



Education, Dominican Order and Hagiography: a comparative analysis of *Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi* and *Legenda Sancti Dominici*

Andréia Cristina Lopes Frazão da Silva

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Largo São Francisco de Paula, 1, 20051-070, Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
E-mail: andreafracao@terra.com.br

ABSTRACT. The *Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi* was written in the thirteenth century and presents episodes of the life and miraculous deeds attributed to the Dominican Peter González (1190 (?) - 1246). Though often mentioned by the biographers of the Saint, this work has not yet been the subject of a critical edition or of a systematic analysis. Thus, there are many questions related to its production. In this article, this *Vita* is compared to the *Legenda vita Sancti Dominici*, hagiography dedicated to Dominic de Guzmán, considered the founder of the Dominican Order. It was the first text written after the papal canonization of Dominic, in the second half of the 1230s, and is attributed to Pedro Ferrando. The focus is on the treatment given to the education of Peter González and of Dominic de Guzmán in these texts. The objective is to identify and to debate whether these works share the same perspective on studying, contributing to the discussion about the formation of a Dominican identity during the thirteenth century.

Keywords: Dominican legends, order of preachers, comparison, XIII century.

Educação, Ordem Dominicana e Hagiografia: uma análise comparativa da *Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi* e da *Legenda Sancti Dominici*

RESUMO. A *Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi* foi redigida no século XIII e apresenta episódios da vida e feitos milagrosos atribuídos ao dominicano Peter Gonçalves (1190 (?) - 1246). Apesar de muito mencionada por seus biógrafos, essa obra ainda não foi alvo de uma edição crítica ou de análises sistemáticas. Dessa forma, há muitas dúvidas relacionadas à sua produção. Neste artigo, essa *vita* é comparada à *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, hagiografia dedicada a Domingos de Gusmão, considerado o fundador da Ordem Dominicana. Esse texto foi o primeiro redigido após a canonização papal de Domingos, na segunda metade da década de 1230, e é atribuído a Peter Ferrando. O foco de minha reflexão é o tratamento dado à educação de Peter Gonçalves e de Domingos de Gusmão nas *legendas*. O objetivo é identificar e debater se as duas obras partilham da mesma perspectiva sobre o estudo, contribuindo para a discussão sobre a formação de uma identidade dominicana no decorrer do século XIII.

Palavras-chave: Legendas dominicanas, ordem dos pregadores, comparação, século XIII.

Educación, Orden Dominicana y Hagiografía: un análisis comparativo de la *Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi* y de la *Legenda Sancti Dominici*

RESUMEN. La *Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi* fue redactada en el siglo XIII y presenta episodios de la vida y los hechos milagrosos atribuidos al dominicano Peter González (1190 (?) - 1246). A pesar de muy mencionada por sus biógrafos, esta obra aún no fue objeto de una edición crítica o de análisis sistemáticos. De esta forma, hay muchas dudas relacionadas a su producción. En este artículo, esta *vita* es comparada a la *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, hagiografía dedicada a Domingo de Guzmán, considerado el fundador de la Orden Dominicana. Ese texto fue el primero redactado tras la canonización papal de Domingo, en la segunda mitad de la década de 1230, y es atribuido a Peter Ferrando. El enfoque de mi reflexión es el tratamiento dado a la educación de Peter González y de Domingo de Guzmán en las *legendas*. El objetivo es identificar y debatir si las dos obras comparten de la misma perspectiva sobre el estudio, contribuyendo para la discusión sobre la formación de una identidad dominicana en el transcurrir del siglo XIII.

Palabras clave: *Legendas* dominicanas, orden de los predicadores, comparación, siglo XIII.

Introduction

The *Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi* (LBPg), also titled as *Vita S. Petri Gundisalvi Tudensis*, presents two episodes of the life of and miraculous deeds attributed to Peter González¹, who as of the 16th century began to be more popularly known as Saint Telmo². As this work informs, Blessed Peter González was born in Trómista, Kingdom of Castile, around 1190. He studied at the school of the Palencine See and, for standing out, became a member of the cathedral chapter. Later, he reached the position of Dean. One day, while parading through the streets of Palencia fancily dressed, he fell off his horse. This episode, according to the narrative, impacted Peter³, who then decided to join the Order of Preachers. After new studies, he began to preach. In Andalusia he worked as the chaplain of the Castilian troops, and then headed for Galicia, where he devoted himself to preaching and to listening to confessions. He died in 1246, in Tui, where he was buried.

In spite of being often mentioned by biographers of Peter González, mostly in works of devotional character, this legend has not yet been the target of a critical edition or of systematic analyses. I have found some references to the LBPg in works addressing the formation and the expansion of the worship of Saint Telmo, like that by Galmés (1991), which, on a few pages, makes a representation of the *Legenda*, and that by Suso Vila (2009), who, in addition to making some remarks on the text, published a translation of it in Spanish. The work is also mentioned in productions intended to the studying of the Iberian hagiography of the Central Middle Ages, such as those by Fernández Conde (2000) and by Angeles García de la Borbolla (1999-2000, 2001, 2008, 2011).

The proposal of this article is to present partial conclusions of a broader research that discusses the production process and the content of the LBPg. Education was the theme chosen for this reflection, even though this is not the core aspect of the LBPg. The choice is justified by the fact that Peter González was a Dominican. As several authors have been highlighting, even with interpretative

divergences between each other⁴, the Order of Preachers granted a relevant role to studying in order to instruct religious people as to the ecclesiastical doctrine, preparing them for preaching activities. Thus, this article is based on the assumption that this would be an aspect underscored in the *Vita*.

This assumption also founded the choice for the use of the comparative method. In this way, the references to education present in the LBPg were compared to those that appeared in the *Legenda Sancti Dominici* (LStDci), hagiography dedicated to Dominic de Guzmán – considered as the founder of the Dominican Order –, being the first one written soon after his canonization, in the second half of the 1230s.

In the comparison, I applied the proposals by Paul Veyne (1983) discussed in *The Inventory of Differences*. Based on the premise that the works selected for comparison have multiple similarities, since they are hagiographies about religious people of the Order of Preachers, I did an inventory of the aspects that particularized them, aiming to identify and interpret common and diverging elements regarding how Dominic de Guzmán and Peter González treated education.

The notion of education adopted in this article is that of formal school teaching. Undoubtedly, the educational process is not limited to the school or to studying with teachers and books. However, this is the environment I highlight in this analysis. Thus, I selected and interpreted throughout the investigation references present in the narratives to places of study, to types of knowledge received, to the role of the Masters, to reading and writing practices, to the access and value given to books and to knowledge. It is worth stressing that my object is not educative practices of the Order of Preachers in the 13th century but rather to discuss the treatment given to education in two selected hagiographies dedicated to Dominican friars, being attentive to the similarities and differences, even if specific.

This reflection may bring relevant considerations about the circulation of the LStDci and about the writing of hagiographic memories of preacher friars that were deemed worthy of veneration, considering the reluctance, according to some authors like Canetti (1996), Boureau (2010), Gómez-Chacon (2014), Almeida (2014), of at least a portion of the friars in promoting the worship of their members in an isolated manner, and for the option of composing hagiographic compilations, like the *legendaries* and

¹ We have opted for using the English spelling of the names of both saints portrayed in the hagiographies.

² According to Galmés (1991), the name Telmo was given to Peter González by association with Saint Erasmo, also called Ermo or Elmo, who, according to the tradition, was the bishop of Formia and of Campania, and became a martyr during the Great Persecution promoted by Diocletian. He is considered as the protector of sailors, attribute linked to the Hispanic Saint as well.

