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THE *STELLA MARIS*  
OF JOHN OF GARLAND



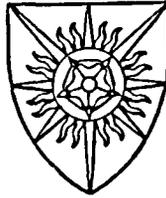
# THE *STELLA MARIS* OF JOHN OF GARLAND

*Edited, Together With a Study of Certain Collections  
of Mary Legends Made in Northern France in the  
Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*

BY

EVELYN FAYE WILSON

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR COLLECTIONS OF LEGENDS

### LATIN

- Arnold of Liège = Pietro Toldo, 'Dall' *Alphabetum narrationum*,' *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, cxvii (1906), 68-85, 287-304; and cxviii (1907), 69-82, 329-351.
- Bromyard = John Bromyard, *Sunma praedicatorum*. Venice, 1586.
- Caesar of Heisterbach = Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange (Cologne, 1851), 2 vols.; *Die beiden ersten Bücher der Libri VIII miraculorum*, ed. Alfons Hilka, Bonn, 1937. See below under Hilka.
- Crane = Thomas Frederick Crane (ed.), 'Miracles of the Virgin,' *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 235-279.
- Dexter = Elsie F. Dexter (ed.), *Miracula sanctae virginis Mariae*. Madison, 1927. *University of Wisconsin Studies in Social Sciences and History*, no. 12.
- Étienne de Bourbon = Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit*, ed. Albert Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877. *Société de l'histoire de France*.
- Gesta Romanorum* = Hermann Oesterley (ed.), *Gesta Romanorum*. Berlin, 1872.
- Gil de Zamora = Gil de Zamora, *Liber Mariae*, ed. Fidel Fita, 'Cinquenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vii (1885), 54-144; 'Treinta leyendas por Gil de Zamora,' *ibid.*, xiii (1888), 187-225; and 'Variantes de tres leyendas por Gil de Zamora,' *ibid.*, vi (1885), 418-429.
- Gobius = Johannes Gobius, Junior, *Scala celi*. Ulm, 1480.
- Henmann of Bologna = Henmann of Bologna, *Viaticum narrationum*, ed. Alfons Hilka, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*, III, Berlin, 1935. *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., dritte Folge*, 16.
- Herolt = Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis unacum Promptuario exemplorum* (includes also *Promptuarium de miraculis beate Marie virginis*). Strassburg, 1492.
- Hervieux = Léopold Hervieux (ed.), *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste, jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*. Paris, 1884-1899. 5 vols.
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- Hugo of Trimberg = Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, ed. Erich Seemann, Munich, 1914. *Münchener Texte*, IX.
- Isnard = H. Isnard (ed.), 'Recueil des miracles de la Vierge du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle,' *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique, et littéraire du vendomois*, xxvi (Vendome, 1887), 23-63, 104-149, 182-227, 282-311.
- Jacques de Vitry = Jacques de Vitry, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane, London, 1890.

- Johannes Monachus = Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, ed. P. M. Huber, Heidelberg, 1913. *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, vii.
- Kjellman = Hilding Kjellman (ed.), *La deuxième collection anglo-normande des miracles de la sainte Vierge et son original latin*. Paris and Upsala, 1922.
- Klapper = Joseph Klapper (ed.), *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters*. Heidelberg, 1911. *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, II; *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1914.
- Legenda aurea* = James of Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Theodor Graesse, Leipzig, 1850.
- Little = Andrew George Little (ed.), *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicatorum saeculo xiii compositus a quodam fratre minore Anglico de provincia Hiberniae*. Aberdeen, 1908.
- Magnum speculum exemplorum* = John Major (ed.), *Magnum speculum exemplorum*. Cologne, 1747.
- Meister = Aloys Meister (ed.), 'Die Fragmente der *Libri VIII miraculorum* des Caesarius von Heisterbach,' *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte. Supplement*, XIII (1901).
- Meyer = Paul Meyer, 'Notice du MS Rawlinson Poetry 241,' *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 1-84.
- Mussafia = Adolf Mussafia, 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden,' in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.* Mussafia, I = CXIII (1886), 917-994; II = CXV (1887), 5-93; III = CXIX (1889), fasc. ix, 1-66; IV = CXXIII (1890), fasc. viii, 1-85; V = CXXXIX (1898), fasc. viii, 1-74; 'Über die von Gautier de Coincy benützten Quellen,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XLIV (1894).
- Neuhaus = Carl Neuhaus (ed.), *Die lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-französischen Adgarschen Marien-legenden*. Aschersleben, 1886-1887; *Die Quellen zu Adgars Marien-legenden*. Aschersleben, no date. Inaugural dissertation, Erlangen, 1882.
- Pelbart = Oswald Pelbart of Temesvar, *Stellarium corone benedictae Marie virginis in laudem eius pro singulis predicationibus elegantissime coaptatum*. Hagenaw, 1508.
- Pez = Bernhard Pez (ed.), *Venerabilis Agnetis Blannbekin . . . vita et revelationes auctore anonymo. . . Accessit Pothonis . . . liber de miraculis s. Dei genitricis Mariae. . .* Vienna, 1731. The Mary legends are reprinted by Thomas Frederick Crane, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae*. Ithaca, 1925.
- Pseudo-Celestine = Peter Coelestinus, *De miraculis B. Mariae virginis*, ed. Coelestinus Telera, *S. Petri Coelestini opuscula omnia* (Naples, 1640), pp. 199-219.
- Thomas = Antoine Thomas (ed.), 'Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres,' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, XLII (1881), 505-550.
- Thomas of Cantimpré = Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*. Douai, 1627.
- Vincent of Beauvais = Vincent of Beauvais, *Bibliotheca mundi Vincentii Burgundi; speculum quadruplex, naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*. Douai, 1624.
- Welter = J. Thomas Welter (ed.), *Le speculum laicorum. Edition d'une collection d'exempla composée en Angleterre à la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris, 1914;

*La Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti, recueil d'exempla compilé en France à la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Paris, 1926.

Wright = Thomas Wright (ed.), *A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* London, 1842. *Percy Society*, VIII, 1-136.

## ANGLO-NORMAN

Adgar = William Adgar, *Adgar's Marienlegenden nach der Londoner Handschrift, Egerton 612*, ed. Carl Neuhaus, Heilbronn, 1886; ed. J. A. Herbert, 'A New Manuscript of Adgar's Mary-legends,' *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 394-421.

Everard de Gateley = Everard de Gateley, 'Miracles de la Vierge,' ed. Paul Meyer, 'Notice du MS Rawlinson Poetry 241,' *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 27-47. Kjellman. See Kjellman above.

Mussafia. See Mussafia above.

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Gautier de Coincy = Gautier de Coincy, *Les miracles de la sainte Vierge*, ed. Alexandre Eusèbe Poquet, Paris, 1857; ed. Arthur Långfors, *Miracles de Gautier de Coincy; extraits du manuscrit de l'Ermitage.* Helsinki, 1937. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, no. xxxiv, series B; ed. Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye, 'Études sur les Miracles Nostre Dame de' Gautier de Coinci,' *ibid.*, no. xxv (Helsinki, 1932), series B; ed. Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 1-128; ed. Jacob Ulrich, 'Drei Wunder Gautiers von Coincy,' *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VI (1882), 325-346.

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Jehan le Marchant = Jehan le Marchant, *Le livre des miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. Georges Duplessis, Chartres, 1855.

Jubinal = Achille Jubinal (ed.), *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des xiii<sup>e</sup>, xiv<sup>e</sup>, et xv<sup>e</sup> siècles.* Paris, 1839-1842. 2 vols.

Kjellman. See Kjellman above.

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- (Paris, 1928) for *Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*.  
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 Mussafia. See Mussafia above.

## PROVENÇAL

- Ulrich = Jacob Ulrich (ed.), 'Miracles de Notre Dame en Provençal,' *Romania*, VIII (1879), 12-28.

## SPANISH

- Alfonso el Sabio = Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. by La Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1889. 2 vols.  
 Berceo = Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de nuestra señora*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, Madrid, 1922.  
 Gayangos = Pascual de Gayangos (ed.), *El libro de los enxemplos*, in *Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo xv* (Madrid, 1860), pp. 443-542. *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, LI.  
*Recull de eximplis* = *Recull de eximplis e miracles, gestes e faules e altres ligendes ordenades per A-B-C tretes de un manuscrit en pergami del començament del segle xv, ara per primera volta estampades*. Barcelona, 1880-1888 (?). 2 vols.  
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## ITALIAN

- Levi = Ezio Levi (ed.), *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della vergine*. Bologna, 1917. *Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua*.  
 Stolfi = Casimiro Stolfi (ed.), *Corona de'monaci compilato da un monaco degli Angeli*. Prato, 1862.  
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## ENGLISH

- Banks = Mary MacLeod Banks (ed.), *An Alphabet of Tales, an English Fifteenth Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum of Étienne de Besançon*. London, 1904. *Early English Text Society*, 126.  
 Horstman = Carl Horstman (ed.), *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, I (London, 1892), 138-167. *Early English Text Society*, 98; *The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints*. London, 1887. *Early English Text Society*, 87.  
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## GERMAN

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- Floss = H. J. (?) Floss (ed.), *Neun Marienlegenden nebst einem Gebete an Maria*. Münster, 1852.
- Hagen = Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (ed.), *Gesammtabenteuer. Hundert altdeutsche Erzählungen, Ritter- und Pfaffen-Mären, Stadt- und Dorfschichten, Schwänke, Wundersagen und Legenden*. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1850. 3 vols.
- Pauli = Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. Johannes Bolte, Berlin, 1924. 2 vols.
- Pfeiffer = Franz Pfeiffer (ed.), *Marienlegenden*, Stuttgart, 1846; 'Predigtmärlein,' *Germania*, III (1858), 407-440.

## NORSE

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## ETHIOPIAN

- Budge = E. A. W. Budge (ed.), *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Life of Hanná*. London, 1900. *Lady Meux MSS, Nos. 2-5; One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady*. London, 1923. The latter includes only English translations of Ethiopic originals.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Valuable descriptions of manuscript collections are to be found in Mussafia, *op. cit.*; Morawski, *op. cit.*; *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1883-1910), vols. II and III; Louis Villecourt, 'Les collections arabes des miracles de la Sainte Vierge,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLII (1924), 21-68 and 266-287; C. G. N. De Vooy, *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen* (Groningen, 1926); and the volumes of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, Paris, 1787-. Still other manuscript collections are noted or described in notes appended to various editions of Mary legends. See especially Levi, *op. cit.*, and the notes by Warner in his edition of the second book of Miélot. Albert Poncelet, 'Miraculorum B. V. Mariae quae saec. vi-xv latine conscripta sunt index,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXI (1902), 241-360, is an index of Mary legends.



## PREFACE

**T**HOMAS FREDERICK CRANE in his edition of the Pez collection deploras the inaccessibility to students of mediaeval history and culture of so many of the Latin collections of Mary legends. Adolf Mussafia, as long ago as 1889, asked for an edition of the collection of John of Garland. These demands, combined with my interest in the works of John of Garland, have led me to undertake an edition of his collection, the *Stella maris*. It was made, if the numbers and the bulk of the manuscripts are a criterion, at a time when the activity of gathering Mary legends was at its height, and in a region where it was particularly intense.

John of Garland's collection has certain advantages over all the other manuscript collections which I have examined. It is the only one which can be accurately dated and at the same time securely attached to a particular author and geographical center — a firm anchor in an almost unbroken sea of anonymity. Even though the narratives are merely suggested, their outlines are sufficiently clear so that particular versions can be identified. Of the printed collections of Mary legends made in northern France in Latin, only that which Vincent of Beauvais included in the *Speculum historiale* is comparable in these respects. The *Stella maris*, therefore, occupies a position of strategic importance in the history of Mary legends. I have attempted with the miscellaneous data which all these collections yield in hand and John of Garland's collection as a point of departure to place some of the Latin collections which I have used in relationship one to the other. Without the help of the painstaking studies of Mussafia, the careful descriptions of H. L. D. Ward, Paul Meyer, Albert Poncelet, and many others whose help I have acknowledged in the footnotes, I should not have attempted it.

From the point of view of the history of the Mary cult in the middle ages, an important subject too little investigated, the collection of John of Garland should be a document of particular value. It represents the attitude toward the Virgin Mary, not of the trained theologian, nor of the simple souls often portrayed in the legends themselves, but that of an educated layman who was also a schoolmaster. It was composed, as the author of the gloss remarks, with a great deal of feeling, and with a deeper sincerity than characterizes the more pretentious works of the author. Of special importance, I believe, is the suggestion as to the way in which the secular learning of the schools was made in his classes to serve the cult of the Virgin. In some of the other manuscript school-books and commentaries

which I have surveyed in the course of this study there is evidence that his interpretations were not unique. With this subject, however, I have not attempted to deal.

It is, moreover, with the expectation that the *Stella maris*, composed as it was for use in the schools, will be able to throw additional light upon the teaching of Latin and the use of the classics in the thirteenth century that I have edited the text together with all the glosses.

My interest in the work of John of Garland began as a student of the late L. J. Paetow at the University of California. Generous grants made by Radcliffe College, especially the Alice Mary Longfellow Fellowship, and the American Council of Learned Societies enabled me to pursue it under the direction of the late C. H. Haskins at Radcliffe and in the libraries of Europe. I am particularly indebted to Professor E. K. Rand for aid and encouragement all along the way.

I wish also to thank Professor William Thomson of Harvard University, who generously helped me with the Arabic words in the glosses.

My thanks are due to many libraries for permission to use and photograph their manuscripts and for generous hospitality and assistance, especially the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Public Library at Bruges, the Widener Library of Harvard University, and the Wellesley College Library; and to the Coe Fund of the University of Maine for aid in the typing of the manuscript.

For making the publication of this study possible, I owe a deep debt of gratitude both to Wellesley College and to the Mediaeval Academy of America: to the Wellesley College Committee on Publications, its chairman, Ella Keats Whiting, and the Alumnae who contributed to the Fund which it administers; to Charles R. D. Miller and Robert J. Clements of the Academy for their helpful interest and assistance, and to the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Corporation of New York for their contributions.

E. FAYE WILSON

8 June, 1944  
Wellesley, Massachusetts

# CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR COLLECTIONS OF LEGENDS . . . . .	v
PREFACE . . . . .	xi
I. A STUDY OF CERTAIN COLLECTIONS OF MARY LEGENDS MADE IN NORTHERN FRANCE IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CEN- TURIES . . . . .	3
1. The Earliest Collections . . . . .	3
2. The Collections of the Parisian Monasteries . . . . .	7
3. <i>MSS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491 and 2333A</i> . . . . .	22
4. <i>MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18134</i> . . . . .	26
5. The Rouen <i>Mariale</i> . . . . .	30
6. The <i>Mariale Magnum</i> . . . . .	36
7. Relation of Caesar of Heisterbach and Pseudo-Caesarius to the 'Mariale' Collections . . . . .	55
8. The Collection of Ste. Geneviève and the <i>Stella Maris</i> . . . . .	59
9. The <i>Stella Maris</i> in England . . . . .	69
II. INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT OF THE <i>Stella Maris</i> . . . . .	77
1. The Authorship and Date of the <i>Stella Maris</i> . . . . .	77
2. The Manuscripts of the <i>Stella Maris</i> . . . . .	80
3. The Editing of the <i>Stella Maris</i> . . . . .	85
III. <i>JOHANNIS DE GARLANDIA STELLA MARIS</i> . . . . .	87
IV. NOTES ON THE LEGENDS . . . . .	155
V. GLOSSARY . . . . .	211
VI. INDICES . . . . .	214
1. General Index . . . . .	214
2. Index of Manuscript Collections . . . . .	221
3. Index of Legends . . . . .	222

## PLATE

<i>MS London British Museum Royal 8 c iv</i> , fol. 17; lines 94-153 of text . . . . .	facing page 96
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A STUDY OF CERTAIN COLLECTIONS OF MARY  
LEGENDS MADE IN NORTHERN FRANCE  
IN THE TWELFTH AND THIR-  
TEENTH CENTURIES



# I

## COLLECTIONS OF MARY LEGENDS

### I. THE EARLIEST COLLECTIONS

THE worship of the Virgin Mary, originating in the East, slowly penetrated into western Europe during the interval from the fifth to the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The festivals of the Virgin began to be celebrated; pictures were painted and images were carved; churches were dedicated to her; and prose and poetry, profane<sup>2</sup> as well as sacred, honored her. The absence of details about the life of the mother of God in the gospels was an advantage, rather than a disadvantage, to the growth of the Mary cult. Accounts of her parents, her childhood, her marriage, her purification, and the miraculous deeds she performed both before and after her assumption multiplied.<sup>3</sup>

At first the miracles of the Virgin were told singly by churchmen to point a moral or to celebrate a festival, related to pilgrims visiting particular shrines, or incorporated into the records of monasteries. As early as Gregory of Tours (c. 538–594) eastern tales of this nature begin to be narrated by ecclesiastical writers in the West. In his *Liber miraculorum*, the first book of which is entitled *In gloria martyrum*, he tells, among a number of others, six Mary legends of eastern origin.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, not much earlier than the eleventh century that tales of western origin make their appearance in written form in significant numbers.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest known collections of Mary legends originating in the West are those which gathered about the churches of France dedicated to the Virgin Mary. They date in their present form from the beginning of the twelfth century, although they were probably begun much earlier. Such are those compiled for the Mary churches of their respective towns by

<sup>1</sup> Ernst Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults* (Tübingen, 1904), pp. 420–504, and Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1909), pp. 1–71.

<sup>2</sup> H. P. J. M. Ahsmann, *Le culte de la sainte Vierge et la littérature française profane du moyen âge*. Utrecht, [1930]. Dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

<sup>3</sup> *The Prot-evangelion of St. James, the Pseudo-Matthew, and the so-called Infancy gospels*, edited by Constantinus de Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1876), besides numerous collections of miracles.

<sup>4</sup> *Gregorii Turonensis opera* (ed. Wilhelm Arndt and Bruno Krusch, Hanover, 1885), II, 451–561.

<sup>5</sup> Adolf Mussafia, 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden,' *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, cxiii (1886), 917–936, lists these legends. Henry L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1893), II, 586–589, makes some additions.

John of Coutances<sup>6</sup> at the very beginning of the twelfth century, by Guibert de Nogent (d. 1124) and Herman of Laon<sup>7</sup> (compiled c. 1150), by Hugo Farsitus of Soissons,<sup>8</sup> and by the abbot Haimon writing for the Mary church of St. Pierre-sur-Dive in Normandy.<sup>9</sup> Rocamadour in Guienne,<sup>10</sup> Chartres,<sup>11</sup> and Fécamp<sup>12</sup> also had their collections made by anonymous compilers in the twelfth century.

By the eleventh century the popularity of the Virgin Mary had outstripped that of all the saints and was growing in ever-widening circles. Sinners as well as the righteous could rely upon her to get them into heaven, if only they had that mediaeval virtue of loyalty. She had become the Mother of Mercy<sup>13</sup> whose privilege it was to mitigate the Justice of God. Saturday was in many places a day reserved for the recitation of the office of the Virgin.<sup>14</sup> The network of Cluniac monasteries and the pilgrimage routes offered new and broader avenues along which Mary legends could make their way. When Odo caused Mary to be honored as the Mother of Mercy at Cluny,<sup>15</sup> his example was followed in many monasteries. As a consequence not only did the number of Mary legends increase rapidly, but the same legends came to be known far from their original home. And thus there began the second stage in the history of Mary legends in the West, the collection of tales gathered from far and near, of universal rather than merely local interest.

The oldest of these collections, according to Mussafia,<sup>16</sup> is the group of legends which make up the first seventeen numbers of the compilation printed by Bernhard Pez in the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> It begins with the tale of 'Hildefonsus' and ends with that of 'Murieldis,' hence it is known as

<sup>6</sup> The collection is edited by E. A. Pigeon, *Histoire de la cathédrale de Coutances* (Coutances, 1876), pp. 367-383. See also Léopold V. Delisle, 'Notice sur un traité inédit du douzième siècle,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, series ii, iv, 339-352.

<sup>7</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *De laude sancte Marie*, Migne, P.L., CLVI, 537-578, and *ibid.*, *De vita sua*, pp. 953-962. Those compiled by Herman of Laon are printed in the appendix to *De vita sua*, pp. 961-1018.

<sup>8</sup> Hugo Farsitus, *Libellus de miraculis B. Marie virginis*, Migne, P.L., CLXXIX, 1773-1800.

<sup>9</sup> Léopold V. Delisle, 'Lettre de l'abbé Haimon,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, series v, I, 113-139.

<sup>10</sup> Edited by Gustave Servois, *ibid.*, series iv, III, 21-44 and 228-245, and more recently by Edmond Albe, *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*. Paris, 1907.

<sup>11</sup> Edited by Antoine Thomas in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, XLII (Paris, 1881), 505-550.

<sup>12</sup> Just when this collection was made is not known, except that it could not have been done earlier than 1082. It is edited by Arthur Langfors, *De miraculis quae in ecclesia Fiscanensi contigerunt* (Helsinki, 1932), pp. 1-32. (*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, xxv, series B).

<sup>13</sup> Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>15</sup> Mussafia, I, 952.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>17</sup> *Venerabilis Agnetis Blannbekin . . . vita et revelationes auctore anonymo . . . Accessit Pothonis Pruvveningensis prope Ratisbonam O. S. B. liber de miraculis s. Dei genitricis Mariae . . . edidit Bernardus Pez.* Vienna, 1731. The Mary legends are reprinted by Thomas Frederick Crane, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae*. Ithaca, 1925.

HM.<sup>18</sup> The origin of the collection is obscure, and the authors are, for the most part, anonymous. Six of the seventeen legends have lost the names and places with which they were originally associated; the others come variously from Italy, France, Spain, and Germany. The subjects are gathered from the lives of saints and from monastic records of various sorts. Some of them were not in their first form Mary legends at all. The saint for whom they were originally written is still there, but he has been subordinated to the Virgin Mary, who now usurps the leading role.<sup>19</sup> This ancient series of tales exists in more or less complete form in almost all the great collections, although the order in which the legends are told is frequently altered. John of Garland's *Stella maris* includes eleven of the seventeen.

Next in order of their development, and also of the eleventh century, are the legends of the Elements-series.<sup>20</sup> The four anecdotes which comprise it have been rewritten by their unknown compiler so that each illustrates the Virgin's dominion over fire, earth, air, or water.<sup>21</sup> Although it is English in origin and has been found as a unit only in collections which can be identified with England,<sup>22</sup> the single legends appear very commonly in the great collections of northern France. John of Garland tells two of them, omitting 'Childbirth in the Sea' and 'Jew of Bourges.'<sup>23</sup> They are not told in series, nor with their original significance.

The third series in point of time, belonging to the twelfth century,<sup>24</sup> is the collection which forms the third book of two manuscripts, *MSS British Museum Cotton Cleopatra C x* and *Toulouse 482*. Related to it also is *MS Oxford Balliol 240*. There are seventeen numbers, beginning with the legend of 'Toledo' and ending with 'Saturday,' hence the collection is designated *TS*.<sup>25</sup> Mussafia believes that this series also is English in origin,<sup>26</sup> although the tales are gathered from many different sources. All three of these early collections appear together in *MS Cotton Cleopatra C x*<sup>27</sup> of

<sup>18</sup> Also known as the *Ad laudem* group, the prologue which precedes the legends.

<sup>19</sup> Especially no. 8, 'Pilgrim of St. James' (Pez, ed. Crane, pp. 10-12), and no. 10, 'Two Brothers at Rome' (*ibid.*, pp. 12-14).

<sup>20</sup> Mussafia, III, 56-57.

<sup>21</sup> Carl Neuhaus, *Die lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-französischen Adgar'schen Marienlegenden* (Aschersleben, 1886-1887), pp. 9-25. The 'Jew of Bourges' is a miracle performed in fire; 'Theophilus,' in air; 'Childbirth in the Sea,' in water; and 'Julian the Apostate,' in earth. See prologue to 'Julian,' *ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Mussafia, III, 60.

<sup>23</sup> John of Garland's tale of 'Jewish Boy' (no. 3) is the Gregory of Tours version.

<sup>24</sup> Hilding Kjellman, *La deuxième collection anglo-normande des miracles de la sainte Vierge* (Paris and Upsala, 1922), p. xii.

<sup>25</sup> Mussafia, III, 58. In the first two manuscripts mentioned the series ends with 'Leuricus,' which 'Saturday' precedes; but by comparison with other manuscripts Mussafia comes to the conclusion that 'Leuricus' originally preceded 'Saturday.'

<sup>26</sup> Mussafia, III, 60-61.

<sup>27</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 600-618, analyzes the contents. Neuhaus, *op. cit.*, prints most of the numbers.

the twelfth century. The four legends of the Elements-series make up the first book;<sup>28</sup> the *HM* series, the second book; and the *TS* group, the third book.<sup>29</sup>

Of primary importance in the history of Mary legends is the so-called Pez collection.<sup>30</sup> Probably French in origin and a product of the twelfth century, it was transported to Germany to become the foundation upon which Latin collections in that region were built.<sup>31</sup> The first seventeen of the forty-three legends is a complete *HM* series, told in the same sequence in which they appear in the *Cleopatra-Toulouse-Oxford* manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> Two of the four Elements-series are narrated in the same versions as in *Cleopatra-Toulouse-Oxford*.<sup>33</sup> Nine are *TS* legends, and one more, 'Conception,' is a different version of a *TS* tale. To these, fourteen new legends have been added from the constantly increasing number of incidents recorded in other sources. That *TS* was one of the principal sources of Pez is indicated by the fact that the nine miracles of Pez which are identical with those of *TS* follow in Pez in exactly the same order as in *TS*.<sup>34</sup> The Pez

<sup>28</sup> There are two other legends in the first book in addition to these four.

<sup>29</sup> The third book is incomplete in the *Cleopatra* manuscript. It is necessary to use the two other manuscripts related to it to determine the order and the contents of the *TS* collection. Kjellman, *op. cit.*, prints most of the numbers of the *Balliol* collection as the source of the Anglo-Norman collection he has edited. The manuscript is regarded by both Mussafia and Kjellman as English in origin.

<sup>30</sup> Mussafia, I, 936-953. Mussafia, III, 54-55, notes that 'Potho' or 'Botho,' monk of Priefling, is not the author of the whole series, as Bernhard Pez thought. He is the author of a single tale which he incorporated into the collection. A more recent and better-documented statement of the case is by J. A. Endres, 'Boto von Prüfening und seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xxx (1905), 605-646.

<sup>31</sup> Mussafia, III, 61.

<sup>32</sup> Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 3-20 (1-17).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27 (22), 'Childbirth in the Sea,' and pp. 39-40 (31), 'Jew of Bourges.'

<sup>34</sup> The following table illustrates the relationship between Pez and *TS*. It should be noted that Pez (ed. Crane) gives 'Botho' a number, thus counting forty-four instead of forty-three legends in the Pez collection. Seventeen tales altogether are added in Pez.

TS	Pez	Legends Added in Pez
1. Toledo .....	—	
2. Foot Cut Off .....	18	
3. Musa .....	—	
4. Mother of Mercy .....	—	19. Conception (Pseudo-Anselm). ( <i>Sicut iterum</i> )
5. Libia .....	20	
6. Gethsemane .....	21	
7. Mary Image Insulted .....	—	22. Childbirth in the Sea.
8. Drowned Sacristan .....	—	
9. Devil in Beasts' Shapes .....	23	24. Son Restored. 25-26. St. Dunstan. 27. Pilgrim in the Sea. 28. Light on Mast-head.
10. Complines .....	29	
11. Milk: Monk Laid Out .....	30	31. Jew of Bourges.
12. Three Knights .....	—	
13. Eulalia .....	32	33. Jew Lends to Christian. 34. Hours Sung Daily. 35. Love by Black Arts. 36. Abbess. 37. Bonus.

collection is, therefore, derived from three sources: *HM*, the Elements-series, and *TS*, to which other legends have been added. These four collections are the foundations upon which were built, not only the French collections of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but those in all western Europe.

2. THE COLLECTIONS OF THE PARISIAN MONASTERIES

At the close of the twelfth century the Mary cult was in full bloom, and the century which followed has been properly called 'the century of Mary.'<sup>35</sup> The *Ave Maria* was as frequently and universally on the lips of all classes as any other prayer. The *Salve Regina*, the favorite anthem of the pilgrims and crusaders, was sung regularly in the evening before the image of the Virgin, not only in the churches of the religious orders, but by laymen as well.<sup>36</sup> The four great Mary festivals already covered the entire year, one for each of the seasons, when the Conception of the Virgin and the Visitation were added in the twelfth century.<sup>37</sup> Relics of the Virgin, her shift, her girdle, her sweat, and her milk accumulated. Images of the mother with the Child in her lap were countless, and the great Gothic cathedrals were rising in her honor.

Much of the ever-growing popularity of the Mary cult in the twelfth century is to be attributed to the new monastic orders, the Cistercians, Praemonstratensians, and the various groups of canons regular. In the thirteenth century the mendicant orders joined them in propagating the worship of the Virgin. Robert of Molesme, the founder of the Cistercian order, it is said, had been particularly devoted to her by reason of a vision seen by his mother before he was born.<sup>38</sup> Alberic, his successor, had decided that the order should be dedicated to her, and that its houses should be under her invocation. According to legend the Virgin bestowed upon him a white mantle, and it was for that reason that the Cistercians gave up their black habit for a white one. All their churches were dedicated to the Virgin, and each had its Mary altar, before which the office of the Virgin was celebrated every Saturday.<sup>39</sup> The seal of the Cistercian monasteries

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14. Mead .....	—	
15. Conception .....	—	
16. Leuricus .....	38	39. Drowned Sacristan; Friend Prays. 40. German Nobleman Healed. 41. Uncompleted Confession.
17. Saturday .....	42	43. St. Blasius.

<sup>35</sup> Ahsmann, *Le culte de la sainte Vierge*, pp. 4-46, has an excellent account of the development of the Mary cult in France. It incorporates material from J. A. F. Kronenburg, *Maria's Heerlijheid in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1904-1914), which is valuable.

<sup>36</sup> Ahsmann, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28, and Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-214.

pictured the Virgin crowned. It is understandable, then, that in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century the collection of Mary legends became a particular project of the Cistercian order.<sup>40</sup> The Dominicans and the Franciscans also were greatly devoted to the Mother of God. Tradition tells how the Virgin herself urged St. Dominic to found his order, and the preaching of the mendicants spread Mary legends to the far corners of Europe.<sup>41</sup>

The larger place given to Mary in the calendar of the church and in the hearts of the people called for greater efforts on the part of the compilers of Mary legends, for it was particularly on the Virgin's days that the story of her life and her marvellous deeds was read in monasteries and churches. They were not content merely to tell and retell the anecdotes of the *HM* and *TS* collections, and to search the old sources, monastic records and saints' lives, for occasional fresh tales. Entirely new and more varied sources were sought. Even history was forced to make its contribution. The Virgin became the heroine of incidents in the chronicles in which previously she had had no place; and then succeeding chroniclers retold the incident with the legendary accretion as sober history!<sup>42</sup> The chance narratives of the ecclesiastical writers of the twelfth century were gathered into the growing compendia, and single miracles were culled from local collections.<sup>43</sup> The quickening interest of the twelfth century in the matter of ancient Rome prompted the transformation of some highly pagan tales into Mary legends.<sup>44</sup> Even folk tradition may have played a considerable part in the shaping of Mary legends, though the evidence is hard to lay hold of.<sup>45</sup>

Some new and entertaining anecdotes were selected from the growing collections of sermon stories, especially in the thirteenth century. Mary legends had always been used in sermons, and the collection of sermon stories ran parallel with the gathering of Mary legends. It was natural, therefore, that the compilers of one series should borrow from the other. Some rather undignified anecdotes written to entertain popular audiences were, consequently, rewritten with great freedom to include the Virgin and added to the number of Mary legends.<sup>46</sup> Equally diverting are the Mary legends used by preachers as sermon stories. The stately old miracles, composed for the most part for leisurely monastic audiences, had to be

<sup>40</sup> Below, pp. 50-51.

<sup>41</sup> Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-266.

<sup>42</sup> John of Garland, *Stella maris*, no. 30, 'Purification,' and no. 32, 'Chartres.'

<sup>43</sup> At times old local collections were copied entire into the new compilations. John of Garland, nos. 44, 45, and 57, are examples of miracles gathered from the local collection of Soissons.

<sup>44</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 8, 'Ring on Finger.'

<sup>45</sup> Especially *ibid.*, no. 14, 'Chaste Empress.'

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 42, 'Little Devil in Church,' is a sermon story in which the Virgin originally had no part.

made briefer and livelier to appeal to impatient lay crowds. This appropriation of Mary legends by popular preachers grew until in the fourteenth century collections of Mary legends were made primarily for the use of preachers, and many of them had become unrecognisable.<sup>47</sup>

The more frequent contacts between the East and West beginning with the twelfth century and the increasing travel in the West itself stimulated by the pilgrimages and crusades, the growth of the mendicant orders, and the development of commerce opened other new sources. More legends about miraculous images came back from the East as well as new eastern versions of the old stories that had been told by Gregory of Tours. Even merchants were credited with the transmission of legends about Mary images.<sup>48</sup> Travellers in western Europe itself carried tales from one place to another by word of mouth.<sup>49</sup>

Still other Mary legends came into existence in a purely literary fashion. New details were fitted into favorite old themes until whole cycles of Mary legends having the same theme may be distinguished.<sup>50</sup> Westerners grown accustomed to visualizing the Christ as a child sitting in the lap of the Virgin transformed eastern tales about crucifixes into Mary legends with a few strokes of the pen.<sup>51</sup> Latin legends, it seems, were translated into the vernacular and back again into Latin with the homely details and new incidents which they had acquired in the process.<sup>52</sup>

As a result of the growth of the Mary cult in all its aspects, the collections of Mary legends rolled up like huge snowballs in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Pez collection of the twelfth century comprises forty-three legends. A similar collection about a generation later counts seventy-seven legends, even if the separate miracles of Soissons are not given numbers.<sup>53</sup> A compendium made in the same region about 1200 numbers one hundred and five legends,<sup>54</sup> and another by Alfonso el Sabio in the Galician vernacular in the thirteenth century, more than three hundred and fifty.<sup>55</sup> The manuscript which John of Garland used at Ste. Geneviève in 1248 must have included a large number, for he calls the sixty-one leg-

<sup>47</sup> The collections of Gobius, Herolt, and others. The *Rosarius* is an example of a vernacular collection.

<sup>48</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 19, 'Jew Lends to Christian,' is a story said to have been brought from Constantinople by a pilgrim. Another version attributes it to a merchant. See p. 175 and *ibid.*, note 56.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 23, 'Hours Sung Daily.' A clerk on a pilgrimage heard the story at Cambrai. The tale of the siege of Parma was brought to Paris by the Franciscans of Parma (*ibid.*, no. 59). See below, pp. 78-79.

<sup>50</sup> The 'Bridegroom' cycle, *ibid.*, no. 8; or 'Drowned Sacristan,' no. 36.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 53. See p. 203.

<sup>52</sup> See pp. 27-29 and note 140.

<sup>53</sup> *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14463* (Mussafia, I, 953-959).

<sup>54</sup> *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593* (Mussafia, I, 962-969).

<sup>55</sup> Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. by La Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1889.

ends he tells, 'a few.'<sup>56</sup> In all, more than two thousand separate legends originating in the middle ages have been counted, and there are other collections still to be studied. They come from Iceland and from Ethiopia, from Spain and Russia and the middle East; and they are written not only in Latin, but in the vernaculars.

Some of these numerous new anecdotes about the Virgin, originating in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, gained as wide currency in Europe as those of the *HM* and *TS* series. Others got no farther than the collections in which they first appeared. A considerable number, however, circulated freely within fairly large areas, more or less coterminous with language boundaries.<sup>57</sup> There developed, consequently, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Latin collections which may be identified as specifically Anglo-Norman, or French, or German in origin.<sup>58</sup> At a later date, however, even the latter part of the thirteenth century, the distinctions between regional collections have broken down.

Identification of anonymous regional collections is made in several different ways. The most important is the differentiation of tales characteristic of certain regions whose author or place of origin can be determined. The legend of the 'Maid of Arras,' for instance, occurs only in collections which can be traced to northern France. Certain redactions of some legends, especially the ancient *TS* legends, are characteristic of certain areas. There are, for example, two particular versions of the 'Milk' miracle which are found only in collections originating in England and another which is characteristic of collections French in origin.<sup>59</sup> The differences between versions of English and French provenance appear clearly in the manuscripts of John of Garland's work. His collection belongs to the series made in northern France, and the individual who wrote some of the commentary in the British Museum manuscript is familiar only with the redactions of English origin, or with similar English stories.<sup>60</sup> Because the first vernacular collections were translations from Latin, they too are useful in determining the regional origin of particular Latin collections.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *Stella maris*, I. 27.

<sup>57</sup> The 'Parma' legend, *ibid.*, no. 59, is an example of a tale which, although it is told in the chronicles of Italy, never won a place among collections of Mary legends. The legend, 'Mare,' no. 29, is found in only four collections in northern France. Number 8, 'Ring on Finger,' no. 14, 'Chaste Empress,' no. 26, 'Orleans,' and no. 33, 'Maid of Arras,' are legends characteristic of collections made in northern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

<sup>58</sup> Little study has been made of the Latin collections in German and Italian libraries or of the vernacular collections in these languages.

<sup>59</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 1. See notes, pp. 155-156.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1, 'Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored,' no. 8, 'Ring on Finger,' and no. 34, 'Conception.'

<sup>61</sup> The French vernacular collection of Gautier de Coincy is gathered chiefly from Latin collections made in northern France (edited by Alexandre Eusèbe Poquet, Paris, 1857), and the anonymous Anglo-Norman collection edited by Kjellmann, *op. cit.*, is from the Latin collection *MS Oxford Balliol 240*, etc.

Paris with its two great monasteries, Ste. Geneviève and St. Germain-des-Prés, was already an important monastic center, when in 1108 William of Champeaux founded the Canons of St. Victor. They lived under the rule connected with the name of St. Augustine, as did the canons regular of Ste. Geneviève when the monastery was reformed. A particular feature of the Austin canons — they included also the Praemonstratensians founded by St. Norbert in 1120 — was their devotion to the Virgin Mary.<sup>62</sup> To the city on the Seine in the twelfth century also came merchants, students, and pilgrims. The road which ran from north to south across the island was one of the great pilgrimage routes. Paris was, therefore, very early a center of the new life in Europe which contributed to the growth of the Mary cult and the collection of Mary legends. Although the narratives themselves offer little proof of the specific place where the collection was made, there are strong indications that the monasteries of Paris did play a leading part in the development of the great French collections.

There are to-day in the Bibliothèque Nationale a number of manuscript collections, obviously related one to another, which were made in northern France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One group in particular connects itself with the monastic and educational centers about Paris. The first and oldest of these is *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, written in scripts of the twelfth century. It once belonged to the monastery of St. Victor, hence Mussafia designates it *SV*.<sup>63</sup> The Sorbonne possessed two very similar collections.<sup>64</sup> The second is a larger collection, *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593* of the thirteenth century.<sup>65</sup> Since it came formerly from the library of the monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés, it is called *SG*. Several Paris manuscripts, with no clue as to their origin, are related also to this series of Latin collections, especially *MSS Bibliothèque Nationale 17491* of the thirteenth, *2333A* of the fourteenth, and *18134* of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. No similar compilation has been identified as the possession of the third great monastery of Paris, Ste. Geneviève. One did exist there in the thirteenth century, nevertheless, for John of Garland used it in 1248 as the source of the *Stella maris*. The monastery of Ste. Geneviève, then, had in the thirteenth century a collection very similar to *SV* and *SG*, manuscripts which are known to have been the property of the two other great monasteries of Paris. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that these two collections were in the thirteenth

<sup>62</sup> Ahsmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>63</sup> Its contents are analyzed by Mussafia, I, 953-959.

<sup>64</sup> Mussafia compares the Sorbonne collections with *SV*, *ibid.*, I, 959-962. There are also in Brussels two collections, one of the twelfth and another of the thirteenth century, the first series of which are almost identical with *SV* (Mussafia, IV, 2-5). The second series of the earlier of the two Brussels collections, *MS Brussels Phillipps 336*, resembles that of the second Sorbonne collection, Mussafia's *Ps* (Mussafia, III, 23-24).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 962-969.

century lying on the shelves of their respective monasteries. If they were also originally compiled there, then an important part in shaping the great collections of northern France could be attributed to the Parisian monasteries, for all three collections are important links in the history of Mary legends in northern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

*The Collection of the Monastery of St. Victor*

The collection of St. Victor, *SV*, compiled in the latter half of the twelfth century,<sup>66</sup> numbers seventy-seven legends, aside from the entire local collection of Soissons. They fall into two major groups. The first sixty-six, *SV*<sup>1</sup>, are legends, many of them originating in northern France, which became widely disseminated in France and Spain. The Sorbonne collections and two manuscripts of the Brussels Library follow *SV* only to this point.<sup>67</sup> The second series, *SV*<sup>2</sup> (nos. 67–77), are a miscellaneous group, among which are interpolated the *De transitu beatissime virginis* of Melito of Sardis and a commentary on St. Bernard's sermon *Missus est angelus* (fols. 72<sup>v</sup>–89). Eight of the legends (nos. 67 and 71–77) may have belonged to a single small collection, for they are found together in *MS British Museum Royal 6 B x* with an introductory paragraph.<sup>68</sup> This small collection also originated in northern France, for three of the tales were first told by an abbot of Capelle, one by King Louis of France (probably Louis VII, 1137–1180), and another by a monk of Noyon. It was, perhaps, appended to *SV*<sup>1</sup> by the monks of St. Victor. Their additions did not, however, become popular enough to be told in the great collections.<sup>69</sup>

It is the first series, *SV*<sup>1</sup>, therefore, that is significant in the history of the collections made in northern France. In it are included all the miracles of the *HM* series, three of the Elements-series, and all except one of the *TS* legends.<sup>70</sup> The compilation is not done, however, as in the *Cleopatra-Oxford-Toulouse* manuscript, simply by adding one series after another in the same order. The Paris compiler put the tales together as one would a mixed bouquet — several from one old source, a few from another, and then some new ones to give variety to the compilation.<sup>71</sup> The first seven

<sup>66</sup> Number 58, 'Maid of Arras,' mentions the date 1142, and no. 72 is told by Theodoric, abbot of Capelle from 1141–1149. The script is in several hands of the twelfth century.

<sup>67</sup> *Mussafia*, I, 960–961 and IV, 2.

<sup>68</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 642–645, and *Mussafia*, IV, 10–11. The British Museum manuscript may have included others of the legends of *SV*<sup>2</sup>, for it is fragmentary, and the last legend is no. 67 of *SV*.

<sup>69</sup> In the Sorbonne manuscripts *SV*<sup>2</sup> is followed by the *De miraculis* of Peter the Venerable of Cluny (d. 1156) of which *MS Paris 16056* includes only a few selections. The Brussels manuscript, *Phillipps 336*, relates several visions in addition to the treatise of Peter the Venerable. In *Brussels 7797–7806* of the thirteenth century, there are a great many legends, only a few of which are Mary legends. These *Mussafia* summarizes (*Mussafia*, IV, 2–5). One originates in the church of St. Martin at Paris, another at Rheims, and several at Soissons.

<sup>70</sup> *TS* 8, 'Drowned Sacristan: Clerk Named Nonus.'

<sup>71</sup> Collections of Mary legends were made in monasteries to be read or repeated at various

numbers of *SV*<sup>1</sup> are the first seven *HM* legends, except that no. 7 precedes no. 6. A second series of eight from *HM* is interpolated after no. 15, although they do not follow in the same order as in *Pez*. The two remaining *HM* anecdotes are nos. 39 and 59 of *SV*<sup>1</sup>. The *TS* tales are treated in the same manner, as are also the remaining *Pez* legends. The following shows the relationship between *TS*, *Pez*, and *SV*<sup>1</sup>:

<i>TS</i>	<i>Pez</i>	<i>SV</i> <sup>1</sup>
1. Toledo .....	—	41
2. Foot Cut Off .....	18	65
3. Musa .....	—	31 } 32 }
4. Mother of Mercy ( <i>Sicut iterum</i> ) .....	—	42 } 43 }
5. Libia .....	20 } 21 }	26
6. Gethsemane .....	—	—
7. Mary Image Insulted .....	—	—
8. Drowned Sacristan ( <i>Nonus</i> ) .....	23	37
9. Devil in Beasts' Shapes .....	29 } 30 }	27 } 28 }
10. Complines .....	—	60
*11. Milk: Monk Laid Out .....	32	52
12. Three Knights .....	—	9 } 10 }
13. Eulalia .....	—	—
14. Mead .....	38	24 } 25 }
15. Conception .....	42	—
16. Leuricus .....	—	—
17. Saturday .....	—	—
<i>Pez</i>		
24. Son Restored .....	24 } 25 } 26 } 27 } 28 }	47 } 48 } 49 } 50 } 51 }
25. St. Dunstan .....	31	66
26. " .....	33 } 34 } 35 } 36 }	53 } 54 } 36 } 55 }
27. Pilgrim in the Sea .....	37	38
28. Light on Masthead .....	39	56 }
31. Jew of Bourges .....	40 }	57 }
33. Jew Lends to Christian .....	41 }	30
34. Hours Sung Daily .....	—	—
*35. Love by Black Art .....	—	—
36. Abbess .....	—	—
*37. Bonus .....	—	—
39. Monk Drowns: Friend Prays .....	—	—
40. German Nobleman .....	—	—
*41. Uncompleted Confession .....	—	—

\*Versified

The table illustrates clearly a relationship between *SV*<sup>1</sup> and *Pez*. Is *SV*<sup>1</sup> derived from the completed *Pez*? Or did the compiler of *SV*<sup>1</sup> have available some collection or collections which may be regarded as the ancestor

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services. This method of compilation probably had advantages over the other. The new legends, it may be supposed, were so placed in the collection that one or more occurred in each reading, or so that the reading of new legends alternated with the reading of old ones.

of Pez? The latter seems to be the case. In the first place, the St. Victor collection includes tales which belong to the *TS* series, but which are omitted in the Pez collection (*TS* 1, 3-4, 7, 12, and 14). Secondly, the version of *TS* 15, 'Conception,' which *SV*<sup>1</sup> presents is that of the *Cleopatra-Oxford-Toulouse* collection, not that of Pez 19. In the third place, the arrangement of the legends of *SV*<sup>1</sup> indicates that the compiler had access to a manuscript which presented *TS* in the form in which it is found in *Cleopatra-Toulouse*, not in Pez.<sup>72</sup> Note especially the three series *TS* 3-4 = *SV* 31-32; *TS* 14-15 = *SV* 9-10; *TS* 16-17 = *SV* 24-25. Moreover, three of the Elements-series are included in *SV*<sup>1</sup> in the versions of *Cleopatra-Toulouse*.<sup>73</sup> It appears, then, that *SV*<sup>1</sup> and Pez share a common source, that one of the sources that the compiler of St. Victor used in the making of his collection included not only *HM*, *TS* and the Elements-series, but also the miracles which were eventually to become associated with them to form the Pez collection. The compendium which was their common source was probably French in origin, possibly Parisian.<sup>74</sup>

These four common compendia account for forty-nine of the sixty-six legends of *SV*<sup>1</sup>. Although some of them may well have originated in northern France, they spread so widely over western Europe that they have lost much of their value as a means of distinguishing the collections of northern France from others. It is the seventeen (or eighteen) legends<sup>75</sup> of *SV*<sup>1</sup> still unaccounted for that characterize the collections made in this region. For many of them it is their earliest appearance in a collection of Mary legends, and the narrative is embedded in the considerable introductory matter which belonged to them in their original form. They were probably extracted from their original sources by some monk of Paris:

11. Mother of Mercy (Pseudo-Anselm). *Meminimus et meminisse delectabile est.*

12. Foot Cut Off: Grenoble. *Dilectis in Christo fratribus . . . Cum nuper in territorio Gramnopolitano.*

13. Bridegroom: Transported To a Remote Region. *Audiant adhuc quos audire delectat. . . . Iuvenis erat predives.* S.M. 35.<sup>76</sup>

14. Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored. *Clericus quidam vite secularis.* S.M. 1.

15. Mouth of Hell. *Sanctimonialis quedam sancte enutrita.* S.M. 39.

29. Monk Dies Suddenly in Burgundy. *Olim erat cognitus alter quidam monachus* (versified).

<sup>72</sup>*SV* 42-43, which is the same as Pez 20-21, are the Libia-Gethsemane series, very frequently found together in all sorts of collections.

<sup>73</sup>The fourth legend of the Elements-series in a version different from that of *Cleopatra-Toulouse* concludes *SV*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>74</sup>Mussafia, III, 61, believes that the intermediary manuscripts between *TS* and Pez were French in origin.

<sup>75</sup>The recurrence of the number seventeen almost certainly has some particular significance in connection with Mary legends, but I have not been able to discover what it is.

<sup>76</sup>Brief summaries of such of these legends as appear in the *Stella maris* will be found in the notes on legends under the appropriate number.

33. Sacristan Worthy to Kiss Hands and Feet of Mary. *Erat in quodam sancte dei genitricis . . . cenobio frater.*
34. Boy Devoted to the Devil. *Inter innumera dei genitricis . . . insignia. . . . Fuit quidam nobilis affluensque.* S.M. 52.
35. Excommunicate Absolved by Foolish Servant of Mary. *Preiudicatis quippe nonnullis in seculo eundi ad penas. . . . Erat quidam mire sanctitatis presbyter.*
40. Will for Deed. *Fuit quidam miles nobilitate et dignitate conspicuus.* S.M. 55.
44. Bread. *Spiris est locus famosus.* S.M. 49.
45. Chaste Empress. *Quam mercedem legale coniugium. . . . Hic siquidem de quo loqui incipimus imperator.* S.M. 14.
58. Maid of Arras. *Memoriam gloriose virginis. . . . Erat igitur in suburbio civitatis Atrebatensis.* S.M. 33.
- [58a. Poor Man Strikes Stone. *Quam magna sit. . . . Quidam pauperculus homuntio Walterus nomine in vicinia Aquicinensis*]<sup>77</sup>
61. Rich Man and Poor Widow. *Fuit ecclesia cuius parrochie presbiter preerat* (versified).
62. Incest. *Quam secreta regis abscondere. . . . Erat Rome vir quidam nobilis* (versified).
63. Stepmother and Stepson. *Chiviachus villa est episcopi Laudunensis.*
64. Wife and Mistress. *Est preterea aliud quiddam relatu breve exemplo. . . . Ex relatione Atrebatensis episcopi mulier quedam fuerat.*

The whole of Hugo Farsitus of Soissons is included in *SV*<sup>1</sup>, preceding no. 58.

Four of the eighteen legends characteristic of *SV*<sup>1</sup> are taken more or less literally from two ecclesiastical writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, both of whom wrote in northern France. The first, no. 11, included among the works of Anselm of Canterbury, is by Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, 1055–1067.<sup>78</sup> Three, nos. 12, 63, and 64, come from the *De laude sancte Marie* of Guibert de Nogent, chs. 10–12.<sup>79</sup> Another tale, no. 44, is much the same anecdote as that told by Gautier de Compiègne, *De miraculis beate virginis Marie*,<sup>80</sup> but the diction is so altered and the details so different that it can scarcely have been taken directly from that work. Two of the legends, nos. 58 and 64, originated at Arras; one at Anchin near Douai, no. 58a; two, nos. 12 and 29, in Burgundy; and one, no. 44, at Speyer. The Speyer legend is, however, probably not of German authorship, for the author remarks of a phrase which he quotes, ‘as German boys say.’

The trail of four of the legends which are new in *SV*<sup>1</sup> leads back to

<sup>77</sup> This legend must also originally have belonged to the collection. It follows ‘Murielidis’ (*HM* 17), which is no. 59 of *SV*<sup>2</sup> in the Brussels manuscripts and in one of the Sorbonne manuscripts. See Mussafia, I, 961, and IV, 2.

<sup>78</sup> André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1932), pp. 480–481. Migne, *P.L.*, clviii, 946–947. The *SV* collection includes another version of the same narrative, beginning *Sicut iterum*, a *TS* legend.

<sup>79</sup> Migne, *P.L.*, clvi, 564–574.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, clxxiii, 1383–1384. The work was written after 1141.

Rome, and suggests an earlier period. The legend of 'Chaste Empress' appears to be from an ancient collection connected with Roman emperors in which the Virgin at first had no part. In the tradition of three of the others, 'Bridegroom: Transported,' 'Boy Devoted to the Devil,' and 'Incest,' early popes are important characters.<sup>81</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the compiler of *SV*<sup>1</sup> had available also an ancient collection of legends from Italy. The 'Milk' legend, no. 14, is a redaction of one of the *TS* miracles. The origin of the remaining five legends is unknown. All of the eighteen are related again and again in the collections made in northern France and Spain in both Latin and the vernaculars. With some exceptions they are not so frequently told elsewhere in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. John of Garland tells nine of them in the *Stella maris*.<sup>82</sup>

#### *The Collection of St. Germain-des-Prés*

Analysis of the St. Victor manuscript suggests the way in which collections of Mary legends grew in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Each compiler copied and rearranged the old legends. He rejected some, perhaps because they did not suit his fancy, because a certain number were needed for the requirements of the services, or because he had a certain limited amount of parchment to fill. In any case few collections were made without adding some legends from a new source. So it was with the monk who brought together the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés, *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593 (SG)* of the thirteenth century.<sup>83</sup> The legends, therefore, fall into two series: *SG*<sup>1</sup>, nos. 1-80, and *SG*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 81-105.

The compiler of the collection of St. Victor had been satisfied with the old prologue, beginning *Ad omnipotentis Dei laudem*, which stood before the *HM* series. The compiler of the legends of St. Germain-des-Prés, embarking upon a more ambitious project, writes a new one, beginning *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo virginum*. In the last paragraph he announces his intention to bring together the miracles of the Mother of God, those performed 'in different times and in diverse places, upon diverse persons of either sex, of different age, and of different condition and status; whatever is to be found in the books of the saints or scattered about in the writings of the faithful.'<sup>84</sup>

The writer of this prologue intended to do a good deal of original research in ecclesiastical literature, but, none-the-less, the nucleus of his collection is *SV*<sup>1</sup>. Of its sixty-six legends, sixty are repeated in *SG*<sup>1</sup> in almost

<sup>81</sup> See notes on *Stella maris*, nos. 14, 35, 52, and 20 respectively.

<sup>82</sup> See the table, pp. 74-75.

<sup>83</sup> *Mussafia*, I, 962-969.

<sup>84</sup> *MS Paris 12593*, fols. 118-119, . . . *diversis temporibus, diversis locis, et diversis personis utriusque sexus, diverse etatis, diverse conditionis et ordinis . . . que in sanctorum libris vel quorumcumque fidelium litteris dispersa reperimus.*

identical words, and another, 'Jewish Boy,' is told in a different version.<sup>85</sup> It was, however, not the manuscript of St. Victor itself that the compiler of St. Germain-des-Prés used, but another similar to it which he, perhaps, found in his own monastery. A legend obviously belonging to the *SV*<sup>1</sup> series, but lacking in the St. Victor manuscript, 'Poor Man Strikes Stone,'<sup>86</sup> is no. 75 of his collection. Either he, or a compiler who preceded him, was, moreover, strongly influenced by a twelfth-century collection which Mussafia designates as *APM*,<sup>87</sup> so-called because it exists to-day in three manuscripts, *MSS British Museum Arundel 346* (twelfth century), *Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18168* (twelfth century), and *Montpellier 146* (twelfth to thirteenth century), as is shown by the table on the following page.

The first twenty-six legends of *SG*<sup>1</sup> in general follow the sequence of *APM*, except for *Sicut iterum* which is inserted between *HM* 4 and 5, *TS* 16 ('Leuricus') which is added, and *TS* 3 ('Musa') which is deferred. As in *SV*, however, Pseudo-Anselm is interpolated after 'Conception.' The first twenty-five legends of *SV*<sup>1</sup>, on the other hand, show no marked relationship to *APM*, except the series 'Mead'-'Conception' (nos. 9-10). Nevertheless, beginning with no. 26 and continuing through no. 43, *SV*<sup>1</sup> is tied more closely to *APM* than is *SG*<sup>1</sup> (see nos. 31-32, 42-43, 28-30, etc.). The *APM* sequence ought to be older than the sequence of *SV*<sup>1</sup> 1-25, because it reproduces *HM* 1-17 intact and certain series of *TS* in order (*TS* 12, 14-15, 1-6, 11, to which *SG* adds *TS* 16). Could there have been at St. Germain-des-Prés a copy of *SV*<sup>1</sup> older than the manuscripts of St. Victor, the Sorbonne, and the Brussels collections which reproduced the first twenty-six legends more nearly in *APM* sequence? It is difficult to explain the marked parallels between *SV*<sup>1</sup>, *SG*<sup>1</sup>, and *APM* in any other way. There are two suggestions of such a collection in the Sorbonne manuscripts themselves. They follow *SV*<sup>1</sup> almost exactly except that (1) 'Three Knights' (*TS* 12) is placed after Pseudo-Anselm (no. 10) in approximately the same place as in *SG*<sup>1</sup> and (2) 'Theophilus' has been deferred, as in *SG*<sup>1</sup>, until later in the collection (no. 27). The original home of *SV*<sup>1</sup>, then, may well have been the old monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés rather than the newer

<sup>85</sup> Mussafia, I, 962 (26). The legends of *SV*<sup>1</sup> lacking in *SG*<sup>1</sup> are nos. 29, 38, and 61-63. The first four are versified. The narratives selected from *SV*<sup>1</sup> do not follow in the same sequence as in their source. Small series of from two to four legends are, however, set side by side in both collections:

<i>SV</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>SG</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>SV</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>SG</i> <sup>1</sup>
1-4	= 1-4	19-22	= 14-17
5-7	= 6-8	34-35	= 62-63
9-11	= 20-22	46-49	= 65-68
12-13	= 60-61	50-51	= 70-71
14-15	= 39-40	56-57	= 76-77
16-17	= 12-13		

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 15, and *ibid.*, note 77.

<sup>87</sup> Mussafia, II, 12-13.

<i>APM</i>	<i>SV<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>SG<sup>a</sup></i>	Sorbonne
1-17. <i>HM</i> , 1-17 (ending 'Murieldis')	1-7, 18, 39, 23, 16, 17, 19-22, 59	1-4, 6-18 (ending 'Murieldis')	1-7, 13, 23, 18, 32, 12, 14-17, 60
18. Jew of Bourges P 31	66	26, } but a different version	67
19. Three Knights <i>TS</i> 12	60	19	11
20. Mead <i>TS</i> 14	9 } 8. Theophilus	21 } 50. Theophilus	8 } 27. Theophilus
21. Conception <i>TS</i> 15	10 } 11. Mother of Mercy (Pseudo-Anselm)	20 } 22. Mother of Mercy (Pseudo-Anselm)	9 } 10. Mother of Mercy (Pseudo-Anselm)
		23 } 25. Leuricus <i>TS</i> 16	24 } 64
22. Toledo <i>TS</i> 1	41	24 } 103	21 } 22
23. Foot Cut Off <i>TS</i> 2	65	5 }	22 }
24. Musa <i>TS</i> 3	31 } 32 }	37 }	45 }
25. Mother of Mercy ( <i>Sicut iterum</i> ) <i>TS</i> 4	32 }	57 }	46 }
26. Libia <i>TS</i> 5	42 }		
27. Gethsemane <i>TS</i> 6	43 }	78 }	35 }
*28. Milk: Monk Laid Out <i>TS</i> 11	28 }	— }	36 }
*29. Monk Dies Suddenly	29 }		
*30. Uncompleted Confession P 41	30 }	41 }	37 }
*31. Wife and Mistress	— }	— }	— }
*32. Love by Black Arts P 35	36 }	43 }	41 }
*33. Bonus P 37	38 }	— }	43 }
34. Mary Image Insulted <i>TS</i> 7	26 }	27 }	33 }
*Versified			

St. Victor. The re-ordering of the legends of SG<sup>1</sup> beginning with no. 27 is to be explained by the desire of the compiler to group together legends with similar themes.<sup>88</sup> A series of five, nos. 27-31, are about Mary images; nos. 34-35 tell of sinners saved by repeating the prayer *O intemerata*; nos. 45-46, of cities saved by the Virgin; and nos. 48-56, of Mary festivals and Mary in the liturgy.

The basic source of SG<sup>1</sup> is the twelfth-century collection SV<sup>1</sup>, or an earlier compilation, of which SV<sup>1</sup> is a redaction. The addition of seventeen legends distinguishes SG<sup>1</sup> from SV<sup>1</sup>, legends which together may be used to differentiate the *Quoniam* (the first word of SG's prologue) collections and their descendants from others made in northern France.

29. Bridegroom: Ring on Finger. *In antiquis temporibus factum de ymagine genitricis — Erat quedam ecclesia in qua imago.* S.M. 8.

30. Orleans. *Omnis cetus fidelium audiat hoc miraculum — Quoddam municipium est Aurelianensi proximum civitati quod Avenon nuncupatur.* S.M. 26.

31. Saracen and Mary Image. *Contigit Sarracenum quendam habuisse ymaginem.* S.M. 7.

32. Unchaste Monk Warned by Widow. *In territorio Cameracensi quoddam cenobium est.*

33. Mare. *De matre misericordie matre domini mirabilia multa narrantur — In vicinia Remensis urbis est quoddam cenobium regule Premonstratensi deditum.* S.M. 29.

34. *O intemerata*: Devil as Servant. *Homo quidam erat nobilis divitiis potens et honoribus.*

35. *O intemerata*: Buried Outside the Churchyard. *Aliud quoque beneficium gloriose virginis de eadem oratione — Erat quidem adolescens nequam.*

45. Constantinople Saved. *In diebus Theodosii predecessoris Leonis pape.*

46. Chartres. *Temporibus Karoli regis Francorum qui cognominatus est Simplex anno ab incarnatione domini 806.* S.M. 32.

47. Sardenay. *Tempore quo Greci terram inhabitabant.*

48. Nativity. *Sancte dei genitricis semper que virginis Marie navitatis — Solitarius quidam sancte vite fuit.* S.M. 15.

49. Purification. *Temporibus Iustiniani Augusti quinto decimo imperii ipsius anno.* S.M. 30.

52. Thread in Lip. *Dominus noster Ihesus Christus dei filius annuntiatus — Erat quidem tunc temporis in Gallia in suburbio scilicet Noviomince urbis quedam puellula Heremburgis nomine.*

53. Origin of Antiphony. *O Maria virgo, pia maris stella. Hanc suprascriptam antiphonam docuit s. dei genitrix monachos in quodam cenobio — Laicus quidam inibi degens.*

54. Sight Restored. *Est responsorium quod quidam asserunt in ecclesia non debere cantari — Responsorii . . . istius . . . auctor exitit quidam Romanus nomine Victor.*

<sup>88</sup> Classification according to subject matter could not account for the differences between the first twenty-six legends of SG<sup>1</sup> and SV<sup>1</sup>. It does explain the deviation from APM beyond no. 26.

56. St. Luke's Portrait of Mary. *Dum beatissima dei genitrix moraretur cum apostolis.*

58. Barns Filled. *Monasterium est valde magnum in Iherusalem.* S.M. 6.

Of the seventeen tales which are new in *SG*<sup>1</sup>, five are from monastic or communal records of northern France, nos. 30, 32, 33, 46, and 52. Six are anecdotes connected with the liturgy, nos. 34-35, 48-49, and 53-54. Two are ancient tales about Mary images, nos. 31 and 47. One is from Gregory of Tours' *In gloria martyrum*, ch. 10, no. 58. The other three, nos. 29, 45, and 56, have nothing in common except that they originate in Rome or mention early popes. This is true also of nos. 53 and 54, as well as four other legends told in *SV*<sup>1</sup> and repeated in *SG*<sup>1</sup>, except for 'Incest' which is lacking only because by some accident it was versified.<sup>89</sup> These legends probably belonged to an ancient collection of Roman origin brought to France. A further hint of the existence of such a collection comes from the British Museum gloss of the *Stella maris*, written by some one who had seen the collection of Ste. Geneviève. John of Garland tells all of the legends except 'Constantinople,' and the author of the gloss remarks, *Cum maximo affectu compositus illo modo totaliter de miraculis beate virginis, prout in registro Rome et etiam alibi comprobantur.*<sup>90</sup> There seems to be no other explanation for this statement, except that a particular group of legends in the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève were said to come from an ancient papal 'register.' Moreover, some of the anecdotes, together with others of the same nature, are related in *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 5268* of the twelfth century. One of them, a tale about Leo the Great, begins, *Romanorum testimonio didicimus et in commentariis pontificalibus.*<sup>91</sup> These two phrases, it should be noted, cover both types of ancient legends among the *Quoniam* anecdotes.

The legends of the first series of the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés, therefore, clearly point to northern France as their home. Some come from collections already in existence there, probably including one of Roman or Italian origin. Others are the result of the search of the works of ecclesiastical writers, of chronicles, and of monastic and communal records promised by the compiler in his preface. It is in the second series of the collection that he most specifically carries out his intention to tell tales 'of diverse persons of either sex, of different ages and different conditions and status.' These, as well as the seventeen tales of *SG*<sup>1</sup>, probably were his own additions. In *SG*<sup>2</sup> he groups the legends according to the social status of the individuals about whom they are told. Numbers 81-90 are about priests

<sup>89</sup> The legends are: 'Bridegroom: Transported to a Remote Region,' *SV* 13 and *SG* 61; 'Boy Devoted to the Devil,' *SV* 34 and *SG* 62; 'Chaste Empress,' *SV* 45 and *SG* 79; and 'Incest,' *SV* 62 (versified).

<sup>90</sup> See pp. 87-88.

<sup>91</sup> *Mussafia*, II, 6.

and monks; nos. 91–92, about *conversi*; nos. 93–95, about clerks; no. 96, about a nun; and nos. 97–105, about laymen. The laymen include an emperor, a knight, a servant, an impoverished man, and a blind man. Two of the tales are about boys. It may be inferred that the compiler was a monk, for he puts even the *conversi* of the monastery before the clerk and the nun, to say nothing of the emperor and the knight.

Of the twenty-five tales of *SG*<sup>2</sup> only three, nos. 101–103, are well-known in France, and even they are not the usual versions. The others suggest some region farther from Paris. Does *SG*<sup>2</sup> offer any clue as to the home of the compiler and the origin of his legends?

A first examination of the series, *SG*<sup>2</sup>, suggests Germany or at least the Rhineland as the home of these tales. The scene of two of the legends is the Rhineland, no. 100 at Strassburg<sup>92</sup> and no. 93 at Trier.<sup>93</sup> A third occurred in a monastery in Germany.<sup>94</sup> Two themes particularly popular in German lands predominate in the collection, the 'Drowned Sacristan' theme,<sup>95</sup> and the theme of the 'Bread' legend.<sup>96</sup> In fact this particular 'Bread' legend seems to be the point of departure for all others of German origin. Two of the three popular legends, nos. 101 and 102, are from thirteenth-century collections which exist to-day in German libraries,<sup>97</sup> and one of them, no. 101, is a version seldom found in the French collections. Mussafia reports three collections (*MSS Copenhagen Thott 26*, 12th–13th centuries; and *Leipzig 821* and *819*, 13th century) which are related to *SG*. The Copenhagen collection and the second Leipzig manuscript repeat only the first legend of *SG*<sup>2</sup>, no. 81. The first Leipzig collection includes six, nos. 81, 88–90, 96, and 101.<sup>98</sup>

The first series of the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés presumes northern France as its home, and the second series strongly suggests Germany or the Rhineland. In view of these facts, was the compiler a German monk who brought *SG*<sup>2</sup> with him to Paris? Or was he, perhaps, a French monk who had visited Germany? The author of the 'Bread' legend, no. 104, writes at the close of his narrative, 'This, the lord Louis, abbot of St. Peter at Châlons-sur-Marne,<sup>99</sup> is a witness, was related to him by the abbot of

<sup>92</sup> 'Poor Man With Three Marriageable Daughters.' *In Argentina civitate Strazburc quidam civium* (fol. 205<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>93</sup> 'Student Forbidden to Swim in the River Drowns.' *Pari pene modo afflictia fuisse narratur ecclesia Trevirorum* (fols. 202<sup>r</sup>–203).

<sup>94</sup> No. 104, 'Bread.' *Quantum pura simplicitas deo placeat . . . Ait namque in Alemannia esse quoddam famosum et ditissimum cenobium* (fol. 209).

<sup>95</sup> *SG*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 81, 85, 86, and 92; also *SG*<sup>1</sup>, no. 76.

<sup>96</sup> *SG*<sup>2</sup>, no. 104; *SG*<sup>1</sup>, nos. 28 and 44.

<sup>97</sup> Mussafia, I, 969 and 946.

<sup>98</sup> Mussafia, I, 970–975.

<sup>99</sup> Louis was abbot of St. Peter at Châlons, 1140–1166. Better known as St. Pierre-au-Mont, it was a Benedictine monastery founded in 1028 (*Gallia Christiana*, ix [Paris, 1751], 928).

that very monastery [where the incident occurred], a very truthful and pious man, when he was studying in Germany in that same monastery.' <sup>100</sup> The author says also that the abbot Louis frequently told the anecdote to his monks in his [the author's] hearing.<sup>101</sup> The legend which follows the 'Bread' miracle and closes the series, no. 105, comes also from the region of Châlons-sur-Marne. It is a tale of a young boy whose soul was rescued by St. John because he repeated the prayer *O intemerata* to Mary and St. John the Evangelist. The prayer was found upon his pillow when he died. Gonterus (fl. 1156), abbot of Chalade, a Cistercian monastery near Clermont-en-Argonne founded in 1138,<sup>102</sup> heard it at a chapter meeting of Cistercian abbots, to which a priest brought the scroll with the prayer on it. Gonterus wrote down the prayer.<sup>103</sup>

The collection of St. Germain-des-Prés could, therefore, have been made by a monk who had come to Paris at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century from the region east of Paris toward the Rhineland bringing with him a collection from a monastery of that region. If the compiler of *SG*<sup>2</sup> was the author of the 'Bread' miracle he was a monk of the Benedictine monastery of Châlons-sur-Marne.<sup>104</sup> In the Benedictine monastery on the Seine he made another collection gathered from the sources available there and appended his earlier collection to it. The whole he refurbished with a prologue of his own, and it became the progenitor of a group of *Quoniam* collections, of which John of Garland's source, the collection of Ste. Geneviève, was one.<sup>105</sup>

### 3. *MSS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491 AND 2333A*

Nothing is known of the origin or the compiler of the large collection of *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491 (X)*<sup>106</sup> in a script of the thirteenth century. It could scarcely have been made earlier than the last

<sup>100</sup> *MS Paris 12593*, fol. 209. *Hoc dominus Ludovicus, abbas Sancti Petri Cathalaunensis, testatur sibi relatum esse ab abbate eiusdem cenobii, viro veracissimo et religiosissimo, cum in Alemannia studendi gratia scolis deditus idem cenobium frequentaret.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 208. *licet . . . quoddam delectabile miraculum scribere quod dominus Ludovicus venerabilis abbas Sancti Petri Cathalaunensis monachis suis frequenter me audiente retulit.* The narrative is summarized, below, p. 199.

<sup>102</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, XIII (Paris, 1785), 1319-1320. Gonterus was present at the council of Rheims in 1148, and in 1156 signed a document.

