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LEGENDS OF 'ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI,'
BY BROTHER THOMAS OF CELANO,
ETC.

BY

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TRANSACTIONS R.S.L., Vol. XXV.

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[Read June 22nd, 1904.]

SCATTERED over Europe there are nine MS. versions of the first work of Thomas of Celano, known as the 'Legenda Gregorii,' or 'Life of St. Francis,' written at the instigation of Pope Gregory IX. This has been hitherto called the 'First Life.' There is at Assisi a MS. which I shall allude to as the 'Legenda Antiqua,' or life edited from early sources. This has hitherto been called the 'Second Life of St. Francis.' Besides these there is another MS. somewhere in Europe which I have labelled 'Tractatus Secundus,' or 'Second Life of St. Francis,' by Thomas of Celano. Both the second and third of these works cannot be called the 'Second Life.' The Assisi MS. is in reality not the 'Second Life,' but an appendix to the 'First Life,' or a second part of it.

The 'Tractatus Secundus,' otherwise called the 'Marseilles MS.,' is the real 'Second Life' alluded to by contemporary writers, and was written ten years later than the Assisi MS.

This is the theme that I set myself to discuss to-day.

Sufficient books were written during the last century on the subject of 'St. Francis of Assisi' to fill a good-sized library; but when we examine the literature of a still earlier period, we find that there were few subjects more productive of literary effort in the Middle Ages than that of the life and works of the Saint of Umbria. No one will ever be able to measure the amount of literary work to which the founder of the Brothers Minor has given rise. There have been hundreds of books whose titles only are now known to us; of many others we have a still slighter knowledge, and we are aware that vast quantities of books on the subject have perished altogether. Notwithstanding all this, there remains so voluminous a mass of books dealing with Franciscan matters that few living men have been able to become, in any sense of the word, conversant with the whole. Possibly there are still many and greater truths to be elicited by future generations; but so far as Franciscan researches have gone at present, all the literature on the subject that has at all times been so unceasingly pouring from the printing presses of Europe appears to be little more than an elaboration or enlargement of one great and dominating work. I feel sure, that, with certain minor reservations, I shall find few really well-versed students of this subject who will not agree with my statement that until the time of Professor Paul Sabatier, nearly all the works of the last 600 years dealing with St. Francis were based on the version of the Saint's

life promulgated by St. Bonaventura about the year 1264. Up to the time when Professor Sabatier undid the grave clothes that hid from sight the greatest of mediæval preachers and teachers, every idea and every piece of real information with regard to the all-important matter of the work, life, and teaching of St. Francis of Assisi was based upon, and almost entirely derived from, the 'Legenda Sancti Francisci' of the Seraphic Father, St. Bonaventura.

In an uncritical day when the 'Index Expurgatorius' could dominate the bookstalls of Europe, such a source sufficed; but in the noonday light of an almost dazzling twentieth century research, the work of St. Bonaventura has fallen into disrepute. It is now interesting only as indicating traits of character in the man himself, and illustrating what he wished to hide, rather than valuable for the facts he narrates.

A new departure in Franciscan literature dawned when Professor Sabatier and some other Franciscan workers went behind this author to the very sources from which he had, with so much subtlety, culled the materials for his 'Legenda.' New facts, new ideals, and new deductions, were rapidly borne in upon the world of Franciscan students, and ever since that time it has been the pre-Bonaventuran writings that have most influenced the literature of St. Francis.

It will be well to devote some time to the study of this subject; and in this relation I propose to mention some of the principal works of that period which are of especial interest to Franciscans.

Never was there more truth in the well-worn

saying, "It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good," than in the case of Franciscan records.

Almost the first thing that the Franciscan student comes to learn is the fact that to the internal dissensions of the order most of the records which we so prize to-day are to be attributed.

Doubtless many of those whom I have the honour of addressing to-night are well aware of the sad struggles which rent asunder the religious family which the "poor little man of Assisi" had brought up and cherished, but lest perchance some have passed over the painful side of this great life and have only cared to read the elevating and noble characteristics or teaching that fascinated not only the inhabitants of the valley of Spoleto, but Italy on both sides of the Appenines and then spread out to influence and mould the lives of men and women all over Christendom, lest this beautiful side of the Franciscan story should be all that has taken hold of the minds of any here, I feel bound to take upon myself the ungrateful task of displaying, in all its disfiguring and debasing aspects, the hatred and bitter enmity that practically killed the real work of the Franciscan brotherhood after the death of its founder.

Would that I could pass over this sad chapter; but without it all the Franciscan writings would lose their real meaning. This party strife is the real key to those writings which have now become one of the most valuable literary discoveries of our day.

We must go back to the year 1220. It is a sad picture that meets our eyes. The rule of absolute poverty, which the Saint of Umbria has so prized

and which has hitherto so dominated his life, is in danger; he has fought desperately to keep his family of saintly men from falling back into the life of confidence in earthly power or means; but the forces of the world are too much for him.

Cardinal Ugolino, Visitor of the order, has again and again tried to move him from his resolve that no "brother minor" shall possess anything; but although he has never flinched from his faithfulness to his first love and though his devotion to poverty has only increased as the years have flown, yet he feels that the struggle is becoming too much for him. The influence of the Roman Curia is increasing, there are malign whispers that the saintly founder of the order is standing in the way of progress and is endangering the usefulness of the brothers by risking the anger of the Papal authority. Weak in body and often tried and grieved in spirit by the difficulties or the opposition that he has to encounter, St. Francis feels that he can keep up the struggle no longer. If it were enemies whom he had to meet it would be different; but he cannot quarrel with those he loves so deeply. There is another side too to the question. St. Clara, his own Saint, for all that she is he has made her—has given way to the importunities of the Cardinal of Ostia by relaxing her rule. Those who know anything of St. Francis must know this, that, there was very little in his life in which the beloved head of the Clarisses did not share. Her advice, her counsel, her sympathy and devotion, were to this true-souled man more than we shall ever know. She had been to him the type and symbol of that

sacred poverty which she had willingly chosen at his instigation. She was to St. Francis the incarnation of that holy poverty to which he had bound himself for ever.

Now that this noble-hearted, and as no one knew better than he did, wise and clear-headed woman had accepted the persuasions and advice of Cardinal Ugolino and had, after many an effort at resistance, led the way, what should he do? That was his great life problem. Perhaps she may be right after all, and if so, ought he to stand in the way of God's will? Till that moment he had never hesitated to be guided by her, to follow her lead in most things, just as in the earlier days she had blindly followed him. Yet strong as was this personal influence, his instinct, his experience, his innate sense of vocation fought against the slightest deviation from the vow of his entire life. This was the war that was raging within him, a warfare only too prophetic of that which was ultimately to be carried on by his sons. It was ever in his mind, he was perplexed and anxious and it began to tell on his spirits, and just before the Chapter General of 1220, when rumours of insubordination, of argument and opposition, were in the air, there came upon him a sense of deep depression, that for all practical purposes closed his career as the real ruler and leader of the Franciscan order. Under the influence of a somewhat morbid sentiment he decides to cease the struggle and to retire into a life of simple waiting upon God, striving by example to bring about what he felt he had failed to do by authority. His abdication is to my mind one of the most pathetic incidents in history. Hear the great

leader of 250,000 men and women in his farewell words, given us by Thomas of Celano and others. Turning to the brethren he says: "From henceforth I am dead to you; but here is brother Pietro di Catana whom you and I will all obey." Then he prays: "Lord, I return to Thee this family which Thou hast confided to me. Now, as Thou knowest, most sweet Jesus, I have neither strength nor ability to keep on caring for them; I confide them, therefore, to the ministers. May they be responsible before Thee at the Day of Judgment, if any brother by their negligence, or bad example, or by a too severe discipline, should ever wander away."

From that day St. Francis had very little share in the real management of the Order, but his personal influence could not be ignored. He lived, and as long as he lived his life remained one of beautiful and holy poverty. Those who were most anxious to obtain the universal acceptance of the more moderate interpretation of his rule felt that no step was possible so long as he lived, but none the less did that party, numbering among them the Judas Iscariot of the Franciscan disciples, lay their plans for ultimate success. How bitterly St. Francis felt the progress those plans had made, may be realised by a quotation from the 'Legenda Antiqua.'

In reply to a brother who points out to him the declension of the order from the primitive rule, he says: "God forgive you, brother. Why do you lay at my door things with which I have nothing to do? So long as I had the direction of the order and the brothers persevered in their vocation, in spite of weakness I was able to do what was needful, but

when I saw that without caring for my example or my teaching, they walked in the way you have described I confided them to the Lord and to the ministers. It is true that when I relinquished the direction, alleging my incapacity as the motive, if they had walked in the way of my wishes, I should not have desired that before my death they should have had any other minister than myself. Though ill, though bed-ridden even, I should have found strength to perform the duties of my charge. But this chargé is wholly spiritual. I will not become an executioner to strike and punish as political governors must."

When, however, we read the so-called "Will" of this wonderful man, it is no longer a matter of surprise to us that he felt there was little left to live for, and that the call to a higher life was the only guerdon worth possessing.

The restraint that was so burdensome to a large proportion of the brothers was removed by the death of St. Francis on October 3rd, 1226. Brother Elias, who since March 10th, 1221, had been the head of the Order, though outwardly adhering to his master, had in reality placed himself and his powers entirely at the disposal of Cardinal Ugolino, who represented the Roman influence in the Franciscan brotherhood. Now that there was no other leader to fear he made no secret of his intentions. His great scheme for immortalising his own name by building the magnificent Basilica of St. Francis under his influence soon became the one dominating interest and work of the Franciscan Order, at least of all those who were not the Zeloti or the partisans

of the original rule of poverty. These Zeloti, however, were not to be entirely ignored. What they lacked in number was made up for in zeal and devotion; nor was their prestige of slight moment, since they were for the most part those who had been the closest companions of St. Francis. Brother Leo became their leader, and the holiest and greatest characters in the Order ranged themselves under his banner.

The day of intrigue was over and open warfare was declared. The work of building this enormous structure had been begun, and an imposing marble box for the offerings of the faithful had been set up. This to the Zeloti was indeed the "abomination of desolation." It was, they maintained, the very antithesis of the ideals of St. Francis, and though fully aware of all that it would entail to himself, the intrepid Leo, assisted by a few friends, shattered the offending object, and was in consequence attacked and severely beaten by the emissaries of Elias and driven out of the town of Assisi.

Elias, however, had to learn what power a determined opposition can wield. Within a short time of the events narrated he found himself depòsed from the exalted position which he held. Whether or not the publication of that important work, the 'Speculum Perfectionis,' by Brother Leo, tended to promote this result, or whether indeed the 'Speculum Perfectionis' was really published at that time, is very difficult to say. To venture to hold a different opinion from that of so remarkable and so deeply read a Franciscan scholar as Professor Paul Sabatier seems almost audacious, yet in spite

of the many able arguments he adduces for the early date of the 'Speculum Perfectionis' it is difficult to understand how so many versions of this work can have been permitted to survive, and at the same time all tradition on the subject can have been obliterated, at a time too, when the Zeloti were so united and so determined to cling to all that was primitive in the Order.

Fortunately, however, we are not called upon here to enter upon the thorny path of speculation as to the date of this mysterious work, for we have at hand another work which will equally serve the purpose that is needful to my subject,—the 'Sacrum Commercium.'

On the fall of Elias, a new Minister General was appointed, one Giovanni Parenti, evidently a man of wonderful piety, and certainly not lacking in literary ability, if we may accept the view that six weeks after his appointment to the post of General, he published this tractate, which must have had no slight bearing on the controversy that was raging in the Franciscan world.

The 'Sacrum Commercium,' which we all welcome as a literary gem, had doubtless an ulterior motive. Devotional and exquisitely dramatic, it none the less struck boldly at the work which Elias was carrying on with such determination. The allusion to Elias and his work in Chapter XII is clear: "Et licet non possit civitatis supra montem positae abscondi desolatio, tamen imposuerunt ei nomen discretionem vel providentiam, cum talis discretio potius dicenda esset confusio et providentia bonorum omnium perniosa oblivio." "And although

the desolation of a city set upon a hill cannot be hid, yet they gave her the name of Discretion or of Prudence, though such discretion is rather to be called confusion, and such prudence a deadly forgetfulness of all good things."

The whole work teems with allusions that cannot have failed to convey a clear meaning to all who read; and if this was the work of so exalted a personage as the official head of the whole community, it must have had considerable notoriety. Before passing on, I cannot refrain from showing how incisive were the strictures it contained, on the persons of Elias and his immediate circle—Chapter XI of the 'Sacrum Commercium' deals exclusively with this criticism.

"Surrexerunt denique in nobis qui non erant ex nobis, quidam filii Belial loquentes vana, operantes iniqua, dicentes se pauperes esse cum non essent et me . . . Spreverunt ac maculaverunt me, sequentes viam Balaam ex Bosor qui mercedum iniquitatis amavit, homines corrupti mente, . . . homines assumentes sanctae religionis habitum novem hominem non induerunt sed veterem paliaverunt. Detrahebant senioribus suis et eorum qui sanctae conversationis institutores fuerunt vitam et mores in occulto mordebant, vocantes eos indiscretos, immisericordes, crudeles, et me quam assumpserant dicebant otiosa insipidam, turpem incultam, exsanguem et mortuam, aemula mea summo studio ingerente, quae ovis assumens habitum dolositate vulpis occultabat lupinam rabiem." The following is Canon Rawnsley's translation, "There arose after among us certain sons of Belial speaking vain things,

working unjust ones, saying that they were poor when they were not, and me . . . they spurned and cast dirt upon me, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of iniquity—men corrupt of mind and turned aside from truth, thinking gain is godliness, men taking upon them the garment of holy religion who have not put on the new man ; but are clothed upon with the old.

“ They spoke lightly of those who had gone before, and subtly slandered the manner of life of them who were the instructors of the holy walk, calling them indiscreet, pitiless, cruel ; and me . . . they called idle, tasteless, foul, rude, coldblooded, and dead. For my jealous foe brought this about with all her might, who, taking on her sheep’s clothing, under a fox’s cunning, hid the ravening of a wolf.”

The concluding words can but mean Elias himself. Amidst all the bitter hostility caused by this Franciscan civil war, the Papal intervention seemed to be of the greatest possible importance, and in consequence Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia, recently elected Pope, made the excuse of visiting Perugia in order to deal personally with these matters, since the occasion of the canonization of the founder of their order seemed to be an opportune one for re-uniting the discordant parties. Accordingly on July 16th of the following year 1228 Gregory IX entered Assisi to take part in the great service of the Canonization of St. Francis.

An account of that event has been given us in the fullest manner, and the official historian was none other than Thomas of Celano. To him Gregory

committed the task of recording not only the Canonization and the list of miracles deemed necessary for this great event, but also entrusted our author with the duty of reproducing from the materials at his disposal a life of St. Francis.

It may be fancy, but it seems to me that the wise prelate who was at once eager for the advancement of the order, whose real head he was, and who was at the same time in real sympathy with, if not the actual originator of, the plans which Elias was executing, would make every effort to heal the breach that threatened to wreck the whole Franciscan structure. I venture to think that on the occasion of the visit to Assisi, he was instrumental in bringing about a *modus vivendi* between the opposing camps and probably obtained from the Zeloti the withdrawal of the obnoxious tract just quoted, whilst he on his part undertook to have an unbiased life of the great leader prepared and issued such as would satisfy all parties.

To Thomas of Celano the work would be given and possibly with directions to avoid any statements that might be objected to by the party of the stricter observance. Thus in 1229 there appeared, under the title of the 'Legenda Gregorii,' the work which for nearly a century has been known as the 'First Life' of St. Francis of Assisi, by Thomas of Celano.

That this work was intended to bring out on the one hand the holy poverty of the little brother of Assisi, and at the same time to emphasise the actual fact that St. Francis had designated Elias his successor, cannot I think be doubted. Realising as we

must, that Thomas of Celano was certainly not in personal sympathy with the party of Brother Leo, it is difficult on any other supposition to account for the tone of Chapters A xv, xvi of his first work, which do not attempt in any way to modify the original rule of the order.

To my mind the 'Legenda Gregorii' was the masterstroke of the astute Pontiff, and it is evident that this work received a very extensive recognition and that it was looked upon as worthy of credence, and I doubt not as a moderate and unpolemic relation of events. This seems evident from the fact that it alone, of all the early Franciscan documents, has permeated Europe and has been preserved as a literary treasure in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and England.

Whatever may be the facts yet to transpire on so complex a subject it is obvious that from the date of its publication the bitterness which had arisen amongst the followers of St. Francis was at least modified and possibly laid to rest for a period of ten years or more.

Some readers may go even one step further and suggest that the re-election of Elias as "Minister General" was the direct result of the widespread publication of the 'Legenda Gregorii;' which, whilst bearing the "imprimatur" of so exalted a person as the Pope himself, frankly avowed the high position given to Elias by the dying Saint.

Whichever view we may take, it is clear that three years later, in spite of the intense bitterness that had been previously felt and shown towards him, Elias was elected as head of the order, and

for the next seven years remained at the helm. This indicates that there must at least have been a certain reaction in his favour for which nothing else will account; moreover, after the year 1229 we find less of that bitter partisanship which blackens the pages of history during the years immediately preceding the "Canonization."