³ According to the LBPg, with the fall, Pedro found himself dirty, ashamed and bitter, which made him reflect on the ephemeral life in the century and to opt for the religious life (FLÓREZ, 1767).

⁴ Some of these authors are listed in the final bibliography. For historiographic data on the theme, see Fortes (2011b).

the *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* de Gerardus de Francheto.

The article is divided into three parts, besides this introduction. In the first one, I present the LStDci, because it was the first one to be written, and discuss the references to education present in it. In the second one, I address the LBPG. In the third one, I contrast the analysis of both works and propose an interpretation for the differences and similarities between the texts.

The LStDci and the education of Dominic de Guzmán

The LStDci is referenced in several studies that approach the trajectory of Dominic de Guzmán or the hagiographic production about this character. It has also been the target of specific reflections on its authorship and its production process by scholars like Tugwell (1999) and D'Ors (2003).

As already pointed out, this legend was composed after Dominic was canonized in 1234, because it includes the miracles that figure in the process, and finished in 1236 or 1238, when approved by the General Chapter. It was transmitted through several manuscripts, fully or in fragments, which present three versions to the work: the one prior to its approval; one that came after the chapter gathered in 1242, whose text he asked to be adjusted, and a summarized version (D'ORS, 2003).

The full manuscripts currently known can be found at several institutions: at the National Library of Lisbon, which possesses the last discovered manuscript, dating back to the 13th century⁵; at the Library of the University of Göttingen, codex from the 13th century too, which contains the text prior to 1242; at the Lambeth Palace of London, dating back between the 13th and the 14th centuries; at the Library of the University of Wrocław, prior to 1259; at the Library of the University of Heidelberg, from the 14th century; at the Medicea Laurenziana Library of Florence, dating back to the 15th century; and at the General Archive of the Order of Preachers, Rome, from the 17th or 18th century. There are also four preserved fragments from the 14th century, in which the work figures as readings of the office of Saint Dominic. Two belong to the National Library of France and two to the Archive of Saint Peter. The short version was transmitted by the *Leccionario Regensburg* belonging to the Keble College, Oxford, dated back between 1270 and 1276. That is, by the number of preserved manuscripts, it is possible to

state that this work had some circulation in medieval times, at least until the composition of other hagiographies about the Founder.

The LStDci was published for the first time in 1479 by Bonino Mombrizio, who used the copy from the General Archive of the Order of Preachers. More than four centuries later, Pie Mothon (1899), besides the edition by Mombritius (1911) and the same manuscript employed by the Italian humanist, made use of fragments found at the National Library of France to publish in 1899 a new edition of the legend. In 1911, Van Ortroj (1911), based on previous works and on Wrocław's manuscript, published the text again. Finally, resorting to the manuscript of Göttingen and to the editions by Mombritius (1911), Mothon (1899) and Van Ortroj (1911), Laurent launched in 1935 a critical review of the *Vita*. The hagiography was also translated and published in French by Delalande and Mesnard, in 1934, and in Spanish, first by Gelabert and Milagro, in 1947, and then by Galmés and Gómez García (1987). It can be found at the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquæ et mediæ ætatis*, under No. 2216 (1898-1899).

For centuries the LStDci was transmitted with no authorship indication. In the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquæ et mediæ ætatis*, it is attributed to Pedro Ferrando: 'VITA AUCT. Petro Ferrandi. Inc. (?). B. Dominicus ad huc puerulus sub nutricis custodia constitutus...' (1898-1899, p. 335)⁶. The majority of authors accept this hypothesis, based above all on news present in distinct documents.

According to the work *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Pedro Ferrando joined the Order still very young, wrote a biography of Dominic, worked as a teacher at several places of the Iberian Peninsula and died in Zamora (GELABERT; MILAGRO, 1947). Bernardo Gui adds the information, in the early 14th century, that the hagiographer was born in Galicia, composed his legend after the canonization of the founder and had his text approved in the Dominican General Chapter. Finally, the *Leccionario Regensburg*, from around 1270, informs that friar Pedro Hispano composed a legend of Blessed Dominic, which was approved by the general chapter. Based on this set of testimonies, D'Ors (2003) raises the following questions: do the names Pedro Ferrando and Pedro Hispano refer to the same person? Is The Life of Dominic mentioned in

⁵ This manuscript was found and studied by Tugwell (1999).

⁶ This *incipit* figures in the testimony by Bernardo Gui about Pedro Ferrando and it actually refers to the work by Humberto de Romans. The testimony was transcribed by Tugwell (1999) and is also available at Acta (2014).

the *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* the legend cited in the *Leccionario Regensburg*?⁷.

Since it is not the focus of this article, I will not prolong this discussion. I am interested in pointing out that, by gathering the three of the news, it is possible to conclude that a Dominican friar called Pedro, learned, related to the Iberian Peninsula, wrote the hagiography about Dominic de Guzmán after his canonization, which was approved by the General Chapter and, most likely, refers to the LStDci.

The LStDci is written in Latin⁸, in prose format, and its current editions comprise a prologue and 65 chapters. Its sources are the *Libellus de initiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*, by Jordan of Saxony, the reports of miracles that figure in the canonization process, as already underscored, and oral testimonies collected by the author.

The education theme is approached in chapter IV of the LStDci. It is introduced after the legend highlighted how important Dominic was to the Church (Prologue, Chapter I); presented his ancestry and parents (Chapter II), and emphasized that he had been predestined to a special spiritual mission (Chapters II and III). In addition to this chapter, throughout the text there are specific references to reading practice and to the value of books.

Chapter IV starts by informing that Dominic had been sent to the School of Palencia to acquire knowledge about the Liberal Arts. The text highlights the excellence of the Palencine education, institution that gathered not only many students but also competent teachers⁹. The work stresses that Dominic was not lazy and had left behind all frivolities of adolescence to apply himself to studying, busying himself very early with more advanced subjects¹⁰. And in order to achieve full knowledge, restrained himself from drinking wine¹¹. In this way, he obtained a superior performance in a

shorter time in comparison to his contemporaries at school¹².

After the period studying the Liberal Arts, Dominic began to devote himself completely, according to the LStDci, to a more important subject: Theology. According to the narration, he aspired to learn about the divine words so later he could spread them¹³. The work highlights that the young boy spent four years studying the sacred letters¹⁴, and his commitment was so great that he would stay awake almost every night. In order to emphasize this devotion, the author also compares the love of Dominic for studying to that of Jacob for Rachel¹⁵: the greatness of the love made the days look shorter¹⁶.

Without sparing Dominic compliments, the work underscores that if for the student himself he had not worked much, soon this effort proved worthwhile. His dedication to learning, coupled with good deeds and with divine direction, allowed him to be able to comprehend even the most complex theological questions. His success had been guaranteed, because, above his argumentation skills he had put a sacred life and, above the books, the fruits of spiritual words¹⁷. The LStDci ends the chapter highlighting that, in spite of having applied to studying, the conversations and sermons of Dominic were not uttered with learned words of human wisdom, but with manifestations of the spirit and of the virtue¹⁸.

The *legend* does not make other references to Dominic's school education. However, in chapter VI, it informs that, when he was a sub-prior of the chapter of the cathedral of Osma, he used to carry out the reading of '*collationes patrum inscribitur*', that is, texts by the fathers of the Church, with attentive

⁷ For the discussion about the identity of Pedro Ferrando and Pedro Hispano, see studies by Tugwell (1999) and D'Ors (2003).