<sup>103</sup> *MS Paris 12593*, fol. 209. *Querente vero presbiter accepit orationem illam, et ad Cisterciense capitulum veniens, ubi plurimi abbates illius ordinis confluxerant, quod viderat, retulit et orationem illam illis tradidit. Inter ceteros ergo abbates qui afferunt etiam dominus Gonterus abbas Caladiensis qui fuerat monachus Sancti Martini Tornacensis eam descripsit sequē eam cotidie dicere asserens quibusdam et dicendam tradidit.* The eighth legend of *MS Cambrai 739* (Mussafia, I, 976) is a redaction of this same legend without mention of specific names and places.

<sup>104</sup> St. Germain-des-Prés was also a Benedictine monastery, and the compiler's own personal contribution is frequently placed at the end or near the end of the collection.

<sup>105</sup> See p. 60.

<sup>106</sup> Analyzed by Mussafia, I, 976-980. A number of the legends have been overlooked in

quarter of the twelfth century, for it includes an incident recorded by the Cistercian monk, Helinand of Froidmont (d. after 1227), under the year 1161,<sup>107</sup> and a tale told in his later years by the abbot Baldwin of the Praemonstratensian abbey of Belleval in Lorraine, who flourished in 1179.<sup>108</sup> The work is constructed according to no discernible plan<sup>109</sup> except to include under one cover as many Mary legends as possible. Among the more than ninety numbers are the following:

1. The complete collection of Soissons by Hugo Farsitus,<sup>110</sup> of Laon,<sup>111</sup> and of Rocamadour.<sup>112</sup>
2. Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, chs. 8–10.<sup>113</sup>
3. A tale from Helinand's *Chronicon*.<sup>114</sup>
4. A legend from the Cistercian monastery of Savigny in the diocese of Avranches which is not a Mary legend.<sup>115</sup>
5. Some verses, *De transitu virginis Marie*, attributed by their author to Melito of Sardis.<sup>116</sup>
6. Sixty-nine of the eighty legends of SG<sup>1</sup>.
7. Ten versified legends.<sup>117</sup>
8. Two unique legends.<sup>118</sup>

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Mussafia's analysis. In order to avoid confusion, his numbers have been retained, and the missing numbers are designated by the use of small letters. The missing legends are:

- 2a. Sardenay SG 47.
- 42a. Mother of Mercy (Pseudo-Anselm) SV 11.
- 55a. Gethsemane P 21.
- 68a. Saracen and Mary Image SG 31.
- 68b. Unchaste Monk Warned by Widow SG 32.
- 68c. Mare SG 33.
- 73a. Rich Man and Poor Widow SV 61 (versified).

<sup>107</sup> Mussafia, I, 978 (65).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 979 (72).

<sup>109</sup> The numbers are divided into five 'parts,' each part with a carefully labelled prologue followed by a list of titles to chapters. Upon investigation the prologues are found to be merely the traditional prologues to the first legend in the 'part,' whose content connects it with that miracle only. The legends within each part are numbered. Either the numbering was done very carelessly, or the numbers were taken from the source from which the compiler worked. Some legends without numbers are interpolated between two bearing consecutive numbers; and in several cases the numbering would indicate that legends found in the compiler's source have been omitted. In spite of considerable search no particular collection has been found in which the legends are arranged in the sequence suggested by the numbers of X. Except for the last 'part,' which comprises versified legends, the 'parts' have no recognisable unity.

<sup>110</sup> *MS Paris 17491*, fols. 61–71<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 91–100.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 103–139<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 22<sup>v</sup>–24.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 84–88 and Migne *P.L.* ccxii, 1059–1063.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 88–88<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 167<sup>v</sup>–169.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 149–167<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 146–149 and 169–169<sup>v</sup>. The first is said by its author to be *miraculum inauditum* told by the abbot Baldwin of the Praemonstratensian monastery of Belleval in the diocese of Rheims to a brother named Gualterus as happening in his youth, how Mary ap-

The collection ends with remarks on various incidents in the life of the Virgin, the Annunciation, Assumption, etc.

The work of the compiler of *MS Paris 17491* (X) falls into two distinct parts, each of which closes with an unique legend.<sup>119</sup> The first series, X<sup>1</sup>, nos. 1-72, are entirely in prose; the second, X<sup>2</sup>, nos. 73-82, are in verse, or partly in verse, and in some cases the details differ from the prose versions in other collections. The first collection, X<sup>1</sup>, is derived either from SG<sup>1</sup> or from a common source. The prologues, *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo*,<sup>120</sup> are identical; and not only are sixty-nine legends the same in both collections, but there are several long series which follow in the same sequence:

SG <sup>1</sup>	X <sup>1</sup>	SG <sup>1</sup>	X <sup>2</sup>
2	14	61	18
3	15	62	21
4	16	63	22
5	17 <sup>121</sup>	64	26
		65	27
13	31	66	28
14	32		
15	33	67 }	60
16	34	68 }	
		69	61
29	67		
30	68	70	40
31	68a	71	41
32	68b		
33	68c	74	63
34	69	75	64
35	70		

Of the seventeen legends which differentiate the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés from the earlier one of St. Victor, all but two<sup>122</sup> are repeated in the first series of X in much the same order.<sup>123</sup> Six legends, neither in *SV* nor *SG*, have been added:

7. Columns Raised. *Beata dei genitrix et perpetua virgo . . . cuius basilica a Constantino ammirabili opere fabricata renitet.* S.M. 13.

peared in a voice from heaven in the midst of a fire which engulfed his bed without burning it. The other comes at the end of the collection to warn the reader against skepticism, how a learned man made sport of Mary's miracles, and how she appeared to him in the middle of the night and struck him with her sleeve on the left side of the head. It was only after he had confessed that he recovered from the headache it gave him.

<sup>119</sup> Numbers 72 and 83.

<sup>120</sup> This prologue introduces only those collections which on other grounds can be connected with the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés, *MS Paris 17491*, *MS Charleville 168* (defective in the beginning), the collection of Ste. Geneviève, *MS Paris 2333A*, *MSS Rouen U 134* and *A 535*. These comprise the *Quoniam* collections.

<sup>121</sup> Especially significant because SG<sup>1</sup> 5 is a legend interpolated between two long series of *HM* legends.

<sup>122</sup> Those omitted are: no. 53, 'The Origin of *O Maria virgo pia*;' and no. 56, 'Portrait of St. Luke.'

<sup>123</sup> The long series SG<sup>1</sup> 29-35 = X<sup>1</sup> 67-70; SG<sup>1</sup> 48-49 = X<sup>2</sup> 5-6, etc.

8. Light in a Mary Church. *Huius gloriose virginis reliquie in oratorio Marciacensis Averni territorii continentur.*

9. Jewish Boy. *Quid etiam in oriente actum fuerit . . . Iudei cuiusdam vicarii filius.* S.M. 3.

11. Mary Relics. *Huius itaque beate virginis reliquias quadam die super me in cruce aurea positas exhibebam.*

65. Judas in Hell. *Omnis qui de testimonio veritatis novit agere.* S.M. 27.

65a. Christ Appears to Monk. *Quoniam de visionibus studio aptare penam cepimus quod in monasterio Saviniensi contigit sub venerabili patre . . . Serlone relatu dignum credimus. Unus fratrum cuius nomen novimus.* S.M. 40.

The first four incidents are from Gregory of Tours' *In gloria martyrum*, chs. 8-10.<sup>124</sup> The other two are tales of visions seen by monks. The first is recorded under the year 1161 in the *Chronicon* of the Cistercian monk of Froidmont, how a novice in a monastery in England saw a vision of heaven and hell. The second incident occurred in the Cistercian monastery of Savigny when Serlo de Vaubadon was abbot, 1140-1153 (abbot of Clairvaux, 1153-1158), how Christ appeared to a monk on two different occasions when he was saying mass. If the two collections do not emanate from a common source, then *MS Paris 17491* (*X*<sup>1</sup>) would seem to be derived from the first series of the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés, because of the slightly later date, as compared with *SG*<sup>1</sup>, of the legends which distinguish it,<sup>125</sup> and because their common prologue is more at home in *SG* than in *X*.

The versified series, *X*<sup>2</sup>, of *MS Paris 17491*, on the other hand, is derived either from the first series of the collection of St. Victor (*SV*<sup>1</sup>) or from a common source. Of the ten numbers, seven are identical with those of *SV*<sup>1</sup>, and the sequence is almost the same in both collections:<sup>126</sup>

	<i>SV</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>X</i> <sup>2</sup>
Monk Laid Out as Dead . . . . .	28	79
Monk Dies Suddenly in Burgundy . . . . .	29	78
Uncompleted Confession . . . . .	30	81
Love by Black Art . . . . .	36	76
Bonus . . . . .	38	75
Rich Man and Poor Widow . . . . .	61	73a
Incest . . . . .	62	73

<sup>124</sup> The second part of ch. 9, 'Barns Filled,' is no. 58 of *SG*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> Among the legends of *SG*<sup>1</sup> which can be dated, the most recent one is 'Mare,' an incident referred to in a letter of pope Alexander III (1159-1181) to Henry de France, archbishop of Rheims, 1162-1175 (see below, p. 184). The incident itself may have happened earlier. Besides this tale, *MS Paris 17491* relates 'Judas in Hell,' dated 1161 in the *Chronicon* of Helinand (d. after 1227), and the unique one told by the abbot Baldwin of Belleval (fl. 1179) in his later years.

<sup>126</sup> Numbers 74, 77, and 80 of *X*<sup>2</sup> are lacking in *SV*<sup>1</sup>. Of these nos. 74, 'Chaste Empress,' and 77, 'Clerk of Pisa,' are only partly in verse, as if the compiler of *X*<sup>2</sup> had begun something he found too difficult to finish. The third, no. 80, is a version of 'Jewess in Child-birth,' not known elsewhere. The *APM* collections place the versified legends together at the end of the collection, as in *X*.

The manuscript of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2333A, in a script of the fourteenth century, is little more than a copy of *MS Paris 17491*. Four of the legends are omitted,<sup>127</sup> and two have been added.<sup>128</sup> The legend, 'Theophilus,' in verse replaces the prose version of X. Otherwise the legends follow in the same order.<sup>129</sup>

The growing tendency to versify the legends of the *Quoniam* collections is observed in *MS Charleville 168* of the thirteenth century, a collection which has much in common with *MS Paris 17491*. The compiler of X<sup>2</sup>, or some one who preceded him, versified a part of Melito of Sardis. He attempted also to turn two others into verse, but gave up after the first two lines. The compiler of the Charleville collection adds to the number, 'Mare' and 'Unchaste Monk Warned by Widow,' besides another legend which is unique.<sup>130</sup>

#### 4. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18134*

The fifty-nine legends of *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18134* in a script of the second half of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth<sup>131</sup> may be divided into two distinctly different series: Q<sup>1</sup>, nos. 1-26, except nos. 1 and 17; and Q<sup>2</sup>, nos. 27-59 and nos. 1 and 17. The first series, Q<sup>1</sup>, depends upon the first series of the collection of St. Victor, for the legends are identical in form and diction. They are told in almost the same order in both collections except that some have been omitted from Q<sup>1</sup>.<sup>132</sup> The prologue is the ancient *Ad laudem* prologue, as in *SV*.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>127</sup> No. 5, 'Purification;' no. 57, 'Mary Relics;' no. 66, 'Conception;' and no. 72, 'Abbot Baldwin.'

<sup>128</sup> No. 6, 'Musa,' and no. 79, 'Wife and Mistress,' in verse.

<sup>129</sup> Mussafia, I, 981. The table is not accurate. A number of the legends of *MS Paris 2333A* indicated as added legends are actually in *MS Paris 17491*: nos. 56, 68-70, and 75.

<sup>130</sup> Mussafia, II, 49 (4-6).

<sup>131</sup> Between 1280 and 1325, is the judgment of Henri Omont. Mussafia attributes it to the thirteenth century. See Mussafia, 'Über die von Gautier de Coincy benützten Quellen,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, XLIV (1894), 49, note 1.

<sup>132</sup> Mussafia's series of studies on Mary legends, I, 982-989, overlooks three of the legends of *MS Paris 18134*. Two are among the series of Q<sup>1</sup>, 'Hieronymous' (fol. 114) and 'Fire at Mont-St.-Michel' (fols. 114-114<sup>v</sup>); and one belongs to Q<sup>2</sup>, 'Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored' (fols. 141-141<sup>v</sup>). The two additional legends of the first series make the case for dependence upon *SV*<sup>2</sup> stronger than Mussafia indicates. Mussafia's numbering has had to be abandoned in this analysis, because in addition to the omissions, there are errors in the printing. In Mussafia's study Q<sup>1</sup> = nos. 1-24, except nos. 1 and 15, and Q<sup>2</sup> = nos. 1, 15, and 25-65.

<sup>128</sup>	Q <sup>1</sup>	SV <sup>1</sup>	Q <sup>1</sup>	SV <sup>1</sup>	Q <sup>1</sup>	SV <sup>1</sup>
	2	1	12	22	21	44
	3	2	13	24	22	45
	4	3	14	34	23	39
	5	4	15	64	24	33
	6	5	16	28	25	61
	7	7	17	—	26	62
	8	13	18	30		
	9	15	19	36		
	10	19	20	40		
	11	21				

The second series, nos. 1, 17, and 27-59 ( $Q^2$ ), is one of the most interesting and mysterious series in all the collections of Mary legends in Latin. It is difficult to believe that they were originally put together by the same person who compiled  $Q^1$ , for the treatment of the two series is very different. The compiler of the first series has painstakingly followed his source, except for the omission of some of the legends and the rearrangement of others. In  $Q^2$ , not even the most venerable legends escape radical alteration in diction. Others are revised to make them briefer and more dramatic in the manner of the vernacular versions of the thirteenth century. The Latin style of the legends of  $Q^2$  is more direct than that of the original versions, and the form is often cruder.

The thirty-five legends of  $Q^2$ , aside from nos. 41 and 58 which are Pez legends, may be divided into four groups according to the sources from which they appear to come:

1. Eight legends, nos. 17, 27, 35, 42, 54-56 and 59,<sup>184</sup> are unique, or not often told in Latin collections made in northern France.

2. Fourteen legends, nos. 28-30, 34, 39, 43-47, and 49-52,<sup>185</sup> are sufficiently similar in diction, detail, and sequence to the collection in the French vernacular of Gautier de Coincy<sup>186</sup> that it must be concluded either (1) that Gautier de Coincy used  $Q^2$  in the composition of his work or (2) that the author of  $Q^2$  was following the text of Gautier de Coincy. Although it is not possible with the evidence at hand to conclude definitely that Gautier's vernacular collection was the source of the fourteen legends of  $Q^2$ ,<sup>187</sup> a study of some of the narratives in the next classification as well as the script of *MS 18134* would indicate a date later than 1223 for the composition of  $Q^2$ , and therefore lead to the second conclusion.

<sup>184</sup> Mussafia, I, 983-989, numbers these legends 15, 25, 41, 48, 60-62, and 65.

<sup>185</sup> Mussafia's numbers are 26-27 (no. 29 does not appear), 40, 45, 49-53, and 55-58.

<sup>186</sup> Gautier de Coincy, *Les miracles de la sainte Vierge*, ed. by Alexandre Eusèbe Poquet, Paris, 1857. Three additional legends are edited by Jacob Ulrich in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vi (1882), 325-346. Arthur Långfors edits several from the Hermitage manuscript in *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, series B*, xxxiv (Helsinki, 1937). Mussafia in *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 3-5, lists the legends as they appear in the Soissons manuscript. There is a study of the manuscripts by Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye in *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, xxv, 2, series B (Helsinki, 1932).

<sup>187</sup> Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 35-54, marked the similarity in diction of nine of the legends, noting that in one case the author of *MS Paris 18134* seems to have known also the version of the manuscript of St. Germain-des-Prés as well as that of Gautier de Coincy. Five other legends, not noted by Mussafia, show traces in diction as well as detail of both Gautier de Coincy and SG. Moreover, with a single exception, the legends of the Paris manuscript *18134* and the Soissons manuscript of Gautier de Coincy follow in the same sequence. The legends, not noted by Mussafia are: X<sup>2</sup>, no. 29, 'Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored;' no. 30, 'Devil in Beasts' Shapes;' no. 39, 'Abbess;' no. 45, 'Eulalia;' and no. 46, 'Ebbo;' Following is a table showing the parallels:

$Q^2$	G. de Coincy
28	I, 4
29	8
30	7
34	32

3. In the third group are five legends, nos. 32–33, 36, 38 and 48,<sup>138</sup> identified with a Latin collection referred to as the *Mariale magnum*, but not now extant.<sup>139</sup> They are similar in theme to certain tales found in other collections where they are said to have been extracted from that enigmatical work.<sup>140</sup> In addition to these five legends, said to be from the *Mariale magnum*, which do not appear in Gautier de Coincy's collection, there are ten or eleven other *Mariale magnum* legends among those fourteen in the second group which are common to both Gautier de Coincy and *MS 18134*, nos. 28–30, 34, 39, 43–44, 46–47, 49, and probably 50.<sup>141</sup> These numbers include all but one of the legends of *MS 18134* in whose diction there are traces of both Gautier de Coincy and another source which Mussafia believed to be *SG*.<sup>142</sup> But, the *SG* legends are the same versions as those found in Vincent of Beauvais and attributed to the *Mariale magnum*. The compiler's second source, therefore, could have been, not *SG*, but the *Mariale magnum*. In view of this fact and of the appearance of the five legends of the *Mariale magnum* in *Q*<sup>2</sup>, but not in Gautier de Coincy, it would seem that the author of *Q*<sup>2</sup> (provided he did use Gautier de Coincy as his source and not *vice versa*) was employing both Gautier de Coincy and the *Mariale magnum* as

<i>Q</i> <sup>2</sup>	G. de Coincy
39	11
43	12
44	14
45	20
46	21
47	23
49	29
50	30
51	35
52	II, 3

<sup>138</sup> Mussafia's numbers are 29, 39, 42, 44, and 54.

<sup>139</sup> See below, pp. 36–51.

<sup>140</sup> Number 32, how a married woman and a clerk eloped with her husband's money and the church treasure, in *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major, Cologne, 1747), pp. 472–474 (43); no. 33, how Ubaldus, a knight, refused to deny Mary, in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (105–106); no. 36, about an old Cistercian who could learn only the *Ave Maria*, in Gobius, *Scala celi* (Ulm, 1480), no. 17; no. 38, of a physician, turned Cistercian, who refused to eat coarse food, in Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, ch. 108; and no. 48, of a boy drowned by a tidal wave, in Gobius, *op. cit.*, no. 8. These legends are treated with great freedom by the author of *MS 18134*, but the number of them and the obvious similarity in theme and some of the details makes it impossible to dismiss them, as Mussafia does, as legends which developed independently. Certain of the legends of *Q*<sup>2</sup> appear to come from the vernacular collection of Gautier de Coincy. It is just possible that there was also an intermediary vernacular collection between the *Mariale magnum* and *Q*<sup>2</sup> (see below, p. 30, note 157). Certain of the legends, however, follow more closely what must have been the Latin text of the *Mariale magnum*.

<sup>141</sup> Mussafia's numbers are 26, —, 27, 40, 45, 49–50, 52–53, 55, and probably 56. The last two legends often appear together. The exceptional one, 'Eulalia,' no. 45, may also be a *Mariale magnum* legend, for it appears in related collections.

<sup>142</sup> Mussafia in *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 48–49, after a comparison of the diction of *MS 18134*, no. 50; *SG*, no. 35; and Gautier de Coincy comes to this conclusion. The same is equally true of other legends which Mussafia apparently did not study, especially *Q*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 29, 39, and 46. See p. 27, note 137.

sources. When he came upon a legend told in both his sources, his instinct for the dramatic led him to rely chiefly upon the vernacular version of Gautier de Coincy. Legends which he found only in the *Mariale magnum*, he revised in the spirit of the vernacular examples he had before him.

Some clue as to the date of  $Q^2$  of *MS Paris 18134*, aside from the script in which it is written, is furnished by several of the legends in this third group. The evidence, such as it is, supports the conclusion that the collection of Gautier de Coincy, although in the vernacular, is earlier than that of  $Q^2$  in Latin. Three of the five legends of the *Mariale magnum* are among the narratives of the second collection of *MS British Museum 15723* of the thirteenth century.<sup>143</sup> The first series of this compendium depends upon Vincent of Beauvais. The entire collection is said to have been taken from the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>144</sup> The details of three legends make it possible to date them. Ward places one not earlier than 1161,<sup>145</sup> another not earlier than 1180,<sup>146</sup> and a third not earlier than 1200.<sup>147</sup> A fourth legend, appearing in the *Mariale magnum*, but not in  $Q^2$ , could have been told in its original form as late as 1223.<sup>148</sup> It is not at all likely that legends with *termini ex quo* so late as 1200 could have been written down in Latin and then revised by the compiler of  $Q^2$  in time for Gautier de Coincy to use them in the early 1220's. Therefore, in the absence of other evidence, it may be concluded tentatively that  $Q^2$  of *MS Paris 18134* was composed from at least two sources, a Latin collection known by reputation as the *Mariale magnum* and the vernacular collection of Gautier de Coincy. As such it is a most unusual collection, for ordinarily vernacular collections were made by translation from the Latin, not Latin collections from the vernacular.

4. The fourth group of legends comprising  $Q^2$  is a miscellaneous group of six, nos. 1, 31, 37, 40, 53, and 57.<sup>149</sup> One of them, no. 40, how the Virgin rebuked a Cistercian monk who sang softly, has the same general characteristics as the legends of the *Mariale magnum*, and may well belong there.<sup>150</sup> It exists today in the French vernacular in the *Miserere* of the *Renclus* of Moiliens,<sup>151</sup> written about the end of the twelfth century. A second anecdote, no. 57, is the same tale as no. 60 of *MS Rouen A 535*, a collection closely related to the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>152</sup> The first legend of the manu-

<sup>143</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 622-636, describes this collection.

<sup>144</sup> See below, pp. 44-48.

<sup>145</sup> *MS 18134*, no. 44, 'Five Psalms.' Ward, II, 632-633 (30).

<sup>146</sup> *MS 18134*, no. 51, 'Nun Could Not Unlock Door.' Ward, II, 634 (34).

<sup>147</sup> *MS 18134*, no. 34, 'One Hundred and Fifty Aves Daily.' Ward, II, 634-635 (35).

<sup>148</sup> Ward, II, 624-625, '*Missus Gabriel*.'

<sup>149</sup> Mussafia's numbers are 1, 28, 43, 46, 59, and 63.

<sup>150</sup> It is a Cistercian legend, as are many others of the *Mariale magnum*.

<sup>151</sup> A. G. van Hamel (ed.), *Li Romans de Carité et Miserere du Renclus de Moiliens* (Paris, 1885), pp. 261-272 (232-252).

<sup>152</sup> See below, pp. 36-39 and 46-47.

script is another which has been identified in the same version only in a vernacular collection.<sup>153</sup> A story similar to no. 37, how a widow taught her son to lay garlands upon the altar of the Virgin, is told by the Dominican preacher Herolt in the next century.<sup>154</sup> The 'Chorister,' no. 31,<sup>155</sup> and 'Beatrice the Sacristan,' no. 53, could also have come to *MS Paris 18134* by way of the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>156</sup>

It is probable that the original home of *Q*<sup>2</sup> was Soissons, or the vicinity of Soissons, for the trails which lead to and from the collection tend to converge on that region. Not only did the author probably use the Soissons manuscript of Gautier de Coincy, the monk of St. Medard at Soissons, as one of his sources, but a number of the legends told by him appear in a large compilation of Mary lore in the vernacular made not earlier than 1328 by an anonymous of Soissons, part of which is known as the *Rosarius*. There may have been a copy of the *Mariale magnum* available in the Soissons region about 1325, a possible date for *Q*<sup>2</sup> as indicated by the script of *MS Paris 18134*, because the *Rosarius* depends upon a *Grant Marial* as its principal source.<sup>157</sup> The author of the *Rosarius* knew the work of the *Renclus* of Moiliens, whose vernacular poem, *Miserere*, yields the only parallel to one of the legends of *Q*<sup>2</sup> of *MS Paris 18134*.<sup>158</sup>

##### 5. THE ROUEN *Mariale*

The title 'Mariale' is defined in the thirteenth century as a collection of materials in praise of the Virgin, a sort of anthology or *summa* of Mary lore. Such volumes were useful in the monasteries and churches as sources of readings for Saturdays and the celebration of the great festivals of the

<sup>153</sup> In *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale French 2094*, fol. 162v. This legend is printed by Jozef Morawski, 'Mélanges de littérature pieuse: Les miracles de Notre-Dame en vers français,' *Romania*, LXI (1935), 335-342.

<sup>154</sup> Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 70.

<sup>155</sup> The 'Chorister' is included in the Vendome collection (below, pp. 48-51). Gautier de Coincy relates the tale, but the version of *MS Paris 18134* is not the same one.

<sup>156</sup> The tale of 'Beatrice the Sacristan,' as well as several others of *MS Paris 18134*, is among the legends of Caesar of Heisterbach and an anonymous collection probably made also at the Cistercian monastery of Heisterbach, which is designated as pseudo-Caesarus. One of the sources of these two collections seems to have been an unidentified *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux*, a probable source of some of the legends of the *Mariale magnum*. See below, p. 55-59. In fact it might even be possible to conclude that the compiler of *Q*<sup>2</sup> was using the *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux* as one of his sources, if it were not for the definite traces in the versions of *MS Paris 18134* of the diction of the versions of the *Mariale magnum* in those legends which certainly must have come from Gautier de Coincy. The *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux* seems to have lacked the legends of northern France, so abundant in Gautier de Coincy and *MS Paris 18134*.

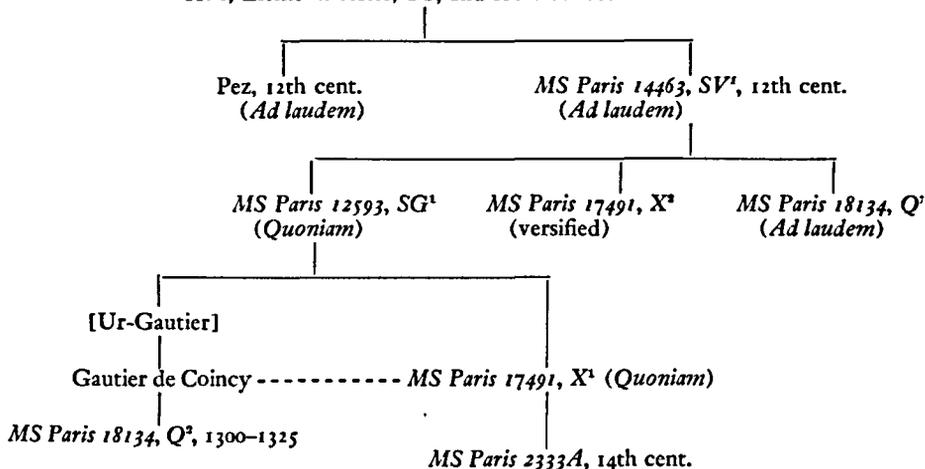
<sup>157</sup> Morawski, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-326, and Långfors, *Notices et extraits*, xxxix (1916), 503-662. See Morawski, p. 319, and *Q*<sup>2</sup>, no. 1; Morawski, p. 323, and *Q*<sup>2</sup>, no. 53 (Mussafia, I, 987, 59); Långfors, *op. cit.*, p. 605, and *Q*<sup>2</sup>, no. 48 (Mussafia, I, 986-987, 54). If the *Grant Marial* were a vernacular *Mariale magnum*, the mystery of *Q*<sup>2</sup> would be solved. Comparison of the inedited *Rosarius* texts with *Q*<sup>2</sup> could provide the answer.

<sup>158</sup> The relationship between the collections studied to this point may be illustrated as follows:

Virgin Mary.<sup>159</sup> Some of the collections already described include scattered materials other than legends. The collection of St. Victor interpolates among the miracles, the *De transitu* of Melito of Sardis and a commentary on a sermon of St. Bernard. The compiler of *MS Paris 17491* versified part of the *De transitu*, and he concludes the collection with references to scenes from the life of the Virgin.

The Public Library of Rouen has, among others, two collections of Mary legends, one of which is a copy of the other. The earlier, *MS Rouen U 134*<sup>160</sup> of the thirteenth century, bears the title, *Mariale, quod est de laude gloriose et perpetue virginis Dei genitricis Marie*. Both belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Jumièges. The Rouen *Mariale* was not originally a single collection, for it has two prologues, one awkwardly following the other. The first, *In libro Mariali*, beginning *Mirande virginis laudes qui miratur, mirandus est nemo*, ends with the statement that the work is compiled 'from miracles and sayings of the fathers, ancient and modern.'<sup>161</sup> In spite of this declaration, the thirteenth-century copy<sup>162</sup> is made up of

HM, Elements-series, TS, and local collections



<sup>159</sup> *MS Cambrai 739*, a collection of Mary legends and sermons about the Virgin, suggests that they were repeated at certain services. The sermons and the miracles are each divided into three readings (*lectiones*). The manuscript has two rubrics which explain their use: *Incipiunt miracula beatissime virginis Marie que dicuntur ad matutinas, quando agitur de S. Maria privatis noctibus*, and *Sermones de S. M. que dicuntur privatis noctibus quando agitur de S. M. ad matutinum cum miraculis supradictis*. See Mussafia, I, 975-976.

<sup>160</sup> Albert Poncelet, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Rotomagensis,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxiii (1904), 143-146 and 214. A collection also entitled 'Mariale' is *MS Brussels Phillipps 336*, of the twelfth century (Mussafia, III, 23-24 and IV, 2-5). Vincent of Beauvais, too, used a collection which he called 'Mariale.'

<sup>161</sup> Poncelet, *op. cit.*, p. 144, *huius libelli series ex miraculis et ex dictis patrum veterum et recentium tota contextitur*. It is possible that this is the prologue also of *MS Paris 5268*, the first folio of which is mutilated (Mussafia, II, 5).

<sup>162</sup> Excerpts from a sermon of St. Augustine are inserted in the fourteenth-century copy which is *MS Rouen A 535*.

legends only, four of which are not Mary legends. A second prologue, *Generalis prefatio*, which belongs specifically to the series of Mary legends, follows immediately. It is the prologue of SG and MS Paris 17491, *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo virginum*.<sup>163</sup>

As the second prologue foreshadows, the Rouen *Mariale* is a descendant of the collections of St. Germain-des-Prés and MS Paris 17491, X<sup>1</sup>. Of the sixty-four legends of the Rouen collections, the first forty-three, R<sup>1</sup>, are the same, except for changes in diction and sequence, as those of the first series of MS Paris 17491. Among the anecdotes common to both are three of particular significance because they have been found only in *Quoniam* collections, including the *Stella maris*: the vision of 'Judas in Hell' from Helinand of Froidmont; following it, as in MS Paris 17491, that of the monk to whom Christ appeared while he was saying mass; and the legend of the fire in the church at Mare. The series from Gregory of Tours follows in the same order in both except that chapter 18 of the *In gloria martyrum* has been interpolated between the two legends of chapter 8, and chapter 10 has been omitted. Both are legends about Mary relics. The fact that the series in MS Paris 17491 (X<sup>1</sup>) is chapters 8–10 without modification suggests that chapter 18 is a substitution made by the compiler of the Rouen *Mariale* or his source, and that X<sup>1</sup> of MS Paris 17491 is the earlier collection. That the Rouen *Mariale* was not copied directly from X<sup>1</sup> as it appears in the Paris manuscript 17491, however, is indicated by the presence of 'Musa,' which is omitted in X<sup>1</sup>, in its appropriate place before 'Columns Raised,' as in MS Paris 2333A, clearly related to X<sup>1</sup>.<sup>164</sup> The *Stella maris* includes, not only the three distinctive legends common to MS Paris 17491 and the Rouen *Mariale*, but also three from the Gregory of Tours series.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Even the title, *Generalis prefatio*, is from MS Paris 17491 and SG.

<sup>164</sup> The following table records legends in series common to both collections:

	MS Paris 17491	Rouen	MS 2333A
5. Purification .....		4	—
6. Nativity .....		5	—
[Musa] .....		6	6
7. Columns Raised ch. 8a .....		7	7
[Mary Relics] ch. 18 .....		8	—
8. Light in a Mary Church ch. 8b ....		9	8
9. Jewish Boy ch. 9a .....		10	9
10. Barns Filled ch. 9b .....		11	10
11. Mary Relics ch. 10 .....		—	11
51. Three Knights .....		41	
52. Eulalia .....		42	
58. Bread .....		38	
59. Hours Sung Daily .....		39	
65. Judas in Hell .....		1	
65a. Christ Appears to Monk .....		2	
68c. Mare .....		18	

<sup>165</sup> 'Judas,' no. 27; 'Christ Appears to Monk,' no. 40; 'Mare,' no. 29; and from Gregory of Tours, nos. 3, 6, and 13, as well as a legend (no. 53) which is a redaction of ch. 21 of the same work.

There is other evidence that *MS Paris 17491* was not the immediate source of the Rouen *Mariale*. The Rouen collection uses prose versions of two legends,<sup>166</sup> versified or partly versified, in the second series, X<sup>2</sup>, of *MS Paris 17491* and in the collection of St. Victor. Their presence here is significant, because they are part of a series which appears in versified redactions in the Parisian collections, with the exception of the *Stella maris*, and in prose versions in the *Mariale magnum* and the *Stella maris*.<sup>167</sup> These facts imply not only that *MS Paris 17491* was not the source of the Rouen *Mariale*, but also that the Rouen *Mariale* shares a common source with the *Mariale magnum*, or that its source was the *Mariale magnum*.

The second series of the Rouen *Mariale*, R<sup>2</sup> (nos. 44–64), provides more evidence of its relation to the *Mariale magnum*. The twenty-one legends include six which have not been found in other collections,<sup>168</sup> and six which are more or less familiar.<sup>169</sup> A third group of eight are characteristic only of the *Mariale magnum* and collections related to it:

44. Painter of Flanders.<sup>170</sup> *Caritati diligentium virginem matrem Christi Iesu Mariam incentivum aliquod superaddi cupientes, parvum sed pulchrum quid de pictore quodam loquimur, qui eidem Domine pro vite sue merito familiaris in partibus Flandrie sibi nomen fecerat.* S.M. 54.

45. Unwilling to Deny Mary.<sup>171</sup> *Lapsis gravi peccatorum ruina . . . In Aquitania itaque partibus in castello quodam milites duo principabantur.*

46. Cisterian Monks at Their Field Work.<sup>172</sup> *Laborantis anima laborabat sibi . . . Nobilis quidam honeste in seculo vite timens ne in vacuum curreret.*

47. Christ Image Broken by Brabantine Blasphemers.<sup>173</sup> *Iuxta castrum Radulfi est quedam abbatia, que Dolis vocatur.*

48. Cistercian Monk Persecuted.<sup>174</sup> *Rei geste quam sequens perstringit lectio.*

<sup>166</sup> Rouen *Mariale*, no. 34, 'Chaste Empress,' of which only the first sentences are versified, and no. 36, 'Bonus.' The latter is included in versified form, not only in the Parisian collections, but also in Pez, no. 37. The collection of St. Germain-des-Prés omits it. Following the two versified legends in the Rouen *Mariale* is 'Poor Man Strikes Stone' (no. 37). In the legends which Vincent of Beauvais took from the *Mariale magnum*, this legend occupies the same position following 'Bonus.'

<sup>167</sup> John of Garland has, of course, versified all the legends he uses, but his details are those of the prose versions which he found in the collection of Ste. Geneviève. See especially 'Jewess in Childbirth,' *Stella maris*, no. 37, and *MS Paris 17491*, no. 80. (Mussafia, I, 979–980.)

<sup>168</sup> Rouen *Mariale*, nos. 56–59, 61, and 64: no. 56, how an English priest was freed of demons by reciting *O intemerata* (suggests no. 1 of *MS Paris 18134*); no. 57, not a Mary legend; no. 58, how a girl of Lausanne was rescued by Mary (there is another legend of Lausanne in *MS Additional 15723*); no. 59, how a captive was liberated from prison; no. 61, how the niece of a wicked man of Rouen accused of being an accomplice in one of his crimes was freed; and no. 64, about an abbot who ate a spider with the sacrament, which is not a Mary legend.

<sup>169</sup> Rouen *Mariale*, nos. 49, 51–52, 54–55: no. 49, 'Fulbert of Chartres,' is found chiefly in Anglo-Norman collections; no. 51, from Peter the Venerable (Migne, P.L., CLXXXIX, 949–950); no. 52, from Lanfranc (ed. J. A. Giles, Oxford, 1844, I, 340–349); nos. 54–55 are Pez, 4–5; no. 63, 'Beirut,' is not a Mary legend, but does appear in the *Stella maris*, no. 21.

<sup>170</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII, ch. 104.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, chs. 105–106.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 107.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 110.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 109.

. . . *In quodam aiebat* [Simon, abbas de Los] Cisterciensis [ordinis] monasterio fuit monachus quidam religiosus.

53. Monk Who Recited Five Psalms Daily.<sup>175</sup> *Quidam archiepiscopus Cantuariensis ecclesie.*

60. Chaplain Whom Mary Chose.<sup>176</sup> *In territorio Lexoviensi quidam fuit iuvenis natalibus ortus non infimis.*

62. Demons in the Form of Swine.<sup>177</sup> *Fuit ex eorum numero, quos Cartusienensis ordo suscipit laicus quidam humilis genere.*

Besides the two prose legends of  $R^1$  and the eight tales of  $R^2$ , eleven others<sup>178</sup> of the narratives of  $R^1$  are also identified with the *Mariale magnum* by the compilers of collections yet to be analyzed.<sup>179</sup> Moreover, the sequence of certain of the legends of both  $R^1$  and  $R^2$  was determined either by the *Mariale magnum* or a common source.<sup>180</sup>

The Rouen *Mariale*, therefore, betrays evidence of two collections: (1) a *Quoniam* collection similar to, but not the same as *MS Paris 17491* ( $X^1$ , but not  $X^2$ ); and (2) the *Mariale magnum*. It was not composed, however, simply by uniting two collections, for the sequence of the legends throughout must have been influenced by the *Mariale magnum*, or a collection much like it. On the other hand, the more detailed comparison of the Rouen *Mariale* with the collection of Vincent of Beauvais which follows does not justify the conclusion that the Rouen *Mariale* was descended from the *Mariale magnum*. It was, instead, probably derived from a single collection which was the common source of both. That collection, as yet unidentified, will be referred to at present as the *Ur-Mariale*.<sup>181</sup>

The title *Mariale* was, perhaps, borrowed from its source, as was also the title *Mariale magnum*, hence the first prologue of the Rouen collections, *In libro Mariali*. The concluding sentence of the same prologue, *huius libelli series ex miraculis et ex dictis patrum veterum et recentium tota con-*

<sup>175</sup> Gobius, *Scala celi*, no. 21 and *MS British Museum Additional 15723* attribute it to the *Mariale magnum*. Vincent of Beauvais tells the tale (ch. 116), but it is not one of the legends which he attributes to the *Mariale magnum*.

<sup>176</sup> *MS Paris 18134*, no. 57 (fols. 166-168).

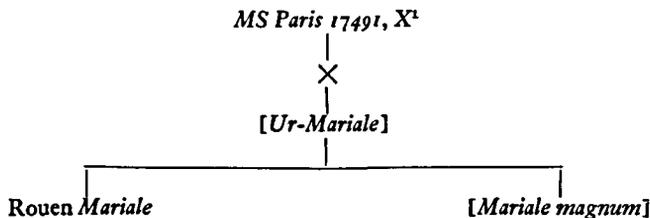
<sup>177</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII, ch. 112.

<sup>178</sup> Rouen *Mariale*, nos. 7, 16-17, 20, 24-26, 32, 35, 37-38. In addition to the table on pp. 35-36, see also p. 42.

<sup>179</sup> Below, pp. 37-48.

<sup>180</sup> See pp. 38 and 46-47 for a comparison of the legends of the Rouen *Mariale* and the *Mariale magnum*, as it is known through the summaries of Vincent of Beauvais.

<sup>181</sup>



*textitur*, makes a promise that is not really fulfilled in the Rouen *Mariale*,<sup>182</sup> which is made up entirely of legends. It is fair to suppose that the source from which the legends were drawn did include matter of this sort. A study of the collections descended from the *Mariale magnum* yields evidence that it did.

The following table compares the Rouen *Mariale* with other collections:

Rouen <i>Mariale</i> (R <sup>1</sup> )	X	<i>Stella maris</i>	Vincent of Beauvais
1. Judas in Hell .....	65	27	—
2. Christ Appears to Monk .....	65 <sup>a</sup>	40	—
3. Stained Corporal P 14 .....	33	—	—
4. Purification .....	5	30	—
5. Nativity .....	6	15	119 <sup>a</sup>
6. Musa TS 3 .....	—	—	—
7. Columns Raised .....	7	13	81 <sup>a</sup>
8. Gregory of Tours, ch. 18 .....	—	— <sup>183</sup>	—
9. Light in a Mary Church .....	8	—	—
10. Jewish Boy .....	9	3	—
11. Barns Filled .....	10	6	—
12. Libia TS 5 .....	3	17	—
13. Gethsemane TS 6 .....	5 <sup>a</sup>	—	—
14. Saracen and Mary Image .....	68 <sup>a</sup>	7	119 <sup>b</sup>
15. Mary Image Insulted TS 7 .....	4	18	119 <sup>c</sup>
16. Toledo TS 1 .....	36	9	81 <sup>b</sup>
17. Jew Lends to Christian P 33 .....	29	19	82
18. Mare .....	68 <sup>c</sup>	29	—
19. Fire at Mont-St.-Michel P 15 .....	34	41	—
20. Orleans .....	68	26	83
21. Constantinople .....	1	—	—
22. Chartres .....	23	32	—
23. Sight Restored .....	12	31	—
24. Milk; Tongue and Lips Restored ...	25	1	84
25. Childbirth in the Sea P 22 .....	27	—	85
26. Abbess P 36 .....	38	2	86
*27. Uncompleted Confession P 41 .....	81	—	—
28. Devil in Beasts' Shapes TS 9 .....	26	5	—
29. Kiss Hands and Feet .....	48	—	—
30. Bridegroom: Transported .....	18	35	—
31. Son Restored P 24 .....	28	4	—
32. Pilgrim in the Sea P 27-28 .....	40	10	88-89
33. Saturday TS 17 .....	56	58	—
34. Chaste Empress .....	—	14	90-92
35. St. Dunstan P 25-26 .....	60	—	113
36. Bonus P 37 .....	—	—	97 <sup>a</sup>
37. Poor Man Strikes Stone .....	64	—	98

\* Versified.

<sup>182</sup> There are, of course, the legends from 'recent' fathers, Peter the Venerable (no. 51) and Lanfranc (no. 52).

<sup>183</sup> Chapter 21 of the same work is no. 53, of the *Stella maris*.

	X	<i>Stella maris</i>	Vincent of Beauvais
38. Bread .....	58	49	99b
39. Hours Sung Daily P 34 .....	59	23	—
40. <i>O intemerata</i> : Buried Outside .....	70	—	—
41. Three Knights TS 12 .....	51	—	—
42. Eulalia TS 13 .....	52	—	—
43. Leuricus TS 16 .....	55	—	—
<i>Rouen Mariale (R<sup>2</sup>)</i>			
44. Painter of Flanders .....	—	54	104
45. Will not Deny Mary .....	—	—	105-106
46. Monks at Their Field Work .....	—	—	107
47. Brabantine Blasphemers .....	—	—	110
48. Cistercian Monk Persecuted .....	—	—	109
49. Milk: Fulbert of Chartres .....	—	—	—
50. Liberated by the Prayers of Brothers .....	—	—	—
51. Peter the Venerable, ch. 30 .....	—	—	—
52. Lanfranc .....	—	—	—
53. Five Psalms .....	—	—	116
54. Five Joys P 4 .....	16	—	—
55. Charitable Almsman P 5 .....	49	48	—
56. <i>O intemerata</i> : Son of a Priest .....	—	—	—
57. King of France .....	—	—	—
58. Girl of Lausanne .....	—	—	—
59. Liberated from Captivity .....	—	—	—
60. Mary Choses a Chaplain .....	—	—	—
61. Niece of a Wicked Man .....	—	—	—
62. Demons as Swine .....	—	—	112
63. Beirut .....	—	21	—
64. Abbot Eats Spider .....	—	—	—
Thread in Lip <sup>184</sup> .....	—	—	89b

## 6. THE *Mariale magnum*

The history of Mary legends in France presents no more intriguing problem than the *Mariale magnum*, known at present only by reputation. It must have been a work of importance in its day, for it is cited by French compilers of Mary lore from the middle of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The most accurate information as to its nature and content comes from the collection of Mary legends which Vincent of Beauvais incorporates in the *Speculum historiale*.<sup>185</sup> The work was probably completed by 1244, certainly by 1247.<sup>186</sup> Since one of the legends which the compiler

<sup>184</sup> A separate article immediately following the Mary legends.

<sup>185</sup> *Bibliotheca mundi Vincentii Burgundi; speculum quadruplex, naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale* (Douai, 1624), vol. iv. In this edition the legends are in Bk. VII, chs. 80-119, pp. 250-266.

<sup>186</sup> B. L. Ullman, 'A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais,' *Speculum*, viii (1933), 316.

attributes to it mentions the year 1187,<sup>187</sup> the *Mariale magnum* must have been compiled, as Vincent of Beauvais used it, in the sixty years between 1187 and 1247.

### *The Collection of Vincent of Beauvais*

Vincent of Beauvais' legends are preceded by excerpts from the *De transitu* of Melito of Sardis and the vision of the assumption of the Virgin from Elizabeth of Schönau (d. 1165).<sup>188</sup> That these selections have a definite connection with the miracles about to be related, he makes clear when he begins the author's note introducing the legends with *Post Assumptionem*. The note itself sheds light on the character of the *Mariale magnum*,

After her assumption the Virgin was made illustrious by many miracles [performed] in various parts of the earth and at various times. Certain of these worthy of credence and approved by religious men, to her honor and the enlightenment of the reader, we wish to insert briefly in this work in this fashion.<sup>189</sup>

This statement by Vincent of Beauvais himself is followed immediately in the same chapter by the words *Ex Mariali magno* and a series of legends occupying chapters 81-119. In the middle of chapter 113, the author, after merely alluding to several legends, breaks in with the words *Explicit de Mariali magno. Item alia*. He gives no information about the source of the additional miracles which follow in chapters 113-119, except that he tells two of them elsewhere in the *Speculum historiale* and attributes them to the 'Mariale.'<sup>190</sup> His collection, therefore, may be divided into two series: *V*<sup>1</sup>, chs. 81-113b (33 legends) and *V*<sup>2</sup>, chs. 113c-119 (10 legends).

The most striking characteristics about the work of Vincent of Beauvais are (1) its similarity to the Rouen *Mariale* and (2) the large number of Cistercian legends it includes. Certain phrases of the author's note suggest the *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo* prologue of the Rouen *Mariale*.<sup>191</sup> Vincent

<sup>187</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, VII, ch. 110, how in 1187 during a war between Henry II and Philip Augustus two Brabantines blasphemed and stoned a Mary image. The Douai edition which has been cited erroneously reads 1287.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, chs. 75-80. Schönau was a Benedictine monastery founded at Trier in the twelfth century. The visions of St. Elizabeth, related by her brother Egbert or Eckbert of Schönau, were well-known in the middle ages. A large number of manuscripts remain. Cf. F. W. E. Roth, *Die Visionen und Briefe der hl. Elisabeth* (2nd ed., Brünn, 1886), and Ruth J. Dean, 'Manuscripts of St. Elizabeth of Schönau in England,' *Modern Language Review*, xxxii (1937), 62-71. The *De transitu beate virginis* of Melito of Sardis is edited in *Bibliotheca maxima veterum patrum* (Lyons, 1677), II, pt. II, 212-216.

<sup>189</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, ch. 81. *Author. Post Assumptionem vero suam beatissima Virgo multis miraculis per diversas orbis partes, diversis quoque temporibus clarificata est. Ex quibus quaedam fide digna, et a religiosis viris approbata, ad ipsius honorem, et legentium aedificationem, huic operi inserere volumus breviter in hunc modum.*

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 119a, 'Nativity' in VI, ch. 65; and ch. 114, 'Vision of St. Hugh of Cluny,' in XXVI, ch. 7. Ward has assumed that he meant the *Mariale magnum* (*Catalogue of Romances*, II, 624).

<sup>191</sup> *MS Paris 17491*, fol. 16, *miracula . . . diversis temporibus, diversis locis et diversis personis, . . . ad edificationem legentium in unum corpus collecta compegimus*; Vincent

of Beauvais, furthermore, adds portions of the *De transitu* of Melito of Sardis and the visions of Elizabeth of Schönau to the variety of materials promised in the *Mirande virginis laudes* prologue of the Rouen *Mariale*. Melito of Sardis (died c. 190) is an 'ancient' father, and the brother of St. Elizabeth (d. 1165), a 'recent' one. The *Mariale magnum*, therefore, may well have used both the *Mirande* and the *Quoniam* prologues of the Rouen *Mariale*. Although there are many omissions and some additions, the narratives which Vincent of Beauvais, *V*<sup>1</sup>, took from the *Mariale magnum* follow in much the same order as those of the Rouen collection:

<i>V</i> <sup>1</sup>	Rouen	<i>V</i> <sup>1</sup>	Rouen
ch. 81a	7	99b	38
81b	16	100	—
82	17	101	—
83	20	102-103	—
84	24	104a	44
85	25	104b	—
86	26	105-106	45
87	—	107	46
88	32	108	—
89a	32a	109	48
89b	— <sup>192</sup>	110a	47
90-92	34	110b	—
93-95	—	111	—
96	—	112	62
97	36	113a	—
98	37	113b	35
99a	—		

The first six legends of the Rouen *Mariale* are lacking in Vincent of Beauvais and possibly in his source, the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>193</sup> Of the twenty-one others which are missing, fourteen are either Pez or *TS* legends.<sup>194</sup> These data suggest that the *Mariale magnum* had eliminated many of the legends of the earliest collections, perhaps because they were lacking in the authority that mention of names, places, and witnesses gives.

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of Beauvais, ch. 81, *Virgo multis miraculis per diversas orbis partes, diversis quoque temporibus clarificata est . . . quaedam . . . ad ipsius honorem, et legentium aedificationem, huic operi inserere volumus . . .*

<sup>192</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, ch. 89b, the sermon on the Annunciation by Radbod II of Noyon, who died in 1028 (Migne, *P.L.*, cl, 1531), follows the collection of Mary legends in the Rouen *Mariale* as a separate article.

<sup>193</sup> The first six include the legends which serve to establish a clear relationship between *X*<sup>1</sup> and *R*<sup>1</sup>: 'Judas in Hell,' 'Christ Appears to Monk,' 'Mare,' and the series from Gregory of Tours. One of the Gregory of Tours legends ('Columns Raised,' ch. 81a), however, stands at the beginning of *V*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> *TS* 3, 5-6, 9, 17, 12-13, and 16, all of which occur in the Rouen *Mariale* in the order listed and in *MS Paris 17491* (except 'Musa' which really belonged there) are lacking in Vincent of Beauvais. He relates only *TS* 1 and 7. Of the remaining Pez legends included in *R*<sup>1</sup> and *X*<sup>1</sup>, nos. 14-15, 41, 24, and 34 are lacking in *V*<sup>1</sup>, while nos. 22, 36, 27-28, and 25-26 appear there. See table, pp. 35-36.

In spite of the striking similarity in sequence, Vincent of Beauvais was not the source of the Rouen *Mariale*, for his versions are only summaries which are told in full, many of them with prologues, in the Rouen *Mariale*. Nor was the Rouen *Mariale* the source of Vincent of Beauvais. Aside from the fact that the Dominican says that his source was a collection called the *Mariale magnum*, there is other evidence that it was not. The second series (*X*<sup>2</sup>) of *MS Paris 17491*, already noted, was a series of ten versified, or partly versified, legends. Of the ten, Vincent of Beauvais tells five in prose, the Rouen *Mariale* only two, and John of Garland three. Moreover, they follow in the first three collections in approximately the same order,

	<i>MS Paris 17491</i> ( <i>X</i> <sup>2</sup> )	Rouen (prose)	<i>V</i> <sup>1</sup> (prose)	<i>Stella maris</i>
73.	Incest .....	—	chs. 93-95	20
73a.	Rich Man and Poor Widow .....	—	96	—
74.	Chaste Empress .....	34	90-92	14
75.	Bonus .....	36	97	—
	[Poor Man Strikes Stone] .....	37	98	—
76.	Love by Black Art .....	—	—	—
77.	Clerk of Pisa .....	—	—	—
78.	Monk Dies Suddenly .....	—	—	—
79.	Monk Laid Out as Dead .....	—	—	—
80.	Jewess in Childbirth .....	—	99a	37
81.	Uncompleted Confession <sup>195</sup> .....	—	—	—

Obviously there was somewhere in the ancestry of the Rouen *Mariale* and Vincent of Beauvais a collection which narrated at least five of these ten legends and 'Poor Man Strikes Stone' in prose in much the same sequence as in *MS Paris 17491*. The natural conclusion would be that it was the *Mariale magnum*, Vincent of Beauvais' source; and that it was likewise the source of the Rouen *Mariale*. There are several reasons, however, why the *Mariale magnum* could not have been the source of the Rouen *Mariale*, and why it is necessary to look upon the source of the Rouen collection, the *Ur-Mariale*, as the common ancestor of the *Mariale magnum* and the Rouen *Mariale*:

1. A significant series of legends <sup>196</sup> and a large number of the *TS* anecdotes which are at home in the Rouen *Mariale* are lacking in Vincent of Beauvais and probably also in the *Mariale magnum*.
2. A study of the ten legends which Vincent of Beauvais adds to those of the Rouen *Mariale* pre-supposes a more remote common ancestor than the *Mariale magnum*. Five of the ten are tales of other *Quoniam* collec-

<sup>195</sup> This legend appears in the Rouen *Mariale* in verse, no. 27.

<sup>196</sup> The series common to *X*<sup>1</sup> and the Rouen *Mariale* (Judas, etc.).

tions.<sup>197</sup> The other five, however, are legends not yet encountered in the collections of northern France:

chs. 102–103. Girl Named Mary. *Erat miles quidam dives, et in bellis famosus.*

ch. 104b. Blasphemer of Lausanne. *In illis partibus quidam in taberna, cum tessera ludens.*

ch. 108. Electuary. *Apud Claramvallem quidam cum promississet fieri se monachum.*

ch. 110b. Saracens Unable to Injure Mary Image.<sup>198</sup> *Quandam sancte Marie basilicam ingressi Saraceni.*

ch. 111. Jew of London. *Quidam Iudeus nomine Iacobus a Londonia . . . apud Wintoniam pergens.*

Comparison of three versions of the second narrative in this group provides more definite proof of the existence of the *Ur-Mariale* which was the common source of the Rouen *Mariale* and the *Mariale magnum*. The anecdote of the 'Blasphemer' is told following the 'Painter of Flanders' in Vincent of Beauvais, *MS British Museum Additional 15723* (fol. 79) and Gobius, *Scala celi* (nos. 33 and 34). All three compilers attribute both narratives to the *Mariale magnum*. Vincent of Beauvais does not record the scene of the second incident — presumably, then, it was Flanders, for the text begins *In illis partibus*, and Flanders is the scene of the preceding legend. The *Additional* version omits the scene of the 'Painter' and incorporates *apud Lausennam* into the text of the 'Blasphemer.' Gobius substitutes *in Lavana* for the first phrase. Since 'Lavana' cannot be identified, it is almost certainly a corruption of 'Lausana.' These variations can be explained only with the help of an unique legend from the Rouen *Mariale* and the supposition of an *Ur-Mariale* which was the source of the Rouen collection and the *Mariale magnum*. Rouen *Mariale*, no. 58, relates a tale of a girl in *Lausenna civitate*<sup>199</sup> who was saved from burning by the Virgin Mary. The *Ur-Mariale*, it may be conjectured, related the legend of the 'Girl of Lausanne' first and following it, the 'Blasphemer,' beginning *In illis partibus*. The compiler of the *Mariale magnum* omitted the first legend and placed the second after the 'Painter of Flanders,' probably inscribing *apud Lausennam* in the margin opposite the 'Blasphemer.'<sup>200</sup> The compiler of the *Additional* col-

197	V <sup>1</sup>	X <sup>1</sup>	<i>Stella maris</i>
ch. 93–95	—	—	20
99a	—	—	37
100	—	61	—
101	—	69	—
113a	—	17	16

<sup>198</sup> This tale is told in fuller form in *MS Toulouse 478* (Mussafia, II, 30).

<sup>199</sup> These are the only tales from Lausanne noted in all the collections examined.

<sup>200</sup> This is frequently done in the text of the *Stella maris* and elsewhere in collections of Mary legends. See glosses on ll. 142, 220, 244, etc.

lection, who used the *Mariale magnum*, noted the confusion which this created. He naturally thought, however, that the two legends belonged together, and so he solved the problem by incorporating *apud Lausennam* into the text of the 'Blasphemer' and omitting *Flandrie* from the text of the 'Painter.' Gobius merely substituted *in Lausana* for the first phrase of the 'Blasphemer.'<sup>201</sup> Because Vincent of Beauvais failed to interpolate the name of the place into his text it was lost, and therefore his 'Blasphemer' appears to be from Flanders instead of Lausanne, its proper home.

3. A study of the Cistercian legends of the Rouen *Mariale* and those which Vincent of Beauvais took from the *Mariale magnum* fits into the same hypothesis. He says in his note that the legends he used had the sanction of a religious order.<sup>202</sup> Both the Rouen *Mariale* and the collection of Vincent of Beauvais are, for the most part, made up of legends of northern France, especially those of the *Quoniam* collections. Only occasionally do the latter include Cistercian materials. The first series of *MS Paris 17491* and the *Stella maris* relate two, 'Judas in Hell' and 'Christ Appears to Monk.'<sup>203</sup> The Rouen *Mariale*, whose source was the *Ur-Mariale*, adds to these, three which may be identified as Cistercian.<sup>204</sup> In the first series, those which he took from the *Mariale magnum*, Vincent of Beauvais relates sixteen legends which are not in *MS Paris 17491*, a series of five, except for the interpolation between nos. 4 and 5 of 'Poor Man Strikes Stone,' and another of eleven.<sup>205</sup> The five are the versified legends of *MS Paris 17491* which have been accounted for. Of the eleven remaining, three in a series are legends about Cistercian monks,<sup>206</sup> two of them monks of Clairvaux.

<sup>201</sup> Gobius and others have in like manner preserved the scene of other legends. The legend, 'Girl Named Mary,' Gobius says happened in *Armandia*; Vincent of Beauvais omits the scene. The compiler of the *Additional* manuscript probably copied the text of this particular legend from Vincent of Beauvais, but he had the *Mariale magnum* at hand. A number of the legends and probably certain details which he adds to Vincent of Beauvais' text were from the *Mariale magnum* itself (cf. pp. 45-48 and note 219).

<sup>202</sup> It would be logical to suppose that it was his own, the Dominican order, especially since these same legends were so frequently used by Dominican preachers in the next century. There is no evidence of their use by the Dominicans in the first half of the thirteenth century.

<sup>203</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 12, should not be confused with a similar tale from the *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis*, Migne, P.L., CLXXXV<sup>2</sup>, 1129-1131 (5). It is a Cluniac legend as told by both John of Garland and Vincent of Beauvais.

<sup>204</sup> Rouen *Mariale*, no. 46, 'Cistercian Monks at Their Field Work;' no. 48, 'Cistercian Monk Persecuted,' told by Simon, abbot of Loz (d. 1204), a Cistercian monastery near Lille in the diocese of Tournai; no. 53, 'Five Psalms,' witnessed by a bishop of Arras, who had previously been a Cistercian abbot.

<sup>205</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, chs. 90-99a and 102-112.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, chs. 107-109, 'Monks at Their Field Work,' 'Electuary,' and 'Cistercian Monk Persecuted.' Tales similar to the first two are to be found in the work of a Cistercian, Herbert of Torres (or Clairvaux), Migne, P.L., CLXXXV<sup>2</sup>, 1273-1275, 1365-1366; and *Exordium*, *ibid.*, pp. 1062-1063 and 1077-1078. The legends as told by Vincent of Beauvais, however, do not come from either of these sources, although they are sufficiently similar in detail so that they must have had a common origin. The origin of the third is unknown, except that it was told by a Cistercian abbot.

Two of the three are narrated in the Rouen *Mariale*, one from Clairvaux.<sup>207</sup> These data lead to the conclusion that the *Mariale magnum* and probably also the *Ur-Mariale* were Cistercian collections. The Benedictine of Jumièges, who compiled the Rouen *Mariale*, was not interested in all the Cistercian legends in his source. The compiler of the *Mariale magnum*, a Cistercian, copied all of them and passed them on to Vincent of Beauvais.

4. Strangely enough, an analysis of the ten legends of Vincent of Beauvais' collection which he drew from a source other than the *Mariale magnum*, *V*<sup>2</sup>, provides more proof of the existence of an *Ur-Mariale* which was the source of both the Rouen *Mariale* and the *Mariale magnum*. Four only of the ten legends which comprise it are not found in *MS Paris 17491* and the Parisian collections, except the *Stella maris*. Three of the four are told in sequence. One of the sequence is a Cistercian legend, told also in the Rouen *Mariale*. Two of the four, as well as six others, eight of the ten, are legends of the *Stella maris*. The series, *V*<sup>2</sup>, then, was evidently also selected from a Cistercian collection related to *MS Paris 17491* and John of Garland's source, the collection of Ste. Geneviève, a description which fits the *Mariale magnum*. Furthermore, two of the tales of *V*<sup>2</sup>, Vincent of Beauvais tells elsewhere and attributes them to the 'Mariale.' It has been presumed without question that he meant the *Mariale magnum*,<sup>208</sup> and it would appear to be true, especially since four more of the ten legends are attributed to the *Mariale magnum* by other compilers who used it:

	Vincent of Beauvais, <i>V</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>X</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>R</i>	<i>Stella maris</i>	
ch. 113c. Priest of One Mass .....	13	—	—	25	
114. Vision of St. Hugh of Cluny ...	—	—	—	—	M <sup>209</sup>
115. Boy Devoted to the Devil .....	21	—	—	52	
116a. Ebbo .....	43	—	—	61	MM <sup>210</sup>
116b. Five Psalms .....	—	—	53	—	MM
117. Woman Revived for Confession	—	—	—	12	MM
118. Little Devil in Church .....	—	—	—	42	MM
119a. Nativity .....	6	6	5	15	M
119b. Saracen and Mary Image .....	68a	—	14	7	
119c. Mary Image Insulted .....	4	—	15	18	

It might be supposed, then, that Vincent of Beauvais gathered the second series, *V*<sup>2</sup>, also, from the *Mariale magnum*, if it were not for his own statement and the fact that in Book XXIX, ch. 4 of the *Speculum historiale*, he reproduces the entire series of Rocamadour with the note, *in Mariali*; and

<sup>207</sup> *MS Rouen A 535*, nos. 46 and 48.

<sup>208</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 624. Or, it is sometimes assumed that he used the term generally to apply to any collection of Mary legends.

<sup>209</sup> M = attributed to the 'Mariale' by Vincent of Beauvais. See above, p. 37, note 190.

<sup>210</sup> MM = attributed to the *Mariale magnum*: ch. 116a, by Gobius, no. 54; ch. 116b, in *MS Additional 15723*, fols. 80-85; and Gobius, no. 21; ch. 117, by the anonymous author of the *Rosarius*; ch. 118, by Gobius, no. 22.

nothing has come to light about the *Mariale magnum* that would justify the inference that it included any of the local series which are sometimes incorporated in the Parisian collections.<sup>211</sup> The complete collection of Rocamador is to be found in *MS Paris 17491*,<sup>212</sup> which, as has already been noted, has much in common with the Rouen *Mariale*. Although the Rouen *Mariale* does not recount the miracles of Rocamador, it is quite possible that the *Ur-Mariale* did, and that when Vincent of Beauvais cites the *Mariale* he means the very collection to which we have given the name *Ur-Mariale*. It could then be concluded that the collection to which he turned after he had finished with the *Mariale magnum* was its source, the *Ur-Mariale*.

All the data which has been presented about *V*<sup>2</sup> would, in that case, fit neatly into place. (1) The four legends which other compilers attribute to the *Mariale magnum* are legends of the *Ur-Mariale* which were retold in a portion of the *Mariale magnum*, not used by the Dominican encyclopedist for the summaries of *V*<sup>1</sup>. (2) The Rouen *Mariale*, also dependent upon the *Ur-Mariale*, recounts four of the same legends which Vincent of Beauvais, *V*<sup>2</sup>, took from the *Ur-Mariale*, the source of both. (3) The relationship between the Rouen *Mariale* and a *Quoniam* collection similar to *MS Paris 17491*, *X*<sup>1</sup>, has already been established. If the hypothesis that the legends of *V*<sup>2</sup> are from the *Ur-Mariale* is correct, the ten legends should show a marked resemblance to one of the *Quoniam* series. Comparison shows that six of the ten tales are to be found in *MS Paris 17491* and eight of them in the *Stella maris*. Only one of them is missing from the *Quoniam* collections and that, the 'Vision of Hugh of Cluny,' Vincent of Beauvais narrates elsewhere with the note that he took it from the *Mariale*. (4) Furthermore, the veracity of Vincent of Beauvais need not be questioned. He had the tales of *V*<sup>1</sup> from the *Mariale magnum*, and those of *V*<sup>2</sup> from another collection very like it, which on other occasions he called the *Mariale*, that is the *Ur-Mariale*.

Added support for the existence of a collection called the 'Mariale,' which was the source of the *Mariale magnum* and the Rouen *Mariale* comes from the *Speculum exemplorum*, the first edition of which was published in 1481.<sup>213</sup> It was later expanded and edited by the Jesuit, John Major (1542-1608), as the *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (Douai, 1605). The original compiler, who may have been a Flemish Franciscan, tells a tale about a monk and a nun of the Cistercian order which he says he had from a volume called the 'Mariale,' *Legitur in libro quodam exemplorum*

<sup>211</sup> The collection of St. Victor includes the collection of Soissons (Mussafia, I, 956).

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 978, following no. 68.

<sup>213</sup> J. Thomas Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927), pp. 386-391.

*B. virginis qui vocatur Mariale*.<sup>214</sup> The work he mentions may very well have been the collection which has been designated temporarily as the *Ur-Mariale*.

The sources of the collection which Vincent of Beauvais incorporates into the *Speculum historiale* are, therefore, as he describes them: (1) the *Mariale magnum* and (2) the *Ur-Mariale*. He probably found them together in the same Cistercian monastery which there is reason to believe was Clairvaux.<sup>215</sup> The *Ur-Mariale*, it may be supposed, was an older collection in the style of the collection of St. Victor and *MS Paris 17491* which included materials other than Mary legends scattered here and there about the collection, as suggested in the *Mirande* prologue. The *Mariale magnum* was a more recent and compact collection which had eliminated a good many of the traditional tales<sup>216</sup> whose authenticity had become doubtful, and added others supplied with names of places in which they occurred and witnesses to them. Among them were many Cistercian legends, interpolated in groups. To this new collection could be given the authority of the Cistercian order which Vincent of Beauvais says that it had.<sup>217</sup>

The table on pages 46–47 compares the legends of Vincent of Beauvais with other *Quoniam* and *Mariale* collections.

*MS British Museum Additional 15723*

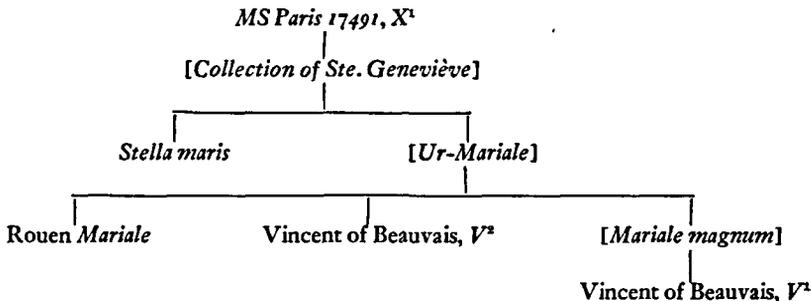
The second collection of Mary legends in *MS British Museum Additional 15723*, in a script of the thirteenth century, names the *Mariale magnum* as the source of its legends.<sup>218</sup> It begins with Vincent of Beauvais'

<sup>214</sup> *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. John Major, Cologne, 1747), pp. 472–474 (43). The first printing was 1605. Moreover, the tale is very similar to no. 32 of *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18134*, one of whose sources was, in all probability, the *Mariale magnum* (see above, p. 28, note 140) and to a tale in pseudo-Caesarius (see below, p. 58, note 260) which probably shares a common source with the *Ur-Mariale*.

<sup>215</sup> See below, p. 48, note 224, and p. 50.

<sup>216</sup> The Rouen *Mariale* includes a great many tales of the older collections, nine of the *TS* legends, four of the *HM* series, and eight of the additional Pez legends. Vincent of Beauvais tells only one of the *TS* legends, one from *HM*, and three additional Pez legends.

<sup>217</sup>



<sup>218</sup> Described by Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 622–636. There are two collections of Mary legends in the volume. The first in a script of the twelfth century is related to the *HM* series. There is also an abridgement of the life of St. Elizabeth of Schönau which in

note, obviously copied from the *Speculum historiale*. The series of Mary legends which follows agrees substantially with Vincent of Beauvais through chapter 119a,<sup>219</sup> or well beyond the end of the series which the Dominican took from the *Mariale magnum*. Several of the legends of Vincent of Beauvais are missing, but none of those omitted is a Cistercian legend.<sup>220</sup>

The forty-three legends of *MS Additional 15723*, therefore, comprise two series, *A*<sup>1</sup>, (nos. 1–32, with the exception of no. 20) and *A*<sup>2</sup>, (nos. 34–43). The first series, *A*<sup>1</sup>, was copied from Vincent of Beauvais, who took them from the *Mariale magnum*, a Cistercian collection. The second series, *A*<sup>2</sup>, is also Cistercian. Ten of the eleven incidents occur in Cistercian houses of England or France, or are reported by abbots of Cistercian monasteries of those regions. Seven are from northern France.<sup>221</sup> Eight of them are later retold by the abbot of a Cistercian house on the borderline between the diocese of Chartres and Paris.<sup>222</sup> The anecdotes of *A*<sup>2</sup> are related in very circumstantial fashion including names and places that can be readily identified. Ward's date for the collection, not earlier than 1200 and while Philip Augustus was still king of France, that is 1200–1223,<sup>223</sup> may well apply to the *Mariale magnum* from which the compiler said he had the legends. It is impossible to believe that it applies to the *Additional* collection itself, because, except for certain additions of details, *A*<sup>1</sup> was clearly copied from Vincent of Beauvais; and the collection must therefore have been made after 1244 or 1247, the date of the completion of the *Speculum historiale*.

It is probable that the compiler of the collection was a monk of Clairvaux. When he reaches no. 19 of Vincent of Beauvais, how a knight of Aquitaine refused to deny Mary, he suddenly interrupts the narrative to tell an unique legend of which he is reminded by the similarity of the theme. The tale which is interpolated in this fashion, no. 20, is the story of two boys from the vicinity of Clairvaux who went to Paris to study. One of

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three collections of legends (Vincent of Beauvais, Vendome, and *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale French 818*) serves to introduce the legends. In this manuscript, however, it appears to have no connection with either series of legends.