From the time of the election of Elias, however, the clouds began to appear once more. His enormous efforts to complete the great work of the Basilica brought him into conflict with the members of the Franciscan order.

At first, doubtless taught by the experience of other days, he proceeded with caution; but soon the old spirit became manifest—he organised collections in every province. When his demands on behalf of the Basilica were resisted, as being out of keeping with the spirit of St. Francis, he used his authority to remove the offending rulers of the order, and as time proceeded he found it necessary more and more to practise severities which could not fail to alienate from him the hearts of those over whom he ruled. At last the storm broke. In 1239 Pope Gregory IX, acting on the evident wish of the order, deposed Elias and declared Alberto di Pisa elected in his place.

All this time there had been no further demand for literature on the subject of the Saint's life. No doubt the ' *Legenda Gregorii* ' had proved sufficiently complete to satisfy all parties, and it requires no stretch of imagination to become convinced that wherever Franciscans went, there a copy of this precious work would be carried by them. Supposing

then that the 'Speculum' had not been issued, and that the 'Sacrum Commercium' had either been withdrawn by Giovanni di Parenti or secretly suppressed during the rule of Elias, Thomas of Celano's work would be the only authentic Franciscan document of these earlier years. Yet the 'Legenda Gregorii' was a document which was a menace to the foes of Elias who were now in the ascendant. Alberto di Pisa, the new Minister General, was too preoccupied with the difficult task in front of him to deal with matters of a literary kind. He was a diplomatist, and all his energies had to be directed towards checkmating his wily opponent Elias in other ways. The latter had at last found his match, for Alberto di Pisa was not the type of man that he had been accustomed to deal with. He was opposed by one who would not scruple to gain his own ends either by device or by treachery.

As an example of the adroitness of the new Minister General it may be mentioned that on his death an extremely important letter addressed by Elias to Gregory IX and intercepted by Alberto di Pisa was found sewn up in his tunic. Like Elias he had learned the value of strategy, and his alertness proved the destruction of his foe.

The proud Elias was not, however, the man to mildly submit to oppression, and he in no measured terms resented the action of the Pope, who, as he thought, had betrayed him. Gregory turned upon him with all his fury and hurled at him vituperation that one would hardly have expected possible from such a man; yet Elias was no less headstrong; he went so far as to reply by accusing the aged Pontiff

of having misused the money collected for the Crusades, and of other misdeeds.

From that time Elias was an outcast ; many even of his supporters declared that he had deceived them, and soon his name became a scandal among the members of the order. In the midst of these events a new " Minister " was elected ; this time an Englishman—Aymon of Faversham. Doubtless this election was due to the desire to have at the head of affairs a man of simpler piety. The new " Minister General " was, we can well believe, hardly prepared for the subtleties of semi-Eastern methods and ideals. He found the work of the order quite sufficient for his powers without launching forth into new fields. Yet it must again and again have become evident to those in authority that the prominence given to Elias in the authorised Franciscan life of the founder placed the leaders of the present in a delicate and ambiguous position. No doubt means would have been set on foot to remedy the evil had not an event taken place which altogether prohibited any action on the part of the order.

Thomas of Celano's ' Legend ' had been authorised by the successor of St. Peter, and only another successor could abrogate this.

Little more than a year after the election of Aymon Gregory IX died, and Celestine IV became Pope. How much this meant to the Franciscan brotherhood can scarcely be imagined. The dead Pontiff had been the mainstay of the brethren from the earliest days of its inception. He had not only been this, but his name had added prestige and dignity to the movement in every province. All

Europe knew that the Franciscan brotherhood was under the especial protection of Gregory. They had now lost this mighty arm. So long as he had lived the reverence for the past must be evidenced; now the future was all unknown. He, too, had been the friend of St. Clara, and had always smoothed over difficulties between the two orders when they had occurred. Now that this great Franciscan had passed away they began to look to their foundations.

The powers that were had need to be alert. The dead Pope, whom all praised, had been the friend of Elias. The official life of St. Francis, which had doubtless attained its influence partly in consequence of his support, might become a danger. Now that Elias had become of public scandal, this book, which asserted the pre-eminence of Elias, might be used to injure the order now that its great champion was dead. On the other hand, the undue reverence which would now be accorded to such a document bearing the authority of so great a man, would hinder the publication of any other work supplementing the recorded facts by such as might subsequently become known.

Again, now that the party of the Zeloti were in the ascendant it was felt that the time had arrived when the order itself might indicate the direction in which it would walk, without the necessity of always inquiring first what course was desired by the Court at Rome.

The "Zeloti" had by this time effectually come to realise that though Elias might be deposed and disgraced, they the adherents of the first rule, were not in favour with the Papal "entourage." Now, if

ever, the opportunity to use the advantage which they had obtained, seemed to have arrived.

Now they might get rid of all reference to Elias in the accepted manual, and they hoped that the literary material they had in the meantime been collecting as proof of the opinions of St. Francis about the rule of poverty, might soon become incorporated into the text-book of Franciscan communities.

Undoubtedly, had Celestine IV lived, it would not have been long before an official application would be made to him to allow the revision of the offending document, but alas! only seventeen days after his election Celestine IV died. Nothing could now be done, and the ruling spirits among the Franciscan brotherhood could only possess their souls in patience and wait until a new Pope should be announced, blending with their accustomed prayers one that the new Pontiff might be a ruler favourable to the order.

It was, however, a case of hope deferred. The Curia could not agree; disputes and quarrels were the order of the day, and the Court of Rome became the scene of many a disgraceful episode. For fully a year and eight months this sad state of affairs was maintained, until the 24th of June, 1243, when Innocent IV was installed in the Pontifical throne.

As a compliment to the new Pope, the succeeding Chapter General was convened at Genoa, from which place he had gone to assume the reins of government. The "Chapter General" of Genoa was one full of new vigour. It was an occasion when anything was possible, since a new era had

begun. Whether for good or for evil, a step forward would have to be taken. The first act was to appoint Crescentius de Jesi "Minister General." He stood for the party of moderation—liberty to diverge slightly within reasonable limits. Still, like his predecessors, it was necessary that he should in every way dissociate himself from Elias. In consequence of the foregoing circumstances, on the ground that new matter had arisen and that new facts had been discovered, he easily contrived to obtain the passage of a measure by the entire order, commanding all the brethren who had any knowledge of facts connected with the life of St. Francis not already published, or of miracles not previously mentioned, to forward these to the General in order that some steps might be taken to circulate this information to the body of the brethren.

No doubt many a brother had some contribution to send, and in consequence of this, without interfering with the former work, Crescentius de Jesi directed a tract to be drawn up entitled 'Venerabilium gesta Patrum.' It was in dialogue form and probably intended to stimulate still further inquiry and investigation. Unfortunately this tract has been lost.

The party of the Zeloti had always been the more active body, and in consequence they were not long in setting to work. Now the opportunity of giving publicity, not only to their own impressions, but to the documents which they had been carefully collecting in evidence of the righteousness of their cause, was most tempting. Under the leadership of Leo, Angelo, Rufino, Fillippo, Illuminato, Maseo,

John and Bernard de Quintaville, each added what they could to the common fund of information. It will need no words of mine to convince my hearers that the material that these brethren selected to compose their work was of one kind and only of one kind. They wrote with an object, and that object was the destruction of their opponents' case. Every fact that could be adduced to show the attitude of opposition which the Saint of Umbria had evinced to the principles of the moderate party was inserted, until the work became little more than a diatribe couched in narrative. On August 11th, 1246, the work was completed under the name of the 'Legend of the Three Companions.' It is sometimes called the 'Legend of Brother Leo'; but whether this title would not be more correctly applied to the 'Speculum Perfectionis' is a matter on which I do not at present feel competent to express a definite opinion.

The brothers who drew up this work appear to have done more than send it to Crescentius, they seem to have given it some sort of publicity on their own account. One of two things must have taken place. Either request was made by the authors for a license to be granted for the publication of this version of the Saint's life, and permission obtained on condition of the work being produced in its censored form, as we have it now; or, what is much more likely, the writers made several copies and sent them to their friends in each province as a specimen of the material they had contributed to the common fund. If we accept this view we can readily understand how Crescentius would immediately take steps

to have all these books examined, and such portions as seemed undesirable destroyed. I have no doubt that it would be this course that would render him unpopular to the brothers and which led to his downfall in 1247. It is interesting to note that all that remains to us of the 'Legend of the Three Companions' is the history of the youth of St. Francis and the first days of the order, and then with an obvious hiatus the narrative springs to the death and canonization of the Saint. The intervening material is nowhere to be found.

We must not, however, suppose that this legend had no circulation; in fact, the contrary may have been the case, for after the Council of Paris, when the earlier books were sought for and destroyed, it would be just those belonging to the Zeloti which would be least likely to escape detection, whilst the vows of obedience would press more strongly upon them than even on their more moderate brethren. Under such circumstances it would be safe to suppose that the 'Tres Socii' version did indeed have a very real influence within the order. If I mistake not it was exactly the influence of so dangerous a document that troubled Crescentius and which led him to appoint Thomas of Celano, and some think others in association with him, to revise the material which had been forwarded to him as General and to produce from those sources a new and complete life.

That Brother Thomas lost no time in resuming his work is evident from the fact that although he probably did not commence his labours until after the publication of the 'Legend of the Three Companions,' yet the result of his labours which has

come down to us as the 'Legenda Antiqua' must have been issued before July, 1247, since it was forwarded to Crescentius de Jesi as Minister General, whereas at the Council of Lyons held on that date John of Parma was elected to the Generalship.

In the book which I have recently seen through the press entitled 'Legenda Sancti Francisci auctore Thoma de Celano,' I have dilated at considerable length on the fact that in the Assisi Codex, which has too long been supposed to be the 'Tractatus Secundus' or 'Vita Secunda' of Celano, we have in reality the well-known work of our author entitled 'Legenda Antiqua,' a title which no doubt had a direct reference to the sources which, as editor of the manuscripts sent to Crescentius, had been placed at his disposal.

So far, I feel that I have been on ground over which most orthodox and conservative students of Franciscan lore will be ready to follow me; but at this point I am bound to take a step forward, a step which will doubtless make many hesitate. To such I can only say, do not attempt to follow, if you have other convictions; but I cannot but fear that, not to go forward must logically mean difficulties of a far greater kind in the immediate future when the facts which I have already alluded to in my critical introduction to the text of Celano's works are more fully understood.

Professor Paul Sabatier in Part VII of this critical study of the sources speaks of the second part of the second life by Thomas of Celano. He suggests that this second part was written between 1247 and 1257 and that it consists of parts 2 and 3 of the

‘*Legenda Antiqua*’ or Assisi MS. M. Sabatier wrote his life of St. Francis before 1899, or this portion would have been somewhat different. I am indebted to none other for having first put me on the path that has led me to this conclusion. I venture to think that had M. Sabatier been writing that passage to-day he would never have spoken of a second part of a second life, he would either have alluded to a third life, or he would have done as I have done, denominated the last work of Brother Thomas as the ‘*Tractatus Secundus*.’

His effort to place his readers in possession of true facts was, however, wonderfully correct, may I say prophetic; he had realised what few of his contemporaries realised, viz., that over and above the ‘*Legenda Gregorii*’ and the ‘*Legenda Antiqua*,’ of which we have been speaking, there was a third work by this author, a work well-known to the thirteenth century writers and intimately associated with the name of the “Minister General” John of Parma. The missing document he naturally assumed to be the second part of the MS. of Assisi since no record could be obtained of any other. After the publication of Professor Paul Sabatier’s life of St. Francis a discovery was made which has considerably altered the opinions of students on this subject, as well as those of Professor Sabatier to whom I am indebted for the first light on this subject in a letter which he wrote to me more than two years ago.

At this point I must ask my hearers to let me tell my story of the texts to the end and then return to the critical examination of whether or no my conclusions are correct.

It has been suggested by several writers that Thomas of Celano is hardly a writer of any importance from the fact that he was ready at all times to take the popular view in order to curry favour. To my mind the facts point in a totally different direction.

It is, I think, beyond doubt that Thomas of Celano did not belong to or even sympathise with the party of the stricter observance, yet I have already pointed out that it was in the most awful moment of party strife that he was commissioned by Gregory IX to write the 'Legenda Gregorii,' and that such would not have been the case had the former not been aware that the work of Brother Thomas would be acceptable to both parties. Combining this fact with the obviously impartial character of his first work, we should at once see the reason why the order was satisfied to accept for so long a period and to spread in every direction this work of Brother Thomas of Celano. They trusted him as a sincere and true man.

Again, when in 1246 Crescentius de Jesi was in need of some one to whom he could commit the task of editing the numerous works forwarded to him, it was to Thomas of Celano he turned, as being the one man whose writings would be likely to find acceptance with the brothers of each observance, and as though to confirm this, on the election of John of Parma, well known to have belonged to the party of the Zeloti, and the author of the tract, 'Venerabilium gesta Patrum,' he, like his opponent predecessor, turned at once to Brother Thomas as the most fit and acceptable person to complete the work of

which the 'Legenda Gregorii' and the 'Legenda Antiqua' were but a part.

I have already anticipated what my hearers will have been prepared for. Owing to the comparative liberty and indeed prominence given to the Zeloti by the election of John of Parma, two results had followed: in the first place those who had hitherto hesitated to relate accounts of legends and stories connected with the Saint, were now emboldened to go to the simpler men who were in power, and tell their story or deliver it in writing. Thus a vast number of partly true and often wholly spurious legends grew up with alarming rapidity.

This was a state of affairs which would be quite out of accord with the real sympathies of the party to which Leo and his companions belonged. To them the mere miracle worker was far inferior to the truly human, yet grandly self-effacing St. Francis. In consequence, it became a matter of the most profound importance to dissociate those legends which were of some credibility from those that were only mythical. No one could do this so well as Brother Thomas, and in consequence we find the new Minister General, John of Parma, beseeching him to undertake the work. Brother Thomas immediately set to work and compiled the work on the miracles which appears in my text as the second half of the 'Tractatus Secundus.' The first half of this text is a revised and re-edited version of the 'Legenda Antiqua,' so altered, however, by the author as to produce an utterly different impression upon the reader from that which the former suggests.

276 ROSEDALE (Dr. H. G., *F.S.A.*) The
LEGENDS of ST. FRANCIS of ASSISI, by
Brother Thomas of Celano, &c., *reprinted*
from the Transactions of the Royal Society
of Literature, with a photo. facsimile of a
page of the "Legenda Anonyma" (80
pp.), 8vo, wrappers 1s 6d

Why were not the delinquents punished. Why did
not the Jews, ^{more} especially reprove the Apostles for
having stolen the body of Jesus?
Thus to whatever side we turn, we see that
iniquity is fallen into its own snare, and that
falsehood has lied to itself —

With this work ended, as we shall see, all efforts to amplify or improve upon the history of the founder of the Franciscan order.

The days of the brethren of the stricter observance were numbered. In the year 1257, Cardinal Bonaventura was elected "Minister General." Already the attempts of both parties to dominate the order by means of their authentic records had produced innumerable evils, and it was the difficulties of a most serious kind which beset the Franciscan movement that accounts for the readiness with which the members of the "Chapter General" of Narbonne commissioned Bonaventura to write the life of St. Francis. From the accession of Bonaventura, Thomas of Celano disappears from the scene. Whilst it is quite reasonable to suppose that Bonaventura saw in him a literary rival, and that he could not tolerate a possible critic, I am disposed also to believe that in reality, Thomas of Celano was gradually drawn more and more to the party of the older observance. With years there grew upon him the memories of St. Francis, and with those memories there came to him a sense of grief at the wide departure of the order from the primitive simplicity which he had known in earlier days. His intimate association with John of Parma must have made it appear to the other brethren that he had leanings towards the party of Leo, whilst the thirty-six chapters which he devotes to the subject of poverty in his two later works cannot have failed to indicate the tendency of his personal bias. These facts probably laid the seeds of that disfavour which

injured him upon the advent to power of Bonaventura.

Few men were more vigorous in character than this new "Minister General." A tremendously hard worker, a man of indomitable ambition, of shrewd foresight and remarkable ability, he took in at once the dangers of the situation, and met them by suppressing all questions that might lead to any kind of controversy.

All matters in dispute he deemed inadmissible, and in consequence the work which he presented to the "Chapter General" of Pisa, and which was in fact, nothing but the writings of Celano condensed and curtailed with certain additions from the 'Speculum Perfectionis' and the 'Tres Socii,' readily met with acceptance, and was in consequence approved by the whole order.

Would that we could stop at this point, but the climax came in the following year, an event which I call "the tragedy of Franciscan history." Bonaventura found that his version of the life of St. Francis, whilst outside the range of party strife, was considered too feeble a production to become what he wanted it to be, viz. the text book of the order. A man of his disposition could brook no opposition, and in consequence he contrived to obtain a majority of the votes at the Council of Paris held in 1264, directing the circulation of the following edict—an edict which, with one fell blow, destroyed some of the choicest literature of mediæval days. The edict runs as follows—

"Item praecepit Generale Capitulum per obedientiam, quod omnes legendae de B. Francisco olim

factae deleantur et ubi inveniri poterant extraordinem, ipsas fratres studeant amovere, cum illa legenda, quae facta est per Generalem, sit compilata prout ipse habuit ab ore illorum qui cum B. Francisco quassi semper fuerunt et cuncta certitudinaliter sciverint et probata ibi sint posita diligenter.”