⁸ Alonso Getino proposed that the LStDci was originally composed in Castilian and later translated into Latin (1925).

⁹ The Latin texts transcribed in this article are taken from the second edition by Mombritiu (1910, p. 429): "Ibi enim tunc temporis generale florebat studium: abundans tam multitudine numerosa scholarium quam studiosa perfectione doctorum".

¹⁰ "Coepit autem sanctae indolis puer Dominicus non segniter agere: sed eruditioni: cuius gratia missus erat diligenter intendere: omissisque frivolis quibus adolescentior solet aetas effulgere: maturioribus sese studiis occupabat" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 429).

¹¹ The text highlights that Dominic began drinking wine again only ten years later by the interference of the Bishop of Osma, D. Diego, who exhorted him to do so due to a disease in his stomach. However, the LStDci points out that the wine he used to drink was so weak that almost nobody wanted it: "Et ut animum suum plenius transferret ad sapientiam: cogitavit a uino abstrahere carnem suam: Vnde et unum per decennium non bibebat. Postmodum autem lacescente stomacho: compulsus est a bonae memoriae Didaco oxomensis episcopo modico uino uti: quod illa lymphatum sumebat: ut pauci de suo scypho bibere affectarent. ex quo factum est: ut in liberalium artium eruditione supra multos coetaneos suos spacio breui proficeret" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 429).

¹² "[...] ut in liberalium artium eruditione supra multos coetaneos suos spacio breui proficeret" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 429).

¹³ "[...] ne in huius non tam scientiae quam uere et summe philosophiae praeludiis tempus salubriori disciplinae congruum deperiret: ad theologiae studium se contulit: coepitque diuinis inhyare uaeuementer eloquiis: quorum mellea delectatus dulcedine: hauriebat auide: quod postea ell effudit abunde" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 430).

¹⁴ "[...] his itaque sapientiae salutaris studiis quattuor annis inuigilans: tanta diligentia tantaque discendi auiditate sacris litteris inhaerebat" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 430).

¹⁵ Reference to the biblical report narrated in Genesis 29, according to which Jacob worked 14 years to be able to marry his beloved Rachel.

¹⁶ "[...] ut pene noctes insomnes duceret. uidebanturque ei dies pauci prae amoris magnitudine: quo ad speciosae rachelis castos hanelabat amplexus" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 430).

¹⁷ "[...] nec fraudatus a desyderio suo. re uera in opere illius iuxta propriam uoluntatem exiguum laborauit: sed cito de generationibus illius percepit: Et enim diuini uerbi saemina intenta cordis aure percipiens: tanquam terra caelesti rore perfusa: non solum sanctorum meditationum et affectionum segetes: sed etiam operum bonorum fructus huberrimos producebat. Effudit proinde largior intellectum foris sapientiae super latitudinem cordis eius: ut non solum facillius doctrinae lac suggeret: sed et solidioris cibi substantiam mira facilitate glutiret: quod enim humanae peritiae deerat: hoc in eo diuinae gratiae illuminatio habundanter supplebat. Sanctitatem quidem uitae ratiocinationum argutis et spirituales fructum uerborum foliis praeponebat" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 430).

¹⁸ "[...] sermo enim eius et praedicatio eius non in doctis humanae sapientiae uerbis: sed in ostensione erat spiritus et uirtutis" (MOMBRITIUS, 1910, p. 430).

intelligence (*vigilantē intelligens*) and in the search for the way towards sanctity, reaching perfection¹⁹. The narrative also points out the importance of this book, which treats “[...] of the purity of heart, of vices and of the perfection of all virtues”. Its frequent reading leads, “[...] with the aid of grace, to an extraordinary purity of heart, to the secrets of contemplation and to the perfection of all spiritual life”²⁰.

Additionally, I would like to highlight two episodes in which the manuscript acquires a preponderant role. In the first one, according to what chapter X narrates, a debate between Catholics and heretics was held in Fanjeaux before the presence of judges. For such an event, arguments were elaborated. Among the Catholics, the material composed by Dominic was the one chosen for the presentation of the perspective to the group. On the appointed day, a crowd made up of people from several social segments showed up to watch the debate. After discussing for a while, because no conclusion had been reached, the judges opted for a trial by ordeal. They would throw the texts with the arguments of both parties to the fire and the one that remained intact would be deemed the true one. The text by the heretics was completely burned, and the one by Dominic jumped out distant from the flames, without being affected. To guarantee that what had happened was not a mere coincidence, the text was thrown to the fire two other times, without being consumed, showing, according to the work, the truth of the Catholic faith and the sanctity of Dominic²¹.

In the second report, a high priest, observing the sanctity of the Dominicans, longed for being one of

them. Thus, he decided that, if he had a gospel that was useful for preaching, he would leave everything behind and would become a friar. As he thought about it, a young boy appeared wanting to sell a copy of the New Testament, which he promptly bought. With the book in his hands, he felt tempted to give up on his purpose. He then said a prayer and opened the volume, laying his eyes on Acts 10, 20: ‘Arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing: for I have sent them’. After this experience, the clergyman joined the Order of Preachers.

The LStDci gives highlight to Dominic’s education, using some textual resources. First, it points out the quality of the School of Palencia. According to studies by Adeline Rucquoi, the *studium*, probably derived from the episcopal school that previously existed, was already operating in full force as of the late 12th century (RUCQUOI, 1998b). After a period of crisis, which followed the death of Afonso VIII, around 1214, the Palencine university was re-founded by bishop Tello Téllez de Meneses, approximately in 1220. In mid-13th century, this university was extinguished, especially due to lack of resources.

Not many documents that allow constructing the story of this university in a more comprehensive manner have been preserved, but it is possible to affirm that the school attracted students from several regions of the Iberian Peninsula, and teachers coming from other European centers worked at it.

In the *studium generale* of Palencia, there were four cathedrae: Theology, Canon Law, Logics and Arts (Grammar). As it is possible to conclude from the preserved sources - among which are the books used in the school, such as the *Verbiginale*, about verbal morphology and prosody; the *Opusculum Servioli*, prosody manual; de Palencine *Ars Dictandi*, which contained letter models, and a prosody summary -, among all cathedrae, Grammar, with a great French and Catalan influence, was the outstanding one. The study of this discipline required the mastering of *trivium*, of Latin and, above all, of prosody.

The emphasis given to the grandeur of the School of Palencia in the LStDci can be comprehended by the fact that, when it was being written, in the middle of the 1230s, this institution was still active. Another possibility is the very fact that Dominic had been a student at this institution. Thus, by association, to highlight the quality of the school would be a form of exalting the Saint even higher, highlighting that his learning had been quicker and encompassed greater types of knowledge in comparison to his contemporaries.

¹⁹ “[...] Sane librum qui collationes patrum inscribitur studiose legens ac uigilanter intelligens salutis in eo rimatus semitas: magnum perfectionis apicem apprehendit” (MOMBRIUS, 1910, p. 430).

²⁰ The transcribed texts were translated into English by the editor. “[...] Agit siquidem liber ille de cordis puritate, de uiciis et de omnium perfectione uirtutum: Cuius frequens lectio Christi discipulum ad multam cordis puritatem: ad contemplationis arcem et totius disciplinae perfectionem gratia opitulante prouexit [...]” (MOMBRIUS, 1910, p. 430). In the Spanish edition: “[...] de la pureza del corazón, de los vicios y de la perfección de todas las virtudes”/ “[...] con ayuda de la gracia, a una extraordinaria pureza de corazón a los secretos de la contemplación y a la perfección de toda la vida espiritual” (GELBERT; MILAGRO, 1947, p. 341).