<sup>219</sup> The note is without the designation 'Author.' The selections from Elizabeth of Schönau and Melito of Sardis are lacking. The texts of the legends agree substantially with Vincent of Beauvais, although there are some variations. The prayer *O intemerata* (Vincent of Beauvais, ch. 101) is written out in full. The scene of the legend of the 'Painter' is omitted (Vincent of Beauvais gives it as Flanders in ch. 104). The scene of the 'Blasphemer' in the same chapter of Vincent of Beauvais is *apud Lausenmam*. A note is added to 'Five Psalms' (Vincent of Beauvais, ch. 116b), *Hic potes notare de collecta quam beata virgo Maria docet quandam novicium nostri ordinis in Calabria*. The titles of the legends suggest Vincent of Beauvais.

<sup>220</sup> Those omitted are well-known legends: Vincent of Beauvais, chs. 82, 89b–92, 98–99a, 110b, 113a, 114, 116a, 118, and 119b and c.

<sup>221</sup> Number 33, Noyon; no. 34, Blois; no. 35, Beauvais; no. 38, Beauvais; no. 39, Rheims; no. 40, Paris; no. 42, Neufchatel.

<sup>222</sup> The Vendome collection, pp. 48–51.

<sup>223</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 624–625.

	SG	X	S. maris	R	A	Gobius	Vendome
Vincent of Beauvais							
81a. Columns Raised	—	7	13	7	1	1	—
81b. Toledo	23	36	9	16	2	2	—
82. Jew Lends to Christian	72	29	19	17	—	3	2
83. Orleans	30	68	26	20	3	4	—
84. Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored	39	25	1	24	4	6	5
85. Childbirth in the Sea	—	27	—	25	5	9	3
86. Abbess	80	38	2	26	6	11	6
87. Bridegroom: Ring on Finger	29	67	8	—	7	13	7
88. Pilgrim in the Sea	70	40	10	32	8	10	—
89a. Light on the Masthead	71	41	—	32a	9	—	—
89b. Thread in Lip	52	37	—	—	—	7	—
90-92. Chaste Empress	79	—	14	34	—	—	—
93-95. Incest	—	—	20	—	10	—	—
96. Rich Man and Poor Widow	—	—	—	—	11	15	19
97. Bonus	—	—	—	36	12	19	9
98. Poor Man Strikes Stone	75	64	—	37	—	—	—
99a. Jewess in Childbirth	—	—	37	—	—	27	—
99b. Bread	28	58	49	38	13	—	—
100. Wife and Mistress	69	61	—	—	14	12	—
101. O <i>intemerata</i> : Devil as Servant	34	69	—	—	15	30	25
102-103. Girl Named Mary	—	—	—	—	16	14	—
104a. Painter	—	—	54	44	17	33	—
104b. Blasphemer of Lausanne	—	—	—	—	18	34	—
105-106. Unwilling to Deny Mary	—	—	—	45	19	31	10
107. Monks at Their Field Work	—	—	—	46	21	20	—
108. Electuary	—	—	—	—	22	—	—
109. Cistercian Monk Persecuted	—	—	—	48	23	16	—
110a. Blasphemers of Brabant	—	—	—	47	24	35	—
110b. Unable to Injure Mary Image	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
111. Jew of London	—	—	—	—	25	49	—
112. Demons as Swine	—	—	—	62	26	32	—

Vincent of Beauvais	SG	X	<i>S. maris</i>	R	A	Gobius Vendome	
113a. Mother of Mercy .....	5	17	16	—	—	—	—
113b. St. Dunstan .....	67-68	60	—	35	27	—	—
113c. Priest of One Mass .....	10	13	25	—	28	—	43
114. Vision of St. Hugh of Cluny .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
115. Boy Devoted to the Devil .....	62	21	52	—	29	46	—
116a. Ebbo .....	7	43	61	—	—	54	48
116b. Five Psalms .....	—	—	—	53	30	21	34
117. Woman Revived for Confession .....	—	—	12	—	31	—	—
118. Little Devil in Church .....	—	—	42	—	—	22	—
119a. Nativity .....	48	6	15	5	32	—	—
119b. Saracen and Mary Image .....	31	68a	7	14	—	—	—
119c. Mary Image Insulted .....	27	4	18	15	—	—	—

them fell in love and was commanded by the devil to deny Christ and the Virgin Mary in order to win the girl. His companion prevented him from doing so, and they both entered Clairvaux.<sup>224</sup>

The *Mariale magnum* is given by the compiler as the source of the entire collection of *MS Additional 15723*. In the face of the clear relationship to Vincent of Beauvais, it must be concluded that he used two collections: (1) the *Speculum historiale* for the legends of *A*<sup>1</sup> and (2) another Cistercian collection for *A*<sup>2</sup>. Three of the legends of *A*<sup>2</sup>, aside from the compiler's word for it, show some relation to the *Mariale magnum*. Gobius attributes the last, no. 43, to the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>225</sup> A series of two, nos. 34-35, are distinctly similar to nos. 51 and 34 of the second series of *MS Paris 18134*, which seems to have been derived from the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>226</sup> Certainly the tales are similar in form and character to the Cistercian legends of *A*<sup>1</sup> and could well have belonged to that collection. They are similar, too, to that Cistercian legend which the compiler of the *Speculum exemplorum* said he had from the *Mariale*,<sup>227</sup> probably the *Ur-Mariale*, which was the source of the *Mariale magnum*. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the compiler's veracity except that he clearly used Vincent of Beauvais' versions of some of the legends. Why, if he had the complete *Mariale magnum* available, did he choose to use a second-hand source? The answer is that it saved him labor and parchment. Vincent of Beauvais had already reduced the bulky legends to a briefer form without changing the order or detracting from the narrative. He chose the shorter versions of Vincent of Beauvais, except for some details omitted by the encyclopedist, and then added the others at length from the *Mariale magnum* itself.

If the collection of *MS Additional 15723* was taken from the *Mariale magnum*, and the evidence permits us to assume that it was, then the dates of the compilation of the *Mariale magnum* may be narrowed to the period between 1200 and 1247, dates which are not incongruous with what is known about other collections of Mary legends in northern France related to the *Mariale magnum*.

### *The Vendome Collection*

Certain characteristics of another Cistercian collection of Mary legends now in the Public Library of Vendome<sup>228</sup> lend support to the picture of

<sup>224</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 624-625, believes the collection was made at Clairvaux. Ruth J. Dean in *Modern Language Review*, xxxii (1937), 63-64, mentions a slip in the manuscript when she used it which says that it probably belonged to Citeaux. Even if the manuscript belonged to Citeaux the collection might have been compiled at Clairvaux, as the evidence indicates.

<sup>225</sup> 'Clerk of Chartres,' Gobius, *Scala celi*, no. 18.

<sup>226</sup> 'Nun Who Could Not Unlock the Convent Door' and 'A Hundred Aves a Day.' The variations in the versions may perhaps be attributed to the intervention of a vernacular version between the *Mariale magnum* and the legends of *MS Paris 18134* which seem to come from it.

<sup>227</sup> *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), pp. 472-474 (43).

<sup>228</sup> Edited by H. Isnard, 'Recueil des miracles de la Vierge du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle,' *Bulletin de la Société archéologique . . . du vendomois*, xxvi (Vendome, 1887), 23-63, 104-149, 182-227.

the *Mariale magnum* just outlined and permit a further conjecture about the work. The Vendome collection, comprising sixty-five legends as it stands,<sup>229</sup> was made at the Cistercian monastery of Vaux-Cernay, founded in 1128 on the borderline between the dioceses of Paris and Chartres. Believing it to be the work of Thibaud de Marley, abbot of Vaux-Cernay, Bouchet dates it between 1235 and 1247,<sup>230</sup> the years of his incumbency.

Most of the introductory matter of the Vendome collection is almost identical with that of Vincent of Beauvais. It begins with excerpts from the same portions of the visions of St. Elizabeth of Schönau. Although the diction is very similar, the abbot was clearly not copying from Vincent of Beauvais, for he mentions details from the work which the latter omits. Nor could Vincent of Beauvais have been taking his excerpts from the Vendome collection for the same reason. They were using a common source which presented that portion of the work in full, presumably the *Mariale magnum* or the *Ur-Mariale*. Between the excerpts from St. Elizabeth, the compiler of Vaux-Cernay inserts a brief paragraph from the *De transitu* of Melito of Sardis quoted by Vincent of Beauvais at greater length. There are also two paragraphs about the girlhood of Mary from a work which John of Garland uses, but which Vincent of Beauvais does not employ in this connection, the *Pseudo-Matthei Evangelium*.<sup>231</sup>

The abbot of Vaux-Cernay, for the most part, relates Cistercian legends and anecdotes which are not frequently in other collections in northern France. Here and there are some popular ones very greatly abbreviated. Although he tells some familiar tales not among the first series of Vincent of Beauvais, the character of the narratives as well as the order in which they are told points to knowledge of the *Mariale magnum* or a collection related to it:

	Vendome	V <sup>2</sup>
Jew Lends to Christian .....	2	ch. 82
Childbirth in the Sea .....	3	85
Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored .....	5	84
Abbess .....	6	86
Bridegroom: Ring on Finger .....	7	87
Bonus .....	9	97
Unwilling to Deny Mary .....	10	105-106
Rich Man and Poor Widow .....	19	96
<i>O intemerata</i> : Devil as Servant .....	25	101

The Cistercian legends of the Vendome collection may be divided into two classes: (1) those which were related to the abbot of Vaux-Cernay

<sup>229</sup> The last folios have been lost.

<sup>230</sup> Charles Bouchet, 'Un recueil de miracles de la Vierge,' *ibid.*, ix (1870), 182-183.

<sup>231</sup> *Pseudo-Matthei Evangelium* (ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1876), chs. 4-9. The first excerpt, *De bona indole eiusdem*, is part of the introduction to the Vendome collection; the second, *De puericia beate virginis et Ihesu*, is interpolated between legends 10 and 11 (Isnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 and 50).

and were written down by him<sup>232</sup> and (2) those which he found among the records of Cistercian monasteries or in collections of Mary legends. Among the first group of five legends is one told to him by the abbot of Clairvaux.<sup>233</sup> In the second class are several unique tales originating at, or in the vicinity of, Clairvaux,<sup>234</sup> and a series of legends which are similar to a sequence in the second series (*A*<sup>2</sup>) of *MS Additional 15723*.<sup>235</sup> It was possibly on a visit to Clairvaux, perhaps a chapter meeting, that the abbot of Vaux-Cernay heard the story which he says the abbot of Clairvaux told him. While he was there, it may be imagined, he took the opportunity to do some research in the library and among the monastery records. If he was actually Thibaud de Marley (abbot 1235–1247), he probably did not find the collection of the *Additional* manuscript there, for part of that was certainly copied from Vincent of Beauvais, whose work was not completed until 1244 or 1247. He might very well have seen there that other source used by the compiler of *MS Additional 15723*, which he said was the *Mariale magnum*. The great volume probably lay on the shelves of the library of the monastery of Clairvaux in the second quarter of the thirteenth century along with the earlier *Ur-Mariale* which will now be referred to as the Clairvaux *Mariale*. The likelihood is that they were both compiled there where St. Bernard left behind him a strong tradition of devotion to the Virgin Mary. The collection and the recording of Mary

<sup>232</sup> Numbers 50–55 except no. 52: Isnard, *op. cit.*, p. 216 (50), told by the deceased Adam, an Englishman who was abbot of Estrée, a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Evreux, founded 1144; p. 218 (51), by the same Adam; p. 222 (53), by a recluse of Canterbury, once countess of Leicester; p. 282 (54), by 'a certain person'; p. 284 (55), by the abbot of Clairvaux. Neither the abbot of Estrée nor the countess of Leicester has been identified. The list of abbots in *Gallia Christiana*, xi (Paris, 1874), 672, lacks five abbots who held office in the last quarter of the twelfth and part of the thirteenth century. Adam was apparently one of these.

<sup>233</sup> Isnard, p. 284 (55).

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56 (14), how a *conversus* of Clairvaux in the time of St. Bernard heard the angels celebrating the Assumption of the Virgin; p. 106 (20), about a young man who came to Clairvaux in the time of St. Bernard; p. 148 (33), a vision of a monk of Clairvaux; pp. 291–292 (58), about a hermit whose soul flew to heaven with St. Bernard's; pp. 309–310 (65), 'Monks at their Field Work.'

<sup>235</sup> The legends of the Vendome collection are told more briefly and without mention of many names and places. In one case the abbot of Vendome tells not the same story but a similar one, and in another a different tale from the same monastery.

*MS Additional 15723 (A<sup>2</sup>)*

*MS Vendome 185*

33. Dream of a Harlot and Her Horses .....	—	
34. Nun Who Could Not Unlock Door .....	26	
35. A Hundred Aves a Day .....	27	
36. Virgin Bares Her Breast .....	28	
37. Souls of Cistercians Released .....	29	
38. Cistercians Beneath Virgin's Cloak .....	38,	a similar tale
39. Cistercians Honored .....	30	
40. Abbey of Le Val .....	35,	another from the
41. Persuaded to Stay Forty Years .....	—*	same monastery
42. The Sequence <i>Missus Gabriel</i> .....	31	

\* A legend of this sort did appear in the Vendome collection, for it is a legend of the pseudo-Celestine collection. See below, p. 51, no. 22.

legends was probably something of an official project, pursued chiefly at chapter meetings when numbers of Cistercian abbots came together.<sup>236</sup> This would account for the authority as well as the availability of the *Mariale magnum*.

Collections derived from the *Mariale magnum* had their descendants. The pseudo-Celestine collection,<sup>237</sup> comprising twenty-seven legends, briefly told, depends upon the work of the abbot of Vaux-Cernay. It is included among the works printed by Telera in 1640 as those of Pope Celestine V (c. 1215-1296), though they are certainly not written by him. A clue as to the origin of the collection is given in the first legend, the only unique one. This tale, together with the attribution to an Italian, suggests Italy rather than France as the place where the collection was compiled. It tells how a priest, accused of writing a letter attacking the emperor, had his hand cut off and exposed before his own church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. She restored the member, and the emperor came on foot and sought the priest's pardon.<sup>238</sup>

The legends follow in the same order as in the Vendome collection, although many have been omitted. The diction employed in telling them is not the same, and there are very minor variations in the details. None of the legends told on the authority of the abbot of Vaux-Cernay is included. The additional legends at the end of the pseudo-Celestine collection only serve as a reminder that the Vendome collection, as we have it to-day, is a fragment. A comparison of these two collections and that of *MS Additional 15723* follows:

Ps-Celestine	Vendome	A	Ps-Celestine	Vendome	A
1	—	—	15	39	—
2	4	—	16	40	—
3	5	4	17	41	—
4	7	7	18	48	—
5	9	12	19	56	—
6	14	—	20	63	—
7	16	—	21	—	—
8	17	—	22	—	41
9	21	—	23	—	—
10	22	—	24	—	—
11	23	—	25	—	—
12	26	34	26 <sup>239</sup>	—	21 } 22 }
13	27	35			
14	34	30	27	—	—

<sup>236</sup> There are in support of this statement the large number of Mary legends already referred to as related or witnessed by Cistercian abbots. It was to a Cistercian chapter meeting that a priest brought a scroll, the evidence of the authenticity of the 'Bread' legend of *MS Paris 12593* and a Cistercian abbot who recorded it (see above, p. 22).

<sup>237</sup> Coelestinus Telera (ed.), *S. Petri Caelestini . . . opuscula omnia* (Naples, 1640), pp. 199-219.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>239</sup> This legend as it is narrated in the pseudo-Celestine is a fusion of no. 21, 'Monks at

*The Collections of the Mendicants*

Granted that the *Mariale magnum* was the work of Cistercian monks, it was the mendicant orders, particularly the Dominicans, who seem to have made the most use of it during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Just before the end of the thirteenth century, the dignified tales the Cistercians heard in their monasteries begin to appear in a new guise. Almost everything has been eliminated except the bare narrative, and that has been revised by the addition of homely, and sometimes vulgar, detail intended to excite the interest of crowds.

It may have been Johannes Gobius,<sup>240</sup> a Dominican preacher of Alais, who adapted the *Mariale magnum* to these uses; or if not he, some other of his profession. At any rate, a large number of the legends of the *Mariale magnum* are included in a great compilation of materials arranged for the use of preachers and called the *Scala celi*. The work may have been begun as early as the last years of the thirteenth century, although it probably was not completed in its final form before 1323-1330.<sup>241</sup> Under the title, *Virgo Dei Genitrix*, are gathered fifty-five Mary legends, all related very briefly. Several Mary legends appear singly under other titles also. Gobius mentions the source from which each was drawn, as in *Mariali magno, in libello de miraculis*, . . . , *Caesarius, etc.* The first twenty-two, and then seven more, are attributed to the *Mariale magnum*, appearing in almost the same order as in Vincent of Beauvais. The difference in the arrangement is to be explained by the use for which the collection was intended. Gobius' anecdotes were to be used as *exempla*. The preacher accordingly tells his fifty-four legends in seventeen series, each series illustrating some particular power of the Virgin, 'She honors those who love her,' 'She saves from drowning,' etc. The first seven series are made up altogether of legends of the *Mariale magnum*; and all but four of the seventeen series (the last four but one, nos. 13, 14, 15, and 16) begin with a legend from that source. One of the legends Gobius attributes to Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>242</sup>

Since Gobius knew Vincent of Beauvais, according to his own statement, Mussafia doubts whether he ever used the *Mariale magnum* directly.<sup>243</sup> The question is difficult because of the large number of innovations in Gobius' text, including complete alteration in diction.<sup>244</sup> Nevertheless, a

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Their Field Work,' and no. 22, 'Electuary,' both in *A* (Ward, II, 629-630). If the Vendome collection also included, when it was still complete, pseudo-Celestine, nos. 21-27, it is additional evidence of the relationship between Vendome and *MS Additional 15723*.

<sup>240</sup> Johannes Gobius, *Scala celi*. Ulme, 1480.

<sup>241</sup> Gédéon Busken Huet, 'Un récit de la *Scala celi*,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, LXXVI (1915), 299, note 2, and Welter, *L'exemplum*, p. 320.

<sup>242</sup> Gobius, no. 46, 'Boy Devoted to the Devil.' It is not one of the legends Vincent of Beauvais attributes to the *Mariale magnum*. Note again the recurrence of the number 17 in connection with the Mary legends of Gobius.

<sup>243</sup> Mussafia, III, 40.

<sup>244</sup> Especially Gobius, no. 10, 'Pilgrim in the Sea,' and no. 36, 'Mary Image Insulted.'

closer examination of the texts leads to the conclusion that Gobius probably did make independent use of the *Mariale magnum* itself, or some version of it current in southern France which had already been revised for the use of preachers. In the first place, Gobius cites the *Mariale magnum* as the source of five legends<sup>245</sup> which are not told by Vincent of Beauvais. At least one of the five is just the kind of legend that would be appropriate in the sort of *Mariale magnum* described above, how a Cistercian monk who knew only the *Ave Maria* was saved by the Virgin.<sup>246</sup> A second, 'Jewish Boy,' in the version of Gregory of Tours, could appear in the *Mariale magnum*, if our hypothesis about its origin is correct. The tale of the Cistercian monk and another of the five are among a number of legends which can be connected with the *Mariale magnum* in *MS Paris 18134* already described.<sup>247</sup> Still another, the 'Clerk of Chartres,' is one of those attributed to the *Mariale magnum* by the compiler of *MS Additional 15723* in *A*<sup>2</sup>, the series not taken from Vincent of Beauvais. Gobius' treatment of certain legends also points toward independent use of a source which related the legends more fully than they are told in Vincent of Beauvais. In the case of the 'Painter,' for instance, the details which Gobius and Vincent of Beauvais select for emphasis are quite different. Occasionally the scene and other details of Gobius' stories differ from that of Vincent of Beauvais, even though both claim to be using the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>248</sup> The probability is that Gobius was using a version of the *Mariale magnum* available in southern France, in which the tales had been reduced to the briefer and more dramatic form demanded by the preachers.

Other preachers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries used the collections of Mary legends made in northern France as the source of *exempla* for their sermons, especially the collection of Vincent of Beauvais. John Herolt, called *Discipulus*, a Dominican friar of Basle, in the first half of the fifteenth century wrote two *promptuaria* ('storehouses'). One of them, the *Promptuarium Discipuli de miraculis beate virginis*,<sup>249</sup> is a collection of one hundred Mary legends. In some cases Herolt states his authority; but,

<sup>245</sup> Gobius, *Virgo Dei Genitrix*, nos. 5, 8, 17, and 18; and *Corpus Christi*, 'Jewish Boy.'

<sup>246</sup> *Virgo Dei Genitrix*, no. 17. Moreover, the only exact parallel occurs in pseudo-Caesarius, a collection which is related to the *Mariale magnum* by way of common sources (see below, p. 58, note 260). See Mussafia, III, 40-43, for comparison with Vincent of Beauvais.

<sup>247</sup> Gobius, nos. 8 and 17 = *MS Paris 18134*, nos. 48 and 36. See p. 28, note 140.

<sup>248</sup> In Gobius, no. 30, *O intemerata* and no. 35, 'Brabantine Blasphemers,' there are differences in detail, precedent for which may be found in other versions. The scene of no. 9, 'Childbirth in the Sea,' and no. 34, 'Blasphemer of Lausanne,' differs from Vincent of Beauvais, but see above, pp. 40-41.

<sup>249</sup> Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis unacum Promptuario exemplorum*, Strassburg, 1492. The volume also includes the *Promptuarium de miraculis beate Marie virginis*. The Mary legends are translated into English in the *Broadway Medieval Library* by C. C. Swinton Bland, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (New York, 1928), with an introduction by Eileen Power.

whether stated or not, a great many of the legends can be traced to Vincent of Beauvais.

Oswald Pelbart of Temesvar in Hungary, a Franciscan preacher, wrote a work in 1483 which is a compilation of materials about the Virgin Mary for the use of preachers.<sup>250</sup> Scattered through it are Mary legends which he attributes to various sources, chiefly the work of other preachers, *Scala celi*, *Discipulus*, etc. Some of them are attributed also to the *Mariale magnum*, although it is clear in this case that he did not use the work itself. Frequently he mentions a double source, as *Scala celi et Mariale magnum*. The author of the *Speculum exemplorum*,<sup>251</sup> probably a Flemish Franciscan who wrote in 1480, used the Clairvaux *Mariale*, Vincent of Beauvais, and the *Scala celi*, among numerous other sources.

#### *Vernacular Collections Related to the 'Mariale' Family*

The history of Vincent of Beauvais' collection is not limited to Latin compilers. A manuscript of the British Museum, *Additional 17920*, of the late fourteenth century includes a collection in Provençal, obviously a translation of part of Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>252</sup> It comprises thirteen miracles which correspond exactly to the first thirteen of Vincent of Beauvais, except that one legend has been added and one omitted. The additional legend is a common one, how an image in the church at Mont-St.-Michel was saved from destruction by fire. It follows 'Childbirth in the Sea,' the scene of which is also Mont-St.-Michel. The legend omitted is 'Chaste Empress,' no. 12, a very long tale.

A collection with the title *Rosarius* in French vernacular of the second quarter of the fourteenth century was made by a Dominican preacher of Soissons whose name is unknown. He uses the *Grant Marial* as one of his principal sources.<sup>253</sup>

The 'Mariale' family, then, as it developed in the first half of the thirteenth century included the following Latin collections: (1) The Clairvaux *Mariale*, an unidentified collection, (2) the *Mariale magnum*, also known only by reputation, (3) the Rouen *Mariale*, (4) the collection of Vincent of Beauvais, (5) *MS British Museum Additional 15723*, and (6) the Vendôme collection. The Clairvaux *Mariale* was the earliest, compiled in the

<sup>250</sup> Pelbartus Temesvariensis, *Stellarium corone benedictae Marie virginis in laudem eius pro singulis predicationibus elegantissime coaptatum*. Hagenaw, 1508.

<sup>251</sup> The *Speculum exemplorum* was expanded into a larger collection in the years following 1480, and edited by the Jesuit, John Major, in the seventeenth century under the title *Magnum speculum exemplorum*.

<sup>252</sup> The collection is edited by Jacob Ulrich, 'Miracles de Notre Dame,' *Romania*, viii (1879), 12-28. See also Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 689-690.

<sup>253</sup> Morawski in *Romania*, LXI (1935), 316-321. The manuscript is described by Arthur Långfors, 'Notice du manuscrit français 12483 de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' *Notices et extraits*, xxxix<sup>2</sup> (1916), 503-662. The collection is inedited.

manner of the older collections. It included, in addition, certain Cistercian legends which had accumulated in the monastery since the time of St. Bernard and other materials useful as readings for the celebration of Mary festivals. Among them were the *De transitu* of Melito of Sardis, the visions of St. Elizabeth of Schönau, and incidents from the *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*.

The *Mariale magnum* was a better organized collection, compiled after 1200 and before 1247. Many of the traditional anecdotes were abandoned to make room for more recent and authentic incidents reported by Cistercian abbots. The authority which Vincent of Beauvais claims for it and the wide variety of houses in England and France from which the incidents come, suggest that the collection of Mary legends had the official approval of the Cistercian order. By the end of the thirteenth century, if not earlier, the *Mariale magnum* and the collection of Vincent of Beauvais had got into the hands of the preachers, especially the Dominicans, who used them in the compilation of collections of anecdotes to be related in their sermons.

The Rouen *Mariale* is a collection made by a Benedictine of Jumièges who used the Clairvaux *Mariale* as his source. Since he was not particularly interested in the Cistercian tales, he copied few of them. Most of his attention he devoted to the familiar anecdotes, to which he added certain local legends.

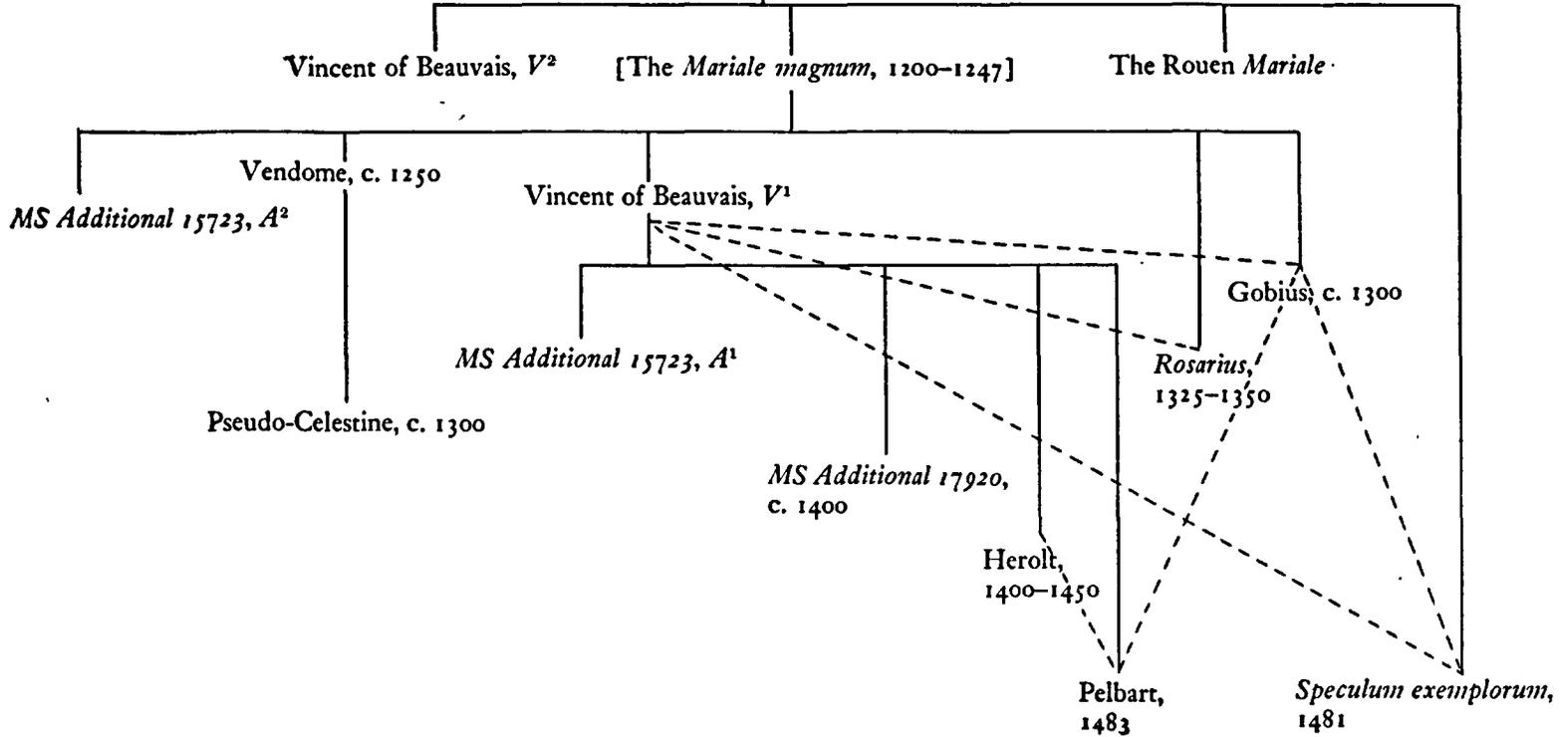
Vincent of Beauvais, who later became a 'lector' in the Cistercian monastery of Royaumont near Paris, used only a portion of the *Mariale magnum* for his collection. He probably selected the first part of it because it included tales of universal rather than particularly Cistercian interest. When they grew less frequent, we may suppose, he turned to the older, more general collection, the Clairvaux *Mariale*. The abbot of Vendome also used the *Mariale magnum* as one of his sources. To these legends he added others which he himself had gathered, some of them tales told by Cistercian abbots. The anecdotes he copied, he told only briefly, the others at greater length. The compiler of the *Additional* collection, who was probably a monk of Clairvaux, used both Vincent of Beauvais and the *Mariale magnum* as the sources of his compilation.

#### 7. RELATION OF CAESAR OF HEISTERBACH AND PSEUDO-CAESARIUS TO THE 'MARIALE' COLLECTIONS

The 'Mariale' collections originated in the Cistercian monasteries of northern France. Collections were made in the convents of the same order in other regions, and because the nature of Cistercian monastic organization promoted frequent contacts between abbots as well as the exchange of books, some similarities among collections of various regions would naturally result. The seventh book of the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesar of

THE 'MARIALE' COLLECTIONS

[The Clairvaux *Mariale*]



Heisterbach together with several Mary legends in the *Libri VIII miraculorum* and the anonymous collection attributed to him by Meister are Cistercian collections made in the region of Cologne.<sup>254</sup> The first two were completed during the years 1223–1227, and the third, it would seem, not a great deal later.<sup>255</sup>

Neither the collection of Caesar of Heisterbach nor pseudo-Caesarius clearly belong to the series of collections which have been discussed in relation to the *Stella maris*, for they do not include the tales typical either of *SV* or the *Quoniam* series. They are, however, related to the 'Mariale' collections of Clairvaux. In the *Dialogus* Caesar of Heisterbach tells three or four<sup>256</sup> of the legends that characterize the 'Mariale' collections; and in the *Libri VIII miraculorum*, a single one.<sup>257</sup> The best clue we have to explain his acquaintance with them is a statement prefacing quite another tale about the Virgin, 'We read in the *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux*.'<sup>258</sup> Could it have been the Clairvaux *Mariale* or possibly the *Mariale magnum* that he knew? It is difficult to give an affirmative answer. No one of his legends is exactly the same version as the corresponding 'Mariale' legends, even when allowances are made for differences in diction; and of the one, 'Girl Named Mary,' which is most similar in detail Caesar of Heisterbach says, 'I heard it recently from a certain abbot of our order,'<sup>259</sup> indicating

<sup>254</sup> Alfons Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, vol. III (Bonn, 1937), has recently edited the only two books which remain of the *Libri VIII miraculorum* together with the anonymous collection, or collections, which Meister attributed to him. The *Dialogus miraculorum*, planned as the second volume of Hilka's work, is available in the older edition of Joseph Strange (Cologne, 1851). It has been translated into English in the *Broadway Medieval Library* by H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929).

<sup>255</sup> Hilka, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Since the anonymous compiler makes use of Caesar of Heisterbach, some of his legends come from the same towns and monasteries, and many are Cistercian legends, the assumption is that the compiler was a Cistercian of the same region, if not the same monastery, in which Caesar of Heisterbach lived. Of the legends which can be dated readily, the most recent (no. 43) could have been written as early as 1189.

<sup>256</sup> The tale of 'Beatrice the Sacristan' is included doubtfully, because its only claim to be a 'Mariale' legend is its appearance in *MS Paris 18134* (no. 53).

	257				
		MS Paris 18134	Vincent of Beauvais	MS Add. 15723	Vendome
					Gobius
<i>Dialogus miraculorum</i>					
VII, xxxii, One Hundred Aves . . . .	34	—	—	35	27
xxxiv, Beatrice . . . . .	53	—	—	—	—
xlvi, Electuary . . . . .	38	108	—	22	—
lix, Under Her Cloak . . . . .	—	—	—	38	38
<i>Libri miraculorum</i>					
II, 7, Girl Named Mary . . . . .	—	102-3	—	16	—

<sup>258</sup> Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, VII, 43 (ed. Strange), *Legitur in libro miraculorum Claraevallis de duobus lusoribus* . . .

<sup>259</sup> Hilka, III, pp. 81–83.

an oral source. It seems more likely, therefore, that the collection of Clairvaux in which he read was an earlier collection than either of these. It may not have been limited to Mary legends and was, perhaps, the common source of some of the Cistercian legends in the Clairvaux compilations of Mary legends, Caesar of Heisterbach, and the *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis* of Conrad of Eberbach, a contemporary of Caesar of Heisterbach.

As for pseudo-Caesarius, it cannot be said with certainty that he did not know the Clairvaux *Mariale* or the *Mariale magnum*, although it seems very doubtful. He includes six characteristic 'Mariale' legends, aside from those which seem to come from Caesar of Heisterbach himself.<sup>260</sup> One of them, no. 91, appears again in Gobius, *Scala celi*, where it is clearly attributed to the *Mariale magnum*. The 'Painter' is very much abbreviated. The other four do appear in *MS Paris 18134*, although the details differ radically from those of pseudo-Caesarius.<sup>261</sup>

If, on the other hand, pseudo-Caesarius compiled his collection at Heisterbach, there must have been available to him as to Caesar of Heisterbach,

260

Pseudo-Caesarius	<i>MS Paris 18134</i>	Vincent of Beauvais	<i>MS Add. 15723</i>	Vendome	Gobius
55. Man and Woman Freed .....	32	—	—	—	—
63. Painter .....	—	104a	17	—	33
72. Boy Saved From Drowning .....	48	—	—	—	—
87. Chorister .....	31	—	—	41	—
91. Could Learn Only 'Ave Maria' ....	36	—	—	—	17
103. Unwilling to Deny Mary .....	1+33	—	—	—	—

In favor also of the pseudo-Caesarius' use of the Clairvaux *Mariale* is the appearance of so many Pez legends in his collection. But, on the other hand, the fact that the *Ad laudem* prologue directly precedes Pez, 1 and 2, suggests that he was using Pez as Pez. The series of narratives which characterize *SV* and the *Quoniam* collections are lacking in pseudo-Caesarius. But, strangely enough, he does include two of the series of versified legends which appear in *MS Paris 14463* (*SV*<sup>2</sup>) and *MS Paris 17491* (*X*<sup>2</sup>). Significantly they appear in sequence and in prose instead of verse: Pseudo-Caesarius, no. 76, 'Poor Man and Rich Widow,' and no. 77, 'Incest' = *SV*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 61-62, and *X*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 73a and 73. Furthermore pseudo-Caesarius' version of 'Incest' should be the original one, for it is more logical than the other versions. In one of the sources of pseudo-Caesarius, therefore, we should have the prose originals of the versified series of *SV*<sup>2</sup>, but the pseudo-Caesarius yields no other clues. He could not have had them from the *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux*, if my theory of the relationship between these collections is correct, for Vincent of Beauvais' *Mariale* version of 'Incest' is definitely not descended from a common source. The source used by pseudo-Caesarius for these two legends ought to antedate both *APM* and *SV*, and that would make it a very early one.

<sup>261</sup> It should be recalled, however, that the legends of *MS Paris 18134* are very freely treated by their author. Carleton Brown, on the other hand, points out essential differences between the versions of the 'Chorister,' as it appears in *MS Paris 18134* and pseudo-Caesarius. See below, pp. 194-195.

the presumably older *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux*, a probable source of some of the Cistercian legends of the 'Mariale' collections made at Clairvaux.<sup>262</sup> His acquaintance with them could then be attributed to a common source, as in the case of Caesar of Heisterbach.<sup>263</sup> Whatever the relationship, the absence of the series of Mary legends typical of northern France in these two Cistercian collections from the region of Cologne, made in the years when the *Mariale magnum* was taking shape, serves to emphasize the separate identity in the first half of the thirteenth century of the 'Mariale' collections made in northern France. Caesar of Heisterbach's reference to the *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux* also confirms our thesis that the monastery of Clairvaux was an important center for the collection of Mary legends in the same period.

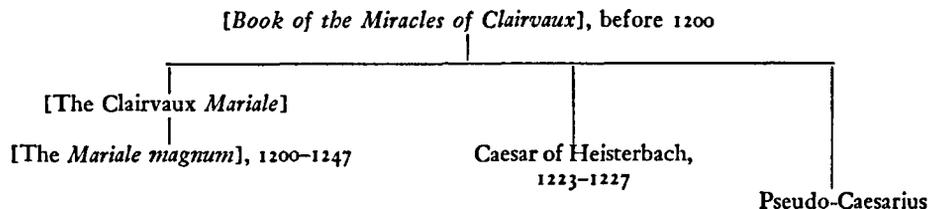
The *Mariale* collections, it is clear, were descended from the large compilations of northern France, specifically those with a prologue beginning *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo virginum*. Two representatives of this group existed in the thirteenth century in the monasteries of Paris, one at St. Germain-des-Prés and another at Ste. Geneviève, where John of Garland used it. A third, *MS Paris 17491*, cannot be traced to a particular source. One of these, or another very like it, must have been the link between the Parisian collections and the *Mariale* family, the source of the non-Cistercian legends of the Clairvaux *Mariale*. That collection, the evidence of the *Stella maris* suggests, was John of Garland's source, the collection of Ste. Geneviève.

#### 8. THE COLLECTION OF STE. GENEVIÈVE AND THE *Stella Maris*

John of Garland says in a note appended to the *Stella maris* that he versified the legends he tells from a collection which he found in the book-press of the monastery of Ste. Geneviève.<sup>264</sup> Unlike those of St. Victor and St. Germain-des-Prés, the library of Ste. Geneviève was dispersed in the sixteenth century, so that not a single manuscript or printed book remained

<sup>262</sup> I find no evidence that Vincent of Beauvais used Caesar of Heisterbach or pseudo-Caesarius as the source of any of the Mary legends in his collection.

<sup>263</sup> The probable relationship between these collections may be illustrated as follows:



<sup>264</sup> *MS Bruges 546*, fol. 84. *Gloriose virginis miracula compendiose a parvitate mea descripta ab armario Sancte Genoveve Parisiensis extracta sunt, et a me scolaribus meis Parisius ridmificata. . . .*

when the monastery was reformed by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault in 1624.<sup>265</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that no collection among those examined can be identified as that which John of Garland had before him. What has proved to be an important collection in the history of Mary legends in northern France can be studied only through the verses of the schoolmaster's *Stella maris*. That it was a much more extensive collection than his may be inferred from his reference to his own tales as 'a few.'<sup>266</sup>

The original of John of Garland must have been a *summa* of Mary legends current in northern France in the first half of the thirteenth century. Among the 'few' tales of the *Stella maris* are characteristic representatives of all the collections that have thus far been analyzed. The collection of Ste. Geneviève began with one or two prologues. The *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo* prologue, which characterizes the legends of St. Germain-des-Prés, *MS Paris 17491*, and the Rouen *Mariale* was certainly there. It is chiefly a theological discussion of the Virgin Mary as the immaculate mother of God and queen of heaven, 'the one hope of mankind after God.'<sup>267</sup> This had been the theme of John of Garland's *Epithalamium beate virginis*,<sup>268</sup> and it is the involved symbolism of the *Epithalamium* that he uses rather than the words of the *Quoniam* prologue. The author of the long gloss of the British Museum manuscript of the *Stella maris* treats the theme more fully in the manner of the *Quoniam* prologue.<sup>269</sup>

It is possible that the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève had also the *Mirande virginis laudes* prologue which appears before *Quoniam gloriosissima* in the Rouen *Mariale*, for John of Garland tells one of the legends which distinguishes the only other collection in Latin in northern France which used it, *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 5268* (12th century), from all other collections investigated.<sup>270</sup> Following the prologue, or prologues, the collection of Ste. Geneviève related the life of the Virgin as told in the *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, excerpts from which are inserted at the beginning of the Vendome collection. John of Garland merely suggests the incidents, to which the Bruges gloss of the *Stella maris* adds more detail.<sup>271</sup> It may

<sup>265</sup> R. P. Claude du Molinet, *Le cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève* (Paris, 1692), preface.

<sup>266</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 25-27.

<sup>267</sup> *MS Paris 12593*, fols. 118-118<sup>v</sup>. *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo virginum Maria sancti spiritus operatione salvo virginæ integritatis signaculo miro et ineffabili ordine omnium peperit salvatorem. . . Ipsa siquidem regina glorie prima . . . merito pre ceteris sanctis ab omnibus est honoranda, amanda, et predicanda quibus ipsa sit singulare presidium et unica spes post deum. . .*

<sup>268</sup> The *Epithalamium* was completed in 1220 or 1221. There is a quotation from the first lines in the glosses on the first folio of the British Museum manuscript of the *Stella maris*.

<sup>269</sup> Below, p. 89.

<sup>270</sup> Mussafia, II, 5. In his analysis of *MS Paris 5268* Mussafia calls the *Mirande* prologue 'otherwise unknown.' Its presence as a preface to the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève would explain the compiler of Rouen's acquaintance with it. The legend is *Stella maris*, no. 53.

<sup>271</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 13-30.

have included also the *De transitu* of Melito of Sardis, for that treatise, or a part of it, appears regularly in other collections related to it.<sup>272</sup>

The legends of the *Stella maris* were, of course, derived from a single source, the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève, but in order to clarify the relation of their source to other collections of northern France, they have been divided into four groups: those legends which the *Stella maris* has in common with (I) the first series of St. Victor (*SV*<sup>1</sup>), the first series of St. Germain-des-Prés (*SG*<sup>1</sup>), and *MS Paris 17491* (*X*); (II) the Rouen *Mariale*; (III) Vincent of Beauvais; and (IV) the second series of *MS Paris 18134* (*Q*<sup>2</sup>).

I. The nucleus around which the collection of Ste. Geneviève, as well as many other Latin collections of northern France, was built is clearly the first series of St. Victor. Of the sixty-one legends of the *Stella maris*, thirty-seven<sup>273</sup> are the same legends in the same versions as those of the twelfth-century *SV*<sup>1</sup>. The only miracles of *SV*<sup>1</sup> conspicuously absent from the *Stella maris* are those which are versified.<sup>274</sup> One of these, 'Incest,' John of Garland tells, but his version is not the same as that of *SV*<sup>1</sup>.

The relationship of the collection of Ste. Geneviève to the first series of St. Germain-des-Prés, a *Quoniam* collection, is even closer. The *Stella maris* and *SG*<sup>1</sup> have in common, not only thirty-four of the thirty-seven legends of *SV*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>275</sup> but also nine more narratives. Forty-three of the sixty-one legends which John of Garland versified at Ste. Geneviève might have come, therefore, from the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés. One of the additional tales, 'Mare,' is significant, because it occurs, among the collections examined, only in those with the *Quoniam* prologue and one other, defective in the beginning, *MS Charleville 168*.<sup>276</sup> The nine legends are arranged in the *Stella maris* in two well-marked series, nos. 6-8, 15, 26, 29-32, in much the same sequence as in *SG*<sup>1</sup>, where they are numbers 29-33, 46-49 (with the exception of 47), 54 and 58.

It is more likely, however, that the collection from which the legends of Ste. Geneviève emanated was not *SG*<sup>1</sup>, but a work which stands in closer relationship to the first series of *MS Paris 17491*. There are in the *Stella*

<sup>272</sup> The collections of St. Victor, *MS Paris 17491*, Vincent of Beauvais, and the Vendôme collection. The manuscript of Ste. Geneviève probably did not include St. Elizabeth of Schönau, which seems to be a Cistercian addition.

<sup>273</sup> Included in the number is the legend 'Mead,' although the version of the *Stella maris*, no. 11, is not exactly the same as that of *SV*<sup>1</sup>. The modification was probably the work, either of John of Garland himself or of the compiler of Ste. Geneviève. The *SV* version of 'Jewish Boy' is the 'Jew of Bourges' redaction, not the Gregory of Tours version which John of Garland tells (no. 3), even though the rubricated title of *SV* proclaims it to be from Gregory of Tours.

<sup>274</sup> The versified legends of *SV* are nos. 29-30, 36, 38, and 61-62.

<sup>275</sup> The discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that *SV* includes the work of Hugo Farsitus of Soissons, while *SG* does not. The three missing legends are from the collection of Soissons.

<sup>276</sup> *Mussafia*, II, 48-52, lists the legends.

*maris* and *X*<sup>1</sup>, not only the thirty-seven tales of *SV*<sup>1</sup> and the nine additional narratives of *SG*<sup>1</sup>, but also four more legends, not in *SV*<sup>1</sup> or *SG*<sup>1</sup>. Fifty of the sixty-one legends of the *Stella maris*, then, may be accounted for with reference to *MS Paris 17491 (X*<sup>1</sup>*)*. The character of the four narratives of John of Garland's collection, not in *SV*<sup>1</sup> or *SG*<sup>1</sup>, indicates an intimate relationship between the collection of Ste. Geneviève and the two other *Quoniam* collections, *MS Paris 17491* and the Rouen *Mariale*. Two of the tales have been found together in no other collections investigated:<sup>277</sup> 'Judas in Hell,' told by the Cistercian monk of Froidmont, and 'Christ Appears to Monk' from the Cistercian monastery of Savigny. The two others, 'Jewish Boy' and 'Columns Raised,' are part of the series from Gregory of Tours reproduced in *MS Paris 17491* and the Rouen *Mariale*.<sup>278</sup>

Comparison of the legends of the *Stella maris* with the second series (*X*<sup>2</sup>) of *MS Paris 17491*, however, makes it certain that the collection of Ste. Geneviève was not copied directly from *MS Paris 17491*. John of Garland did not use the versified redactions of *X*<sup>2</sup>. He tells three of the legends, but his versions are those of the Rouen *Mariale* and Vincent of Beauvais in which they are related in prose.<sup>279</sup> The collection of Ste. Geneviève, the Rouen *Mariale*, and the *Mariale magnum*, therefore, probably reach back into a tradition earlier than *MS Paris 17491* or even the collection of St. Victor, where some of the legends appear in verse. The manuscript which John of Garland used at Ste. Geneviève could, and probably did, ante-date the present *MS Paris 17491*, and the first series of it, *X*<sup>1</sup>, was older in its original form than the Ste. Geneviève collection.<sup>280</sup>

II. Analysis of the legends of the *Stella maris* to this point has disclosed

<sup>277</sup> The first narrative, 'Judas,' does appear in the third series, *Cbc. of MS Charleville 168*, no. 21, but it is not accompanied by 'Christ Appears to Monk.' Mussafia, II, 50 (21).

<i>Stella maris</i>	<i>X</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>1</sup>
3. Jewish Boy .....	9	10
13. Columns Raised .....	7	7
27. Judas in Hell .....	65	1
40. Christ Appears to Monk .....	65a	2

The Cistercian legends stand at the beginning of the Rouen *Mariale*, probably not their original position. In *MS Paris 17491*, the sequence is 'Judas' (65), 'Christ Appears to Monk' (65a), 'Orleans' (68), and 'Mare' (68a); in the *Stella maris* 'Judas' is between 'Orleans' and 'Mare' (nos. 26, 27, and 29). In three other similar collections 'Orleans' and 'Mare' are not far separated: *SG*, nos. 30 and 33; *MS Charleville 168*, nos. 3-4; and in the Rouen *Mariale* itself, nos. 20 and 18. The primary position given to the two Cistercian legends in the Rouen *Mariale* may be an argument for the Cistercian origin of its source, the Clairvaux *Mariale*.

<i>Stella maris</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>1</sup>	Vincent of Beauvais
14. Chaste Empress .....	34	chs. 90-92
20. Incest .....	—	93-95
37. Jewess .....	—	99a

<sup>280</sup> The prose versions should, on general principles, be older than the versified versions. There is, in the case of 'Incest,' some further indication of the greater age of the prose version. In its versified form, details have been added to the father's departure patterned after Joachim's retirement to the hills before the birth of the Virgin.

incidentally certain important similarities between the Rouen *Mariale* and the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève, John of Garland's exemplar. They shared the *Quoniam* prologue and one legend, 'Mare,' characteristic only of the collections it prefaced. The two Cistercian legends, furthermore, have been the means of distinguishing certain of the *Quoniam* collections from others. The work of St. Germain-des-Prés lacks both of them; *MS Charleville 168* has only the first ('Judas'); three collections only include them both: *MS Paris 17491*, the collection of Ste. Geneviève, and the Rouen *Mariale*. The collection of Ste. Geneviève has thirty legends altogether in common with the Rouen *Mariale*; and the larger collection, *MS Paris 17491*, relates forty of the same legends as are narrated in the Rouen compilation. Obviously the three collections are an intimately related group. The first series ( $X^1$ ) of *MS Paris 17491* was probably one of the sources of the collection of Ste. Geneviève. Where shall the Rouen *Mariale* be placed with reference to the other two?

The first two collections,  $X^1$  and the collection of Ste. Geneviève, seem to be earlier in origin than the Rouen *Mariale*. Of the legends that can be dated, the most recent occur in the Rouen *Mariale*.<sup>281</sup> The Rouen *Mariale*, then, probably descended from one of the two earlier collections. Comparison of the three collections suggests that the first series ( $R^1$ ) of the Rouen *Mariale* might have been drawn either from *MS Paris 17491* ( $X^1$ ) or from the collection of Ste. Geneviève, with the probability in favor of Ste. Geneviève. Only three of the legends of  $R^1$ , except 'Musa,' lack in *MS Paris 17491* ( $X^1$ ): (1) chapter 18 of the *In gloria martyrum* of Gregory of Tours (no. 8); (2) 'Chaste Empress' (no. 34); and (3) 'Bonus' (no. 36). The two latter, however, are important in the differentiation of the *Quoniam* collections. They belong to the versified series of  $X^2$ . With the exceptions of *MS Paris 17491* and *MS Charleville 168*, the *Quoniam* collections, including John of Garland and the Rouen *Mariale*, use the prose versions of most of the legends.<sup>282</sup> Although John of Garland does

<sup>281</sup> The only legends of the *Stella maris*, except those clearly unique, which relate incidents later than the middle of the twelfth century are: (1) 'Judas,' recorded by the monk Helinand of Froidmont under the year 1161; (2) 'Mare,' an incident referred to in a letter of pope Alexander III, 1159-1181; and (3) 'Christ Appears to Monk,' which occurred when Serlo de Vaubadon was abbot of Savigny, 1140-1147.

Besides these three legends *MS Paris 17491* records an incident (no. 72) which took place in the youth of Baldwin, abbot of Belleval in Lorraine, who flourished in 1179.

Three legends of the Rouen *Mariale* bear dates nearer the close of the century: (1) 'Brabantine Blasphemers' mentions the date 1187 (no. 47); (2) Simon, abbot of Loz, the narrator of 'Cistercian Monk Persecuted' (no. 48) witnessed charters in 1197 and 1201, and died in 1204; (3) the archbishop of Canterbury, mentioned in 'Five Psalms' (no. 53) has been identified by Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, II, 633) as Theobald (1139-1161), the monk as Joscio who died in 1163, and the Cistercian abbot who told the story as Andrew, abbot of Vaux-Cernay, 1161-1173.

<sup>282</sup> 'Bonus' is lacking in the *Stella maris* also; 'Chaste Empress' is no. 14, though there is no difference in the details of the prose and the partly versified versions. The other two,

not relate the first of the legends which differentiate *X*<sup>1</sup> from the Rouen *Mariale*, he does include chapter 21 of the same work of Gregory of Tours, 'Christ Image Wounded.'<sup>283</sup> The collection of Ste. Geneviève, therefore, may have included both chapters 18 and 21.<sup>284</sup> The *Stella maris* lacks sixteen of the legends of the first series of the Rouen *Mariale*, but fifteen of them are the common tales of the *Quoniam* collections which ought to have been in the collection of Ste. Geneviève. The other is 'Bonus,' one of the series lacking also in *MS Paris 17491*.

The legends which clearly distinguish the collection of Ste. Geneviève from *MS Paris 17491* (*X*<sup>1</sup>) in its relation to the Rouen *Mariale* occur in the second series (*R*<sup>2</sup>) of the Rouen *Mariale*. It is, for the most part, made up of legends which are lacking in both the *Stella maris* and *X*<sup>1</sup>, some of them local or unique. Only two legends commonly in other *Quoniam* collections are among them.<sup>285</sup> The *Stella maris* includes one of these and *MS Paris 17491* (*X*<sup>1</sup>), both of them. The *Stella maris*, on the other hand, includes two additional legends of the second series, *R*<sup>2</sup>, not to be found in any other of the *Quoniam* collections, nor in *SV*:<sup>286</sup> the 'Painter of Flanders' and 'Beirut.'<sup>287</sup> The latter is not a Mary legend, either as told by John of Garland or by the compiler of the Rouen collection, and its presence is exceptional in collections of Mary legends. In other words, the correspondence between *MS Paris 17491* (*X*<sup>1</sup>) and the Rouen *Mariale* ends at no. 43 (*R*<sup>1</sup>), while the similarity of the Rouen collection to the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève continues through the entire work. The lost collection of Ste. Geneviève was, therefore, nearer to the source of the Rouen *Mariale* than is *MS Paris 17491* (*X*<sup>1</sup>), a conclusion which is substantiated by a study of the legends of the *Stella maris* which are repeated in the collection of Vincent of Beauvais.

III. Vincent of Beauvais and John of Garland both extracted legends from collections using the *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo* prologue.<sup>288</sup> Both

'Incest' (no. 20 of the *Stella maris*) and 'Jewess in Childbirth' (no. 37), do differ in details. John of Garland's details are from the prose versions. The collection of St. Germain-des-Prés includes but two versified legends, nos. 41 and 43, but they are Pez legends. One of these, the Rouen *Mariale* also uses in versified form.

<sup>283</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 53.

<sup>284</sup> There is some evidence in the *Stella maris* that these two legends were associated in collections of Mary legends. Gregory of Tours, ch. 18, was a Mary legend from the beginning, while ch. 22 in Gregory of Tours and elsewhere was the story of a crucifix. In the *Stella maris* the crucifix has become a Mary image with the Child sitting in the Virgin's lap, and it is the Child that is wounded.

<sup>285</sup> Number 54, 'Five Joys,' and no. 55, 'Charitable Almsman,' Pez, nos. 4 and 5. The second legend is no. 48 of the *Stella maris*.

<sup>286</sup> The tale of 'Beirut' does appear on the first folios of the volume of *MS Paris 14463*, but it is not a part of the collection itself.

<sup>287</sup> *Stella maris*, nos. 54 and 21, and Rouen *Mariale*, nos. 44 and 63. The 'Painter' is the first legend of *R*<sup>2</sup> and 'Beirut,' the next to the last legend.

<sup>288</sup> See pp. 37-38.

their sources, the collection of Ste. Geneviève and the *Mariale magnum*, incorporated 'Mariale' materials of the sort described in the *Mirande* prologue of the Rouen *Mariale*, writings of 'the fathers ancient and recent.'<sup>289</sup> John of Garland, moreover, gathered from the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève fourteen of the thirty-three legends which Vincent of Beauvais, *V*<sup>1</sup>, took from the *Mariale magnum*, and eight of the ten, *V*<sup>2</sup>, which he took from the Clairvaux *Mariale*.<sup>290</sup> Seventeen of the twenty-two (14+8) are the tales of the *Quoniam* collections, St. Germain-des-Prés and *MS Paris 17491* (*X*<sup>1</sup>). The other five have come to light in the same versions only in Vincent of Beauvais, or in collections known to be related to his or to the *Mariale magnum*:

	<i>Stella maris</i>	<i>V</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>V</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
12. Woman Revived for Confession . . . . .	—	—	117	—
20. Incest . . . . .	93-95	—	—	—
37. Jewess in Childbirth . . . . .	99a	—	—	—
42. Little Devil in Church . . . . .	—	—	118	—
54. Painter of Flanders . . . . .	104a	—	—	44

Vincent of Beauvais (*V*<sup>2</sup>) selected, then, from the Clairvaux *Mariale* eight of the same legends which John of Garland took from the collection of Ste. Geneviève, two of them unusual legends, missing from other *Quoniam* collections. From the *Mariale magnum* he took fourteen of the legends of Ste. Geneviève, three of them distinctive. Nine of the fourteen legends common to the collection of Ste. Geneviève and the *Mariale magnum*, including one distinctive narrative (no. 44), are also in the Rouen *Mariale*. Presumably these nine legends, at least, arrived in the Rouen *Mariale* by way of its source, the Clairvaux *Mariale*. Seventeen of the narratives of Ste. Geneviève, then, can be certainly ascribed to the Clairvaux *Mariale* (9 in *V*<sup>1</sup> + 8 in *V*<sup>2</sup>), among them three significant ones. The number must actually have been much larger for two reasons: (1) John of Garland merely selected legends from a larger collection at Ste. Geneviève, and Vincent of Beauvais reproduced in summary form only a portion of the *Mariale magnum*. (2) The compiler of the *Mariale magnum*, the source of Vincent of Beauvais, had already eliminated many of the common

<sup>289</sup> This is clearer in the case of Vincent of Beauvais who makes excerpts from Melito of Sardis, an ancient father, and St. Elizabeth of Schönau, whose brother, a 'recent' one, related her visions. John of Garland, besides incidents from the life of the Virgin Mary from the *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, incorporates within the work a great deal of matter from 'recent' writers on the seven liberal arts (see pp. 66-68) which he probably regarded as fitting substitutes for the 'recent' fathers in his source. In addition, there are some references to the Roman writers of the classical period.

<sup>290</sup> The marked difference in the proportion of legends common to the *Stella maris* and *V*<sup>1</sup> (14/33) as compared with *V*<sup>2</sup> (8/10) supports our thesis (pp. 44 and 55) that the *Mariale magnum* comprised only selected legends from the *Quoniam* collections to which were added tales of Cistercian origin, while the Clairvaux *Mariale* was a compilation similar to the older *Quoniam* compilations, among which was the collection of Ste. Geneviève.

*Quoniam* legends. These selective processes tended to reduce the number of legends common to Vincent of Beauvais and the *Stella maris*, upon whose fragments of their originals our evidence must depend. Even if there were no other confirmation, seventeen legends, therefore, seems a sufficiently large number upon which to base the conclusion that the collection of Ste. Geneviève was the source of the non-Cistercian legends of the Clairvaux *Mariale*. From the Clairvaux *Mariale*, the Rouen collection had thirty legends of Ste. Geneviève; and the *Mariale magnum*, the fourteen non-Cistercian legends related by Vincent of Beauvais ( $V^1$ ). The eight legends of  $V^2$ , the Dominican compiler derived directly from that source.

The order of the narratives of Vincent of Beauvais, the Rouen *Mariale*, and the *Stella maris* supports the same conclusion. The *Mariale magnum* and the Rouen *Mariale*, it would seem, inherited it from the collection of Ste. Geneviève by way of their common source, the Clairvaux *Mariale*, and passed it on to Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>291</sup> The similarity in sequence extends only through  $V^1$ , but  $V^2$  is lacking the careful notation, *ex Mariali magno . . . Explicit de Mariali magno. Item alia*, which indicates that the compiler was using all the legends between those notes in their original order. In other words, the series  $V^1$  is a portion of the *Mariale magnum*; the legends of  $V^2$  are merely tales selected in no particular order from the Clairvaux *Mariale*.

The character of the *Stella maris* as a whole is further evidence of the relation of its source, the collection of Ste. Geneviève, to the *Mariale* collections. Besides the incidents from the *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, a large amount of matter appropriate to a 'Mariale' is scattered throughout the *Stella maris* — medicine, physical geography, and astronomy 'appropriated' to the Virgin Mary,<sup>292</sup> a description of the festivals of the Virgin,<sup>293</sup> a sequence in her honor,<sup>294</sup> and numerous other songs of praise.<sup>295</sup> What John of Garland has composed, in fact, is a *Mariale parvum*, adapted not to the uses of monks in a monastery, as was his source, but to young students

<sup>291</sup> See table, pp. 46-47. The similarities between the collection of Ste. Geneviève, the Rouen *Mariale*, and Vincent of Beauvais could scarcely be attributed to descent of all three from the *Mariale magnum*. The dates of legends in the Rouen *Mariale* and Vincent of Beauvais are later than those of the *Stella maris*, except those legends which were clearly the additions of John of Garland himself. The collection of Ste. Geneviève could, on that basis, have been made as early as 1161. The Rouen *Mariale* must have been composed not earlier than 1187, and probably not earlier than 1197. See p. 63, note 281. All three of the legends of the Rouen *Mariale*, upon which these later dates depend, appear also in Vincent of Beauvais, (chs. 109-110a and 116b). If, in addition, the legends of *MS Additional 15723*, also attributed to the *Mariale magnum*, are taken into consideration, then it could not have been compiled earlier than 1200. The probability is that the collection of Ste. Geneviève was compiled just before 1200 and the *Mariale magnum* about a generation later.

<sup>292</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 64-75, 148-213, 670-675, 916-987, 1006-1035.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 988-1005.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1036-1053.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 742-759, 808-825, 844-849, 1126-1155.

learning the seven liberal arts. As such it is a collection unique in the history of Mary legends.

IV. The hypothesis which makes the collection of Ste. Geneviève the source of the non-Cistercian legends of the Clairvaux *Mariale* explains the presence of the 'Chorister' (no. 43) in the *Stella maris*. Although it is missing from the Rouen *Mariale* and Vincent of Beauvais, it does appear in the second series, Q<sup>2</sup>, of *MS Paris 18134* and the Vendome collection which are both descendants of the *Mariale magnum*.<sup>296</sup> Comparison of the texts of the 'Chorister' supports the conclusion that all three were descended from a common source.<sup>297</sup>

Three, or possibly only two, of the narratives of John of Garland's *Stella maris* are unique. One, the story of the healing of the victims of ergotism at Notre-Dame de Paris,<sup>298</sup> was obviously inserted to enable the author to pay a compliment to William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris. Another, the victory of the Parmese over Frederick II, was the latest piece of news to come to Paris from Italy.<sup>299</sup> The third, a tale of a school-boy saved in a thunderstorm by the singing of *Ave maris stella*,<sup>300</sup> may also be unique, though the theme is a common one. It could have been inserted by the author from memory, because he was preparing a lesson for school-boys.

Almost all the legends and much of the introductory matter, John of Garland took from his source, but these account for only two-thirds of the lines of the *Stella maris*. The author intended to use his collection, as he did many of the other things he wrote, in the schools. He tells us, therefore, that he has inserted lessons on various subjects, natural science, astronomy, and theology.<sup>301</sup> These lessons are, none-the-less, subordinated to the purposes of a *Mariale*, or a work in praise of the Virgin Mary. Hippocrates is mentioned in support of the power of the Virgin to heal human disease.<sup>302</sup> The author of the British Museum gloss says that it was John of Garland's purpose to adapt the astrology of Martianus Capella to the Virgin Mary.<sup>303</sup> The constellations, as John of Garland describes them,

<sup>296</sup> *MS Paris 18134*, fol. 142, no. 31, and Isnard, pp. 194-196 (41). It stands strangely in Q<sup>2</sup> among legends whose source is probably Gautier de Coincy. Gautier de Coincy also relates the anecdote, but the version of Q<sup>2</sup> is obviously not that of Gautier de Coincy, nor does it fit properly into the sequence. The Paris version is surprisingly close to that of John of Garland, considering the nature of the other legends of Q<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>297</sup> See below, notes on the 'Chorister,' pp. 194-195, and Carleton Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress* (Chaucer Society, London, 1910).

<sup>298</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 28.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 59, and p. 79.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 56.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, John of Garland's preface, below, p. 87, *Et phisicalia et astrologica interserta [sunt]*.

<sup>302</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 64-66. The author of the gloss of the Bruges manuscript quotes the words of the *Prognostics* which he considers the authority for his statement.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 148. *Hic adaptat autor quamdam astrologiam Martiani beate virginis.*

each in its own particular way, signify some aspect of the Virgin's dominion or that of her Son.<sup>304</sup> The constellation of Virgo, as described by Albumasar, for instance, pictures the Virgin Mary nursing her Child.<sup>305</sup> The *Stella maris* demonstrates how even the secular learning of the schools was in the author's classes made to serve the Mary cult.

The *Stella maris* is significant also in other respects, quite aside from its connection with the schools and the substance it gives to the personality of the valuable collection of Ste. Geneviève. John of Garland wrote, not as a monk, but as a layman interested in the art of writing poetry. So far as the evidence goes, he is the first lay compiler of Mary legends in northern France. For the first time he gives a collection of Mary legends the semblance of the literary form of the panegyric. His purpose is not that of the monk-compilers, to assemble a large number of Mary legends. The marvellous deeds of the Virgin are but examples of her power in heaven and earth, a power which the learning of the seven liberal arts, medicine, and theology confirms. The narratives, he merely suggests, and these are followed at intervals by songs in her praise.

In this respect the collection made by Alfonso el Sabio, King of Castile, 1252-1284, resembles the *Stella maris*. The *Cantigas de Santa Maria*<sup>306</sup> was written in the second half of the thirteenth century in the Galician language. Of the four hundred and twenty-two canticles set to music, three hundred and fifty-three are Mary legends. The narratives are at times very brief, and songs in praise of the Virgin are interpolated at regular intervals. Although it could not be maintained that the author owes the particular form to the *Stella maris*, there are some important similarities between the two collections.

The legends of the *Cantigas* were gathered from many sources, most of them written sources.<sup>307</sup> The author mentions a book of the miracles of Soissons,<sup>308</sup> and he had also the *Speculum historiale*, sent him by St. Louis of France. One of the collections he used, he says had nearly three hundred legends in it.<sup>309</sup> To add to these, he sent to shrines and had local compilations copied, so that he complains that he cannot write down half of those he knows.<sup>310</sup> The legends fall into two groups, (1) those which are local, and (2) those widely-known in France and perhaps in Spain. Of the latter,

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 148-213. The Galaxy lights the way to the House of God, as does the Virgin; Dracho, who degraded the first man, Mary treads under foot; etc.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 975-977.

<sup>306</sup> *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. by La Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1889.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36 (25), 75 (51), 84 (58), 108 (68), 114 (73), and 163 (106), in which there are references to sources, and Aubrey F. G. Bell, 'The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X,' *Modern Language Review*, x (1915), 338-348.

<sup>308</sup> Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, p. 88 (61).

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49 (33).

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168 (110).

Mussafia counts ninety-four.<sup>311</sup> Although king Alfonso says that he used collections of many countries,<sup>312</sup> all ninety-four are legends commonly found in the collections of northern France, especially the collection of Ste. Geneviève and the 'Mariale' collections.<sup>313</sup> Of the sixty-one tales of the *Stella maris*, thirty-seven are included in the *Cantigas*, fifteen of them also in the *Mariale magnum*. Particularly significant is the treatment of the legends of Soissons. They are in the *Cantigas*, as in the *Stella maris*, scattered through the entire collection. In both the *Cantigas* and the *Stella maris* the festivals of the Virgin are named and described.<sup>314</sup> In addition to the fifteen legends of the *Mariale magnum* which are common to the *Cantigas* and the *Stella maris*, there are twelve other 'Mariale' legends among the *Cantigas*. Clearly either the collection of Ste. Geneviève or one of the 'Mariale' collections, or both, was used in the composition of the *Cantigas*. Alfonso el Sabio is known to have visited Paris, where he could have seen both John of Garland and his source; and it is not likely that his agents overlooked Clairvaux in their search for Mary legends.

#### 9. THE *Stella Maris* IN ENGLAND

John of Garland's collection seems to have been more popular in England than in France. To a Frenchman of the thirteenth century, they were but old familiar narratives; but to an Englishman of the same period many of them were new tales, while others were unfamiliar versions of anecdotes he already knew. One of the manuscripts of the *Stella maris* which remain, *MS British Museum Royal 8 c iv*, belonged in the middle ages to the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. There is some reason to believe that it was copied there about 1300 by a monk whose name was Adolf, who supplied it with certain glosses in addition to those which his exemplar already possessed. A study of the text shows that two manuscripts were used in the construction of Adolf's text, one from which he copied the text, and another which was used for corrections.<sup>315</sup>

A manuscript given to the library of St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury by one of its monks, Thomas de Wyvelsberge, included both the *Stella maris* (or a part of it) and the *Epithalamium beate Marie virginis* of John of Garland.<sup>316</sup> If he is the Thomas de Wyvelsberge mentioned in the

<sup>311</sup> *Cantigas*, *op. cit.*, I, 63.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 484 (347).

<sup>313</sup> The legend which he says was one of nearly three hundred is no. 33, 'Pilgrim in the Sea,' a legend told both by John of Garland and Vincent of Beauvais.

<sup>314</sup> *Cantigas*, pp. 567-586.

<sup>315</sup> See pp. 82-84.

<sup>316</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 281 and lxxiv. The work is listed as *Meditacio bona Iohannis de Garlandia de miraculis beate virginis*. Since it is followed immediately by the *Epithalamium*, it can scarcely be doubted that the *Stella maris* is meant, or at the least, one of the prefaces to the *Stella maris*.

register of the abbey in documents of 1242 and 1243,<sup>317</sup> then his volume must have contained the earliest known copy of the *Stella maris* in England.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century John Boston, monk of Bury, listed a manuscript of the *Stella maris* among the books which he saw in the monastic libraries of England and Scotland. He uses the title mentioned in the colophon of the British Museum manuscript and quotes the *incipit*.<sup>318</sup> It is possible that the manuscript he knew was the one which Adolf copied, the British Museum manuscript we know today; but, on the other hand, Boston does not give it the number (82) by which he usually designates a Bury book,<sup>319</sup> nor does he mention other works in the same codex.<sup>320</sup> The likelihood is, therefore, that it was not the Bury copy that he has in mind, but one belonging to another library.

At about the same time that Boston of Bury was noting the presence of the *Stella maris* in English monastic libraries, an anonymous Englishman was using it to produce a remarkable collection in English verse. A considerable fragment of his work is now in the British Museum, *MS Additional 39996*,<sup>321</sup> in script of the first half of the fifteenth century. It includes eighteen legends, breaking off in the middle of the tale of 'Julian the Apostate,' number 24 of the *Stella maris*. There can be little doubt that the Englishman had before him the *Stella maris* of John of Garland, even though he stretches the narratives to many times the length of the original. The order in which he tells the tales is that of the *Stella maris*, except for slight alteration:

The same volume contained *Compendiosa excerptio de libro qui vocatur Mariale*. I should like to think that the 'compendious excerpt' was from the collection of Ste. Geneviève, which in all probability was called 'Mariale.' If that should be true, then it becomes barely possible that John of Garland's hint to the prior of Ste. Geneviève that he ought to 'publish' the *Stella maris* was acted upon. (See below, the author's preface.) The catalogue edited by James was made between 1491 and 1497. The manuscript has been lost.