“Item : The Chapter General directs that as an act of obedience, all former legends of the Blessed Francis be destroyed, and wherever the brothers can find them outside the order they must endeavour to do away with them, since this legend drawn up by the General is compiled from accounts of those who nearly always accompanied the Blessed Francis. All that they would know without doubt and all that has been proved to be true has been carefully inserted.”

This terrible order was all the more terrible, because to the Franciscans an absolute blind obedience to command was a primary tenet, and thus it came about that so much valuable work (executed at the cost of much time and effort, and being in some cases the only real record of much that concerned the life of the Saint of Umbria) was lost to the world, and to all intents and purposes annihilated.

Had it not been for the fact that here and there, in out-of-the-way places, or through the jealousy of some other monastic body, a stray version escaped destruction we should never have known the real St. Francis of Assisi. How thorough was the work of destruction and how implacably St. Bonaventura sought to annihilate all competition will never be fully known.

For a generation after the time of St. Bonaventura no other writer dared to attempt to deal with the subject of this Saint's life, and from the year 1264 until the commencement of the nineteenth century there was no other source of information for writers on this subject except the work just alluded to. We must not suppose, however, for a moment that during all these years there were no books published dealing with Franciscan matters; on the contrary, almost every incident of Franciscan work and every circumstance that could possibly be the subject of literary effort, was assiduously elaborated in the multitudinous books to which I have already alluded; but as helps to the real life of the son of Bernadone they are all practically useless; all other matters they deal with fully; but to the all-important matter of that precious life, character, or words they add little or nothing in addition to that which is found in the work of Bonaventura.

One other record, however, came into existence much later on, which merits a word, but which was after all the creation of an earlier period. I allude to the well-known 'Fioretti,' and I think we may attribute some measure of value to this work.

To destroy the concise records of the man and his life in the conventual houses was comparatively easy; but not even the Roman See could destroy the memories burnt into the hearts of the people by the devotion and humility of their great teacher. Here and there one of the real stories or incidents in which St. Francis had figured was handed down from father to son, until the stories had assumed in

many cases at least strange and prodigious dimensions.

The legends were collected and published about 100 years after the death of their hero, but they nevertheless give us many a light on the life of St. Francis which we should never have had but for the indestructible truth which they convey in picture form. In this relation let me quote the words of Professor Sabatier in his introduction to the 'Fioretti.' They are, like himself, very charming :

“ Francois d'Assisi qui s'est fait aimer et admirer par son pays d'abord, puis par le monde entier, ce n'est pas le saint dont Bonaventure et Celano nous ont esquissé la vague silhouette, c'est l'Italien très original dont toute la vie fut poésie et douleur, chant d'amour et de compassion révélé par les Fioretti et par frère Leon.”

Before passing on to the later stages of Franciscan study it may be well to observe that at all times there have been, here and there, such scraps of information published as have given clues to that greater truth which lay behind them. In this relation we have such works as the 'Speculum Vitæ,' 'The Conformities,' and the books of Bernard Bessa, Jourdanus, Eccleston, Salembeni, Careno, 'The Chronicles of the XXIV Generals,' and others of minor importance; but all these affect very little the whole matter of the life, whilst those later works which have been lost, so far as they are in any way recorded, seem to have had no new matter to contribute.

It was reserved for the nineteenth century to unwrap from his thick covering of tradition and

stereotyped ideas, the real St. Francis, but, unfortunately, the progress made has been anything but rapid.

Early in the previous century the Père Rinaldi discovered, where we know not, the text of Celano's first life, and also some text or texts of what we may now recognise as the 'Legenda Antiqua.' Both of these he published in 1806.

In the year 1880, a further stimulus was given to this subject by the re-publication by the Abbé Amoni of a version of the works previously published by Rinaldi, and which had for all practical purposes become so rare as to be nearly unobtainable. What manuscripts he used for his revision it is impossible to say, for after having carefully gone through every known MS. and compared the text, I find the variations in each case are of so extensive a character as to offer no basis upon which to found a theory. This applies equally to the versions both of the 'Legenda Gregorii' and the 'Legenda Antiqua.'

We know, however, that Rinaldi had taken his text from that belonging to the Monastery of Falerone, in the March of Ancona. This Codex was stolen by robbers, so we are told, from the brother in whose charge it had been placed; that MS., as far as I can judge, has not yet been recovered.

I feel sure, too, that Rinaldi did not in making his recension of the 'Legenda Antiqua' confine himself to the Assisi version, though doubtless he copied from it.

The real humanity which is everywhere evident in

those writings had already set men to work to study, and great thinkers like M. Renan and others began to occupy themselves with the study of the genius of the person of whom these records spoke.

A pupil of M. Renan, from a passing remark of the latter's, was led to dive deeper into this fascinating subject, and before the century closed all Europe was stimulated by the appearance of an epoch-making book by Professor Paul Sabatier, which gave back to the world the most delightful photograph of the Friar of Assisi, who had, in his day, stirred all Europe to religious enthusiasm.

M. Sabatier in his writings was at once fearless and considerate; but none the less he touched upon dangerous ground, and in consequence students of mediæval literature soon became ranged into two hostile armies—one which looked to the accomplished Frenchman for inspiration, the others representing the influence of the Roman Curia. In their zeal to obtain and circulate material for their warfare each party has contributed to the common good, and we owe much to each.

When the last century closed students were already awake to the fact that it was in the pre-Bonaventuran works that the most important records were to be found, and active search was made for MSS. of the earlier period. Those few scholars who had devoted themselves to this somewhat difficult line of research soon found that they were in possession of the following material:—

The works published by Amoni and Rinaldi, that is to say (1) an extremely poor version of

the 'Legenda Gregorii,' and (2) a slightly better one of the 'Legenda Antiqua'; also the following MSS.:—

Of the 'Legenda Gregorii:' At Barcelona, in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, a late Benedictine MS.; at Evreux, in the Bibliotheque Municipal; at the British Museum, a MS. just mentioned by two writers, but practically unknown to most authors; at Montpellier, in the Bibliotheque de l'école de Medicine; at Oxford, in the Corpus Christi College Library, a very little known MS.; at Paris, in the Bibliotheque National.

Of the 'Legenda Antiqua:' that at Assisi, in the collection belonging to the Sacro Convento.

Such then, were the only known works by Thomas of Celano, in 1899, and though to many the more picturesque writings of Brother Leo and the 'Tres Socii,' or indeed, the 'Fioretti' appeal more highly, a scientific age will, I am convinced, be glad to fall back for its impressions on the more definite and accurate history and clearer definition of the brother to whom the whole order again and again committed the work of constructing the biography of St. Francis.

I shall, therefore, make little further allusion to the progress made with the study of the MSS. belonging to other writers, but shall confine myself to those with whom the name of Thomas of Celano is associated.

In dealing with the present subject I trust I may be excused for the large reference I must of necessity make to my own researches, but in so doing I desire to claim nothing for myself, for

though I have had the good fortune to come across certain documents of some value, I should never have known of them, or rather, should never have been led to look for them, but for information and assistance so readily accorded to me both by Professor Paul Sabatier and Frère Edouard d'Alençon, Archivist General of the Capuchin Order.

With regard to the works of Thomas of Celano subsequent to the year 1229, there has always been considerable mystery. Anyone studying the 'Chronicles of the XXIV Generals,' and several other writings well known to us to-day, cannot doubt that there was at one time a work of our author in existence which contained not only the miracles recorded for the Canonization, such as we have in the 'Legenda Gregorii,' but a fuller and more complete compendium of them written at a much later date. It seemed as though the terrible edict of the "Chapter General" of Paris had been able to utterly destroy this later work, when suddenly, Father Louis Antoine de Porrentruy managed to secure for his library at Marseilles a MS. which he purchased at the sale of the books of Prince B. Boncompagni, and which ultimately proved to be the missing work. It was in January, 1898, when this discovery was made; but it was not until the middle of the year 1899 that readers were put in possession of the fact by the Bollandist fathers, who were able to give to the world the valuable information that this work existed.

The Bollandists, however, made the mistake of thinking that the first part of the newly discovered

MS. was in reality only a version of the Assisi Codex to which the later edition of the 'Miracles' had been added, but I submit that such a view is impossible, and though I do not propose to recapitulate the long and somewhat involved argument at the commencement of my edition of 'Celano's Lives of St. Francis' just published, I shall hope to introduce such evidence of a new nature as will make it impossible any further to consider these two works as being one and the same.

Some years ago, when fascinated by the story of the Saint of Umbria, I set myself to study the motives which had actuated and underlain the action of this great man, I found that the great obstacle to further progress was the difficulty of getting a correct text of the life of St. Francis.

With the greatest difficulty I secured copies of the published works by Amoni, and I had access to the Bollandist text in the *Acta Sanctorum*. All were strangely inaccurate and unreliable, whilst nowhere was the missing list of miracles to be found. For a variety of reasons which I need not now detail, I became convinced that the first step towards a re-construction of the true conception of the real St. Francis was to secure a correct version of the works of Celano. For this reason I travelled over Europe in search of these works and was fortunate enough in the first instance to be able to collate and to photograph the following Codices—Barcelona, Evreux, Paris, Montpellier, Oxford, and the version at the British Museum, all these being versions of the 'Legenda Gregorii.' At Assisi I was able to collate and photograph the Codex which had

been hitherto known as the 'Vita Secunda,' and which I have now re-named by its original title of the 'Legenda Antiqua.' Whilst at Assisi, Professor Sabatier brought to my notice the fact of the discovery of a further MS. to which I have already alluded, as belonging to Marseilles. I was determined to obtain all the information I could on the subject, and as soon as my work at Assisi was completed, I made a pilgrimage to Marseilles and went directly to the Capuchin Monastery, where I expected to find the precious work.

To my dismay I found the brothers in a state of semi-siege; they were just about to be turned out of their home. Some of them, into whose hands this may perchance fall, will possibly remember the persistent Englishman who would press to obtain information about the wonderful MS. which he asserted was in the museum of the order. After endless waiting and trouble I found that Père Louis Antoine de Porrentruy had left Marseilles for some unknown spot, and that another brother had been placed in charge of the museum. Could not I see his successor? Alas, no! He, too, was no longer in Marseilles. Besides this it became a matter of the greatest doubt whether the MS. was any longer in the town or not; one brother told me that all the valuables from the museum had been removed, another that the MS. was somewhere in the town, but in safe keeping, owing to the attack of the French Government on the religious orders.

Still I was not satisfied; where could I find the present guardian of the work in question? From the Superior I ascertained that he had gone to

Lyons, and I immediately set off thither only to discover that my quarry had vanished. On arriving at the address given me, I could at first get no information whatever, as at the latter place the gentleman in question was known by another name, but after finally convincing the curé of the church to which I had gone that my motives in seeing him were both friendly and sincere, I was at last accorded his address in a far-off country abode, to which he had gone for an indefinite period. I had not the time to follow him any further, so wrote and telegraphed to him; but alas! no answer. Again I wrote, with the same result; and only after my third attempt did I hear from him to the effect that he knew nothing of the document in question. My hopes were shattered; the monastery was broken up! The brothers were scattered, and the one man in whose charge it must have been either would not or could not tell me anything about it! I cannot go into all the details of the matter, but suffice it to say that thanks to the assistance of Professor Sabatier and Frère Edouard d'Alençon I have been able not only to reproduce the Marseilles or Boncompagni document for the first time, so far as our knowledge of these matters goes, but am also able to offer for inspection photographs of the text itself, which will help my hearers to understand what an extremely beautiful and important version it is.

Having secured the text, the next difficulty was to identify it and to name it. Let me remind you that until the present time all writers had been pleased to accept as final the fact that the 'Legenda Gregorii' was in reality the 'Vita Prima' of early

writers, and that the Assisi text was the 'Vita Secunda' or 'Tractatus Secundus' of the author of the 'XXIV Generals.'

I have already shown how Professor Sabatier, following the lead of the more deeply versed students of Franciscan sources, recognised the necessity of accepting the view that there had been a third work containing the miracles. Now that the Marseilles MS. work was in the possession of the world, men asked, What is this text? So far no answer has been given.

The Bollandists, so far as I understand them, seem to have taken it for granted that the first part of this work was only another version of the Assisi codex, and that the 'Miracula' which occupies half the entire MS. constitutes a third and separate work. This would, of course, leave the position of things unchanged. Professor Sabatier, I am led to believe, accepted the fact that this MS. might be classified as a third life.

It is to the measure of importance to be attached to this third work and its relationship to the already known texts that Franciscan students will have, in the future, to devote much thought and study. The second half of my critical introduction to the 'Legenda Sancti Francisci Auctore Thoma de Celano' is devoted to this most important question.

Those who are interested in ascertaining the grounds upon which I have based my decisions and conclusions will find them in detail in that volume, but I cannot stay here to enter upon the difficult argument; suffice it to say that I have had the support of learned students of Franciscan lore in

venturing to re-name the works of Celano which have so tremendous a bearing on the history of St. Francis. The results of my labour, however, are soon told. They are as follows: That the work published by Rinaldi, and afterwards by Amoni and the Bollandist Fathers, under the title of the 'Vita Prima Sancti Francisci' is in reality the 'Legenda Gregorii,' or, if it be preferred, the 'Vita Prima, Pars Prima.' Secondly, that the work published by Rinaldi and Amoni under the title of 'Vita Secunda seu Appendix ad Vitam Primam Sancti Francisci' is in reality the 'Legenda Antiqua' already alluded to, or may be indeed called the 'Pars Secunda' or 'Appendix ad Vitam Primam Sancti Francisci.' That a 'Vita Secunda' had been published was too well known for there to be any question on such a subject, and therefore I have ventured to call the Marseilles or Boncompagni document the 'Tractatus Secundus.' I should have preferred to have called it the 'Vita Secunda,' but out of deference to at least one Franciscan scholar of eminence, and to avoid the confusion that it would of necessity produce, I have used the term equally applicable, used by the author of the 'XXIV Generals,' viz. 'Tractatus Secundus.'

Only last year, thanks to some correspondence with Frère Edouard d'Alençon, I was set to work to search for new MSS. of the 'Legenda Gregorii,' which, from its universal acceptance for about thirty-four years previous to the "Chapter General" of Paris, had been copied all over Europe. As a result of my search I was fortunate enough to discover versions of this great work in the libraries of Heidelberg, Wurzburg, and in the Monastery of

Ossegg. All my attempts, however, to find MSS. were not equally satisfactory, for on one occasion, when I had travelled from the north to the south of Austria in the belief that I was on the track of a new version, I discovered to my dismay that the MS. I had journeyed so far to see was in reality only an early copy of Bonaventura's text badly catalogued, and I had to return empty. On my way home, having to wait for a time in a certain Austrian town for a train, I came across a work which considerably interested me. It was a very early version of the life of St. Francis, and I was surprised to find that the text reproduced to my mind the impression of Celano's style; I read on and became convinced that whatever else I had, here was a work almost entirely culled from the writings of Brother Thomas of Celano.

As to the date to be attributed to this important MS. I find much diversity of opinion. The authorities of the Imperial Library are quite certain that it is a thirteenth century work. I was informed that there could be no doubt about this, and I have a further letter from the librarian stating that it is as I have said. I have consulted Dr. Warner, of the British Museum, whose opinion on these subjects is second to none in this country, and he places it quite early in the fourteenth century, at the end of the first decade, whilst a learned Fellow of this Society, who has been kind enough to give me his opinion, places it as late as the middle of the fourteenth century.

There seems so much to be said for each view that I find it difficult to form an opinion, and there-

fore am disposed to fall back upon that of Dr. Warner, especially as it coincides more closely with my conjectures as to the history of the document in question, viz., that it is a very early fourteenth century copy of an earlier work which must have been produced soon after the year 1264.

The MS. then, of which two pages are reproduced, is a copy of a work which was either compiled or ultimately incorporated by Jacobus de Voragine into his great work on the 'Life of the Saints.' I find it, however, difficult to believe that he could have been the original author, both from the style itself and from the fact that at the time of the wholesale destruction of the texts from which the writer so freely quotes, Jacobus de Voragine could not have been much more than thirty-three years of age, whilst as a Dominican friar he would neither have the means to possess nor the opportunity of studying the works in question. On the other hand, it is more than probable that in editing his 'Magnum opus' he made use of existing versions, probably employed some well-versed Franciscan scholar to complete a short version of the life of the founder of that Order—very possibly it may have been Bernard de Bessa to whom he applied—hence for the present I prefer to call it 'Legenda Anonyma Sancti Francisci.' The following is the text, but by comparing the text with the reproductions of the document itself it will be seen that the numbers of the paragraphs are mine and exist only for the purposes of comparison. The 'Legenda Anonyma' differs from the version of the 'Legenda Aurea' in about 150 different places, but the differences are not material.

N.B.—The portions of text in the third column printed in italics indicate the words which correspond in both versions.

L.G. = Legenda Gregorii.

L.A. = Legenda Antiqua.

T.S. = Tractatus Secundus.

Spec. = Speculum perfectionis.

III Soc. = Legend of the Three Companions.

B = Bonaventura.

Thick type in the second column indicates the passage from which the quotation is made.

Type within brackets in the second column indicates general similarity in the matter related.

Legenda Anonyma Sancti Francisci.

CODEX.

ORIGINES.

