–72.
21. Robles, "Correspondencia," 204–5 (March 21, 1414).
22. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 118–9 (March 3, 1416).
23. Robles, "Correspondencia," 209–10 (January 8, 1416).
24. Robles, "Correspondencia," 209–10 (January 8, 1416).
25. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 110–1 (January 19, 1416).
26. Andrea Biglia's *Admonitio* is published in Roberto Rusconi, "Fonti e documenti su Manfredi da Vercelli O.P. ed il suo movimento penitenziale," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 47 (1977): 51–107. For the dating, see pp. 61–2; for the section relating to Vincent, see pp. 85–90. On Biglia, see Rudolph Arbesmann, "Andrea Biglia: Augustinian Friar and Humanist (d. 1435)," *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965): 154–85; Joseph C. Schnaubelt, "Andrea Biglia (c. 1394–1435): His Life and Writings," *Augustiniana* 43 (1993): 103–59.
27. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 114–5 (January 31, 1416).
28. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 117 (February 16, 1416).
29. Robles, "Correspondencia," 211–2 (April 15, 1416), 212 (August 31, 1416). Alfonso was so hopeful that Vincent would go to Constance that, in April 1416, he made arrangements enabling the king to provide the promised level of financial support to Vincent. In July 1416, a still hopeful Alfonso ordered an ambassador to whom he had sent a lengthy set of instructions to share them with Vincent and to consult with him on all matters: see Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 120–1 (April 17, 1416), 127 (July 10, 1416).
30. Robles, "Correspondencia," 212–4 (June 9, 1417).
31. Jean Gerson, *Contra sectam flagellantium*, in *Oeuvres*, 10:49.
32. Brian Patrick McGuire, "In Search of Jean Gerson: A Chronology of His Life and Works," in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 31.
33. Jean Gerson, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, in *Oeuvres*, 9:463–4.
34. Fages, *Procès*, 338–9, 428, 434.
35. Fages, *Procès*, 20.
36. Fuster, *Timete Deum*, 224; Hodel, "Commentaire et analyse," *TMES*, 239, 248–9; Hervé Martin, "Les Bretons et leurs prédicateurs à la fin du Moyen Age," *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 67 (1990): 40–1.
37. Jean-Christophe Cassard, "Le légat cathéciste. Vincent Ferrier en Bretagne (1418–1419)," *Revue historique* 229 (1998): 327.
38. Fages, *Procès*, 410. On the canonization process, see Laura Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby: The Cult of Saint Vincent Ferrer in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), chapter 2.