<sup>317</sup> *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (ed. G. J. Turner and H. E. Salter, London, 1915), pt. ii, p. 486 and 495. The volume, as it appears in James' catalogue, however, includes a work of master Walterus de Woburne, *Egregium carmen de beata virgine et inclito (?) eius filio*. He ought to be the Gualterus de Wiburne mentioned by Leland, Pits, and Bale as the author of a poem entitled *Carmen de beata virgine et eius filio*. John Pits in *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis, tomus primus . . .* (Paris, 1619), p. 500, gives his *floruit* as 1367. There is, however, no other evidence in the contents of the volume and nothing else known about Walter of Woburn that would make it necessary to give him and the manuscript in which his work appeared such a late date. Furthermore, the work of Walter of Woburn might have been added to the manuscript presented by Wyvelsberge at a later date.

<sup>318</sup> Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. xxxiii. Tanner prints only a portion of the catalogue of Boston of Bury, pp. xxv-xliii.

<sup>319</sup> M. R. James, *The Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 34-35.

<sup>320</sup> That is, not in the portion of the work which Tanner prints, which is restricted to English authors.

<sup>321</sup> The manuscript is described and the Mary legends are edited by Ruth Wilson Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 340-373. The author points out the relationship of the collection to the *Stella maris*, although she had not studied it in detail.

<i>MS 39996</i>	<i>Stella maris</i>	<i>MS 39996</i>	<i>Stella maris</i>
1	—	10	6
2	12	— <sup>322</sup>	7?
3	13	11	8
4	14	12	11
5	2	13	15
6	1	14	17
7	3	15	20
8	4	16	18
9	5	17	19
		18	22
		19	24

In many cases the Englishman's tales are spun in alarmingly original fashion from the meager details of John of Garland. The materials with which he elaborates his narrative are not all gathered from thin air, however. He knows, in some instances, the complete versions of the stories,<sup>323</sup> and in at least one case, he seems to have had another collection close at hand when he wrote.<sup>324</sup> Only the first legend of *MS Additional 39996*, how a monk was tempted by the devil in the form of a woman and saved by his prayer to the Virgin has no connection with John of Garland.

In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that the collection of Ste. Geneviève, the source of John of Garland, was a large and significant compilation of materials about the Virgin Mary, chiefly Mary legends. It included not only those tales which had been gathered together in the monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés and by the unknown compiler of the first series of *MS Paris 17491 (X<sup>1</sup>)*, but also certain significant legends used in the construction of the Clairvaux *Mariale*. The Cistercian monk who compiled it had little to do but interpolate groups of Cistercian legends here and there, and his collection was complete. John of Garland, on the other hand, adapted the collection of Ste. Geneviève for use in his class-room. He wrote some verses merely suggesting the content of selected legends, and then he built his own 'Mariale' by the addition of matter from the arts' curriculum, intended to show how all the seven liberal arts unite in worship of the Virgin Mary. His little work also gave new form to collections

<sup>323</sup> There is a folio missing at this point. It probably had on it no. 7 of the *Stella maris*.

<sup>323</sup> See Tryon, pp. 357-360 (12-14) and 363-365 (17).

<sup>324</sup> The author here reproduces a comparatively insignificant detail almost exactly as in the Pez version:

*Cur dedisti filium quem tam sceleri morte et sibi et matri subtrahere decrevisti? Set quia potes suscitare mortuum, cui esse cum non esset, dedisti, indubitanter credo, spero, confido . . . (MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593, fol. 170<sup>v</sup>).*

I hade hym by þi grace verray  
 And by þi liking he is a-way  
 And þou may gif þi wille be  
 My sone lyf lene to me.

(Tryon, pp. 352-353, ll. 18-22)

of Mary legends. The entire *Stella maris* is a panegyric in praise of the Virgin. The legends are merely cited as examples of her prowess over man and nature. Whether or not the Spanish king, Alfonso el Sabio, saw the *Stella maris* at Paris, he composed a work which used Mary legends in much the same way, not as pieces to be read in monasteries or told by preachers to point a moral, but as part of a literary composition glorifying the Virgin. Before the end of the thirteenth century John of Garland's work was taken to England, perhaps by the author himself or by one of his students, and there became the source of a collection in English verse.

The table on pages 74-75 shows the relationship between the *Stella maris* and other collections.

The last quarter of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century was, as this study shows, a period of importance in the development of the Mary cult, one of the chief features of which was the collection and popularization of legends about the Virgin Mary. The collection of anecdotes of universal rather than merely local interest had got well under way by the beginning of the twelfth century with the compilation of *HM*, the *Elements-series*, and *TS*. They included not more than seventeen legends. Possibly the number had mystical significance in connection with the Mary cult, or it may have been determined only by the requirements of the services and other uses to which the collections were put.

Just when or where the Pez collection of forty-three legends came into existence is not certain, but it could not have been much earlier than the *SV*<sup>1</sup> collections, nor far distant from their home. To Pez, the compiler of *SV*<sup>1</sup>, probably in the third quarter of the twelfth century, added another series of seventeen or eighteen tales, gathered chiefly from the ecclesiastical writers of northern France and from monastic and communal records in the same region. The number of copies of *SV*<sup>1</sup> and the collections descended from it at Paris in the thirteenth century<sup>325</sup> make it probable that it was compiled in a Parisian monastery.

The compiler of the first collection with the *Quoniam gloriosissima virgo virginum* prologue was probably a monk of St. Germain-des-Prés, who did his work in the last quarter of the twelfth century. To *SV*<sup>1</sup>, or a collection like it, he added another group of seventeen tales, nearly all of which originate in the region of northern France of which Paris is the center. Other monastic compilers used his to heap up even larger collections to the glory of the Virgin and to give greater interest and variety to the readings in the monasteries.

<sup>325</sup> There were two copies of *SV*<sup>1</sup> at the Sorbonne, one at St. Victor, and probably one at St. Germain-des-Prés. Two collections descended from *SV*<sup>1</sup> were also at Paris, one at St. Germain-des-Prés and one at Ste. Geneviève.

It was still another Paris collection, that of the monastery of Ste. Geneviève, which became the foundation upon which the Cistercians built the Clairvaux *Mariale* by the addition of legends gathered chiefly from their own monasteries. Obviously there was a limit to which the mere accumulation of materials of this sort could go, if they were to be used conveniently. The collection of St. Victor was already a large folio volume, and it included nothing but legends and two other short treatises about the Virgin. A collection of three hundred legends, such as Alfonso X mentions, if they were reproduced in full in an easily legible script, must have been an unmanageable volume. Some drastic sort of selection must take place when new tales were added, or the legends must be revised to make them briefer. Both these processes went on in the Cistercian monasteries. The *Mariale magnum* used only selected legends from the older collections, and the abbot of Vendome reduced the traditional tales to the briefest form possible. Even the Cistercian anecdotes were pruned of circumstantial details. The compiler of *MS Additional 15723* to save space used the briefer versions of Vincent of Beauvais, but copied in full other legends of the *Mariale magnum*. It remained for the preachers of the Dominican and Franciscan orders who took the legends out of the monasteries and into the market squares of the towns to eliminate all the matter which encumbered the narrative.

In the earliest compilations, except in the Elements-series which has a unity of its own, little care had been given to the form of the collection itself. There was some attempt in Pez and *SV*<sup>1</sup> to distribute new legends among the old, probably to give some degree of novelty to each group as it was used in the monasteries. The compiler of the *Quoniam* collection of St. Germain-des-Prés used subject matter to some extent as a principle of organization in his first series (*SG*<sup>1</sup>), and the social status of the individuals concerned in the second (*SG*<sup>2</sup>). The matter, other than Mary legends, was apparently incorporated into most of the collections of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries without much thought as to its position in the collection. In the collections of Ste. Geneviève and the *Mariale magnum*, these materials were placed at, or near, the beginning of the collection and arranged with reference to the life of the Virgin: (1) accounts of her parents and her earthly life from the *Pseudo-Matthei Evangelium*, (2) her assumption as in Melito of Sardis and Elizabeth of Schönau, and finally (3) the miraculous deeds she performed after her assumption. Preachers varied the order of the tales to suit their need to illustrate a moral truth, grouping those from which a given lesson could be extracted under a single heading.

The collection of Mary legends was in northern France by the middle of the thirteenth century no longer confined to monks or cathedral clergy. John of Garland is the first known lay compiler of Mary legends in that

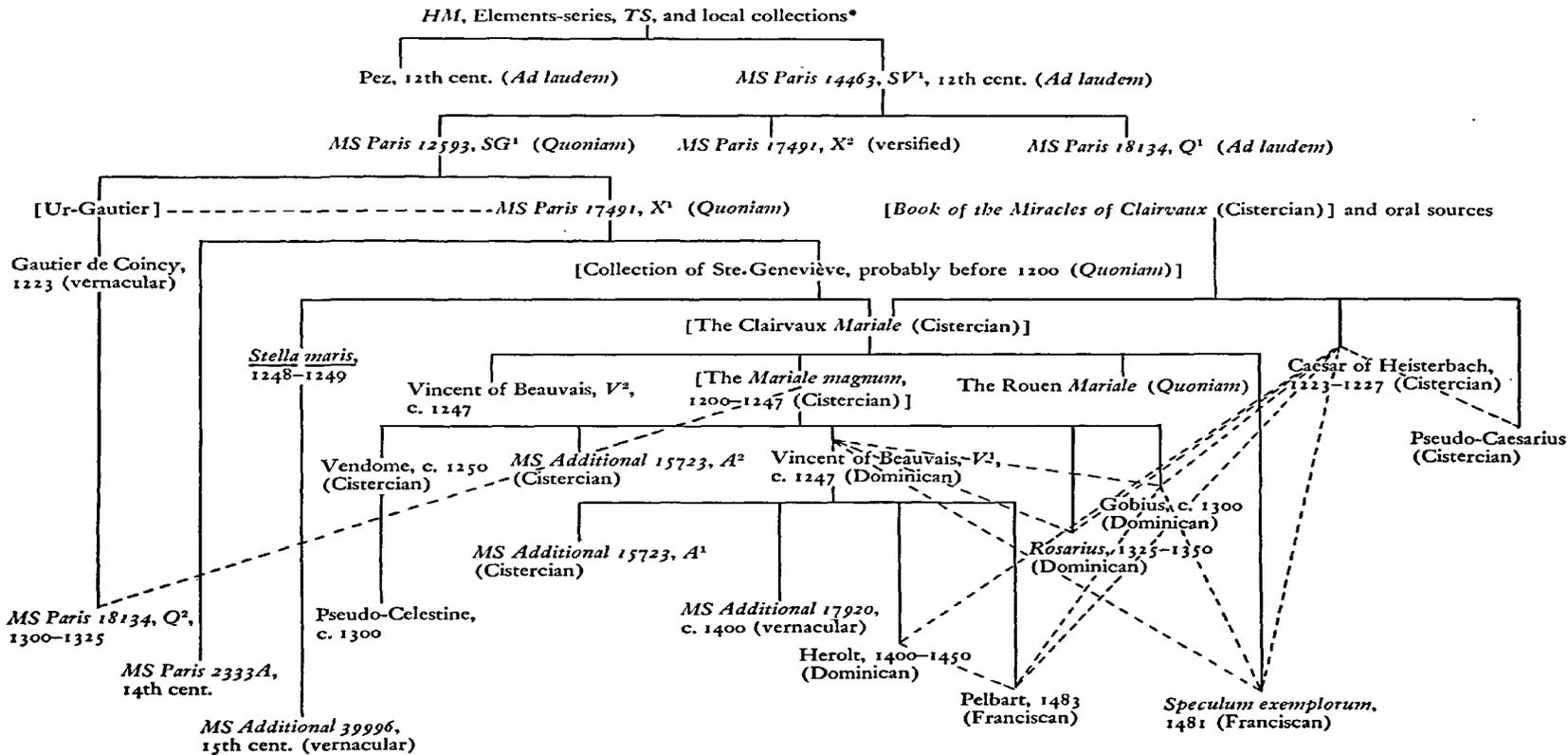
	<i>MS Paris 14463</i>	<i>MS Paris 12593</i>	<i>MS Paris 17491</i>	<i>Rouen Mariale</i>	<i>Vincent of Beauvais</i>	<i>Vendome</i>	<i>MS Paris 18134</i>	<i>Gobius</i>	<i>Alfonso el Sabio</i>	<i>MS Additional 39996</i>
<i>Stella maris</i>										
1. Milk: Tongue and Lips .....	14	39	25	24	84	5	29	6	—	6
2. Abbess .....	55	80	38	26	86	6	39	11	7	—
3. Jewish Boy .....	—	—	9	10	—	—	—	—	—	7
4. Son Restored .....	47	66	28	31	—	—	—	—	21	8
5. Devil in Beasts' Shapes .....	37	64	26	28	—	—	30	—	47	9
6. Barns Filled .....	—	58	10	11	—	—	—	—	187	10
7. Saracen and Mary Image .....	—	31	68a	14	119b	—	47	—	46	—
8. Ring on Finger .....	—	29	67	—	87	7	43	13	42	11
9. Toledo .....	41	23	36	16	81b	—	—	2	12	—
10. Pilgrim in the Sea .....	49	70	40	32	88	—	—	—	33	—
11. Mead .....	9	21	45	—	—	—	—	—	23	12
12. Woman Revived .....	—	—	—	—	117	—	—	—	—	2
13. Columns Raised .....	—	—	7	7	81a	—	—	1	231	3
14. Chaste Empress .....	45	79	—	34	90-92	—	22	—	5	4
15. Nativity .....	—	48	6	5	119a	—	—	—	—	13
16. Mother of Mercy .....	32	5	17	—	113a	—	—	—	—	—
17. Libia .....	42	37	3	12	—	—	—	—	27	14
18. Mary Image Insulted .....	26	27	4	15	119c	—	—	36	34	16
19. Jew Lends to Christian .....	53	72	29	17	82	2	—	3	25	17
20. Incest .....	—	—	—	—	93-95	—	—	—	17	15
21. Beirut .....	—	—	—	63	—	—	—	—	—	—
22. Clerk of Chartres .....	3	3	15	—	—	—	4	18	24	18
23. Hours Sung Daily .....	54	73	59	39	—	—	—	—	—	—
24. Julian the Apostate .....	70	102	2	—	—	—	—	—	15	19
25. Priest of One Mass .....	39	10	13	—	113c	43	23	—	32	—
26. Orleans .....	—	30	68	20	83	—	—	4	51	—
27. Judas .....	—	—	65	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

28. <i>Mal des Ardents</i> at Paris .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29. Mare .....	—	33	68c	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
30. Purification .....	—	49	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
31. Sight Restored .....	—	54	12	23	}	—	—	—	—	—
32. Chartres .....	—	46	23	22		—	—	—	—	—
33. Maid of Arras .....	58	74	63	—	—	—	—	—	105	—
34. Conception .....	10	20	66	—	—	—	—	—	36	—
35. Transported .....	13	61	18	30	—	16	8	—	—	—
36. Drowned Sacristan .....	2	2	14	—	—	—	3	—	11	—
37. Jewess in Childbirth .....	—	—	—	—	99a	—	—	27	89	—
38. Hildefonsus .....	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—
39. Mouth of Hell .....	15	40	19	—	—	—	9	—	58	—
40. Christ Appears to Monk .....	—	—	65a	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
41. Fire at Mont-St.-Michel .....	21	16	34	19	—	—	11	—	39	—
42. Little Devil in Church .....	—	—	—	—	118	—	—	22	—	—
43. Chorister .....	—	—	—	—	—	41	31	—	6	—
44. Soissons .....	57a	—	56a	—	—	—	—	—	61	—
45. Nose Restored .....	57b	—	56b	—	—	—	—	—	81	—
46. Two Brothers at Rome .....	23	11	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
47. Landmark Removed .....	16	12	53	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
48. Charitable Almsman .....	5	6	49	55	—	—	6	—	—	—
49. Bread .....	44	28	58	38	99b	—	21	—	139	—
50. Pilgrim of St. James .....	18	9	35	—	—	—	—	—	26	—
51. Foot Cut Off .....	65	24	46	—	—	—	—	—	37	—
52. Boy Devoted to Devil .....	34	62	21	—	115	—	14	46	115	—
53. Christ Image Wounded .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	—	—
54. Painter .....	—	—	—	44	104a	—	—	33	74	—
55. Will for Deed .....	40	42	54	—	—	17	20	—	45	—
56. <i>Ave maris stella</i> .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
57. Freed from Captivity .....	57c	—	56c	—	—	—	—	—	62	—
58. Saturday .....	25	55	56	33	—	—	41	—	—	—
59. Parma .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60. Theophilus .....	8	50	71	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
61. Ebbo .....	6	7	43	—	116a	48	46	54	—	—

region. He, before the middle of the century, and Alfonso el Sabio in the second half gave their collections something resembling literary form. Their verses do little more than to suggest the familiar narratives, and songs of praise are introduced at intervals between groups of legends. Once the collection of Mary legends has emerged from the monasteries into the hands of the mendicant preachers, vernacular writers and laymen, not only the legends themselves, but the collections into which they were gathered take on such variety of form that relationships between them are difficult to establish.

Two centers in northern France emerge in the last half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century as scenes of important activity in the gathering and dissemination of Mary legends in the Latin language: the monasteries of Paris and the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux. Of the collections made at Paris, that of the monastery of Ste. Geneviève was probably the largest and the most significant; and of those made at Clairvaux, the *Mariale magnum* was the best-known and most authoritative. If either collection has survived the middle ages, it has yet to be discovered. The *Stella maris*, nevertheless, provides us with a shrunken image of the former, and *MS Additional 15723* with a somewhat more adequate reflection of the latter.

As for vernacular collections, with which this study has not been primarily concerned, the scanty evidence available in print at the present time suggests that Soissons was an equally important focal point for the production of collections in the French vernacular. At any rate, northern France, when its full history has been written, must be accorded a place of prominence in the development of the Mary cult in its popular and literary aspects.



\* The diagram attempts to illustrate only roughly the relationship between certain collections made in northern France and their descendants. An analysis of other manuscripts and a minute comparison of texts must be made before a definitive study can be undertaken. In many cases probable common sources and intermediary collections, even some of those suggested in this study, have been disregarded. The brackets mark collections which are not extant, or at least have not been identified.

## II

# INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT OF THE *STELLA MARIS*

### I. THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE *Stella Maris*

JOHN OF GARLAND himself acknowledges the authorship of the *Stella maris*. In the midst of an apostrophe to the Virgin interpolated between two legends he writes,

In hiis ridmis quasi cannis  
Stridulis planctum Iohannis  
Audi de Garlandia.<sup>1</sup>

His contemporaries knew it as one of his minor works. In the *Ars lectoria* John of Garland finishes the enumeration of his works with the line, *Hiis scriptis alia poteram conjungere multa*, and the author of the Bruges gloss comments, *Ut Commentarium, Stellam maris, Assertiones fidei, Morale scolarium, Georgica spiritualia*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Stella maris* is not, as has been suggested,<sup>3</sup> to be identified with another work which John of Garland mentions as his own in the *Morale scolarium*,

Edita sunt annis in paucis *Mira* Iohannis,  
Transversis pannis promptis ad bella tirannis.  
Sarra molestatur ab Agar, dolet et lacrimatur;  
Set pius armatur deus ut vindicta sequatur.<sup>4</sup>

The *Morale scolarium* was, in the first place, written in 1241,<sup>5</sup> seven or eight years before the *Stella maris*. Moreover, the content of the *Mira* or *Mirabilia*, as John of Garland describes it, is in no way suggestive of the *Stella maris*, nor is there anything in the work that would make reference to it apt in the situation which he is discussing in the *Morale scolarium*.

The date of the work may be determined with considerable accuracy by means of internal evidence. The author, recounting a miracle which took

<sup>1</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 820-822.

<sup>2</sup> *MS Bruges 546*, fol. 76-76<sup>v</sup>. The author of the gloss of *MS Cambridge 385*, fol. 139 writes, *Ut Novum dictionarium, Stellam maris, Assertiones fidei, Morale scolarium*. L. J. Paetow prints these glosses in his edition of the *Morale scolarium* (Berkeley, 1927. *Memoirs of the University of California*, IV, 2), pp. 107-108, and A. De Poorter, 'Catalogue des manuscrits de grammaire latine médiévale de la Bibliothèque de Bruges,' *Revue des bibliothèques*, xxxvi (1926), 126-127.

<sup>3</sup> Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 115. In the introduction to the *Morale scolarium* Paetow gives all the biographical details that are known about the author.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190, ll. 33-36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

place in the church of Notre-Dame at Paris, mentions a certain bishop Guillaume as a witness,

Est in templo virginali  
Virgo, medicina mali  
Ardentis Parisius.  
Fertur ignis infernalis,  
. . .

O Gwillelme, presul pie,  
Qui conservans es Marie  
Oves et ovilia.  
Ista vides et testaris.<sup>6</sup>

Guillaume d'Auvergne was bishop of Paris from 1228 until his death, March 30, 1249.<sup>7</sup> During his episcopacy there was a recrudescence at Paris of the plague of ergotism, commonly known in the middle ages as *sacer ignis*, or as John of Garland calls it, *ignis infernalis*. In an act of the bishop and the chapter of Notre-Dame it was ordered in March 1248 (1249) that the entrance before which the sick and dead were laid, especially those suffering with *sacer ignis*, should be illuminated by means of six lamps.<sup>8</sup>

Still another passage in the *Stella maris* itself confirms the date, March 30, 1249, as the *terminus ad quem*,

Ista mira quando scripsi,  
Tunc scripture favet isti  
Studium Parisius.  
Hoc magister tunc Galterus  
Pie rexit, prudens erus,  
Pius cancellarius.<sup>9</sup>

Gautier de Château Thierry became chancellor of the University of Paris in 1244 and was made bishop of Paris after the death of Guillaume d'Auvergne, March 30, 1249.<sup>10</sup> If the *Stella maris* was composed, then, when Gautier de Château Thierry was chancellor of the University and Guillaume d'Auvergne was bishop of Paris, it must have been written before March 30, 1249.

A *terminus ex quo* is provided by a reference in legend no. 59 to a battle between the Parmese and Frederick II,

*De Frederico a Parmensibus superato et quo tempore factus liber iste*  
Dum Parmenses invaserunt  
Fredericum, detulerunt  
Virginis ymaginem.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 484-499.

<sup>7</sup> P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Ratisbon, 1873), p. 596.

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église de Notre Dame de Paris*, I (Paris, 1839), 466.

<sup>9</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 910-915.

<sup>10</sup> Gams, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

<sup>11</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 904-906. The title, whether written by John of Garland or not, indicates that the date of the work is revealed in this legend.

The battle mentioned was the siege of Victoria<sup>12</sup> by Frederick II of February 12, 1248. Matthew Paris describes it in the *Chronica majora*, and there are numerous references to it in the annals of the north Italian towns.<sup>13</sup> Nothing is said in these accounts about the miracle, although the victory is generally attributed to divine aid. It is Fra Salimbene, the gossipy Parmese chronicler, who not only reveals the source of John of Garland's miracle, but also gives the clue as to the manner in which the news reached John of Garland in Paris and the length of time it took it to get there. The friar says that in the year his city was besieged by Frederick he went to France, first to the pope at Lyons, then to Paris where he stayed eight days from the festival of the Purification of the Virgin, and finally to Sens. As he was lying ill at Sens early in March, some French brothers from the Franciscan convent at Parma came to him telling the news of the victory. The letter which he mentions was written by the Parmese themselves to Pope Innocent IV at Lyons, a sort of official account of the saving of the city. Salimbene intended to include it in his *Chronicle*,<sup>14</sup> but it has not been preserved. There is, however, in the *Chronica majora* of Matthew Paris a similar letter written by the podesta of Parma to the people of Milan through their podesta, telling of the same event.<sup>15</sup> The story which this official account tells of the battle is the one which John of Garland puts into verse. Parma was saved by a picture of the Virgin painted on its standard, and the enemy suffered great losses. Doubtless the same French Franciscans who brought the letter to Salimbene at Sens had visited Paris as well. John of Garland might have had it from a sermon preached by one of the friars, or he may have seen the document itself.

It is possible to conclude, then, that the *Stella maris* was completed between February 12, 1248, the date of the siege of Parma and March 30, 1249, the date of the death of Guillaume d'Auvergne and the end of Gautier de Château Thierry's chancellorship of the University of Paris. It could have been finished as early as March, 1248, for the letter which was the basis of one of the last three legends had reached Sens, and presumably Paris as well, early in that month.

<sup>12</sup> Victoria was a camp built near Parma as a base for the siege of Parma. The Parmese on February 12, 1248 made an attack upon this stronghold and won a decisive victory.

<sup>13</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (ed. Henry Richards Luard, London, 1880), v, 13-14. *Annales Parmenses maiores* (ed. G. H. Pertz, *M. G. H., Scriptores*, xviii, Hanover, 1863), 674-675 and *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, *ibid.*, pp. 496-497.

<sup>14</sup> *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum* (ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, *M. G. H., Scriptores*, xxxii, Hanover, 1913), pp. 212-213.

<sup>15</sup> Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, vi, 146-147; and *M. G. H., SS*, xxviii, 297-298.

2. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Stella Maris*

There are but two known manuscripts of the *Stella maris* of John of Garland: <sup>16</sup>

I. MS Bruges 546 = *B*

The manuscript now in the Public Library of Bruges is the most significant of all the known manuscripts of John of Garland because of its early date, the richness of the marginal and interlinear glosses, and the bulk of the work of John of Garland it contains.<sup>17</sup> It once belonged to the Cistercian monastery of Dunes in western Flanders, which was burned by the Gucux in 1560 and re-established in Bruges in 1624.<sup>18</sup> De Poorter has deciphered an inscription on the first folio which names a certain knight, Henry Sumi, as an ancient owner.<sup>19</sup>

The volume, written in an irregular script of the second half of the thirteenth century on vellum, comprises 174 folios, many of which have been damaged. With the exception of the first number and the various brief items which fill in the blank spaces, it is devoted to the works of John of Garland.<sup>20</sup> The *Stella maris* is written in three columns of thirty-eight to forty-four lines each. The text has been so frequently corrected that it is more accurate than the British Museum (*M*) manuscript, which was originally written with more care. Some of the corrections are in the book hand of the text, while others are in the semi-cursive of the gloss. Titles appear in faded red ink. Space has been left for rubric initial letters, but they have never been added.

Numerous interlinear and marginal glosses, probably by a single hand, accompany the text, some of them of considerable length. There is some evidence that John of Garland himself wrote much of the gloss. The note at the bottom of the first folio is clearly his own, written in the first person. Certain other comments on the legends themselves must have been made by some one who had seen and read the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève, John of Garland's source. In the case of fourteen legends appropriate details are added by the gloss, especially accurate references to the scene of the incident,<sup>21</sup> which would not have remained long in the memory of some

<sup>16</sup> The third manuscript which Paetow mentions in the *Morale scolarium*, p. 114, MS *Cheltenham Phillips 448*, no. 2, is a collection of Mary legends in prose, not the *Stella maris*. The manuscript is now in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin, *Theol. Q 369*. Information as to its whereabouts I owe to the kindness of Seymour de Ricci.

<sup>17</sup> The best description is by De Poorter in *Revue des bibliothèques*, xxxvi (Paris, 1926), 119-133. See also P. J. Laude, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de Bruges* (Bruges, 1859), 478-485, and Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>18</sup> Leopold Janauschek (ed.), *Originum Cisterciensium*, I (Vienna, 1877), 51-52, and Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, III (Bruges, 1907), 449.

<sup>19</sup> De Poorter, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> De Poorter lists the numbers in detail.

<sup>21</sup> *Stella maris*, nos. 8, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 27, 32, 34, 37, 41, 43, 46, and 57.

one who was only generally familiar with the tales. The author of the gloss as a whole betrays a particular interest in the natural sciences, as does the *Stella maris* and many other works written by John of Garland.<sup>22</sup> At the top of folio 88 is the only existing reference to an unidentified work of John of Garland, a *Liber elegiarum*.<sup>23</sup>

Other glosses must have been written for young boys learning the Latin language. They are intended to explain the meaning of difficult words, the gender of nouns, the particular conjugation to which a verb belonged, to point to an antecedent of a relative pronoun, or to identify a figure of speech. In the latter part of the manuscript some Latin words have been given French equivalents.<sup>24</sup> The gloss is, therefore, evidence of the use of the *Stella maris* in the schools, the purpose for which the author composed it.

## II. MS London British Museum Royal 8 c iv = *M*

The *Stella maris* is the only work of John of Garland in the British Museum manuscript<sup>25</sup> of 210 folios, vellum in 4°, comprising miscellaneous numbers in hands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The volume consists of two collections which have been bound together since the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup> The first collection comprises twenty-four numbers, including the *Stella maris*, and bears the press mark of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, R. 42. The second is a medical collection with the Bury press mark, M. 35.<sup>27</sup> The codex was one of seventeen manuscripts known to have been acquired by John, Lord Lumley, from the abbey in the late sixteenth

<sup>22</sup> Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 84. Hippocrates (l. 64), Johannitus (l. 113), and Albumasar (l. 976) are quoted. There is a diagram which has to do with the signs of the zodiac, intended to accompany a long astronomical gloss following l. 558.

<sup>23</sup> The lines which are quoted from it have not been found in any of the known works of John of Garland. It reads *Hee sunt dotes boninis glorificati sicut habentur in libro magistri J. elegiarum* instead of *Hee sunt . . . in libro magistri J. de Gar.*, as De Poorter has it (*op. cit.*, p. 129).

<sup>24</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 725, 739, 818, 856, 859, and 1076.

<sup>25</sup> The manuscript is described by George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), I, 229-232.

<sup>26</sup> The codex, as it stands to-day, reflects the varying fortunes of the library of Bury St. Edmunds. In 1429 when William Curteys became abbot and John Boston was a monk there, the library had fallen into decay. Curteys complains that books given out to the brethren for study have been lent, pledged, or even sold. To restore the situation, he had a library built, and probably with John Boston as librarian, they made an effort to recover the lost books and put them in order. Montague Rhodes James, *The Abbey of S. Edmunds at Bury* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 41, thinks that the construction of the library was Boston's project. It was he, in all probability, who reorganized the Royal manuscript and bound the two collections together. An erased table of contents on folio 41<sup>v</sup> proves that the first collection, that is R. 42, included at least two other works now missing, *De disciplina scholarium*, an anonymous work attributed to Boethius, and Egidius' *De verbis Latinis*. Both of them are school-books, as was also the *Stella maris* and certain other numbers in the collection. The *Stella maris* probably began on folio 101 of the original volume, for Roman numerals ci-cv are written in the lower right-hand corner of the first five folios.

<sup>27</sup> The letters refer to the contents of the book. The letter 'R' is for Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, whose *Summa* beginning *Templum Domini* is the first number; and 'M' is for medical. See James, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

or early seventeenth century. King James I purchased it for the Royal Library along with Lumley's collection.<sup>28</sup>

John of Garland's *Stella maris*, the seventh article in the first collection, begins on folio 16 and is concluded on folio 23<sup>v</sup> with the colophon, *Explicit liber magistri I. de G. de miraculis beate virginis*. The script, a hand of the thirteenth century, perhaps about 1300, is more careful than that of the B manuscript. It is possible that the same scribe wrote both text and glosses, for they are contemporary hands, and some of the corrections of the text are in the semi-cursive hand of the gloss.<sup>29</sup> The scribe who copied the commentary, and perhaps the text as well, has left his name on the top margin of folio 20<sup>v</sup> at the close of some verses which are pen-trials.<sup>30</sup> The first lines have been trimmed off the margin,

Est stilus equivocus, quia dat. . . .  
Columpne medium qualitas Carmentis habet,  
Cum ipsum carmen sit officialisque poete,  
Est instrumentum quo scribit scriptor Adulfus.

Adolf was probably an Englishman, perhaps even a monk of Bury. Most of the gloss he must have copied from the text he had before him, for it is at some points identical with that of the Bruges manuscript. Some of the glosses were, however, composed by an Englishman who did not know the legends current in northern France. The legend 'Ring on Finger' is unfamiliar to him, for he names 'Eadmundus' as the hero, thus connecting it with a similar English tale told about Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry III.<sup>31</sup> Apropos of the disease of the tongue of the clerk of the 'Milk' legend, he writes *a cancro devoratum*, a remark which proves that he is thinking of 'Twenty-three Plants in Flower,' a legend of English origin, rather than John of Garland's 'Tongue and Lips Restored,'<sup>32</sup> current in northern France. The English glosses which appear on several folios are probably his also.<sup>33</sup> Two proper names in the text itself, 'Willelme' (l. 496) and 'Walterus' (l. 913) are spelled in English style. Several other spellings of the text and gloss probably indicate English origin. In five instances 'e' is used where 'i' would be expected: 'palleo' for 'pallio' (l. 84); 'incendeo' for 'incendio' (l. 87); 'vexit' for 'vixit' (l. 87); and 'descraseas' for 'discrasias' (l. 117).

<sup>28</sup> Warner and Gilson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xviii-xix.

<sup>29</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 67, 72, 165, 244, 266, 276, 343, etc.

<sup>30</sup> Another scribbling at the top of the same folio seems to connect Moses, Cadmus, and the Greeks with the invention of the 'Carmentis notule.'

<sup>31</sup> *Stella maris*, notes on no. 8.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, notes on no. 1.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 94, 155, 559 and 675. Whoever he was, Adolf the Scribe had the soul of a goliard, for he concludes some skeptical verses about the gifts of the Virgin with the complaint,

Set mihi sancta parens nihil prestat preter egere.

On the same folio is an uninteresting couplet about ebony. The top of this folio, 19<sup>v</sup>, has also been trimmed.

The text of the *M* manuscript is written in two columns of thirty-three to forty-four lines each with the exception of the first and last folios. The first has but one column and the last three. The chapters are marked by the use of crude red and blue initial letters. Most of the titles appear in the margin in the semi-cursive hand of the gloss, the first seven in hands which differ from that in which the others are written. Two kinds of corrections have been made. The scribe did some in book-hand presumably when he copied the text.<sup>34</sup> Others were done in semi-cursive from a manuscript related to *B*, if not *B* itself, when the titles and glosses were written.<sup>35</sup> Several peculiarities of spelling, besides those mentioned above, differentiate *M* from *B*. Occasionally 'liquor' is spelled 'licor' (l. 218), 'quondam' appears as 'condam' (l. 604), and 'quedam' as 'cuedam' (l. 868). The same peculiarity extends to the gloss and the titles of *M*: 'pctorcuens' (p. 89), 'secuntur' (l. 42 and title, p. 89) and 'licor' (l. 219). In two cases 's' is written for 'c': 'Sedit' for 'Cedit' (l. 391) and 'selis' for 'celis' (gloss to l. 148).

As for the relationship of *M* and *B*, the evidence is not entirely conclusive. There are some indications that a manuscript of the *M* type was used in the correction of *B*, and conclusive evidence that *B* itself, or a manuscript close to *B*, was used in the rubrication and probably the correction of *M*.

After the text of *B* had been completed the same scribe, or possibly another who was a contemporary, corrected it and wrote the titles with the help of a second manuscript. His second exemplar was not *M*, but it had some of the characteristics of *M*. Writing in semi-cursive, the scribe introduced four of *M*'s readings, all of them verbs, into the text of *B* as alternative readings.<sup>36</sup> He created new and appropriate chapter divisions on folios 87<sup>v</sup> and 88, writing the titles in the margin or squeezing them in between the columns.<sup>37</sup> He made a sign opposite line 1005 on folio 88 to mark the omission in *B* of twenty-four lines which appear in *M*, and wrote the title which belongs to them between the columns.<sup>38</sup> Using a pair of the same signs, he indicated the transposition of six lines of the *B* text to a more suitable position, the position which they occupy in *M*.<sup>39</sup>

The nature of these corrections suggests that the scribe's second manuscript, one of the *M* type, was a later revision of the *Stella maris* made by

<sup>34</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 14, 40, 245, 318, etc.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 67, 72, 165, 244, 266, 267, 343, 361, etc.

<sup>36</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 78, 93, 287, and 703.

<sup>37</sup> The titles in *B* ordinarily stand between the lines in spaces left for them by the scribe of the text. One of the new titles is written vertically between the columns. The new chapter divisions do not, however, agree exactly with those of *M*.

<sup>38</sup> The missing lines were never added to the *B* text. *M* has no titles on the corresponding folio. The titles of *B* and those of *M* which do appear on the first folios agree sufficiently in diction that it must be assumed that the archetype had titles. Titles are lacking on the last three folios of *M* because they were written along with the gloss.

<sup>39</sup> Lines 124-129 originally followed l. 147 in *B*.

the author himself. The twenty-four lines of *M*, omitted in *B*, have a unity of their own, one of a series of brief pieces in praise of the Virgin covered by the title, *de eius magnificentia usque ad finem libri*. The verses thus interpolated in *M* are, in all probability, from the pen of John of Garland. They are similar in form and theme<sup>40</sup> to others included under that title and elsewhere in the *Stella maris*. He may well have written them after the completion of the *Stella maris* and incorporated them into a 'second edition,' which was the parent of the *M* text.<sup>41</sup>

A striking case of agreement in error proves that either *B*, or a manuscript of the *B* type, was used in the rubrication of *M*. When *B* was copied, there was a thin place, or perhaps a tiny hole, in the vellum of folio 86 exactly where the red initial belongs at the beginning of legend no. 34 (l. 538). The rubric was never made; nor was there a guide to the rubricator. The first word of the line in *B*, then, is [*A*]bbas. With use the weak spot wore into a hole with thin edges until it framed exactly the first letter of the line beneath on the next folio. The letter was 'P,' and the word to the casual reader even today appears to be *Pbbas*. Just so the rubricator of *M* copied it, quite oblivious of the fact that the correct letter 'a' had been written there for his guidance.<sup>42</sup> The scribe of the *M* text has, moreover, sometimes failed to provide for a rubric where one is clearly needed. The rubricator of *M* may have had the assistance of *B* when he marked the beginning of those chapters with a red paragraph sign.<sup>43</sup> Certain corrections and one alternative reading may also be the result of contact between *B* and *M*.

The *M* manuscript, except for the last three folios, is even more liberally supplied with interlinear and marginal glosses than is *B*. The character of the commentary as a whole is similar to that of *B* and sometimes identical.<sup>44</sup> Several long glosses, however, distinguish it from *B*. A theological discussion on the first folio, similar to that of the *Quoniam* prologue prefixed to the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés is followed by more details from the *Pseudo-Matthei Evangelium* than John of Garland gives. Both these glosses, together with the reference to a 'register at Rome' as the source of some of the legends, imply acquaintance with John of Garland's source, the manuscript of Ste. Geneviève.

The author of the glosses of *M*, however, was primarily interested in grammar and the natural sciences, not in theology. He has written a

<sup>40</sup> The conception of Our Lord, using figures drawn from meteorology.

<sup>41</sup> Other works of John of Garland have been similarly revised.

<sup>42</sup> If the rubricator of *M* had, however, consistently followed the guide letters of *B* in preference to those of his own text, he might have corrected at least two errors, one of them on the very folio on which he made the unfortunate mistake. Cf. ll. 508 and 808.

<sup>43</sup> *Stella maris*, ll. 382 and 529.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 19, 26, 56, 58, 61, 113, 172, etc.

rhetorical preface to the *Stella maris*, pointing out how the principles of the *Clavis Compendii* of John of Garland have been applied in the composition of the *Stella maris*.<sup>45</sup> He knows also the *Epithalamium beate Marie virginis* and the *Compendium grammaticæ* of the same author, from both of which he quotes.<sup>46</sup> The most interesting of the glosses are those on 'spiritual astronomy,' to use the words of the title of the chapter.<sup>47</sup> These are but the counterpart of the glosses on Albumasar's *De naturis signorum* in *B*.<sup>48</sup>

In fact, a comparison of the glosses of *M* and *B* leaves the impression of two students sitting in the class-room listening to their master lecture on the *Stella maris* who have decided to divide the labor of taking notes between them. Certain of the briefer remarks are identical, but the long glosses supplement each other. The *M* manuscript, it should be noted, has no French glosses after line 663; and *B*, none before line 725. At least, it can be said, that the bulk of the commentary of *B* and *M* must have emanated from the same general source. It is just possible that John of Garland himself wrote a great deal of the *M* gloss also to go with his 'second edition.'

### 3. THE EDITING OF THE *Stella Maris*

John of Garland's collection of Mary legends is usually referred to as *Miracula beate Marie virginis* or *Stella maris*.<sup>49</sup> The latter title has been adopted for this edition, because it is the author's title, and he attached a particular significance to it. Just as the star of the sea, Virgo, shows itself in the north to sailors in danger, so his little book by means of the miracles of the Star of the Sea spreads forth the way of salvation amid the bitterness of the world to him and his students there in the studium at Paris.<sup>50</sup>

The two known manuscripts of the work have been used in the preparation of the edition. The Bruges manuscript is designated *B* and the British Museum manuscript *M*. Because it is earlier in date and more adequately corrected, the aim has been to present as accurate a picture of the Bruges manuscript, as is consistent with the making of a legible text. In cases of garbled words, omissions, and errors in *B*, the readings of *M* have been adopted. Lines 1006-1029 are lacking in *B*. They have been included in the text, nevertheless, for two reasons: because there is a device in *B* at the end of line 1005 which the scribe who made some of the corrections has

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88. The work is inedited.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 23 and 361. Neither work has been edited.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 148-213.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 976.

<sup>49</sup> Paetow, *Morale scolarium*, p. 114 and elsewhere. The colophon of the *M* manuscript reads *Explicit . . . de miraculis beate virginis*.

<sup>50</sup> Below, pp. 87-88. In the apostrophe to his work in the poem itself John of Garland calls it *Stella maris* (ll. 124-126). The same title is used whenever it is mentioned by the author's contemporaries (above, p. 77).

used before to indicate an omission, and because the missing lines were almost certainly written by John of Garland.<sup>51</sup>

The titles are those of the Bruges manuscript with the exception of that which prefaces the verse prologue and one other.<sup>52</sup> These have been borrowed from *M*. The assistance of *M* has also been required in arranging the sub-divisions of the text. Numbers have been given to legends only, even though other sub-divisions have titles. The spelling is that of the Bruges manuscript with a few exceptions, and these have been noted. No distinction has been made between 'ci' and 'ti,' between the long and the short 'i,' or between 'u' and 'v.'

The prose preface which introduces the work as it has been edited is in reality a note at the bottom of the first folio of the Bruges manuscript. It has been used as a preface to the text for the following reasons: (1) It is indisputably by John of Garland himself. (2) It explains the circumstances under which the work was composed and serves as a sort of grammatical preface. (3) And it helps to solve the mechanical difficulty which results from the number and length of the glosses at the beginning of the work. The corresponding preface of the *M* manuscript has been placed in a parallel position as a gloss.

All the glosses are included as they appear in the manuscripts, except for such words as 'dico,' 'id est,' and 'scilicet' when they are not required to make the meaning clear. Interlinear notes are given without reference to their position on the folio; the location of others is indicated. Several of the verses quoted in the glosses have not been identified. Presumably they are from contemporary works.

The Latin texts of the original versions of the narratives which John of Garland used could not be reproduced in the notes because of their bulk. Instead, brief English summaries have been placed at the beginning of each of the notes on the legends. So far as possible the texts of *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593* have been employed for this purpose.<sup>53</sup> The lists of parallel texts included in the notes take into account only those which are available in print, and they are rather strictly limited in scope. No attempt has been made, for instance, to include tales which are merely similar in theme or in a few details.

<sup>51</sup> Above, pp. 83-84.

<sup>52</sup> See titles preceding ll. 1 and 124.

<sup>53</sup> The differences between these texts and those which the manuscript has in common with *MSS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14463* and *17491* are negligible, so far as the purpose for which they have been used, is concerned.

JOHANNIS DE GARLANDIA  
*STELLA MARIS*

### III

## STELLA MARIS

### LIBER PROPTER MISTERIA MIRACULORUM QUORUM CAUSAM PREFACIT \*

**G**LORIOSE virginis miracula compendiose a parvitate mea descripta ab armario Sancte Genoveve Parisiensis extracta sunt, et a me scolaribus meis Parisius ridmificata quam exemplar vivum, per manum domini prioris eiusdem abatie publicandum ad nostre speculum honestatis. Seneca dicit non aliter vivas in solitudine et aliter in foro [*Epis. mor.*, V, 2] ut igitur equaliter vivamus in secreto et in publico in Dei servitio. Factus est liber iste qui est nobis vivendi positus exemplar, cuius causa materialis est miracula gloriose virginis. Et phisicalia et astrologica et teologica interserta [sunt]. Et sequitur modus agendi et causa formalis. Causa

*\*Preface, bottom of Julio [cf. supra, p. 86], B; corresponding preface without title, marg. M: Quoniam beata virgo est generalis omnium catholicorum invocatrix, ideo ab ea nomen illius libri autor intitulavit. Est enim titulus talis, Incipit Stella maris. Contingit autem reperire tria per titulum: scilicet materiam, causam, et fructum, prout dicitur in Clave Compendii:*

Materiam titulo causam, fructum retinemus,  
Hec tria, si titulus bene ponitur, inveniemus.

[*Clavis Compendii* of John of Garland, *MS Bruges 546*, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>]

Unde sciendum quod beata virgo Maria non fortuito aut solo placito parentum set divina dispositione et dispensatione nomen accepit, ita ut ipsa vocabuli sui figura magum quoddam innueret sive demonstraret. Interpretatur nomen Maria, stella maris, unde quid misticum hec interpretatio generat per similitudinem ostendamus: Nautis quippe mare transeuntibus opus est notare stellam iuxta cardinem celi sive iuxta polum articum [*MS ardicum corr. articum*] coruscantem, et ex regula illius stelle estimare atque dirigere cursum suum ut portum possuit apprehendere destinatum [*MS destinare corr. destinatum*]. Similiter oportet universos christicolos in fluctus huius seculi remigantes attendere hanc stellam maris, id est Mariam, que suppremo rerum cardini, id est Deo, proxima est, et regula exempli eius cursum vite dirigere ut ad portum claritatis eterne valeamus pervenire. Et quamvis autor iste in omnibus suis carminibus fecerit mentionem de beata virgine et eius filio omni carente crimine, prout dicit in *Clave Compendii*:

Principium vite, proles benedicta Marie,  
Virginis intacte, sine te nihil ordiar umquam

[*Clavis Compendii* of John of Garland, *MS Bruges 546*, fol. 33]

cum maximo affectu compositus illo modo librum totaliter de miraculis beate

vero finalis est in Christi fide stabili permanentia. Unde teologie supponitur, et etiam phisice et astronomice. Titulus talis est ab interpretatione huius nominis, Maria, quod est *Stella maris*, quia fit denuntiativus stelle maris; et alia ratione, sicut stella maris, Virgo, se offert versus septentrionalem plagam navigantibus et periclitantibus, sic libellus iste per miracula stelle maris viam salutis pandit in huius mundi amaritudine ut veram pacem mentis hic et in studio contra vitia conitimur. Unde Iohannes Crisostomus, *Vera pax est contra vitia litigare et virtutibus concordare* [Chrysos. in *Matth. XXXV al. XXXVI* (Migne, P.G., LVII, 405). Cf. *Morale scolarium* (ed. Paetow), l. 441]. In principio concinetur prefatio.

virginis, prout in registro Rome et etiam alibi comprobantur. Proposuit compilare quia prout dicitur in *Ecclesiastice*, reverentia que matri defertur [Vulg. *Ecclesiasticus*, 3,5] illi etiam qui eam talem fecit ut virgo et mater esset exhibetur. Materia ergo presentis opusculi sunt miracula de virgine Maria que est sola regina mundi, scala celi, ianua paradisi, letabilis angelis, sanctis optabilis, necessaria perditis, congrua profugatis. Intentio sua sic et autorum versatur circa materiam. Intendit enim illa miracula compilare et cleris volentibus placare et sic patet causa formalis sive modus agendi. Fructus vero sive utilitas et etiam causa finalis est ut, istis miraculis in cleris et retentis stabiles, in fide Christi de Maria incarnati stabiles maneamus. Titulus autem, ut predictum est, sumitur ab interpretatione huius nominis Maria que interpretatur stella maris. Et ita patet quod per titulum inveniuntur ista tria: materia, causa, et fructus, ut aperuit. Servat compromissum et dicitur titulus a 'Titane,' id est a 'sole,' quia [sicut] sol illuminat totum mundum, similiter titulus illuminat totum librum. Unde versus:

Est a 'Titane' titulus dictus [MS ductus] nec inane,  
Quo res clarescit, quo libri causa patescit.

[*Clavis Compendii*, MS Bruges 546, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>]

Set ne eronia alicubi incurrat disgressio, set ut fine respondente principio, condigna sit operis consummatio, ad trinum et unum primo fiat invocatio, prout in *Clave Compendii* cernitur revolutio:

Vis patris eterna, sapientia nate paterna,  
Spiritus interna penetratus nos, sancte, gubernata.  
De rosula verna flos, Christe, marisque lucerna,  
Que sunt externa purga virtute superna.

[*Clavis Compendii*, MS Bruges 546, fol. 25. Cf. also fol. 42<sup>v</sup> at the close of the same work, and *Morale scolarium* (ed. Paetow), ll. 249-252.]

## PREFATIO AD MIRACULA QUE SECUNTUR

Fecit Deus mirus mirum,  
Dum flos virum nec pro virum  
Miro partu protulit.

*Sub-title, lacking B* 1. [F]ecit *B*

*Prefatio*, In principio huius libri facit autor prefationem ad miracula beate Marie virginis subsecuta ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam ewangelicamque doctrinam patris et filii et spiritus sancti, unam divinitatem sub pari maiestate et sub pia trinitate, credamus. Et etiam confiteamur dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, unigenitum Dei filium et unum Deum et dominum nostrum, ante secula et sine tempore de patre natum, in ultimis diebus descendisse de celis et ex spiritu sancto incarnatum et sancta atque gloriosa virgine et Dei genitrice Maria natum, et hominem formatum et pro redemptione nostra crucifixum, unum essentie et substantialis trinitatis coadorandum et glorificandum patri et sancto spiritui. Nec enim alium Verbum nec alium Christum congnoſcimus, set unum atque eundam ipsum consubstantialem patri secundum divinitatem et substantialem nobis, eundam ipsum secundum humanitatem passibilem quam impassibilem divinitatem. Ut enim in divinitate est perfectus, ita idem ipse in humanitate est perfectus. Non enim dicendum quod Deus Verbum principium ex Maria sumpserit, set in ultimis diebus de celis descendit et ex ipsa incarnatus est et homo factus et natus gemina quidem natura set una persona. Dicit ergo autor in principio quod ipse Deus, omnium creator et animarum recreator, mirabiliter se humiliavit quando pro nostra redemptione in beata virgine sese humanavit, qui si sibi placeret totum genus humanum sola voluntate redemisset. Set noluit quia sit violentia diabolo. Intulisset et ideo iudicio et non posse suo totaliter procedebat. Sic enim diabolus, pertorcuens serpentem, femine, scilicet Eve, suasit ut gustaret pomum vetitum. Eva etiam viro suasit ut gustaret ex quorum gustu deperditum fuit genus humanum. Similiter per contrarium Deus nuntiavit ut beate virgini Marie quod conciperet filium Dei qui salutem et redemptionem humano generi repararet. Sic etiam per fructum ligni totum genus humanum Adam subpediavit; similiter Christus mortem patiendo in ligno humano generi salutem repararet  *marg. M*; Materia huius libri sunt miracula gloriose virginis  *marg. B*

1. *Deus*, Deus sic diffinitur: Deus est substantia spiritualis, causa inestimabilis suavitatis, causa ineffabilis pulcritudinis quod angeli qui solem septuplo sua vincit pulcritudine iugiter dilectent sive desiderent in ipsum aspicere. Secundo modo sic: Deus est summum bonum. Tertio modo sic: Deus est sphaera indivisibilis, cuius centrum est ubique, circumferentia vero nusquam. Et Deus dicitur ethimologice, quasi 'dans eternam vitam solus'  *marg. M*; *mirus*, mirabilis  *BM*; *mirum*, miraculum  *B*

2. *Dum flos*, dum Maria virgo  *M*; *flos*, virgo Maria  *B*; *virum*, filium Dei  *B*, filium suum  *M*; *nec pro virum*, sine semine  *M*, id est per virile semen prout dicitur in *Ecclesiastice* [Vulg. *Ecclesiasticus*, 44, 11; 46, 11]. Quid igitur mirum si sine corruptione nascitur qui sanctificatione concipitur? Non enim decebat ut

5 Fons in rivum est deductus,  
Nectar fundens, siccans luctus  
Quos vir primus intulit.

10 Est in fontem versus rivus,  
Mater Dei, rivus vivus,  
Fons misericordie.  
Hec est stella, mater solis,  
Sol de sole, nata prolis,  
Lux, regina glorie.

8. vivus rivus *corr.* rivus vivus B      11. celo M

ille qui nobis efferebat salutem matri preriperet integritatis dignitatem. Nam qui terra, mari celoque non capitur, in terra unius corpusculi membra suscipitur. Circumdat enim [virum] mater Maria angelo fidem dando, quia Eva perdidit virum serpenti consentiendo,

Numquam natura mutavit sic sua iura  
Ut virgo pareret, nisi virginitate careret,

Isti sunt versus demonis ad angelum.

Lumine solari nescit vitrum violari  
Nec vitrum sole, nec virgo puerpera sine prole,

Isti sunt versus angeli demoni respondentis. [Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht* (Munich, 1920), p. 103, note 4]  *marg. M*

4. *Fons*, Deus *BM*; *Fons in rivum*, fons est versus in rivum quando Deus, fons misericordie, suscepit humanitatem in virgine  *marg. M*; *rivum*, hominem *B*; *deductus*, rivus est deductus in fontem quando gloriosa virgo suscepit Deum salvatorem [cf. *Epithalamium beate Marie virginis* of John of Garland, *MS British Museum Cotton Claudius A x*, fol. 1,

Culta nites viva speculans in ymagine, vivus  
Fons de fonte nitet; natus, ymago patris.  
Tu, vite splendor, de fontis ymagine vivi,  
Tu, solis radius, quem, radiosa, paris]

*marg. M*

5. *Nectar*, dulcedine *B*, dulcedinem *M*; *fundens*, fons *B*; *siccans*, ille *BM*

6. *Quos*, scilicet luctus *BM*; *vir primus*, Adam *B*

7. *in fontem*, in matrem creatoris, scilicet *B*; *rivus*, Maria *B*

8. *vivus*, per duramen, propter septem dona spiritus sancti, que habuit beata virgo *B*, hec sunt septem virtutes beate Marie: casta, tacens, humilis, residens, comparans, pia, prudens *top of folio B*

9. *Fons*, illa *B*

10. *Hec*, gloriosa virgo *B*, Maria *M*; *solis*, Christi *M*

11. *Sol*, illa *B*, unde Job: in sole posuit tabernaculum suum [Vulg. *Job*, 18, 6], id est in Maria; *sole*, Deo *B*; *nata*, illa *BM*; *prolis*, filii *B*

12. *Lux*, illa *B*; *regina*, illa *B*; *glorie*, gloria est frequens fama cum laude  *marg. M*

## DE PATRE ET MATRE GLORIOSE VIRGINIS

- 15 Ioachim, vir venerandus,  
Sanctus, iustus, memorandus,  
Florem florum genuit.  
Anna sancta, florens ortus,  
In quo crevit flos exortus,  
Lilium exeruit.
- 20 Sponsa Dei perornata,  
A prophetis premonstrata,  
Ab Anna concipitur.  
Hec in templo conversata,  
In conclavi salutata,  
Genitrix efficitur.

*Sub-title*, Sequitur in prefatione commendatio patris et matris beate virginis *M* 13.  
[Ioachim *B*, Ioachim *corr. M* 14. venerandus *corr. memorandus B*, memorandus *corr. M* 18. exseruit *M* 22. Hec *corr. M*

13. *Ioachim*, pater beate virginis *B*, in hoc prohemio facit autor commendationem patris et matris gloriose virginis, scilicet Ioachim et Anne, qui cum per annum, ut scribitur, sic stetissent matrimonio copulanti nullam prolem poterant procreare. Unde cum Ioachim quodam die festivo oblationem, sic solebat, in templo obferre volebat, sacerdos illam coram toto populo resistebat [*MS* resitabat] quia nullam prolem procreabat, qua de causa Ioachim maximo dolore compunctus simul et pudore adsit pastores suos in deserto qui ibi cum eis per quatuor menses perhendinavit *marg. M*

14. *Sanctus*, quia divisit omnia que habuit in partes tres, et unam dedit pauperibus, et aliam templo, tertiam domui, hoc est ad sustentationem suorum [cf. *Ps-Matthei Evangelium* (ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1876), pp. 54-55] *B*; *memorandus*, dignus memorari *M*

15. *Florem*, Mariam *M*

16. *Anna*, mater gloriose virginis *M*; *ortus*, est *curtil M*

17. *quo*, orto, *BM*; *flos*, virgo gloriosa *B*, Maria *M*

18. *Lilium*, virginem *M*; *exeruit*, emisit *BM*

19. *Sponsa*, Maria *M*; *perornata*, perfecte ornata *BM*

20. *premonstrata*, per prophetias *B*, ante — *M*

21. *Anna*, a matre sua *M*

22. *Hec in templo*, beata virgo ab infantia *B*; *Hec*, Maria *M*; *conversata*, manens *M*

23. *In conclavi*, in thalamo suo *M*, dicitur talamus, ubi nullus intrat nisi ipse rex, unde Maria virgo erat conclave spiritui regis. Huic concordat in *Epithalamico*, dicens versus:

Stella maris, de fonte fontemque regingnis,  
Nectareum rivus, nil nisi nectar habens.  
Alveus est alvus fontis tua quem nequis orbis  
Orbita tam largo claudere tota sinu

[*Epithalamium B. Marie virginis* of John of Garland, *MS British Museum Cotton Claudius A x*, fol. 1] *marg. M*; *conclavi*, thalamo *B*; *salutata*, ab angelo Gabrieli *B*  
24. *Genitrix*, quando respondit angelo: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum [Vulg. *Luc.*, 1, 38] *M*

- 25 Mira mater est Maria,  
Mira facit in hac via  
Quorum pauca recito.  
Mira nati, mira matris  
Sunt vicissim, sunt et patris  
30 Cum honore debito.

## 1. DE LINGUA CLERICO RESTITUTA

- Clerus matrem salutavit,  
Linguam quam hic devoravit  
Hec lacte restituit.  
Formam gerit pietatis  
35 Dulce lac et ubertatis,  
Que de celo defluit.  
Lac est vere virginale,  
Nectar vite spiritale,  
Quo mors victa corrui.  
40 Sicut eger coniectabat,  
Rose celi supplicabat

31. [C]lerus *B*, Celerus *corr.* Clerus *M* 39. Quor *corr.* Quo *B*, coruit *M* 40. con-  
iectabat *corr.* *M* 41. Rore *corr.* Rose *B*

25. *Mira*, quia mater et virgo simul et semel *M*  
26. *Mira*, miracula *B*, -cula *M*; *in hac via*, in hoc mundo *BM*  
27. *Quorum*, miraculorum *BM*; *recito*, et sic patet materia huius libri *M*  
28. *Mira*, -bilia *B*, -cula *M*; *nati*, Christi *B*, filii *M*; *mira*, -bilia *B*  
29. *vicissim*, vicissitudine quadam *B*, aliquando *M*  
31. *Clerus*, clericus unus *M*; *matrem*, Dei *BM*  
32. *quam*, linguam *M*; *hic*, clericus *M*; *devoravit*, habuit a cancro devoratam *M*  
33. *Hec*, mater Dei *M*; *restituit*, reparavit *B*, de celo allatam *M*  
34. *Formam*, quia ipsa est mater pietatis et plenitudinis gratie *M*  
35. *lac*, lac potest hic sumi ad literam vel mistice. Ad literam est quia sibi videbatur quod beata virgo lac virginale ori suo inposuit. Si mistice sumatur tunc dicatur lac, dulcedo vite spiritualis *margin.* *M*; *ubertatis*, plenitudinis *M*  
36. *Que*, ubertas *BM*  
37. *vere*, in rei veritate *M*; *virginale*, virginis Marie *B*, lac virginis *M*  
38. *spiritale*, lac *M*  
39. *Quo*, lacte *M*; *mors*, mors aliquando dicitur peccatum, aliquando diabolus, et aliquando dicitur mors ultimum continuitatis in tempore. Unde Oracius: mors ultima linia rerum est [Hor. *Ep.*, I, 16, 79] *margin.* *M*; *mors victa*, diabolus victus *M*; *corrui*, decedit *B*  
40. *eger*, clericus *B*; *coniectabat*, probabat per argumenta *B*, considerabat in sompnis *M*, 'conicio, conicis,' id est quod estimo, et facit in supino 'coniectum, -tu,' 'u' mutata in 'o' fit frequentativum, 'coniecto, -tas' *margin.* *M*  
41. *Rose* . . . , Marie virginis pro salute clerici *M*

Angelus pulcherrimus.  
Eius fuit sub tutela,  
Et servatus sub cautela  
45 Surgendo sanissimus.

2. DE ABBATISSA QUAM BEATA VIRGO LIBERAVIT  
AB INFAMIA

Abbatisse, culpam flenti,  
Fetum alvo deferenti,  
Crimen clemens diluit.  
50 Lacrimosas preces capit  
Dulcis fons qui nectar sapit,  
Qui devotos imbuit.

Palmis puer angelorum  
Deportatus est duorum,  
Heremite traditus.  
55 Puer servit purus Deo  
Rationis in tropheo  
Sancta vita preditus.

42. pulcherimus *M* Sub-title, abbatissa *M* 46. [A]bbatisse, *guide to rubricator* 'a'  
*B*, Abatisse *M* 47. defetenti *B* 48. clemens *corr. M* 49. capdit *M*  
51. imbuit *M* 54. Eremita *M*

42. *Angelus*, nota quod unumquemque hominem secuntur duo angeli, unus bonus, alius malus. Bonus notat facta bona, malus facta mala. Unde ad bonum possunt dirigi isti versus:

Angele, quivis es custos virtute superna,  
Me tibi commissum [*MS* commissat] defende, salva, gubernata

[cf. *Morale scolarium* (ed. Paetow), l. 1] *margin. M*

43. *Eius*, angelus *M*; *fuit*, clericus ipse *B*, clericus *M*; *tutela*, custodia *B*

44. *sub cautela*, sub protectione angeli *M*; *cautela*, eius *B*

45. *Surgendo*, ille *B*

46. *flenti*, de — *B*

47. *Fetum*, puerum *BM*; *alvo*, ventre *M*

48. *Crimen*, corruptionis *B*; *clemens*, Maria *M*; *diluit*, lavit *B*

49. *preces*, abbatisse *M*; *capit*, Maria *M*

50. *Dulcis fons*, fons dulcedinis *B*, Maria *M*; *nectar*, dulcedinem *B*

51. *Qui*, fons *B*; *devotos*, in omnibus *M*; *imbuit*, humectat *M*

52. *Palmis*, a *B*, in manibus *M*

54. *Heremite*, cuiusdam *B*, heremita dicitur cultor heremi et est heremus locus, scilicet desertus; et habet mediam copiam vel productam, set in diversa significatione, unde versus: Nobilis est heremus sine habentia, horemus adire *margin. M*; *traditus*, puer *M*

55. *purus*, omni vitio carens *M*

56. *tropheo*, victoria *BM*

57. *preditus*, -dicatus *B*, ille *BM*

- Sic salutis fluunt stille,  
 Due fundunt quas mamille,  
 60 Amor et clementia.  
 Amor pronus prius audit  
 Postulantes, post exaudit  
 Illos clemens gratia.

PRONOSTICUM ARTIS MEDICINE VIRGINI  
 APPROPRIATUM \*

- 65 Ipocrate, docto teste,  
 Accedendum est celeste  
 Quoddam adminiculum.  
 Salus ego reparatur  
 Stella maris quem solatur,  
 Pium flectens oculum.  
 70 Rationes phisicales  
 Et effectus naturales  
 Nostra vincit medica.

58. stille *corr.* B    59. fluunt *corr.* B    *Sub-title*, virginis adaptatum M    64.  
 [I]pocrate, *guide to rubricator* 'i' B, Ypocrate M, docte M    65. Accedendum B  
 66. ad miraculum M    67. ego *corr.* B, ergo *corr.* ergo in *hand of gloss* M    68.  
 quem *corr.* B    69. flectens *corr.* B    70. fisicales M    72. vivit *corr.* vincit in  
*hand of gloss* M, madica *corr.* medica M

58. Sic, a isto fonte M; stille, gutte BM

59. quas, guttas BM

60. Amor, caritas [MS caries], scilicet Dei B, quem habet ad hominem M; clementia, pietas B, qua respicit genus humanum M

61. Amor, suus M; pronus, ad audiendum BM

62. Postulantes, rogantes B, homines ipsam rogantes M; exaudit, perfecte audit M

63. Illos, postulantes M; clemens, illa M; gratia, gratia cum clementia B

64. Ipocrate, in *Pronosticis* dicit ita: est etiam quoddam celeste in quo providere oportet cuius si tanta fuerit providentia, admirabilis est et minima stupenda [cf. Hippocrates, *Prog.*, I, *MS British Museum Royal 12 B xii*, fol. 223] B; docto, et hoc M

65. Accedendum, considerandum B, circa egros M

66. adminiculum, auxilium B; ad miraculum, ad divinum auxilium M

67. ego, homini egrotanti M

68. Stella maris, Maria BM; quem, egrum M

69. Pium, pietatis B; flectens, illa, scilicet ad nos M; oculum, pietatis M

70. Rationes, regulas rationales in phisicis B, rationes que considerantur [MS considerantes] in phisica M

71. effectus, sunt virtutes herbarum B, effectus nature M; naturales, nature B

72. vincit medica, beata Maria B, Maria M

\*Liber 2 in box between columns in hand of gloss B

75 Quod virtutis est divine  
Non humane medicine  
Iactitat theorica.

## 3. DE FILIO IUDEI AB INCENDIO LIBERATO

80 Missus puer in fornacem  
Et in flammam comminatem  
Est saluti redditus.  
Ad doctrinam literarum  
Primitivam latinarum  
Puer fuit positus.

85 Ussit pater hunc Iudeus,  
Quem protexit Christo Deus,  
Et Maria pallio.  
Salus illi, Christus sumptus  
Fuit, per quem inconsumptus  
Vixit ab incendio.

90 Hic cum parvis corpus Christi  
Sumpsit, et a patre tristi  
Missus, ignem subiit.

75. teorica *M* 76. [M]issus *B* 77. cominatem *M* 78. salute *corr.* saluti *M*,  
deditus *B*, redditus *alternate reading in hand of gloss B* 79. Transposition of lines 79  
and 80 *corr.* *B* 84. palleo *M* 85. Christo *corr.* Christus *M* 86. Inserted in  
the margin *B*, quam *M* 87. Vexit *M*, incendeo *M* 88. parviis *M* 90. ignem  
*corr.* *M*

73. Quod, hoc *M*  
74. Non, et *M*  
75. Iactitat, non iactanter profert *B*, iactitando ostendit *M*; theorica, speculativa  
scientia a 'theorio' quod est 'speculatio' *B*, ars medicinalis *M*  
76. Missus, a patre *M*; puer, Iudaicus *B*, quidam Iudaycus *M*  
77. Et, puer *M*; comminatem, valde ardentem *M*  
80. Primitivam, a, b, c, d et cetera *B*  
82. Ussit, combussit, id est comburerè voluit *M*; hunc, puerum *M*  
83. Quem, puerum *M*; protexit, cooperuit et salvavit *M*  
84. pallio, de son mauntel *M*  
85. Christus, corpus Christi *B*, corpus Christi assumptum *M*  
86. quem, Christum *BM*; inconsumptus, non *B*  
87. Vixit, ille puer Iudaycus *M*  
88. Hic, puer *M*; parvis, pueris Christianis *M*; Christi, in die Pasce *M*  
90. Missus, ille puer *M*; ignem, in fornacem *M*; subiit, set permansit illesus ut  
predictum est Quem protexit Christo Deus, et cetera *M*

In fornacem missus pater,  
Factus erat cinis ater  
Et infernum iniit.

95

Hec est umbra ederina,  
Ione mitis medicina,  
Extinguens incendia.  
Hec est nubes grati roris,  
Cella favi, fons dulcoris,  
Salutaris pluvia.

#### 4. DE MULIERE STERILI QUAM BEATA VIRGO FECUNDAVIT

100

Infecundam fecundavit  
Virgo sponsam, et ditavit  
Sterilem hanc filio.

105

Sic Maria maternali  
Eademque virginali  
Pollet privilegio.

Set hunc virgo quem donavit,  
Mors a vita spoliavit,  
Non tamen detinuit.

92. fuit *M*      93. subiit *alternate reading in hand of gloss B*      *Sub-title, respexit M*  
100. [I]nfecundam *B*, *no rubric M*      106. quem *corr. B*      107. a vita *corr. B*  
108. *Inserted in right margin B*

91. *missus*, a populo Christiano superveniente *M*; *pater*, illius pueri *M*

92. *ater*, niger *B*, niger, -gra, -grum *M*

93. *iniit*, intravit *M*

94. *Hec*, virgo Maria *M*; *ederina*, edere quam Deus creavit contra estum supra caput Ione *B*, umbra edere, Anglice *wodebind*, quia sic edera semper viridis perseverat; similiter beata virgo omni tempore exaudit ipsos devotis precibus exorantes *M*

95. *Ione*, prophete *B*, illius prophete *M*; *medicina*, illa *M*

96. *Extinguens*, illa *M*

97. *Hec*, Maria *M*; *roris*, refrigerii vel spiritus sancti *B*, refrigerii *M*

98. *Cella*, domus *B*, illa *M*; *favi*, misericordie *B*; *fons*, illa *M*; *dulcoris*, receptaculum omnimodi dulcoris *M*

99. *Salutaris*, -lutis *B*, illa *M*

100. *Infecundam*, quia sterilis erat *B*, sterilem *M*; *fecundavit*, fecunditavit *M*

101. *Virgo*, Maria *M*; *sponsam*, quamdam mulierem disponatam *M*

102. *hanc*, sponsam *M*

104. *Eademque*, Maria pollet *M*

105. *Pollet*, ea, Maria *B*

106. *hunc*, puerum *M*; *quem*, puerum *M*

107. *a vita*, ab hoc mundo *M*; *spoliavit*, puerum *M*

108. *Non . . .*, mors quia virgo gloriosa eum suscitavit *M*



110 Mortis nodum denodavit  
Rosa, Deum que portavit  
Et lac Deo prebuit.

Calor est innaturalis  
Febris, et a corde talis  
Exit in arterias.  
115 Animarum mediatrix,  
Delet vite renodatrix  
Febriles discrasias.

## 5. DE DEMONE VERBERATO A BEATA VIRGINE

Forma hostis in taurina,  
In canina, leonina  
120 Monacum terruerat.  
Hostem virgo bis fugavit,  
Tertioque verberavit  
Virga quam tenuerat.