DE NOMINE SANCTI FRANCISCI.

Franciscus prius dictus est Johannes, set postmodum mutato nomine Franciscus vocatus est. Cuius mutationis multiplex causa fuisse videtur. Primo ratione miraculi convocati; linguam enim gallicam miraculosam a deo recepisse cognoscitur, unde in legenda sua, quod semper est, cum ardore sancti spiritus repleretur, ardentia verba foris eructans gallice loquebatur. Secundo ratione officii divulgandi, unde dicitur in legenda, quod divina providentia sibi hoc vocabulo indidit, ut ex singulari et insueto nomine opinio ministerii eius toti cicius innotesceret orbi. Tertio rationi effectus consequendi, ut scilicet per hoc daretur intelligi, quod ipse per se et per filios suos multos servos peccati et dyaboli debebat francos facere. Quarto ratione magnanimitatis in corde; nam Franci a feritate sunt dicti, quod eis inest naturalis feritas et magnanimitas animorum. Quinto ratione virtuositatis in sermone, quia eius sermo instar securis vicia incidebat. Sexto ratione honestatis

L.A. I A. 7.
T.S. A. 8.

Semper enim cum ipse ardore sancti spiritus repleretur, ardentia verba foris eructans gallice loquebatur.

L.A. I A. 1.
T.S. A. 1.

Cui divina providentia hoc vocabulum indidit, ut ex singulari et insueto nomine opinio ministerii eius toti innotesceret orbi, a matre.

in conversatione. Aiunt enim Francisca dei signa quedam instar securium, que Rome ante consules ferebantur, que erant in timorem et in honorem.

DE SANCTO FRANCISCO.

1. Franciscus, servus et amicus altissimi, in civitate Assisii ortus et negociator effectus, fere usque ad 20 etatis sue annum tempus suum vane vivendo consumpsit. Quem dominus infirmitatis flagello corripuit ac in virum alterum subito transformavit, ita quod iam spiritu prophetico polere cepit.

2. Nam cum quadam vice cum pluribus a Perusinis captus fuisset, diro carcere mancipatus, dolentibus aliis, hic solus exultat. Redargutus super hoc a concaptivis respondit: Ideo me exultare noveritis, quia adhuc sanctus per totum seculum adorabor.

3. Quadam vice Romam causa devotionis proficiscens, vestimenta sua deposuit et pauperis cuiusdam vestimenta induens ante ecclesiam sancti Petri inter pauperes sedit et cum eis, velud unus ex illis,¹ avide manducavit et sepius simile fecisset, nisi notorum verecundia inpedivisset.

L.A. I A. 1.
T.S. A. 1.

1. *Franciscus servus, et amicus Altissimi.*

L.A. I A.
T.S. A. 1.
(III Soc. 4.)

2. Cum inter perusinos cives et assassinates, tempore quodam, fieret non modica strages ex belli conflictu, captus Franciscus cum pluribus et vinculatus cum ceteris squalores carceris patitur. Absorbentur tristitia concaptivi, miserabiliter captivitatis sue plorantes eventum; exultat Franciscus in Domino, vincula Domino, vincula ridet et spernit. Dolentes arguunt iocundantem in vinculis insanum reputant ac dementem. Respondet Franciscus propheticæ: In quo exultare me creditis? Meditatio alia subest adhuc sanctus adorabor per seculum totum.

L.A. I A. 3.
T.S. A. 2.
(B. I. 6, III Soc. 10.)

3. Cum, tempore quodam, romam peregrinaturus adiret, paupertatis amore vestimenta delicata deposuit et cuiusdam pauperis vestimentis obtectus, in paradiso, ante ecclesiam sancti petri, qui locus ferax est pauperum, inter pauperes letanter resedit velud unum ex ipsis se reputans, avide cum eis manducat.

¹ Fol. 82.

4. Antiquus hostis eum a salubri proposito conatur avertere et feminam quamdam sue civitatis, monstruose gibbosam, cordi eius inmitit et nisi resipiscat a ceptis, similem se facturum minatur. Set a domino confortatus audit: Francisce, amara pro dulcibus sume et te ipsum contempne, si me cupis agnoscere.

L.A. I A. 4.
T.S. A. 3.
(III Soc. 11,
12.)

5. Quendam igitur leprosum obvium habuit et huius homines multum naturaliter abhorreret, divini tamen memor oraculi accurrens in oscula eius ruit et post hoc statim ille disparuit. Quapropter ad leprosozum habitacula properat et eorum manus devote osculans pecuniam donat.

L.A. I A. 4.
T.S. A. 3.
(B. I 5.)

6. Ecclesiam sancti Damiani orationis causa ingreditur et imago Christi eum miraculose alloquitur: Francisce, vade, inquit, repara domum meam, que, ut cernis, tota destruitur. Ab ea igitur hora anima eius liquefacta est et crucifixi compassio eius cordi mirabiliter est infixata.

L.A. I A. 5.
T.S. A. 5.
(B. II 1, III
Soc. 13, 14.)

Multotiens fecisset consimile, nisi notorum fuisset verecundia impeditus.

4. Immittit cordi eius feminam quamdam monstruose gibbosam sue incolam civitatis, que horrendum cunctis prestabat aspectum. Huic illum, si non resipiscat a ceptis, comminatur similem se facturum, sed confortatus a domino salutis et gratie responsum sibi fieri gaudet: Francisce, inquit illi deus, in spiritum pro carnaliter et vane dilectis in spiritualia commutato et amara pro dulcibus sumens contempne te ipsum, me si velis agnoscere; nam et ordine verso sapient tibi que dico.

5. . . . leprosum die quamdam obvium habuit, cum iuxta assisium equitaret, . . . qui licet sibi tedium non parvum ingereret et horrorem, ne tamen velud mandati transgressor date fidei frangeret sacramentum, ad deobsculandum eum, equo lapsus, accurrit. . . . Et statim equum ascendens et huc et illuc se convertens, cum campus pateret undique liber, nullis obiectis obstaculis, leprosum illum minime vidit. . . . Ad leprosozum habitacula tendit et leproso unicuique data pecunia, manum illorum osculatur. . . .

6. Ecclesiam sancti damiani, que fere diruta erat et ab omnibus derelicta, quam, cum spiritu ducente, causa orationis intraret, . . . ymago Christi . . . colloquitur; . . . Francisce, inquit, vade, repara domum meam, que, ut cernis, tota destruitur. . . . Ab ea igitur hora liquefacta est anima eius. . . .

7. Insistit sollicite ecclesie reparande et venditis, que habebat, cum pecuniam cuidam presbytero daret, et ille timore parentum recipere recusaret, coram ipso eam proiciens tamquam pulverem vilipendit. Quapropter a patre ligatus et captus, pecuniam eidem restituit. Hanc vestem pariter resignavit et sic nudus ad dominum evolavit et cilicio se induit.

8. Advocat insuper servus dei quendam simplicem virum, quem loco patris sui suscipiens rogat, ut, cum pater eius maledicta congeminat, ipse sibi e converso benedicat.

9. Frater etiam eius carnalis hiemali tempore Franciscum vilibus panniculis tectum, orationi vacantem et tremebundum videns, ait cuidam: Dic Francisco, ut de sudore suo unam tibi numatam vendat. Quod ille audiens alacriter respondit: Revera hanc domino meo vendam.

10. Quadam die, dum audiret ea, que dominus discipulis suis ad predicandum missis locutus est, statim ad universa servanda tota virtute consurgit. Solvit calciamentum de pedibus, tunica una, sed vili induit et pro corrigia mutavit funiculum.

11. Tempore nivis per silvam ambulans a latronibus capitur et ab eis, quis sit, requisitus, precorem dei se esse asserit. Quem illi arripientes in nivem proiciunt dicentes: Iace, rustice prece dei.

L.G. I A. 5.
(III Soc. 16,
20, B. II 1.)

L.A. I A. 6.
T.S. A. 7.

L.A. I A. 6.
T.S. A. 7.
(III Soc. 23,
B. III 1.)

(B. III 1, III
Soc. 25.)

L.G. I A. 8.
(B. II 5.)

7. . . . Ibi ex more venditis omnibus, que portabat. . . . Et invento illic quodam paupere sacerdote, magna que cum fide osculatis manibus eius sacris, pecuniam ei obtulit. . . .

Obstupefactus sacerdos sed timore parentum pecuniam non recepit.

Quam verus pecuniarum contemptor in quamdam fenestram proiciens, de ipsa velud de pulvere curat.

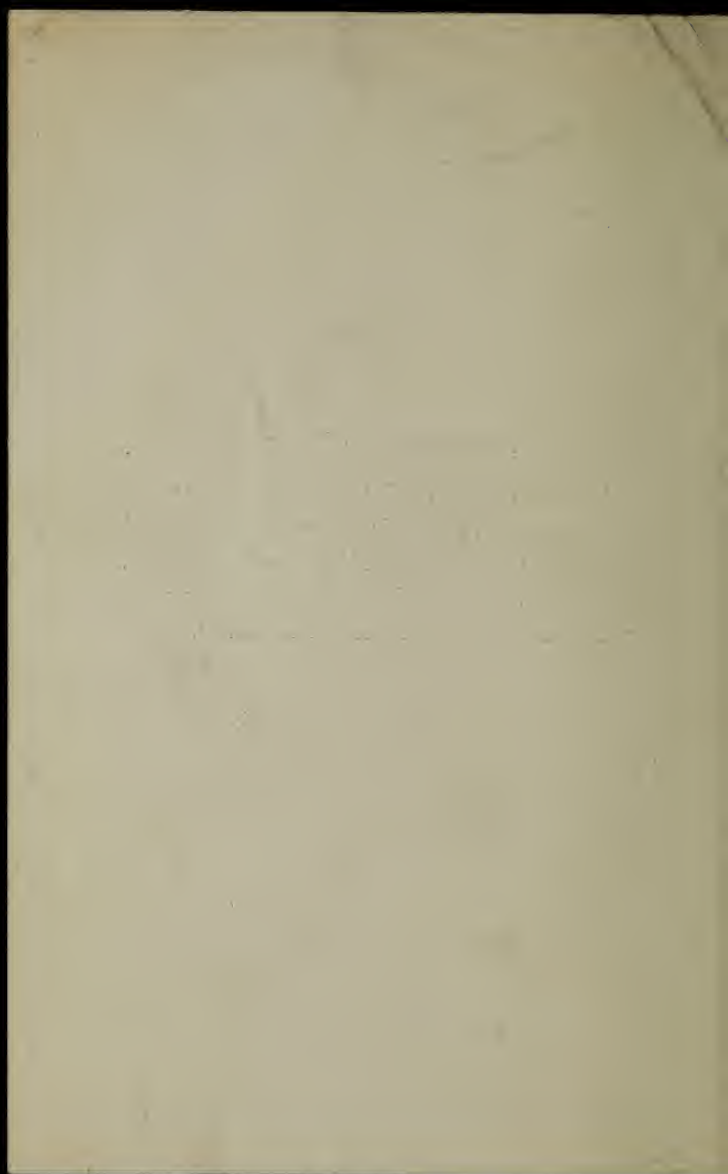
8. . . . *Advocat itaque servus dei ideo quendam virum plebeium et simplicem satis, quem loco patris suscipiens, rogat, ut cum pater eius maledicta congeminat, ipse sibi e contrario benedicat. . . .*

9. *Frater eius carnalis, tempore yemali dum vilibus tectum panniculis, cernit franciscum orationi vacantem, frigore tremebundum, ait cuidam concivi suo ille perversus: Dic francisco, ut nummatam unam nunc tibi velit vendere de sudore; quo vir dei audito exhilaratus nimis subridendo. Respondit: Revera, ego hanc Domino meo karissime vendam.*

11. *Per quamdam silvam laudes domino lingua francigena decantaret, latrones super eum subito irruerunt. Quibus ferali animo eum quis esset interrogantibus, confidenter vir Dei plena voce respondit dicens: Prece sum magni regis, quid ad vos?*

DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

The two plates of 'Legenda Anonyma' (accidentally omitted) should be placed between pages 234 and 235 of Part IV, Vol. XXV (Rev. H. G. Rosedale's paper, "Legends of St. Francis of Assisi").



At illi percutientes eum in defosso loco pleno magnis *nivibus* proicerunt dicentes: *Iace, rustice prece Dei. . . .*

12. Multi nobiles et ignobiles clerici et laici sprete seculi pompa eius vestigiis¹ adhererunt, quos pater sanctus docet evangelicam perfectionem adimplere, paupertatem apprehendere et per viam sancte simplicitatis incedere. (L.G. A. 11, 13.)

13. Scripsit preterea evangelicam regulam sibi et suis fratribus habitis et habendis, quam dominus papa Innocentius firmavit. (L.G. A. 14.)

14. Cepit extunc fervencius verbi scientiam spargere et civitates et castella fervore mirabili circuire. L.A. I A. 10. T.S. A. 11. (III Soc. 52 and 53.)

15. Frater quidam erat quam a foris videbatur eximie sanctitatis, sed tamen admodum singularis, qui tanta districtione silentium observabat, ut non verbis, sed nutibus confiteretur. Cumque sanctus ab omnibus laudaretur, vir dei illuc adveniens dixit: *Sinite fratres, nec mihi in eo dyabolica figmenta laudare. Moneatur semel vel bis in ebdomada confiteri, quod si non fecerit, dyabolica temptatio est et deceptio fraudulenta. Moneantibus illum fratribus digitum ori suo inposuit et caput excutiens se nullatenus confessurum innuit. Non post multos dies ad vomitum rediit et in facinoris actibus vitam finivit.* L.A. II A. 1. T.S. A. 19. (B. XI 10, Spec. 102.)

14. *Cepit exinde, auctoritate sibi concessa, virtutum semina spargere, civitates et castella circumiens predicare ferventius.*

15. *Frater quidam erat, quantum a foris videbatur sanctitatis eximie, conversatione insignis, tamen admodum singularis; omni tempore orationi vacans tanta districtione silentium observabat, quod consueverat non verbis, sed nutibus confiteri. . . . Accidit beatum patrem venire ad locum, videre fratrem, audire sanctum. Commendantibus autem omnibus et magnificentibus illum, respondit pater: *Sinite fratres, nec mihi in eo dyabolica figmenta laudate. In veritate sciatis, quod dyabolica temptatio est et deceptio fraudulenta. . . . Quibus pater: *Moneatur bis, vel semel obedientia confiteri: quod si non fecerit, scientis vera esse que dico.***

Adsumit eum seorsum vicarius; et primo quidem cum eo familiariter iocundatus, ultimo confessor iniungit. Respuit ille, imponensque digitum ori suo, *excusso capite, innuit, se nullatenus*

¹ Fol. 82.

16. Fatigatus ex itinere servus dei, dum asinum equitaret, socius eius scilicet frater Leonardus de Assisio similiter fatigatus intra se cogitare cepit ac dicere: Non de pari ludebant parentes huius et mei. Continuo vir dei de asino descendens dixit fratri: Non convenit me equitare et te pedes venire, quia nobilior me fuisti. Stupefactus frater ad pedes patris procidit et veniam postulavit.

L.A. II A. 3.
T.S. A. 22.
(B. XI 8.)

17. Transeunti sibi aliquando mulier quedam nobilis concito gradu occurrit. Cuius lassitudinem et interclusos anhelitus miseratus quidnam requireret, inquisivit. Et illa: Ora pro me, pater, quia salubre propositum, quod concepi, viro meo impediendo non exequor, sed in servicio Christi mihi plurimum adversatur. Cui ille: Vade filia, scito, de eo consolationem recipies et ex parte dei omnipotentis et mea sibi denuncies, quod nunc est tempus salutis, postmodum equitatis. Qua denunciante vir

L.A. II A. 7.
T.S. A. 27.
(B. XI 6.)

confessurum. Obtulerunt fratres, timentes scandalum fieri sancti. *Non post multos* religionem libens egreditur, convertitur ad seculum, *revertitur ad vomitum*, qui tandem facinora duplicans, penitentia simul et vita privatus est.

16. Eo tempore cum revertere-
tur sanctus de ultramare, sotium
habens fratrem *Leonardum de*
Assisio, contigit eum *itinere fati-*
gatum et lapsum, parumper *asi-*
num equitare. Subsequens autem
socius et ipse non modicum fessus,
cepit dicere intra se humanum
aliquid passus: *Non ludebant de*
pari parentes huius et mei. En
autem ipse equitat ego pedestre
asinum eius duco. Hoc illo cogi-
tante, *protinus de asino descendit*
sanctus et ait: Non, frater, *non*
convenit, inquit, ut ego equitem,
tu venias pedes, *quia nobilior et*
potentior in seculo *me fuisti.*
Obstupuit illico frater et rubore
suffusus deprehensum se cognovit
a sancto. *Procidit ad pedes eius et*
lacrymis irrigatus, nudum cogita-
tum exposuit veniamque poposcit.

17. Illis diebus cum ad cellam
de cortona vir dei transiret,
quedam nobilis mulier . . . per-
venit ad sanctum; *cuius laxi-*
tudinem et interclusos anhelitus
miseratus, pater sanctissimus
dixit ad eam: Quid tibi, domina,
placeat? *At illa:* Pater ut mihi
benedicas. Et sanctus: Nupta
es, an innupta? Respondit
dicens: Pater, habeo virum valde
crudelem, quem adversarium
patior in servitio iesu christi; et
iste mihi dolor precipuus, quod
bonam voluntatem, quam mihi
dominus inspiravit, *marito pre-*

subito mutatur et continentiam pollicetur.

pedite, non exequor: unde queso, sancte, ora pro ipso, ut divina misericordia humiliet cor illius.