39. Fages, *Procès*, 420–1.
40. Fages, *Procès*, 422–3.
41. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 115 (January 31, 1416): "Item explicarà al dit rey dels romans e missatgers de la congregació de Costança, notificants los com seria molt fructuós que mestre Vicent anàs a la dita congregació e concili celebrador. E ja lo dit senyor n'a fet parlar e troba'l molt dur."
42. *Sermons* 1:208 (June 4, 1417).
43. Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale et Interuniversitaire, ms. 45, fol. 92r (1417–1419). There are two reasons for dating this sermon, preached on the Tuesday after Laetare Sunday and on the biblical theme *Si quis voluerit voluntatem Dei facere, cognoscat*, to 1417, 1418, or 1419. First, it comes from a manuscript containing Lenten sermons that Perarnau shows to have been preached, "globally considered," in France and in 1417: Perarnau, "La (darrera?) quaresema," 350–4; as we saw in Chapter 6, the manuscript contains at least one sermon dating to 1419, and Vincent was still alive on the Tuesday after Laetare Sunday in 1419 (March 28 that year). Second, while nearly all the sermons in Clermont-Ferrand, BMI, ms. 45, are versions of ones that Vincent had preached before, sharing with those earlier sermons biblical themes and thematic divisions, *Si quis voluerit voluntatem Dei facere, cognoscat* is not a sermon that figures among those that Vincent had preached earlier in his career: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Aportació a un inventari de sermons de Sant Vicenç Ferrer: Temes bíblics, títols i divisions esquemàtiques," *ATCA* 18 (1999): 760 (no. 781). Lacking forerunners, *Si quis voluerit voluntatem Dei facere, cognoscat* appears to be a sermon newly composed by Vincent later in life.
44. Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale et Interuniversitaire, ms. 45, fols. 94v-95r (1417–1419).
45. Esponera, "San Vicente Ferrer y la Iglesia," 76.
46. Robles, "Correspondencia," 214 (June 9, 1417).
47. Gerson, *Contra sectam flagellantium*, 46–51.
48. Fages, *Procès*, 334.
49. Gerson, *Contra sectam flagellantium*, 51.
50. Perarnau, "El punt de ruptura," 651n13.
51. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 325–61; Chanoine (Edouard) Joubert, "Saint Vincent Ferrier en Occitanie," *Revue de la Haute-Auvergne* 47 (1979): 259–73; Bernard Montagnes, "La prédication de Vincent Ferrier à Toulouse en 1416," *Saint Vincent Ferrier et le monde de son temps*, 1:22–9; Roger Sève, "Saint Vincent Ferrier à Clermont," *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), 665–71; Antoine Thomas, ed., "Saint Vincent Ferrier dans le Midi de la France, d'après les documents d'archives," *Annales du Midi* 4 (1892): 236–47; Antoine Thomas, ed., "Saint Vincent Ferrier à Saint-Flour," *Annales du Midi* 4 (1892): 380–9. Some expenses pertain to anticipated visits, and some appear in summaries covering a fiscal period of several months, so it is not always possible to identify the precise days or even the precise months when Vincent visited.
52. Albi's invitation: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 328 (no date); Millau's invitation: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 334 (June 1416); Lyon's invitation: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 359 (March 28, 1417); Nevers's invitation: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 355 (December 15, 1417); Saint-Affrique's preparations in case Vincent showed up: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 332 (June 29, 1416). Decize paid for boats to take Vincent to Nevers: Fages, *Notes et documents*, 358 (December 9, 1417).
53. Fages, *Procès*, 300, 323–4, 348–9, 375–6, 389–90.
54. Thomas, "Saint Vincent Ferrier dans le Midi," 238 (August 30, 1416).

55. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 345–6 (no date); Joubert, "Saint Vincent Ferrier en Occitanie," 272.
56. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 334 (no date).
57. Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municiplae et Interuniversitaire, ms. 45, fols. 64r-64v (1417–1419).
58. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 351 (no date); Fages, *Procès*, 290, 323.
59. Siméon Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy: recherches critiques sur les origines de la mission de la Pucelle, accompagnées de pièces justificatives* (Paris: H. Champion, 1886), 301–2 (July 23, 1417).
60. With the possible exception of Toulouse, where a witness testified that, while at Rabastens (near Albi) just before Vincent's arrival at Toulouse, he had heard that the bishop of Toulouse had invited Vincent there: Fages, *Procès*, 339.
61. Cassard, "Le légat catéciste," 332.
62. Fages, *Procès*, 9, 31–2, 36, 74; Martin, "La mission," 132–3; Philippe Niederlender, "Vincent Ferrier, prédicateur du jugement et taumaturge," *2000 ans d'histoire de Vannes* (Vannes: Archives municipales, 1993) 78–9.
63. Fages, *Procès*, 4, 41, 55, 69.
64. Fages, *Procès*, 13, 67–8. No such letters are in the duke's published correspondence: René Blanchard, ed., *Lettres et mandements de Jean V, duc de Bretagne*, vols. 4–8 of *Archives de Bretagne, recueil d'actes, de chroniques, et de documents historiques rare ou inédits* (Nantes, 1889–1895), 5:227. However, because Nevers's financial records speak of Vincent as going next to Brittany, it seems likely that the friar was indeed invited to Brittany well before his arrival there.
65. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 355 (December 15, 1417).
66. Cassard, "Le légat catéciste," 324–6.
67. Cassard, "Le légat catéciste," 329; Georges Peyronnet, "L'étrange rencontre d'un conquérant dévot et d'un prédicateur messager de paix. Henri V d'Angleterre et Saint Vincent Ferrier (1418)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 87 (1992): 663–81; Fages, *Procès*, 6, 96, 289.
68. Perarnau, "La (darrera?) quaresma," 384 (March 16, 1419).
69. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 367 (no date), which speaks of Vincent at Rennes in April 1418.
70. Cassard, "Le légat catéciste," 327–9.
71. On the near-miss of Charles I's canonization, see André Vauchez, "Canonisation et politique au XIVe siècle. Documents inédits des Archives du Vatican relatifs au procès de canonisation de Charles de Blois, duc de Bretagne (d. 1364)," in *Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Martino Giusti Prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, 2 vols. (Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1978), 2:381–92.
72. Alberto Velasco Gonzàlez, "De València a Vannes: Culte, devoció i relíquies de Sant Vicent Ferrer," *Acta historica et archaeologica* 29 (2008): 403–4; Smoller, *Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, 16–37.
73. Martin, "Les Bretons," 31–5; Ben-Shalom, "Minority Looks at the Mendicants," 219–23, 238.
74. Fages, *Procès*, 11.
75. Fages, *Procès*, 6–7, 20.
76. Jean-Christophe Cassard, "Vincent Ferrier en Bretagne: une tournée triomphale, prélude à une riche carrier posthume," *Mirificus praedicator*, 77.
77. Fages, *Procès*, 28–9, 48.
78. Fages, *Procès*, 20.
79. Fages, *Procès*, 21, 28.