## HIC APOSTROPHAT AD LIBELLUM

125 O libelle, *Stella maris*,  
A contentis nuncuparis  
Tu, stelle miraculis.

111. *Inserted in right margin B* 117. *descraseas M* *Sub-title, verberato demone M*  
118. *[F]orma B* 119. *camina B, canina corr. M* 120. *Monachum M* *Sub-*  
*title, lacking B. Lines 124 to 129 appear after l. 147 B, corr. in hand of gloss B* 125. *con-*  
*temptis corr. M, nuncuparis B*

110. *Rosa, Maria M*

111. *Et, que M*

113. *Iohannitius, in primo Medicine: fibries est calor innaturalis cursum super-*  
*grediens nature, procedens a corde in arterias, suoque sedens effectu [cf. MS*  
*British Museum Royal 12 B xii, fol. 213] top of folio B; talis, calor innaturalis M*

114. *arterias, arterie dicuntur quasi 'arte aeris vie' et dicuntur aliter 'canales'*  
*[cf. ibid., fol. 210] marg. B, et etiam in venas totius corporis M*

115. *mediatrix, Maria M*

116. *renodatrix, illa M*

117. *Febriles, febrium B; discrasias, distemperantias BM*

118. *hostis, diabolus M*

119. *canina, et forma M; leonina, et in forma M*

121. *Hostem, diabolium M; virgo, Maria M*

122. *Tertioque, tertia vice M; verberavit, diabolium M*

123. *quam, virgam M*

124. *Stella, tu B*

125. *contentis, miraculis B, in te M; nuncuparis, vocaris B*

126. *stelle, beate virginis M*

Ve dat Eva, set hec Ave  
 Per quod salvat nos hec a ve  
 Et a mortis iaculis.

HIC RESPONDET AUTOR ANTIPOPHORE, ID EST  
 TACITE OBJECTIONI \*

130 Ubi, quando, si queratur,  
 Hec sunt facta, teneatur  
 Basis firma fidei.  
 Que sunt digna laudum, lira  
 Infinita micant mira  
 135 Operis virginei.

Pauca, cum sint infinita,  
 Emundetur ut hec vita,  
 Tanguntur miracula.

6. DE MONACHIS DITATIS A BEATA VIRGINE

140 Hec implevit mendicorum  
 Farre domos monachorum  
 Ad famis pericula.

128. *hec inserted above line B, ave corr. a ve B*      129. *amortis corr. a mortis B*      *Sub-*  
*title, lacking B*      130. *[U]bi B, no rubric M*      137. *Emendetur corr. Emundetur B*  
 139. *[H]ec B, no rubric M*

127. *Ve, dolorem BM; Eva, prima mulier M; hec, Maria M; Ave, salutem B, salutem et gaudium M*

128. *quod, gaudium BM; hec, Maria M; a ve, a dolore BM*

129. *mortis, inferni M; iaculis, a telis vel a penis M*

130. *Ubi, in quo loco M; quando, in quo tempore M; si queratur, si questio fieret M*

131. *facta, beate virginis miracula M*

132. *Basis, firmum fundamentum B, firma columpna M; fidei, sufficit sic credere M*

133. *Que, facta B, miracula M; lira, denuntiatione B, modulatione et diversitate M*

134. *mira, -cula BM*

135. *Operis, Marie virginis M*

136. *infinita, miracula de beata virgine M*

138. *Tanguntur, et sic invenitur utilitas huius libri et finis M*

139. *Hec, Maria M*

140. *Farre, plenitudine B*

141. *Ad, contra BM, et sic est facta prothesis paralauge, scilicet prima prepositio pro alia [Diomedes, *Ars gramm.*, (ed. Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici latini*, I, Leipzig, 1857), p. 443] M*

\*[cf. Jul. Rufin. *Schem. Dian.*, 4-5 (ed. Karl Halm, *Rhetores latini minores*, Leipzig, 1863), pp. 60-61, and *Morale scolarium* (ed. Paetow), ll. 76 and 356]

In Elya civitate  
 Ex mellita pietate  
     Matris istud accidit.  
 145 In hac enim plenitudo  
 Exundat, et gratitudo  
     Bona large dividit.

ASTROLOGIA SPIRITUALIS QUE PROPRIETATES  
 SIGNORUM VIRGINI ATTRIBUIT \*

Signa celi bonitatem  
 Signant et sublimitatem

142. Elia *M*      145. *Im corr.* In *M*      *Sub-title*, spiritalis *M*, stellarum *M*      148.  
 [S]igna *B*

142. *Elya*, Ierusalem *B*, in civitate Ierusalem *M*

143. *mellita*, suavissima *B*, dulce *M*; *pietate*, Marie *B*

144. *istud*, miraculum *B*

145. *hac*, Maria *BM*; *enim*, quia *B*; *plenitudo*, summi boni *BM*

146. *Exundat*, habundat *BM*; *gratitudo*, gratia dandi *B*, gratia ipsius *M*

*Sub-title*, Astronomia est scientia secundum veritatem, scilicet de astris; astrologia secundum opinionem *top of folio B*

148. *Signa celi etc.* Hic adaptat autor quamdam astrologiam Martiani beate virginis, dicens quod signa firmamenti signant beate virginis sublimitatem, et prodit quod beata virgo designatur per galaxiam. Est enim galaxia circulus quidam albus in firmamento qui dirigitur ab [*MS ad*] septentrionali plaga, id est boreali, ad australem regionem, per aliud emisperium rediens ad punctum firmamenti a quo inceptit. Et dicitur a 'galao' quod est 'lac,' et 'xios,' 'via,' quasi 'lactea via,' de qua loquitur Ovidius in primo *Metamorphosios*, dicens:

Est via sublimis celo manifesta sereno,  
 Lactea nomen habet candore notabilis ipso,  
 Ac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis.

[Ovid, *Meta.*, I, 168-170]

Sicut igitur galaxia, quam Ovidius notat lacteam, fabulose est iter ad tectum Iovis; similiter beata virgo est iter et mediatrix veraciter ad summum creatorem. Dicunt enim quidam quod galaxia est quedam impressio in firmamento; contra quos respondet Aristotiles in libro *Meteororum* fere in principio, dicens quod galaxia est inaccessus celis [*MS selis*] et non impressio [*Meteorics*, I, *MS British Museum Royal 12 G ii*, fols. 230-231]. Dicunt etiam quod galaxia est quedam congregatio stellarum mobilium; contra quos respondet Aristotiles, dicens ibidem quod galaxia est in omni hora in uno loco stellarum notabilium [*MS notarum*], id est visu notabilium, cum quibus continuatur lumen solis, non recedens ex illo loco [*Meteorics*, I, viii], quoniam sol est maior quam terra et quedam stelle sunt maiores terra. Dicit quidam commentator, scilicet Algazel, quod sol est maior terra centies sexagesies quinquies et tertia. Unus etiam dicit id, quod omnes stelle visu notabiles preter lunam et Mercurium sunt maiores terra. Dicit Aristotiles

\*Tertius liber *marg. B*

Virginis largiflue.  
 Hec est fulgens galaxias  
 Que celestes pandit vias  
 Dei domus ardue.

Arthos tortum ad Draconem  
 Lucet et ad aquilonem  
 In figuram virginis.

consequenter nos quod videmus galaxiam de die et de nocte quando possibile in uno loco videre illam, et inspicimus iterum quod ipsa non est recedens de loco suo.

Iam ergo declaratum est nobis quod galaxia non est ex ingressu stellarum mobilium, videlicet lumen rediens; nos, autem, dicens quod esse galaxie est hoc modo: quod est quia ignis purus propinquus orbi lune est inflammatus lucidus; et in locis orbis in quibus videtur galaxia, sunt multe stelle spissim site minute et magne propinque et lumine quorum lumina propter propinquitatem equaliter adinvicem et per adiutorium luminis solis efficiunt galaxiam. Cum ergo procedit lumen earum ex inflammato ignito in eo fit lumen oblongum quod dicitur galaxia. Et iste quidem stelle sunt fixe quarum quedam tangunt alias et sunt suscipientes splendorem ex soleque continuatur lumen quarumdam earum cum quibusdam. Ergo videtur galaxia in loco uno orbis et non recedens ab eo. Esse autem galaxie simile est esse stellarum comas habentium. Ipse enim similes sunt per hunc modum in locis suis quoniam lumen solis cooperat et adiuvat [lumen] earum.

Unde sciendum quod ita galaxia representat beatam virginem, quia sic galaxia semper est in uno loco perseverans et ab eo non recedens, et etiam circuens totum firmamentum; similiter beata virgo perseverans est interventrix nostra ad filium suum, omnium creatorem *marg. M*

150. *largiflue*, large fluentis bonitate *M*

151. *Hec*, Maria *M*; *galaxias*, via celi a 'gala' quod est 'lac' et 'ago, -gis,' quasi 'lactea via' *B*, via alba firmamenti *M*

152. *Que*, virgo *B*, Maria *M*; *pandit*, demonstrat et aper[ui]t *M*

153. *Dei domus*, celi empirei *B*

154. *Arthos*, illa stella marina *B*, illa stella et duplex est *M*; *Arthos tortum*, hic adaptat autor quoddam signum quod dicitur Arthos beate virgini, unde sciendum est congregatio quarumdam stellarum numquam tendentium ad occasum, set semper agitantur circa polum articum, que stelle [*MS* stella] dicuntur maior ursa; scilicet viginti septem, secundum Tolomeum, parve stelle propinque in parte boreali prope polum articum, ut plenius dicetur consequenter. Unde sicut stelle sempiternae sunt apparitionis et numquam tendentes ad occasum; similiter beata virgo est stella nostra que nescit occasum *marg. M*; *tortum*, *wrong M*; *ad*, contra *M*; *Draconem*, duo sunt Archi, scilicet maior ursa et minor ursa, signa planete *B*, ad illud signum *M*; *tortum ad Draconem*, ad sciendum quid sit Draco, scilicet illud signum de quo loquitur hic: Est primo notandum quod quilibet planeta preter solem habet tres circulos, scilicet equantem, deferentem, et epicyclum. Equans qui dicitur lune est circulus concentricus cum terra, cuius deferens est circulus ecentricus, et una cuius medietas declinat versus septen-

- Hec draconem conculcavit,  
 Qui livore degradavit  
 Primi statum hominis.
- 160 Cum Boote sublimatur  
 Nobis polus, quo monstratur  
 Marie stabilitas.  
 Stella maris lapsum nescit,  
 Offert sese, nec torpescit  
 165 Benigna serenitas.
160. Boote *M*      165. Benigna *corr.* Benigna in hand of gloss *M*

trionem, alia versus austrum, et intersecat deferens equantem in duobus locis, et figura intersectionis appellatur Draco, quoniam lata in medio et angustior versus fines. Intersectio ergo illa per quam movetur luna ab austro in aquilonem appellatur capud draconis. Reliqua vero intersectio per quam movetur a septentrione in austrum dicitur cauda draconis. Et adaptatur illud signum beate virginis quia ipsa est mediante et filium Dei Verbo concipiente. Potestas draconis, id est diaboli, draconi comparabilis, est adnichilata et vita sempiterna nobis reparata *margin.* *M*

155. *ad*, contra *M*; *aquilonem*, *norht* *M*

156. *virginis*, Marie *M*

157. *Hec*, Maria *M*; *draconem*, diabolium *BM*; *conculcavit*, calcavit *M*

158. *Qui*, draco *M*; *livore*, per *B*, invidia *M*; *degradavit*, deposuit *M*

159. *hominis*, Ade *BM*

160. *Cum Boote*, cum illa stella *M*, Boetes est quedam stella distincte sita iuxta polum articum que semper ostendit se nobis, nec intendit ad occasum, et apparet semper in eodem loco propter cursus sui breviteratem. Et dicitur stella nautica cui beata virgo est comparata, ut prenotatum est in materia *margin.* *M*; *Boote*, illa parva stella *B*

161. *Nobis polus*, duplex est polus, scilicet polus articus et polus antarcticus. Polus articus semper apparet nobis versus partem borealem, set polus antarcticus semper nobis occultatur, videlicet penes partem australem. Unde Virgilius:

Hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum  
 Sub pedibus Stix atra tenet Manesque profundi

[*Georg.*, I, 242-243]

*margin.* *M*; *Vertex*, id est polus articus; *illum*, scilicet polum antarcticum. Sicut enim polus articus et etiam stella nautica iuxta polum articum sita in eodem loco, semper sunt apparentes; similiter benignitas beate virginis non torpescens, semper se ostendit ipsam pura mente exorantibus *margin.* *M*; Virgilius:

Maximus hic flexus sinuoso elabitur Anguis  
 Circum perque duas in morem fluminis Archos  
 Artos Oceani metuentes equore tingi

[*Georg.*, I, 244-246]

*top of folio B*; *polus*, articus *BM*; *quo*, polo *BM*

163. *Stella*, Maria *M*; *lapsum*, vicii *B*, occasum *M*

164. *nec*, pro 'et non' *M*; *torpescit*, non est torpida nec incidit in tenebras *M*, lentescit [*MS* [1]entevit] *M*

100. *Infecundam*, quia sterilis erat *B*, sterilem *M*; *fecundavit*, fecunditavit *M*

Adriagne in corona  
 Designatur ferre dona  
 Honoris et glorie.  
 Athlantee septem stelle

167. Demonstratur *M*

166. *Adriagne*, illius stelle ad modum corone *B*, illius circuituonis stellarum, circuitus *M*, *Adriagne* corona, *Adriagne* est dispositio quarumdam stellarum in septentrionali plaga admodum corone in circuitu. Et per illud signum designatur virgo gloriosa que in celo coronatur corona honoris et glorie et que nobis largitur honorem et gloriam  *marg. M*

167. *Demonstratur*, beata virgo *M*

168. *Honoris*, corona *B*, quantum ad hanc vitam *M*; *glorie*, quantum ad vitam futuram *M*

169. *Athlantee*, stelle Atlantis *B*, septem stelle que dicuntur fuisse filie Athlantis *M*; hic facit autor adaptationem Athlantidum, id est illarum septem stellarum versus partem meridionalem apparentium que secundum fabulas dicebantur fuisse filie septem Athlantis que fabulose dicebantur celum sustinuisse passione Athlantis patris earum, quod Athlas celum sustinuit; cuius rei veritas est quod ipse Athlas in suis temporibus optimus erat astronomus et ideo fingebatur celum sustinuisse. De istis stellis loquitur Virgilius in primo *Georgicorum* dicens:

Ante tibi Eoe Athlantides abscondantur  
 Gnos[i]aque ardentis discedet stella Corone [Corona *corr.* Corone],  
 Debita quam sulcis committas spuma [sic]  
 Quamque invite properes anni spem credere terre.  
 [Georg., I, 221-224]

*Eoe*, id est in orientali parte orientis et per partem meridionalem usque ad partem occidentalem tendentes; *Gnosia*, id est Cretensis; *anni*, id est 'annone future'. Quidam enim dicebant quod iste septem stelle dicerentur maior ursa, unde in rei veritate sciendum secundum Tolomeum in suo *Magno Almagesto* quod iste Athlantides nec sunt maior ursa nec minor, quia maior dicitur quedam congregatio stellarum viginti septem secundum Tolomeum, ut predictum est, et hoc in formam quadranguli ex parte boreali iuxta polum articum. Minor ursa est congregatio septem stellarum, set in modo quadranti, et etiam versus partem borealem. Et sunt sempiternae apparitionis quia sunt in septentrione circa polum, ita quod minor est propinquior polo et ursa maior est a polo remotior. Unde iste septem stelle adaptantur beate virgini que est repleta septem donis spiritus sancti, septem dona, scilicet que sunt donum sapientie, donum intellectus, donum consilii, donum fortitudinis, donum scientie, donum pietatis, et donum timoris domini. Versus: Sap, intel, con, for, sci, pi, ti, collige dona  *marg. M and the same verse, bottom of folio B*

Ante tibi Eoe Athlantides abscondantur  
 Gnosiaque ardentis descendat stella Corone [MS Corona],  
 Debita quam sulcis committas sonima [sic].  
 [Virgil, *Georg.* I, 221-223]

Solima dicta [MS Sonima luca] salem; Ierosolima, Iebus, Helya,  
 Urbs sacra Ierusalem dicitur atque salem

[cf. supra, l. 142] *bottom of folio B*

170 Signant quod est plena melle  
Septiformis gratie.

Hec est celum, Christus axis,  
Ad quam vestra dum sinaxis  
Pervenit, suscipitur.

175 Celi, terre sustentator,  
Terre factus habitator,  
In celum regreditur.

180 Ille stellas qui formavit  
Se per illas annotavit  
Admirandus artifex.  
Admiranda nam iunctura  
Fit plasmator plasmatura,  
Homo, matris opifex.

185 Stelle proles figuratur  
In Vervece qui mactatur,

173. quos *M*

170. *est*, illa *B*, beata virgo *M*; *melle*, dulcedine *BM*

171. *Septiformis*, septem donorum bonorum *B*, septem donorum spiritus sancti *M*

172. *Hec*, Maria *M*; *axis*, Virgilius [sic]: stabilisque manet dat cuncta movere *B*, quia dicit Boetius: stabilisque manens dat cuncta moveri [Boethius, *Cons. philos.*, III. 9, 3] *M*

173. *quos*, Christum et Mariam *M*; *sinaxis*, vespertina oratio *B*, oratio finalis *M*

174. *suscipitur*, exauditur *M*

175. *Celi*, secundum quod Deus *M*; *terre*, secundum quod homo *M*; *sustentator*, secundum quod Deus *B*

176. *Terre* . . . , quia descendit in uterum virginis et ibi fuerat incarnatus *M*; *habitator*, secundum quod homo *B*

177. *In celum* . . . , per formam deitatis sue *B*, regressus unde venerat *M*, secundum formam sue deitatis *M*

178. *Ille*, summus artifex *B*

179. *annotavit*, demonstravit *B*, designavit *M*

180. *Admirandus*, ille *BM*; *artifex*, operarius *M*

181. *Admiranda*, per -dam *B*, admirabili *M*; *nam*, pro 'quia' *B*

182. *plasmator*, formator *B*, Deus omnium formator *M*; *plasmatura*, creatura *B*, creatura ut homo *M*

183. *opifex*, ille creator *B*, ille operator *M*

184. *Stelle*, filius Marie *B*, Marie *M*; *proles*, filius *M*; *figuratur*, significatur *BM*

185. *Vervece*, Ariete *B*; *in Vervece*, in Ariete *M*; *qui*, Vervex *M*; *mactatur*, sacrificatur ut contingit in antiqua lege et similiter Deus pro nostra redemptione *M*, sicut legitur de Abraham qui sacrificabat arietem domino. Vervex rapitur qui cornibus heret in dumis; aries, similiter Christus sacrificatus est per nos in cruce *marginis*. *M*

Et in Tauri robore.  
 Geminus est Deus homo,  
 Cancro conversivum promo  
 Hunc ad nos in tempore.

190 Sane sic intelligatur,  
 Per se Deus operatur  
 Signatus in opere.  
 Creaturis dominatur  
 Omnibus, nec coartatur  
 195 A subiecto sydere.

Est de tribu Iuda Leo,  
 Gloriosus in tropheo  
 Et carne virginea.  
 Libra iudex designatur,

186. Tauri *corr. M*  
 196. Iuda *corr. M*

188. pono *corr. promo B*

193. Creaturus *M*

195. sidere *M*

186. *Et in Tauri . . .*, proles virginis *B*, *Taurus* mactabatur in veteri lege unde Salomon optulit domino tauros et oves et sacrificabant. Et similiter Christus pro nobis est oblatus *margin. M*

187. *Geminus . . .*, hic ponuntur xii signa in quibus signatur Christus *margin. M*, gigas gratie sublime *B*, ipse filius Marie *M*; *Deus*, et *M*

188. *Cancro*, per, signo *B*, per Cancrum *M*; *conversivum*, Deum conversum *B*, conversantem ad nos pro nostra redemptione *M*

189. *Hunc*, Deum *M*

190. *Sane sic . . .*, hic respondet autor antipophore quia posset astrologus credere quod quia Christus signatur per stellas nihil posset operari sine stellis. Hoc removet, dicens *Per se Deus* etc. *margin. M*; *sic*, sic, id est, sicut dicam *M*; *intelligatur*, illud quod signatur per signa et per stellas *M*

191. *Per se*, per divinam potentiam et sine naturali effectu stellarum *B*, sine officio stellarum *M*

192. *Signatus*, Deus *M*; *opere*, in stellis et in omnibus aliis creaturis *M*

193. *Creaturus*, Deus *M*; *dominatur*, ille dominium habet *B*, ipse Deus *M*

194. *nec*, pro 'et non' *M*; *coartatur*, ab aliis *B*

195. *subiecto*, subposito sibi *M*

196. *Iuda*, indeclinabile *B*, quando vicit diabolus *M*; *Leo*, Christus *BM*, Christus comparatur leoni quia sicut leo est animal primitive nature et victor animalium, sic Christus victor fuit in cruce diabolus devincendo et de morte ad modum leonis resurgendo *M*

197. *Gloriosus*, leo *B*, ille *M*; *tropheo*, victoria sancte crucis *B*, in victoria contra diabolus *M*

198. *virginea*, tanquam in clipeo *BM*

199. *Libra*, per Libram *BM*, quia sicut libra ponderat eque, sic Christus iustus est iudex et equus, qui nec prece nec preda a via veritatis obliquat vel recedit *margin. M*; *iudex*, esse, iustus *M*; *designatur*, Christus *B*, ille *M*

- 200 Scorpione demonstratur  
Vincere tartarea.
- Vincit quasi Sagittator,  
Quasi Capricornus, dator  
Elongati luminis.
- 205 Urnam fundens sacri roris,  
Preco mitis est caloris  
Quasi Piscis fluminis.
- Christus, sol eternitatis,  
Annum dat infinitatis,
- 210 Suo natus sydere.  
Mater Dei moderatrix  
Est, post Deum et salvatrix  
Dei largo munere.

206. et *M*      208. Christo *M*      210. sidere *M*

200. *Scorpione*, illo signo, id est per -nem *B*, Ihesu fili David, ut quid venisti torquere nos [Vulg. *Matth.*, 8, 29] *B*, per illud signum quod dicitur Scorpio *M*, Scorpio vermis est subito pungens et per illud signum designatur Christus qui cruce pungendo adusta ewlsit infernaliam, et demonem devicit et dicitur scorpio, quasi 'carpio,' a 'carpium' *marg. M*; *demonstratur*, ipse Deus *M*

201. *Vincere*, ad vincendum *M*; *tartarea*, tempestates inferni *BM*

202. *Vincit*, ipse Christus *M*; *Sagittator*, id est Chiro, -rius *B*, dum respondit intentionibus Iudeorum, in Sagittario *M*

203. *Quasi*, ipse vincit *M*; *dator*, Capricornus *M*

204. *Elongati*, a nobis, scilicet per peccatum primi parentis *B*, a nobis per peccata primi parentis vel ad litteram quia in Capricorno, id est, in illo signo in quo est sol in Decembre, elonga[n]tur dies artificiales *M*

205. *Urnas*, ollam *M*, Christus datur intelligi per Aquarium quia sicut Aquarius in quo sol est in Ianuaria frequenter pluvias demittit et hec inferiora humectat, similiter Christus rore spiritus sancti quos diligit quasi rorat *marg. M*; *fundens*, ipse *B*, Christus quantum ad Aquarium *M*; *sacri roris*, spiritus sancti *BM*

206. *Preco*, denunciator *BM*; *mitis*, suavis *B*; *caloris*, ignis spiritus sancti *B*, spiritus sancti et principii estatis *M*; dominus: veni ignem mittere in terram: et quid volo nisi ut ardeat [Vulg., *Luc.*, 12, 49] *marg. B*

207. *Piscis*, quantum ad illud signum quod dicitur Pisces *M*, quantum ad illud signum, sol in Piscibus, quia sol in Piscibus accendens versus nos, maiorem calorem inter hec inferiora demittit, et pisces percepto calore se multiplicant, sic Christus per suam divinam calorem spiritus sancti, id est, ignem amoris inter Christianos demittit *marg. M*; *fluminis*, ipse *B*

209. *infinitatis*, eternitatis *B*, annum qui non habet finem *M*

210. *Suo*, Christo *M*; *natus*, ille *B*; *sydere*, de Maria sibi electa *BM*

211. *Mater*, Maria *M*

212. *Est*, in omnibus hiis signis *M*

213. *largo*, ex divina gratia *M*, versus est:

## 7. DE YMAGINE QUE OLEUM FUDIT A MAMILLIS

Hec convertit Sarsacenum  
 215 Per stupendum, per amenum  
 Oleum ymaginis.  
 Sunt in carnem mamme verse  
 Quibus stillat liquor per se,  
 Signans partum virginis.

8. DE CLERICO QUI YMAGINEM VIRGINIS  
 DESPONSAVIT

220 Adolescens yconie  
 Anulum dedit Marie  
 Sub pacto coniugii.  
 Hunc in sompnis castigavit  
 Et a pacto revocavit  
 225 Carnalis consortii.

*Sub-title*, effudit *M*, a mamillis *lacking M* 214. [H]ec, *guide to rubricator 'h' B*, Sarsacenum *M* 217. mame *B*, versus mamme *corr.* mamme versus *M* 218. licor stillat *M* *Sub-title*, virginis *lacking M* 220. [A]dolescens, *guide to rubricator 'a' B*, Aadoloscens yconie *M*

bra, ete [*MS* ariete], pione, ro, gittario, no,  
 li, ari, scor, tau, sa, iemi;

corno, cro, one, quario, ce, gine,  
 capri, can, le, a, pis, vir.

Sol est in istis signis [*The second and fourth lines, intended as mnemonic verse, are made up of the first syllables of the names of the signs of the zodiac. The remaining syllables appear above them (cf. supra, gloss on l. 169 and infra, gloss on l. 304)*] *bottom of folio M*

214. Hec, beata virgo *B*, Maria *M*

215. Per stupendum, per admirabile *M*; stupendum, admirabile *B*

216. Oleum, et per *M*; ymaginis, Marie *M*

218. Quibus, mammi *M*; per se, sine artificio *B*, sine administratione alicuius *M*

219. Signans, licor *M*

220. Accidit Rome *marg. B*; Adolescens, quidam iuvenis, scilicet Eadmundus [*Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, 1234-1240 (cf. supra, p. 82)*] *M*; yconie, ymagini Marie *B*, statue *M*

222. pacto, et dicitur pactum, quasi 'paci actum.' Est pactum equivocum, unde versus: Est [*MS* Cum] [pactum] ratio conditioque lucrarum [*cf. Morale scolarium (ed. Paetow), Prologue, l. 36*] *marg. M*

223. Hunc, iuvenem *M*; castigavit, Maria *M*

225. consortii, uxoris *B*

## 9. DE QUERELA BEATE VIRGINIS DE IUDEIS

In Toletu, dum Iudei  
 Signo cere natum Dei  
 Instant crucifigere,  
 Est Marie vox audita  
 230 De Messye carne trita,  
 Renovato vulnere.

## 10. DE PEREGRINO SUBMERSO

Mersum mari palliavit,  
 Salutantem hec salvavit  
 Quem ad portum duxerat.  
 235 Celi potens imperatrix,  
 Maris moti mitigatrix  
 Famulo subvenerat.

Stella maris vis in mari  
 Habet suo singulari,  
 240 Celesti dominio.  
 Hec in terra dominatur,  
 Hec inferno comminatur  
 Virtutis imperio.

226. [I]N, *guide to rubricator* 'I' B, lin M 227. Signum *corr.* Signo M 230. Messie M Sub-title, *submerso peregrino M* 232. [M]ersum, *guide to rubricator* 'M' B, no rubric, but sign in margin indicates paragraph M 243. imperio M

226. *Toletu*, in illa civitate M

227. *Signo cere*, in ymagine de cera facta M

228. *Instant*, contendunt B; *crucifigere*, ad crucifigendum M

229. *audita*, ab archiepiscopo cantante missam B, per totam civitatem M

230. *De*, pro M; *Messye*, Christi B, salvatoris M; *Messias*, Ebreum est, et interpretatur 'salvator' marg. M; *trita*, crucifixa B, crucifica et vexata M

231. *Renovato vulnere*, quia sanguis effluxit in terram M

232. *Mersum mari*, peregrinum cruce signatum B, quemdam peregrinantem M; *palliavit*, Maria B, hec, scilicet Maria, id est, cooperuit M

233. *Salutantem*, illum dicentem assidue 'Ave Maria, ave Maria' M

234. *portum*, pretento pallio B, salutis M

235. *potens*, Maria est M

236. *Maris moti*, per procellam M; *mitigatrix*, temperatrix B

237. *Famulo*, ne esset submersus in mari M; *subvenerat*, ausilium tulerat M

238. *Stella maris*, Maria M; *vis*, potestatem BM

239. *singulari*, unico dato in celo M

241. *Hec*, Maria M

242. *comminatur*, dicens: redde cartam B, diabolo existente in inferno; sic accidit de Teophilo quando gloriosa [virgo] dixit ut cartam redderet [cf. infra, no. 60] M

## 11. DE DOLEO VINO INPLETO

Mulieris vas implevit  
 245 Vno, quod abesse fleuit  
 Hospites dum paverat.  
 Cum sit mater summi boni,  
 Sui largitatem doni  
 Petenti contulerat.

## 12. DE MULIERE SUSCITATA UT CONFITERETUR

250 Era quedam salutabat  
 Maris stellam, set errabat,  
 Occultato vitio.  
 Non aperte confitetur,  
 Cuius vita dum deletur  
 255 Iminet dampnatio.  
 Mens ad corpus remeavit,  
 Confitentem se purgavit  
 Mulier per virginem.

## 13. DE MACHINA QUAM IPSA VIRGO OSTENDIT

260 Per hanc rotas machinandi  
 Et columpnas elevandi  
 Vir sumpsit originem.

244. [M]ulieris, *guide to rubricator* 'm' B, no rubric, but *guide to rubricator* M 245. abesse *corr.* M 250. [E]rat *corr.* [E]ra, *guide to rubricator* 'e' B, HEra M, quidam *corr.* quedam *in hand of golss* M Sub-title, virgo lacking M 259. [P]er B

244. *vas*, doleum scilicet B, dolium M; accidit in Anglia  *marg. B*; *implevit*, ipsa, scilicet Maria M

245. *quod*, vinum M; *fleuit*, mulier M

247. *Cum*, ipsa B, Maria M; *summi boni*, Dei qui dicitur summum bonum a Boitio [Boethius, *Cons. phil.*, III, 12, 89] M

248. *largitatem*, hoc quod habet a summo bono B

249. *Petenti*, mulieri M

250. Accidit in Anglia  *marg. B*; *Era*, bona domina M

251. *stellam*, Mariam M

252. *Occultato*, in confessione B, celato in confessione M; *vitio*, hoc M

253. *Non . . .*, dum illa mulie[r] non erat confessa M

255. *Iminet*, apparat M; *dampnatio*, ei a summo iudice B, a summo iudice M

256. *Mens*, anima BM; *corpus*, mulieris ad preces gloriose virginis M

259. *hanc*, Mariam M; *machinandi*, componendi rotas quasdam et dicitur de 'ruo, ruis,' M; bige dico, rota: tu lapide que rota  *marg. M*

261. *Vir*, artifex B, quidam artifex M; *originem*, doctrinam originalem B, principium M

Machinalem erexerunt  
 Molem virum dum iuverunt  
 Tres de scolis pueri.  
 265 Caste placent Deo scole,  
 Ubi sunt percusse vole  
 Et domantur teneri.

#### 14. DE IMPERATRICE ROMANA QUAM IPSA VIRGO SALVAVIT

Imperatrix acusata  
 Rome fuit et dampnata  
 270 Livoris aculeo.  
 Lepras curat, pauper vixit,  
 Virgo clemens, ut predixit,  
 Effectu gramineo.

275 Lepra lesos delatores  
 Expurgavit, et honores  
 Mundi, celi meruit.  
 Dolus tandem apparebat,  
 Et ad tempus que latebat  
 Veritas enituit.

263. virum *corr.* M    266. vole *corr.* B    267. pueri M, teneri *in hand of gloss* M  
*Sub-title*, Romanorum quam virgo M    268. [I]mperatrix, *guide to rubricator* 'I' B  
 271. curans M, vixit pauper *corr.* pauper vixit M    274. lepros *corr.* lesos M    276.  
 Mundi *corr. in hand of gloss* M    279. emicuit M

262. *Machinalem*, ponderositatem cuiusdam machine M; *erexerunt*, elevaverunt  
 quia beata virgo iussit ut eligeret in scola tres pueros et virgines. Isti ausiliarentur  
 ipsum istis circum coadunatis, statim ipsum consequeretur propositum M

263. *Molem*, ponderositatem B

265. *scole*, scolastes B

266. *vole*, palme BM

268. *Imperatrix*, mulier quedam M; *acusata*, a fratre imperatoris B; hic narrat  
 qualiter fuit primo dampnata, dicens quod frater imperatoris petiit ipsam de  
 illicito amore et quia ipsa noluit consentire, ideo acusabat eam penes imperatorem  
 qui eam dampnavit, ea innocente *margin.* M

270. *aculeo*, stimulo B, stimulo fratris ipsius imperatoris M

271. *curans*, illa sanans M; *pauper*, ipsa, scilicet imperatrix M

272. *Virgo*, Maria M; *ut*, pro 'sicut' M

273. *Effectu*, effectu cuiusdam herbe M; *gramineo*, -nis B

274. *Lepra*, a M; *delatores*, acusatores B, incusatores M

275. *Expurgavit*, ipsa sanavit M

276. *meruit*, et ipsa M

277. *Dolus*, fratris ipsius imperatoris M

278. *que*, veritas M

- 280 Frater hanc imperatoris  
Esse loco corruptoris  
Optans, acusaverat.  
Hinc in silvam spiculator  
Duxit illam, set venator
- 285 Liberans salvaverat.
- Nutrix fit, set hec amatur  
A quodam, quo properatur  
Celeris audacia.  
Puerile resecat  
Guttur, et hanc acusabat
- 290 Invida vesania.
- Rursus casta condempnatur,  
Set a nautis conservatur  
In navis regimine.  
Nautis illa stans rebellis
- 295 Est relicta in rupellis  
Dei sub tutamine.

Mater Christum que portavit  
Herbam illi demonstravit

281. corruptoris *M*    283. Hanc *M*, silvam *corr. B*    286. hec set *M*, amator *corr.*  
amatur *M*    287. perpetratur *M*, perpetratur *alternate reading in hand of gloss B*  
289. reserabat *M*    295. rebella *corr. rebellis M*
280. *hanc*, imperatricem quia noluit ei consentire *M*  
281. *corruptoris*, adulteri *B*, adulterii *M*  
282. *Optans*, frater *M*  
283. *Hanc*, imperatricem *M*; *spiculator*, tortor *B*, tortor qui deberet eam decolasse *M*  
284. *illam*, imperatricem *M*  
285. *Liberans*, et ille *M*  
286. *Nutrix*, ipsa *B*, illa, scilicet imperatrix *M*; hic narrat quomodo fuit secundo dampnata *arg. M*  
287. *quodam*, in domo ipsius venatoris *M*; *perpetratur*, facta est *M*  
289. *Puerile*, pueri *B*; *resecat*, et ille iuvenis *M*, ecce scelus [*MS celus*] quod perpetravit *M*  
290. *Guttur*, et dicitur guttur quasi 'gutte iter' *arg. M*; *hanc*, imperatricem *M*  
291. *vesania*, per *B*, invidioso furore *M*  
292. *casta*, illa imperatrix, *M*; hic narrat qualiter tertio fuit dampnata *arg. M*  
295. *illa*, in castitate *M*; *rebella*, illa *M*  
296. *in rupellis*, in saxis *M*  
297. *sub tutamine*, sub protectione et defensione *M*  
298. *Mater*, Maria *M*; *que*, Maria *M*  
299. *illi*, mulieri *B*

300                   Qua lepras mundaverat.  
Vixit arte medicine,  
Hostes suos post in fine  
A lepra sanaverat.

305                   Lepra cedit leonina,  
Sua victa medicina,  
Cedit elephancia.  
Tyriaque condeletur,  
Condeleri perhibetur  
Putris allopicia.

310                   Sicca prior exardescit,  
Sequens friget et arescit,  
Friget, humet tertia.

303. lepra *corr.* B      307. Tiriaque *M*      309. alopicia *M*

300. *Qua*, herba *M*; *lepras*, omnes species lepre, tamen cum omnis lepra sit incurabilis *M*

301. *medicine*, particularis *B*

302. *Hostes*, illos duos acusatores *B*, illos duos acusatores qui prius eam acuserant *M*

303. *sanaverat*, et *M*

304. *cedit*, imperatrici *M*; *leonina*, nomina leprarum *B*, illa species lepre *M*; hic ostenduntur quatuor species lepre secundum quatuor humores: et est prima species, leonina, et fit ex colera; secunda est elephancia, et fit ex malencolia; tertia est alopicia, et fit ex sanguine; quarta est tiria, et fit ex fleumate. Et notentur isti versus *Clavis Compendii*:

Sunt species lepre quas sillabice retinebis,  
Participes fiant quibus ex humoribus: ipse  
Ele, melan; leo, co; san, alopi; tiria, fleu, sit  
[*Clavis Compendii* of John of Garland, *MS Bruges* 546, fol. 42]

*margin.* *M*

305. *victa*, lepra *M*

306. *elephancia*, atra species lepre *B*, et, secunda species *M*

307. *Tyriaque*, tertia species *B*, et, illa species lepre *M*, tyria est serpens unde fit tyriata *margin.* *B*

308. *perhibetur*, vulpecula [cf. vulpecula and alopecia] *B*, dicitur *M*

309. *Putris*, putrida *M*; *allopicia*, illa quarta species *M*

310. *prior*, leonina *B*, prima species, scilicet leonina *M*; *exardescit*, calida est et sicca ex colera *M*

311. *Sequens*, secunda lepra elephancia *B*, secunda species quedam elephancia *M*; *arescit*, melancolia *B*, desiccatur, id est, frigida est et sicca ex melancolia *M*

312. *Friget*, fleumati *B*, frigida et humida ex fleumate *M*; *tertia*, tyria *B*, species quedam tiria *M*

Quarta calet et humescit,  
Tamen eger conualescit  
315 Matronali gratia.

Sanitas non potest geri,  
Nisi prius confiteri  
Velit hic qui patitur.  
320 Sic infantis iugulator  
Est peccati demonstrator,  
Et sanus efficitur.

Fratris hec imperatoris  
Lepram sanat, delatoris  
Confitentis scelera.  
325 Imperator ius uxoris  
Papam petit, set pudoris  
Illa vovit munera.

Vitam sanctam terminavit  
Et ad celum transmigravit  
330 Papali consilio.

315. Maternali *M*      318. hic *suprascribed M*      322. inperatoris *M*      324. celera  
*corr. scelera B*      329. Set *M*

313. *Quarta*, species lepre, id est allopecia *B*, species quedam alopecia *M*; *calet*, est calida et humida ex sanguine *M*; *humescit*, sanguineus *B*

314. *Tamen*, quamvis iste species lepre sint incurabiles quantum ad auxilium humanum *M*; *conualescit*, factus est sanus *B*, sanus fit *M*

315. *Matronali gratia*, data sibi a beata virgine *B*; *gratia*, data inperatrici a virgine *M*

316. *geri*, haberi *M*

317. *confiteri*, peccata sua *B*, omnia peccata sua *M*

318. *patitur*, morbum *B*, lepram *M*

319. *Sic*, per confessionem *BM*; *iugulator*, strangulator *M*

320. *peccati*, per confessionem *B*

322. *hec*, matrona *B*, inperatrix *M*

323. *delatoris*, acusatoris *BM*

324. *scelera*, peccata *M*

326. *Papam*, a *B*; *pudoris*, castitatis *M*

327. *Illa*, imperatrix *M*; *vovit*, Deo et beate Marie *M*

328. *terminavit*, illa inperatrix *M*

329. *transmigravit*, illa, scilicet inperatrix *M*

330. *Papali consilio*, consilio pape *M*

Hec est nuptis in exemplum  
 Ut sint sanctum Dei templum  
 Casto sub coniugio.

335 Castitatem hec dilexit,  
 Casta mater quam protexit  
 Castam nec deseruit.

### 15. QUOMODO FESTUM NATIVITATIS BEATE VIRGINIS FUIT INVENTUM

Vir audivit angelorum  
 Cantum per girum annorum,  
 Res querenti claruit.

340 Vox respondit, 'Celebratur  
 Ortus floris ut colatur  
 Festum in ecclesiis.'

345 Festum ita virginale,  
 Nate rose speciale,  
 Hiis cepit indiciis.

Ita primo celebrata  
 Virginis et venerata  
 Est sancta nativitas.

332. sanctum *corr. B*, line appears in margin *M*      336. Nec castam *M*      Sub-title,  
 festum lacking *B*, nativitas *B*, beate Marie *M*      337. [V]lr, guide to rubricator in margin  
 'v' *B*      338. gyrum *M*      340. respondet *M*      343. Festum *corr. in hand of gloss M*

331. *Hec*, matrona *B*, inperatrix *M*; *nuptis*, uxoribus *M*; *exemplum*, ille nupte *M*

332. *Dei templum*, secundum illud Pauli: templum Dei est quod estis vos *M*, apostolus Paulus: templum Dei sanctum est quod estis vos [Vulg. *Cor.*, I, 3, 16] *margin. B*

334. *hec*, inperatrix *M*

335. *Casta*, Maria *M*; *quam*, inperatricem *M*; *protexit*, defendit *M*

336. *Castam*, inperatricem *M*; *deseruit*, dewaterpit *M*

337. *Vir*, quidam *M*

338. *girum*, circuitum *B*, per circuitum *M*

339. *Res*, rei veritas *M*; *querenti*, illi viro causam ab angelis querenti *M*

340. *Vox*, angeli *B*, angelica *M*; *celebratur*, in celis *M*

341. *Ortus floris*, nativitas Marie *BM*; *colatur*, observetur *M*

343. *Festum*, festum virginis Marie *M*; *virginale*, -nis *B*

344. *Nate*, ab Anna *M*; *rose*, Marie *M*; *speciale*, proprium *B*, pulchrum *M*

345. *cepit*, incepit *BM*; *indiciis*, demonstrationibus *M*

346. *primo*, ab angelis et argangelis in celo et postea in terra *M*

Esse debet festivalis  
 350 Toti mundo virginalis  
 Et materna puritas.

## 16. QUOMODO IPSA VISITAVIT QUENDAM IN EXTREMIS

Iustum quemdam est affata  
 In extremis, consolata  
 Miris in deliciis.  
 355 Hic reginam comitatur,  
 Et per illam sociatur  
 Celi contuberniis.

## 17. DE YMAGINE FACTA MIRACULOSE CONTRA IUDEOS

Domo quadam virginalis  
 Forma rose specialis  
 360 Facta fuit celitus.  
 Templum fit apostolorum,  
 Illis illud Iudeorum  
 Furor linquid penitus.

*Sub-title*, Quod ipsa visitabat quemdam in extremis *M* 352. [I]ustum, *guide to rubricator* 'i' *B* 354. deliciis *corr.* *B* *Sub-title*, per miraculum facta *M* 358. [D]omo, *guide to rubricator* 'd' *B* 361. Templum *corr.* in band of gloss *M* 363. linquit *M*

350. *Toti*, omnibus hominibus mundanis *M*

351. *puritas*, claritas *M*

352. *Iustum*, hominem *M*; *est affata*, Maria *M*

353. *In extremis*, in morte *BM*; *consolata*, Maria *M*

354. *Miris* . . . , ille existens *B*, Maria existens *M*

355. *Hic*, vir *M*; *reginam*, celi *M*

356. *illam*, virginem *M*

357. *contuberniis*, hoc contubernium est consortio militum in expeditione, de 'con' et 'tabula' *marg. B*, contubernium est proprie societas militum in expeditione et dicitur de 'con' quod est 'similis,' et 'yberno, -nas' *marg. M*

358. Istud fuit in primitiva ecclesia, Ierusalem accidit *marg. B*; *quadam*, Iudaica *M*; *virginalis*, Marie virginis *M*

359. *Forma*, ymago *B*; *specialis*, Marie *M*

360. *celitus*, miraculose *BM*

361. *Templum*, monasterium *M*, Templum dicitur quasi 'teos platos,' id est divina latitudo, unde in *Compendio*:

Exponens templum sic esse 'theos platos' illud,

Hic quia 'platea theos,' vicus divinus habetur

[*Compendium grammaticae* of John of Garland, *MS Bruges 546*, fol. 126] *marg. M*; *fit*, illa domus *M*

362. *Illis*, apostolis *BM*; *illud*, templum *M*; et accidit istud miraculum, gloriosa virgine inveniente *marg. M*

## 18. DE IUDEO RAPTO A DEMONIBUS

365 Vir apella dum abiecit  
 Formam sanctam, mox defecit  
 Raptus a demonibus.  
 Christianus illam lavit,  
 Oleum de qua manavit  
 Palam admirantibus.

19. QUOMODO YMAGO CHRISTI FIDEIUSSIT  
 PRO MERCATORE

370 Forma talis, mercatori  
 Testis, dixit creditori  
 Quod solvit denarios.  
 Mari tradit hos mercator,  
 Quorum hoc est deportator  
 375 Ad Iudeos impios.

Fideiussor Christus fuit,  
 Mercans fraudem nullam struit  
 Dans mari marsupium.

364. [V]Ir, *guide to rubricator* 'v' B, *appella* M, *ieicit* M 365. *factam* M *Sub-*  
*tiile*, *Quod ymago fideiussit pro Christiano* M 370. [F]orma, *guide to rubricator* 'f'  
 B, *F*orma M 374. *reportator* M

364. *Vir apella*, Iudeus [cf. Horace, *Sat.*, v, 100-101] BM

365. *Formam*, Marie virginis M; *mox*, consequenter M

366. *Raptus*, ille M

367. *illam*, ymaginem M

368. *qua*, ymagine BM

369. *Palam*, coram B; *admirantibus*, omnibus hic ineuntibus M

370. In Constantinopolis civitate illud acidit *marg.* B; *Forma*, ymago Christi et  
 beate Marie B, quedam ymago Christi M

371. *creditori*, Iudeo BM

372. *Quod*, mercator M

373. *hos*, denarios B, denarios ad diem statutum M

374. *Quorum*, denariorum BM; *hoc*, mare BM

376. *Fideiussor*, mercatoris M; *Christus*, illa ymago B, plegius M

377. *Mercans*, mercator BM; *struit*, parat B

378. *marsupium*, marsupium dicitur a 'manu' et 'supino, -nas' quod est 'elevo,  
 -vas' *marg.* B; bursam cum 'numis' M; et dicitur de 'manus, -nus, -nui,' et 'supino,  
 -nas' quod est 'elevo, -vas,' quia marsupium manu supinatur, id est elevatur dum  
 evacuatur *marg.* M

380 Abscondebat hoc Iudeus,  
Set in forma sculpta Deus  
Dixit viri vitium.

20. DE PECCATRICE ACUSATA A DEMONE IN  
SPECIE CAUSIDICI

385 Peccatricem acusare  
Presumebat et dampnare  
Demon vultu clerici.  
Hec cum nato concumbebat,  
Set flens nephas diluebat  
Rore summi medici.

390 Illi stetit lateralis  
Virga Iesse triumphalis,  
Tamen invisibilis.  
Cedit hic imperatrici,  
Cruci, plebi, peccatrici,  
A conspectu labilis.

395 Oves Christi salvant tria,  
Christus et crux et Maria,  
Propulsatis hostibus.

379. hos *M* Sub-title, accusata *M*, causidici *M* 382. [P]eccatricem, guide to rubri-  
cator 'p' *B*, no rubric initial, but large rubric paragraph sign *M* 384. vltu *M* 388.  
lateralis corr. *B* 391. Sedit *M* 392. phebi *M*

379. *Abscondebat*, sub tapite sera *B*; *hoc*, marsupium *B*; *hos*, denarios *M*

380. *Deus*, id est forma Dei *M*

381. *viri*, Iudei *B*, illius Iudei *M*; *vitium*, fraudem *B*

382. *Peccatricem*, quamdam mulierem *M*; *acusare*, quia habuit filium cum filio,  
vir fuit Rome *B*

384. *vultu*, habitu *BM*; *clerici*, causidici *B*, cuiusdam causidici *M*

385. *Hec*, mulier peccatrix a demone accusata *M*; *cum*, dixit *B*

386. *flens*, ipsa [*MS* ipsam] *B*, illa mulier, id est peccatrix accusata *M*; *nephas*,  
peccatum *B*; *diluebat*, peccatum suum lavit *M*

387. *Rore*, per misericordiam Dei *B*, misericordia Dei *M*

388. *Illi*, mulieri accusate *M*; *lateralis*, col— *M*

389. *Virga*, Maria *M*; *Iesse*, Marie *B*, hic Iesse, indeclinabile, fuit pater David  
regis prout dicitur in genera [librum generationis]; Iesse autem genuit David  
regem *marg. M*; *triumphalis*, virgo *B*

390. *invisibilis*, Maria, scilicet hominibus *M*

391. *hic*, acusator *M*; *imperatrici*, Marie *BM*

392. *Cruci*, signaculo crucis *M*; *peccatrici*, accusator cedit *M*

393. *labilis*, ille *BM*, evanescibilis *B*

394. *Oves*, fideles Christianos *M*

396. *Propulsatis*, iectis *B*

Crux est scutum et karakter  
 Pastoralis, quod audacter  
 Dico Christi gregibus.

## 21. DE YMAGINE QUE SANGUINEM FUDIT

400 Formam fecit salvatoris  
 Nichodemus ad honoris  
 Perennis memoriam.  
 Hanc Iudei perfoderunt,  
 Amphoramque submiserunt  
 405 Ad cruoris copiam.  
 Vix Iudei crediderunt,  
 Ad baptismum concurrerunt  
 Leto tandem pectore.

## 22. DE CLERICO IN ORE CUIUS FLOS INVENTUS ERAT

410 Hanc peccator salutavit,  
 Ore cuius flos vernavit  
 Iam sepulto corpore.  
 Est a campis hoc relatum,  
 Et decenter est humatum  
 Iustorum in atrio.

397. *caracter* *M* 398. *quod*, et *M* 400. [F]ormam, *guide to rubricator* 'f' *B*  
 401. *Nichomedus* *corr.* *Nichodemus* *B*, *Nicodemus* *M* 402. *Perhennis* *M* 405.  
*corpoream* *M* *Sub-title*, *inventus flos fuit* *M* 409. [H]anc, *guide to rubricator*  
 'h' *B* 412. *campo* *M*

397. *Scutum*, defensio *B*; *karakter*, crucis signum *B*, signum, hic *caracter* crucis est signum a pastore ovibus impressum; unde *crux* Christi est noster *caracter*, id est nostrum signum contra demonem et numinem *M*

398. *Pastoralis*, Christus *B*

399. *Dico*, ego *B*; *gregibus*, fidelibus in ecclesia *M*

400. *Formam*, ymaginem *BM*; *salvatoris*, Christi *M*

401. *ad*, propter, proteseos paralauge [cf. supra, *gloss on l. 141*] *M*

403. *Hanc*, ymaginem *M*; *perfoderunt*, perforaverunt *M*

404. *Amphoram*, dicitur ab 'am' quod est 'circum' et 'fero, ferris' *B*, ollam capacem *M*, amphora dicitur de 'ansa, -se' et 'phoros, ferre,' quia manibus est portabilis sive contrectabilis, igitur maniabile *margin.* *M*

405. *cruoris*, sanguinis emanantis *M*

409. *Hanc*, Mariam *M*; *peccator*, clericus *B*

410. *cuius*, peccatoris [*MS* peccatricis] *M*; *vernavit*, floruit *BM*, accidit Carnoti *B*

412. *hoc*, corpus *B*, corpus clerici mortui *M*

413. *humatum*, sepultum *M*

414. *atrio*, catholico *B*, in cimiterio *M*

415 Carnotensi nam beata  
Virgo viro cominata  
Fuit de rusticio.

## 23. DE QUODAM SALVATO PER HORAS VIRGINIS

420 Scripto quidam memorandum  
Ante Deum iudicandus,  
Sompno raptus, steterat.  
Propter horas virginales,  
CruciatuS eternals  
Dimissus evaserat.

425 Istud virgo gloriosa  
Fecit, semper vernans rosa,  
Electa in Ierico.  
Balsamum, thus, cinnamomum  
Vincit nardum et amomum  
Odre vivifico.

## 24. DE MORTE IULIANI APOSTATE

430 Iulianus perforatur  
A quodam qui suscitatur  
A beata virgine.

416. *comminata* M 417. *Fuit ore rustico* M *Sub-title, virginales* M 418. [S]cripto, *guide to rubricator 's'* B, commemorandus *corr.* memorandum B 419. indicandus *corr.* iudicandus *in hand of gloss* M 427. *cinamomum* M *Sub-title, apostote* B 430. [I]ulianus, *guide to rubricator 'i'* B

415. *Carnotensi, de Chateris* M

416. *viro, canonico* B

417. *ore rustico*, quia nondum sepultus erat servus eius in cimiterio M; *rusticio*, turpius, rusticio, nihil est effrontius animo *bottom of folio* B

418. *quidam, homo* M

419. *iudicandus, ille* M

422. *CruciatuS, penas inferni* M

423. *Dimissus, ille* M; *evaserat, eschapa* M

425. *vernans, illa* M

426. *Ierico, hec Ierico est vallis et indeclinabile, in hoc loco delectabili* M

427. *Balsamum, hec balsamum est arbor, hoc balsamum est liquor eius* M; *cinnamomum, canel* M; *cinnamomum dicitur quasi 'canna amomi'* *bottom of folio* M

428. *Vincit, ipsa Maria* M; *nardum, talem arborem preciosam* M; *amomum, illud unguentum* M

430. *Iulianus, apostata* B, imperator qui primo erat monachus [sic] M

431. *A quodam, qui vocabatur Mercurius* M; *suscitatur, a morte* B

435 Hoc peracto bustum petit,  
Iulianum mors irretit  
Inferni voragine.

Gaudet urbs Cesariensis,  
Virgini doxis inpensis  
A sancto Basilico.  
440 Mira res est volitante  
Equo, hasta sanguinante,  
Vincente Mercurio.

## 25. DE SACERDOTE LIBERATO AB EPISCOPO SUO

Hec succurrit sacerdoti  
Puri cordis et devoti,  
Literato modicum.  
445 Semper 'Salve sancta parens'  
Vir cantabat, arte carens,  
Semper cantans unicum.

Hec prelatum exterrebat  
Qui ministrum suspendebat  
450 Laudis ab officio.

436. Sesariensis *M*    438. Basilio *M*    *Sub-title*, ab episcopo liberato *M*    442. [H]ec, *guide to rubricator* 'h' *B*

433. *Hoc*, postquam perforavit Iulianum *M*; *bustum*, sepulcrum *BM*; *petit*, Mercurius *M*

434. *irretit*, -tio, -tis *M*, illaqueat *BM*

436. *urbs Cesariensis*, Roma [sic] *M*

437. *doxis*, gloriis, hec doxa, id est gloria *B*, laudibile *M*; *inpensis*, donis *B*, datis *M*

438. *Basilico*, qui fuit episcopus Remensis [sic] *B*, qui tunc fuit episcopus Cesariensis, id est papa Romanus [sic] *M*

439. *volitante*, corrente *M*

440. *Equo*, et hoc *M*; *hasta*, hoc *M*; *sanguinante*, *sanglaunt* [*MS sanglaung corr. sanglaunt*] *M*

441. *Mercurio*, equite illo *B*, Mercurius vocabatur miles ille qui eum interfecit *M*

442. *Hec*, Maria *M*

444. *Literato*, sacerdoti *M*; *modicum*, parvum *M*

445. *Salve* . . . , illud officium, scilicet missam de beata virgine *M*

446. *Vir*, ille sacerdos *M*

447. *cantans*, ille *M*; *unicum*, cantum, scilicet 'Salve, etc.' *M*

448. *Hec*, Maria *M*; *exterrebat*, fortis terrebat *B*, *espuntat* *M*

449. *ministrum*, illum sacerdotem *M*

450. *Laudis*, ab officio celebrandi missam *M*

Sublimavit preses illum  
 Et constantem et tranquillum  
 Matris in servitio.

## 26. DE YMAGINE VULNERATA

455           Esset pugna et immanis,  
               Sagittam Aurelianis  
               Ymago susceperat.  
               Civem ictu dum protexit,  
               Et crus lesum dum erexit,  
               Hostes id sedaverat.

## 27. DE MONACHO QUI VIDIT PENAM IUDE

460           Penam Iude proditoris  
               Pandi mater salvatoris  
               Monaco permiserat.  
               Rota Iudam inflammata,  
               Nunc depressa, nunc levata,  
 465           In profundum merserat.  
               Descendebat cum frangore,  
               Animarum plebs clamore  
               Iude maledixerat.

*Sub-title, vulnerata M*   454. [E]sset, *guide to rubricator 'e' B, pugna M*   457. Cive  
*M*   458. *crux corr. crus B, de corr. dum M*   *Sub-title, Iude lacking M*   460.  
 [P]enam B   462. *Monacho promiserat M*   463. *Iuda B*   464. *Hunc corr.*  
*Nunc M*   466. *in M*   467. *amore corr. clamore M*

451. *preses, episcopus M; illum, sacerdotem M*  
 452. *tranquillum, et non fatigabat illum postea B*  
 453. *Matris, gloriose virginis M*  
 454. *immanis, terribilis B, magna et terribilis M, ab 'in' quod est 'sine,' et 'manu' quod est 'bono,' quasi 'sine bono' marg. B*  
 455. *Aurelianis, accidit Aurelianis B, illi civitati M*  
 456. *Ymago, beate virginis M*  
 457. *Civem, quemdam burgensem M; protexit, ymago BM, quia ymago illa suscepit ictum pro burgense vel pro cive M*  
 458. *crus, a se M; erexit, ymago BM*  
 459. *Hostes, inimicos M; id, miraculum B; sedaverat, pacificaverat BM*  
 460. *In Anglia accidit marg. B; proditoris, qui tradidit dominum Iudeis M*  
 461. *Pandi, monstrari B, ostendi M; salvatoris, Christi M*  
 462. *Monaco, Anglie B, cuidam Anglicano M; promiserat, concesserat M*  
 463. *inflammata, ardens M*  
 464. *Nunc, aliquando M; depressa, a vale M; nunc, aliquando M; levata, exaltata M*  
 466. *Descendebat, rota BM; frangore, cum tumultu M*  
 467. *plebs, multitudo BM*

470 Omnes illum percusserunt  
 Impellentes, devoverunt,  
 Rota dum corruerat.

Ave, que tot mira facis,  
 Templum Dei, turris pacis,  
 Salutis refrigerium.  
 475 Ave, flos suavitatis,  
 Liliū es castitatis,  
 Gaudii solsequium.

O flos, ave, sponsa solis,  
 Solem sequens, nove prolis  
 480 Genitrix et filia.  
 Dulcis odor violarum  
 In te spirat et rosarum  
 Exundat fragrantia.

28. DE MIRACULO QUOD FIT PARISIUS DE  
 IGNE PESTIFERO

485 Est in templo virginali  
 Virgo, medicina mali  
 Ardentis Parisius.

469. *percusserrunt* corr. *percusserunt* *M*      472. *Rubric paragraph sign in left margin* *M*  
 482. *In te* corr. *B*, *Inte* *M*      *Sub-title, quod fiebat ingne pestifero* *M*      484. [E]st,  
*guide to rubricator 'e' B*, EEst *M*

469. *Omnes*, ibi *pendentes* *B*, *pendentes ibi* *M*; *percusserunt*, *Iudam* *M*  
 470. *devoverunt*, *maledixerunt* *B*, *maledixerunt Iudam* *M*  
 471. *corruerat*, *descenderat* *B*  
 472. *Ave*, O gloriosa virgo *M*; *mira*, *miracula* *M*  
 473. *Templum*, tu *BM*; *turris*, tu *M*, a qua dependet omnis armatura fortior *B*  
 474. *refrigerium*, tu *M*  
 475. *flos*, O Maria *M*  
 477. *solsequium*, sicorea, alter flos calendula *B*, tu, *solsekel*, flos est quidam *M*  
 478. *solis*, Christi *M*  
 479. *nove prolis*, filii Dei incarnati *B*  
 480. *Genitrix*, tu, quia portasti filium Dei *M*; *filia*, quia Deus creavit omnia et sic beatam virginem *M*  
 481. *violarum*, illorum florum, *violette* Gallice *M*  
 482. *spirat*, redolet *BM*  
 483. *Exundat*, abundat *M*; *fragrantia*, redolentia *BM*  
 484. *templo*, in ecclesia beate Marie apud Parisius *B*, in ecclesia beate virginis *M*  
 485. *Virgo*, est *B*; *mali*, morbi *M*

- Fertur ignis infernalis,  
 Artus urit ignis talis  
 Intus et exterius.
- 490 Hec est stella paradisi,  
 Quia celum ab hac dysi  
 Rutilat lucifera.  
 Ex hac natus est salvator,  
 Sol iustorum, consolator
- 495 Luce salutifera.
- O Gwillelme, presul pie,  
 Qui conservans es Marie  
 Oves et ovilia.  
 Ista vides et testaris,  
 Et de visis iocundaris
- 500 Miris in ecclesia.

## 29. DE YMAGINE NON COMBUSTA

- Igne stans inviolata  
 Remis fuit et salvata  
 Ymago virginea.
- 505 Mater sic est illibata,  
 Stella maris obumbrata  
 Dei nube nivea.

491. *disi* *M*      496. *Willelme* *M*      *Sub-title, lacking M, appears following l. 507 B*  
 502. [I]gne, *guide to rubricator 'i'* *B*
487. *Fertur*, illud malum *B*, illa egritudo *M*; *ignis infernalis*, herisipula *B*  
 488. *Artus*, membra *M*  
 490. *Hec*, *Maria* *M*; *paradisi*, a 'para' quod est 'iuxta' et 'disis,' 'stella' *B*  
 491. *celum*, empirium ubi sunt angeli et archangeli *M*; *dysi*, stella, scilicet *Maria* *B*, stella *M*  
 492. *lucifera*, *dysi* *B*  
 493. *hac*, *dysi* *B*, stella, id est *Maria* *M*; *salvator*, *Christus* *M*  
 494. *Sol*, ille *M*  
 498. *Oves*, animas *M*; *ovilia*, ecclesias in istius dioceseos *B*, ecclesias et monasteria *M*  
 499. *vides*, tu *B*; *testaris*, testimonium peribes *M*  
 501. *Miris*, -aculis [*MS* oculis] *B*, miraculis *M*; *ecclesia*, beate virginis *Parisius* *M*  
 502. *inviolata*, non *B*, non corrupta *M*  
 503. *Remis*, illi civitati *B*, apud illam civitatem *M*  
 504. *Ymago*, ymago virginis *M*  
 505. *Mater*, *Dei* *M*; *sic*, hac similitudine *M*; *illibata*, non degradata nec corrupta *B*, intacta ab omni voluptate carnali *M*  
 506. *Stella*, illa *M*; *obumbrata*, tecta *B*, cooperta *M*  
 507. *nivea*, alba vel lactea quod id est *M*

## 30. DE INSTITUTIONE PURIFICATIONIS

Strata gens mortalitate  
 Et morborum novitate  
 510 Fuerat Bysancii.  
 Ypapanti est statutum,  
 Et exultat vulgus, tutum  
 A peste contagii.

## 31. DE CECO ILLUMINATO PRO RESPONSORIO

Cecum hec illuminavit  
 515 Qui iocundum elimavit  
 Cantum responsorii.  
 Dolet mens hereticorum,  
 Et meretur mors eorum  
 Puteum flagitii.

## 32. DE CAMISIA VIRGINIS

520 In hac celi rex vestitur  
 Velo carnis et unitur  
 Sumpto Deus homini.  
 Per hanc terra sublimatur,

*Sub-title, lacking M* 508. [S]trata *B*, *guide to rubricator 's' B*, Grata genus *M* 510.  
 Bysan *corr.* Bysancii *in hand of gloss M* *Sub-title, lacking M* 514. [C]Ecum *B*,  
*guide to rubricator 'c' B* 515. iocundus *M* 516. Tantum *M* 517. ereticorum  
*M* 520. [I]N, *guide to rubricator 'i' B*

508. *mortalitate*, igne infernali *B*

510. *Bysancii*, Constantinopolis *B*, apud illam civitatem Constanopolitanam  
 [*MS* Constantinopolitam], et declinatur hoc Bisancium [*MS* Bisansium *corr.*  
 Bisancium], -cii *M*

511. *Ypapanti*, representatio *B*, illud festum Purificationis beate virginis *M*; *est*  
*statutum*, festum Purificationis *B*

513. *peste*, pestis est corruptio elementorum *B*; *contagii*, ab illo calore generali  
*M*

514. *hec*, Maria *M*

515. *elimavit*, solemniter composuit *B*, elimare composuit, id est nobiliter *M*

516. *responsorii*, 'Gaude Maria virgo cuntas hereses' *B*

517. *Dolet*, quod virgo fuit et mater *M*

518. Accidit Rome *B*, *eorum*, hereticorum *M*

519. *flagitii*, tormenti *B*

520. Carnotensis accidit *B*; *hac*, Maria *B*, gloriosa virgine *M*; *rex*, Christus *M*

521. *Velo*, coopertorio *M*

522. *Sumpto*, velo, id est humanitati sumpte de beata virgine *M*

523. *hanc*, Mariam *M*; *terra*, corpus hominis *B*

124

*The Stella Maris of John of Garland*

Per hanc celo dominatur

525

Iunctus homo numini.

Hostes urbis Carnotensis

Stravit, frangens vires ensis

Virginis camisia.

## 33. DE VIRGINE VIOLATA CONTRA VOTUM SUUM

Nimphe plagam integravit

530

Quam cultello resecauit

Iuvenis malitia.

Contra votum violata

Per virtutem integrata

Est a matre, virgine.

535

Incorrupta mens manebat,

Mater Dei respondebat

Caste menti femine.

## 34. DE ABBATE PERICLITANTE IN MARI

Abbas quidam maris stellam

Invocavit, et procellam

540

Hec stravit equoream.

525. homo *inserted above the line in hand of gloss M*      526. Carnotensis *corr.* Corno-  
tensis *M*      *Sub-title, deflorata M*      529. [N]imphe *guide to rubricator 'n' B, no*  
*rubric, rubricated paragraph sign M*      530. reseravit *M*      535. Incorrupta *M*  
537. menti *corr. M*      *Sub-title, albata B*      538. [A]bbas, *hole in MS where letter 'A'*  
*should be and letter 'P' on next folio appears through it; Pbbas, although guide to rubricator*  
*is 'a' M [cf. supra, p. 84]*      539. Invocabat *M*      540. stravit *corr. B*

524. *hanc, Mariam M; celo, celestibus creaturis M*525. *numini, Deo B, deitati M*526. *Carnotensis, Chartris M*527. *Stravit, acravanta M; frangens, camisia BM; ensis, gladius B*528. *Virginis, Marie M; camisia, et dicitur camisia quasi 'carni missus' quia propinquus mittitur carni et id dicitur hec interula marg. M*529. *integravit, Maria integram fecit, sanavit M*530. *Quam, nimpham vel plagam B, plagam M; reseravit, aperuit M*532. *violata, virgo illa, corrupta M*533. *integrata, integram facta M*535. *mens, puelle deflorate M*537. *femine, illius puelle M*538. *In Anglia accidit B; Abbas, de Ramisseya M; maris stellam, Maria[m] M*539. *procellam, tempestatem M*540. *Hec, Maria M*

Lux in mali summitate  
 Cereali claritate  
 Virgam pandit Iesseam.

545 Inde festum inchoatur,  
 Et a multis celebratur  
 Virginis Conceptio.  
 In alvo sanctificata  
 Matris est, et celebrata  
 Est sanctificatio.

## 35. DE CLERICO A NUPTIIS REVOCATO

550 Nuptialem voluptatem  
 Integrando castitatem  
 Clericus dimiserat.  
 In remotam regionem  
 Illum ad religionem  
 555 Regina transtulerat.

Lucet stella progressiva,  
 Mundi salus tempestiva,  
 In celum regrediens.

545. multis *corr.* B  
*rubric* M

550. [N]uptialem, *guide to rubricator* 'n' B

556. L is

541. *mali*, hic malus B

543. *Iesseam*, Iesse B, gloriosam virginem, signatam per virgam Iesse quia quasi cerei [MS cerey] apparuerunt in summitate mali M

544. *Inde*, ex hoc B, hac de causa M; *festum*, Conceptionis B

546. *Virginis*, ante natale domini M; *Conceptio*, nota quod duplex est conceptio, scilicet spiritualis et carnalis. Carnalis conceptio est quando semen immittitur in matricem et ita conceptio non celebratur; spiritualis conceptio est quando anima infunditur ipsa masse carnee, et de hac conceptione est hic intelligendum M

547. *sanctificata*, ipsa B, Maria M

548. *Matris*, Anne M

551. *Integrando*, integre servando castitatem quam voverat Marie M

552. *Clericus*, quidam M

554. *Illum*, clericum M

555. *Regina*, celi et terre B, celi M

556. *stella*, Maria M; *progressiva*, quia B

557. *Mundi*, hominis qui dicitur minor mundus M; *salus*, illa M; *tempestiva*, seisunabilis [MS seisunabile] B

558. *regrediens*, retro B, illa M; Circulus concentricus cum terra dicitur equans; circulus vero ecentricus cum terra dicitur deferens. Parvus circulus epiciclus nominatur per cuius circumferentiam defertur corpus planete et centrum epicicli

560 Austrum, arcon, orientem,  
Lustrat hec et occidentem,  
Orantes exaudiens.

565 Quam ad plenum exaltare  
Nemo potest, hanc laudare  
Stili temptat breuitas,  
Ut a clero memoretur  
Et ad laudem revocetur  
Marie benignitas.

## 36. DE MONACHO SUBMERSO

570 Monachus submersus erat,  
Causam rei si quis querat,  
Erat carni deditus.  
Pia matre succurrente,  
Pio Deo discernente,  
Vite fuit redditus.

559. [A]ustrum, *guide to rubricator 'a' but no sub-title B, no rubric M, arc corr. arcon in hand of gloss B, archon M* 563. [h]anc B 568. [M]onachus B, Monachus M  
569. *siquis M, reuerat M*

semper deferitur per circumferentiam deferentis. Si autem due linee ducantur a centro terre ita quod includunt epicyclum, una ex parte orientis, alia ex parte occidentis, punctus contactus ex parte orientis dicitur statio prima. Punctus contactus ex parte occidentis dicitur statio secunda, et pars utraque existens dicitur stationarius. Arcus superior epicycli dicitur directio et planeta ibi existens, directus. Arcus vero inferior dicitur retrogradatio et planeta ibi existens, retrogradus *between lines 558 and 559 B. There is a diagram illustrating these remarks on fol. 88<sup>v</sup> B.*

559. *Austrum, sout M, plagam meridionalem M; arcon, septentrionalis B, nort M, plagam septentrionalem M*

560. *Lustrat, illuminat BM; hec, Maria M*

561. *exaudiens, illa M*

562. *Quam, Mariam M*

563. *hanc, Mariam M*

564. *Stili, qualitas carminis B, carminis M*

565. *Ut, in memoria cleri M*

566. *Et ad laudem, ad hunc finem facio librum M*

568. *Monachus, quidam M*

569. *Causam, quare erat submersus M*

570. *carni, deliciis carnalibus et luxurie M; deditus, subditus B*

571. *Pia, et hoc M*

572. *Pio, hoc M; discernente, iudicante M*

573. *redditus, ille monachus M*

- 575 Nam per noctes exeundo,  
Et a luxu redeundo  
    Illud Ave dixerat.  
Per hanc celi restauratur  
Denus ordo, reportatur  
    Ovis que perierat.
- 580 Virgo mater est pastoris,  
Servans oves a raptoris  
    Faucibus pastoria.  
Illi cedunt lupi fortes,  
Per quam prede sunt exsortes  
585 Noctis in vigilia.