Miratur pater virilem in femina, senilem animum in puella; et pietate permotus ait: *Vade filia benedicta et scias de viro tuo consolationem tibi de proxime affuturam*. Et adiecit: *Dices ei ex parte dei et mea, quod nunc est tempus salutis, postmodum equitatis*. Benedictione accepta, revertitur mulier, invenit virum, denuntiat verbum. Cecidit subito super eum spiritus sanctus et novum factum de veteri, cum omni mansuetudine respondere sic facit: *domina, serviamus domino et salvemus animas nostras in domo nostra*.

18. Cuidam rustico in quadam solitudine siti deficienti fontem aque ibidem suis orationibus inpetravit. L.A. II A. 16. (B. VII 12.)

19. Cuidam fratri admodum familiari secretum sancto hoc instigante spiritu retulit dicens: *Hodie est aliquis servus dei super terram, propter quem, quoad vixerit,¹ non permitet dominus famem supra homines desevire*. Sic procul dubio fuisse narratur. Set, illo sublato, tota in contrarium condicio permutatur. Nam post eius felicem transitum predicto fratri apparuit dicens: *Ecce iam venit famem, quam, dum ego viverem, venire super terram dominus non permisit*. L.A. II A. 21. T.S. A. 32.

19. . . . die quodam fratri cuidam, quem attentius diligebat, retulit verbum istud, quod tunc de sibi familiari reportaverat secretario: *Hodie, inquit, est aliquis servus dei super terram, propter quem, dum vixerit non permittat dominus famem super homines desevire. . . . Sed illo sublato, verso penitus ordine immutata sunt omnia. . . . Nam nocte quadam, cum frater ille dormiret, clara eum voce vocavit dicens. Frater iam venit famem quam, donec viverem ego, venire super terram dominus non permisit. . . .*

20. In festo pasce, cum fratres in heremo greci mensam accuracius solito albis et vitreis preparas-

L.A. III C. I. Factum est, quodam die pasche, ut fratres in heremo greci mensam, accuratius solito albis et L.S. A. 45. (Spec. 20.)

sent, et vir dei hoc conspexit, protinus gressum retrahens capellum cuiusdam pauperis, qui tunc aderat, capiti suo inponit et baculum manu gestans foras egreditur et ad hostium prestolatur. Manducantibus igitur fratribus clamat ad hostium, ut amore dei peregrino pauperi et infirmo elemosinam largiantur. Vocatus pauper ingreditur et in terra solus recumbens discum ponit in cinere. Quod videntes fratres stupore nimio sunt repleti. Quibus ille mensam vidi paratam et ornatam et pauperum ostiatim euntium non esse cognovi.

vitreis prepararent. Descendens autem pater de cella, venit ad mensam, conspicit alto sitam varieque ornatam; sed ridenti mense nequaquam arridet. Fur- tim et pedetentim retrahit gres- sum, capellum cuiusdam pauperis, qui tunc aderat, capiti suo inponit, et baculum manu gestans egreditur foras. Expectat foris ad hostium, donec incipiant fratres; siquidem soliti erant non expectare ipsum, quando non veniret ad signum. Illis incipientibus manducare, clamat verus pauper ad hostium: Amore domini dei facite, inquit, helemosynam isti peregrino pau- peri et infirmo. Respondent fratres: Intra huc, homo, illius amore, quem invocasti.

Repente igitur ingreditur et sese comedentibus offert. Sed quantum stuporem credis peregrinum civibus intulisse? Datur petenti scutella; et solo, solus recumbens, discum ponit in cinere: Modo sedeo, ait, ut frater Minor; et ad fratres: Magis nos exempla paupertatis filii dei quam ceteros religiosos cogere debet. Mensam vidi paratam et ornatam et pauperum hostiatim euntium non esse cognovi. . . .

21. Paupertatem in se et in aliis adeo diligebat, ut paupertatem dominam suam semper vocaret. Set quando pauperiorem se ipso videret, protinus invidebat et se ab illo vinci timebat. Nam cum die quadam pauperculum quendam obvium habuisset, ait socio suo: Magnam verecundiam intulit nobis huius inopia et nostram paupertatem plurimum reprehendit. Nam pro meis divitiis, pro mea domina pauper-

L.A. III K.
T.S. A. 65.
(Spec. 17.)

21. At vero cum omnem a se relegasset invidiam, sola carere non potuit invidia paupertatis; si quidem pauperiorem se ipso videret, protinus invidebat et emula paupertate concertans, invidi se timebat in illo.

Accidit die quadam, cum predi- cando vir dei discurreret, pauper- culum quendam obvium habere in via, cuius cum nuditatem prospiceret, compunctus, ad sotium vertitur dicens: Magnam vere-

tatem elegi, et ecce apertius relucet in isto.

22. Dum quidam pauper coram eo transiret et vir dei intima fuisset compassione commotus, dixit ei socius: Etsi hic pauper sit, sed forsitan in tota provincia non est eo dicitur in voluntate. Cui vir dei dixit: Cito tunicam exue et pauperi tribue et ad eius pedes prostratus culpabilem te clama. Cui ille protinus obediuit.

23. Quadam vice tres mulieres, facie et habitu per omnia similes, obvias habuit, que eum taliter salutaverunt: Bene veniat domina paupertas, et continuo disparuerunt et ultra vise non sunt.

24. Cum ad civitatem Aretii devenisset et ibi bellum intestinum commotum fuisset, vidit vir dei de burgo super terram illam demones exultantes, vocansque socium suum nomine Silvestrum dixit ei: Vade ad portam civitatis et demonibus, ut de civitate exeant, ex parte dei omnipotentis precipe. Qui festinans ante portam valenter exclamavit: Ex parte dei et iussu patris nostri Francisci¹ discedite demones universi! Sicque omnes cives post modicum ad concordiam redierunt.

¹ Fol. 83.

cundiam intulit nobis huius inopia et nostram paupertatem plurimum reprehendit. Cui respondit sotius: Qua ratione, frater? Et sanctus lamentabili voce respondit: Pro meis divitiis, pro mea domina, paupertatem elegi; et ecce relucet magis in isto. . . .

L.A. III K. 1.
T.S. A. 66.

22. *Quidem pauperculus et infirmus venit ad locum; . . . cumque patienti compatiens iam in affectum cordis illius transisset, dixit sotius sancti ad eum: Frater, verum est ipsum pauperem esse, sed forsitan in tota provincia non est dicitur voluntate. Increpat eum illico sanctus et culpam dicenti dixit: Festina cito et exue te tunicam tuam et ad pauperis pedes proiectus, culpabilem te proclama, nec solum veniam poscas, immo, eius orationem efflagita. Paruit et ivit, satisfecit et rediit.*

B. VII 6.
(L.A. III K.
9, T.S. A. 78.)

L.A. III M. 6.
T.S. A. 89.
(B. VI 9.)

24. *Accidit sicquidem ad civitatem, Aretii ipsam devenire quandoque, cum ecce, tota civitas intestino bello quassata, propinquum sui minabatur excidium. Hospitatus itaque vir dei in burgo, extra civitatem videt supra terram illam, demones exultantes et cives ad civium exitia succedentes; vocans autem fratrem, Silvestrum nomine, virum domini, digne simplicitatis, precepit ei et dicens: Vade ante portam civitatis; et ex parte omnipotentis dei, demonibus precipe, ut quam cito exeant civitatem. Festinat pia*

25. Predictus autem Silvester, dum adhuc sacerdos secularis esset, vidit in sompnis crucem auream de ore Francisci procedentem, cuius sumitas celos tangebatur, cuius brachia protensa in latum utrumque mundi partem amplexando cingebatur. Conpunctus sacerdos protinus mundum deserit et viri dei perfectus imitator efficitur.

26. Existente viro dei in oratione dyabolus eum ter proprio nomine vocavit. Cui cum sanctus respondisset, adiecit: Nullus est adeo in hoc mundo peccator, cui, si conversus fuerit, non indulgeat dominus. Set quicumque semetipsum penitentia dura necaverit, misericordiam in perpetuum non inveniet. Continuo servus dei per revelacionem cognovit hostis fallaciam, quomodo nusus fuerit eum ad teporem reducere. Cernens autem hostis antiquus, quod sic non prevaluit, gravem carnis temptacionem eidem inmisit. Quod vir dei sentiens veste deposita cordula durissima se verberat dicens: Eya frater asine, sic te manere decet, sic subire flagellum. Set cum temptacio nequaquam discederet, foras exiens in magnam nivem se nudum dimersit. Accipiensque nivem in modum pile glebas conpingit. Quas sibi preponens

simplicitas ad obedientiam prosequendam; et preoccupans in laudem faciem domini, *clamat ante portam valenter: Ex parte dei et iussu patris nostri Francisci procul hinc discedite demones universi. Redit ad pacem paulo post civitas et civilitatis. . . .*

L.A. III M. 7.
T.S. A. 90.

25. Silvester itaque sacerdos fuerat secularis *Videt namque in sompnis crucem auream de ore procedentem Francisci, cuius summitas celos tangebatur, cuius brachia, protensa in latum, utramque mundi partem amplexando cingebatur.*

Compunctus sacerdos in visu dampnosam excutit moram, reliquit mundum, viri dei perfectus imitator efficitur.

L.A. III O. 1.
T.S. A. 97.
(B. V 4.)

26. Malignus ille qui semper profectibus mordet filiorum dei cum nocte quadam ad orationem vacaret in cellulam, vocavit eum ter dicens: Francisce, Francisce, Francisce. Qui respondit dicens: Quid vis? Et ille: *Nullus est in mundo peccator, cui, si conversus fuerit, non indulgeat dominus; sed quicumque semetipsum penitentia dura necaverit, in perpetuum misericordiam non inveniet. Statim sanctus per revelacionem, cognovit hostis fallsum, quomodo nusus fuerit eum ad tepida revocare. Quid ergo? Non destitit inimicus aliud inferre certamen. Cernens enim, quod laqueum sic occultare non potuit, alium laqueum preparat, carnis videlicet incentivum; frustra tamen, quoniam qui spiritus deprehendit versutiam, carne sophisticari non potuit. Immictit ergo in illum dyabolus gravissimam temptacionem luxurie; at*

cepit alloqui corpus: Ecce, inquit, hec maior uxor tua est. Iste quatuor filii et due filie reliquis servus sunt et ancilla. Festina ergo omnes providere, quia frigore moriuntur. Si autem earum multiplex te sollicitudo molestat, uni domino sollicitus servi. Illico dyabolus confusus abscessit et vir dei glorificans in cellam rediit.

27. Cum apud dominum Leonem cardinalem sancte crucis ab eo rogatus aliquamdiu moraretur, nocte quadam demones ad ipsum venientes eum gravissime verberaverunt; vocansque socium et rem sibi apperrens ait: Demones sunt gastaldi dei nostri, quos destinat ipse ad puniendos excessus. Ego vero offensam non recolo, quam per misericordiam dei satisfactione non laverim. Sed forte ideo gastaldos suos in me permisit irruere, quia maneo in curiis magnorum, quod forsitan fratribus meis pauperculis bonam suspicionem non generat,

L.A. III P.
T.S. A. 99.

beatus pater statim ut percipit, veste deposita, cordula durissime verberat dicens: *Eia, frater asine, sic te manere decet, sic subire flagellum: tunica religionis est, furari non licet: si quo vis pergere, perge.*

Videns autem propter disciplinas temptationem non discedere, cum tamen iam livoribus membra cuncta punxisset, aperta cellula, foras exiit in hortum et in magnam nivem demergit se nudum. Recipit autem nivem plenis conficit manibus et ex ea in modum pile septem glebas compingit, quas sibi preponens, cepit alloqui corpus: *Ecce, inquit, hec maior uxor tua est: porro iste quatuor duo sunt filij et due filie tue: relique due servus sunt et ancilla, quos ad serviendum habere oportet; et festina, inquit, omnes induere, quoniam frigore moriuntur. Si autem eorum multiplex sollicitudo molestat, uni domino sollicitus servi. Illico dyabolus confusus abscessit, sanctusque in cella revertitur, glorificans dominum.*

27. Rogatus quandoque a domino Leone cardinali sancte crucis, ut secum in urbe paululum moraretur, . . . nocte cum post orationem deo fusam vellet quiescere, veniunt demones et hostiles agones immovent sancto dei, quem diutissime ac durissime verberantes, ad ultimum quasi seminecem relinquunt. Illis discedentibus, separato tandem anhelitu, vocat sanctus socium suum . . . venienti ait: . . . Demones sunt castaldi domini nostri, quos destinat ipse ad puniendos excessus; signum autem amplius est gratie, nichil in

quia forte me existimant deliciis habundare; et surgens summo mane inde recessit.

28. Existente eo aliquando in oratione audit¹ super tectum domus catervas demonum cum strepitu discurrentes. Qui concitus foras exiens et crucis sibi signum imprimens dixit. Ex parte omnipotentis dei dico vobis, demones, ut quicquid vobis permisum est, in meo corpore faciatis libenter omnia sustinebo, quia, cum maiorem inimicum non habeam corpore, vendicabo me de adversario meo, dum in ipso vice mea exercebitis ultionem. Confusi igitur demones evanescent.

29. Frater quidam socius viri dei in extasi factus inter ceteras celi sedes vidit unam dignissimam et mirabili gloria prefulgentem. Qui cum miraretur, cuiam tam preclara sedes servaretur, sedes isti unius de ruentibus principibus fuit et nunc humili Francisco paratur. Et exuens ab oratione virum dei interrogavit dicens: Quid de te opinaris, pater.

¹ Fol. 84.

servo suo impune relinquere, dum vivit in mundo. *Ego vero offensam non recolo, quam per misericordiam dei satisfactione non laverim; . . . Sed potest esse, quod ideo castaldos suos in me permisit irrumperere, quia non bonam speciem aliis, prefert mansio mea in curia magnatorum. Fratres mei, qui in locis pauper- culis commorantur, audientes me cum cardinalibus esse, suspicabuntur forsitan habundare delitiis; . . . Veniunt ergo mane et recitatis omnibus, valefaciunt cardinalem.*

L.A. III P. 2.
T.S. A. 102.

28. Cum ergo solus persisteret orationes longas sentiebat super tectum vero domus catervas demonum cum strepitu discurrentes.

Surrexit itaque protinus et egressus foras crucis signaculum fronti imprimis dixit *Ex parte omnipotentis dei dico vobis demones, ut quicquid vobis permisum est in meo corpore faciatis; libens sustineo, quia cum maiorem inimicum non habeam corpore. vindicabit me de adversario meo, dum in ipso vice mei exercebitis ultionem.* Itaque qui propter spiritum deterrendum convenerant, spiritum promptiorem in carne infirma cernentes, pudore confusi protinus evanescent.

L.A. III P. 2.
T.S. A. 101.
(B. VI 6.)

29. Socius . . . et factus in extasi videt inter multas in celo sedes unam ceteris digniorem, ornatam pretiosis lapidibus, omnique gloria prefulgentem. Miratus intra se nobilem thronum et cuius sit tacitus, pensat; audit inter hec vocem dicentem sibi: *Sedes ista unius de ruentibus fuit et nunc humili franciscus servatur. . . .*
. . . . Franciscum dicens:

Et ille: Videor mihi maximus peccator. Statimque in corde fratris dixit spiritus: Cognosce, quod vera fuit visio, quam vidisti, quoniam ad sedem per superbiam perditam humilitas levabit humillimum.

Quid de te, pater, tua tibi ministrat opinio? Qui respondit: Videor mihi maximus peccator, quoniam aliquem sceleratum tanta fuisset deus misericordia prosecutus, decuplo me spiritualior esset. Ad hec statim in corde fratris spiritus dixit: Cognosce, quod vera fuerit visio, quam vidisti, quoniam ad sedem superbia perditam humilitas levabit humillimum.

30. In visione dei servus dei (L.G. B. 3 B. XIII 3.) supra se Seraphym crucifixum aspexit, qui crucifixionis sue signa sic ei evidenter impressit, ut crucifixus videretur et ipse; consignantur manus et pedes et latus crucis caractere; sed diligenti studio ab omnium oculis ipsa stigmata abscondebat. Quidam tamen hec in vita viderunt, set in morte plurimi conspexerunt. Quod autem hec stigmata per omnia vera exstiterint, multis miratum contigerunt. Hec interserere sufficiat.

31. In Apulia vir quidem nomine Rogerius ante ymmaginem sancti Francisci stans cepit cogitare dicens: Essetne hoc verum, ut tali claruisset miraculo, an pia fuisset illusio sive simulata suorum fratrum inventio? Quod dum mente revolveret, subito audit sonum quasi spiculum prosiliens de balista sensitque se in sinistra manu graviter vulneratum, nichil lesionis appareret cyrotecam. Set cum cyrotheca de manu extraxit et grave vulnus quod sagite in palma conspexit. Ex quo tanta vis procedebat ardoris, ut totus ex ardore et dolore deficere videretur. Cumque peniteret, et se beati Francisci stigmata credere veraciter testa-

(T.S. Mir. 2.
(B. Mir. I 6.)