80. Cassard, "Vincent Ferrier en Bretagne," 91–2.
81. Fages, *Notes et documents*, 403–5 (October 31, 1419); see also 405–8 (October 31, 1419), 408–10 (November 17, 1419), 410–1 (January 17, 1420), 411–2 (January 26, 1426).
82. Fages, *Procés*, 22.
83. Cassard, "Vincent Ferrier en Bretagne," 90–3.
84. Jiménez, "Los judíos españoles a fines del siglo XIV," 413–4.

## Conclusion

1. David Nasaw, "Introduction: AHR Roundtable, Historians and Biography," *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 573–5; Jill Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *The Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 129–30, 132–4. See also Hans Renders and Binne de Haan, *Theoretical Discussions of Biography. Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing*, revised and augmented edition (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
2. Nasaw, "Introduction," 574.
3. "Dixi cuidam, de ista materia me consulenti, quod si caste poterat quod non duceret uxorem, secus si non caste": Ayora, 253–4 (March 15, 1414).
4. *Corpus Christi*, 209 (April 30, 1411).
5. Villanueva, *Viage literario*, 22:54–9; Pere Xamena and Francesc Riera, *Història de l'església a Mallorca* (Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 1986), 70–4.
6. Daniel Hobbins, "Hearsay, Belief, and Doubt: The Arrival of Antichrist in Fifteenth-Century Italy," in *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages: Essays to Honor John Van Engen*, ed. David C. Mengel and Lisa Wolverton (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 442–3, 448–52, 468–9.
7. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 60–1 (August 10, 1413).
8. Fages, *Procès*, 294, 366.
9. Fages, *Procès*, 292.
10. *RFA*, 665.
11. Martínez, *San Vicente Ferrer y la casa real*, 34 (July 22, 1409).
12. David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6. For a fine historiographical survey, see Alex J. Novikoff, "Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma," *Medieval Encounters* 11 (2005): 7–36.
13. Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 456–9.
14. *Suíza*, 79–80, 82 (March 14, 1404).
15. *Sermons*, 3:46–8 (no date).
16. *Suíza*, 61 (March 11, 1404).
17. Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 610, fol. 125r (November 1?, 1413); on the dating of this sermon, see Esponera, "*Hi era ab la ajuda de Deu*," 108.