## 37. DE MULIERE IUDAYCA VIRGINEM INVOCANTE

- Hec Iudeam parientem,  
Tandem fere morientem,  
    Luce lustrans iuverat.  
Baptizatur liberata,  
590 Per baptismum proles nata  
    Ad vitam pervenerat.

578. reparatur *M*    584. exortes *B*    585. in *corr. M*    *Sub-title*, Iudaica muliere  
*M*    586. [H]ec *B*

576. *Illud Ave*, salutationem virginis *M*; *dixerat*, monachus *B*, ille monachus *M*  
577. *hanc*, Mariam *M*  
578. *ordo*, angelorum *B*, angelorum et archangelorum *M*; *reparatur*, ad ovile per Mariam virginem *M*  
579. *Ovis*, anima *M*  
580. *Virgo*, Maria *M*; *pastoris*, Christi *B*, Christi qui dicit: Ego sum pastor bonus [Vulg. *Luc.*, 1, 30] *M*  
581. *oves*, Christianos *M*; *raptoris*, diaboli *M*  
582. *pastoria*, illa *M*  
583. *Illi*, Marie *M*; *lupi*, spiritus maligni *B*, maligni spiritus *M*  
584. *quam*, Mariam *M*; *exsortes*, expertes *B*, sine sorte *M*  
585. *Noctis*, huius mundi qui dicitur nox *M*  
586. In *Hyspannia marg. B*; *Hec*, Maria *M*  
587. *morientem*, Iudeam *M*  
588. *lustrans*, illuminans *B*  
589. *liberata*, Iudea *M*  
591. *vitam*, eternam *B*, celestem *M*

## 38. DE INFULA DATA EPISCOPO THOLETANO

Archipresul Tholetanus  
 Mentem sacram, sacras manus  
 Habens, hanc amaverat.  
 595 Infulam hec presularem  
 Dedit illi singularem,  
 Sacrans quam induerat.

## 39. DE MONIALI A NUPTIIS REVOCATA

Os inferni moniali  
 Pro contractu nuptiali  
 600 Dormienti patuit.  
 Set Maria, fons dulcoris,  
 Pietatis et honoris,  
 Hanc celo restituit.

## 40. QUOMODO CHRISTUS MONACHO APPARUIT

Misse quondam in secreto  
 605 Vultu comparebat leto  
 Christus uni monaco.  
 Christi matrem honorabat,  
 Christus illum confortabat  
 Radio Elyaco.

*Sub-title*, donata archiepiscopo Toletano *M* 592. [A]rchipresul *B*, Toletanus *M*  
 593. sacras] sacra *M* 597. sacras *corr.* sacrans *in hand of gloss M* 598. [O]JS *B*  
 604. [M]isse, *guide to rubricator 'm' B*, *condam M* 605. Vltu *BM*, comparabat *M*  
 606. monacho *M* 609. Eliaco *M*

592. *Toletanus, de Tulus M*

593. *Mentem*, quantum ad bonam cogitationem *M*; *manus*, quantum ad bona opera *M*.

595. *Infulam, chesible M*; *hec, Maria M*

596. *illi*, archiepiscopo *M*; *singularem*, convenientem illi et nulli alteri *M*

597. *Sacrans*, corpus Christi *M*; *quam*, infulam *BM*; *induerat*, ille, scilicet admissam. Infula dicitur de 'influxo, -is,' vel de 'in' et 'philos,' 'amor,' quia denotat sacerdotem esse in amorem Dei *margin. M*

598. *Os*, introitus *BM*

599. *contractu*, desponsatione nuptii *B*, quia voluit nubere *M*

603. *Hanc*, monialem *M*

604. *Misse*, dum dicebat canonem misse *M*; *secreto*, canone *B*

607. *honorabat*, ille monachus *M*

608. *illum*, monachum *M*

609. *Elyaco*, luce consolari, ab 'elyos' quod est 'sol,' id est Christus, qui est sol

## 41. ITEM DE YMAGINE NON COMBUSTA

- 610 Templum quoddam fulmen ussit,  
Set non ussit nec percussit  
Virginalem formulam.  
Velum igne non pallebat  
Super caput quod tegebat  
615 In templo virgunculam.

## 42. DE DEMONE SCRIBENTE PECCATA MULIERUM

- Templo demon Tholetano  
Verba scripsit in vesano  
Quasi vultu simie.  
Ungue, dente dum trahebat  
620 Scripti cartam, hic ruebat  
A murali serie.

Clerus ista videns risit,  
Set deflevit quod commisit,  
Culpatus a presule.

*Sub-title, Item lacking M* 610. [T]emplum, *guide to rubricator 't' B* 611. *con-*  
*cussit M* *Sub-title, mulieris B* 616. [T]emplo, *guide to rubricator 't' B*, *Templum*  
*M*, *Toletano M* 619. *trahebat M*

iusitiae B, solari M, elios igitur 'sol' littere et inde 'eliacus,' id est 'solaris.' Item  
de 'elios' igitur sol littere dicitur 'elios,' unde Sedulius loquens de helia dicit:  
nam si sermonis Achivi

Una per accentum mutetur litera, sol est  
[*Paschal. carmin.*, I, 186-187]

*margin. M*

610. *Templum*, ecclesiam BM  
611. *percussit*, in templo Sancti Michaelis B  
612. *Virginalem formulam*, ymaginem Marie virginis M  
613. *Velum*, quod fuit in capite illius ymagine M; *igne*, ab B  
614. *quod*, velum M  
615. *virgunculam*, parvam virginem B, parvam ymaginem de ligno factam M  
616. *demon*, in ecclesia chathedrali Toleti B, *en temple de Tulete M*  
617. *Verba*, duarum mulierum M  
619. *trahebat*, simia B  
620. *cartam*, parganum B, *percamenum M*; *ruebat*, diabolus M  
621. *A murali serie*, muri B, ab ordinato ordine muri M  
623. *commisit*, ridendo B, deliquit ridendo M  
624. *Culpatus*, ille M; *presule*, archiepiscopo B

130 *The Stella Maris of John of Garland*

625           Supra pectus dormientis  
              Manus stelle miserentis  
              Prorupsit scriptum cedulae.

              Clericus evigilavit,  
              Et prelato demonstravit  
630           Scriptum hostis invidi.  
              Mulieres advocantur  
              Quarum voces comprobantur  
              Et sermones stolidi.

43. DE PUERO QUI CANTAVIT DE BEATA MARIA  
      IN ANGLIA

              De Maria quicquid scivit  
635           Puer cantans, enutrivit  
              Maternam inopiam.  
              Hunc Iudeus nequam stravit  
              Domo sua quem humavit  
              Diram per invidiam.

640           Mater querens hunc vocavit,  
              Hic in terra recantavit  
              Solita preconia.

627. Prorupsit *M*      *Sub-title*, beata virgine *M*      634. [D]e, *guide to rubricator*  
      'd' *B*      637. stravit *B*      638. quem *corr. B*

625. *dormientis*, clerici *BM*

626. *stelle*, beate Marie *BM*

627. *Prorupsit*, ostendit *BM*; *cedulae*, quam scripsit diabolus de peccatis mulierum *M*

630. *hostis*, diaboli *BM*

631. *advocantur*, ad iudicium coram presule *M*

632. *Quarum*, mulierum *M*; *voces*, dicta *B*; *comprobantur*, et concordabant cum scripto verbo ad verbum *M*

633. *stolidi*, stulti *B*

634. *civitas* in Anglia *B*

635. *cantans*, 'Gaude Maria virgo' *B*

636. *Maternam inopiam*, ne deperiret inopia *M*

637. *Hunc*, puerum *M*; *stravit*, occidit *B*, interfecit *M*

639. *Diram per invidiam*, quia cantavit de virgine *B*, quia cantavit de gloriosa virgine *M*

640. *querens*, puerum suum *M*

641. *Hic*, puer *M*

642. *Solita*, solitas cantilenas de beata virgine *M*

- 645 Puer liber mox exivit,  
Mortis reos lex punivit  
Iudeos in Anglia.
- Scriptis hec investigantur  
Antiquorum, et novantur  
Nostram ad notitiam.  
650 Ut per prisca renovemur,  
Et per novam reformemur  
Domino munditiam.

## 44. DE POPULO SANATO AB IGNE PESTIFERO

- 655 Vidit urbs Suessionensis  
Morbos graves turmis densis  
Accendi funereos.  
In celesti maiestate  
Virgo venit, potestate  
Sanans morbos igneos.
- 660 Hic est eius sotularis  
Quo sanatur popularis  
Diversa pernicies.  
Socum spernit vir bubulcus,  
Set deformat ipsum ulcus  
Et distorta facies.

643. Puer followed by erasure M 646. 'S' is rubric M 652. [V]idit, guide to  
rubricator 'v' B, Suesionensis M 659. sanatus B 661. spernit M 662.  
illum M

643. *liber*, set plage apparuerunt M  
644. *reos*, Iudeos M  
646. *Scriptis*, per -ta B; *hec*, miracula BM  
647. *novantur*, de novo recitantur B  
649. *prisca*, miracula BM; *removemur*, unde apostolus: exuite veterem habitum  
et induite novum [Vulg. Mar., 15, 20] marg. B  
651. *munditiam*, corporis et anime M  
652. *Suessionensis*, Gallice *Sessoins* B, *Sesuns* M  
653. *turmis*, per B; *densis*, *espeisis* M  
654. *funereos*, mortiferos B, mortales, per id notat quod illa turba vexata fuit  
erisipila, id est igne infernali M  
655. *maiestate*, dignitate B  
656. *Virgo*, Maria M; *potestate*, divina B  
657. *morbos igneos*, infernales, scilicet herisipila B, ignes infernales M  
658. apud Suessionem B, apud urbem Suessionensem M  
659. *Quo*, sotulari BM  
660. *pernicies*, infirmitas B, infirmitas populi M  
661. *Socum*, sotularis B, sotularem M; *spernit*, vel sprevit M  
662. *ulcus*, ulceratio vel scabies B, bace M  
663. *distorta*, *desturné* M; *facies*, set recuperavit sanitatem B

45. DE FEMINA CUIUS NASUM BEATA VIRGO  
REFORMAVIT

665 Hec, membrorum reparatrix,  
Nasi fuit reformatrix  
Quem amisit femina.  
Sanat claudos, cecitatem,  
Vulneratos, surditatem,  
Mutis reddit famina.

QUOD BEATA VIRGO MEDICINALIA VINCIT  
ET PREVENIT

670 Adsit hec si medicina,  
Vas nec pulsus nec urina  
Docent nec pronostica.  
Afforismi sermo brevis  
Hec est, et dieta levis,  
675 Ordinans viatica.

664. [H]ec, *guide to rubricator* 'h' B 668. Wlneratos BM 669. femina corr. famina M Sub-title, omnia medicinalia M 670. [A]dsit, *guide to rubricator* 'a' B, Assit M 671. Et nos pulsus M, ruina corr. urina in hand of gloss B

664. *Hec*, Maria est M

666. *Quem*, nasum BM; *amisit*, per egritudinem supervenientem M

667. *Sanat*, Maria M; *claudos*, *clops* M; *cecitatem*, hominem cecum, proprietas ponitur pro substantivo M

669. *famina*, verba B, loquelas M

670. *hec*, virgo B, Maria M

671. *pulsus*, pulsus dicitur motus arterie vite continuus B, pulsus est motus vite continuus marg. M

672. *pronostica*, indicia de morte vel de vita, 'pronosticor, -aris,' id est, 'indicio, -as' marg. B, pronostica sunt indicia de morte alicuius vel de vita marg. M

673. *Afforismi*, afforismus est sententia brevis grandem comprehendens sententiam marg. B, istius regule phisicalis M; *brevis*, grandem includens sententiam B, hec Maria est M

674. *dieta*, dieta est competens observantia egri, scilicet laxare digesta et non movere turda marg. B, dieta est competens observantia sani et similiter egri [cf. *Morale scolarium* (ed. Paetow), l. 601], dieta est sumptus sive iter unius diei, unde versus: Estque dieta cibus moderatus iterque diei marg. M

675. *Ordinans*, illa B; *viatica*, doctrinas medicinales in potu et cibo B, *lirepuup* [MS *liresuus*] M, hoc viaticum tribus modis sumitur: est enim viaticum, expensa in via; et viaticum est corpus Christi; et viaticum est ipse generalis doctrinalis, prout continetur in *Libro viaticorum* [of Ibn al-Jassār, tr. by Constantine the African and others] marg. M

## 46. DE REDUCTO AB INFERIS AD PENITENTIAM

Penis Iude traditoris  
 Dum avari predatoris  
 Anima committitur,  
 Redit per triginta dies  
 680 Penitendo, inde quies  
 Anime conceditur.

Laudes huius psalmi grati  
*Beati immaculati*  
 Dicens, celum meruit.  
 685 Virgo dedit talem penam,  
 Salutari melle plenam,  
 Que perfecte profuit.

47. DE RUSTICO SALVATO QUIA DIXIT  
SALUTATIONEM VIRGINIS

Quidam cultor illud Ave  
 Sepe dixit, vivens prave,  
 690 Metas agri transiens.  
 Hic ab hoste liberatur,  
 Dum post vitam asportatur,  
 Veniam inveniens.

## IN GENERE DICITUR

Sani gaudent, furiosi  
 695 Et contracti et leprosi,  
 Gaudent paralitici.

676. [P]enis, *guide to rubricator* 'p' B 682. *space between huius and psalmi* M

683. *in maculati* M *Sub-title, quia salutationem beate virginis dixit* M 688.

[Q]Vidam, *guide to rubricator* 'q' B 689. *iuvens* M *Sub-title, lacking* M

694. [S]ani, *guide to rubricator* 's' B, *no rubric* M, *gaudens* M

677. *predatoris*, *cardinalis* Rome B

679. *Redit*, *predator* B, *anima ad corpus* M

680. *Penitendo*, *dum egit penitentiam*, *vel sic ut faceret penitentiam* M

684. *Dicens*, *ipse* B, *ille predator* M

685. *penam*, *[peniten]tiam* B

686. *plenam*, *penitentiam* M

687. *Que*, *pena* B; *profuit*, *isti restituenti ablata* B

688. *Ave*, *Maria* etc. BM

691. *hoste*, *diabolo* B

692. *asportatur*, *a diabolo* B

696. *paralitici*, a 'para' quod est 'dis' et 'lesus,' 'solutio,' et est mortificatio membri nemenis ex nimia frigiditate  *marg. B*

Sanat membra, sanat mentes  
 Virgo sancta, que credentes  
 Celo facit refici.

48. DE PAUPERE EROGANTE ADQUISITAS  
 ELEMOSINAS PRO MARIA

700 Pauper panem adquisitum  
 Pro Maria dedit tritum  
 Aliis pauperibus.  
 Virgo tandem hunc beavit,  
 Et ad celum advocavit,  
 705 Multis audientibus.

49. DE PUERO VOCANTE PUERUM VIRGINIS

Quedam suum tulit natum  
 Ad Mariam inclinatum  
 Et ad suum parvulum.  
 Panem illi porrigebat,  
 710 'Pupa papa,' proferebat,  
 Addens sonum querulum.  
 Amplectando simul flendo  
 Dicit hec, set respondendo  
 Ihesus tendit brachia,  
 715 'Post tres dies tu papabis

698. sanctaque *M* Sub-title, lacking *M* 700. [P]auper, guide to rubricator 'p' *B*  
 701. beata *M* 703. ditavit *M*, ditavit in hand of gloss as alternate reading *B* Sub-  
 title, lacking *M* 706. [Q]Vedam, guide to rubricator 'q' *B*, tulit suum corr. *M*  
 708. pararvulum *B* 713. Dicit in hand of gloss *B*, hic *M* 714. Christus *M*

698. que, Maria *B*  
 699. refici, reddi *B*  
 700. Pauper, homo *B*

701. Maria, amore Marie *B*; tritum, minutum *B*

705. audientibus, ubi moriebatur *B*

706. Constantinopolis *B*; Quedam, mulier *B*

707. inclinatum, natum in ecclesia *B*

710. papa, comede *B*; proferebat, dicebat *B*, Horatius [sic]:  
 in templo quid facit aurum?

Nemo hoc quod Veneri donate virgine pupae,

[Persius, II, 69-70]

Persius: 'poscit papare minutum' [Persius, III, 17-18] *margin*. *B*

713. hec, pupa papa *B*; respondendo, dicens: post triduum tu papabis mecum *B*

714. Ihesus, ymago *B*

715. papabis, comedes *B*

Pupa, mecum, et cantabis  
Ad mea convivia.'

720 Puer mox febricitavit,  
Et ad celum transmigravit,  
Acta die tertia.  
O res mira, celum datur  
Propter micam, et pensatur  
Infinita gloria.

#### 50. DE PEREGRINO QUI SIBI GUTTUR AMPUTAVIT ET TESTICULOS

725 Sibi quidam amputavit,  
Sicut demon instigavit,  
Guttur et virilia.  
Demon dixit quod salvaret  
Se sic, set hunc dum dampnaret  
Mutantur iudicia.

730 Iacobus hunc ad Mariam  
Duxit sanctus sanctam, piam,  
Peregrinum liberans.  
Sicut virgo iudicavit,  
Mens ad corpus remeavit  
735 Deo se confederans.

#### 51. DE PARTIBUS INFERIORIBUS RESTITUTIS

Quidam pedem amputavit  
Cuius sacer concremavit  
Ignis crus et tibiam.

722. et] quod *M* 723. Infinita *corr.* *B* Sub-title, lacking *M* 724. [S]ibi,  
guide to rubricator 's' *B* 728. dum hunc *M* 729. indicia *M* 730. hunc lack-  
ing *M* 731. sanctus inserted above the line *M* 734. remavit *M* Sub-title,  
lacking *M* 736. [Q]Vidam, guide to rubricator 'q' *B* 737. Eius *M* 738.  
lignis *B*

716. *Pupa*, tu *B*  
722. *pensatur*, ponderatur *B*  
725. *instigavit*, entiza Gallice *B*  
726. *virilia*, dependentia *B*  
728. *dampnaret*, demon *B*  
733. *iudicavit*, autoritate filii sui *B*  
735. *confederans*, coniungens *B*  
736. *amputavit*, propter dolorem *B*  
737. *sacer*, execrabilis *B*  
738. *Ignis*, erisupila *B*

740 Dum in sompnis hunc palpavit  
Virgo totum restauravit,  
Plenam ferens gratiam.

## PRECONIUM GLORIOSE VIRGINIS SUMMO MIRACULO

745 Ad te, virgo, nos clamantes  
Mundi fluctu naufragantes,  
Deduc, salva, libera.  
Stella maris, dux, salvatrix,  
Captivorum liberatrix,  
Assit tua dextera.

750 Nos in vite portu pone,  
In agone spes corone  
Christiano populo.  
Redde vicem salvatori,  
Ne permittas tuos mori  
Mortis in ergastulo.

## EXORTATIO AD PUBLICATIONEM MIRACULORUM

755 O prelati Gallicani,  
Presides et Anglicani,  
Hyspani, Teutonici,  
Stelle mira predicetis,  
Opus breve comportetis  
Ponderis hoc modici.

739. Hic *corr.* Dum *M* Sub-title, lacking *M*, gloriosa *B* 742. [A]d, *guide to*  
*rubricator* 'a' *B* 743. Mundi lacking *M* 745. Sstella *B* 751. salvatorei *M*  
753. mergastulo *corr.* in ergastulo *B* Sub-title, lacking *M* 754. [O], *guide to*  
*rubricator* 'o' *B* 756. Hispanem *M*

739. *palpavit, tasta* Gallice *B*  
740. *totum*, totum fecit et sanum *B*  
741. *ferens*, illa *B*  
743. *naufragantes*, periclitantes *B*  
745. *Stella*, O *B*  
746. *Captivorum*, in peccatis *B*  
748. *vite*, in gloria eterna *B*  
749. *agone*, certamine *B*; *spes*, tu *B*  
751. *vicem*, vicissitudinem *B*  
752. *tuos*, qui tibi serviunt *B*  
753. *in ergastulo*, in inferno *B*  
755. *Anglicani*, persuasio est ad prelatos ecclesie *B*  
757. *Stelle*, Marie [*MS* marea] *B*; *mira* -cula *B*  
758. *Opus breve*, summam [*MS* sumum] *B*

52. DE PUERO GENITO IN NOCTE PASCHALI QUEM  
MATER DEDIT DYABOLO

- 760 Nocte quidam in Pascali  
Inpulsu demoniali  
Uxorem congnoverat.  
Uxor rixans ad hunc actum,  
Quicquid ibi fuit factum
- 765 Demoni concesserat.
- Generatus est et natus  
Puer, gratus et amatus  
A cuntis videntibus.  
Rem cognoscit hic a matre,
- 770 Stimulatus mentis atre  
Inclusis doloribus.
- Papam hic et cardinales  
Audit et pontificales  
Sensus et consilia.
- 775 Ierusalem tandem petit,  
Fructum a prelato metit  
Et vite solacia.
- Pape prelatique cartam  
Defert, talem ob rem artam
- 780 Heremitam adiens.  
Sanctus preces heremita  
Fundit iuvenis pro vita,  
Misse sacrum faciens.

*Sub-title, lacking M* 760. *No rubric provided for; title is interpolated between lines,*  
*paragraph sign B* 763-764. *Lines transposed B, rixas M, f̄ ibi M* 769. *cognoscit M*  
774. *consilio M* 775. *tandem corr. B* 778. *cartas M* 779. *ob rem talem*  
*artas M*

761. *Inpulsu*, per *inpulsum* et *instigationem B*  
763. *rixans*, *contradicens B*; *actum*, *venereatum B*  
770. *Stimulatus*, *coactus B*; *atre*, *angustiate B*  
771. *Inclusis*, per *-sos B*; *doloribus*, *-res B*  
774. *consilia*, *pontificum B*  
776. *Fructum*, *fructuosum consilium B*; *prelato*, *Ierosolimitano B*  
779. *talem*, *quod petens Ierusalem B*; *artam*, *strictam B*  
780. *adiens*, *petens B*  
783. *sacrum*, *officium B*

785 Inter ipsum et altare  
Hostis ausus est raptare  
In infernum puerum.  
Hunc Maria revocavit,  
Et gaudentem reportavit  
Sanctum ad presbiterum.

790 Heremita iocundatur,  
Sanctus presul gratulatur,  
Papa plausu iubilat.  
Redit puer ad parentes,  
Viso nato congaudentes,  
795 Set infernus ululat.

## 53. DE IUDEO QUI PERCUSSIT YMAGINEM CHRISTI

800 Formam Ihesu vulneravit  
Iudeus, que sanguinavit  
In urbe Bisansii.  
Captus est, set credit ille  
Dum cruoris manant stille  
Virginalis filii.

805 Scriptum legi, deviantes  
Hec in silvis et sperantes  
In se regit previa.  
Aufert hec incarceratos,  
Et a nexu liberatos  
Collocat in patria.

792. plausu *M*      *Sub-title, lacking M*      796. [F]ormam, *guide to rubricator 'F B,*  
wlneravit *M*      797. saguinavit *M*      798. Bisancii *M*      802. *Paragraph sign BM*  
805. *Paragraph sign B*

790. *iocundatur*, quando puer respondit: Amen *B*

791. *presul*, Ierusalem *B*

796. *Ihesu*, in gremio matris *B*

797. *que*, forma *B*

798. *Bisansii*, Constantino . . . est adiectivum con . . . [*margin is trimmed here*] *marg. B*

799. *credit*, et baptizatus fuit *B*

800. *cruoris*, a pectore ymaginis *B*

801. *Virginalis filii*, filii virginis *B*

802. *deviantes*, inter spiritualia sunt miseralia *B*

803. *Hec*, Maria *B*

805. *hec*, Maria *B*

QUOMODO BEATA VIRGO MARIA SUPERAT OMNIA  
MUNDI PRECIOSA

- 810 Ave, gemma preciosa,  
Virtuosa, luminosa,  
Saphiros exsuperans.  
Iaspis tibi comparata  
Hebes et discolorata  
Erit et degenerans.
- 815 Omnem vincit vim gemmarum,  
Omnis cedit vis herbarum  
Illius imperio.  
Velit ergo subvenire  
Nobis et nos expolire,  
Rudes celi solio.
- 820 In hiis ridmis quasi cannis  
Stridulis planctum Iohannis  
Audi de Garlandia.  
Si tu tamen audis bonos  
Quo me vertam tibi, pronos,  
825 Fragiles irradiā.

54. DE PICTORE QUI DIABOLUM TURPEM DEPINXIT

- Sathaneam yconiam  
Turpem pinxit et Mariam  
Pictor formosissimam.  
Hostis illi comminatur,  
830 Quia tantum deformatur  
Formam perturpissimam.

*Sub-title, lacking M* 808. [A]ve, *guide to rubricator 'a' B*, Que gemma sponsa *M*  
812. Ebes *M* 814. vicit *M* 816. imperio *M* 820. rithmis *M* 821. Tri-  
dulis *M*, plantam *M* 824. vertis *M* *Sub-title, lacking M* 826. [S]athaneam,  
*guide to rubricator 's' B*, Sathaniam *M* 830. Quia *corr. B*

811. *comparata*, equiparata *B*  
818. *expolire*, *feit[i]er* Gallice *B*  
819. *Rudes*, nos [*MS vos*] *B*  
821. *Stridulis*, *ridmis* *B*  
822. *Audi*, *beata virgo* *B*  
825. *irradiā*, *clarifica* *B*  
829. *illi*, *pictori* *B*

140

*The Stella Maris of John of Garland*

Post hec furtim tabulatum,  
In quo suum pictor statum  
Fecit, hostis diruit.

835

Retinere set ymago  
Hunc est visa, ut virago  
Que viro non defuit.

840

Multi factum audientes  
Et videntes et scandentes  
Novis assunt cratibus.  
A lacerto dependentem  
Virginali et ridentem  
Factis sumunt gradibus.

## QUOD VIRGO OMNES SIBI DEVOTOS RECIPIT

845

Audit cetus laicales,  
Audit turmas clericales,  
Pauperes et divites.  
Omnem sexum hec exaudit,  
Nec etatem hec obaudit,  
Attollens precipites.

55. DE MILITE QUI VOVERAT FACERE ECCLESIAM  
VIRGINI

850

Quidam miles vixit male,  
Templum tamen monacale  
Se facturum voverat.  
Ante factum infirmatur,  
Ante Deum ventilatur

855

Quod in vita fecerat.

832. *furtum corr. furtim B*    833. *pictor suum M*    837. *non viro M*    *Sub-title, lacking M*    844. [A]Vdit, *guide to rubricator 'a' B*    *Sub-title, lacking M*    850. [Q]uidam, *guide to rubricator 'q' B*, *iunxit M*    851. *monachale M*    855. *Quem corr. Quod B*

836. *virago, fortissima mulier B*, *virago quasi de 'viro acta' marg. B*

843. *sumunt, ipsi B*

845. *clericales, -orum B*

848. *Nec . . . obaudit, non male B*

849. *precipites, senes B*, *precipitantes in peccato mortali B*

851. *Templum, in honore virginis beate B*

853. *Ante, -quam fecit templum B*

860 Propter votum cucullata,  
Mens in celis est allata  
Dei matris precibus.  
Voluntatem acceptavit  
Deus et hanc compensavit  
Pro bonis operibus.

56. DE SCOLARE LIBERATO A PESTE

865 Scolas adit vir scholaris,  
Tollit hunc vis procellaris  
Areptum in aera.  
Cantat 'Ave maris stella,'  
Et dimittit hunc procella  
Mente sanum libera.

57. DE PUERO LIBERATO A FENERATORE

870 Quedam fuit generosa  
Propter natum luctuosa,  
Vadem pro pecunia.  
Nimis hec depauperata,  
Est Mariam deprecata  
Ad nati presidia.

875 Hunc custodit fenerator  
In catenis, coartator,  
Set puer educitur.  
Ducit illum celi porta,  
Ad salutem nostram orta,  
Qua mundus redimitur.

857. celum *M*    861. nobis *M*    *Sub-title, lacking M*    862. [S]colas, *guide to rubricator 's' B, scholaris corr. B*    866. dimisit *M*    *Sub-title, lacking M*    868. [Q]Vedam, *guide to rubricator 'q' B, Cuedam M*    870. Vade *M*    871. Nimis *corr. M*    873. subsidia *M*    875. cathenis *M*

856. *cucullata, covele B*

857. *Mens, anima B*

859. *acceptavit, agreea Gallice B*

863. *vis, violentia B; procellaris, procelle B*

867. *sanum, illum B*

870. *Vadem, fideiussorem B; Gallia, apud Corbi B*

876. *puer, per Mariam B*

878. *orta, porta B*

142 *The Stella Maris of John of Garland*

880 Orta stirpe de regali,  
Fulget dote naturali,  
Spiritali predata.  
Non est parem habitura,  
Per quam nostra iam natura  
885 Ditior est habita.

58. DE MIRACULO FACTO BISANCII DE FESTIVITATE  
SABATI

Primo fuit conservata  
Stelle maris et callata  
Illi dies septima.  
Quondam urbs Bisanciana  
890 Hanc colebat fide cana,  
Mente devotissima.

Hic ymago velabatur,  
Velum per se tollebatur  
Sacrum sexta feria.  
895 Hora nona sabatali,  
Tecto vultu virginali,  
Admiratur Grecia.

Virgo suo cedit nato,  
Festo nati celebrato  
900 In die dominica.  
Saltem colunt hanc a nona  
Qui spem habent ut corona  
Detur illis celita.

*Sub-title, lacking M*  
et callata] condonata *M*

886. [P]Rimo, *guide to rubricator* 'p' *B*  
892. *velebatur corr. velabatur M*

887. *Stella corr. B,*  
896. *Tota M*

882. *Spiritali, dote B*

883. *Non est, ipsa B*

884. *natura, humana B*

887. *callata, et specialiter data B*

888. *septima, sabbati B*

889. *Bisanciana, Constantinopolis B*

890. *cana, perfecta B*

892. *Hic, in urbe Bysancii B; ymago, Maria B*

893. *per se, sine auxilio; tollebatur, quod erat circa ymaginem B*

894. *sexta, die Veneris circa horam nonam, scilicet in sabbato B*

901. *colunt, ipsi B; hanc, diem B*

59. DE FREDERICO A PARMENSIBUS SUPERATO ET QUO  
TEMPORE FACTUS EST LIBER ISTE

- 905 Dum Parmenses invaserunt  
Fredericum, detulerunt  
Virginis ymaginem.  
Fugit victus et vincentes  
Intulerunt, non parcentes  
Stragem miserabilem.
- 910 Ista mira quando scripsi,  
Tunc scripture favet isti  
Studium Parisius.  
Hoc magister tunc Galterus  
Pie rexit, prudens erus,
- 915 Pius cancellarius.

INTRODUCUNTUR PER PROSOPOPEYAM SUPERIORA  
BEATAM VIRGINEM COMMENDARE ET EIUS  
FILIAM PER DIVINAM POTENTIAM

- Hic si mundus posset fari,  
Pars cum toto venerari  
Unam non sufficeret.  
Artifex qui me firmavit  
920 In hac sese humanavit  
Firmamentum diceret.

*Sub-title, lacking M* 904. [D]um, *guide to rubricator 'd' B*, Parmenses *B* 905. et  
tulerunt *M* 908. non] in *M* 909. Stragemen *M* 911. Tunc] Sunt *M*, favet  
*corr.* *B* 913. magistri *M*, Walterus *M* 914. herus *M* *Sub-title, lacking M*,  
*in margin B* 916. *No rubric provided for, paragraph sign BM*, passit *B* 918-919.  
*Space between lines for insertion of sub-title B* 919. [A]rtifex, *guide to rubricator 'a'*  
*B, no rubric M*, formavit *M*

904. *Parmenses*, cives Parme *B*  
906. *yminem*, in bellum, in loco vexilli *B*, in Quadragesimo fuit *margin B*  
907. *victus*, ipse *B*; *vincentes*, illi Parmenses *B*  
909. *Stragem*, mortem *B*  
913. Quo tempore hoc fuit ostendit per personam autenticam *margin B*; *Hoc*,  
studium *B*  
918. *Unam*, solam virginem *B*  
919. *firmavit*, stabilivit in continuo motu *B*  
920. *hac*, virgine *B*, *humanavit*, humanum fecit *B*  
921. *diceret*, proferret [*Vulg., Psal., 17, 3*] *B*

- Motor meus inspiravit  
 Hanc et ex se fecundavit  
 Qui comprehendit omnia,  
 925 Dividendo cristallinas  
 Aquas, vires per divinas  
 Sumtenendo media.
- Aquas hic qui congelavit  
 Ubi numquam ventus flavit  
 930 Homo nasci potuit.  
 Hic creator creatura,  
 Creatoris servans iura  
 Hominem dum induit.
- Nimpham Deus obumbravit,  
 935 Et eandem inflammavit  
 Igne sancti spiritus.  
 Hic qui celum sublimavit  
 Aulam ventris adornavit  
 Virginalis celitus.
- 940 Caro Deum palliavit  
 Quem victorem clipeavit  
 Ad insultus hostium.  
 Christi caro, sancta, cara,  
 Deiecit in crucis ara  
 945 Demonis dominium.

922. 'M' is rubric M, mens M 928. congellavit M 929. nusquam M 931. Space provided for rubric by scribe who copied MS and guide to rubricator 'h'; another has added 'H' in black ink as corr. B, Hic] Sic M, creatura creator corr. creator creatura M 932. Creaturis M 934. inflammavit M 935. obumbravit M 938. adoravit M 941. clipiavit M 943. sacra deleted following sancta B 945. demonium B

922. *Motor*, firmamentum dicit qui movet me B  
 923. *Hanc*, Mariam B; *fecundavit*, fecit fecundam B  
 924. *Qui*, ille B  
 925. *cristallinas*, ab aquis amplioribus [Vulg., *Gen.*, 1, 6] B  
 928. *hic*, Deus B  
 931. *creatura*, Maria B  
 934. *Nimpham*, virginem Mariam B  
 935. *inflammavit*, spiritu sancto B  
 936. *Igne*, amore B  
 940. *palliavit*, textit B  
 941. *Quem*, Deum B; *victorem*, tertia die qui sursum vivit B  
 942. *Ad*, contra B; *hostium*, malignorum spirituum B  
 944. *ara*, sanctitate B  
 945. *Demonis*, Luciferi B

## ADAPTATUR ORDO PLANETARUM VIRGINI MARIE \*

Splendor stupet Saturnalis,  
 Cuius cursus planetalis  
 Est Iove sublimior.  
 Admiratur Iovis stella  
 950 Quod puella, Dei cella,  
 Est stellis serenior.

Luce sua rubicundus  
 Vultu velut iracundus,  
 Rose Mars obtemperat.  
 955 Cedit matri creatoris  
 Sol, estivi fons caloris,  
 Quo ver flores generat.

Venus, mater venustatis,  
 Stupet de maternitatis  
 960 Dotibus in virgine.  
 Ridet lux Mercurialis  
 Quod fert fructum virginalis  
 Venter sine semine.

*Sub-title, lacking M, in margin B* 946. *No rubric provided for B, paragraph sign M*  
 953. *Wltu B, velud M* 960. *virgine corr. B*

949. *Iovis, secundus planeta B*

950. *puella, Maria B; cella, domus Dei B*

954. *obtemperat, favet B*

957. *Quo, sole B*

958. *venustatis, nobilitatis B*

960. *Dotibus, donis B, hee sunt dotes hominis glorificati sicut habentur in Libro magistri Iohannis elegiarum [an unidentified work of John of Garland]:*

Corpora sanctorum fulgebunt; fortia, sana,

Libera, pulcra, cita letaque semper erunt.

Sensus, amicitia, concordia, plena potestas,

Pax, honor: hee dotes sex animabus erunt *top of folio B*

961. *Mercurialis, -curii B*

\*[cf. *Epithalamium beate Marie virginis* of John of Garland, *MS British Museum Cotton Claudius A x*, fol. 46, Virgo comparatur regioni stellarum:

Mira planetarum simphonia pasceret aures,

Si cui transiret ad cor ab aure melos.

Non minus excipitur a nostris motibus alta

Regia virgo Dei, sole serena suo.]

- 965 Solis lumen habens luna  
Admiratur quod lux una  
Solem novum pariat.  
Luna crescit et decrescit,  
Set eclipsim illa nescit  
Lux que circumradiat.
- 970 Corpus est glorificatum  
Nostris quod materiatum  
Elementis fuerat.  
Nunc in terra, nunc in celo  
Per momentum pio zelo
- 975 Suos hec remunerat.

QUOD DISPOSITIONES STELLARUM AD LAUDEM  
VIRGINIS ORDINANTUR ET QUOD EAM  
ET FILIUM SUUM DESIGNANT

Ut Albumasar testatur,  
Inter stellas declaratur  
Virgo lactans puerum.

965. quo B lacking M    967. 'L' is rubric M    968. Et M    970. est] que M    Sub-title,  
976. [U]t, guide to rubricator 'u' B, Quod albumas aitestatur M

964. *luna*, luna non habet aliquam lucem nisi a sole *margin.* B  
965. *lux una*, stella, Maria B  
966. *Solem*, a quo lumen habet B  
967. *Luna*, lux B; *decrescit*, quantum ad lucem B  
968. *illa*, lux, Maria B  
969. *circumradiat*, splendet in circuitu B  
970. *Corpus*, Marie B; *glorificatum*, immortale factum B  
971. *quod*, corpus B  
972. *Elementis*, nostris B  
973. *Nunc*, aliquando B; *nunc*, ali[a]s existens B  
974. *zelo*, amore B  
975. *remunerat*, dat, munerat B  
976. *Albumasar*, ille astronomus B, Albumasar in capitulo ii [MS i], vi liber, *De naturis signorum*: Et que forme stellarum oriuntur per singulos decanos cuiuslibet signi: Dicit Virgo signum sterile est, bipartitum, triforme, in cuius primo decano, ut Perse, Caldei, et Egiptii omniumque duces, Hermes et Astalius, a prima etate docent, puella cui Persicum nomen 'seclios die zama' [sic], Arabice interpretatum 'adre nedefa' ['*adbra' nadifab*], id est virgo munda, puella dico virgo immaculata, corpore decora, wltu venusta, habitu modesta, crine proluxa, manu geminas aristas tenens, supra solium auleatum residens, puerum nutriens ac in se pascens in loco cui nomen Hebrea, puerum inquam a quibusdam nationibus nominatum 'Ihesum' signantibus ita, 'Eliza' ['*isā*], quem nos Greece 'Christum'

980                   Stellis lux ingremiatur  
                       Per quam homo designatur  
                       Moderator syderum.

                      Mundi parent elementa,  
                       Et in hiis que sunt contenta  
                       Angelorum domine.  
 985                   Hec in stellis figuratur,  
                       Supra stellas coronatur  
                       In Tronorum ordine.

DE FESTIS GLORIOSE VIRGINIS SECUNDUM ANNI  
 TEMPORA ET DE EIUS MAGNIFICENTIA  
 USQUE AD FINEM LIBRI

                      Annum stipant floris festa,  
                       Cuius gesta sunt digesta  
 990                   Per orbis capedinem.  
                       Cuius vernat ver decore,  
                       Flos conceptus est a flore  
                       Per Verbi dulcedinem.

                      Est assumptus ab hoc mundo  
 995                   In Augusto flos fecundo  
                       Ad celi pallatia.

981. siderum *M*      982. 'M' is rubric *M*      984. domine corr. *M*      986. Super *M*  
 987. Thronorum *M*      Sub-title, lacking *M*, inserted vertically between columns *B*  
 988. No rubric provided for, paragraph sign *B*, no rubric *M*      989. Quorum *M*  
 996. palatia *M*

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dicimus [*Introductorium in astronomiam* (Venice, 1506), VI, 2, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. Cf. Roger Bacon, *Metaphysica* (ed. Robert Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita*, fasc. 1, Oxford, 1905), pp. 8–9 and 46] bottom of folio *B*

979. *ingremiatur*, ponitur in gremio *B*  
 980. *quam*, lucem *B*; *designatur*, celis, scilicet esse *B*  
 981. *Moderator*, moderator et creator *B*  
 983. *hiis*, elementis *B*  
 984. *domine*, Marie *B*  
 987. *ordine*, arcangelorum *B*  
 988. *stipant*, suppodiant *B*; *festa*, Marie *B*  
 989. *Cuius*, festi *B*; *gesta*, facta *B*; *digesta*, divisa *B*  
 990. *capedinem*, capacitatem *B*  
 991. *Cuius*, floris *B*  
 992. *Flos*, Christus *B*; *flore*, Maria *B*  
 993. *dulcedinem*, per salvationem *B*  
 995. *flos*, virgo Maria *B*

148

*The Stella Maris of John of Garland*

In Septembri flos est natus,  
In Decembri generatus  
Ad humana gaudia.

1000

Ignem aque qui ligavit,  
Terram qui confederavit  
Aura cum aerea,  
Conchatenat virginale  
Decus et ius maternale  
1005 Stabili concordia.

QUOMODO MARIA CONCEPIT FILIUM DEI DE  
SPIRITU SANCTO

1010 Qui producit de thesauris  
Suis ventos, flores auris  
Vernos pinget levibus.  
O Rector, qui cuntos cernis,  
Ventos claudis in cavernis,  
Movens terram flatibus.

1015 Ad impulsum dum ventorum,  
Ether inflamatur horum,  
Pium fulgur emicat.  
Ether inflammatus tonat,  
Dum in cana nube sonat,  
Dum cum aqua dimicat.

1020 Ascendente nix vapore  
Formam capit ex torpore  
Venti flantis gelidi.  
Si descendat nimbi stilla,  
Grando sepe viget illa  
Venti flatu frigididi.

1000. Paragraph sign M, Igne M 1001. Terra M 1003. Concatenat M  
1004. matronale M Sub-title, lacking M, inserted between columns B 1006. Lines  
1006-1029 are lacking, but sign following l. 1005 indicates proposed insertion B 1009.  
'O' is rubric M 1012. 'A' is rubric M 1015. 'E' is rubric M, Eether M 1018.  
'A' is rubric M 1020. gelididi M 1021. 'S' is rubric M

997. natus, Maria B  
1001. confederavit, consociavit B  
1003. Conchatenat, conligat B

1025 De thesauro deitatis  
Spirat flatus puritatis,  
Futuorum prescius.  
Flavit auster, sacer flatus,  
Per quem fuit humanatus  
Dei patris filius.

1030 Mater veri salvatoris,  
Laudem sumas peccatoris,  
Preces non repudians.  
Est cum matre bonus Deus,  
Post hos homo, lapsus reus,  
1035 Plus vel minus devians.

## INCIPE SEQUENTIAM HIC

Virgo Deum, rosa rosam  
Speciosa speciosam  
Concipit angelicam.  
Rosa rose maritatur,  
1040 Mundi rosa decoratur  
Plus per rosam celitam.

Hanc iuncturam admiratur  
Et in illa speculatur  
Tota celi curia.  
1045 Rosa rosam sibi pingit  
In qua decor omnis ningit,  
Decens supra lilia.

Chori novem organizant,  
Cunta celi citharizant  
1050 Matris laudes organa.

1024. 'D' is rubric M Sub-title, lacking M, inserted between columns in hand of gloss  
B 1036. No rubric provided for, paragraph sign B, 'V' is rubric M 1041. Inserted  
in margin M 1043. illam corr. illa B 1044. celica corr. curia M

1032. *repudians*, *repellens* B

1033. *bonus Deus*, *immo summum bonum* B

1039. *Rosa*, *Deus B*; *rose*, *Marie quando assumit humanitatem* B

1040. *decoratur*, *pulcrior sit* B

1041. *per rosam celitam*, *per filium Dei* B

1045. *Rosa*, *filius Dei B*; *rosam*, *Mariam B*; *pingit*, *adornat* B

1046. *qua*, *rosa B*; *decor*, *corporis et anime B*; *ningit*, *habundat de celo, candida*  
*apparet* B

1047. *Decens*, *ille* B

1048. *Chori*, *angelorum* B

150

*The Stella Maris of John of Garland*

Hanc in terris cordis corde,  
Hanc sublimant toto corde  
Labiorum timpana.

1055

Arcu celi figuratur,  
Quia sole serenatur,  
Carnis nubem offerens.  
Sacer flatus madet rore  
Solem suum, in decore  
Velut yris referens.

1060

Deus unus incarnatur,  
Trinitas hic operatur:  
Pater per potentiam,  
Inspiratu sacer flatus,  
Per illustrem Dei natus  
Suam sapientiam.

1065

Verum student commendare  
Sacrum partum stelle clare  
Genitor et filius.  
Flatus, auris, et legatus  
Qui per patrem est affatus  
Virginem secretius.

1070

1053. *Sequence is concluded with this line* 1054. 'A' is rubric M 1056. *Carnis*  
*corr. B* 1059. *Velum iris M* 1060. *Reus M* 1063. *Inspiratum M* 1066.  
*Quemque audunt M* 1069. *lagatus M*

1051. *corde, hec corda, id est arterie cordis B*

1053. *timpana, implementa exteriora B*

1054. *figuratur, ipsa B*

1055. *sole, filio B; serenatur, clarificatur B*

1056. *Carnis, habitati B; nubem, tegimen carnis B*

1057. *madet, ipsa B*

1058. *Solem, filium Dei B*

1059. *yris, arcus celi B; referens, representans, representat solem B*

1060. *incarnatur, quamvis ut tres persone B*

1061. *Trinitas hic, incarnatione B*

1063. *Inspiratu, inspiratione B; sacer flatus, spiritus sanctus B*

1064. *natus, filius B*

1066. *Verum, -re [MS res] B; commendare, ad commendationem convenire B*

1067. *stelle, Marie B*

1068. *Genitor, per sapientiam vel potentiam B; filius, per incarnationem B*

1069. *Flatus, spiritus sanctus B; auris, obedientia; legatus, Gabriel arcangelus B*

1070. *patrem, autoritatem B*

1071. *secretius, in secreto loco, scilicet in thalamo B*

- Neupma nimfam inspiravit,  
Dum se natus humanavit  
Auris obediverat.
- 1075 Quam legatus salutavit  
Hanc ad partum animavit,  
Hec assensum dederat.
- Hic est amor relativus,  
Idem est demonstrativus  
Divine dulcedinis.
- 1080 Quod vult virgo, vult et natus  
Matri nec est adversatus  
Ad salutem hominis.
- Tota fuit pietate  
Omni fulta sanitate,  
Salus confidentibus.
- 1085 Nulli manet hec ingrata,  
Cuntis bonum operata  
Illam venerantibus.
- Ore, manu, mente detur  
Illi laus, et perhennetur  
Omnis reverentia.
- 1090 Floris cultu mens florescit,  
Os cum manu revirescit  
Floris ad obsequia.
- 1095

1072. Neuma *corr.* Neupma *B*, nipham *M* 1073. Se dum *M* 1076. portum *M*  
1082. conversatus, adversatus *alternate reading M* 1083. *Inserted in margin B*  
1085. sanctitate *B* 1087. namet *M* 1090. datur *corr.* detur *M* 1093. mens  
*corr. M*

1072. *Neupma*, spiritus sanctus *B*  
1074. *Auris*, obedientia *B*  
1075. *legatus*, lictorus *B*; *salutavit*, Mariam, ne timeas Maria [Vulg. *Luc.*, 1, 30] *B*  
1076. *animavit*, *acoraga* Gallice *B*  
1078. *Hic*, incarnatione, et in Christo et in virgine Maria *B*; *relativus*, mutuus *B*  
1079. *demonstrativus*, alludit grammaticae *B*  
1082. *adversatus*, ipse *B*  
1084. *fuit*, ipsa *B*  
1085. *fulta*, roborata *B*  
1086. *Salus*, illa *B*  
1090. *Ore*, verbis *B*; *manu*, opere *B*; *mente*, cogitatione *B*  
1091. *perhennetur*, perhennitur, extunditur *B*  
1093. *cultu*, per honorem *B*  
1094. *Os*, sermo *B*  
1095. *Floris*, Marie *B*

## 60. DE THEOPHILO

- Dignitatem presularem  
 Et honorem secularem  
 Affectat Theofilus.  
 Illum, spreta fide Dei,  
 1100 Sibi ligat Sathanei  
 Blandimenti sibilus.
- Set vir orat et perorat,  
 Pietatem dum inplorat  
 Virginis nectaream.  
 1105 Aufert illa servitutis  
 Hosti cartam et salutis  
 Viro reddit lauream.

61. DE CLERICO SUSPENSO QUEM BEATA VIRGO  
 LIBERAVIT

- Hec latronem liberavit,  
 Et suspensum supportavit  
 1110 Et fovit per triduum,  
 Quia dixit illud Ave,  
 Dulce verbum et suave,  
 Sanctum et mellifuum.
- Quamvis penam renovarent,  
 1115 Et plus guttur laquearent  
 Ministri suspendii,  
 Liber cepit monacari

*Sub-title, lacking M* 1096. [D]ignitatem, *guide to rubricator* 'd' B 1098. Theophilus M 1100. legat B, Sathaney M 1107. Virgo M *Sub-title, lacking M*  
 1108. [H]ec, *guide to rubricator* 'h' B 1109. subportavit M 1115. plus guttur] *illegible M* 1117. monachari M

1096. *Dignitatem*, ecclesie, B; *presularem*, -lis B  
 1100. *legat*, obligat B; *Sathanei*, Satene B  
 1101. *Blandimenti*, fallacie B; *sibilus*, deceptio B  
 1102. *perorat*, fecit propositum B  
 1104. *nectaream*, dulcem B  
 1106. *salutis*, quam ipse amiserat B  
 1107. *Viro*, Theofilo B; *lauream*, coronam B  
 1110. *per triduum*, tres dies B  
 1111. *Ave*, Maria gratia etc. B  
 1116. *Ministri suspendii*, sacelli prepositus B, hoc, viri B  
 1117. *Liber*, liberatus B

Et regine famulari  
Spe salutis gaudii.

- 1120 Oves ducis et reducis,  
Virgo, mater pii ducis  
Et pastoris ovium.  
Pia, furem convertisti  
Et suspensum dissolvisti  
1125 Ad vitam fidelium.

## CONCLUSIO OPERIS

- O Maria, dulcis, pia,  
Vite via, sponsa dia,  
Deitatis regia.  
Miserere, nos tuere,  
1130 Oves gere, remedere  
Egris, O pastoria.
- Tu vocaris singularis  
Stella maris, lux solaris,  
Portus, ratis anchora.  
1135 Flos decoris, ver viroris,  
Nux dulcoris, vas honoris,  
Castitatis camphora.

1119. celestis *M* 1121. pie *B* 1124. dissolvisti *M* *Sub-title, lacking M*  
1126. [O], *guide to rubricator* 'o' *B*, ducis *B* 1134. navis *M*, ancora *M*

1118. *regine, celi B*

1120. *Oves, fideles ecclesie B*

1123. *Pia, tu B*

1126. *Maria, tu B*

1127. *dia, divina B*

1128. *regia, aula B*

1130. *gere, sustine B*

1132. *singularis, unica B*

1133. *lux, data a filio B*

1134. *anchora, tenens ecclesiam B*

1135. *Flos, tu B*

1137. *camphora*, species aromatica, est gummi cuiusdam arboris valens homini, *fennel*, unde versus: Camphora per nares castat odore nares; camphora, scilicet redolentia *B*;

Insita vis rebus, bonitas, virtus rediviva,  
Complex complexio, Deus et homo, natura vocatur,  
Camphora feniculis aqua sit coniuncta rosarum  
Vase latens eris, macule remedentur ocelle *top of folio B*

154

*The Stella Maris of John of Garland*

Tibi stilus inchoatur,

Tibi, virgo, finiatur

1140

Eius inchoatio.

Linter portu defigatur

Que per mare naufragatur

Ventorum litigio.

1145

Mare res est honerosa,

Venti plebs litigiosa,

Linter est ingenium.

Res onustat lintrem gravis,

Plebs inpugnat verbis pravis

Studia dictantium.

1150

Mens non potest meditari,

Lingue laudem preconari

Marie deficiunt.

Si camenam ars amenat,

Si mens Deo philomenat,

1155

Hec duo sufficiunt.

Explicit liber magistri Iohannis de Garlandia de miraculis beate virginis.

1142. naufragatur *B*    1147. honustat *M*    1148. inpugnat *M*    1150. mendicari  
*B*    1153. Si camenam *corr. M*    Colophon, lacking *B*

1138. *stilus*, qualita[s] carminis *B*

1140. *Eius*, filii *B*

1141. *Linter*, hec, id est navis *B*; *portu*, fine *B*

1142. *Que*, linter *B*; *mare*, materia[m] *B*

1143. *litigio*, rabie *B*

1144. *Mare*, gravis materia *B*

1145. *Venti*, sunt *B*

1147. *Res*, materia *B*; *onustat*, gravat *B*; *lintrem*, ingenium *B*

1148. *verbis pravis*, detractionibus *B*

1149. *Studia*, opera *B*

1151. *preconari*, denuntiare *B*

1153. *camenam*, musam *B*; *ars*, poetica *B*

1154. *philomenat*, cantat Deo *B*

1155. Cum vox vitam non remordet, dulcis est simphonia *B*

## IV

### NOTES ON THE LEGENDS

#### I. MILK: TONGUE AND LIPS RESTORED

A CERTAIN worldly clerk was accustomed, upon entering any church whatsoever, to repeat besides the *Ave Maria*, also *Beatus venter, qui te portavit, Christe, et beata ubera que te lactaverunt, etc.* Once he became so desperately ill that he devoured his own tongue and lips in delirium. As he lay unconscious, he saw his guardian angel at the head of his bed, beseeching the Virgin in his behalf. The angel accused her of neglecting her servant whose tongue had scarcely known how to utter any except her praise. The Virgin came to the sick man then in haste, as if to compensate for her thoughtlessness, and thrusting her breast into his mouth, healed him, so that he rose up whole and well. He abandoned his worldly life and lived in the service of the Virgin. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593, fols. 141-142<sup>v</sup>.*

John of Garland's legend is only one form of the popular 'Milk' cycle. The large number of legends employing this theme may be divided into four groups:

I. Monk Laid Out as Dead. In this form the tale is one of the *TS* series, appearing most commonly in English or Anglo-Norman collections,

A devout monk who besides the canonical hours sang the praises of the Virgin was about to die with a disease of the mouth and throat. The brothers were administering the last rites when the Virgin healed him with her milk.

Latin. Dexter, pp. 54-57 (34). Gil de Zamora in *Boletin*, VII, 110-111 (29). Kjellman, pp. 175-176 (39). Neuhaus, *Die Quellen*, pp. 32-36; *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 63-65. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 36-39 (30).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 66-72. Kjellman, pp. 176-180 (39).

French. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 126-128.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 79-80 (54).

English. Horstman, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, pp. 164-166.

II. Fulbert of Chartres. The second version is Norman or Anglo-Norman in origin,

Fulbert [bishop of Chartres, 1006-1028] caused the nativity of the Virgin to be celebrated in France. Once when he lay at death's door, the Virgin healed him by pouring three drops of her milk in his face.

Latin. Isnard, p. 54 (13). Kjellman, pp. 171-172 (38).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 130-135 (21). Kjellman, pp. 172-174 (38).

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 19-20 (7).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 724-725 (77).

III. Tongue and Lips Restored. In the third version, summarized above as the original of John of Garland's verses, the 'Milk' cycle has joined hands with

another in which the Virgin restores parts of the body that have been lost. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, this version is associated only with collections made in northern France.

Latin. Pseudo-Celestine, p. 201 (3). Gobijs, no. 6. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 32. Isnard, pp. 38-40 (5). Kjellman, p. 308 (4). *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), pp. 448-449 (2). Pelbart, I, pt. iv, art. 2, ch. 4. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (84).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 339-346. Kjellman, pp. 308-309 (4). Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 107-108.

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 18-19 (5).

German. Johannes Bolte in *Alemannia*, XVII (1889), 17-18 (31).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 767-769.

IV. Twenty-three Plants in Flower. The 'Vision of Paradise' motive has been added to 'Monk Laid Out as Dead.' Like the latter, the anecdote is English in origin.

Latin. Kjellman, pp. 240-244 (58).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 27-37 (6). Everard de Gateley in *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 37-44. Kjellman, pp. 245-253 (58).

## 2. ABBESS: BISHOP COMES UNEXPECTEDLY

An abbess administered a community with such strictness that the nuns became envious and hateful. When she committed adultery with her steward, they accused her to the bishop. The prelate arrived at the monastery unannounced. The abbess threw herself upon the floor of her chapel and continued in tears of remorse and prayer until she slept. The Virgin then delivered the child and committed him to two angels to be carried to a hermit in the vicinity. When the bishop was about to expel the accusing nuns, the abbess related the miracle. Clerks sent to the hermit reported that a child had been brought by two youths. He succeeded the bishop in his see. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 193<sup>v</sup>-195<sup>v</sup>.

There are two chief versions of the 'Abbess' legend, one associated with northern France and the other with England:

I. Bishop Comes Unexpectedly. The anecdote belongs to the Pez collection, although it is not one of those legends included in the oldest series, *HM* or *TS*. It originated in northern France.

Latin. Étienne de Bourbon, pp. 114-115 (135). Gil de Zamora in *Boletin*, VII, 69-73 (4). Gobijs, no. 11. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 24. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 71 (42). Isnard, pp. 40-42 (6). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 51-55 (36). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (86). Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 3 (1). Henmann of Bologna, *Viaticum narrationum*, pp. 73-74 (50). Arnold of Liège, *Alphabetum narrationum* in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXVIII (1907), 74-75. Wright, *Latin Stories*, pp. 38-40 (38).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Ulrich in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VI (1882), 334-339 (2). Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 44-46 (50), 73-75 (70); ed. Laborde, pp. 189-190 (50), 218-221 (70). Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 314-330. Långfors, *Notices et extraits*, XXXIX<sup>a</sup> (1916), 558-565. Legrand d'Aussy, V, 48-52, and *Appendix*, pp. 1-6.

English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, pp. 11-12 (13). Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 349-350 (5).

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, viii (1879), 20-22 (8).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 14-15 (7). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 120-136 (21).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 121-126; II, 900-904.

Ethiopian. Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, pp. 38-40 (25), 68-71 (25); *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 75-78 (25).

II. Confidence Betrayed. The first seems to be the original version and the second, a more dramatic redaction originating in England,

The abbess chooses one of her nuns, makes her stewardess, and reveals her plight. Her confidant tells the archdeacon, and he reports it to the bishop. The child is carried to a certain spiritual mother. The abbess confesses when her accusers are about to be thrown into a fire built to consume her.

Latin. Herbert in *Romania*, xxxii (1903), 417-418. Kjellman, pp. 60-61 (13).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar, ed. Herbert in *Romania*, xxxii (1903), 418-421. Kjellman, pp. 62-67 (13).

English. John Small, *English Metrical Homilies* (Edinburgh, 1862), pp. 164-171.

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 37-38 (16).

### 3. JEWISH BOY: COVERED WITH HER CLOAK

A Jewish boy, the son of a glassblower in the East, was sent to learn his letters with Christian boys. On a feast day along with his companions, he partook of the body and the blood of Christ. Returning to his father's arms, he related what he had done. The horrified parent threw him into his glowing furnace, heaping in wood to make it hotter still. The mother, hearing of the deed, filled the city with her cries. When the Christian inhabitants appeared, they saw the boy sitting in the furnace 'as if on the softest feathers.' They seized the Jewish father and threw him into the flames. He was so completely consumed that there were scarcely any traces of him left. The child said that the woman whom he had seen in the church holding a little child in her arms had protected him with her cloak. He was baptized and many other Jews of that city with him. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491*, fols. 23-23<sup>v</sup>.

The legend of the Jewish boy appears in Latin collections in four chief versions:

I. Lady Dressed in Purple. The legend which gave rise to this first series was told in the East in the sixth century by the church historian Evagrius Scholasticus (d. before 601) as happening when Menas was patriarch of Constantinople (536-552):<sup>1</sup>

It was an ancient custom that the left-over communion bread should be given to the children of the primary schools. Among them was a Jewish glassblower's son who reported what he had done to his father. The mother was standing before the door of the workshop calling his name, when she heard his voice from the furnace. He said that a woman dressed in purple had come often, sprinkled the coals with water, and fed him. The father was crucified at the order of Justinian.

In several Latin versions clearly related to Evagrius Scholasticus, the father instead of being crucified or stoned to death, as is sometimes the case, is cast into his own furnace. Such a version is found among the miracles of Johannes

<sup>1</sup>Eugen Wolter, *Der Judenknabe* (Halle, 1879), pp. 28-29, prints this Greek text along with others.

Monachus, translated from the Greek in the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> The brief version printed by Wolter is clearly descended from Johannes Monachus.<sup>3</sup>

Greek. Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, IV, 36 (Turin, 1748), p. 377. Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiasticae historiae*, XVII, 25 (Paris, 1630), II, 72-73. *Acta sanctorum*, 25 August (Venice, 1754), p. 170.

Latin. Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici, anno 552*, x (Lucca, 1741), 82. Johannes Monachus, pp. 44-45 (5). Eugen Wolter, *Der Judenknabe* (Halle, 1914), p. 55 (15).

French. Hugh of Fleury, *Histoire ecclesiastique* (Paris, 1740), VII, 432-433.

II. Jewish Boy Baptized. The second redaction goes back also to a Greek original whose author is unknown. It, too, came to the western world through the medium of Johannes Monachus. His Latin version is substantially a translation of the Greek version printed by Wolter,<sup>4</sup>

Some Christian boys pasturing sheep in Lesser Armenia baptized a little Jew with water they had brought along. The incident became known to the parents by means of a particularly exquisite odor. They made a bargain with the Jewish keeper of the baths to burn him in the furnace. The bishop, finding the water cold, began to investigate, and when the doors of the furnace were opened, a boy came forth who said that he had been protected by a very beautiful lady. And everyone knew her to be the mother of God.

Greek. Anonymous, ed. Wolter, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38 (5).

Latin. Hilka, III, 159-160 (38); Meister, pp. 147-149 (18). Johannes Monachus, pp. 46-49 (6).

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 217-219 (59).

III. Covered With Her Cloak. The translations of Johannes Monachus gave the West two fresh versions of the anecdote, but long before it had been popularized there by the Merovingian bishop, Gregory of Tours. His narrative is nearer to Evagrius Scholasticus than to the second Greek source. The text of Agapios Landos, a monk of Crete in the seventeenth century, is a translation of Gregory of Tours. Gobius attributes his version of the tale to the *Mariale magnum*.

Greek. Agapios Landos, ed. Wolter, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35 (4).

Latin. Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, I, 9 (ed. Wilhelm Arndt and Bruno Krusch, *Gregorii Turonensis opera*, II [Hanover, 1885], 494). Paschasius Radbertus, *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*, Migne, P.L., cxx, 1298-1299. Floardus, *De triumphis Christi sanctorumque Palaestinae*, *ibid.*, cxxxv, 493-494. Sigibert of Gembloux, *Chronica, anno 552*, (ed. L. C. Bethmann, M.G.H., *Scriptores*, VI, Hanover, 1844), p. 317. Gobius, under *Corpus Christi*. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 70 (39). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXI (78). Anonymi in Wolter, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51 (11), 54 (14), and 57-59 (17).

French. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 101-102. Anonymi in Wolter, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-107 (22) and 108-114 (23).

English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, pp. 210-211 (308). Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 351-352 (7).

German. Bär, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 161-162 (22). Bolte in *Alemannia*, xvii (1889), 24 (45). Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 237-260 (25); 'Predigtmärlein,' *Germania*, III (1858), 430-431 (22).

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 156-157 (44).

<sup>2</sup> The work which Johannes Monachus translated is based in part on the *Pratum spirituale* of Johannes Moschos (c. 570-620).

<sup>3</sup> Theodor Pelizaeus, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Legende vom Judenknaben* (Halle, 1914), pp. 16-18, did not know the version as the work of Johannes Monachus.

<sup>4</sup> Wolter gives no date.

IV. Jew of Bourges. The naturalization of the tale in the West was completed when it was included in the Pez collection with a setting at Bourges. Here it is related on the authority of a monk of St. Nicholas of Clusa. The festival is Easter. The calling of the father has been forgotten as well as the reason for the boy's presence in the church. A picture of the Virgin over the altar seems to offer the eucharist to the child. In some versions it is the Virgin's sleeve which protects the boy, in others merely her clothing, and in still others no garment is mentioned. The treatment of the Jewish father is not always unsympathetic. He is sometimes converted. In the unprinted collection of St. Germain-des-Prés<sup>5</sup> the child preserves the bread in his mouth whole until he returns to his father, and then the miracle assumes the form of a Jew versus Christian dispute.

Latin.<sup>6</sup> Pseudo-Celestine, p. 200 (2). Dexter, pp. 32-33 (19). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vii, 68-69 (3). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 18. Hilka, iii, 147-148 (29); Meister, pp. 141-142 (13). Isnard, p. 38 (4). *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), pp. 515-516 (cxix, 5). Meyer in *Notices et extraits*, xxxvi (1899), 49-50. Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 10-12; *Die Quellen*, pp. 52-53. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 39-40 (31).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 18-27 (5). Wolter, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-122 (24).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 281-286. Isnard, pp. 313-314. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. Mussafia in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, ix (1885), 412-413.

English. Horstman, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, pp. 149-154.

German. Anton E. Schönbach, 'Bruchstück des Jüdel,' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xlvii (1903), 278-280. Karl Bartsch, 'Die Legende vom Judenknaben,' *Germania*, xxvii (1882), 130-135.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 6-7 (4). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 88-93 (16). Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, p. 495 (200).

Italian. Ulrich in *Romania*, xiii (1884), 54-55 (52).

Norse. *Mariú saga*, i, 71-72; ii, 989-990.

#### 4. SON RESTORED

The sterile wife of a certain knight came frequently to a monastery in France to beseech the Virgin for a child. A son born to her soon died of a fever. He was restored when she again visited the monastery. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 170-171.

A legend of the Pez collection, the tale is most frequently related in the collections of northern France.

Latin. Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vii, 79-81 (10). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 29-30 (24).

French. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 28-29 (31); ed. Laborde, p. 172 (31).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 32-33 (21).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 352-353 (8).

Norse. *Mariú saga*, ii, 977-979.

#### 5. DEVIL IN BEASTS' SHAPES

A sacristan, devoted to Mary, got dead drunk in the cellar of his monastery. As he was attempting to go through the cloister into the church, he saw the

<sup>5</sup> *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 133-133<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> In this list are some texts that have the characteristics of both the Gregory of Tours and the 'Bourges' redaction, and others so brief as to make a clear choice between one or the other classification impossible.

devil in the shape of a great bull. A maiden flourished a white handkerchief and ordered him away. Then as the monk approached the church, a dog with terrible teeth leaped at him. Again the girl came and drove the animal away. Once inside the church he faced a roaring lion ready to spring. This time the virgin beat the beast soundly and threatened to do worse. Taking the monk by the hand, she led him up to bed and tucked him in tenderly. In answer to his anxious questions, she told him that she was Mary, the mother of God. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 168-169.

The legend was, in all probability, suggested by an incident in the mediaeval biographies of St. Dunstan, how the devil appeared to him in the form of a bear, a dog, and a fox. Unsuccessful in his attempt to beat him with a stick, the saint drove him away with a psalm.<sup>7</sup> The story, transformed as a Mary legend, first appears in the *TS* series. The author of the middle English version of *MS Additional 39996*, fol. 70, uses the meager data supplied by John of Garland to weave a tale for which there is no precedent. There is a folk flavor in the power of the rod which the Virgin gives the monk,

A monk was followed by the devil, now transformed as a bull with big black hoofs, now a raging lion, again a mad dog. No writing which he could obtain would save him. He appealed to the Virgin. One night as he slept, he saw her holding a rod in her hand and heard her say that if only he should have faith in the rod, the devil would flee before it. Wherever the monk went he carried it with him. When the devil showed himself in the form of a mad dog, the monk set upon him with the magic weapon. The demon roared so loudly that all the inmates of the monastery came to witness the miracle, and the devil 'sank to hell right in that place.'

Latin. Dexter, pp. 46-48 (31). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vii, 104-105 (25). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 4. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 69 (37). Kjellman, pp. 188-189 (42). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 61-62; *Die Quellen*, pp. 37-39. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 27-29 (23).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 50-55 (9). Kjellman, pp. 189-193 (42).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 325-332. Kjellman, pp. 303-304 (69), 309-310 (5). Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 111-112.

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 353-354 (9).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 70-71 (47).

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 39-41 (18).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 115-117; II, 842-844.

Ethiopian. Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, pp. 72-73 (38), 136-137 (38); *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 135-136 (37), 172 (48).

## 6. BARNS FILLED

It happened that a wealthy monastery in Jerusalem fell upon evil times, so that there was not even food for the monks. After a night of devotion they found their barns bursting with grain, so that they could scarcely lock the door. Many years afterward the same situation arose again, and after their prayers they found a great quantity of gold upon the altar. With this they bought food and divided it among the people. These miracles are ascribed to the Virgin. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 160.

<sup>7</sup> William Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan (Rolls Series, London, 1874)*, pp. 273-274.

The two anecdotes from Gregory of Tours' *In gloria martyrum* are not found in collections known to originate in England in the first half of the thirteenth century, nor is the anonymous Englishman who used the *Stella maris* in the fifteenth century familiar with them.

Latin. Gregory of Tours, (ed. Arndt and Krusch), II, 494-495 (9). Floardus, *De triumphis Christi sanctorumque Palaestinae*, I, 4, Migne, P. L., CXXXV, 495-496. Hilka, III, 158-159 (37); Meister, pp. 146-147 (17).

French. Meyer in *Notices et extraits*, xxxiv<sup>a</sup> (1895), 48-50.

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 354-355 (10).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 595-596, 598-599; II, 1187-1188.

#### 7. SARACEN AND MARY IMAGE

A Saracen had a picture of the Virgin to which he prayed, but he could not believe wholly in the incarnation of Christ and the virgin birth. In order to remove these doubts, the breasts of the image became flesh, and oil began to flow from them. The Saracen believed then and was baptized. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 136.

The tale of the Saracen has the general characteristics of a cycle of legends about pictures which is eastern in origin, although it has not been traced to a source in that part of the world. It is similar in some respects to the miracle of Sardenay, which is concerned with a picture in a church near Damascus. The Saracens prayed to it 'according to their law,' and it too exuded oil.<sup>8</sup> The tale as it is told in the *Stella maris* belongs exclusively to the collections of northern France and those related to them.

Latin. Mussafia in *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 37. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (119).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 505-512.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 69-70 (46).

#### 8. BRIDEGROOM: RING ON FINGER. 35. TRANSPORTED TO A REMOTE REGION

In ancient times an image of the Virgin had been placed before the doors of a church to collect alms for the restoration of the building. Some little clerks were playing ball in front of it. One of them went to find a safe place for a ring which a girl had given him as a pledge of love. As he stood before the statue, the youth was so struck with the beauty of it that he exclaimed, 'Thou art more beautiful than any woman, even than she who gave me this ring. Henceforth I will serve only thee.' The image closed its finger upon the ring. The boy forgot his vow and married the girl. That night the Virgin, displaying the ring, appeared between them, accusing the clerk of infidelity. The youth awoke, but when he slept again the Virgin became angry and threatening. He arose, went secretly to a hermit, and became a monk. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 134<sup>v</sup>-135.

<sup>8</sup> For a full account of the Sardenay miracle see Gaston Raynaud, 'Le miracle de Sardenai,' *Romania*, XI (1882), 519-537 and XIV (1885), 82-93. See also *Stella maris*, no. 18, another image from which oil emanated.