31. Apud Potentiam, regni Apulie civitatem, erat clericus quidam, Rogerius nomine, vir honorabilis et maioris ecclesie canonicus. Hic cum longa foret infirmitate quassatus, die quadam ecclesiam pro sanitate oraturus intravit, in qua erat ymago beati Francisci depicta, gloriosa stigmata representans. Et accedens coram ymagine, . . . cepit dicere apud se: Esset hoc verum, ut tali claruisset iste sanctus miraculo, an suorum pia fuit illusio? Simulata, inquit, fuit inventio et fortassis a fratribus inventa deceptio. . . . Subito in palma manus sinistre percutitur, quia sinister erat, sonum audiens, quasi cum spiculum prosilit de balista.

retur, post duos dies, dum sanctum dei per sua stigmata exorasset, fuit continuo liberatus.

Moxque tam vulnere sautius quam sonitu stupefactus, *cirotecam de manu trahit*, quia cirotecatus erat. Cumque nulla fuisset prius *in palma percussio, consperxit in medio manus plagam quasi sagitte ictum, ex qua tanta vis procedebat ardoris, ut totus sibi videretur in ardore deficere*. Mirabile dictu, nullum in ciroteca vestigium apparebat, ut latenti plage cordis latentis pena vulneris responderet.

Clamat exinde *per duos dies*, et rugit dolore seivissimo stimulatus, et increduli cordis velamen explicat universis. *Credere se veraciter in sancto Francisco stigmata sacra fuisse fatetur, et iurat contestans omnis dubitationis abscessisse fantasmata. Orat suppliciter sanctum dei per sacra sibi stigmata subveniri et multas preces multo impinguat sacrificio lacrimarum. Mirum certe. Infidelitate proiecta, sanationem mentis sanatio sequitur corporalis. . . .*

32. In regno quoque Castellæ cum quidam Francisco devotus ad completorium pergeret, ab insidiis ob mortem alterius ibi paratis ex orrore inpetitum et letaliter vulner¹atus semivivus relinquitur. Deinde gladium in gutture crudelis licitor infixit et extrahere non valens recessit. Fit undique cursus et clamor et ab omnibus mortuus plangitur. Cum autem nocte media campana fratrum ad matutinam pulsaretur, uxor clamare cepit: Mi domine, surge et vade ad matutinam, quia campana te vocat. Statim ille manum elevans videbatur alicui innuere, ut gladium extraheret.

T.S. Mir. 2.

32. . . . *In regno Castellæ Accidit sero quodam, virum quendam transire per viam in qua pro morte alteri inferenda alterius insidie latitabant. Cumque hic ad orandum, sicut solitus erat, post horam completorii ad ecclesiam fratrum festinus accederet, quoniam beato Francisco tota erat devotione substratus, insurrexerunt filii tenebrarum in filium lucis, quem fore credebant emulum illum suum dudum ad internectionem quesitum. Quem ex omni parte letaliter gladiantes seminecem reliquerunt. Sed ultimo crudelissimus hostis in illius gutture*

¹ Fol. 84.

Et ecce videntibus omnibus gladius quasi validissime iactatus manu pugilis eminus prosilivit. Statimque ille perfecte sanatus se erexit dicens: Beatus Franciscus ad me veniens suaque stigmata meis vulneribus apponens eorum suavitate cuncta vulnera delinivit et contactu mirifice solidavit. Qui cum vellet discedere, sibi innuebam, ut gladium extraheret, quia loqui aliter non valerem. Quem statim apprehendens valde proicit, statimque stigmatibus sanctis vulneribus guttur demulcens perfecte sanavit.

gladium profunde infixit, nec valens illum retrahere, in vulnere dereliquit.

Accurritur undique et usque ad celum clamoribus datis, innocentis mortem tota deplorat vicinia. . . . Et ecce *campana fratrum pulsavit ad matutinum*. Audiens *uxor illius* campanam, gemebunda currit ad lectum: *Mi domine, inquit, surge velociter, vade an matutinum, quoniam tua campana te vocat*. Statim qui mori credebatur, ingeminato pectoris murmure, stridula utcumque verba balbutiens nitebatur emictere. Et *manum elevans contra infixum gucturi gladium, innuere alicui ut illum extraheret videbatur*. Mirabile certe. *Gladius a loco subito avolans, videntibus omnibus, usque ad hostium domus quasi manu iactatus viri robustissimi prosilivit*. *Erexit se homo et perfecta sanitate incolumis, quasi a sompno surgeret, mirabilia Domini enarravit*.

. . . . Ad hoc ille *sanctus Franciscus, cui semper devotus fui, modo a loco recessit et me integre ab omni plaga curavit*. *Stigmata illa sua sacratissima meis plagis singulis superposuit, illorum suavitate cuncta vulnera delinivit; illorum contactu, ut cernitis, confracta omnia mirifice solidavit*. Dum enim murmurantis pectoris audiebatis impulsus, tunc ceteris plagis cum omni suavitate sanitis videbatur pater sanctissimus dimisso in gutture gladio velle discedere. *Cui manu debili innuebam, quia non valebam loqui, ut gladium extraheret, mortis imminentis singulare periculum. Quem statim apprehendens, ut*

33. In urbe Rome clara illa luminaria orbis, scilicet beatus Dominicus et beatus Franciscus, coram domino Hostiensi, qui postea fuit summus pontifex, aderant, dixitque eis episcopus: Cur non facimus de vestris fratribus episcopos et prelatos, qui documento et exemplo ceteris prevalent. Fit inter sanctos de respondendo longa contentio. Vicit tandem humilitas Franciscum, ne se preponeret, vicit et Dominicus, ut primus respondendo humiliter obediret. Dixit ergo beatus Dominicus: Domine, gradu bono si cognoscunt sublimati sunt fratres mei nec pro meo posse permittam, ut aliud assequantur dignitatis. Post hoc respondens sanctus Franciscus dixit: Domine, minores convocati sunt fratres mei, ut maiores esse non presumant.

L.A. III T. 7.
T.S. A. 124.
(Spec. 43.)

omnes vidistis, *valida manu proiecit. Sicque ut prius stigmatibus sanctis vulneratum guctur demulcens et liniens, ita perfecte sanavit,*

33. *In urbe cum domino Ostiensis, qui postea summus pontifex fuit, clara illa luminaria orbis adherant, sanctus Dominicus et sanctus Franciscus; . . . dixit tandem episcopus illis: . . . Cur, inquit, non facimus de vestris fratribus episcopos et prelatos, qui documento et exemplo ceteris prevalent? Fit inter sanctos de respondendo contentio, . . . Vicit tamen humilitas Franciscum, ne se preponeret, vicit et dominicum, ut ipsius respondendo humiliter obediret.*

Respondens ergo beatus dominicus dixit episcopo: *Domine, gradu beato, si cognoscunt, sublimati sunt fratres mei, nec pro meo posse permittam, ut aliud assequantur specimen dignitatis. Hoc igitur sic breviter perorante, inclinans se beatus Franciscus coram episcopo dixit: Domine, minores ideo vocati sunt fratres mei, ut maiores fieri non presumant.*

34. Columbina simplicitate plenus omnes creaturas ad creatoris hortatur amorem, predicat avibus, auditur ab eis, tanguntur ab ipso, nec nisi licenciata recedunt. Yrundines, dum eo predicante garrissent, ipso impetante protinus conticescunt.

35. Apud Portiunculam iuxta eius cellam cicada in fico residens frequenter canebat. Quam vir dei manum extendens vocavit dicens: Soror mea cicada, veni ad me. Que statim obediens super

L.A. III Y. 6.
T.S. Mir. 4.

35. *Iuxta cellulam sancti Dei apud Portiunculam, super ficum cicada residens, consueta frequenter suavitate canebat. Ad quam quandoque beatus pater manum extendens, ad se benigne*

eius manum ascendit. Cui ille :
Canta soror cicada et dominum
tuum lauda. Que protinus
canens nonnisi licentiata recessit.

36. Parcit lucer⁽¹⁾nis, lampadi-
bus et candelis nolens sua manu
deturbare fulgorem, super petras
reverenter ambulat eius intuitu,
qui dicitur petra, legit de via ver-
miculos ne transeuntium pedibus
conculcentur et apibus ne inedia
pereant glacie hyemali, mel et
optima vina iubet apponi, fraterno
nomine animalia cuncta vocabat.

37. Miro et ineffabili gaudio
replebatur ob creatoris amorem,
solem, lunam et stellas intuebatur
et eas ad creatoris invitabat
amorem. Coronam sibi magnam
fieri prohibebat dicens : Volo quod
fratres mei simplices partem
habebeant in capite meo.

38. Vir quidam odmodum secu-
laris, cum servum dei Franciscum
apud sanctum Severinum predi-
cantem invenisset, vidit deo sibi
revelante sanctum Franciscum
duobus transversis ensibus valde
fulgentibus in modum crucis sig-
natum, quorum unus a capite ad
pedes, alius a manu in manu per
pectus transversaliter tendebatur.
Quem cum nunquam vidisset tali
indicio recognoscens, conpunctus

¹ Fol. 85.

vocavit dicens : Soror mea cicada,
veni ad me. Que, velud rationis
compos, statim super manum eius
ascendit. Et ait ad eam : *Canta,*
soror cicada, et Dominum Crea-
torem tuo iubilo lauda. Que sine
mora obediens canere cepit ; et
tamdiu canere non cessavit, donec
vir Dei, eius cantibus suam lau-
dem interserens, ut ad solitum
revolaret locum ei mandavit. . . .
Et statim ab eo *licentiata*
recessit, nec ultra ibidem appa-
ruit. . . .

L.A. III Y.
T.S. A. 139.

36. . . . *Parcit lucernis, lam-*
padibus et candelis, nolens sua
manu deturbare fulgorem quinutus
esset lucis eterne ; *super petras*
ambulat reverenter eius intuitu,
qui dicitur petra ; . . . legit de
via vermiculos, ne pedibus concul-
centur et apibus, ne inedia pereant
in glacie yemali, mel et optima vina
iubet apponi ; fraterno nomine
vocat animalia cuncta, . . .

L.A. III A. 87.
T.S. A. 86.
(B. IV 9.)

38. Erat in marchia Anconi-
tana secularis quidam, sui oblitus
et dei nescius, qui se totum prosti-
tuerat vanitati. . . .

Facta autem manu dei super
illum, videt, corporeis oculis,
sanctum Franciscum duobus
transversis ensibus, valde fulgen-
tibus, in modum crucis signatum,
quorum unus a capite ad pedes,
alius a manu in manum per pectus
transversaliter tendebatur.

ordinem introivit et vitam feliciter consumavit.

39. Cum infirmitatem oculorum ex fletu continuo incurrisset, suadentibus, quod abstineret a lacrimis, sic respondit: Non est ob amorem luminis, quod habemus commune cum muscis, eterne visitatio repellenda. Cum a fratribus urgeretur, ut pateretur infirmitati visus remedium adhiberi et chirurgicus instrumentum ferreum igne candens manu teneret, vir dei ait: Mi frater ignis, esto mihi in hac hora propicius et curialis; precor dominum, qui te creavit, ut tuum mihi calorem temperet. Et hoc dicens signum crucis contra illud editit profundatoque illo in tenera carne ab aure usque ad supercilium nullum, ut retulit, dolorem sensit.

L.A. III Y. 1.
T.S. Mir. 3.
(Bon. V 8, 9,
Spec. 115.)

39. Tempore infirmitatis oculorum coacto ut mederi sibi pateretur, vocatur ad locum cyrurgicus. Veniens igitur ferreum instrumentum ad cocturas faciendas defert, . . . beatus pater corpus iam horrore concessum confortans sic alloquitur ignem: *Frater mi ignis* pre ceteris rebus emulandi decoris virtuosum, pulchrum et utilem te creavit Altissimus. *Esto mihi in hac hora propicius, esto curialis*, quia olim te dilexi in domino. *Precor* magnum dominum, qui te creavit, ut tuum modo calorem temperet, quo suaviter urente, valeam sustinere.

Oratione finita, crucis signo ignem consignat et deinceps intrepidus perstat. . . . *profundatur* crepitans ferrum in tenera carne et ab aure usque ad supercilium tractim coctura protrahitur. . . . dixit pater: Pusillanimes et modici cordis, quare fugistis? In veritate dico vobis, nec ignis ardorem sensi, nec ullum carnis dolorem. . . .

40. Apud heremum sancti Urbani servo dei egritudine validissima laborante, cum ipse vere defectum sciens vini poculum postulasset, neque adesset, allatam sibi aquam signo crucis edito benedixit, mox in optimum vinum conversa (est?); quod deserti loci paupertas non potuit, viri sancti puritas inpetravat.

T.S. Mir. 3.
(Bon. V 10.)

40. Tempore quo apud heremum Sancti Urbani egritudine gravissima laborabat, cum vinum ore languido postularet, nihil de vino quod sibi daretur responderetur adesse. Iubet sibi aquam afferri, et allatam crucis signaculo benedixit. *Mox* in alterum usum transiens elementum, saporem proprium exuit, induit peregrinum, vinum efficitur optimum quod fuerat aqua pura; et quod paupertas non potuit, sanctitas inpetravat.

41. Malebat (de?) se vituperium audire quam laudem et ideo cum populi merita sua sanctitatis extollerent, precipiebat alicui fratri, ut verba ipsum vilificantia suis auribus inculcando¹ profertur. Cumque frater ille, licet invitus, rusticum eum et mercenarium, inperitum et inutilem diceret, exhilaratus dicebat: Benedicat tibi dominus, quia tu verissima loqueris et talia me decet audire.

42. Non tam servus dei preesse voluit quam subesse, nec tam precipere quam parere; idcirco generali cedens officio guardianum petiit, cuius voluntati per omnia subiaceret, fratri quoque, cum quo ire solitus erat, semper promittebat obedientiam et servabat.

43. Cum frater quidam contra legem obedientie aliquid fecisset, et penitentiae signa haberet, vir tamen dei ad illius terrorem eius capucium in ignem proici iussit. Cumque per moram capucium fuisset in medio ignis, precepit ipsum extrahi et fratri restitui. Extrahitur autem capucium de medio flammarum nullum habens adustionis vestigium.

44. Quodam tempore per paludes Veneciarum ambulans invenit maximam avium multitudinem cantantium in palude dixitque ad socium: Sorores aves laudant creatorem suum. Eamus et in earum medio horas canonicas decantemus. Quibus intrantibus aves mote non sunt; set quia ob nimium garritum se audire ad invicem non poterant, ait: Sorores aves, a cantu cessate, donec laudes debitas deo persolvamus. Quibus

L.G. A. 20.
(B. VI 1.)

41. *Cumque frater ille licet invitus eum rusticum, mercenarium, et inutilem diceret, subridens, et applaudens plurimum respondebat: Benedicat tibi dominus, quia verissima loqueris, talia enim decet audire filium petri de bernardone; sic loquens: . . .*

L.A. III U.
T.S. A. 12.
(B. VI 4, Spec.
39.)

42. Non solum generali officio resignavit, sed, propter maius obedientie, bonum guardianum singulare *expetiit*, quem specialiter coleret in prelatum; . . . cui pridem *obedientiam* sanctam promiserat: . . . usque ad mortem subditus ubique permansit.

L.A. III U. 3.
T.S. A. 129.
(B. VI 11.)

43. Ablatum quadam vice caputium fratri, qui sine obedientia solus venerat, *in magno igne proiici iubet*. Nullo autem excutiente caputium, verebantur enim patris vultum parumper commotum, iubet illud sanctus detrahi flammis nichil lesionis adeptum . . .

B. VIII 9.

¹ Fol. 85.

statim cessantibus, tacentibus finitis laudibus licentiam cantandi dedit et statim cantum suum more solito resumpserunt.

45. Invitatus devote a quodam milite dixit ei: Frater, meis monitis acquiesce et peccata tua confitere, quia cito alibi manducabis. Qui statim acquiescens domum suam disposuit et penitentiam salutarem accepit. Cum ergo ad mensam intrassent hospes, subito expiravit.

46. Cum quandam avium multitudinem reperisset et eas velud rationis participes salutasset, dixit: Fratres mei volucres, multum debetis laudare creatorem vestrum, qui plumis vos induit, pennas ad volandum tribuit, aeris puritatem concessit et sine vestra sollicitudine vos gubernat. Aves autem ceperunt versus eum extendere colla, protendere aulus, aperire rostra et in illum attente respicere. Ipse quidem per medium earum transiens tunica contigebat easdem nec tamen aliqua de loco est mota, donec licentia data omnes insimul avolaverunt.

47. Cumque apud castrum Almarium predicaret, propter garritus yrundinum ibidem nidificantium au⁽¹⁾diri non poterat. Quibus ille: Sorores mee yrundines, iam tempus est, ut loquar et ego, quia vos satis dixistis. Tenete silentium, donec verbum domini compleatur. Cui continuo obediens protinus conticuerunt.

¹ Fol. 86.

T.S. Mir. 4.