## Appendix: Sources

1. Trentman, introduction to Vincent Ferrer, *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, 13–4; Trentman, "Text of *De suppositionibus*," 83–6; Trentman, "*Questio de unitate* universalis," 111; Forcada, "Momento histórico," 61; Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 4:460. Forcada points out that the *Tractatus de suppositionibus* seems to refer to the *Questio de unitate universalis*, which would therefore have to predate the *Tractatus*; see Forcada, "Momento histórico," 61–2; Ferrer, *Tractatus*

*de suppositionibus*, 101. Of the three surviving manuscripts of the *Tractatus*, two date the treatise to 1372 and one to 1371; one says that Vincent composed the treatise in Valencia, and the other two say at Lleida. Sigismund Brettle challenged the authenticity of the two logical treatises, arguing that Vincent was too young in the early 1370s to have written works of such "maturity": Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer*, 33n10. But as Trentman says, "the authenticity of Ferrer's philosophical works is not really open to serious doubts": Trentman, introduction to Vincent Ferrer, *Tractatus de suppositionibus*, 14–5; similarly, Matthieu-Maxime Gorce, *Les bases de l'étude historique de Saint Vincent Ferrier* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1923), 1–3.

2. Ranzano, *Vita*, 487.
3. Hodel, introduction to *TMES*, 13–23; *TMES*, 27.
4. Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum,* 4:470–2; Adolfo Robles Sierra, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," in *Obras y escritos de san Vicente Ferrer*, ed. Adolfo Robles (Sierra) (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1996), 276–7.
5. Gorce, *Les bases*, 4.
6. Robles, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," 278–9. On how sixteenth-century editors suppressed specific chapters, see Alvaro Huerga, "La edición cisneriana del 'Tratado de la Vida Espiritual' y otros ediciones del siglo XVI," *EV* 10 (1980): 297–313.
7. The edition published by Fages has not been superseded: Père (Pierre-Henri) Fages, ed., *Oeuvres de Saint Vincent Ferrier*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard/Savaete, 1909), 1:7–47. It is, however, based on an older edition published in 1591: Robles, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," 351; Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 4:472. One can also consult Adolfo Robles Sierra's Castilian translation: Robles, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," 301–46.
8. Gorce, *Les bases*, 6–7; Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer*, 124–32; Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 4:470; Robles, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," 297–300.
9. Gorce, *Les bases*, 6–7; Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer*, 127.
10. Esponera, *El oficio de predicar*, 23.
11. Sebastián Fuster Perelló, "En el fin del mundo y el Anticristo. Pensamiento de san Vicente Ferrer," *EV* 32 (2002): 128.
12. Hodel, "Commentaire et analyse," 209.
13. Robles, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," 293–4.
14. As Gorce already recognized in 1923: Gorce, *Les bases*, 4.
15. Robles, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," 294. Robles advances other arguments regarding Vincent's authorship of the *Tractatus de vita spirituali*, such as the supposed presence of Valencian phrases and figures of speech in the text, but he gives no examples, and given that the *Tractatus* is written in Latin rather than in Valencian, any philological argument would be hard to sustain. Gorce in 1923 anticipated arguments for Vincent's authorship based on the author's personality and familiarity with the Dominican Rule and pointed out the weaknesses of such arguments: Gorce, *Les bases*, 4.
16. Robles, "Tratado de la Vida Espiritual," 284–93.
17. Most notably the apocryphal *Opusculum sive sermo de fine mundi, vel Prognosticon de antichristo mixto et puro*: Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 4:473–4; Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer*, 163–4.
18. In 1999, Josep Perarnau i Espelt published a preliminary catalogue of Vincent's sermons, including both extant sermons and those known to have once existed

but now lost: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Aportació a un inventari de sermons de Sant Vicenç Ferrer," *ATCA* 18 (1999): 479–811. The inventory contains 909 items organized alphabetically according to biblical theme (which, in accordance with medieval homiletic practice, Vincent chose, or at least should have chosen, from the scriptural readings corresponding to the liturgical day on which he delivered the sermon). Of course, sermons preached on the same biblical theme and following the same thematic division, but at different times, might contain different material—although they count as a single sermon in the inventory, each one is, in effect, a different sermon for the purposes of historical analysis. Perarnau's impressive and indispensable inventory is, as its title indicates, a pioneering contribution rather than a definitive register. Manuscripts remain whose contents will need to be incorporated, including some manuscripts that Perarnau wrote about subsequently: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Sermons manuscrits del dominic Sant Vicent Ferrer en un convent franciscà (CLM 26785: un llibre amb un certa història)," in *Revirescunt chartae. Codices, documenta, textus. Miscellanea in honorem Fr. Caesaris Cenci, OFM*, ed. Alvaro Cacciotti and Pacifico Sella (Rome: Edizioni Antonianum, 2002), 341–53 (for a manuscript located in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek); see also Cátedra, *Sermón*, 75–7. For manuscripts containing Vincent's sermons, see Kaeppeli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 4:458–74, especially 464–8.