²¹ “[...] Fiebant autem eo tempore in partibus illis frequentes inter catholicos et haereticos disputationum conflictus sub iudicibus deputatis: conueniebatque ad hoc spectaculum uirorum ac mulierum diuitem ac nobilium et populi multitudo. Cum autem apud fanum iouis celebris quaedam esset indicta disputationis contentio: nonnulli haereticorum contra fidem coeperunt scripta confingere: Plerique etiam fidelium collectis ad assertionem fidei rationibus et auctoritatibus: suos conscribere libellos: quibus omnibus diligenter inspectis liber beati Dominici prae caeteris commendatus est: et communiter approbatus. Statuta ergo die adest populi plurima multitudo. adsunt partes: adsunt et iudices: libelli utriusque partis in medium proferuntur. alter beati Dominici: alter haeretici. Longata fuit disceptatio: quis eorum rationabilior uideatur: cumque uerborum hinc inde contentio non posset in partem alteram declinari: uisum est arbitris: ut utrosque libellos flammis iniicerent: et si quis eorum illaesus euaderet: ille uerae fidei testis proculdubio haberetur. Accensa igitur pira uterque libellus examinandus immittitur. liber haeretici mox flammis exurit. liber Dominici prorsus non laeditur: sed procul egredifur a camino. Secundo iterum iniectus ac tercio eque prosiit incombustus. manifesta probatione demonstrans et fidei catholicae ueritatem et scriptoris sui Dominici sanctitatem” (MOMBRIUS, 1910, p. 431-432).

Finally, another possible explanation would be to assume that the author of the legend, probably a Hispanic, as already pointed, could have known and even studied at this *studium*.

Another aspect to evidence is the relationship established in the legend between the abstinence of wine, the acquisition of knowledge and the success in the studies. That is, the LStDci understands that the learning process involves not only that which is immaterial in the man, the soul, but also that which is material, the body: one is connected to the other. This relationship between body and soul seems to point to a view that, according to Casagrande and Vecchio (2002), began to rule among the thinkers in the Medieval West as of the 13th century. According to these authors, the body began to be seen as a “[...] field of action, malleable matter” that could be an instrument for good, as long as kept under discipline (CASAGRANDE; VECCHIO, 2002, p. 341).

In the LStDci it is also possible to perceive a hierarchy between subjects. Among the liberal arts, Theology is regarded as the most important one. In this way, while the *Arts* are apprehended solely through the discipline of the body and of the soul; the second one, in addition to personal effort, marked by the waiving of wine and by sleep deprivation, is also fruit of divine inspiration. The knowledge hierarchy unfolds as well in the legend under analysis in a gradation between types of knowledge. In the report, a holy life and spiritual words are more important than reasoning and books. It is this type of knowledge, which comes from the manifestation of the spirit and not of human wisdom, that Dominic addresses in his conversations and sermons.

The work, therefore, underscores that, on one hand, studying is worthy of praise, but, on the other hand, it does not ensure Dominic’s success, which results from divine direction. For the contemporary perspective, it may seem a paradox, but inside the hegemonic logic in medieval times it is not: the most important types of knowledge were those that allowed for the comprehension and teaching of the doctrine of the faith regarded as truthful, and the desirable knowledge was that inspired by divinity²².

It is worth pointing out that the superiority of the theology in face of the other types of knowledge was not unanimous among the thinkers of the 13th century. This question was linked to the discussion about the scientific character of theology, theme raised by the resumption of Aristotle’s manuscripts

in the Western world²³. However, in the analyzed hagiography, there is no space for this debate, because Theology is considered superior to the other sciences.

In the narrative under analysis, the *lectio divina* also figures. Just as monks, Dominic, even after having left the school of Palencia and being already acting as a member of the chapter of Osma, used to keep the practice of reading as a form of spiritual exercise. Thus, by means of reading and meditation of the sayings of the Priests of the Church, he gradually reached sanctity. The report, in this way, not only recommends discipline for reading but also highlights the role of authority of ecclesiastical authors considered as orthodox.

I want to propose an interpretation for what I categorize as a wonderful character given to the manuscript in the LStDci. In the episode of the debate between Catholics and heretics, the arguments proposed by Dominic are not only regarded as the best among his peers but also receive supernatural approval: they are not burned by the fire. In the miracle of the indecisive high priest, the text of the New Testament becomes some kind of oracle, which points the way to be followed.

It is possible to argue that such reports are common in a hagiographic text, but I would like to suggest other possibilities of comprehension. In the first episode, there is a clear intention to disqualify the heretics and to highlight Dominic’s divine inspiration, hence the need to attribute exceptional characteristics to an opuscle. In the second one, the narration seems to legitimize the acquisition of books by friars: they were important for preaching and used as materials for meditation, aiming at the growth of spirituality.

The LStDci, therefore, presents Dominic as committed to learning: he was a student at one of the greatest Hispanic schools of his time; had discipline to study; absorbed a greater content in a shorter time in comparison to his peers; and, in addition to his personal effort, counted on divine inspiration to acquire deep knowledge on Theology. This valuation of studying and of books can be comprehended by the fact that the work has as its main goal to present the trajectory and the miracles of a recently canonized saint. Thus, the intention is to exalt his sanctity in the knowledge field as well. Moreover, the Saint displays model attitudes for friars: one needs to have books and to be devoted to studying and to the divine *lectio* in order to be always

²² Probably, in the medieval school context, this principle was not put into practice, and the several types of knowledge were given the same attention.

²³ On this theme, see, among others, Chenu (1985), Donneaud (2006) and the texts gathered by Schabel (2007).

prepared for preaching, with well-founded arguments against heretics.

The LBPG and the education of Peter González

As stressed in the introduction, the LBPG has not been yet the target of systematic critical studies. Thus, more than close-ended conclusions about its process of composition and transmission, there are hypotheses. It has been transmitted by only one manuscript, the codex 1 of the capitular archive of the diocese of Tui-Vigo. The codex contains 292 parchment folios, with 457 x 293mm in size. According to Ana Suarez González, it can be divided into two parts. The first one, dated back between the 12th and 13th centuries, was probably elaborated in the northwest of the peninsula, perhaps even in Tui. The second one gathers pieces of different ages directly related to the diocese and was composed, with no doubt, in the Tudense bishopric. The LBPG was copied in this second part of the codex, in 10 folios, from f. 257 (SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, 2009). The medieval manuscript of the LBPG was not fully transmitted²⁴, leaving the narrative of one of the *post mortem* miracles incomplete.

This work was not published by the Bollandists, but can be found at the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquæ et mediæ ætatis* under No 6711 (1900-1901). It was included by Henrique Flórez (1767) in tome 23 of his *España Sagrada*. And, as already pointed, the Tudense historian Suso Vila (2009) did his translation into Spanish, which was made public in 2009.

Because the LBPG starts with the information that the saint had blossomed 'in our days' (*His novissimis nostris temporibus*), it is likely that it was composed a few years after the death of Peter González. This data, along with others, including extra-textual ones, allow pointing the first years of the 1250s as the moment when this work was written²⁵.

We do not know the author of the LBPG. To García de la Borbolla (2008) and Suso Vila (2009), he was a Dominican. Fernández Conde (2000) seems to agree with this hypothesis, when proposing that the author knew the LStDci. This theme is still open.