46. Prope Bevanium in quo diversigeneris avium maxima Multitudo convenerat et eas velud rationis participes more solito salutavit. dicens: *Fratres mei volucres, multum debetis laudare Creatorem vestrum et ipsum diligere semper, qui plumis vos induit et pennas tribuit ad volandum. Nam inter creaturas omnes liberas vos fecit et aeris vobis contulit puritatem. Non seminatis nec metitis, et sine vestra sollicitudine vos gubernat. Ad hec avicule suo modo plurimum gestientes ceperunt extendere colla, protendere alas, aperire ora et in illum attente respicere. Non sunt mote de loco, donec signo crucis facto ipsis licentiam et benedictionem dedit.*

**T.S. Mir. 4.
B. XII 4.**

47. Ad quoddam castrum nomine Alvianum semel predicaturus accessit. Congregato populo et indicto silentio, propter yrundines nidificantes in eodem loco multumque perstreptentes penitus audiri non poterat.

Audientibus omnibus, locutus est eis dicens: *Sorores mee yrundines, iam tempus est ut loquar et ego, quia vos usque modo satis dixistis. Audite verbum Dei,*

48. Transeunte aliquando viro dei per Apuliam, in via bursam magnam reperit denariis tumescentem. Quam socius videns accipere voluit, ut pauperibus erogaret. Sed ille nullatenus permisit dicens: Non licet, fili, alienum auferre. Set cum ille vehementer instaret, Franciscus paululum orans iubet, ut bursam tollat, que iam colubrum pro pecunia continebat. Quod videns frater timere cepit, set obedientie volens implere mandatum bursam manibus capit et inde magnus serpens protinus exilivit. Et ait sanctus: Pecunia servis dei nihil aliud est quam dyabolus et coluber tortuosus.

L.A. III E. 3.
T.S. A. 53.
(B. VII 5.)

tenentes silentium, donec sermo Domini compleatur. At ille, tanquam rationis capaces, subito tacuerunt. . . .

48. *Transeunte aliquando viro dei cum socio per apuliam juxta barum, invenit in via bursam magnam denariis tumescentem, que funda negotiatorum vocabulo nuncupatur. Monetur a socio sanctus et instanter inducitur, ut bursa tollatur e terra et pecunia pauperibus erogetur; attollitur pietas in egenis et in erogatione ipsius misericordia commendatur. Recusat sanctus id penitus se facturum et commentum affirmat fore dyaboli: Non licet, inquit, fili, alienum auferre, . . . sed nondum quiescit frater, . . .*

. . . . *Recedens inde quantum iactus est lapidis, orationi sacre incumbit; rediens ab oratione iubet fratrem levare bursam, que, ipso exorante, pro pecunia colubrum continebat. . . . bursam manibus capit et ecce, serpens non modicus de bursa exiliens, dyabolicam deceptionem fratri monstravit; et ait sanctus ad eum: Pecunia, servis dei, o frater, nichil aliud est, quam dyabolus et coluber venenosus.*

49. Cum frater quidam graviter temptaretur, cogitare cepit, quod, si aliquid scriptum de manu patris haberet, ipsa protinus temptatio fugaretur. Set cum rem sibi nullatenus auderet aperire, quadam vice vocavit eum vir dei dicens: Porta mihi cartam et atramentum, quia laudes quasdam dei scribere volo. Quas cum scripsisset, ait: Accipe cartulam hanc et usque ad diem mortis tue custodias diligenter, sta-

L.A. II A. 18.
T.S. A. 37.
(B. XI 9.)

49. . . . *unus de sociis, magno desiderio, cupiebat habere de verbis domini remarcabile scriptum manu ipsius breviter annotatum. Gravem enim, qua vexabatur, temptationem, non carnis sed spiritus, credebat ex hoc evadere, vel certe levius ferre. Tali desiderio languens, pavebat rem aperire patri sanctissimo; sed cui homo dixit, spiritus revelavit.*

Quadam enim die vocat eum

timque omnis temptatio ab eo recessit.

50. Idem quoque frater, dum sanctus infirmus iaceret, cogitare cepit: Ecce morti appropinquat pater et quam plurimum consolari si post mortem possem habere tunicam patris mei. Post modicum sanctus vocat eum dicens: Tibi trado tunicam istam et post mortem meam ipsam habeas pleno iure.

L.A. II A. 19.
T.S. A. 38.

51. Cum apud Alexandriam Lombardie cum quodam honesto viro hospitatus fuisset, ab eorogatur, ut propter evangelium observanciam de omni apposito manducaret. Qui cum eius devotionem assensiret, ille accurrens caponem septennem preparat manducandum. Manducantibus illis, infidelis quidam amore dei helemosynam petiit. Mox vir dei audiens, benedictum membrum caponis sibi transmittit. Reservat infidelis datum et in crastinum, cum sanctus predicaret, ostendit dicens: Ecce quales carnes comedit iste Franciscus, quem ut sanctum honoratis. Nam mihi hoc in sero tribuit. Set cum

L.A. III G. 6.
T.S. A. 63.

beatus Franciscus, dicens: Porta mihi cartam et atramentum, quoniam verba domini et laudes eius scribere volo, que meditatus sum in corde meo. Allatis protinus que petierat, scribat, manu propria, laudes dei et verba que voluit et ultimo benedictionem fratris, dicens: Accipe tibi cartulam istam et usque ad diem mortis tue custodias diligenter. Fugatur statim omnis illa temptatio; . . .

50. . . . Nam tempore, quo infirmus iacebat in palatio apud Assisium, dictus frater cogitavit apud se dicens: En morti appropinquat pater et quamplurimum consolaretur anima mea, si post mortem haberem tunicam patris mei. Quasi cordis desiderium oris petitio fuerit, post parum statim vocat eum beatus Franciscus dicens: Tibi trado tunicam istam; accipe eam, ut tua de cetero sit, quam licet ipsam feram, dum victito, tibi tamen cedat in morte. . . .

51. . . . Cum enim apud Alexandriam Lombardie, verbum dei predicaturus, accederet; et a quodam viro, timente deum fameque laudabilis, devote fuisset susceptus hospitio, rogatur ab eo, ut propter sancti evangelij observantiam, de omni apposito manducaret, annuit benigne hospitis devotione devictus. Accurrit ille festinus et caponem septennem studiose homini dei preparat manducandum.

Sedente ad mensam pauperum patriarcha et familia iocundante, extemplo adest ad hostium filius belial, omni gratia pauper, rerum opportunarum simulans paupertatem. Proponit, sagaciter, amo-

membrum caponis piscis ab omnibus videretur, velud insanus ab omni populo increpatur. Quod cum ille didicisset, erubuit et veniam postulavit. Redieruntque carnes ad sui speciem, postquam redivit prevaricator ad mentem.

52. Dum quadam vice¹ ad mensam sederet et de paupertate beate virginis et filii eius collatio fieret, protinus vir dei a mensa surgens singultus ingeminat dolorosos et perfusus lacrimis super nudam humum reliquum panem manducat.

53. Sacerdotalibus manibus, quibus conficiendi dominici corporis sacramentum est collata potestas, magnam volebat reverentiam exhiberi. Unde et sepe dicebat: Si sancto cuiquam de celo

¹ Fol. 86.

rem dei helemosynam expetendo et voce lacrymabili, propter deum, sibi postulat subveniri. Recognoscit sanctus nomen super omnia benedictum et dulcius sibi melle; gratissime membrum suscipit avis apposite ac pani superpositum petenti transmisit. Quid plura? Reservat infelix datum ut sancto inferat obprobrium.

In crastinum populo congregato, sanctus more suo predicat verbum dei. Irruit subito sceleratus ille et membrum caponis ostendere nititur omni plebi: Ecce, garrit: qualis est Francischus iste, qui predicat, quem honoratis ut sanctum; videte carnes, quas mihi sero, dum comederet, dedit. Increpant illum pessimum universi et velud demone plenum omnes obiurgant; piscis revera omnibus apparebat, . . . Erubuit tandem infelix et facinus deprehensum, penitentia diluit, coram omnibus veniam postulavit a sancto, exponens quam habuit nephariam voluntatem. Redeunt carnes ad suam speciem, postquam rediit prevaricator ad mentem.

L.A. III DD. 3.
T.S. A. 160.

52. Sediti namque ad prandium die quadam paupertatem beate virginis commemorat quidam frater et christi filij eius inopiam replicat: *protinus surgit a mensa, singultus ingeminat dolorosos et perfusus lacrymis supra nudam humum reliquum panem manducat.*

L.A. III DD. 4.
T.S. A. 161.

53. Sacerdotalibus manibus, quibus de christo conficiendo tam divina collata auctoritas est, magnam volebat reverentiam exhiberi; frequenter dicebat: *Si sancto cuicumque de celo venienti et pauperculo alicui sacerdoti simul me con-*

venienti et pauperulo alicui sacerdoti me contingeret obviare, ad sacerdotis manus osculandas cicius me conferrem et sancto dicerem: Expecta, sancte Laurenti, quia manus huius verbum vite contrectant et ultra humanum aliquid possident. Miraculis in vita sua multis effulsit. Nam panes ei ad benedicendum oblatis multis infirmis attulere salutem. Aquam in vinum convertit et inde eger quidam gustans protinus sanitatem recepit et multa alia miracula fecit.

54. Cum vero ad dies iam appropinquaret extremos, longo infirmitate confectus super nudam humum nudum poni se fecitque omnes fratres ibidem assistentes ad se vocari et manus singulis inponens omnes in presentibus benedixit et instar cene dominice singulis panis buccellam divisit.

55. Invitabat, uti moris sui erat, omnes creaturas ad laudem dei. Nam et mortem ipsam cunctis terribilem et exosam hortabatur ad laudem eique letus occurrens ad suum invitabat hospicium dicens: Bene veniat soror mea mors! Ad extremam igitur horam veniens dormuit in domino.

tingeret obviare, prevenire honore presbyterum et ad manus eius deosculandas citius me conferrem; dicerem enim: O, especta sancte Laurenti, quia manus huius verbum vite contrectant et ultra humanum aliquid possident.

L.A. III HH.
T.S. A. 171.
(B. XIV 4 and
5, Spec. 88.)

54. *Cum enim ad dies iam propinquaret extremos, . . . confectus namque infirmitate illa tam gravi, que omni languore conclusit, super nudam humum se fecit nudum deponi, ut hora illa extrema, in qua poterat adhuc hosti irasci, nudus luctaret cum nudo. . . . a principio, in finem dilexit eos. Fecit enim fratres omnes assistentes ibidem ad se vocari et . . . fratribus, extendit frater eos dexteram suam; et incipiens a vicario suo, capitibus singulorum imposuit. . . . benedixitque in illis.*

L.A. III HH.
T.S. A. 172.

55. . . . *Invitabat etiam omnes creaturas ad laudem dei; et per verba, que olim composuerat, ipse eas ad divinum hortabatur amorem; nam et mortem ipsam cunctis terribilem et exosam hortabatur ad laudem, eique letus occurrens ad suum invitabat hospitium: Bene veniat, inquit, soror mea mors. . . . Et cunctis in eum christi completis mysteriis, feliciter volavit ad deum.*

56. Cuius animam quidam frater vidit in modum stelle similis lune in quantitate soli in splendore.

L.G. B. 8.
T.S. A. 172.
(B. XIV 6.)

56. Unus frater ex discipulis eius fame non modicum celebris vidit animam ipsius sanctissimi patris quasi stellam, lune immensitatem habentem et solis claritatem pretendentem

57. Minister fratrum in terra laboris nomine Augustinus in hora autem ultima positus, cum iam diu amisisset loquela, subito clamans dixit: Expecta me, pater, expecta, ecce iam venio tecum. Querentibus fratribus, quid diceret, ait: Non videtis patrem nostrum Franciscum, qui vadit ad celum. Et statim in pace obdormiens patrem secutus est.

L.A. III HH. 1.
(B. XIV 6.)

57. Minister fratrum in terra laboris tunc erat frater Augustinus, qui in hora ultima positus, cum diu iam pridem amisisset loquelam, audientibus qui astabant, de subito clamavit et dixit: Expecta me, pater, expecta. Ecce jam venio tecum. Querentibus fratribus et admirantibus multum cui sic loqueretur, audacter respondit: Nonne videtis, inquit, patrem nostrum Franciscum, qui vadet ad celum? Et statim illius anima carne soluta patrem est secuta sanctissimum.

58. Cum quedam domina, que beato Francisco devota exstiterat, viam universe carnis fuisset ingressa et clerici et presbiteri feretro exequias celebrantes astarent, subito mulier se erigit super lectum et unum de astantibus sacerdotibus vocat dicens: Volo, pater, confiteri. Ego enim mortua fueram et diro eram carceri mancipata, quoniam peccatum, quod tibi pandam, nondum confessa fueram, set orante pro me Francisco¹ ad corpus mihi redire indultum est, ubi illo revelato peccato veniam merear. Statimque, ut illud tibi manifestavero, in pace cernentibus vobis quiescam. Confessa igitur et absolucione recepta, mox in domino obdormivit.

T.S. Mir. 7.
(B. Mir. II 1.)

58. . . . mulier quedam sancto Francisco peculiari devotione inheserat, viam universe carnis intravit. . . . Conveniunt clerici nocte ad exequias et vigiliis cum psalteriis decantandis; circumstat utriusque sexus orantium multitudo. Et ecce subito cunctis cernentibus erigit se mulier super lectum, et unum de astantibus sacerdotem et patrinum suum vocat, dicens: Volo confiteri, pater, audi peccatum meum. Ego enim mortua sum et duro eram carcere mancipanda, quoniam peccatum, quod tibi pandam, nondum ipsa confessa fueram. Set orante, inquit, pro me sancto Francisco, cui devotissima semper fui, redire ad corpus nunc indultum est mihi, ut illo revelato peccato veniam merear. Et ecce vobis videntibus, postquam illud tibi detexero, ad promissam requiem properabo

¹ Fol. 87.

59. Cum fratres de Nucera plaustrum quoddam a quodam viro mutuo peterent, ille indignatus respondit: Ego potius duos ex vobis cum sancto Francisco excoriarem, quam plaustrum meum vobis accommodarem. Set in se reversus, semetipsum redarguit et blasphemie penituit, ira dei formidans. Moxque filius eius infirmatur et ad extrema deducitur. Qui filium suum defunctum videns in terra volutabatur et flens et sanctum Franciscum invocans dicebat: Ego sum, qui peccavi, me flagellare debuisti. Redde, sancte, iam devote precanti, quem abstulisti impie blasphemanti! Mox filius eius surrexit et planctum prohibens ait: Cum mortuus essem, sanctus Franciscus per quamdam viam longam et obscuram me ducens in quodam tandem loco me in viridario pulcherrimo collocavit ac deinde dixit mihi: Revertere ad patrem tuum, nolo te amplius tenere.

60. Pauper quidam cuidam domino debebat quandam pecunie quantitatem rogat, ut sancti Francisci amore sibi terminum prolongaret. Cui ille superbo respondens: Tali, inquit, te loco

T.S. Mir. 7.
(B. Mir. II 3.)

T.S. Mir. 11.
(B. Mir. V 2.)

Tremerter ergo sacerdoti trementi *confessa, absolutione recepta*, quiete se in lecto collegit et in Domino feliciter obdormivit. . . .

59. *Cum fratres de Nuceria peterent quoddam plaustrum a quodam viro Petro nomine, quo aliquantulum indigebant, stulte respondit eis dicens: Ego potius excoriarem duos ex vobis cum sancto Francisco, quam accommodarem vobis plaustrum. Penituit statim hominem verbum tante blasphemie protulisse; et percutiens os suum, misericordiam precabatur. Timebat enim ne ultio sequeretur. . . . Infirmatus est statim filius eius nomine Gapharus, et paucos spatio lapsus, spiritum exalavit. . . . Volutabatur per humum, et sanctum Franciscum invocare penitus non cessabat; et dicebat: Ego sum qui peccavi; me flagellare debuisti. Redde sancte iam penitenti, quem abstulisti impie blasphemanti. . . . Ad hec verba surrexit puer; et planctum prohibens, causam retulit sue mortis: Cum mortuus essem, inquit, venit beatus Franciscus et duxit me per viam obscuram et longam valde. Deinde posuit me in quodam viridario tam ameno, tam delectabili, quod totus mundus ei comparari non posset. Reduxit me postea per eandem viam, et dixit mihi: 'Revertere ad patrem tuum et matrem tuam. Nolo enim te hic amplius detinere.' . . .*

60. In Massa Sancti Petri cuidam militi debebat pecunie quantitatem pauperculus quidam. . . . Misereri sibi orat suppliciter, et dilationem querens amore sancti Francisci, . . . Nam cer-

recludam, ubi nec Franciscus, nec aliquis poterit te iuvare. Moxque illum vinculatum in carcere obscuro inclusit. Paulo post sanctus Franciscus affuit et fracto carcere ruptisque vinculis hominem incolumem reduxit ad propria.

61. Quidam miles operibus et miraculis sancti Francisci detrahens, cum quadam vice luderet ad taxillos; vesania et incredulitate plenus circumstantibus ait: Si Franciscus est sanctus, ix veniant in taxillis. Mox in eis senarius triplicatus apparuit; et usque ad ix vices quolibet suo iactu ter senos accepit. Set insanium addens insanie ait: Si verum est, quod Franciscus sit sanctus, cadat hodie gladio corpus meum! Si vero sanctus non est, evadam incolumis. Ludo finito, ut eius oratio fieret in peccatum, cum nepoti suo inferret iniuriam, ille gladium arripiens in viscera patrum transfixit, protinus interfecit.