19. Sánchez, "Vernacular Preaching," 831–4; Cátedra, *Sermón*, 86–9; Perarnau, "Sermones de sant Vicent Ferrer," 618–9.
20. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Els manuscrits d'esquemes i de notes de sermons de Sant Vicent Ferrer," *ATCA* 18 (1999), 157, especially n1; Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Les primeres 'reportationes' de sermons de St. Vicent Ferrer: les de Friedrich von Amberg, Fribourg, Cordeliers, Ms 62," *ATCA* 18 (1999): 64–5; *Suíza*, 16–7.
21. *Ayora*, 490.
22. Perarnau, "La compilació de sermons," 239.
23. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 29.
24. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Sobre el manuscrit de València, Col.legi del Patriarca, amb sermons de Sant Vicent Ferrer," *ATCA* 18 (1999): 403.
25. Perarnau, "Sermons de Sant Vicent Ferrer," 644; Perarnau, "La compilació de sermons," 240–1.
26. Perarnau, "Les primers 'reportationes,'" 64–5; Cátedra, *Sermón*, 92.
27. Perarnau, "Cent anys," 19, 25–6; Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons Catalans," 161n183. In 1917, Manuel Betí i Bonfill described the now missing manuscripts of Morella: Manuel Betí i Bonfill, "Notícies de dos manuscrits de l'Arxiu de l'Arxiprestal de Morella," *Bulletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 4 (1917): 47–67. He published editions of two sermons contained in the Morella manuscripts, one before their disappearance and one (based on an earlier transcription) afterward. For the editions of the sermons, see Manuel Betí i Bonfill, "Un sermon en valenciano de san Vicente Ferrer. *De beato Petro*," *BSCC* 3 (1922): 123–33; Manuel Betí i Bonfill, "Del sermonario morellano de San Vicente. *Secunda dominica adventus Domini*. La segona lança," *BSCC* 31 (1955): 117–25. For the apparent reappearance of one of the missing manuscripts of Morella, see Curt Wittlin, "Un sermón en latín de Fray Antonio Canals, hecho en Valencia el 8 de setiembre 1392: la Virgen María, un libro," *EV* 27 (1997): 288–9.