The sponsor of the writing of the LBPG was the episcopate, more precisely during the government of Gil de Cerveira, who ordered the conduction and

recording of an inquiry of the miracles attributed to the Saint²⁶, which was sent to the General Chapter of the Dominicans that was gathered in Tolosa, in 1258, as reported by the *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* of Gerardus de Francheto (1967)²⁷. Many arguments support this hypothesis, such as: the LBPG gives a great highlight to the Cathedral as the place where Peter González was buried and his relics were stored; the work only makes specific references to Dominicans; there is no evidence that the preacher friars had publicized the worship of Telmo; the Tudense diocese was rich and could sponsor the writing of this *Vita* and the promotion of the worship of the Friar.

To Galmés (1991), the LBPG had a liturgical character and was elaborated to be read in public. It was written in Latin and in prose and, in the edition by Flórez, was divided into 21 readings²⁸. The readings have different writing styles. In the first eight, the text has an apologetic character, highlighting the virtues of the saint. They mention biblical texts, and the Saint is always compared to characters of the Sacred History, such as Abel, Solomon, Peter and Judah Maccabee. The other ones have a more narrative character, reporting diverse episodes – intrigues, the Dominican's seduction attempts, miracles, trips – to which dialogues are incorporated.

The education theme figures in a direct manner in two readings: in the 2nd and in the 5th²⁹. Reading 2, *On his situation before joining the Order/ De statu ejus ante ingressum ordinis*³⁰, starts the narration itself of Peter González, because reading 1 is some kind of prologue. Thus, the text informs that the saint was son of González and adds that he was born in Frómista, village located in the diocese of Palencia, King of Castile, Spain. The narration also highlights that the religious man came from a noble family with possessions.

After presenting Peter's origins, the report underscores that his uncle on his father side

²⁶ This inquiry was partially preserved in two different versions and published by Henrique Flórez (1767) and Suso Vila (2009).

²⁷ There is no record of this inquiry in the minutes of the provincial or general chapters.

²⁸ These readings do not coincide with the subdivisions of the medieval manuscript.

²⁹ Other readings mention Peter's knowledge to emphasize his superiority in face of the others and to legitimize his achievements.

³⁰ Here is the full Latin text of reading 2: "Petrus Gundisalvi Confessor ipse incluytus ex provincia Hispaniae, natione Castellae, de Villa quae Fromesta dicitur, Palentinæ Diocesis extitit oriundus; & hic quoque ex parentibus genere non infames, ac temporalium opulencia locupletibus ortus. In primævo juventutis suae flore, promovente quodam ejus patruo, qui praeftatae Civitates Ecclesiae in pontificae praeerat dignitate, liberalium artium studiis decenter eruditus, velut alter Salomon, puer ingeniosus, & bonam sortitus animam ad tantum infra paucorum annorum curricula literarum perductus est cumulum, ut ad quemcumque dignitatis ipsius Ecclesiae gradum, cui in clerical officio assistebat, supra multos coetaneos suos sufficiens haberetur; cujus quidem aetate virilius jam flore in ejusdem Ecclesiae Canonicum est promotus" (FLÓREZ, 1767, p. 245-246).

²⁴ Flórez (1767) informs that there was a full copy of this text at the *Cofradía de Baiona*, which he would have used to complete the summary of the *Vita* that he presents in his work.

²⁵ I discuss this question in detail in the text *A Legenda Beati Petri Gundisalvi: reflexões sobre a relação entre a Ordem dos Pregadores, a Diocese de Tui e a escrita hagiográfica*, to be published.

occupied the highest position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the diocese of Palencia, that is, he was the bishop³¹. With the support of this uncle, still very young Telmo went to study at the school of the Palencine cathedral. The LBPG informs that, at that institution, he received appropriate instruction on the liberal arts, comparing him to King Solomon, biblical character that became popular by his wisdom³². The work stresses that the boy, besides intelligent (*ingeniosus*), had a good soul, having done a direct transcription of a biblical text attributed by tradition to the very Solomon - Wisdom 8, 19³³. These two qualities, in a few years, allowed him to complete his studies, and he happened to accumulate instruction above many of his contemporaries. Thus, still according to the legend, when he reached the required age (*aetate virilius jam Florence*), he became the canon of the cathedral.

The education theme is disregarded so that the work narrates why Peter decided to become a preacher friar. In this way, in reading 3, *Reason why he joined the Order/ Causa propter quam intravit Ordinem*, it is informed that, after some time, without defining the temporal scope, the Blessed was appointed by the pope himself to be the Dean of the diocese due to his knowledge and customs (*tam scientiae; quam morum*). Already entrusted with the position, after the episode cited in the introduction, he decided to rid himself of the 'vanities' of the world and to become a religious man, joining the Order of Preachers. The LBPG points out, in reading 4, *On Joining the Order/ De ingressu Ordinis*, the radical transformations operated in Telmo with his recently instituted (*noverat institutum*) admission to the Dominican Order.

In the following reading, 5, titled *On His Diligent Study of the Sacred Theology/ De diligenti ejus studio in Sacra Theologia*³⁴, the legend informs that, after joining the Order, Peter González abandoned the study of the mundane sciences (*mundanorum scientiarum*), to which he had devoted himself, and

turned himself totally to the Sacred Theology, with the '*intellectūs*'. The text emphasizes that the religious man began to be concerned about the divine things, to long for the wisdom that saves, to commit to learning, and to zeal for advancing in his studies. Still according to the LBPG, he applied himself so much that he spent almost every night awake, searching wholeheartedly to reap all fruitful seeds of the word of God that, by grace, was hidden in his heart. The reading ends highlighting that all the effort resulted in a fertile preaching.

The LBPG underlines Peter González's education in two moments of the report. In the first one he was still an adolescent and was studying at the school of the Cathedral of Palencia, where he devoted himself to the liberal sciences, standing out. In the second one it is when he joined the Order of Preachers. In that moment, he renounces the other sciences and turns himself solely to the Sacred Theology, concerned about becoming a preacher. How should we interpret such data?

The report marks a clear difference between the diocesan and the Dominican school formation regarding two main aspects: as to the content of the studies and to learning. In this sense, the education obtained through the cathedral was based on the mundane arts, and the success achieved was credited to the young boy's merit – intelligence and a good soul –, just as a new Solomon. The Dominican education had a specific purpose, preaching; a particular content, Theology; and was reached by the joint action of Telmo's personal effort and divine inspiration.

I identify some tension in the text. On one hand, the narrative seems to highlight the value of the education acquired in the cathedral, legitimizing, through Peter's exceptional learning, the posts he reached in the chapter. On the other hand, no compliment is made to the Palencine school, specifically.

This approach may have resulted from a concern about responding to possible accusations of nepotism, because the LBPG underlines that Telmo's uncle was the diocese's prelate. Thus, emphasizing the capacity of the student rather than of the school may have been a textual strategy to avoid suspicions related to the admission of Peter to the chapter as a fruit of his family relationship with the bishop. This may have been the very same reason for the inclusion of the information that he was chosen to act as the Dean of the Palencine chapter by the pope, without leaving room for any suspicion of simony and/or special favoritism.

One could argue that the practice of appointing close relatives to ecclesiastical ranks was common in

³¹ Because the hagiography does not provide the name of Peter González's uncle, the authors, supported on calculations related to the probable year when the saint was born, presented two possibilities: D. Arderico, who headed the diocese from 1185 to 1208, and D. Tello Téllez de Meneses, between ca.1209 and 1247.

³² If the promoter of the writing of the LBPG was the Cathedral of Tui, the author related to the chapter might have been inspired by this comparison in the representation of Solomon that composes one of the pillars of the main gate to the temple, dated back to the early 13th century (CEDON FERNANDEZ, 2000).