62. Vir quidam crure sic perdit, uti nullatenus¹ se movere posset, sanctum Franciscum talibus vocibus inelamabat: *Adiuvame, sancte Francisce, memor devocionis et servitii tui, quod tibi impendi. Nam in asino meo te portavi; sanctos pedes tuos, manus osculatus fui, et ecce morior doloris huius durissimo cruciatu. Moxque ille sibi apparens cum parvulo baculo, qui tau in se figuram habebat, locum doloris tetigit et fracto apostemate sanitatem protinus recepit et semper*

vicose respondens: Tali te, ait, loco recludam et tali retrudam carcere, ubi nec Franciscus nec alius poterit te iuvare. Temptavit quod dixit. Carcerem adinvenit obscurum, in quo hominem vinculatum coniecit. Paulo post affuit sanctus Franciscus et fracto carcere ruptisque compedibus, illesum hominem reduxit ad propria. . . .

62. . . . *vir quidam crure perdidit sic ex toto, ut nullo modo progredi vel movere se posset. Positus itaque in angustia vehementi et auxilio desperatus humano, cepit nocte quadam, ac si presentem cerneret beatum Franciscum, talem coram eo assumere materiam querelandi: *Adiuvame, sancte Francisce, recolens meum servitium et devotionem tibi impensam. Nam in asino meo te portavi, sanctos pedes tuos et sanctas manus osculatus fui. Semper tibi devotus, semper be-**

¹ Fol. 87.

T.S. Mir. 7.
(B. Mir. X 6.)

signum tau super locum remansit. Hoc signo sanctus Franciscus suas literas consueverat consignare.

63. Cum in castro Pomareto in montanis Apullie quadam patri et matri unica fuisset defuncta et mater sancto Francisco devota nimia tristitia fuisset absorpta, apparuit ei sanctus dicens: Noli flere, quia lucerne tue lumen quod deploras extinctum, mea est tibi intercessione reddendum. Mater igitur sumpta fiducia corpus extinctum, non permisit efferri, set sancti Francisci nomen invocans et mortuam filiam apprehendens eam incolumem allevavit.

64. In urbe Roma, cum puer parvulus de fenestra palatii cecidisset et penitus expirasset, beatus Franciscus invocatur et vite protinus restituitur.

65. In civitate Suessa, cum quedam domus corruens quendam invenem extraxisset et cadaver iam in lecto posuisset ad sepeliendum, mater beatum Franciscum tota devotione, qua poterat, invocabat. Ecce circa mediam noctem puer oscitavit et sanus surrexit et in laudis verba prorupit.

nevolus extiti; et ecce morior doloris huius durissimo cruciatu. . . . Vocatus ab eo venisse se dixit, ferens remedia sanitatis. Tetigit locum doloris cum baculo parvulo, qui figuram thau in se habebat; et fracto mox apostemate, post consecutam sanitatem usque hodie signum thau super locum remansit. Hoc signo sanctus Franciscus suas consignabat litteras,

T.S. Mir. 7.

63. In castro Pomarico, in montanis Apulie posito, patri et matri unica erat filia, Iacet mater infelix ineffabilibus completa doloribus et absorpta suprema tristitia, de hiis que fiunt nichil advertit. Interim sanctus Franciscus, uno tantum sotio comitatus, visitat desolatum et placitis affatur colloquiis: Noli flere, inquit, nam lucerne tue penitus iam extincte lumen ecce restituiam. Surgit extimplo mulier; et que sibi dixerat sanctus Franciscus omnibus manifestans, non permisit extinctum corpus alibi deportari. Et conversa mater ad filiam, invocans sancti nomen, eam vivam et incolumem allevavit.

T.S. Mir. 7.
(B. Mir. II 6.)

65. Incivitate Suessa quandam domum diruit et subvertit, etc. . . . Sicque ponentes cadaver in lecto, cum nox esset, ad sepeliendum eum diem crastinum expectabant. Circa vero mediam noctem cepit iuvenis oscitare et, calescentibus membris, antequam illucesceret dies, totus revixit et in laudis verba prorupit.

66. Frater Jacobus Reatinus, cum in navicula parva fluvium quendam cum fratribus transisset et sociis iam super ripam positus postremo se ad exitum prepararet, revoluta nave ipse in profundum fluminis est dimersus. Fratribus igitur pro liberatione submersi beatum Franciscum invocantibus, ipso etiam corde, ut poterat, beati Francisci auxilium inplorante ecce dictus frater per profundum sicut per aridam ambulabat et demersam naviculam capiens cum ea pervenit ad litus. Vestimenta autem eius madida non sunt nec aque gutta proximavit ad tunicam.

T.S. Mir. 10.
(B. Mir. IV
3).

66. *Frater Jacobus Reatinus, cum navicula residens vellet fluvium transvadare, solitiis primo positus super ripam, postremo se ad exitum preparabat. Sed modica illa navis, rate per infortunium revoluta, rectore natante, frater submersus est in profundum. Invocabant fratres extra positi affectuosius vocibus beatum Franciscum et, ut filio succurreret, lacrimosis precibus compellebant. Submersus etiam frater, de ventre gurgitis nimis immensi, cum ore non posset, corde clamabat, ut poterat. Et ecce, auxiliante sibi patris presentia, per profundum sicut per aridam ambulabat; et demersam naviculam capiens, cum ea pervenit ad litus. Mirabile dictu. Vestimenta eius madidata non sunt, nec aque gutta proximavit ad tunicam.*

The question at once arises, what is the literary value of this document? To me, it seems to prove almost beyond a doubt, that the view, already propounded, in my critical introduction to the Franciscan texts of Thomas of Celano and recapitulated at the commencement of this paper, is absolutely correct. To my mind we have here evidence of the most important kind. Let us examine it in detail.

The original of this work is without doubt a production of the thirteenth century, and was doubtless written either just before, or soon after the terrible Council of Paris, or possibly a little later, at the request of Jacobus de Voragine, by someone well versed in Franciscan affairs.

There can be little or no doubt that the work is taken almost entirely either from Thomas of Celano's

own works or Bonaventura's version of them. I do not think, however, that the author of this MS. made much use of the writings of Bonaventura, for when we remember that Bonaventura's work was practically gathered from the 'Legenda' of Thomas of Celano, and that he did not hesitate to quote from the latter, in most cases verbatim, we are not surprised to find a great similarity between the work of Bonaventura and the 'Legenda Anonyma;' nor does it take the careful reader long to discover that the similarity is always greatest when the quotation in this MS. is clearly taken from the works of Celano.

In other words, to all intents and purposes, though the Bonaventuran text may have influenced the writer of the 'Legenda Anonyma,' yet the real basis being that of Celano, the work of Bonaventura need hardly be considered in this relationship.

The dissimilarities of this work both from the 'Speculum Perfectionis' and the 'Tres Socii' are too great for it to be possible for us to suppose that there was ever any real connection between their writers and the author of the 'Legenda Anonyma.'

Thus we are left with only the works of Celano to compare with the new MS. It seems to me necessary as a further precaution to eliminate the 'Miracles.' Let us suggest for a moment that the 'Miracles' constituted a separate work and that the 'Legenda Antiqua' and the first half of the 'Tractatus Secundus' are the same. Now, if they *are* the same, then we shall of course expect to find not only that the first half of the MS. in question, which for the most part does not contain extracts from the 'Miracles,' absolutely agrees with these

two books, but also that the 'Legenda Anonyma,' being an extract from the works of Celano, will after eliminating the 'Miracles' either be drawn from the 'Legenda Gregorii,' or will contain passages that appear both in the 'Legenda Antiqua' and also in the first part of the 'Tractatus Secundus.'

If on the other hand this does not prove to be the case, and there are passages in the 'Legenda Anonyma' which are *not* found in the 'Legenda Antiqua' and yet *are* found in the 'Tractatus Secundus,' or that there *are* extracts from the 'Legenda Antiqua' which are *not* found in the 'Tractatus Secundus,' then we shall be forced to the conclusion that the writer of the 'Legenda Anonyma' was in possession of both documents. This is just what does occur.

The further we examine the work in question the more evident does it become that the compiler was acquainted not only with all the works of Celano (I mean the three texts, the 'Legenda Gregorii,' the 'Legenda Antiqua,' and the 'Tractatus Secundus,' together with the 'Miracula'), but also with Bonaventura's version of them. If it be asked, Who could that author be? There are few names that it would be more reasonable to suggest than that of Bernard de Bessa, through whose hands must have passed the Celano MSS. and who probably took no small share in assisting his employer, St. Bonaventura, to compile his work. I have, however, asked myself, Could this be the missing work of Giovanni di Ciperano? The former, however, seems the more probable author.

"Mais revenons à nos moutons." I have made a

careful comparison between the text of the 'Legenda Anonyma' and those of the writings of Thomas of Celano, the 'Speculum Perfectionis,' the 'Tres Socii,' and the 'Legend of Bonaventura.' The time at my disposal, however, has been too short for me to have been able to make anything like an exhaustive comparison, but the results obtained are sufficiently clear for us to be able to form certain definite conclusions.

Comparative Table.

Section.	'Legenda Gregorii.'	'Legenda Antiqua.'	'Tractatus Secundus.'	'Tres Socii.'	'Speculum Perfectionis.'	Bonaventura.
Introd.		I A. { 7 1	A. { 8 1			
1		I A. 1	A. 1			
2		I A.	A. 1	4-		
3		I A. 3	A. 2	10-		I 6-
4		I A. 4 *	A. 3	{ 11- 12-		
5		I A. 4	A. 3			I 5
6		I A. 5	A. 5	{ 13- 14-		II 1-
7	A. 5			{ 16- 20-		II 1-
8		I A. 6 *	A. 7	23-		
9		I A. 6	A. 7	25-		III 1-
10						II 5-
11	A. 8					
12	{ A. 11 A. 13					
13	A. 14					
14		I A 10	A. 11	{ 52- 53-		
15		II A. 1 * * *	A. 19		102-	XI 10-
16		II A. 3	A. 22			XI 8-
17		II A. 7	A. 27			XI 6-
18		II A. 21 * * *				VII 12+
19		II A. 16 *	A. 32			
20		III C. 1	A. 45		20	
21		III K. *	A. 65		17	
22		III K. 1	A. 66			
23		III K. 9	A. 78			VII 6+
24		III M. 6	A. 89			VI 9-
25		III M. 7	A. 90			

Section.	'Legenda Gregorii.'	'Legenda Antiqua.'	'Tractatus Secundus.'	'Tres Socii.'	'Speculum Perfectionis.'	Bonaventura.
26		III O. 1 *	A. 97 °			V 4-
27		III P.	A. 99			
28		III P. 2	A. 102			
29		III P. 2 *	A. 101 °			VI 6
30	B. 3-					XIII 3-
31			Mir. 2			Mir. I 6-
32			Mir. 2			
33		III T. 7 *	A. 124		43	
34		?	?	?	?	
35		III Y. 6	Mir. 4			
36		III Y.	A. 139			
37		?	?	?	?	
38		III A. 87	A. 86			IV 9+
39		III Y. 1 *	Mir. 3		115-	V { 8 9
40			Mir. 3			V 10
41	A. 20					VI 1+
42		III U.	A. 126		39	VI 4
43		III U. 3	A. 129			VI 11+
44						VIII 9+
45	?	?	?		?	?
46			Mir. 4			
47			Mir. 4			XII 4+
48		III E. 3	A. 53			VII 5-
49		II A. 18	A. 37			XI 9
50		II A. 19	A. 38			
51		III G. 6	A. 63			
52		III DD. 3	A. 160			
53		III DD. 4	A. 161			
54		III HH.	A. 171		88-	XIV { 4- 5+
55		III HH.	A. 172			
56	B. 8		A. 172			XIV 6-
57		III HH. 1 *				XIV 6+
58			Mir. 7			Mir. II 1-
59			Mir. 7			Mir. II 3-
60			Mir. 11			Mir. V 2-
61	?	?	?	?	?	?
62			Mir. 7			Mir. X 6-
63			Mir. 7			
64	?	?		?	?	
65			Mir. 7			Mir. II 6+
66			Mir. 10-			Mir. IV 3+

NOTE.—* indicates that the passage in the 'Legenda Anonyma' is at any point of difference more like the 'Legenda Antiqua.'

° indicates that the passage in the 'Legenda Anonyma' is at any point of difference more like the 'Tractatus Secundus.'

+ indicates that there is a strong resemblance between the passage and the corresponding paragraph in the 'Legenda Anonyma.'

- indicates that there is only a general resemblance between the passage and the corresponding paragraph in the 'Legenda Anonyma.'

From even a cursory study of the foregoing table it will become evident that for all practical purposes neither the 'Tres Socii' nor the 'Speculum Perfectionis' have anything to offer us. As might be expected, in certain cases they cover some of the same ground, but the language is not the same, except at one point, section 33, where, however, it will be seen that the real version followed is that of the 'Legenda Antiqua.' We have thus limited our studies to the three works of Celano and that of St. Bonaventura. On further examination there appears to be only one passage for which the 'Legenda Anonyma' is indebted to Bonaventura, but even that passage is not of such a character as to make anyone willing to assert that it must have been taken from this author alone. I frankly admit, however, that there are many passages which, without being in any way copies of Bonaventura's work, give me the impression that the compiler was so familiar with those writings as to fall into the Bonaventuran style, which adds force to the argument in favour of holding Bernard de Bessa as the author.

We thus have left only the works of Thomas of Celano, which are without a moment's doubt the principal source from which this interesting work has been drawn.

We now ask, What does our analysis of the 66 paragraphs of this anonymous work tend to show?

Six of the paragraphs are extracts from the 'Legenda Gregorii,' that is to say paragraphs 7, 11, 12, 13, 41 and 56.

Thirty-four paragraphs are found both in the

'*Legenda Antiqua*' and the '*Tractatus Secundus*,' and on examining these still more critically it would seem that there are twelve passages in those paragraphs which point to the influence of the '*Legenda Antiqua*' and three which seem to be drawn especially from the '*Tractatus Secundus*,' thus leading the student to feel that the compiler of the work was at least in possession of the '*Legenda Antiqua*' as we know it. But we have stronger proof. There are certainly two paragraphs, viz., 18 and 57, which do not occur at all in the '*Tractatus Secundus*,' and if we decide to treat the '*Miracula*' as a separate work, there are two further similar passages in paragraphs 35 and 39.

Turning to the other side of the question we recognise at once that apart from the differences in favour of the '*Tractatus Secundus*' already mentioned there is one paragraph, 56, which does not occur in the '*Legenda Antiqua*,' but is found only in the '*Legenda Gregorii*' and the '*Tractatus Secundus*.' I do not know to which we are to attribute the passage, but the strong influence of the '*Tractatus Secundus*' is seen in the numerous extracts from the '*Miracula*.' Paragraphs 31, 32, 40, 46, 47, 50, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, and 66, twelve passages, are obviously taken direct from the '*Tractatus Secundus*.'

Without, therefore, waiting to identify further passages, we have before us a document of the highest literary value, the work of a composer of the later part of the thirteenth century, who gives a life of St. Francis in as concise a form as possible. To do this he evidently quotes from documents

which are now well known to us, and we are able to show that his quotations are real quotations, and not only the gist of what the earlier writers have said put into his own language.

The writer of the 'Vita Anonyma' has given us a work copied almost exclusively from three writings of Thomas of Celano—the 'Legenda Gregorii,' from which he quotes six times, and, excluding the doubtful paragraph 56, there are no fewer than fifty-one quotations from the remaining two works, viz. the 'Legenda Antiqua' and the 'Tractatus Secundus.' Of these fifty-one, at least two are found *only* in the 'Legenda Antiqua,' and twelve others are taken exclusively from the 'Tractatus Secundus.' In other words, all three works are quoted in such a way as to prove without any serious question that these three works were all independent of each other and all known to the writer of the 'Vita Anonyma.'

I need hardly say what a comfort it is to me to have been able to bring this corroborative evidence to bear on the bold departure that I took in re-naming the works of Thomas of Celano in the recent work which I have seen through the press.

The obligation to give to each work the title which is accorded it by the contemporary writers was forced home upon me as soon as I went deeply enough into the subject; but to venture to upset the accepted view of any matter has always been fraught with difficulties, and in this case the large number of quotations in the old style used by innumerable writers made me dread to complicate their references by a new style. Still Truth and Fact were

the more important considerations. It was not, however, till after submitting the proofs of my Critical Introduction to such men as Dr. Collins (Bishop of Gibraltar), Professor Little, and the President of the Society of Franciscan Studies in this country, that I dared to make the necessary correction in the nomenclature of the texts produced ; but the 'Vita Anonyma,' which I have the honour of bringing to the notice of men of letters for the first time to-night, through the medium of this Royal Society, is at least to me, and I trust it will be to you, more than a vindication of the somewhat difficult position that I was forced to take up in editing the works of Thomas of Celano.

Here we must leave the subject for the present ; but only for the present, for I feel convinced that scholars will now be disposed to consider the whole question of this literature, in an even more truly historical and critical spirit than has been the case in the past. May they elucidate more and more, for there is nothing that the disciples of the Little Brother of Assisi, the man of Simplicity and Truth, would wish for more sincerely than to be able to get at the real Saint, more saintly for being human, more charming and inspiring for the absence of the hiding veil of tradition which has tended to obscure him from us in the past.