At least six separate redactions of this cycle of legends, to which Mussafia gives the name 'Brautigam,' can be distinguished:<sup>9</sup>

I. Roman Noble. The first version, derived from a homily attributed to the Venerable Bede, appears to be the most ancient form of the Mary legend,<sup>10</sup>

A Roman clerk of noble birth, devoted to the Virgin, is about to marry. Just before the feast he remembers that he has forgotten to recite the *None*. Entering a church, he sees the Virgin sitting before the altar. She is saying, 'Why have you left me to marry another? Am I not your beloved? Am I not beautiful enough? You will not find another who has greater beauty than I, will you?' The clerk renounces his bride upon the advice of Pope Zephirinus [199-217].

A version of *MS British Museum Additional 11579*, fols. 11-12<sup>v</sup>, names Pope Severinus (638-640). The tale in this form is told in the Latin collections made in England.<sup>11</sup>

II. Clerk of Pisa. This second version of the 'Bridegroom' tale is one of the *HM* legends,

A noble and wealthy canon of the church of St. Cassian in Pisa is persuaded by his parents to marry. On the way to his nuptials he is reminded that he has neglected the hours of the Virgin. She warns him not to marry in a severe voice, and that night he leaves his bride to serve the Virgin, it is believed, in another region.

Latin. Dexter, pp. 30-31 (17). Gil de Zamora in *Boletin*, vi, 420-421 (3) and vii, 128-129 (43). Isnard, p. 50 (11). Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 74 (52). *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), p. 592 (131). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 47-48. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 18-19 (16). Klapper, *Exempla*, p. 40 (50).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 627-648. Kjellman, p. 290 (45). Miélot (ed. Warner), p. 10 (9); ed. Laborde, pp. 92-93, 152 (9). Wyrembek and Morawski, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-35.

Anglo-Norman. Kjellman, pp. 126-130 (30).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 198-201 (132). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 83-87 (15). Gayangos, *El libro de los exemplos*, p. 496 (202).

English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, p. 317 (465).

German. Bär, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 39-40 (1). Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 53-57 (7). Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii, 508-511 (81).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, i, 129-130; ii, 756-757.

III. Brother of the King of Hungary. The third version first makes its appearance in a sermon attributed to Anselm of Canterbury,<sup>12</sup>

In the time of Charles, king of the Franks, a clerk, brother of the king of Hungary, recited the hours of the Virgin with great devotion before he decided to marry. The mass had been celebrated, when he remembered that he had neglected her. As he came to the *None* the Virgin, accompanied by two angels, warned him to leave his earthly bride and to celebrate the feast of the Conception on the sixth of the Ides of

\* A brief study of these legends has recently been made by Anna Wyrembek and Jozef Morawski, *Les légendes du 'Fiancé de la Vierge'*, Poznań, 1934. *Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Prace Komisji Filologicznej*, vii, 3. These authors divide the legends into three groups according as their hero is a clerk, a knight, or a child, and include a wider range of legends than are considered here.

<sup>10</sup> Homilia LIX: *De sancta Maria virgine*, Migne, P.L., xciv, 422-423.

<sup>11</sup> See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, ii, 671 (11) and Herbert, *ibid.*, iii, 529 (19) and 680 (55).

<sup>12</sup> Pseudo-Anselm, *Sermo de conceptione beate Marie*, Migne, P.L., clxix, 320-321.

December. He entered a monastery in another country and became patriarch of Aquileia.

The same story is told of a 'brother of King Charles'<sup>13</sup> who was perhaps a certain Frederick, an illegitimate son of Charles the Bald. He was abbot of Fulda and later patriarch of Aquileia near the beginning of the tenth century.

Latin. Pseudo-Anselm in Migne *P.L.*, CLIX, 320-321. Hilka, III, 187-188 (70); Meister, pp. 176-177 (50). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VI, 418-419, and XIII, 190-191 (53). Gobius, no. 24. *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 302 (9). Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 6 (4). Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 69-70 (40).

IV. Transported to a Remote Region (*Stella maris*, no. 35). The fourth version has the characteristics of both the first and the second. The suggestion in the 'Clerk of Pisa' version, that the clerk may have served the Virgin in a remote region, has become a leading feature of the story,<sup>14</sup>

A wealthy youth loved chastity and recited the hours of the Virgin before each meal. As he was sitting at his wedding feast he suddenly remembered the neglected hours. In the church he saw the Virgin standing far off with eyes averted from him. She rebuked him indignantly and he repented. 'Are you prepared for love of me to leave your wife and marriage?', she said. When he agreed she took him by the hand and transported him to a remote region. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 163<sup>v</sup>-164<sup>v</sup>.

The tale in this particular form appears in almost all the great manuscript collections of northern France.

Latin. Pseudo-Celestine, p. 204 (7). Isnard, pp. 58-61 (16).

French. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 158 (20); ed. Warner, pp. 15-16 (20).

V. Love by Black Art. The central theme of another cycle of Mary legends, the 'pact with the devil,'<sup>15</sup> is in the fourth series added to the 'Clerk of Pisa' version. As in the first and fourth redaction, the climax comes just before the wedding feast. The tale in this form belongs to the Pez collection,

A bishop had a poor clerk who worshipped the Virgin devoutly, until he fell in love with a rich and noble girl, already betrothed to a wealthy knight. By means of lore which he found in a book of magic he made an agreement with the devil to win the love of the girl. The mass was celebrated without the *None*, but before the young man sat down to the feast, he insisted upon repeating the hours. The Virgin threatened to desert him, as he had deserted her. Thereafter the clerk served the Virgin, and when he died, she came and led him to paradise.

Latin. Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, pp. 120 (140). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VI, 421-422 and VII, 127-128 (42). Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 71 (41). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 47-51 (35). William of Malmesbury (ed. Mussafia, IV, 53-79).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 158-168 (27) and Mussafia, IV, 53-79. Anonymous, Mussafia, IV, 53-79.

<sup>13</sup> Hilka, III, 187-188 (70).

<sup>14</sup> Paull Franklin Baum, 'The Young Man Betrothed to a Statue,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxiv (1919), 555, does not recognize this tale as a redaction separate from the 'Clerk of Pisa' version, of which he thinks it may be the 'original or primitive form.'

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the relation of this motive to this particular legend, see Wyrembek and Morawski, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

French. Wyrembek and Morawski, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 20-21 (25); ed. Laborde, pp. 162-164 (25).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 187-190 (125).

VI. Ring on Finger. The original of this version seems to be a tale similar to that told by William of Malmesbury,<sup>16</sup>

A young Roman, newly-married and about to play ball, placed his ring upon the outstretched finger of an image of Venus. When he came back to get it, the finger had closed upon it. That night a thick cloud seemed to come between him and his bride out of which a voice announced the presence of Venus, who claimed him as her bridegroom. A priest, learned in the magic arts, instructed the boy to go to a certain crossroads and there to give a letter silently to the central figure of a curious procession of demons. The demon, recognizing the seal, lifted his hands to God crying, 'How much longer, O God, art thou going to permit the iniquities of the priest Palumbus?' The bridegroom was delivered from the power of Venus; and Palumbus, recognizing that his end was near, confessed to the pope. He died a miserable death.

Some of the manuscripts of the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, the group which Stubbs considered the most authentic, say that the story was told by Roman mothers to their children.<sup>17</sup> Huet thinks that it originated in Rome in the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>18</sup> Baum in the most recent study of the legend finds no adequate reason for dating it before 1100.<sup>19</sup> Venus has the character of a demon, and the only suggestion of Christianity is Palumbus' confession. The Mary legend of *MS Paris 12593*, summarized above as the version used by John of Garland, represents an amalgamation between the 'Clerk of Pisa' story and the original Venus tale in the opinion of Baum.<sup>20</sup>

In the German vernacular the story of the Venus image is converted into a tale illustrating the triumph of Christianity over paganism. The version of the *Kaiserchronik*, probably composed at Ratisbonne between 1135 and 1150, goes as follows:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* (ed. Stubbs, London, 1887), I, 256-258. Told also by other English chroniclers; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXV, ch. 29; Klapper, *Exempla*, pp. 40-41 (51); *Recull de eximptis*, II, 255-257 (648); and *An Alphabet of Tales*, pp. 488-489 (730).

<sup>17</sup> The statement is included in the text as edited by George Waitz (Hanover, 1852), *M.G.H., Scriptores*, x, 472. Gaston Paris, 'La légende de Rome au moyen âge,' *Journal des savants* (1884), p. 567, believed it to be a very ancient tale.

<sup>18</sup> Gédéon Huet, 'La légende de la statue de Venus,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, LXVIII (1913), 217. Others give it dates in the eleventh century. Vincent of Beauvais puts it about 1050, and Klapper in the time of Leo IX (1048-1054).

<sup>19</sup> Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 570-571. Baum (p. 550) is unable to explain the appearance of the statement in Gautier de Coincy that the image was standing before a ruined church to attract alms, although it is not found in *MS Paris 18134*, which he regards as the source of Gautier de Coincy, nor in Vincent of Beauvais. This apparent difficulty merely helps to confirm the theory of the relationship between these collections constructed in the first part of this volume. The statement about the image and the church is to be found in all the great Latin collections made in northern France from which Gautier de Coincy and the 'Mariale' collections used by Vincent of Beauvais are descended. Vincent of Beauvais' version is an abbreviated form of the *Mariale magnum*, and this particular legend of *MS Paris 18134* is a briefer Latin prose redaction of Gautier de Coincy. Since the statement is not in any way essential to the narrative, both omitted it.

<sup>21</sup> *Kaiserchronik* (ed. Edward Schröder, Hanover, 1892), II, 1306ff. (*M.G.H., Deutsche Chroniken*, I, 318ff.).

In the time of the emperor Theodosius there were two noble brothers at Rome who remained pagan in spite of the emperor's wishes. As the younger was climbing an old wall to recover a lost ball, he saw an image of Venus beckoning to him. He fell madly in love with it, giving his ring as a token. When he seemed about to die of the malady, he promised that he would turn Christian, if he should be cured. The emperor's chaplain, Eusebius, learned in magic, ordered the devil to return the ring. The statue concealed a magic herb. It was reconstructed and consecrated to the archangel Michael.

In Huet's opinion this version is a reworking of the William of Malmesbury story, and this narrative and that of Julian, also told in the *Kaiserchronik*, come from a hypothetical collection of narratives centering about Roman emperors.<sup>22</sup> If so, the miracle of the 'Chaste Empress' should be included as a third.<sup>23</sup>

The tale of the *Vie des anciens pères* in the French vernacular is probably older than the thirteenth century, the date of the manuscript in which it appears,

A newly married youth exercising in the Coliseum, to which Gregory the Great has had all the heathen images brought, places his ring upon the finger of a stone image, saying playfully, 'With this, woman, I espouse thee.' A hand with the ring upon it comes between him and his bride, and they appeal to the pope. A hermit advises them to contribute a Mary image to St. Maria Rotunda, and the ring is found upon its finger. The token is restored, and the new statue attracted many offerings.<sup>24</sup>

Baum believes that this tale developed independently from the Venus tale.<sup>25</sup> His theory, however, leaves much to be explained. The appeasement of the Virgin instead of the use of magic and the appeal to a hermit suggest the Mary legend. Moreover, the Mary image attracted alms, a detail which is found in the Mary legend whenever it is told in full, as it is in the large manuscript collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The 'Bridegroom' theme in general was a popular one in the middle ages. A tale is told of Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, 1234-1240, how when he dedicated himself to the religious life, he placed a ring engraved with the angelic salutation upon the finger of a Mary image, and how an identical ring was buried with him in his grave.<sup>26</sup> The author of a mediaeval guidebook to Rome tells of seeing an image of Christ in a chapel at Saint Peter's which had in the same manner taken the ring of a woman. The ring still appeared upon the finger of the image.<sup>27</sup> Pieces of jewelry, other than rings, were used as tokens in other Mary legends.

Latin. Pseudo-Celestine, p. 202 (4). Gobius, no. 13. Isnard, pp. 42-44 (7). *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 449 (3). Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, pp. 35-37. Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 4 (1). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (87). Arnold of Liège, *Alphabetum narrationum*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, cxviii (1907), 78. French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 353-360. Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 293-313. Wyrembek and Morawski, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Legrand d'Aussy, v, 53-55.

<sup>22</sup> Huet, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-205. See above, pp. 16 and 20.

<sup>23</sup> See notes on *Stella maris*, no. 14.

<sup>24</sup> D. M. Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 293-313. A somewhat similar version is told by Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 128-131.

<sup>25</sup> Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

<sup>26</sup> Laurentius Surius, *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum*, 16 November (Turin, 1879), xi 523. Told as an exemplum by a Dominican preacher in the fourteenth century. See Arthur Långfors in *Notices et extraits*, xxxix<sup>2</sup> (1916), 594-595.

<sup>27</sup> *Mirabilia Romae* (ed. Gustavus Parthey, Berlin, 1869), p. 53. See Baum, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-579, for other tales.

- Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII (1884), 22-23 (9).  
 Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 62-64 (42). *Recull de exemplis*, II, 188-189 (579).  
 English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, pp. 438-439 (656). Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 355-356 (11).  
 Dutch. C. G. N. de Vooy, *Middelnederlandsche Legenden en Exempelen* (Gravenhage, 1900), pp. 90-91 (a combination of several versions).  
 Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 256-258 (67).

## 9. TOLEDO

As the archbishop of Toledo was celebrating mass on the day of the Assumption, the voice of the Virgin Mary was heard complaining that the Jews were trying to torture her Son again on the cross. Some Jews were found re-enacting the death of Christ upon a waxen image which was as if living. The Jews were handed over to be killed. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 130<sup>v</sup>-131.

The legend of the Christ image mistreated is the first of the *TS* series. It may possibly have had its origin in a persecution of the Jews in Toledo on August 15, 1109.<sup>28</sup> The charge here leveled against the Jews was not an unusual one in the middle ages.<sup>29</sup>

Latin. Dexter, pp. 39-40 (24). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 74-75 (6). Gobius, no. 2. Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum, de P*, no. 46. Kjellman, pp. 136-137 (32). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 51-52; *Die Quellen*, pp. 29-32. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (81).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 57-62 (11). Kjellman, pp. 137-141 (32).

French. Kjellman, pp. 292-293 (51). Miélot (ed. Warner), p. 12 (14); ed. Laborde, pp. 98, 154 (14).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 20-21 (12). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 101-104 (18).

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 15-16 (2).

English. F. J. Furnival, *Early English Poems* (Berlin, 1862), pp. 42-43 (11).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 110-111; II, 722-724.

## 10. PILGRIM IN THE SEA

A ship, laden with pilgrims bound for Jerusalem, was about to go down in the Mediterranean. As those of higher rank, among them a bishop, were being transferred to a small boat, one of them fell into the sea. Not long after, the bishop and his companions beheld the souls of those who had gone down with the ship ascending to heaven in the form of doves. When they reached port, they found the pilgrim who had fallen into the sea alive. He said that he had gone down to the very bottom calling upon the name of the Virgin, and that she had wrapped her cloak about him and brought him safely to shore. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 172-173.

The legend of the pilgrim is most frequently, though not invariably, told in conjunction with 'Light on the Masthead.' Gobius alters the story to give the drowned pilgrim a more prominent role. He is a squire attending the bishop, and he had previously been greatly devoted to the Virgin. The bishop (it is not clear by what means) observes that the soul of the squire is missing. The cloak of the Virgin is spread 'like a tent' over the squire.

<sup>28</sup> Fita in *Boletín*, VII, 75.

<sup>29</sup> See also *Stella maris*, no. 21.

Latin. Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 241 (2). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 92-94 (18). Gobius, no. 10. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 39. Hilka, III, 178-179 (59); Meister, pp. 166-168 (39). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 32-33 (27). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (88).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 603-616. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 29-30 (33); ed. Laborde, pp. 173-174 (33).

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 23 (10).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 49-50 (33). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 137-145 (22).

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 44-45 (23).

#### 11. MEAD

Ancient narrators tell how in Great Britain a wealthy noblewoman, devoted to the Virgin, frequently entertained the king. The servants who came before on one occasion informed her that she had enough of every sort of drink except mead. She besought the Virgin for help. As a result, the more that was drawn from her tun, the fuller it became. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 130-130<sup>v</sup>.

This anecdote, one of the *TS* series, has its origin in a story appearing in the mediaeval biographies of St. Dunstan. Osbern, 'B', Eadmer, and William of Malmesbury all relate it as happening when Lady Ethelfleda (or Elgifu) of Glastonbury entertained king Athelstan. At least two principal versions of it are included in collections of Mary legends. The Latin version of *MS Oxford Balliol 240*, printed by Kjellman, and the Anglo-Norman versions give the name of the king and the place. In *MS Cleopatra C x*, printed by Neuhaus, the names and the places are said to have been forgotten. The latter is the form in which the miracle appears in the great Latin collections of northern France. In the versions of John of Garland, Miélot, and Alfonso el Sabio, it is wine that lacks.

Latin. *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (ed. Stubbs), pp. 17-18, 86-87, 175-176, and 265-266. Dexter, pp. 38-39 (23). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 81-82 (11). Kjellman, p. 224 (52). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 67-69; *Die Quellen*, pp. 48-51.

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 206-209 (33). Kjellman, pp. 224-226 (52).

French. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 11-12 (13); ed. Laborde, pp. 95-96, 154 (13). Mussafia, V, 47-48 (49).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 34-35 (23).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 357 (12).

#### 12. WOMAN REVIVED FOR CONFESSION

A certain woman living in the territory of Lincoln (or Langres) had committed a sin as a young girl which she was ashamed to confess to a priest, although she often revealed it before an image of the Virgin. Observing her reticence, the priest sent her to a Cluniac prior. When she died sentence was passed upon her, but at Mary's request the celestial court ruled that her soul might return to her body for confession. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (117).

Two versions of this tale are related, one a Cluniac version and the other a Cistercian tale. The first, as told by John of Garland, Vincent of Beauvais, and the vernacular version of the *Rosarius* is briefer and less circumstantial than the second. The confusion between Langres (*Lingonensis*) and Lincoln (*Lin-*

*colnensis* or *Linconensis*) is probably the result of a scribal error. The second version is that of the *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis*, part of which was composed by Conrad d'Eberbach before 1221.<sup>30</sup> The tale is repeated twice in briefer form by Herolt.

Latin. *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis*, Migne, P.L., CLXXXV<sup>2</sup>, 1129-1131 (5). Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum, de C*, no. 22; *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 68. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (117).

French. Cf. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI (1935), 320-321 (38) and note 8.

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 344-345 (2).

### 13. COLUMNS RAISED

Workmen building a basilica in honor of the Virgin for the emperor Constantine were unable to erect the columns because of their great size. The Virgin showed them how to adjust the pulleys and the ropes, and then instructed them to call to their assistance three children from the schools. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 17491*, fols. 22<sup>v</sup>-23.

The tale is one of the three legends from Gregory of Tours' *In gloria martyrum*, told by John of Garland.<sup>31</sup> The Latin collections of northern France place the incident in the time of Constantine, as does Gregory of Tours; other versions simply mention Constantinople. Since there is no record of a church dedicated to the Virgin as early as the fourth century, it is not possible to allow the legend so remote an origin. The fact is that miraculous raisings of churches dedicated to the Virgin are common in the literature of the middle ages, and occur in widely scattered places.<sup>32</sup>

The anecdote as told by the anonymous Englishman who worked from the *Stella maris* has only a very tenuous connection with his original,

A goodman spent all his money building a chapel to the Virgin, and still it was incomplete. After the masons had gone he labored single-handed, until the Virgin came with a 'wyndas' to help him. Three innocents accompanied her and 'wonde up mony a stone.'

Latin. Gregory of Tours, (ed. Arndt and Krusch), II, 493 (8). Floardus, *De triumphis Christi sanctorumque Palaestinae*, Migne, P.L., CXXXV, 493-494 (2). Gobius, no. 1. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 7. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (81).

French. Meyer in *Notices et extraits*, XXXIV<sup>2</sup> (1895), 47-48.

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 15 (1).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 320-321 (231).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 345-346 (3).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 922.

### 14. CHASTE EMPRESS

A Roman emperor set out on a pilgrimage, leaving his kingdom in the charge of his wife and a younger brother. The youth became enamored of the empress and made advances to her. She allowed him to build a high tower, and

<sup>30</sup> J. T. Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927), p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> *Stella maris*, nos. 3, 6, and 13.

<sup>32</sup> See the founding of Bobbio by the monk Jonas in *Vita Columbani, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (ed. Bruno Krusch, Hanover, 1905), I, 30.

then lured him into it. Freed at the emperor's return, he hastened out to meet his brother and to poison his mind against the empress. The emperor ordered her to be taken deep into the woods to be beheaded. When the executioners tried to mistreat her and she had called upon the Virgin for help, her prayers were heard by a noble knight returning from the Holy Land. He took her to his home to become the nurse of his only child. There the brother of her benefactor fell in love with her. When she refused his offers, he contrived to have the child murdered as it slept in her arms and the bloody sword left in her hands. The knight took her to a port and gave her over to sailors about to leave for foreign lands. After repulsing their attempt upon her chastity, she was left high upon a rock in the midst of the sea. As she slept, the Virgin came and ordered her to gather the herb under her head. When the woman had filled her leather gloves, a ship sent from heaven carried her back to the city where the knight and his brother, now struck with leprosy, lived. After forcing him to confess the murder of the child in the presence of the knight, she healed him and revealed her identity. Refusing to marry the knight, she went to find the brother of the emperor with the same disease. He confessed his sin against her in the hearing of the pope and the emperor and was cured. The emperor wished to restore her, but she preferred to live a life of chastity in the garb of a nun. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593, fols. 190<sup>v</sup>-193<sup>v</sup>.*

The miracle of the chaste empress belongs to the *Crescentia-Florentia-Hildegard* cycle, the origins and development of which have been frequently studied.<sup>33</sup> The narratives of western origin may be divided into two main groups: (1) the versions of the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Florence de Rome* and (2) the Mary legend, the Crescentia story, and the Hildegard versions. In neither the pseudo-Clementine romance,<sup>34</sup> from which the cycle originates, nor in the first group, is there anything miraculous,<sup>35</sup> and the woman returns to her husband. It remains to explain how the story became a Mary legend.

The germ of the miraculous is to be found in the pseudo-Clementine romance in the role which St. Peter plays in the story. An old beggar woman who turns out to be the mother of Clement tells her story to St. Peter, who suspects her identity and brings her to Clement and his brother. His part is not at first miraculous, but it becomes so when the supposed historical elements have dropped away, and it is fused with tales of the persecuted wife which originate in the West. The Crescentia version, one of the same group to which the miracle belongs, shows other marks of the pseudo-Clementine romance. Note the miraculous part played by St. Peter in the Crescentia story, as it appears in the *Kaiserchronik*,

<sup>33</sup> Alexis Wallensköld, *Le conte de la femme chaste convoitée par son beau-frère* (Helsingfors, 1907); Svetislav Stefanović, 'Die Crescentia-Florence-Saga,' *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIX (1911), 461-556; Stephan Teubert, *Crescentia-Studien* (Halle, 1916); Margaret Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens* (New York, 1927); Adolf Mussafia, *Über eine italienische metrische Darstellung der Crescentia-saga* (Vienna, 1866). One form of this tale is the story of Constance in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* and in Gower's *Confessio amantis*. It has a long history in more recent times.

<sup>34</sup> The date and sources of the pseudo-Clementine writings have been discussed in a French thesis by Oscar Cullman, *Le problème littéraire et historique du roman pseudo-Clémentin* (Paris, 1930), and Karl Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Tübingen, 1927).

<sup>35</sup> There is, of course, the magic stone of the *Florence de Rome*.

Narcissus, the brother of the emperor Heraclius, and his wife Elizabeth, had two sons of the same name, Dietrich. At the emperor's death, it was decreed that the throne should go to the first-married. Both men sought the hand of Crescentia, who preferred the dark Dietrich to the handsome one. He becomes king, and during his absence overseas, he entrusts his kingdom to his wife and brother. The brother makes advances to her, and she contrives to shut him up in a tower. On the emperor's return he accuses Crescentia to her husband. She is thrown into the Tiber, but rescued by fishermen. Next she is accused by the seneschal of the duke, in whose court she has taken refuge, of murdering the duke's child. Again she is thrown into the Tiber. There St. Peter appears to her as an old man, conducts her to land, and gives her the power to heal the sick after full confession. Crescentia retires to a convent.<sup>36</sup>

Once the story has become a miracle of St. Peter the next step in its development is not difficult to understand, for there are parallels in the case of other mediaeval narratives.<sup>37</sup> The place of St. Peter is usurped by the Virgin. In the Mary legend, as one might expect, the miraculous theme is still further developed. The Virgin in a vision orders the empress to gather the herbs under her head, etc. The episode of the captain of the ship in the romance survives in the voyage, the persecution of the sailors, and the refuge on the rock. In most versions of the miracle she ends her life as a nun. The Mary legend makes its first appearance in the collection of St. Victor of the twelfth century,<sup>38</sup> and thereafter in the first half of the thirteenth century in the large collections of northern France, most of which are still inedited. In Gobius' *Scala celi* a brief version of the pseudo-Clementine romance immediately precedes the Mary legend.

Latin. Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, pp. 115-117 (136). Gobius, under *Castitas*. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (90-92). Alfons Hilka, 'Zum Crescentiastoff,' *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, cxxxiii (1915), 136-137, 137-138, 138-140; 'Ein neuer Text der Florentiasaga,' *ibid.*, pp. 152-154, 154-155. Wallensköld, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-116, 116-120, 120-122, 122-128, 149-150, 150-151.

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 1-128). Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 23-28 (29); ed. Laborde, pp. 166-171 (29). Wallensköld, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131, 132-134, 134-149, 151-161. Legrand d'Aussy, v, 125-129.

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 33-37 (15).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 7-12 (5). *Recull de eximplis*, II, 201-206 (594). Musafia, *Eine alspanische Prosadarstellung der Crescentiasaga*, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, LIII (1866), 499-562.

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 346-349 (4).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 421-438; II, 1104-1112, 1112-1116.

Dutch. Wallensköld, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-169.

## 15. NATIVITY

A hermit had on a certain night for many years heard music in the heavens. When he asked the cause an angel answered, 'The Virgin was born this night, and what is ignored by men is being celebrated by angels.' Thereafter the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin was instituted in the churches. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 149<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> *Die Kaiserchronik* (ed. Schröder), pp. 289-314, ll. 11352-12808. Note that this same work also plays a part in the development of the legend 'Ring on Finger.' For other versions of the Crescentia narrative, see Stefanović, *op. cit.*, pp. 469-470.

<sup>37</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 50.

<sup>38</sup> *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, fols. 36-38. This version is printed by Wallensköld, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-120.

The earliest text of the traditional origin of the Nativity of the Virgin seems to be that of Honorius of Autun (died c. 1150). Two of the versions mention John Beleth,<sup>39</sup> a Parisian theologian who flourished about 1165. William Durandus (1237–1296) represents the festival as having been instituted by the apostles. Beleth and others say that the hermit reported the miracle to the pope, and he instituted the festival. According to another tradition, it was first celebrated in the church of Angers about 430 by St. Mauritius who experienced some sort of revelation. The day was called *feria Andegavensis* in France.<sup>40</sup>

As a matter of history, the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of the Virgin had originated in the East by the first half of the sixth century and spread to the West in the course of the seventh. Not until much later was it widely celebrated.<sup>41</sup> Pope Sergius I, 687–701, prescribed a litany and a procession.<sup>42</sup>

Latin. Honorius of Autun, *Genma animae*, Migne, P.L., CLXXII, 689; *Sacramentarium*, *ibid.*, p. 769; *Speculum ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, p. 1001. William Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, VII, 28 (Naples, 1859), pp. 694–695. John Beleth, *ibid.*, p. 837 (149). Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, pp. 95–96 (107). Kjellman, pp. 23–24 (7), 316 (9). Little, *Liber exemplorum*, pp. 20–21 (35). Pelbart, Bk. V, pt. 2, art. 3. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VI (65); VII (119).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 37–40 (7). Kjellman, pp. 24–26 (7).

French. Kjellman, pp. 269–270 (3), 316 (9).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 358–359 (13).

German. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 1–6 (1).

#### 16. MOTHER OF MERCY

The Virgin appeared to a certain man who on his death-bed was fearful of the fate of his soul, asking him if he recognized her. 'I am the Mother of Mercy, herself,' she said, comforting him, so that he died believing that she would take his soul as soon as it should be freed from the flesh and lead it to paradise. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 122<sup>v</sup>–123.

The legend had its origin in the mediaeval biographies of Odo of Cluny (879–943). There a similar dialogue takes place between the Virgin and a reformed thief whom Odo has admitted to the monastery. The anxiety of the sick man for his soul has more meaning in the light of Odo's version. The story is one of the *TS* legends which did not find a place in the Pez collection. As it is told in the collections of Mary legends there are two chief versions, the differences between them limited to diction. The first, ascribed to Anselm of Canterbury but really by Maurilius of Rouen,<sup>43</sup> begins *Meminimus et meminisse delectabile est*; and the other, *Sicut iterum audivi fuit quidam infirmus*, is the version of the *Cleopatra* manuscript. Some collections present both versions.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, pp. 95–96 (107), and Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 675 (41).

<sup>40</sup> F. G. Holweck, *Festi Mariani* (Freiburg-in-Breisgau, 1892), p. 211.

<sup>41</sup> Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults*, p. 486–487.

<sup>42</sup> Holweck, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 15.

<sup>44</sup> *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 122<sup>v</sup>–123 (*Sicut iterum*) and fol. 130<sup>v</sup> (*Meminimus et meminisse*).

Latin. *Vita Sancti Odonis* . . . a Joanne monacho, Migne, P.L., cxxxiii, 71. Anselm of Canterbury, *Oratio xlix*, *ibid.*, clviii, 946-947. Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, clxxii, 1001-1002. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 56. Isnard, pp. 202-204 (45). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 54-55; *Die Quellen*, pp. 20-21. *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 56 (5).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 74-75 (15).

French. Miélot (ed. Laborde), p. 97.

### 17. LIBIA (for LYDDA)

In a church of Lydda near Diospolis there is a portrait of the Virgin painted upon marble, but not by the hand of man. The Jews had complained to the emperor that the church, once a synagogue, had been bought by the Christians and dedicated to the Virgin. The emperor ordered it to be closed for forty days to wait upon God's will. The apostles were in the meantime assured by the Virgin, who still lived upon Mt. Sion, that she would be with them in the church. When St. Peter opened it, the Jews saw the portrait upon the western wall. They were so confused that they dared not enter it again. Even afterwards when Julian the Apostate ordered the Jews to destroy it, they were afraid to touch it. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols 140-141.

The 'Libia' miracle, as Warner points out,<sup>45</sup> has its origin in a story told by John of Damascus (died c. 754) in *Epistola ad Theophilum imperatorem*.<sup>46</sup> Almost all the texts except Pez, who has it 'Lydda' with John of Damascus, call the city incorrectly 'Libia.' Diospolis is a later name for the ancient Lydda.<sup>47</sup> The original name was kept among the natives, and the modern town is Lidd. As a matter of record, there is no account of a church dedicated to the Virgin until the first council of Ephesus in 431; nor even a tradition of a portrait of the Virgin until the first half of the sixth century.<sup>48</sup>

Latin. Dexter, pp. 43-45 (28). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vii, 89-90 (15). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 56-57. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 23-24 (20).

French. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 22-23 (27), ed. Laborde, pp. 165-166 (27).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 42-43 (27).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 359-360 (14).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 113-115; II, 690-691.

### 18. MARY IMAGE INSULTED

A Jew of Constantinople saw an image of the Virgin on a wall in a certain house. When he was told whose image it was, he snatched it away, threw it into a privy, and defiled it in every way possible. Afterwards he disappeared from human sight, taken off, it is believed, by evil spirits. When a certain Christian had reverently washed the picture and placed it in a church, oil began to flow from it. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 133<sup>v</sup>-134.

<sup>45</sup> Miélot (ed. Warner), p. xix.

<sup>46</sup> Migne, P.G., xcv, 349-352.

<sup>47</sup> Jerome, *Epistola cviii* (ed. Isidore Hilberg [Vienna, 1912], II, 313), *Lyddam versam in Diospolim*.

<sup>48</sup> Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 469. In the second century representation of Mary appeared in the catacombs, but only as a part of a Biblical scene.

Adamnan (c. 623-704) tells this tale in the *De locis sanctis* on the authority of Arculf, a French pilgrim, who, he says, saw the image with his own eyes. Of the subsequent redactions of the tale, that belonging to the *TS* series and the collections of northern France is nearest to Adamnan's text. In certain apparently secondary redactions the story is attributed to St. Jerome, although no version of it has been found among his printed works. The Paris manuscript, *Bibliothèque Nationale 18134*, fol. 140<sup>v</sup>,<sup>49</sup> includes the Jerome version, and the English anonymous who used the *Stella maris* seems to know it. The title of *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>, mentions a sermon of St. Jerome, but the legend itself is the *TS* version. The anecdote related by Gobius suggests the influence of the vernacular, for no original has been found which includes some of his details.

The development of the devil's role in this legend is instructive in relation to the whole history of the mediaeval miracle. Adamnan says, 'What the Jew did afterward, how he lived, or how he ended his life, is unknown.' The *TS* redaction sets forth a theory as to his demise, 'It is believed that because of the crime which he committed against Christ and his mother, evil spirits removed him from the sight of man.' The version of St. Jerome converts this supposition into a fact and provides eye-witnesses to it, 'And when he had done this, in the sight of everyone devils came and carried him off, soul and body, to hell.'

Latin. Adamnan in Migne, *P.L.*, LXXXVIII, 813-814. Dexter, pp. 45-46 (30). Gobius, no. 36. Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 95 (19). Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum, de Y*, no. 2, and *de B*, no. 5. Kjellman, pp. 229 (54). Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 49. Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 57-58; *Die Quellen*, pp. 61-62. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (119).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 216-219 (37). Kjellman, pp. 230-231 (54).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 423-426. Kjellman, pp. 298-299 (63), 315 (8). Miélot (ed. Warner), p. 13 (16); ed. Laborde, pp. 102, 155 (16).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 50-51 (34).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 361-362 (16).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 132-133, 255-256, 599-601.

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 241-242 (65).

#### 19. JEW LENDS TO CHRISTIAN

A Christian merchant of Constantinople approached a Jew for a loan, saying that he had nothing to pledge except his lord Jesus Christ. Christian and Jew went together before an image of the Virgin and her Son and pledged faith. The Christian sailed off to barbarous lands, and the date of the pledge slipped his memory. Suddenly recalling it the night before the debt was due, he determined in desperation to put the money in the hands of his Guarantor. He took a chest, and sealing the money in it, committed it to the waves. The next morning a servant of the Jew saw it floating upon the waters, but when he tried to grasp it, it disappeared. The Jew, however, was able to take it up. Removing the money, he hid the chest under the bed. When the merchant returned, the Jew met him with a demand for payment. The Christian once more led him before the Mary image, and a voice bade them look under the Jew's bed. That Jew and many others were converted. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 174-175.

<sup>49</sup> Printed by Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 49.

The legend is very similar in its origins and development to the tale of the 'Jewish Boy.'<sup>50</sup> Four chief versions may be distinguished, the first of them Greek in origin:

I. Jew Tests Christian. Like the anecdote of the Jewish boy the story originates in Constantinople, appearing first in a Greek sermon preached there on Orthodoxy Sunday,<sup>51</sup> probably in the ninth or tenth century. The Latin version of Johannes Monachus is a translation of the original. The monk's tale differs markedly from the usual western version. The Jew is a friend of the Christian, and about to accept his faith. He denies having received the money, in order to put the Christian to a test. The story is not a Mary legend in this form, for the image is a crucifix. The silver which the merchant, Theodore, brings back with him is used in making the ciborium and the pulpit of Santa Sophia. The anecdote probably grew up about the sanctuary of Santa Sophia in the period following the reign of Justinian, for Procopius tells of the overlaying of the sanctuary with silver.<sup>52</sup> The crucifix which hung in the Tetrastyle, a shrine in front of the imperial palace, has a long and miraculous history. According to the chronicler of the ninth century, Georgios Hamartolus, Leo the Isaurian tore down the figure, which had a great reputation for talking. It was committed to the sea by the patriarch, and in the manner of the Jew's gold, carried safely to Rome, where it was received by pope Gregory II and placed in the Lateran.<sup>53</sup> Mediaeval pilgrims told of seeing a crucifix at Rome 'which nodded its head in witness of money received between a Jew and a Christian.'<sup>54</sup>

Greek. François Combefis, *Novum auctarium* (= *Historia haeresis monothelitarum*), Paris, 1648, II, 611-644 (condensed English translation in Sabine Baring-Gould, *Historical Oddities. First Series*, London, 1889, pp. 103-118). Max Hoferer, *Johannis Monachi liber de miraculis* (Würzburg, 1884), pp. 7-41.

Latin. Johannes Monachus, pp. 6-35.

II. Said to Be Greek. The second version of the tale claims to be Greek in origin, although no Greek text has been found. Mussafia edits a Latin text from two manuscripts, one of the twelfth and the other of the thirteenth century.<sup>55</sup> The image is a statue of the Virgin,

As the writings of the Greeks relate, a wealthy Alexandrian pedler in the days of the emperor Nerva made a remarkable image of the Virgin which he handed over to a Jew as security for a loan. The Christian, after a successful voyage, returns to Alexandria and buys bread and nuts to eat. These he exchanges with some shepherd boys for metal which they have collected from the ruins of ancient buildings. The Christian hangs a bag of gold which he has recovered from the metal around the neck of the image. The Jew takes it away secretly and insists that the contract has not been kept. The image speaks in the presence of witnesses.

<sup>50</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Orthodoxy Sunday was instituted in 842.

<sup>52</sup> Procopius, VII, I, 1, 65 (*Loeb Classics*, London, 1940), p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> Migne, P.G., CX, 921. See also Ferdinand de Mély in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, LXIII (1904), 113-114, and Jean Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), pp. 19-20.

<sup>54</sup> *Mirabilia Romae*, p. 58.

<sup>55</sup> MSS Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* 5268, fol. 28, and 5267, fol. 62. These collections include a great many legends about Roman emperors. Note the addition of the name of the emperor Nerva to this tale.

The legend of *MS British Museum Additional 33956*, fols. 70<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>, of the early fourteenth century, is a variant of this version.

Latin. *Mussafia*, V, 43-45 (29).

French. *Mussafia*, V, 45-47.

III. *Testimonium*. The account prefixed to the Pez version, summarized as the original of the *Stella maris*, of the way in which this redaction entered the West seems reasonable,

A very pious archdeacon of Liège visited Byzantium on a pilgrimage. Entering the church, he found the Greeks celebrating a festival hilariously. When he asked the occasion, a Greek who knew little Latin said, 'Testimonium, Testimonium.' The archdeacon sought out some one else, and a person who knew Latin well told him the story.<sup>56</sup>

In this form the anecdote found its way into the Pez collection and the great compendia of northern France.

Latin. Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vii, 83-87 (13). Gobius, no. 3. Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, de X, no. 1. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, pp. 70-71 (40). Isnard, p. 36 (2). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 41-44 (33). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (82).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 541-556. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 31-32 (34); ed. Laborde, pp. 174-176 (34).

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, viii (1879), 16-18 (3).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 36-38 (25). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 146-161 (23).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 363-365 (17). Horstman, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, pp. 157-161.

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 87-92; II, 1064-1067.

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 166-168 (47).

IV. Sails to Alexandria. The fourth redaction is found chiefly in collections of English origin. Certain characteristics of the Greek sermon which were lost in the Pez version have been preserved. The Jew and the Christian are named, as in the sermon. The sealing of the chest and the letter that went with it are described with more care than in the case of 'Testimonium.' The Jew goes down to the shore to look for the returning ship, although nothing is said of the vision that motivated the action, a detail of the Pez version. It does, however, have many details in common with the Pez version, especially the evil motive of the Jew.

In a Latin manuscript of the thirteenth century, the tale is made to serve the cult of St. Nicholas, a saint popular in Normandy. The merchant is a Norman who trades in Africa, and St. Nicholas is his guarantor. The chest not only reaches the shore of Normandy, but it sails up a little rivulet that flows through the Jew's garden. The sentiment is not anti-Jewish. The Jew takes up the chest without disturbing its contents. Together Jew and Christian open it and proclaim the miracle.<sup>57</sup>

Latin. Hilka, III, 205-206 (90); Meister, pp. 194-195 (70). Kjellman, pp. 204-206 (48).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 176-185 (29). Kjellman, pp. 206-212 (48).

<sup>56</sup> In *MS Leipzig 821* of the thirteenth century, it is a merchant who goes to Jerusalem who asks about the festival. *Mussafia*, I, 972 (41).

<sup>57</sup> M. A. Joly, 'Quatre miracles inédits de saint Nicolas,' *Bulletin de la Société des anti-quistes de Normandie*, IX (1878-1880), 215-220.

## 20. INCEST

A certain nobleman and his wife prayed for a child. After the birth of a son, the husband determined to leave his family that he might live more righteously. The mother cherished the boy even to the point of incest. Meanwhile, hoping for forgiveness, she was diligent in fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, achieving a great reputation for sanctity. The child that was born to her she strangled with her own hands. The devil, intending to torment her, posed as a learned clerk able to solve the most difficult cases and gained entrance to the court of the king. The monarch had great faith when he accused the woman of the crime, especially since he offered, if mistaken, to be thrown into the funeral pyre which should be built for her.

The woman succeeded in getting her case before Pope Lucius (text *Lucianus*), meanwhile making full confession to him. So transformed was she by God's mercy, that when the devil was asked in the presence of the papal consistory to prefer his charge against her, he could only praise her. Moreover, he saw the Virgin Mary at her side supporting her. At the sound of the devil's voice, all made the sign of the cross upon their foreheads, and he disappeared like smoke before their eyes. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (93-95).

The earliest known text of this tale is the versified version of the collection of St. Victor (*SV*), dating from the twelfth century. It seems evident that the version of *SV*, however, is not the original form of the story. In the first place, the father's departure is too clearly patterned after Joachim's retirement to the hills before the birth of the Virgin, and there are a great many Biblical references that look like additions. There is in the tale of *SV* no logical explanation for the form which the intervention of the Virgin takes. Why did she accompany the woman to the trial? According to *SV*, her friends were there with her. The anonymous (pseudo-Caesarius) version in the collection of Mary legends edited by Alfons Hilka is simpler and more logical.

A certain very devout Roman widow committed the crime of incest with her only son. The devil posed to a senator as a prophet, becoming finally a member of the 'Roman court.' Soon he declared that a woman had committed a crime that demanded public satisfaction. When the woman had been summoned to appear, she went to all her relatives and friends, but could not find anyone to accompany her to the senator. The Virgin appeared saying, 'Do not fear, but go, for I shall accompany you personally.' When the devil saw them he turned pale as death and was unable to look upon her face. And with a great noise he disappeared.

In substantially this form the story is taken over into the collections of *exempla* to illustrate the wiles of the devil, how he accuses devout men openly of the crimes they commit, so that they may not have time to repent and thus escape publicity. Once the anecdote becomes an *exemplum*, there is no limit to the variation it may undergo. In the accounts of Étienne de Bourbon and Gobius, for instance, it has taken on the device of the legend of Theophilus. The devil writes his accusation on a scroll, and on the day of the trial, he finds it utterly blank. The version of the *Gesta Romanorum* recalls the dilemma of Lady Macbeth. The woman cuts the child's throat, and the blood remains on the palm of her hand, so that she wears a glove to hide it.

Latin. Bromyard, *Summa praedicatorum*, I, C, 6 (44). Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes histo-*

*riques*, pp. 156-157 (178). *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley), pp. 291-294 (13). Gobius, under *Confessio* (two versions). Henmann of Bologna, *Viaticum narrationum*, pp. 20-22 (22). Hilka, III, 192-193 (77); Meister, pp. 181-182 (57). Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, IV (Paris, 1896), 399 (17). Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane), pp. 110-111 (263). *Magnus speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), pp. 122-124 (7). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (93-95). Wright, *Latin Stories*, pp. 98-99 (110).

French. Gautier de Coincy in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VI (1882), 325-334. Jubinal, *Nouveau recueil*, I, 79-87. Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 394-410. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 49-51 (53); ed. Laborde, pp. 112-118, 193-195 (53).

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 24-28 (13).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 28-29 (17). Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, pp. 497-498 (205).

English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, pp. 220-222 (320). Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 360-361 (15).

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 30-32 (14).

German. Bär, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 110-111 (16). Bolte in *Alemannia*, XVII (1889), 22-23 (40).

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 244-246 (66).

## 21. BEIRUT

A Christian left behind him in a house which he had rented to a Jew a crucifix which he had made. A countryman, dining with the Jew, became very angry and accused him before the Jews of the city. They came and, ejecting him from the house, subjected the crucifix to all the pains of the cross. Enough blood and water issued from a wound in the side to fill a vessel placed under it. The bishop baptized all the Jews in the city. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, fols. 1-4.

Although the tale is not a Mary legend, several collections of Mary legends made in France include it, notably the two Rouen manuscripts, *U 134* and *A 535*,<sup>58</sup> and the vernacular collection *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale French 818*.<sup>59</sup> It appears on the first folios of the collection of St. Victor, *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, although not as part of the collection. The sermon in which it was told was read to the Council of Nicaea in 787. Baronius has shown that Athanasius, to whom it was attributed, was not the author of it, and that it should be assigned rather to the period of the emperor Constantine Copronymous (741-775).<sup>60</sup> The incident is recorded in the *Annales Xantensis* under the year 765,<sup>61</sup> and the *Legenda aurea* mentions 750. Galtier, who has made a study of the versions found in manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, distinguishes four separate versions besides a similar tale of Syriac origin.<sup>62</sup> According to tradition the image was taken from Beirut to Constantinople by John Zimisces (969-976) and put in the same vestibule before the royal palace which housed the image of the legend, 'Jew Lends to Christian.'

Greek. Athanasius, *Dubia*, in Migne, P.G., xxviii, 797-824. Cf. Émile Galtier, *op. cit.*, p. 517, who lists thirteen Greek manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale alone.

Syriac. Budge, *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ* (London, 1899), I, 166-167.

<sup>58</sup> See pp. 36 and 64.

<sup>59</sup> *Mussafia*, V, 13 (75).

<sup>60</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 702, conveniently summarizes the evidence.

<sup>61</sup> *M.G.H., Scriptores*, II, 222.

<sup>62</sup> Émile Galtier, 'Byzantina,' *Romania*, xxix (1900), 513-517.

Latin. Sigibert of Gembloux, *Chronica, anno 765* (ed. Bethmann, *M.G.H., Scriptores*, vi, 333). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXIII (160). *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), pp. 608-609 (4). Arnold of Liège, *Alphabetum narrationum*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, cxvii (1906), 288-289. Galtier, *op. cit.*, p. 516. Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, de P, no. 44. Baronius, *Annales*, xiii (Lucca, 1743), 207-208. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Concilia*, xiii (Florence, 1767), 26. Petrus Lambecius, *Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis liber primus* (Vienna, 1766-1782), I, 224-237. Spanish. Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, p. 452 (20).

## 22. CLERK OF CHARTRES

## 36. DROWNED SACRISTAN

A clerk of evil life in the city of Chartres, accustomed to salute the Virgin very frequently, was killed by his enemies and buried outside the cemetery. After thirty days Mary came to one of the clerks asking why her chancellor had been treated thus and ordering him to see that he be given decent burial. When the grave was opened a very beautiful flower was found in his mouth, and the tongue untouched, as if ready to praise God. The body was buried within the cemetery. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 121<sup>v</sup>-122.

The legend of the worldly churchman who wins heaven for no other reason than his devotion to Mary is the most popular cycle of legends in all the middle ages. It arises from the mediaeval conception of the Virgin as the advocate of man, so powerful that even God does not resist her plea. There is something in it also of the mediaeval conception of loyalty, a force which helped to hold society together in that age. The cycle does not develop from a single legend, but the tales naturally influence one another until a bewildering multiplicity is achieved. In all of them the hero, a clerk or a monk, dies a violent or sudden death, as befits a sinner. In the first broad series, 'Token in Mouth,' he is buried, or about to be buried, outside the cemetery. The Virgin indicates by some sort of sign that he is to be interred among the faithful.

In the second main group of anecdotes having to do with the worldly monk, 'Drowned Sacristan,' the conflict between the Mercy of Mary and the Justice of God takes definite form. Angels and devils, or devils and the Virgin single-handed, struggle for the soul of the sinner. Their dispute is ordinarily carried to the court of the Highest King for decision. In a few cases Mary herself issues the decree, but commonly the merciful act of the Virgin is given the legal approval of God in some manner.

The first series, 'Token in Mouth,' may be further sub-divided into two groups. In the first death occurs by drowning, as in *MS Oxford Balliol 240* of the twelfth century,<sup>63</sup>

A clerk, devoted to Mary, drank too much, and in trying to get home he fell into a body of water and was drowned. The bishop ordered that he be buried outside the cemetery; but when the body was taken from the water, it appeared as if living, and from the mouth hung a scroll on which were the words, *Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*. The body was buried honorably.

In the second series, 'Clerk of Chartres,' the clerk dies in a violent manner, usually at the hands of his enemies. The token takes the form of a flower in the mouth, a lily or a rose. Certain embellishments are in the course of time added

<sup>63</sup> Kjellman, pp. 44-47 (11). There are numerous other tales like it. See Mussafia, I, 947-948 (47); III, 50 (71); etc.

to it. In Gautier de Coincy, for instance, when the abbot advises his little nephew to pray to the Virgin each day, he replies that he prefers the tales of Roland and Oliver to paternosters. The scene is sometimes Rouen, as in Gobius.

Latin. Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 250-251 (10). Dexter, pp. 18-19 (4). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 82-83 (12). Gobius, no. 18. Hilka, III, 195-196 (80); Meister, pp. 184-185 (60). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 64. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 72 (44). Kjellman, p. 301 (68). Meyer in *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 36. Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 32-33. Little, *Liber exemplorum*, pp. 23-24 (40). Pez (ed. Crane), p. 6 (3). Pelbart, I, pt. 4, art. 1. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, p. 269 (3). Henmann of Bologna, *Viaticum narrationum*, p. 12 (3).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 404-405 (3). Everard de Gateley in *ibid.*, XXIX (1900), 45-47 (3). Kjellman, pp. 83-86 (17).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 295-300, 361-370. Jehan le Marchant, *Le livre des miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 184-188 (29). Kjellman, pp. 280-281 (32), 302 (68). Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 83-84.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 35-36 (24). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 27-30 (3).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVIII (1923), 365-367 (18).

German. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 77-82 (11).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 74-75; II, 762-763, 763-764.

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, p. 334 (103).

#### DROWNED SACRISTAN (*Stella maris*, no. 36)

A sacristan led an evil life, although he made a practice of saying the *Ave Maria* whenever he passed the altar of the Virgin. The way to his mistress led through the church across a river. One night as, after his usual salutation, he went out to sin, the devil pushed him into the river, and he was drowned. When a multitude of demons were about to make off with his soul, a band of angels came to lend what comfort they could. To them the devil said contemptuously, 'What are you doing here? There is nothing of you in this soul. His evil deeds make him ours.'

The angels were sad, for they could not speak of sufficient good works. Then suddenly the Virgin was there defending his soul, 'He never went anywhere without first receiving my permission by saluting me, and he did the same when he returned. But, lest I seem to be compelling you, let us place our case before the Highest King.'

The case was argued by one side and the other, and the Lord agreed that the soul should be allowed to return to the body until penance had been done. When the brothers had taken it from the water, behold he rose up alive and told what had happened. Thereafter he served the Virgin with good works. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 121-121<sup>v</sup>.

The Pez collection includes two miracles illustrating this theme.<sup>64</sup> The first, summarized above, goes over into the collections of northern France without alteration. In other versions details are borrowed from 'Token in Mouth' series. In the version of the *Cleopatra* manuscript,<sup>65</sup> for instance, the hero is a clerk, not a monk. An animated conflict goes on between the devils and the Virgin.

<sup>64</sup> Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 4-6 (2) and 64-74 (40). There is a dissertation by Franz Ritter, *Die Legende vom ertrunkenen Glöckner*, Strassburg, 1913.

<sup>65</sup> Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 58-60. This seems to be the version in abbreviated form in the Vendome collection. Isnard, p. 36 (1).

The Virgin leaves in wrath only when she reflects that it is not worthy of her to dispute with devils. In the court of God, she proposes that it be left to a sign on the tongue of the victim, whether he died in her service or the devil's. The words *Ave Maria* are found written there. The *Roman de Rou* of Wace<sup>68</sup> includes an interesting version,

The sacristan of the abbey of St. Ouen is drowned on his way to visit an abbess at night. Angels and devils dispute the right to his soul. Finally they agree to take the case to the Duke of Normandy, Richard sans Peur. In his sleep the Duke decrees that the soul may return to the body, and that the victim should be placed on a bridge. If he moves forward, he belongs to the devil; if backward, he is to be freed. He draws back and is allowed to go home.

Latin. Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 248 (8). Gil de Zamora in *Boletin*, VI, 426-427 (2) and VII, 73-74 (5). Gobius, no. 45. Hilka, III, 157-158 (36); Meister, pp. 145-146 (16). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 71. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 73 (49). Isnard, pp. 199-200 (42). Klapper, *Erzählungen*, pp. 361-362 (170). Little, *Liber exemplorum*, p. 32 (52). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 31-32; *Die Quellen*, p. 28. Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 7 (2) and ch. 10 (1). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 4-6 (2). Kjellman, p. 275 (19).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 403-404. Kjellman, pp. 79-83 (16).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 459-474. Kjellman, pp. 275-276 (19). Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 82-83.

English. Horstman, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, pp. 166-167.

German. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 69-76 (10). Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, III, 555-560 (85).

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, pp. 83-85 (50).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 19-20 (11). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 20-26 (2). Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, pp. 494-495 (198).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 75-78; II, 835-836.

### 23. HOURS SUNG DAILY

A clerk on a pilgrimage came to a monastery near Cambrai. There he heard the hours of the Virgin sung daily. He inquired why this was done contrary to the usual practice. A monk told him how, when he was leading a worldly life with two companions, he had had a vision. He saw himself standing before the tribunal of God and heard Him say, 'Let us see what judgment that man who is looking at us and his companions merit. I have tolerated them now for a long time, and they show no signs of mending their ways.' The sentence of damnation was passed upon them. Then he saw the Virgin rise and plead for him out of regard for his devotion to her. When her wish was granted, she turned to the sinner and bade him sin no more under threat of a worse fate. He finished his life in good works. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 175-176<sup>v</sup>.

The tale is one of the Pez collection which the unknown author says he heard told by a certain 'religious.' In the *Apiarium* of Thomas of Cantimpré, where it is related of a certain noble youth living in Brabant in 1251, the victim's sins are enumerated: refusing to pay his tithe, depriving certain monks of the fish owing them, allowing hunting dogs to destroy the fruit and crops of the poor.

\* *Maistre Wace's 'Roman de Rou'* (ed. Hugo Andresen, Heilbronn, 1877-1879) II, 43-50. The author of the Vendome version edited by Isnard, pp. 199-200 (42), knows the variation of the *Roman de Rou*.

A story with the same theme is told in the German collection edited by Pfeiffer and another by Floss under the title 'Der Schüler aus Sicilien.'

Latin. Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 243-244 (4). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, XIII, 196 (58). Gobius, no. 44. *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), p. 593 (8). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 44-47 (34). Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, pp. 279-280 (8). *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 68 (3).

French. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 32-33 (35); ed. Laborde, pp. 176-177 (35).

German. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 63-68 (9). H. J. (?) Floss, *Neun Marienlegenden nebst einem Gebete an Maria* (Münster, 1852), p. 29 (8).

#### 24. JULIAN THE APOSTATE

The godless emperor Julian, coming to Caesarea on his way to attack the Persians, met St. Basil. Because of an uncomplimentary gift made to him, the emperor threatened the city with complete destruction when he should return. Basil gathered the inhabitants together on Mt. Didimus, where there was an ancient Mary church. After three days of fasting and prayer he had a vision, in which he saw the Virgin surrounded by celestial soldiery and heard her say, 'Go call Mercury to me. He shall kill the blasphemer of my Son.' On the night of the death of Julian both the sophist Libanius, who was with Julian, and Basil had the same vision. Going immediately to the sanctuary of St. Mercury, Basil found the arms which usually hung there missing. He went back to the mountain and spread the news of the death of the tyrant. When the inhabitants returned to the city, they found Mercury's lance in its accustomed place, but it was wet with blood. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 207-208.

This particular tradition of the death of Julian is told by Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium (died c. 400), in his life of Basil.<sup>67</sup> No two versions of the story are exactly alike. The tendency is to add material from other sources, as in the case of the *Cleopatra* version,<sup>68</sup> presumably the oldest version of the story in collections of Mary legends. The author appends an episode from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodoret (died c. 457), how Julian was killed by a fleet knight on a white horse, and how as he lay dying, he made a cup of his hands to catch his own blood, which he threw in the air exclaiming, 'Thou hast conquered, O Nazarine, thou hast conquered.'<sup>69</sup>

A great many other traditions about Julian's death exist owing to the suddenness and the mystery of it. Ammianus Marcellinus, an eye-witness, writes that in the midst of the confusion of the battle on the plain of Marangas, a cavalryman's spear — no one knows whence — grazed the skin of his arm, pierced the ribs, and lodged in the lower lobe of his liver.<sup>70</sup> Libanius says that the blow was from the hand of one of Julian's own men, a Christian.<sup>71</sup>

Latin. Bromyard, *Summa praedicatorum*, II, M, 3 (3). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 141-142 (50). Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, de E, no. 18. *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), pp. 143-145 (30). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 23-25; *Die Quellen*, pp. 55-56. Odo of Cherriton, *Parabola*, ed. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, IV, 271 (16). Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. I (1). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XIV (43-44).

<sup>67</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, 14 June (Antwerp, 1698), p. 944.

<sup>68</sup> Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>69</sup> Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 25.

<sup>70</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, II, 25, 6 (*Loeb Classics*, Cambridge, 1937), p. 493.

<sup>71</sup> For an account of these theories see Gaetano Negri, *L'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata* (Milan, 1902), pp. 113-117.

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 76-79 (16). Kjellman, pp. 7-14 (4).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 395-416. Meyer in *Notices et extraits*, xxxiv<sup>a</sup> (1895), 50-53 (4).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 23-26 (15). *Recull de eximplis*, II, 284-286 (682).

English and Anglo-Saxon. Aelfric, *Sermones catholici* (ed. Benjamin Thorpe, London, 1844-1846), I, 448-452. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, pp. 515-516 (772). Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 367 (19).

#### 25. PRIEST OF ONE MASS

A parish priest was so ignorant that he knew only one mass which he said daily with great devotion, the mass of the Virgin which begins *Salve sancta parens*. For this he was cited before the bishop and removed. The following night the Virgin appeared to the bishop and with severity in her voice demanded why her chaplain had been treated thus, threatening death within thirty days unless he were restored. The bishop ordered the clerk never to say any other mass, and he fed and clothed him with great honor as long as he lived. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 125.

This *HM* legend is one of the most popular, and probably one of the oldest, of the miracles of western origin. The earliest text extant is found in the works of Peter Damian (1007-1072),

This same Stephen told me another story, how a foolish, frivolous clerk, who was none too bright, had no gift of religion except that each day he bowed before the altar of the Virgin and recited reverently the *Ave Maria*. A new bishop, learning of his ineptitude, considered him of no service to the church and deprived him. When the clerk began to fall into want, the Virgin appeared to the bishop as he slept. With her was a man bearing a candle in one hand and a ferule in the other. She ordered the bishop beaten with the rod, 'Why,' she said, 'have you deprived my chancellor of the support of the church?' The bishop restored the clerk and honored him.

In the thirteenth century the *HM* version is fused with another Mary legend, how Mary helped St. Thomas of Canterbury mend his hair shirt, the wearing of which he kept from everyone. The Virgin directed the ignorant clerk to use the secret between her and St. Thomas as a pass-word to get an interview with him.<sup>72</sup>

Latin. Peter Damian, *De bono suffragiorum*, Migne, *P.L.*, cXLV, 564 (3). Dexter, p. 24 (10). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 91-92 (17). Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 72 (45). Isnard, pp. 200-202 (43). *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), pp. 592-593 (7). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 39-40. Pez (ed. Crane), p. 12 (9). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (113). Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, xxxii (1903), 411-412. Kjellman, pp. 103-106 (23).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 323-326. Isnard, p. 319. Jehan le Marchant, *Le livre des miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 204-205 (31). Kjellman, pp. 285-286 (38). Miélot (ed. Laborde), p. 88.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 48-49 (32). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 56-59 (9).

German. Bolte in *Alemannia*, xvii (1889), 4 (1). Floss, *Neun Marienlegenden*, pp. 33-36 (9). Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, III, 489-492 (79). Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 58-62 (8).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 126-127; II, 747-748, 748-749.

<sup>72</sup> Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, VII, 4 (ed. Strange), II, 5-6. English translation by H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929), I, 458-459 (4).

## 26. ORLEANS

Citizens of Avenon near Orleans were attacked by the prince of the province. He had been incited by the devil who was jealous of the town's devotion to the Virgin Mary. After standing before an image of the Virgin which they had placed in the church dedicated to her and beseeching her aid, the inhabitants had carried it out and set it up before their gate. Its citizen-guardian was causing great slaughter among the enemy from behind it when one of them, discovering the guard's hiding-place, called out, 'You shall not escape death, nor shall the image be able to help you, unless you leave the gate and open the city.' With this he hurled his javelin. The statue raised its knee to intercept the weapon. When news of the miracle spread, the enemy gave up the siege and came bringing gifts to the Virgin. And to this day the image, standing with the javelin in its knee, continues to protect the citizens of Avenon. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 135-136.

The tale is told in the fullest and probably the earliest form in the collection of St. Germain-des-Prés. The author says that a certain monk who had seen the image with his own eyes told it to him. Avenon was in the thirteenth century a thriving community of merchants near Orleans. In the fourteenth century it became part of the city. Bimbenet suggests that the attack was an incursion of the Norsemen,<sup>73</sup> two of which occurred in the course of the ninth century. The whole atmosphere of the story is, however, that of the twelfth or thirteenth century. It is more likely that the anecdote is an episode in one of the numerous conflicts of townsmen with their feudal lords that fill the twelfth century.

Latin. Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vii, 107-108 (27). Gobius, no. 4. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 83. Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 34. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (83).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 275-280. Miélot, (ed. Laborde), pp. 125-126. Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, viii (1879), 18 (4).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 75-76 (51).

## 27. MONK SEES JUDAS ISCARIOT IN HELL

An English novice vowed to go to the Holy Land, but a Cistercian abbot persuaded him that instead he should accept the cross of religion and hasten toward the heavenly Jerusalem. This he agreed to, but after a time he reverted to his earlier plan. In order to dissuade him, he was at the command of the Virgin shown a vision of heaven and hell by St. Raphael. In hell he saw a terrible wheel and a man stretched out upon it. It turned rapidly, falling into the lowest depths, so that all the earth and sky trembled. The souls held captive there and all the devils beat the man upon it as it descended and hurled maledictions at him. He was Judas the traitor. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491*, fols. 84-88.

Helinand of Froidmont (d. after 1227) relates this tale under the year 1161 in the *Chronicon*.<sup>74</sup> The vision is included together with another of unknown origin in *MS Paris 17491*, a collection of Mary legends in script of the thirteenth century.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Eugène Bimbenet, *Histoire de la ville d'Orléans*, II (Orleans, 1885), 41, 90-95.

<sup>74</sup> Migne, *P.L.*, CCXII, 1060-1063.

<sup>75</sup> See also *Stella maris*, no. 40.

## 28. 'MAL DES ARDENTS' AT PARIS

William [of Auvergne] is a witness to miracles performed in the church of Notre-Dame at the time when an epidemic of *mal des ardents* prevailed at Paris.<sup>76</sup>

## 29. MARE

Mare, a Praemonstratensian monastery in the neighborhood of Rheims, was engaged in a law-suit brought against it by some secular priests. When the seculars attempted to seize goods which the monks had long possessed, they were excommunicated. They retaliated by setting fire to the monastery. Among the relics which the sacristan tried to save was an ivory statuette of the Virgin containing some of her hair. When the remains were brought together in the cemetery, it was missing. The sacristan prayed to the Virgin with faith that she could preserve it, and the abbot, entering the ruins of the church, found it upright and unharmed, as if placed there reverently by the hands of angels. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593, fols. 136<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>v</sup>.*

The monastery of Mare was founded in 1150 at a distance of five leagues from Rheims and affiliated with Claire-fontaine. In 1218 it was rebuilt by Count Hugo and his wife. By 1350 it had again been destroyed and was in that year moved to Long-vé.<sup>77</sup> The quarrel mentioned in the miracle may have been the one referred to in a letter of pope Alexander III (1159-1181) to Henry de France, archbishop of Rheims, 1162-1175. It concerned a dispute between the brothers of Mare and the chapter of the cathedral of Rheims over the possession of an altar at Mare.<sup>78</sup> In this communication the pope warns the archdeacon of Rheims against molesting the brothers further, and speaks of certain lands that have been seized forcibly by the canons. The records do not say how the monastery was destroyed so that it was necessary to rebuild it in 1218, but it may well have been the fire which was the occasion of the miracle. The author of the legend says that he had the story from the abbot of the monastery itself. The text appears in four manuscript collections of the thirteenth century: *MSS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593 and 17491; Charleville 168; and Rouen U 134.*

Latin. Cf. Mussafia, I, 963 (33); II, 49 (4). *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491, fols. 101<sup>v</sup>-102.* *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxiii (1904), 144 and 214.

## 30. PURIFICATION

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Justinian there was a plague at Byzantium. When on that account the festival of the Purification began to be celebrated, the plague ceased. This festival is called by the Greeks *Ypapanti*, because on that day in the temple Symeon and Anna met the Virgin. *Ypant* in Greek, *obviare* in Latin. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593, fol. 149<sup>v</sup>.*

The manner in which this legend originated is characteristic of certain other tales derived from historical sources. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a Byzantine historian who died in 886, writes of two unconnected incidents,<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See pp. 67 and 78.

<sup>77</sup> *Gallia christiana*, ix (Paris, 1751), 329.

<sup>78</sup> Edmond Martène, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum . . . amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1724-1733), II, 852.

<sup>79</sup> Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia ecclesiastica ex Theophane*, Migne, P.G., cviii, 1262.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Justinian in the month of October, there was a plague in Byzantium; and in the same year the Purification began to be celebrated on the second day of February.

In the twelfth century, if not before, these two events had been put together in causal relationship to explain the origin of the festival of the Purification in the Christian church as a whole. Hugh of St. Victor, 1097-1141, who is perhaps merely copying Hugh of Fleury (died c. 1130), tells how Justinian established the festival and the plague immediately ceased. It is he who adds the detail of the derivation of the word which the Greeks used to designate it.

In the meantime a different version developed in England, connected with the name of William of Malmesbury. The author explains the reasons for the plague — the heresies which Justinian embraced and the cruelty he practiced at the urging of his wife.<sup>80</sup> The glosses of the Bruges manuscript of the *Stella maris* include details for further elaboration, for the author suggests that the plague was ergotism, or erysipelas, as the middle ages called it. An entry in the margin of the Egerton manuscript of Adgar's collection, 'Thys meracylle schalle be radd in þe frater apone candilmasday,'<sup>81</sup> suggests the use to which the legend was put.

As a matter of history, the Purification was celebrated in the eastern churches before the time of Justinian, although as a festival of Our Lord and without candles. It originated in the church of Jerusalem as early as the middle of the fourth century, being celebrated on the fourteenth of February, forty days after Epiphany. In the western church it came to be combined with a Purification festival celebrated on the second of February with candles. The church of Jerusalem began in the fifth century to observe the day after the western manner, and Justinian introduced the practice into the eastern church.<sup>82</sup>

Latin. Hugo of St. Victor, *Liber excerptionum*, Migne, P.L., CLXXVII, 267. Hilka, III, 208-209 (94); Meister, pp. 197-198 (74). Kjellman, p. 237 (57). Little, *Liber exemplorum*, p. 21 (36-37).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 220-223 (39). Kjellman, pp. 237-240 (57).

### 31. SIGHT RESTORED

In the time of Pope Boniface the Pantheon at Rome was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and all the saints. A violent controversy raged between the Jews and the Christians, especially over the question of the virgin birth. Among those who participated was a man blind from birth whom the Jews taunted, 'Your Christ is so impotent that he cannot even restore your sight.'

'Wait three days,' said the blind man, 'and you will see in me the powers of God.' It was agreed between them, that if the man's sight should be restored, the Jews would accept baptism. On the day appointed, which was the day of the Purification, they all gathered in the Pantheon. There the blind man, although before ignorant of music, sang a response of his own composition refuting the errors of the Jews, and immediately he recovered his sight. Five hun-

<sup>80</sup> Kjellman, p. 237 (57).

<sup>81</sup> Ward, II, 716 (39). The version edited by Hilka tells the story of the origin of a festival at Rome in the time of the emperor Julian, 361-363, celebrated with lighted candles. Pope Sergius, 687-701, added a procession with candles.

<sup>82</sup> Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenskults*, pp. 480-484.

dred Jews were baptized. The remainder fled, and there were no more Jews in Rome. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 206-207.

What seems to be the original version of the legend appears first in collections of Mary legends made before the end of the twelfth century. One text is to be found in the *Magnum legendarium Austriacum*, written at the end of the twelfth century in Austria, and another in a Ghent manuscript of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The tale had its origin, so this version says, 'in ecclesiasticis historiis.' The same narrative is told unchanged in the Latin collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in the thirteenth century.

The blind man is called Didymus (or Dindimus) in the anonymous collection of Mary legends edited by Hilka. Ward identifies him with the blind philosopher of that name who lived in Alexandria in the fourth century, although he can find no record of a legend of this sort about him.<sup>83</sup> The collection of St. Germain-des-Prés includes two versions of the legend, the second more abbreviated than the first. Reference to the controversy between the Jews and the Christians is omitted, and the blind man is called Victor.<sup>84</sup>

Latin. 'De magno legendario Austriaco,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, xvii (Bruges, 1898), 154-157. 'Appendix ad catalogum codd. hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Academiae et Civitatis Gandavensis,' *ibid.*, iv (1885), 168-169. Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 256-257 (16). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 31. Hilka, III, 168-169 (47); Meister, pp. 156-157 (27). Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, p. 99 (113). *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 464 (29). Pelbart, III, pt. 1, art. 2, ch. 3. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, II, 29 (14). Klapper, *Erzählungen*, pp. 300-301 (82).

German. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 20-33 (3).

### 32. CHARTRES

In the time of Charles the Simple in the year 806 (*sic*) the Northmen burst upon Denmark. After this they attacked the cities of Gaul, destroying castles, killing Christians and burning churches. Rollo, their leader, was besieging Chartres. Richard, the duke of Burgundy, rushed upon him; while Antelmus, the bishop, carrying the shift of the Virgin as a standard, led an attack from the city. Rollo, seeing the danger in which he was placed by the judgment of God, declined to join battle. A part of his army withdrew to Mt. Cacumen, and six thousand eight hundred of his men were cut down by the intercession of the Holy Mother of God. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 147<sup>v</sup>.

The history of the legend of Chartres illuminates the path which historical narratives travel from history to miracle and back again to history. The incident is related by the Norman chroniclers of the twelfth century without a suggestion of the miraculous. William of Jumièges (second half of the twelfth century), to give but one example, tells how Rollo invaded Frankland as far as Étampes and was besieging Chartres. Richard, the duke of Burgundy, rushed upon him, while Antelmus, carrying the shift of the Virgin as a standard, attacked him from behind. Rollo, seeing his army about to be destroyed, abandoned the struggle and retreated to Mt. Cacumen (a hill near Chartres). Mean-

<sup>83</sup> Perhaps it was the suggestion of the 'ecclesiastical histories' in the first version that led to the insertion of the name of Didymus, the blind philosopher of Alexandria, for he is mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Rufinus, II, 7. Cf. Ward, II, 649.