³³ According to the edition of the Vulgata, in Wisdom 8, 19, we read: "puer autem eram ingeniosus et sortitus sum animam bonam".

³⁴ "Sane mundanarum scientiarum, quibus in saeculo atente inhiaverat declinans praeludia, ad Sacrae Theologiae studium sui conversatione intellectus se totum totaliter contulit, coepitque affectu mutato, pariter & effectu, divinis inhiare eloquiis vehementer. his itaque sapientiae salutare studiis tanta discendi aviditate, tamque proficiendi diligentia inhiabat, quos eorum mellea delectatus dulcedine, pene noctes ducens insomnes, sic Divini Verbi semina intenta cordis aure capere nitebatur, quatenus eloquiorum novas segetes caelesti imbre perfussas intra sui pectoris scrinium suo toto conatu confovens ad salutiferae, ut tandem rei probavit eventos, predicationis fructus uberrimos perduceret abundantes" (FLÓREZ, 1767, p. 248).

medieval times. Nevertheless, it started to be fought, at least as of the Second Council of the Lateran, by the Roman Church. In canon 16 of the minutes of this assembly held in 1139, that is, more than 100 years before the LBPG was written, it is explicitly stressed that ecclesiastical honors should not be ruled by blood but by merit (FOREVILLE, 1972).

Another safeguard to this interpretation may be founded on the tensions between mendicants and the secular clergy. As Traver (2011) points out, the mendicants became competitors against the secular clergymen in questions related to pastoral care, which caused several conflicts and culminated with the quarrels in the University of Paris and the production of intellectual replies to such attacks. However, we defend that this might not be the case here. The promoter of the writing of the LBPG was the Cathedral of Tui. Thus, the reference should not be a criticism of the group but a mention of an ideal behavior, which should work as a model, in harmony with the current papal guidelines: ecclesiastical ranks should be reached by merit.

The LBPG considers the Dominican education obtained by Peter as superior, since it was dedicated to Theology. The very use of the term *intellectus*, associated with the learning obtained by the Saint in the Dominican monastery, may have had the aim of marking the superiority of this education. To many medieval thinkers, broadly speaking, the *intellectus* was seen as a divine gift that granted capacity of thinking and understanding superior to reason³⁵.

Suso Vila (2009) proposes an explanation to this double school formation present in the LBPG. To the author, the studies conducted by Peter before he joined the Order of Preachers were brief and not turned to his formation as a high priest. Then, after becoming a friar, he devoted himself to studying Theology, without being very successful though. Thus, still according to Vila, the Dominican did not achieve a deep theological formation, which was overcome by his “[...] charisma when preaching” (SUSO VILA, 2009, p. 23, note 14).

The interpretation by Suso Vila seems to be based on the assumption that the LBPG portrays what actually happened to Telmo. I found my analysis on a different presupposition. Even though the LBPG might have had as framework the friar’s trajectory, for being a hagiography and for endowing with meaning the events it reports, it should be comprehended in the light of multiple aspects, such as the exemplary character of the lives of saints; previous traditions; the interests of the promoters of

the work; the relations of power related to its production, etc. I advocate, therefore, that the legend aimed to highlight the importance of education to the ecclesiastics in general, and of the knowledge about theology, in particular, to those who devoted themselves to preaching and to listening to confessions.

But how should we understand the emphasis of the LBPG on the abandonment of the mundane sciences? To answer this question, researches by Luis García Ballester may bring new interpretative possibilities. This author analyzed the list of books that Franciscans and Dominicans from monasteries located in Compostela took from the library of the archbishopric of this city between August 16th, 1222 and September, 26th, 1230³⁶. The author observed that the majority of the works borrowed by the friars had the ‘mundane arts’ as a theme: arithmetic, astronomy, astrology and philosophy. That is, the preacher friars that settled down in Compostela in the 1220s³⁷, monastery to which Peter González was linked, did not disregard the study of mathematics and of nature since the first years of their presence in the region. And just as other documents attest, this interest went on through the following decades (GARCÍA BALLESTER, 1996).

The emphasis given by the LBPG to the abandonment of the mundane sciences by Peter may, consequently, be founded on other cultural frameworks. The already mentioned bishop Lucas de Tui, who was a prelate at the Tudense diocese between 1239 and 1249, was the author, among other works, of a text known as *De altera vita*³⁸. In this book, he approaches the heresy matter. According to Grau Torras (2012, p. 345) “[...] the concept of heresy in Lucas is very broad, as it includes any contestation against the practices of the Church”³⁹. Based on the *De altera vita* 3, 1,9, the scholar also points that “Lucas describes the heretics as natural learned philosophers that attribute to nature an important role as the creator of a visible world” (GRAU TORRAS, 2012, p. 346)⁴⁰. That is, the abandonment of the mundane sciences by Telmo may have been stressed in the LBPG by influence of Bishop Lucas’ work, which set a

³⁶ According to García Ballester (1996), the list was transmitted by the manuscript Vat. lat 659, fol. 1r, currently belonging to the library of the Vatican.

³⁷ The Dominican monastery of Santiago was the first one to be established in Galicia, around 1222. Only in 1252 the second one was founded, in Ribadavia.

³⁸ This work was transmitted by only one manuscript that can be found at the National Library of Madrid.

³⁹ Original text: “[...] el concepto de herejía en Lucas es muy amplio, pues integra cualquier contestación contra las prácticas de la Iglesia”.

⁴⁰ Original text: “Lucas describe a los herejes como doctos filósofos naturales que atribuyen a la naturaleza un importante papel como creadora del mundo visible”.

³⁵ On the theme, see: Japiassú e Marcondes (2001), Legrand (1986), Ferrater Mora (1994).

relationship between the natural sciences and heresy. As already pointed out, the worship of Peter González was promoted by the Tudense bishopric that, most likely, also sponsored the writing of the legend, which might have suffered interference of the works by the recently deceased prelate.

The LBPG, therefore, gives highlight to Peter González's school formation, underlining, on one hand, his personal merits and discipline and, on the other hand, the divine inspiration. Education, in the report, has a primary role: the preparation for the pastoral care of the believers through the listening of confessions and preaching.

Final considerations

After exposing and discussing about how education is approached in the hagiographies LStDci and LBPG, I present below the result of the confrontation between both texts, applying the methodology proposed by Veyne (1983).

The LStDci and the LBPG can be characterized as 'twin' texts, terminology employed by Veyne to emphasize the similarities between historical facts, even though the former is longer than the latter. Both of them are hagiographic narratives that present the trajectory of two religious men linked to the Order of Preachers who were deemed as saints, though in different ways, because whereas Dominic was canonized by the pope, Peter González was acknowledged only by the local bishop⁴¹.

Comparing the two texts, concerning the theme privileged in this reflection – education – we observe common points: Dominic and Peter González were devoted to studying. After being instructed on the Liberal Arts, they applied themselves to learning Theology, regarded in both texts as the most important subject. To comprehend it, the students waived sleeping and needed divine help. And everything they learned they shared with others by preaching.