28. On the manuscript, see Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 248–54, 258–71. For the transcribed sermons themselves, see "Sermones de San Vicente Ferrer sobre el anticristo," *La cruz: revista religiosa de España y demás paises católicos* 1872, no. 2: 416–42, 643–50; *La Cruz* 1873, no. 1: 15–23, 145–54, 261–8, 387–94, 513–20, 638–45; *La Cruz* 1873, no. 2: 284–91, 398–412, 529–34, 658–70; *La Cruz* 1874, no. 2: 257–67; *La Cruz* 1875, no. 1: 129–40.
29. Perarnau, "Cent anys," 45–6.
30. Perarnau, "Algunes consideracions," 456n2.
31. Renedo, "Del quadern al sermó," 91–9.
32. Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons Catalans," 162n189.
33. Perarnau, "Sermones de Sant Vicent Ferrer," 625.
34. Perarnau, "La compilació de sermons," 242; *Perugia*, 12, 18.
35. Gret Schib, "Els sermons de sant Vicent Ferrer," in *Actes del tercer col.loqui internacional de llengua i literatura catalanes, celebrat a Cambridge del 9 al 14 d'Abril de 1973*, ed. R. B. Tate and Alan Yates (Oxford: Dolphin Book, 1976), 325–34.
36. These "notes" form a fairly substantial part of the homiliary at Perugia and a small part of those at Avignon and Toulouse too. See Perarnau, "Els manuscrits d'esquemes," 346–7.
37. Cátedra, *Sermón*, 89.
38. Perarnau, "Cent anys," 11–2; Sánchez, "Vernacular Preaching," 825.
39. *Ayora*, 11–2. For other manuscripts containing sermons of different provenances and rearranged according to the liturgical calendar, see Perarnau, "La (darrera?) quaresma," 352–3.
40. *Suíza*, 15–6; Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons catalans," 111–23; Perarnau, "La compilació de sermons," 217–39.
41. Perarnau, "L'antic mss. 279," 29–44.
42. At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, five manuscripts containing Vincent's sermons were housed in Valencia at the episcopal archives: Valencia, Seu de Valencia, mss. 275, 278, 279, 280, and 281. Josep Sanchis Sivera began transcribing sermons from these five manuscripts before the war. He published the sermons in ms. 275, which were subsequently republished with an introduction by Manuel Sanchis Guarner as the two-volume *Quaresma*. Sanchis Sivera also published sermons from ms. 281 in volumes 1 (1932) and 2 (1934) of *Sermons*, and he transcribed at least some of the sermons from ms. 279, publishing two of them in 1926, presumably with the intention of publishing the rest in the third volume of *Sermons*. However, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War interrupted Sanchis Sivera's work; he died in 1937, and ms. 279 disappeared. Sanchis Sivera's transcriptions from the now missing manuscript came into the possession of his nephew Sanchis Guarner. In the 1970s and the 1980s, Gret Schib published, as volumes 3, 4, and 5 of *Sermons*, the unpublished sermons contained in the three remaining manuscripts, which had been renumbered in the meantime: *olim* 278 was now ms. 276; the missing *olim* 279 was now ms. 277; *olim* 280 was now ms. 278; and *olim* 281 was now ms. 279. Then, in volume 6 of *Sermons*, Schib published 16 sermons from the still missing ms. 277 (*olim* 279): 14 of the 16 came from Sanchis Sivera's unpublished transcriptions, and the other two were those that Sanchis Sivera had himself published in 1926. The missing manuscript contained 54 sermons, so the publication of volume 6 of *Sermons* left 38 sermons still missing, although not quite entirely. Roc Chabàs and Pierre-Henri Fages, near the end of the nineteenth and the start of the twentieth centuries, published

some fragments from ms. 279; Perarnau then collated those fragments in his study of ms. 277 (*olim* 279). See Perarnau, "Cent anys," 23–6, 40–1; Perarnau, "L'antic ms. 279," 29–44.