Following the methodology proposed by Veyne (1983), I will also do an inventory of the differences found in the analysis of the hagiographies. Below are the divergences in content I deem to be more relevant:

- whereas the LStDci emphasizes the splendor of Palencia, the LBPG gives no highlight to this school;
- if the merit of the Palencine *studium* seems to have been important for Dominic's formation, in the specific case of Peter his personal dedication proved more decisive;

- as for the discipline for studying, if it is highlighted that Dominic renounced wine in order to learn better, such abstinence is not practiced by Peter according to the LBPG;

- if in both of the reports there is a hierarchy between types of knowledge, the LBPG seems to consider that a break with the liberal sciences is necessary so that the friar can be completely devoted to Theology;

- Dominic's educational formation had as preferred goal the fight against the heretics, but the latter are not even mentioned in the LBPG;

- the LStDci proposes that a holy life is superior to knowledge, underlining that Dominic did not speak as a learned man, which is not emphasized in the LBPG;

- the LStDci does not limit itself to treating of reading and of books when reporting Dominic's school formation and informs that, even after completing his studies, the saint continued reading and meditating on the sayings of the Fathers, and

- the LStDci gives highlight to the manuscripts, granting them an exceptional value as instruments of the manifestation of the divine will. The same does not happen in the narrative of the LBPG.

How could this differences be explained?

The LStDci was written soon after the canonization of Dominic. Therefore, it is a hagiographic milestone, for being the first text elaborated in order to introduce to all Christians a saint officially acknowledged by the Pope. In this way, Dominic is portrayed as a maximum example of virtue. For this reason, when it comes to education, he is described as a very diligent student. His dedication is coupled with a rigorous asceticism, as he did not drink wine and did not sleep so he could learn even more. After completing his studies, he kept the practice of divine *lectio* and, though learned, showed humility, since he did not express himself as a learned man. Finally, he used all his knowledge to fight against the heretics and to defend the catholic faith.

The LBPG was most likely composed few years after Peter's death with the sponsorship of the Tudense Cathedral. The author of the LBPG knew the LStDci and incorporated various traits that characterized Dominic in this legend to describe the trajectory of Peter González. However, the work contains textual particularities. The friar that had acted in the regions of Andalucía and Galicia, differently from Dominic, as already pointed, had not been canonized by the papacy. His worship was fomented by the Tudense cathedral, place where Peter was buried⁴². By sponsoring the worship of

⁴¹ The papal acknowledgment of the worship of Peter González only occurred on December 13th, 1741 (GALMÉS, 1991).

⁴² This linking between Peter and the Cathedral of Tui is corroborated by other passages.

Peter González, the See of Tui sought, at once, to link itself to the renewing vigor of an order that had just been acknowledged by the Roman Church and to promote itself as the center for the worship of the recently deceased Dominican with a reputation for being a saint, attracting pilgrims and offerings. The legend dedicated to him had as goals to constitute a memory of sanctity to the friar, to legitimize his worship and to strengthen the Tudense episcopal leadership.

In this way, the absence of highlight to the Palencine school, the emphasis on the fact that Telmo, after joining the Dominican Order, abandoned the mundane sciences, the inexistence of references to heretic groups and the concern with the mundane sciences, among other specific aspects present in the work, can be explained by particular motivations and the socio-cultural environment in which the LBPG was elaborated, as already discussed.

The hagiographers, therefore, included elements that particularize the treatment given to education in the two of the analyzed works. Such singularities, as already discussed in the course of the article, are explained by specific motivations of the writing of each text, by the statute of sanctity of Dominic and of Peter González, the interests of the sponsors of the works, etc.

As already widely shown, the Dominicans emphasized the education of their brothers since the beginnings of the fraternity, in order to prepare them for preaching and for listening to confessions. Such emphasis was in tune with the proposals of the Roman Church that, as of the 12th century, stimulated the education of ecclesiastics through canon norms and scholarships. Thus, this aspect could not be disregarded by the hagiographers that elaborated narratives about friars that should serve as models not only to the preacher brothers but also to other ecclesiastics.

But the emphasis on education also appears in other hagiographies of non-Dominican saints of the period⁴³. However, in the analyzed works, three aspects inter-related to education are common: dedication to studying; the priority given to theological knowledge, which was inspired by God; and the commitment in sharing with others what had been learned. Such elements together distinguish the education of these protagonists⁴⁴.

That is, beyond the particularities related to the writing of the analyzed legends, in the textual construction of the sanctity profile of these preacher friars education is valued as a common trait because both of them are Dominicans.

The LStDci, the first legend dedicated to portraying the trajectory of Dominic, characterized the education of the founder based on the three elements referred above. But this formulation could, or could not, be incorporated in following hagiographies. As already discussed, this perspective of education is also associated with Peter González in the LBPG, work promoted by the Tudense cathedral and written in a region far from the main decisive centers of the Order of Preachers, such as Bologna, Paris and Toulouse. Undoubtedly, it is possible to explain this confluence by highlighting that this work was inspired by the text attributed to Ferrando. However, I defend that this influence was absorbed by the LBPG only because this perspective of education already constituted a trait that identified the preacher friars when the legend was being written.

As Carolina Coelho Fortes has been showing in her works, the formation of a Dominican identity, in which studying becomes the main element, was a long process marked by conflicts (FORTES, 2011a, b, 2014). Thus, the presence of this characterization of education associated with Peter González in the LBPG can be a sign that this identity was being constituted not only at the heart of the Order but also externally to it, in the middle of the 13th century.

The LBPG was sponsored by the Tudense episcopate aiming at highlighting the figure of Peter González in association with the Cathedral, which became, soon after his death, the place for the storage of his body and relics. In the initial construction of the hagiographic memory of the recently deceased friar, acknowledged as a saint by the local bishop, it was deemed important to point out his connection to the Order of Preachers. In this way, in addition to the information that Peter González had been a Dominican, the work was also incorporated with aspects that, from the perspective of the authors/writers/promoters of the legend, would identify Peter González as a model friar. One of these traits, which is emphasized in the work as a whole, was the education that he obtained, which figures in the LBPG as a result of his personal effort and of divine help, in which Theology was privileged, aiming at using the achieved knowledge for the pastoral care.

⁴³ Just to give an example, I highlight the hagiographies elaborated by Gonzalo de Berceo in the 13th century dedicated to Benedictine saints, such as Millán, Domingo and Oria, which emphasize education (GONZALO DE BERCEO, 1992).

⁴⁴ In previous texts, we have discussed the education theme in the construction of the memory of sanctity in the hagiography composed in the 13th century. In the studied cases – works by Gonzalo de Berceo, secular Castilian clergyman; Tomás

de Celano, Franciscan; and in the anonymous *Legenda Assidua*, education gains other outlines (SILVA, 2007; SILVA; CAMACHO, 2014).

References

- ACTA Sanctorum der Bollandisten. **Ökumenisches Heiligenlexikon**. Available from: <http://www.heiligenlexikon.de/ActaSanctorum/4.August.html>. Access em: Oct. 17 2014.
- ALMEIDA, N. B. Hagiografia, propaganda e memória histórica. O monasticismo na *Legend Aurea* de Jacopo de Varazze. **Revista Territórios & Fronteiras**, v. 7, n. 2, p. 94-111, 2014.
- ALONSO GETINO, L. G. **Origen del Rosario** y Leyendas castellanas del siglo XIII sobre Sto. Domingo de Guzmán. Madrid: Vergara, 1925.
- BOUREAU, A. No coração da Idade Média: os dominicanos e a maestria narrativa. **Revista de História Comparada**, v. 4, n. 1, p. 141-168, 2010.
- CANETTI, L. A. Da san Domenico alle Vitae Fratrum. Publicistica agiografica ed ecclesiologia nell'Ordo Praedicatorum alla metà del XIII secolo. **Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age**, v. 108, n. 1, p. 165-219, 1996.
- CASAGRANDE, C.; VECCHIO, S. Pecado. In: LE GOFF, J.; SCHMITT, J.-C. (Org.). **Dicionário temático do ocidente medieval**. São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial de São Paulo/Edusc, 2002. v. 2. p. 337-351.
- CEDON FERNANDEZ, M. **La catedral de Tuy en época medieval**. 2. ed. Pontevedra: Fundación Cultural Rutas del Románico-José Antonio Rodríguez Mourinho, 2000.
- CHENU, M.-D. **La teologia come scienza nel XIII secolo**. Milão: Jaca Book, 1985.
- DELALANDE, D.; MESNARD, D. **Frère Dominique, Père des Prêcheurs**. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1934.
- DONNEAUD, H. **Théologie et intelligence de la foi au XIIIe siècle**. Paris: Parole et Silence, 2006.
- D'ORS, A. Petrus Hispanus O.P., Auctor Summularum (III): 'Petrus Alfonsi' or 'Petrus Ferrandi'. **Vivarium**, v. 41, n. 2, p. 249-303, 2003.
- FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, F. J. **La religiosidad medieval en España**: Plena Edad Media, ss. XI-XII. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2000.
- FERRATER MORA, J. **Diccionario de filosofia**. Madrid: Ariel, 1994. v. 4.
- FLÓREZ, E. **España sagrada**. Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1767. t. 23.
- FOREVILLE, R. **Lateranense I, II y III**. Vitória: Eset, 1972.
- FORTES, C. C. O ratio studiorum da Ordem dos Pregadores no século XIII: considerações sobre a relação entre identidade e educação. **Acta Scientiarum. Education**, v. 33, n. 1, p. 77-85, 2011a.
- FORTES, C. C. **Societas studii**: a construção da identidade institucional e os estudos entre os Frades Pregadores no século XIII. 2011. 370f. Tese (Doutorado em História)-Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2011b.
- FORTES, C. C. 'Que ninguém estude Artes ou qualquer doutrina gentílica...': A censura como instrumento de construção da identidade dominicana no século XIII. **Acta Scientiarum. Education**, v. 36, n. 1, p. 29-35, 2014.
- GALMÉS, L. **El bienaventurado Fray Peter Gonzalez O.P. San Telmo**. Estudio histórico-hagiográfico de su vida y su culto. Salamanca-Tui: Editorial San Esteban; Cofradia de San Telmo, 1991.
- GALMÉS, L.; GÓMEZ GARCÍA, V. **Santo Domingo de Guzmán**. Fuentes para su conocimiento. Madrid: BAC, 1987.
- GARCÍA BALLESTER, L. Naturaleza y ciencia en la Castilla del siglo XIII los orígenes de una tradición: los Studia franciscano y dominico de Santiago de Compostela (1222-1230). **Arbor: Ciencia, pensamiento y cultura**, n. 604-605, p. 69-126, 1996.
- GARCÍA DE LA BORBOLLA, Angeles. El universo de lo maravilloso en la Hagiografía Castellana. **Boletín de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona**, v. 47, p. 335-353, 1999-2000.
- GARCÍA DE LA BORBOLLA, Angeles. La materialidad externa de los santos: sepulcros, reliquias y peregrinaciones en la hagiografía castellano-leonesa (siglo XIII). **Medievalismo: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales**, n. 11, p. 9-32, 2001.
- GARCÍA DE LA BORBOLLA, Angeles. La función del santo a partir de los relatos hagiográficos. In: ESPAÑOL, F.; FITÉ, F. (Ed.). **Hagiografía peninsular en els segles medievals**. Lleida: Universidad de Lleida, 2008. p. 217-233.
- GARCÍA DE LA BORBOLLA, Angeles. Algunas consideraciones sobre la predicación medieval a partir de la hagiografía mendicante. **Erebea: Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales**, n. 1, p. 57-81, 2011.
- GELABERT, M.; MILAGRO, J. M. **Santo Domingo de Guzmán visto por sus contemporáneos**. Madrid: BAC, 1947. (2. ed. revisada, Madrid, 1966).
- GERARDUS DE FRACHETO. Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum. In: GELABERT Fr. M.; MILAGRO Fr. J. M. (Ed.). **Santo Domingo de Guzman visto por sus contemporáneos**. Madrid: BAC, 1967. p. 516-819.
- GÓMEZ CHACÓN, D. L. San Peter Mártir de Verona. **Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval**, v. 6, n. 11, p. 79-96, 2014.
- GONZALO DE BERCEO. **Obra completa**. Organizado por Isabel Úria Maqua. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1992.
- GRAU TORRAS, S. **Cátaros e inquisición en los reinos hispánicos, ss. XII-XIV**. Madrid: Cátedra, 2012.
- JAPIASSÚ, H.; MARCONDES, D. **Dicionário básico de filosofia**. 3. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2001.
- LAURENT, H. O. P. Petrus Ferrandi, Legenda Sancti Dominici. In: LAURENT, H. O. P. (Ed.) **Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica**. Roma: Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum, 1935. v. XVI. p. 197-260.
- LEGRAND, G. **Dicionário de Filosofia**. Lisboa: Edições 70, 1986.
- MOMBRIITIUS, B. **Sanctuarium**. Sive Vitae Sanctorum. 2. ed. Paris: Alberrum Fontemoing, 1910. t. 2.

- MOTHON, J.-P. O. P. Legenda beati Dominici. **Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum**, n. IV, p. 296-319, 1899.
- RUCQUOI, A. Contribution des studia generalia à la pensée hispanique médiévale. In: SOTO RÁBANOS, J. M. (Ed.). **Pensamiento hispano medieval**. Homenaje a D. Horacio Santiago-Otero. Madrid: CSIC, 1998a. p. 737-770.
- RUCQUOI, A. La double vie de l'université de Palencia (c.1180-c.1250). **Studia Gratiana**, v. XXIX, n. 1, p. 723-748, 1998b.
- SCHABEL, C. **Theological quodlibeta in the middle ages**. The Fourteenth Century. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007.
- SILVA, A. C. L. F. Educação, santidade e gênero nos textos hagiográficos de Gonzalo de Berceo e Tomás de Celano. In: ENCONTRO INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDOS MEDIEVAIS. Medievalismo: leituras contemporâneas, 6., 2005, Londrina. **Atas...** Londrina: ABREM/UEL/UEM, 2007, v. 2. p. 50-62.
- SILVA, A. C. L. F.; CAMACHO, V. M. Reflexões sobre a relação entre educação e santidade nas vitae dedicadas aos três primeiros santos franciscanos em perspectiva comparada. **Scintilla**, v. 11, n. 2, p. 81-106, 2014.
- SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, A. Un Libellus Sancti Thome Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi (Archivo de la Catedral de Tuy, Códice 1, ff. XIXv-XXVIIr). **Hispania Sacra**, v. LXI, n. 123, p. 9-27, 2009.
- SUSO VILA. **Corpo Santo**. San Telmo. Pontevedra: Cofradía de San Telmo de Tui, 2009.
- TRAVER, A. The forging of an intellectual defense of mendicancy in the Medieval University. In: PRUDLO, D. (Ed.). **The origin, development, and refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies**. Leiden: Brill, 2011. p. 157-195.
- TUGWELL, S. Petrus Hispanus: comments on some proposed identifications. **Vivarium**, v. 37, n. 2, p. 103-113, 1999.
- VAN ORTROY, F. Pierre Ferrand O.P. et les premiers biographes de S. Dominique fondateur de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. **Analecta Bollandiana**, n. XXX, p. 27-87, 1911.
- VEYNE, P. **O inventário das diferenças**. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983.

Received on December 1, 2014.

Accepted on July 2, 2015.

License information: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.