43. Perarnau published 14 of these sermons: Perarnau, "La (darrera?) quaresma," 359–549. For the dating and localization, see pp. 350–3.
44. For examples, see Morenzoni, "La prédication de Vincent Ferrier à Montpellier," 236 (December 2, 1408), 255 (December 4, 1408).
45. Martín de Riquer, "Fecha y localización de algunos sermons de san Vicente Ferrer," *BRABLB* 30 (1963–64): 157–68.
46. Schib, "Els sermons," 334–5.
47. Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons Catalans," *ATCA* 15 (1996): 127–33.
48. Perarnau, "Els quatre sermons catalans," 126; Perarnau, "Cent anys," 15n11; Cátedra, *Sermón*, 78–9. For the texts themselves, see Clovis Brunel, "Un plan de sermon de Saint Vincent Ferrier," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 85 (1924): 110–7; Clovis Brunel, "Notice du manuscrit 60 de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Rodez contenant entre autres un sermon de Saint Vincent Ferrier," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 94 (1933): 5–26; Maximiliano Canal, ed., *Sermón del Viernes de la Cruz* (Salamanca: Establecimiento tipográfico de Calatrava, 1929).
49. María Isabel Toro Pascua, "Las versiones castellanas del sermón *Ecce positus est hic in ruinam*, atribuido a San Vicente Ferrer," in *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías, 2 vols. (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, 1997), 2:1501–11. For the sermon itself: Catédra, *Sermón*, 635–60.
50. José Guadalajara Medina, *Las profecías del Anticristo en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1996), 239–40, 340–1; Perarnau, "Aportació a un inventari," 561 (no. 226).
51. Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer*, 157–64, especially 162; Cátedra, *Sermón,* 79–80, 167. Fuster, *Timete Deum*, 243–57, well summarizes the debate.
52. Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 271–80; Sánchez, "Vernacular Preaching," 817–8. For the sermons themselves, see Pedro Cátedra, ed., *Los sermones atribuidos a Pedro Marín. Van añadidas algunas noticias sobre la predicación castellana de san Vicente Ferrer* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1990).
53. Cátedra, *Sermón,* 166, and for the *Declaración de Salamanca* itself, 631–3.
54. Sánchez, "Vernacular Preaching," 810–1, 817–8; Manuel Ambrosio Sánchez Sánchez, review of Cátedra, *Los sermones atribuidos a Pedro Marín*, in *Bulletin hispanique* 94 (1992): 347–52. For the passages in which the preacher approvingly cited Petrarch and poets, see Catedra, *Los sermones atrubuidos a Pedro Marín*, 95, 154.
55. Ability to inspire flagellation: *Corpus Christi*, 522 (December 9, 1411); angel of the apocalypse: *Perugia*, 559–60 (July 27, 1412); Noah and other messengers: Chabàs, "Estudio sobre los sermones valencianos," 8 (1903): 111–2.
56. Fages, *Procès*, 445.
57. For a summation of the debate as of the late 1990s, see Antoni Ferrando Francés, "Vicent Ferrer (1350–1419), predicador políglota de l'Europa," *Paradigmes de la història*, 72–5.
58. Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer*, 49; Schib, "Els sermons," 334.
59. Fages, *Procès*, 281.
60. Fages, *Procès*, 9.
61. Fages, *Procès*, 339, 347, 355, 412.
62. Martín de Alpartil, *Cronica actitatorum temporibus Benedicti XIII papae*, 151.

63. Cátedra, "La predicación castellana," 280–6.
64. Ferrando, "Vicent Ferrer," 78–83; the quotation is from 82.
65. Ferrando, "Vicent Ferrer," 75–7; the quotation is from 77.
66. Morenzoni, "La prédication de Vincent Ferrier à Montpellier," 230; for the passages in question, see pp. 252–3.
67. Fages, *Procès*, 27 (French only), 31 (Valencian and French), 36 (French), 44 (French), 74 (French and Catalan); Ferrando, "Vicent Ferrer," 87–9.
68. Ferrando, "Vicent Ferrer," 85–7.
69. Ferrando, "Vicent Ferrer," 94.
70. Nicolas de Clamanges, *Opera omnia*, 315.
71. Fages, *Procès,* 410.
72. Ferrando, "Vicent Ferrer," 92.
73. Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), 494.
74. For the officials who conducted the local inquests during Vincent's canonization process, see Laura Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer: The Effects of Procedural Differences on the Image of a Saint," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Age: Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2004), 291–3, especially n6, n7, and n9; Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 382, especially n104.
75. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 413, especially n189, 489.
76. The best overview of Vincent's canonization process is to be found in Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, chapter 2. See also Vito T. Gómez García, "Del proceso de canonización a la *positio* pedir el doctorado de San Vicente Ferrer," *El fuego y la palabra*, 335–43.
77. Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous. King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), chapters 6, 7, and 10.
78. Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity," 298. The Breton inquest opened in late 1453 and officially closed in April 1454; the Toulousan and Neapolitan inquests both opened and closed in 1454.
79. Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity," 290–1, especially n4, and 300.
80. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gerichte*, 425, 449–52.
81. Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity," 297.
82. Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity," 292, especially n6 and n7.
83. Laura Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: The Inquest into the Miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419)," *Viator* 28 (1997): 337.
84. Laura Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 431.
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86. Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity," 291.
87. Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity," 301–4.
88. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gerichte*, 444.
89. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gerichte*, 408–10, 462.
90. Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity," 291, 304–6.
91. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," 440.
92. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," 433, 442–9. On witnesses' use of "narrative strategies" to highlight the miraculousness of the events that they

described and to eliminate natural explanations, see Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries," 344–58.

93. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 2.
94. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 2–3.
95. Fages, *Procès*, 22, 30.

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# INDEX