<sup>84</sup> Mussafia, I, 965 (54).

while Ebalus, the count of Poitiers, had arrived and together the allies surrounded the hill. The barbarians, after an unsuccessful night attack, fled. The rescue of the city is not attributed to the Virgin, but to the cooperation of the allies.<sup>85</sup>

The same incident in words very similar to those of William of Jumièges is recounted in the great collections of Mary legends made in northern France. The part which Ebalus played in relieving the city has been omitted. Its salvation and the subsequent slaughter of the enemy is definitely attributed to the intervention of the Virgin. In the next stage of its development the tale is influenced by the legend of the salvation of the city of Constantinople, how the Virgin spread her cloak over the walls and the enemy was able to do nothing against it.<sup>86</sup> The framework of the story and many of the phrases are still from William of Jumièges, but such details as these have been added, as it is told in the local collection of Chartres,

The astonished citizens, trusting neither in morale, nor in arms, nor in walls, implored the aid of the Virgin, and they exposed to the winds in the manner of a standard over the ramparts the shift of the Blessed Virgin, which had been brought from Constantinople by Charles the Bald. The enemy laughed when they saw it and tried to send their arrows against it, but soon by the vengeance of God, they were blinded and could neither move backward nor forward. The townspeople, then, their bishop Antelmus carrying the shift, made an attack which resulted in great slaughter.

The incident of the shift has absorbed all the interest, and the part of the duke and the count who assisted is negligible. Richard of Burgundy arrives when the real crisis is past.

A somewhat different story, lacking many of the historical details, was current in England at the same time. The miraculous is played up to a still greater degree, and a much-needed moral is added at the end. The Christians displeased the Virgin by unnecessary slaughter and the shift disappeared.<sup>87</sup>

Miracles are frequently borrowed from history, and in the middle ages, history itself does not escape the influence of the inter-relationship between them. William of Malmesbury has, in the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, taken over the miraculous account of the siege of Chartres. He relates the legend briefly in words borrowed from the tradition of Chartres, omitting to say anything at all about the two noblemen who in sober history were the saviors of the city! Wace also accepts the miraculous version.

Latin. Antoine Thomas, 'Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, XLII (1881), 549-550 (27). William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* (ed. Stubbs), I, 137-138. Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, p. 112 (132). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, XIII, 202 (64). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 25-26; *Die Quellen*, pp. 59-60. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXIV (46).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 127-130 (20). Kjellman, pp. 15-19 (5).

French. Jehan le Marchant, pp. 179-184 (28). Kjellman, pp. 271-272 (9). Miélot (ed. Warner), p. 5 (1); ed. Laborde, p. 147 (1). Wace, *Roman de Rou*, I, 68-71.

English. Horstman, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, pp. 138-141.

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 922-924.

<sup>85</sup> William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (ed. Jean Marx, Rouen, 1914), pp. 26-27 (9-10).

<sup>86</sup> Kjellman, p. 234 (56), and elsewhere in many collections.

<sup>87</sup> Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 25-26.

## 33. MAID OF ARRAS

The miracle, told by the bishop Alvisius of Arras [1131-1147] who witnessed it, took place in the year 1142 in Arras. Mary appeared to a carefully-nurtured girl and told her that she had been chosen for the service of the Virgin and that she must take great care to guard the chastity of both body and mind. When she was forced to go through with a marriage her parents had arranged for her, her young husband wounded her severely with a knife. A little later she was stricken with the plague of 'sacred fire,' and placed along with other victims in a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Virgin came and led her to a place before the altar. She was told in a vision that, not only would she wake whole and well herself, but that all to whom she gave the kiss of peace should be healed. When someone coming into the church kicked her and ordered her away from the altar, she awoke in health and healed all the others in the church. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 176<sup>v</sup>-179.

The story is told in the collections of Mary legends made in northern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The city of Arras lies in a region in which ergotism was endemic in the twelfth century. The church of the Virgin referred to is probably Notre-Dame-des-Ardents, so named because of the tradition that the Virgin in 1105 bestowed upon two jongleurs a sacred candle capable of healing victims of the so-called 'sacred fire.' Numerous other healings are recorded in the chronicles, though there is no record of one similar to this incident.<sup>88</sup>

Latin. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, 1 (Brussels, 1886), 525-529. Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 28-33 and 56-58.

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 257-274.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 161-163 (105).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 996-1002.

## 34. CONCEPTION

In the time of William the Conqueror a certain abbot of the monastery of Ramsey by the name of Elisinus was sent on a mission to Denmark. As he was returning, a great storm arose. When all in the vessel invoked heaven to help them, an angel in the guise of a bishop appeared near the ship and advised the abbot that if he wished to be saved, he must cause the Conception of the Virgin to be celebrated. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 129<sup>v</sup>-130.

## LIGHT ON THE MASTHEAD

An abbot sailing *in medio maris Britannici* was caught in a storm, so that all in the ship despaired. Some called upon one saint, some upon another, but none upon Mary, 'the star of the sea.' For this neglect the abbot reproved them. All then with one voice invoked the Virgin, and a great light like a candle appeared above the masthead and the tempest ceased. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 173-173<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> *Notre-Dame-des-Ardents d'Arras, Faits et documents* (Abbeville, 1918), pp. 10-15. Poquet had a search made among the manuscripts of the prefecture and library of St.-Vaast, but no account of this incident was found.

John of Garland has confused these two miracles, both of them tales of shipwreck, in his attempt to explain the origin of the Conception of the Virgin. The legend which he erroneously connects with the first celebration of the festival, 'Light on the Masthead,' is often found coupled with his own story of the pilgrim saved from shipwreck.<sup>89</sup> Both miracles are told frequently in the French collections to which John of Garland's collection is related. Kjellman calls attention to a story very similar in theme told by Eadmer in his life of St. Anselm.<sup>90</sup> The author of the gloss of the British Museum manuscript of the *Stella maris* has in mind the correct tale to explain the origin of the festival of the Conception, for he writes 'de Ramisseya.' So also the author of the Bruges gloss who comments, 'Accidit in Anglia.' No version of 'Light on the Masthead' mentions England. Following are parallel texts of 'Conception:'

Latin. Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 259 (18). Dexter, pp. 37-38 (22). Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, pp. 93-95 (106). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VI, 407, note 2. Kjellman, pp. 180-181 (40). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 69-70; *Die Quellen*, pp. 44-48. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 22-23 (19). *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), pp. 869-870 (189). Pseudo-Anselm in Migne, *P.L.*, CLIX, 319-320 and 323-326.

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 135-140 (22). Kjellman, pp. 181-185 (40).

French. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 96-97.

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 1030-1031, 1031-1032.

35. BRIDEGROOM: TRANSPORTED TO A REMOTE REGION (See no. 8, p. 163)

36. DROWNED SACRISTAN (See no. 22, pp. 179-180)

37. JEWESS IN CHILDBIRTH

A certain woman near death in childbirth suddenly saw a light from heaven and heard a voice telling her to call upon the name of Mary, the mother of Jesus. When she had done this, she brought forth her son without pain. Afterwards the eye of God from heaven protected her against harm at the hands of the Jewish women who were there. After her purification she took her son and fled to the church and received baptism. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (99).

The origin of the legend is unknown. In spite of the fact that both Gobius and Vincent of Beauvais cite the *Mariale magnum* as their source, they tell different tales. The version Gobius used was probably that reported by Morawski, how in Seville in 930, a child born of a Jewess who promised that he should become Christian was baptized, was killed by his father, and then restored to life by the Virgin. Gobius' tale in this form is not an original version, for it seems to have been influenced by two other Mary legends, 'Jewish Boy' and 'Son Restored.' The author of the Bruges gloss gives Spain as the scene of the version of the *Stella maris*. In most cases his notes report accurately the version which John of Garland used at Ste. Geneviève. It is probable, therefore, that the scene of the version of Ste. Geneviève and Vincent of Beauvais was also Spain.

Another very similar tale is told in verse in *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491*, of a knight of Narbonne, who had already had three children by a Jewess.

<sup>89</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 10.

<sup>90</sup> Migne, *P.L.*, CLVIII, 117-118, and Kjellman, pp. 185-188 (41).

At the birth of the fourth, a voice from heaven tells her to call upon the Virgin.<sup>91</sup> This is the version that is interpolated in several of the manuscripts of the *Vie des anciens pères* described by Morawski, and that of Miélot.

Latin. Gobius, no. 27. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 19. Pelbart, XIII, *pars ultima*, ch. 7 (3). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (99).

French. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 141-143. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI (1935), 203-204, and *ibid.*, LXIV (1938), 471-472.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 141-142 (89).

### 38. HILDEFONSUS

Saint Hildefonus, archbishop of Toledo, wrote a book in praise of the Virgin which so delighted her that she appeared in a vision to thank him. When he honored her still further by instituting the festival of the octave of the Nativity of Our Lord, she came again bearing an alb. Seating herself in a chair near the altar, she said, 'I bring this vestment from the paradise of my Son. . . . No one except you shall sit in this chair, or shall put on the vestment with impunity.' After the death of Hildefonus, Siagrius, his successor, presuming to sit in the chair and to wear the alb, was struck dead. Those who witnessed the miracle took up the garment and placed it in the treasury of the church where it is still preserved. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 120<sup>v</sup>-121.

The legend of Hildefonus, archbishop of Toledo, 657-667, emanates from an ancient life of the prelate by one of his successors, Cixila, archbishop of Toledo about 783.<sup>92</sup>

Hildefonus was about to celebrate the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin which he had instituted, when there shone a great light such that no one was able to bear it. The saint found the Virgin sitting in the ivory seat where the bishop is accustomed to sit, a seat which no bishop afterwards dared to occupy, except Sisbert who was forced into exile. The Virgin gave Hildefonus a vestment from paradise as a reward for his service to her.

The versions derived from Cixila's account fall into several classes. The first is the opening number of the *HM* series,<sup>93</sup> and it comprises all the narratives except four. The first episode, the appearance of the Virgin with a book, has been added. So also the Virgin's prohibition that no one should ever presume to wear the alb, or sit in the chair. The reference which Cixila makes to the historical Sisbert who was exiled has been omitted, and the case of the unidentified Siagrius is substituted for it. In this form the story appears in the collections made in northern France.

Cixila's account does not definitely say, it should be noted, that Sisbert was exiled because he dared to occupy the chair. In fact history gives quite another reason for it. He was deposed in 693 by a Council of Toledo, accused of plotting against the life of the king. Just as in the legend of the Purification (no. 30 above), tradition has associated two unconnected events. The book referred to is the *Liber de virginitate S. Mariae contra tres infideles*.<sup>94</sup> The history of the

<sup>91</sup> Mussafia, I, 979-980 (80).

<sup>92</sup> *Vita S. Hildefonsi a Cixilano*, Migne, P.L., xcvi, 46-48.

<sup>93</sup> Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 3-4 (1).

<sup>94</sup> Migne, P.L., xcvi, 54-110.

famous alb is traced by Fita, the editor of the *Liber Mariae* of Gil de Zamora.<sup>95</sup>

The second version of the Mary legend appears to come from a life of St. Hildefonsus written by Roderigo of Cerratensis, a Dominican of the thirteenth century.<sup>96</sup> It represents a fusion of the *HM* version and that of Cixila.

A third version is told by Gil de Zamora in his account of the translation and discovery of the remains of St. Hildefonsus.<sup>97</sup> He rejects the first part of the story, the Virgin with the book, relates the presentation of the garment in the words of Roderigo of Cerratensis, but incorporates both Sisbert who was exiled and Siagrius who fell dead. A detail regarding the translation of the alb from Toledo to Oviedo is added. Both the first and the third version of the legend are included in the *Liber Mariae*.<sup>98</sup>

A fourth version found in Gobius' *Scala celi* seems to come directly from the life by Cixila, untouched by the *HM* legend.

Latin. *Vita S. Hildefonsi a Cixilano*, Migne, P.L., xcvi, 46-48. *Vita S. Hildefonsi per Rodericum Cerratensem*, *ibid.*, p. 50. Dexter, pp. 15-17 (2). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vii, 54-55 (1). Gobius, no. 25. Hilka, iii, 155-157 (35); Meister, pp. 143-145 (15). Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 73 (48). *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 479 (54). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 3-4 (1). Pelbart, I, pt. iv, art. 3, ch. 2. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (120). Meyer in *Romania*, xxix (1900), 35.

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, xxxii (1903), 401-402 (1). Everard de Gateley, *ibid.*, xxix (1900), 44-45 (2). Kjellman, pp. 75-79 (15).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 90-94. Kjellman, pp. 269-270 (3). Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 81-82.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 4-5 (2). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 13-19 (1).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 78-80; II, 704-706, 706-707, 707-708.

Ethiopian. Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, pp. 10-12 (2), 20-24; *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 1-4 (1).

### 39. MOUTH OF HELL

A carefully trained nun planned an elopement with a wealthy young man. On the night before the event she found herself suddenly snatched above the mouth of a wide and deep pit from which came fetors which seemed to infect all the air of the world. Beneath writhed all manner of snakes and vermin. The cries of those within proved the torment of their souls. About to be drawn inside, she beheld the Virgin a long way off, her face turned away. When the girl called upon her in fear, she denied her saying, 'These are the fruits of the flesh. Into this pit of destruction you are throwing yourself.' When the nun awoke and the messengers of the young man came to her, she sent them away. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 142<sup>v</sup>-143.

The legend is found only in collections of northern France, although there is no clue as to the place of origin. Visions of this sort are not uncommon in the collections of Mary legends. The same tale is related in the Vendome collection of a certain youth who came with his master to Clairvaux in the time of St. Bernard.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Fidel Fita in *Boletín*, vii, 58-60.

<sup>96</sup> *Vita S. Hildefonsi per Rodericum Cerratensem*, Migne, P.L., xcvi, 47-50.

<sup>97</sup> Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, vi, 64-65 (8).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, 55-56 and 54-55.

<sup>99</sup> Isnard, pp. 106-108 (20).

Latin. Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 19. *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 376 (12).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 473-480. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 109-111.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 84-86 (58).

#### 40. CHRIST APPEARS TO MONK

In the monastery of Savigny when Serlo was abbot, a brother who was a friend of the author, was celebrating mass alone. When he came to the words of the sacred canon, *Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem*, he saw the heavens open to display Christ himself, bringing great light and joy. Proceeding to the consecration of the wine, he beheld a hand making the sign of the cross above the chalice. Later, as often as he recalled it, he was refreshed by the sweetness of the odor which encompassed him at that time. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491*, fols. 88-88<sup>v</sup>.

Although the tale as it appears in the Paris manuscript does not mention the Virgin, the fact that it is included in a collection of Mary legends leads easily to the inference made by John of Garland or his source that the monk was in some way honoring the Virgin. The commentary of both the Bruges and the British Museum manuscripts reproduces certain words of the original. It follows in the Paris manuscript and the Rouen *Mariale* immediately after 'Judas Iscariot in Hell.' Serlo de Vaubadon was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Savigny in the diocese of Avranches from 1140 until 1153 when he became abbot of Clairvaux. In 1147 the monastery had received Cistercians.

#### 41. FIRE IN A CHURCH AT MONT-SAINT-MICHEL

A church dedicated to Mary at Mont-Saint-Michel was set on fire by lightning. Although everything around was burned, a wooden image of the Virgin escaped so completely that the white veil worn over its head as a mitre neither smelled of smoke, nor was darkened by it. Even a feather from a peacock's wing caught by it was untouched. This shows not only how Mary protected her own image from the fire, but how easily she can deliver her servants from the fires of the flesh. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 127<sup>v</sup>.

Robert of Torigny, who became abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1154, records in his annals of the abbey under the year 1112 that the church was destroyed by fire caused by lightning while the monks were chanting matins.<sup>100</sup> This seems to be the incident referred to. Either the legend developed after the middle of the twelfth century, or the chronicler did not regard it as sufficiently authentic to record as history.<sup>101</sup> The tale is one of the *TS* collection.

Latin. Dexter, pp. 29-30 (16). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 99 (22). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 85. Pez (ed. Crane), p. 18 (15).

Anglo-Norman. Kjellman, pp. 123-125 (29).

<sup>100</sup> Léopold Delisle (ed.), *Chronique de Robert de Torigni* (Rouen, 1872-1873), II, 225.

<sup>101</sup> Later historians of the abbey had no scruples about using the tale. Dom Jean Huynes in the seventeenth century says that when the church was struck in 1112 and reduced to cinders, the dwellings in the village were not destroyed, and a wooden image of the Virgin stood unharmed. The statue, he adds, may still be seen in the chapel of *Notre-Dame sous terre*. E. de Robillard de Beaurepaire (ed.), *Histoire générale de l'abbaye du Mont-St.-Michel par Dom Jean Huynes*, I (Rouen, 1872), 164.

French. Kjellman, p. 289 (44). Miélot (ed. Laborde), p. 92.

Provençal. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 20 (7).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, p. 60 (39). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 80-82 (14).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 128, 259-260, 603-604; II, 1072.

#### 42. LITTLE DEVIL IN CHURCH

As an archdeacon of Toledo, devoted to Mary, was assisting at a service conducted by the archbishop, he was suddenly snatched away in spirit. He saw the devil in the form of a monkey sitting above a window. Inkhorn over his shoulder, parchment in his left hand, and pen in his right, he was listening to two gossiping women and making notes to be used in accusing the brothers of the church. The parchment had been completely filled on both sides and still it was not enough. The efforts of the devil to stretch it with his teeth and toe-nails caused him to lose his balance. He tumbled from his perch with such force that the whole foundation of the church seemed to shake. At this point the priest laughed. Deprived of his benefice, he became a vagabond. Once as he was praying in a strange church, the Virgin laid upon his breast the scroll of accusations collected by the devil in the vision he had seen. With this evidence he returned and related both incidents. The women confessed, and the priest was restored. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (118).

The collection of Mary legends which John of Garland used at Ste. Geneviève probably contained the earliest version of this tale as a Mary legend. It seems to have originated in a narrative about St. Martin of Tours and St. Bricius told in an ancient life of St. Bricius. The life has been lost, but the anecdote is told in Herolt's collection of *exempla*,

St. Martin was celebrating mass with St. Bricius who was then only a boy. Bricius saw the devil writing behind the altar the vain words said in church. When he tried to stretch the parchment, he struck his head against a wall and Bricius laughed. St. Martin compelled the devil to erase what he had written after the congregation had confessed.

The same story is referred to as coming from a life of St. Bricius in the *Speculum laicorum*, compiled in the thirteenth century.<sup>102</sup> There is no suggestion in either of these tales about the deprivation of the young man, or the Virgin's intervention. The first detail probably came from a tradition about the relations between St. Martin and St. Bricius which Gregory of Tours relates in the *Historia Francorum*.<sup>103</sup> He pictures Bricius as a very irreverent young man with a sense of humor. Exiled from Tours, he finally returned to occupy the bishop's seat. As for the intervention of the Virgin, she merely usurps the place of St. Martin. The form taken by her intervention is borrowed from the Theophilus legend, the scroll placed upon the monk's chest as he sleeps. The vision which makes the archdeacon laugh in Vincent of Beauvais' version is the similar, but more amusing, tale told by Jacques de Vitry as an *exemplum*.

The version of the *Stella maris* and Vincent of Beauvais agree in detail except for the suggestion of John of Garland that the monk had fallen asleep when the

<sup>102</sup> John Thomas Welter, *Speculum laicorum* (Paris, 1914), p. 41 (185).

<sup>103</sup> *Gregorii Turonensis opera* (ed. Arndt and Krusch), I, 59-60.

scroll was delivered to him. This must be an omission on the part of Vincent of Beauvais, for his story is not logical as he tells it. The version of the collection of Ste. Geneviève, John of Garland's source, and that of the Clairvaux *Mariale*, from which Vincent of Beauvais made his summaries, were probably identical.

Latin. Gobius, no. 22. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (118). Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum, de E*, no. 16. Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, p. 100 (239). *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 253 (6). Pelbart, I, pt. iv, art. 2, ch. 2. Arthur Långfors, 'Le sous-diacre, les deux femmes bavardes et le diable,' *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors*, VIII (1929), 403-408 (Vincent of Beauvais and Gobius).

French. Långfors, *op. cit.*, pp. 389-403.

Spanish. *Recull de eximplis*, II, 127-128 (512).

English. Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* (London, 1901-1903), II, 290-292. Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquae antiquae* (London, 1845), I, 59-60.

#### 43. CHORISTER

A little clerk who loved the Virgin tenderly was accustomed to sing the *Gaude Maria* with particular sweetness. For this the canons of the church gave him alms for himself and his mother. Once as he was singing the Virgin's response in a certain street, an enraged Jew called the boy into his house, killed him with an axe, and buried him there. His anxious mother searched for him in many places. Entering the house of the Jew, she heard her son singing the response clearly. The Jew denied the crime, but when they dug in the earth, they found the boy alive. He said that a beautiful lady had come to him, asking him to sing the response just as he had been accustomed to do, and immediately he became whole and well. When the provosts of the city heard about it, they put the murderer to death and expelled the Jews from the city. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18134*, fol. 142-142<sup>v</sup>.

The development of the anecdote from the kind of simple narrative related by John of Garland to the more complex tale of the 'litel clergeon' told by Chaucer's prioress is discussed by Carleton Brown on the basis of all the known versions.<sup>104</sup> Brown regards John of Garland's version of particular importance because (1) he locates the incident in England, a detail which is lacking in *MS Paris 18134* (Q), but found in the Vendome collection, and (2) he makes a great deal of the alms motive and the punishment of the Jews, details from Q which are lacking in the Vendome version.

These observations lend support to the theory of the relationship between the collections of northern France outlined in the first part of this study. The version of Ste. Geneviève, the source of John of Garland's verses, was the earliest and most detailed of the three versions. It was passed on by way of the Clairvaux *Mariale* to the *Mariale magnum*, from which both the abbot of Vendome and the compiler of Q derived their briefer tales.

Latin. Pseudo-Celestine, p. 211 (17). Isnard, pp. 194-196 (41). Hilka, III, 201-202 (87); Meister, pp. 189-191 (67). Miélot (ed. Warner), p. xvi. Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 54-56. Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 1 (2). Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, pp. 288-289 (13). Carleton Brown, 'Chaucer's Prioresses Tale and its Analogues,' in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXI (1906), 486-491, 492, 495-497; *A Study of the Mira-*

<sup>104</sup> Carleton Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress* (Chaucer Society, London, 1910) and the same author in W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 447-485.

*cle of Our Lady*, pp. 1-10, 12-18, 20-25, 31-50. Bryan and Dempster, *Sources and Analogues*, pp. 467-468, 469-470, 474-485. Klapper, *Erzählungen*, p. 301 (83).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 555-572; ed. Carleton Brown, *Originals and Analogues of Some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chaucer Society, London, 1872-1887), no. 15 (14), pp. 251-276. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 14-15 (19); ed. Laborde, pp. 156-158 (19). Brown in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxi (1906), 493-494; *A Study of the Miracles of Our Lady*, pp. 29-31.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 12-14 (6).

English. *Originals and Analogues*, no. 15, pp. 286-288. Horstman, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, pp. 141-145. Bryan and Dempster, *Sources and Analogues*, pp. 469, 470-474.

Dutch. Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady*, p. 19. Brown in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, *op. cit.*, pp. 491-492.

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 203-207; II, 779-780. Brown, *A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady*, pp. 10-11, 25-28.

#### 44. SOISSONS

In the year 1128 a plague afflicted the city of Soissons. It was a wasting disease, spreading under the skin, separating the flesh from the bones and consuming it. First destroying the extremities, the swift fire invaded the vital organs. What is most remarkable was that the fire was without heat. It afflicted its victims with glacial cold, and when the cold had fled, a burning cancer appeared. It was horrible to look upon the distorted features of the sick or those recently healed. For six days in September an ever-increasing number of victims cried out for help in the church of the Virgin Mary. The imperious Queen of Heaven appeared with the heavenly hosts, so that the earth trembled. The people rushed to the portals in fear, but immediately the sick were healed. For nine consecutive days by order of the bishop all those who had been healed came to kiss the holy slipper of the Virgin in the church, and a festival was instituted on the sixth of October in honor of the miraculous deliverance. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, fols. 48-48<sup>v</sup>.

Boso, a rustic servant of a knight at Soissons, was accustomed to come to the church on festival days. While his companions made gifts, he gave nothing; and when the holy slipper was being talked of among them, he muttered, 'You are very foolish, if you think that is the actual slipper of the Virgin; it would have rotted long ago.' At these words his blasphemous mouth was drawn toward his ear with such sharpness and pain, that his eyes seemed to slip out of his head. A great tumor made his face unfit for human use. Roaring and writhing, he threw himself before the altar of the Virgin. But when the pious abbess Matilda took the slipper and made the sign of the cross upon him, he began to be healed. He gave himself to the service of the church. *Ibid.*, fol. 52.

Many others were healed at Soissons in the church of Ste. Mary — the lame, the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the paralytic. *Ibid.*, fols. 52<sup>v</sup>-60<sup>v</sup>.

The disease which is described in the legends of the *Stella maris*, nos. 44 and 45 at Soissons, no. 27 at Paris, no. 33 at Arras, no. 51 at Viviers, and possibly no. 1, place undesignated, was in reality ergotism. Ergot is a fungus which attacks rye, especially after a particularly rainy winter. Since the poor of the middle ages subsisted largely upon rye bread, or bread made with a mixture of rye and wheat, epidemics of ergotism were frequent occurrences. Two sorts of the disease were prevalent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The con-

vulsive type was generally associated with the territory east of the Rhine. It attacked its victim suddenly and ran its course in a very short time. The gangrenous variety, described so vividly by Hugo Farsitus in the selections summarized above, flourished west of the river. For some centuries it visited again and again certain districts in France, becoming almost endemic in some places, as for instance, Arras. By the fourteenth century it had become rare, although there was an outbreak as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>105</sup>

The disease was known in the middle ages by a variety of names, *sacer ignis*, *ignis infernalis*, *ignis beate Marie*, *ignis subcutaneous*, *ignis divinus*, *mal des ardents*, or *erysipelas*. In the thirteenth century it came to be associated with St. Anthony and St. Martial.<sup>106</sup>

The rustic who blasphemed the Virgin's shoe at Soissons seems to have been the victim of the convulsive type of the disease, and possibly also the unfortunate soul of the 'Milk' miracle who bit off his tongue in delirium. The fact that this particular type was not very familiar west of the Rhine would assist belief in the miraculous.

Hugo Farsitus, the author of the small book of the miracles of Soissons, was a canon regular of Saint Jean-des-Vignes. Although he speaks as if he were an eye-witness of the plague of 1128, his book was not written until near the middle of the twelfth century. Its first appearance in collections of Mary legends is in the collection of St. Victor (SV). John of Garland tells two other legends from Farsitus.<sup>107</sup>

Latin. Hugo Farsitus, *Libellus de miraculis B. Mariae virginis in urbe Suessionensi*, Migne, P.L., CLXXIX, 1776-1780 and 1786. Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 111-112 (30); XIII, 215-218. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXVII (2).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 153-162. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 46-48 (51); ed. Laborde, pp. 190-193 (51).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, p. 88 (61).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 654-660.

#### 45. NOSE RESTORED

Gundrada, a woman of Sudignicourt near Soissons, besought the Mother of Mercy to cure her of the fire that had already consumed her nose and lips. The fire was extinguished, but so hideous did she appear that she gave offense to all she met. Servants vilified her even when she wore a bandage over her face. She went one morning to the church of the Virgin at Soissons, and out of her poverty, offered a candle to Mary. That night, watching late, she felt the bandage slipping, and the flesh under her fingers grow soft. The new flesh appeared just like the old, except to a close observer, it looked a bit lighter. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, fols. 49<sup>v</sup>-50.

The tale is one of the many legends told by Hugo Farsitus of the plague of ergotism at Soissons in the year 1128 and following. Gautier of Compiègne tells a similar story localized at Dormans in France as happening in 1133.<sup>108</sup>

Latin. Hugo Farsitus, *op. cit.*, pp. 1781-1782. Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 118-120 (36). Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, pp. 97-98 (110). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXVII (3).

<sup>105</sup> George Barger, *Ergot and Ergotism* (London, 1931), pp. 20-22.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>107</sup> *Stella maris*, nos. 45 and 57.

<sup>108</sup> Gautier de Compiègne (or Cluny), *De miraculis*, Migne, P.L., CLXXIII, 1379-1382.

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 161-178.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 130-131 (81).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 661-663.

#### 46. TWO BROTHERS AT ROME

There were two brothers in the city of Rome, Peter, an archdeacon of St. Peter's, and Stephen, a judge. Peter's only fault was avarice; but Stephen frequently accepted bribes, and besides he had robbed both the church of St. Lawrence and the church of St. Agnes. Peter died and was carried off to purgatory. Stephen a few days later was brought before the judgment seat of God. St. Lawrence in anger bent his arm so narrowly three times that it caused him great pain, and St. Agnes turned her face from him. A just God assigned him a place in hell near Judas. But St. Projectus, whom the corrupt Stephen had served, intervened in his behalf, and after begging the pardon of the injured saints, he prevailed upon God and the Virgin Mary to allow the sinner to return to life for thirty days to do penance.

Meanwhile, as he was being conducted through purgatory to hell, his brother had approached him and told him that a single mass said by the pope and the cardinals would free him from purgatory. Liberated from hell, Stephen was brought before the Virgin Mary who ordered him to sing the psalm, *Beati immaculati* daily. When he had been restored to life Stephen told his story to the pope and exhibited his arm. It was as purple as if he had suffered injury in life. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 125-126.

The legend has only very tenuous connections with the Mary cult, for it is St. Projectus who takes the initiative in saving the sinner. It is included, nevertheless, in the *HM* series.

Latin. Dexter, pp. 24-26 (11). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, XIII, 223-224 (79). Gobius, under *Avaricia*. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, pp. 73-74 (51). Neuhaus, *Die Quellen*, pp. 10-14; *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 41-42. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 12-14 (10).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 413 (10). Kjellman, pp. 106-112 (24).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 593-604. Kjellman, pp. 286-287 (39). Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 88-90.

Spanish. Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 60-67 (10). *Recull de eximplis*, II, 9-10 (381). Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, pp. 461-462 (58).

English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, p. 297 (433).

German. Bolte in *Alemannia*, XVII (1889), 14 (23).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 102-104; II, 940-942, 942-945.

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 189-190 (51).

#### 47. LANDMARK REMOVED

A certain rustic laborer, accustomed when he ploughed to transgress the boundaries and thus to steal land from his neighbors, died. But even as he committed these sins, he had kept the Virgin Mary in mind and had saluted her devoutly. After the angels had said what they could for him, the devils began to allege innumerable evils. Just as the evil ones seemed triumphant, one of the angels reported the soul's devotion to the Virgin. The demons left in haste and confusion. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 126.

The tale is one of the *HM series*. It had a particular interest for Gautier de Coincy who draws out the dialogue in a very interesting and lively fashion.

Latin. Dexter, pp. 26-27 (12). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, XIII, 202-203 (65). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 51. Hilka, III, 200 (85); Meister, pp. 188-189 (65). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, p. 43. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 14-15 (11).

Anglo-Norman. Kjellman, pp. 113-115 (25).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 618-628. Kjellman, pp. 287-288 (40). Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 60-61 (62); ed. Laborde, pp. 90, 205-206 (62).

Spanish. Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 68-70 (11).

#### 48. CHARITABLE ALMSMAN

A poor man for the love of the Virgin very often gave a portion of the alms which he had collected to other poor. At his death Mary was present, and many in the house heard her say, 'Come, beloved, that you may enjoy the repose of paradise, as you wished.' His soul was carried to paradise by the angels. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 123.

The story of the charitable man is one of the *HM series*. Apparently this pious tale did not fire the imagination of the middle ages, for it is told without variation or ornamentation. In spite of its excellent moral, it is one of the few Mary legends which did not interest the preachers.

Latin. Dexter, pp. 19-20 (6). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, XIII, 222 (78). Hilka, III, 196 (81); Meister, p. 185 (61). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 34-35. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 7-8 (5).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 406. Kjellman, pp. 88-91 (19).

French. Miélot (ed. Warner), p. 11 (10); ed. Laborde, pp. 85, 153 (10).

Spanish. Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 35-37 (5).

#### 49. BREAD OFFERED TO CHRIST CHILD

There is at Speyer a famous image of the Virgin with her Child placed so that it is easily accessible to children. One day a little boy standing before it, while his mother prayed not far away, offered the child a bit of the bread which he had in his hands. When the image made no sign, he began to embrace it and to cry imploringly in the words commonly used by German boys, 'Pupe papa, pupe papa.' The image then answered, 'Do not cry, after three days you shall eat with me.' The mother in great fright told the story to a senior canon who happened to be in the church. He warned her that the infant would die in three days. He was immediately stricken with fever and died the third day. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 134-134<sup>v</sup>.

This naive little legend touched the heart of the middle ages, for it is told frequently and in many different forms. Gautier de Compiègne tells it in his brief collection as happening at Dormans on the Marne. The Latin collections of northern France agree in localizing it at Speyer, with the exception of *MS British Museum Additional 15723*, where 'Epiris' is apparently a scribal error for 'Spiris.' The author of the gloss of the Bruges manuscript of the *Stella maris*, misled perhaps by 'Epiris,' writes 'Constantinopolis.'<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> No other version mentions Constantinople.

The Paris manuscript, *Bibliothèque Nationale 12593* (SG), includes three versions of the tale. The first two<sup>110</sup> are much the same in detail, although the diction of the second differs from that of any other collection examined. The third tale seems to be the point of departure for the innumerable German versions of a later period,<sup>111</sup>

A young monk was accustomed to sit before an altar in a remote part of the church. Above it on the wall was a picture of the Virgin and Child. One day the boy offered a piece of bread to the Christ-child. It was eaten, and the scene repeated daily. The prior of the monastery concealed himself and witnessed the miracle, but the abbot was unable to believe it. After a short time the boy died, and when they were ready to lower the body into the grave, it was missing from the bier, and in its place was a scroll, *Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt*.

Anecdotes of this sort are told over and over again, and scarcely ever in the same manner. The child is variously an infant, a schoolboy, an acolyte, or a young monk. Other characters develop, especially that of the old canon in the first SG version.

Latin. Gautier de Compiègne, *De miraculis*, Migne, P.L., clxxiii, 1383-1384. Guibert de Nogent, *ibid.*, clvi, 617. Gil de Zamora in *Boletim*, vii, 129-130 (44). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 17; *Promptuarium exemplorum, de Y*, no. 3. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, pp. 50-51 (18). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (99).

French. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 23 (28), 65-67 (66); ed. Laborde, pp. 166 (28), 210-212 (66). Morawski in *Romania*, lxi (1938), 476-480.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 209-210 (139).

English. Tryon in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxviii (1923), 378-386 (3).

German. Bär, *Marienlegenden*, p. 184 (30). Pfeiffer, 'Predigtmärlein,' *Germania*, iii (1858), 427-429 (20). Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst* (ed. Johannes Bolte), I, 370 (665).

#### 50. PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES

Hugh, abbot of Cluny, used to tell this story of Girard, a lay brother of his order, about to make a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. The night before his departure he slept with his mistress. Setting out the next morning, he met the devil in the form of St. James who ordered him to mutilate himself and cut his throat, if he wished to be saved. When his fellow pilgrims saw what he had done, they deserted him, fearing they would be accused of robbery and murder. The devil and his cohorts came in high glee; and they would have carried off his soul, had not St. James and St. Peter met them. The apostles haled the victim before the judgment seat of the Virgin Mary, and through the merits of St. James and the Virgin the soul was permitted to return to life to do penance. Two wounds on the throat remained to witness the miracle. Girard became a monk of the Cluniac order. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 124<sup>v</sup>-125.

The story of the pilgrim of St. James is particularly interesting because it illustrates how Mary edged her way into the place of other saints and finally came to occupy the position of importance. As Hugh of St. Victor, 1096-1141,

<sup>110</sup> Fols. 134-134<sup>v</sup> and 147.

<sup>111</sup> *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 208<sup>v</sup>-209. See above, pp. 21-22. The version of *MS Brussels Phillipps 336* of the twelfth century appears to be the parent of a number of inedited English versions. Tryon, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-388.

tells the story, Mary has no place in it. It is a miracle of St. James, and an abbot is named as the author. When the anecdote is told as one of the legends of St. James by Pope Calixtus II (d. 1124), the role of the Virgin has become important. She now pronounces judgment in the presence of a council of the saints. St. James merely brings the victim into court. The pilgrim is Girard of Lyons, and the witness, Hugh of Cluny (1024-1109).<sup>112</sup> It was apparently from this source that the legend, which is one of the *HM* series, was derived.

Latin.<sup>1</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, *Liber de sacramentis*, Migne, P.L., CLXXVI, 583-584. Guaiferus of Monte Cassino, *Versus in laudem psalterii*, *ibid.*, CXLVII, 1285-1288. Anselm of Canterbury (attributed), *Miraculum Sancti Jacobi*, *ibid.*, CLIX, 337-340. Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua* in *ibid.*, CLVI, 955-956. *Acta sanctorum*, 25 July (Venice, 1749), pp. 54-56. Gobius, under *Peregrinatio*. Hugo of Trimberg, *Solsequium*, p. 73 (50). Hilka, III, 196-198 (82); Meister, pp. 185-187 (62). Dexter, pp. 22-23 (9). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 38-39. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 10-12 (8). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXVI (38). *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), xcix (6), p. 427.

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, xxxii (1903), 410-411 (8).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 287-296. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 87-88.

Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 147-153. Legrand d'Aussy, v, 45-47.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 39-41 (26). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 48-55 (8).

English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, p. 258 (376).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 85-87; II, 863-869, 869-870.

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 335-336 (104).

#### 51. FOOT CUT OFF

A certain man having erysipelas in one foot came to a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the city of Viviers. When he had been there many days without being healed, he cut off the diseased member rather than suffer longer. Soon after he went again to the church and complained to the Virgin that he of all men had been cast off by her as a stranger and denied the grace of health. Afterwards when he had fallen asleep, a most beautiful lady appeared and softly stroked the wound. His foot had been restored. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 131-131<sup>v</sup>.

The tale is one of the *TS* series, and the scene is Vivaria or Viviers in the department of Ardèche. A miracle similar to this is told by Guibert de Nogent as happening at Grenoble when Leodegarius was bishop of Viviers (1096-1119).<sup>113</sup>

Latin. Dexter, pp. 40-41 (25). Gil de Zamora in *Boletin*, VII, 97-98 (21). Kjellman, pp. 141-142 (33). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, p. 53. Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 20-21 (18).

Anglo-Norman. Kjellman, pp. 142-146 (33). Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 62-66 (12).

French. Kjellman, pp. 291-292 (50). Miélot (ed. Warner), p. 65 (65); ed. Laborde, pp. 98-99, 210 (65).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 56-57 (37).

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, p. 14 (4).

English. Horstman, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, pp. 154-157.

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 130-131 (40).

<sup>112</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, 25 July (Venice, 1749), pp. 54-56. The same tale is included among the works of Anselm of Canterbury, although it is certainly not by him. The home of the pilgrim is said to be Laon.

<sup>113</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Liber de laude S. Marie*, Migne, P.L., CLVI, 568-570 (11).

Ethiopian. Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, pp. 35-36 (22), 62-64 (22); *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 68-69 (22).

#### 52. BOY DEVOTED TO THE DEVIL

A certain rich nobleman and his wife who had taken a vow to spend the remainder of their lives in continence broke their oath on the night of the resurrection of Our Lord. The woman, angry at her husband, vowed their offspring to the devil. A son was born, handsome, intelligent, and tenderly cherished by both parents. When he had reached the age of twelve, the devil appeared to the mother, and warned her to be ready to hand over the boy at the end of the third year thereafter. The child, wondering why his presence brought joy to all and grief only to his mother, demanded the truth from her. Fleeing by night, he sought the advice of many men wise in these matters. He went to Rome and thence with a letter from the pope to the bishop of Jerusalem. After consultation with holy men, he was advised to go to a hermit. Led by an angel bearing two loaves of bread, he reached the holy man. Together they prayed to the Virgin as one able to open the gates of hell. On the Easter night designated for the fulfilment of the compact, the hermit, as he said mass, placed the boy between him and the altar. Nevertheless, just before the *pax*, he was snatched away to hell. Earnestly the hermit implored the Virgin to free the child. When the holy man had finished, the youth responded and received communion. Afterwards he told how he had been freed and how many thousands he had left in hell. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 164<sup>v</sup>-166.

The Latin collections of northern France are the earliest known source of this tale. The analogy of this story with the legend of Robert the Devil suggests itself at once, although the victim of the Mary legend is a wholly virtuous character, and the circumstances of the birth are different. In the romance of Robert the Devil, a mother, to whom God has denied a son, appeals to the devil. The child who is born betrays his origin in every act. That the Mary legend may at some time have been associated with it is suggested by the legend narrated in a Florentine collection of Mary legends, dating from the fifteenth century,<sup>114</sup>

A sterile woman prayed to the Virgin for a child. Mary replied that if she were to have a son, it could not be kept from going to hell, and that the mother must be prepared to endure great suffering.

The rest of the tale proceeds in the same manner as the legend told in the Latin collections of northern France.

A similar Latin legend of the thirteenth century is associated with Brabant. The devil demands the child and rears it himself; although the girl, like the boy of the Mary legend, remains untouched by her evil association.<sup>115</sup> Paul Meyer edits a tale from a manuscript of the fifteenth century which he believes emanates from a Latin version which should be the common source of his narrative and the French miracle play.<sup>116</sup> Its relationship to the version of the Latin col-

<sup>114</sup> Mussafia, II, 84 (30).

<sup>115</sup> Karl Hopf, 'Sieben Wundergeschichten aus dem xiii Jahrhundert,' *Germania*, xvi (1871), 314-315 (5).

<sup>116</sup> Paul Meyer, 'L'enfant voué au diable,' *Romania*, xxxiii (1904), 167-178.

lections is evident, although there is no vow of chastity. The role of the Virgin becomes that of a lawyer discovering the defects of a contract, and the story has been influenced by the Theophilus-motive which transforms the conclusion.

The Italian version of the boy devoted to the devil is interesting, because here the miracle has joined hands with the *fabliau*, an example, Monaci believes, of a miracle transformed by a minstrel.<sup>117</sup> The tale is assigned to the latter half of the thirteenth century,<sup>118</sup>

A couple on the way to St. James of Compostella vow to live in chastity during the trip. The oath is broken, and the woman vows the child to the devil. When the boy, Antonio, learns the secret from his mother he leaves home. Even the pope is powerless to help him, and he gives himself over to the devil. Lucifer assigns him to be the porter of the gates of hell, and he is given a contract. When he gets control of the keys, he arms himself with a club and refuses to allow anyone to enter. The devils are thrown into confusion, but the contract stands. Antonio gets his liberty and becomes a hermit. The devil still continues to plague him in the form of an attractive damsel. He is completely purified only by death.

Latin. Gobius, no. 46. Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 17-19. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (1115). Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 10 (4).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 441-454. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 17-18 (23); ed. Laborde, pp. 159-161 (23). Paul Meyer in *Romania*, XXXIII (1904), 167-178. Adelbert von Keller, *Un miracle de Nostre Dame d'un enfant, qui fu donné au dyable . . .* Tübingen, 1865.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 173-177 (115).

Italian. Monaci, *op. cit.*, pp. 502-506. Novati, *op. cit.*, pp. 757-762.

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 177-179 (49).

### 53. CHRIST IMAGE WOUNDED

In a certain city in the basilica of Santa Sophia is an image of the Virgin and the Christ-child, into whose heart an angry Jew plunged a sword. When he drew it out, the wound began to bleed. He took it up and threw it into a well. Covered with blood, he attempted to flee. He was captured by Christians and confessed the deed. When the image was recovered, a fresh wound was found in the breast which remains there until this day. The Jew was converted and baptized. Gobius, *Scala celi*, no. 37.

The legend of the Christ image wounded by the Jew is Byzantine in origin. The Greek versions vary a good deal, apparently representing different stages of development or different localities, and they influence the course of the story in the West. Told as a Greek sermon in Combefis, the story goes as follows,<sup>119</sup>

In a temple at Constantinople over the eastern portal near the well of the Samaritan hangs a beautiful picture. Once a Jew plunged his sword into it. A great quantity of blood gushed from the wound, staining the Jew's tunic. He threw it into

<sup>117</sup> Ernesto Monaci, 'Una leggenda e una storia versificate nell'antica letteratura abruzzese,' *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morale, storiche, etc., series v* (Rome, 1896), 491. For other suggestions about the relationship between the Mary legend and the *fabliau*, see Morawski in *Romania*, LXI (1935), 158-160.

<sup>118</sup> Francesco Novati, 'Sopra un'antica storia lombarda di sant'Antonio di Vienna,' *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Ancona* (Florence, 1901), pp. 752 and 757-762.

<sup>119</sup> Émile Galtier, 'Byzantina,' *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 520-521, prints a Latin translation by Combefis.

a well leaving a trail of blood to betray him. The image, still pouring blood, was restored to its place by Christians.

There are four principal versions, all but one of them probably from a Greek source:

I. Hidden in the Cellar. Told by Gregory of Tours in the *In gloria martyrum*, this version has some of the characteristics of the Greek sermon. The image is simply an image in a church, and the well, a dark corner in the cellar of the Jew's house. There are other details also which, even after allowance is made for possible oral transmission, indicates that Gregory's story is not derived directly from Combefis' version.

II. Wife Betrays Jew. The second Latin redaction goes back to another Greek original, translated into Latin by Johannes Monachus and found in a number of manuscript collections of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,

There is in the church of Santa Sophia a well which even to this day is held sacred. A Christian had erected an image of the Savior in front of his dwelling near it. One night a Jew stole it and wounded it in the middle (*in medio*). When blood stained his clothing he threw it into the well. Those who came to drink found the knife and the image, from which blood still issued. The Jew was betrayed by his wife, captured, and converted. The image was placed in Santa Sophia over the well itself and venerated by all, especially in the time of Leo the Isaurian (717-741), who ordered it burned.<sup>120</sup>

III. Mary Image. Until the twelfth century, so far as the available evidence goes, the story had no connection with the Mary cult. In *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 5268*, fol. 27, of the twelfth century, the picture has become 'an image of Christ sitting in the lap of the Virgin.' Other details of this third redaction recall the Greek version of Combefis, or some story related to it. The diction follows closely that of Gregory of Tours with the exception of significant variants. The 'dark place' is 'a well,' as in the Greek versions. The Jew is baptized, as in Combefis, not stoned to death, as in Gregory of Tours.<sup>121</sup> To this group of narratives John of Garland's belongs, though no version which is the exact parallel has been found. The tale of Gobiuz agrees so closely, however, as to suggest a common original.

IV. Jew and Christian. The tale, as told by the anonymous compiler edited by Hilka and that of Herolt, reverts to the earlier tradition about the image,

A certain Jew wounded an image which he saw in Santa Sophia in the neck. Blood gushed out and spattered his face. When a Christian accused him of murder, he confessed and led him to the well. The Jew believed and became a good Christian.

An almost exact parallel to this version is related in Russian by an anonymous traveller in Byzantium during the years 1424-1453. The wound, as he sees it, is above the left eyebrow, and the church is that of St. Nicholas. An earlier countryman, Antonio of Novgorod, about 1200 tells of seeing an image wounded 'in the neck' by a Jew, although he says no more about it. In these two accounts,<sup>122</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Johannes Monachus, pp. 119-124. Another version, printed by Huber, pp. 119-124, identifies the image with the one brought from Beirut. In place of Leo, it mentions Julian the Apostate, and then follows a story of his unsuccessful attempt to burn it.

<sup>121</sup> Galtier, *op. cit.*, pp. 518-519. Mussafia's note, II, 8, "wörtlich nach Greg. Turon." is not accurate as the text printed by Galtier proves.

<sup>122</sup> Sofiia Petrovna Khitrovo (tr.), *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), pp. 96 and 229.

it seems, we have the original of this version. It was a Greek tale told of an image in Santa Sophia before the year 1200.

Greek. François Combesis, *Bibliothecae patrum novum auctarium*, II (Paris, 1648), 647-660.  
Russian. Khitrovo, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

Latin. Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum* (ed. Arndt and Krusch), II, 501 (21). Sigibert of Gembloux, *Chronica, anno 560* (ed. Bethmann, *M.G.H., Scriptores*, VI, 318). Galtier, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-522. Hilka, III, 134-135 (8); Meister, p. 117 (39). Huber (ed.), *Johannes Monachus, Appendix, I*, pp. 119-124. Gobius, no. 37. Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum, de P*, no. 45. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXI (92). Klapper, *Erzählungen*, p. 122 (115).

Spanish. Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, pp. 451-452 (19).

#### 54. PAINTER

Fulbert of Chartres tells of a painter who painted very terrifying images of the devil. But, as often as he painted the Virgin, he exerted all his skill to make her as beautiful as possible. One day, as he was doing an image of the Virgin trampling the devil underfoot on a church, he heard a voice from the mouth of the serpent. 'Why do you paint me thus and her so beautiful? What have I done to you, and when have you seen either her or me?' With that the devil swept away all the supports upon which the painter stood. And behold the image of the Virgin inclined a little and grasped the painter by the hand without any discomfort whatsoever to him. She held him there until the bishop and a crowd gathered to witness the miracle. At the bishop's order he came down on a ladder. When he was asked how he felt hanging there, he responded that he had never experienced such sweetness in his life. This miracle happened in the church of Auxerre, and the image, still inclined, is honored by the people. It is forty-three cubits from the pavement. *MS British Museum Additional 18344*, fol. 135.

It is probable that the painter in this legend was painting a statue of the Virgin above the entrance of a church, not a picture. It was perhaps invented to explain an unfamiliar style of a statue and the changes in iconography which accompanied the transition from Romanesque to Gothic sculpture.

Vincent of Beauvais and Gobius both tell the legend as coming from the *Mariale magnum*, although Gobius' story differs slightly from that of Vincent of Beauvais. Vincent of Beauvais says nothing about the painter's joy in making lovely images of the Virgin. Gobius emphasizes this characteristic fully as much as his pleasure in painting supremely ugly devils, a detail which appears in both versions. In Vincent of Beauvais the devil warns the painter before he attacks him, an incident which is lacking in Gobius. Vincent of Beauvais makes no reference to the descent of the victim. Gobius tells how a ladder was set up, and how the arm gave up the painter. All these details appear in other versions. John of Garland does not mention the scene of the incident, a detail which is included in the other two versions. The painter is warned, a detail lacking in Gobius, but present in Vincent of Beauvais. The rescue is emphasized, an item which Vincent of Beauvais omits, but Gobius includes. In other words, a comparison of the three versions leads to the conclusion that John of Garland, Vincent of Beauvais, and Gobius were using the same more detailed version as a common source. John of Garland used the collection of St. Geneviève, and the other two the *Mariale magnum*, which was descended from it. The tale as

told in the collection of Ste. Geneviève and the *Mariale magnum* must have been very similar to that of *MS British Museum Additional 18344*, of the fourteenth century, for it includes the details mentioned by all three. The original version probably mentioned Flanders, not Auxerre; and there is no evidence that the tale was originally attributed to Fulbert of Chartres.

The story of the painter is pictured in the glass of the cathedral of Le Mans,<sup>123</sup> along with five legends from Gregory of Tours, 'Theophilus,' and 'Julian the Apostate.'<sup>124</sup>

Latin. Gobijs, no. 33. Hilka, III, 184 (63); Meister, p. 173 (43). Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 84. *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), p. 450 (5). Pelbart, VI, pt. II, art. 2, and VIII, pt. III, art. 3. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (104). Welter, *Tabula exemplorum*, p. 44 (158). Wright, *Latin Stories*, p. 34 (31). Odo of Cheriton in Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, IV, 293 (73). Klapper, *Exempla*, pp. 49-50 (62).

French. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 63-64 (64); ed. Laborde, pp. 208-210 (64). Morawski in *Romania*, LXIV (1938), 484-487.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 116-117 (74). Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, p. 493 (194).

German. Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, III, 474-476 (76). Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 110-113 (16).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, II, 1173-1174.

Ethiopian. Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, pp. 19-20 (8), 35-36 (8); *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 26-27 (8).

#### 55. WILL FOR DEED

There was a certain knight distinguished for his evil mode of life and his persecution of churches. He feared neither man nor God, honoring only the Virgin Mary. But God led him to meditate secretly and to desire heaven. One day he began to think of building a monastery on the land which his parents should leave him. He visited the place, and there vowed that he should be one among the monks whom he intended to install there. In a short time he died. When the end approached, an angel of the Lord, accompanied by other angels, came and demanded his soul from the hands of the devils who had already snatched it. The good angel, being unable to allege any reason for his salvation, suggested that one of them be sent to lay the case before God. The devils, confident that a just God would render a decision in their favor, readily agreed. After an hour the angel returned with a cowl and reported that Mary had interceded for the knight. God, therefore, had ordered that the knight should enter the heavenly realm under cover of the cowl. The devils vanished as smoke, grumbling that they did not understand the mercy of God. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 144<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>v</sup>.

There are two versions of the legend of the knight who was saved by his good intentions. In the first, belonging to the twelfth century, the knight venerated only the Virgin and St. Michael. Pachomius is said to have had the story from one of his monks and to have included it among his writings as an example of the power of good intentions.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1923), p. 265.

<sup>124</sup> Archer Taylor calls my attention to the fact that Walter Map tells a story with the same theme in *De nugis curialium*, IV, 6 (ed. Thomas Wright, [Camden Society, London, 1850], pp. 158-160). It is, however, very different in detail, and not a Mary legend.

<sup>125</sup> The anecdote has not been found among the writings of Pachomius.

Latin. Mussafia, V, 38-39.

French. Mussafia, V, 39-41.

Italian. Stolfi, *Corona de'monaci*, pp. 200-201 (84).

Ethiopian. Budge, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 193-194 (52).

In the second version, summarized above, St. Michael appears to have survived as a 'good angel,' the leader of the band. Although the version of pseudo-Celestine mentions St. Michael in the place of the angel, it is nevertheless clearly derived from the same source as the tale of the Vendome collection. Both versions appear to have originated in northern France.

Latin. Mussafia, *Denkschriften*, XLIV, 20-24. Pseudo-Celestine, p. 205 (8). Isnard, pp. 60-62 (17).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 491-500, and Ducrot-Granderye in *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, xxv, series B (Helsinki, 1932), pp. 193-214. Miélot (ed. Warner), pp. 21-22 (27); ed. Laborde, pp. 122-124, 164-165 (27).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 67-69 (45).

#### 56. AVE MARIS STELLA

A student on his way to school was snatched up into the air by the force of a tempest. He sang *Ave maris stella*, and he was set down unharmed and untroubled.

Perhaps this was the legend which suggested the title, *Stella maris*, to John of Garland. Although no similar tale is included in the collections of northern France or in other collections examined, the theme is not unique. The anonymous author of the *Liber exemplorum* tells an anecdote with the same theme,<sup>126</sup>

I found another *exemplum* in an ancient sermon in these words: Some clerks travelling in a thunderstorm sang *Ave maris stella*. The Virgin spread a veil over them, under the protection of which they remained until the storm had passed.

#### 57. BOY FREED FROM CAPTIVITY

At St. Riquier in Ponthieu in the territory of Amiens, a noble woman in need of money pledged her son to a money-lender for many marks of silver. As the days multiplied, the interest grew, until the parents could not redeem the boy except by selling their land. The mother in desperation prayed to the Virgin. One day she went to the square at St. Riquier, where her son was held in chains, merely to look upon him. In the sight of many people and without any hindrance whatever, she lifted him to her horse and returned home with great joy. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14463*, fol. 57.

Ward's identification of John of Garland's legend with that of the common 'Christ Child Seized as Pledge' needs revision.<sup>127</sup> The central theme of the Christ-child legend, the taking of the image, is completely lacking in the *Stella maris*, and no version of the tale has been found which resembles John of Garland's in other respects. The legend of the *Stella maris* comes from Hugo Farsitus, *Libellus de miraculis*.<sup>128</sup> It is not frequently told in collections

<sup>126</sup> Little, *Liber exemplorum*, p. 30 (49). There is a similar tale in *MS British Museum Harley 3244*, fols. 83-84, and others in *MSS British Museum Harley 2316*, fol. 60<sup>r</sup> and *Additional 33956*, fol. 72<sup>r</sup>. See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 673 (16) and 677 (12).

<sup>127</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 706 (57).

<sup>128</sup> Hugo Farsitus, *Libellus de miraculis*, ch. 26, Migne, P. L., CLXXIX, 1796.

of Mary legends except as a part of that work. In the collections of Gil de Zamora and Alfonso el Sabio it appears in juxtaposition with another single legend from Hugo Farsitus. The second legend is, however, not the same in both cases. The author of the Bruges gloss mentions Corbie in France, another monastery of the same region, as the scene of the rescue.

Latin. Gil de Zamora in *Boletin*, vii, 112-113 (31).

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 89-90 (62).

#### 58. SATURDAY

In the basilica called Lucerna [for Blakerna], dedicated to the Virgin, there is a picture of Mary and the Child which unveils itself miraculously on Friday evening at sunset and remains so until vespers on Saturday. This is the origin of the custom of reserving Saturday as the Virgin's day. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 158<sup>v</sup>-159.

Blakerna, a suburb of Constantinople, rather than Lucerna, as many texts have it, was probably the site of the church of the miraculous Saturday image. Nicephorus Callistus reports the founding of a church there to house a sacred garment of the Virgin.<sup>129</sup> Baronius on the authority of older chronicles records, under the year 1031, the discovery at Blakerna of an ancient picture of Mary hidden since the reign of the emperor Constantine Copronymous.<sup>130</sup> The origin of the Saturday miracle, Warner suggests, may be found in this discovery.<sup>131</sup> William Durandus mentions the legend in connection with the recitation of the Virgin's hours on Saturday. Gayangos says that Urban II at the council of Clermont in 1090 decreed that the hours of the Virgin should be said on that day.

The tale is the last of the *TS* series. It appears in the collections of northern France without change, except that a long prologue with allusions to various other legends occurs in Dexter and in many of the unprinted versions. In the collection attributed to William of Malmesbury and the Anglo-Norman versions the miracle is ascribed to the same image which figures in the tale 'Mary Image Insulted.'<sup>132</sup>

Latin. Dexter, pp. 48-51 (32). Kjellman, p. 229 (54). Pez (ed. Crane), p. 78 (43). William Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (Naples, 1859), p. 145.

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 216-219 (37). Kjellman, pp. 230-231 (54).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 671-680.

German. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 89-93 (13).

Spanish. Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, p. 493 (193).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 136-137; II, 1073-1076.

#### 59. PARMA

Philip, the podesta of Parma, writes to the podesta of Milan: We praise God and the Virgin who defends, rules, visits, and directs our city. We saw clearly her intervention in the victory of Tuesday, February twelfth. After invoking the aid of God and the Virgin, both the inhabitants and the soldiery went out

<sup>129</sup> Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiasticae historiae*, XV, 24 (Paris, 1630), II, 625.

<sup>130</sup> Baronius, *Annales*, xvi (Lucca, 1745), 588.

<sup>131</sup> Miélot (ed. Warner), p. xiv, note.

<sup>132</sup> *Stella maris*, no. 18.

against the dragon besieging our land, preceded by a standard on which was the form of the Virgin. And, although we were resisted strongly at first, we broke their strength and mowed them down. We took three thousand prisoners and more, as well as the *carroccio* of the Cremonese, and the camp fell to us. We killed Thaddeus, the judge, all his personal followers and more than fifteen hundred of his knights and people. The remainder we put to flight. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1882. *Rolls Series*), vi, 146-147.

The story of the miraculous rescue of Parma is one of the unique miracles of the *Stella maris*. The tale is related similarly in a poem of the thirteenth century celebrating the victory, the *Carmina triumphalia de Victoria urbe eversa*.<sup>133</sup>

#### 60. THEOPHILUS

In the days before the Persians attacked the Roman empire, there was in Cilicia an archdeacon named Theophilus, very diligent in providing for orphans and widows and all that pertained to his office. Chosen by the people to be their bishop, he pled unworthiness. After three days the bishop consecrated another in his place who, at the request of a certain clerk, removed Theophilus from office. Humiliated by these circumstances, he approached a Jew in the city who led him to the devil at night. After he had denied God and the Virgin Mary, he signed a pact which he gave into the keeping of the devil. Thereafter he was restored to his position and prospered remarkably. Meanwhile he began to regret the agreement and, prostrating himself in a church of the Virgin, he sought her aid with fastings and vigils. After forty days she appeared to him and promised to intercede with God. When three days had passed, Theophilus heard a voice which assured him that his penitence was sufficient. In three more days the Virgin herself came and placed the pact upon his breast as he slept. The bishop ordered the document to be burned in the presence of the people, and three days later Theophilus died. *MS Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fols. 149<sup>v</sup>-154<sup>v</sup>.

The development of the legend of Theophilus has been treated by a number of scholars.<sup>134</sup> John of Garland's legend throws no new light upon the subject.

Greek. Achille Jubinal, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, II (Paris, 1839), 331-357. Louis Rademacher, 'Griechische Quellen zur Faust-saga,' *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, CCVI (1927), 182-219.

Latin. Paulus Diaconus of Naples in *Acta sanctorum*, 4 February (Antwerp, 1658), pp. 483-487. Hrotswitha, *Lapsus et conversio Theophili vicedomini* (ed. Karl Strecker, Leipzig, 1930), pp. 67-80. Radewin, *De vita Theophili* (ed. Wilhelm Meyer) in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, III (1873), 93-116. Marbod in *Acta sanctorum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 487-491. Sigibert of Gembloux, *Chronica, anno 537* (ed. Bethmann, *M.G.H., Scriptores*, VI, 316). George Webbe Dasent (ed.), *Theophilus* (London, 1895), pp. 67-72. Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesie*, Migne, P.L., CLXXII, 992-994. Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 275 (29). Gobius, under *Ambitio*. Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 60-68 (2). *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (ed. Major), pp. 450-451 (6). Neuhaus, *Die*

<sup>133</sup> Ed. Philip Jaffé, Hanover, 1863. *M.G.H., Scriptores*, XVIII, 790-799. See above, p. 79.

<sup>134</sup> Among others, Hjalmar Lundgren, *Studier öfver Theophiluslegendens romanska varianter*, Upsala, 1913; P. M. Palmer and R. P. More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition*, New York, 1936; Karl Plenzat, *Die Theophiluslegende in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1926; and notes in the various editions cited above.

lat. *Vorlagen*, pp. 12-20. Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 10 (5). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXI (69-70).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Neuhaus), pp. 79-115 (17). Eugen Kölbing in *Englische Studien*, I (1877), 38-57. Kjellman, 'Une version anglo-normande inédite du Miracle de S. Théophile . . .' *Studier i modern språkvetenskap*, v (1914), 194-214.

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 26-75. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 74-81. Rutebeuf (ed. Jubinal, Paris, 1874-1875), I, 231-262; ed. Grace Frank (Paris, 1925). Karl Bartsch and Adolf Horning, *La langue et la littérature françaises depuis de ix<sup>ème</sup> . . . xiv<sup>ème</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1887), pp. 462-490.

German. Bolte in *Alemannia*, xvii (1889), 9-10 (12). Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 194-206 (23). Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, III, 540-550 (84). Dasent, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 5-6 (3). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 162-192 (24). Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, p. 492 (192). *Castigos é documentos del Rey Don Sancho*, ed. Gayangos, *Escritores en prosa* (Madrid, 1860), pp. 215-216. *Recull de exemplis*, II, 37-38 (408).

English and Anglo-Saxon. Aelfric, *Sermones catholici* (ed. Benjamin Thorpe, London, 1844-1846), I, 448. Dasent, *Theophilus*, p. 30. Carl Horstman, *The Early South-English Legendary* (London, 1887), pp. 288-293 (42). Wilhelm Heuser, 'Eine neue mittelenglische Version der Theophilus-saga,' *Englische Studien*, xxxii (1903), 5-23. Frans Ludorff, 'William Forrest's Theophilus-legende,' *Anglia*, vii (1884), 81-115. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, pp. 318-319 (467).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 65-69, 402-421; II, 1080-1090, 1090-1104.

Swedish. Dasent, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

#### 61. EBBO

A thief named Ebbo venerated the Virgin so much that he was accustomed to salute her devotedly each time before going out to steal. Once he was captured by his enemies and condemned to be hanged without delay. As he hung suspended, the Virgin came to him and supported his feet with her hands for two days. When the executioners returned and attempted to cut the thief's throat, the Virgin placed her hands upon it and would not permit it to be done. They knew then that it was a miracle. Ebbo became a monk. *MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593*, fol. 123<sup>v</sup>.

A certain thief recited the *Ave Maria* every hour in the day even as he went out to steal. Captured and strung up, the thief on the fourth day was found smiling and unharmed. In answer to questions, he said that the Virgin had held the rope with her hands so that it could not strangle him. They saw it was a miracle and released him. Gobius, *Scala celi*, no. 54.

No exact parallel to the version of the *Stella maris* has been discovered. In most respects it resembles the SG version summarized above, which is also the version of Vincent of Beauvais; but it has other details in common with Gobius, who attributes it to the *Mariale magnum*. John of Garland mentions the salutation *Ave Maria*, as does Gobius. He agrees with Gobius, too, that the Virgin supported the thief for three days, instead of the two of Vincent of Beauvais. On the other hand Gobius neglects to mention the fact that the thief became a monk, a detail of importance in both John of Garland and Vincent of Beauvais. The second attempt to make away with the thief is omitted in Gobius, described fully in Vincent of Beauvais and alluded to in John of Garland. The thief's description of the way in which he was saved in Gobius seems to be pure invention on his part. In the case of this legend, minor variations are not of great importance, for the tale was a very familiar one, and seldom told twice in exactly the same way. Few compilers could resist the temptation to

add or substitute some detail from another version familiar to them, or to add details of their own.

Latin. Pseudo-Celestine, p. 212 (18). Crane in *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 252 (11). Dexter, pp. 20-21 (7). Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, p. 103 (119). Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, VII, 76 (7). Gobius, no. 54. Herolt, *Promptuarium de miraculis*, no. 5. Isnard, p. 212 (48). *Legenda aurea* (ed. Graesse), p. 592, ch. cxxxi (5). Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorlagen*, pp. 35-36. Pelbart, XII, *pars ultima*, ch. 1 (3). Pez (ed. Crane), pp. 8-9 (6). Little, *Liber exemplorum*, pp. 24-25 (42). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII (116). Wright, *Latin Stories*, pp. 97-98 (109).

Anglo-Norman. Adgar (ed. Herbert) in *Romania*, xxxii (1903), 406-407. Kjellman, pp. 91-94 (20).

French. Gautier de Coincy (ed. Poquet), pp. 501-504. Isnard, pp. 319-320. Miélot (ed. Laborde), pp. 85-86. Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 443-446. Legrand d'Aussy, v, 33-34, and *Appendix*, pp. 24-25.

Spanish. Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas*, pp. 21-22 (13). Berceo, *Milagros*, pp. 38-42 (6). Clemente Sanchez, *El libro de exenplos* (ed. Alfred Morel-Fatio) in *Romania*, VII (1878), 511-512 (48). Gayangos, *El libro de los enxemplos*, pp. 495-496 (201). *Recull de eximplis*, II, 34-35 (405).

Italian. Levi, *Cinquanta miracoli*, p. 41 (19).

German. Bär, *Marienlegenden*, p. 164 (23). Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, pp. 47-51 (6).

English. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, p. 316 (464).

Norse. *Mariu saga*, I, 81-82; II, 949-950, 950-951.

Ethiopian. Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, pp. 47-48 (30), 85-88 (30); *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, pp. 98-100 (30).

## V. GLOSSARY

Nouns formed by adding *trix* or *tor* to usual stems (*mediatrix*, *consolator*) and adjectives constructed by the addition of *ivus* (*denuntiativus*) have not been included.

Certain practices in spelling common in the thirteenth century have been taken for granted, unless they seem to offer difficulty in reading: the use of *c* for *qu* (*condam*); *c* for *sc* (*celus*); *d* for *t* (*linquid*), and *t* for *d* (*set*, *causiticus*); *e* for *ae* (*stella*) or *oe* (*confedero*); *f* for *ph* (*fiscalis*); *g* for *c* (*argangelus*); *n* for *m* (*imperator*, *quandam*); *p* for *b* (*puplicatio*); *s* for *c* (*selum*); *s* for *x* (*ausilium*); *t* for *ct* (*cuntus*); *w* for double *u* (*ewulsus*); *y* for *i* (*ymago*) and *i* for *y* (*nimpha*); the addition or omission of an initial *h* (*horo*, *ortus*), or a medial *h* (*pulcrior*, *chathedralis*); the insertion of *n* before *g* (*ingnis*); the insertion of *p* between *m* and *n* (*sompnus*); the use of a single *u* for *uu* (*equus*); and the doubling of, or failure to double a consonant (*pallatium*, *coruptio*).

In general common ecclesiastical terms, and words appearing in Harper's *Latin Dictionary* have not been included, unless they are used in the text with markedly different meaning. For some items, see *Medieval Latin Word-List* prepared by J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson under the direction of the British Academy (Oxford, 1934).

Numbers in Roman type refer to the page and line of the text, variant readings, and glosses, except that in cases where the word occurs only in a gloss, italics have been used.

**adiutorium**, assistance, 99-100, 148.

**afforismus**, aphorism, 132, 673.

**allopicia**, alopecia, kind of leprosy, 111, 304, 309; 112, 313.

**apella**, **appella**, used as adj., Jewish, 115, 364.

**apostropho**, to address rhetorically, 97, title.

**assum**=**adsum**, 136, 747; 140, 840.

**atrium**, cemetery, 117, 414.

**auleatus**, covered with rich tapestry, 146, 976.

**Aurelianus**, Orleans, 120, 455.

**bace**, berry-shaped pustules, ulcer, 131, 662.

**balsamus**, the balsam tree, 118, 427.

**burgensis**, burgher, citizen, 120, 457.

**bursa**, purse, 115, 378.

**calendula**, a kind of flower, 121, 477.

**camisia**, shift, shirt, 123, title; 124, 527, 528.

**Carnotensis**, **Cornotensis**, **Carnotum**, Chartres, 117, 410; 123, 520; 124, 526.

**Cesariensis**, **Sesariensis**, Caesarea, 119, 436.

**cimiterium**, cemetery, 117, 414; 118, 417.

**compromissum**, promise, 88.

**condeleo**, to destroy, 111, 307, 308.

**coniecto**, (1) to dream (2) to prove by arguments, 92, 40.

**contenta**, contents, 97, 125.

**conrectabilis**, capable of being handled, 117, 404.

**Corbi**, Corbie, 141, 870.

**coopertorium**, veil, 123, 521.

**crucesignatus**, vowed to a crusade, 107, 232.

**cucullatus**, wearing a cowl, 141, 856.

**defforeo**, to violate the chastity of, 124, 535.

**denodo**, to untie, 97, 109.

**dictantes**, art of composition, 154, 1149.

**discrasia**, disorder, disease, 97, 117.

**dewerpo**, to desert, 113, 336.

**doxa**, gloria, praises, 119, 437.

**dysis**, **disis**, star, 122, 490, 491, 493.

**duramen**, quality of abiding, 90, 8.

**ederinus**, pertaining to the ivy vine, 96, 94.

**effrons**, shameful, 118, 417.

**elephancia**, a kind of leprosy, 111, 304, 306, 311.

**Eliacus**, **Elyacus**, **Helyacus**=**Heliaacus**, pertaining to the sun, 128-129, 609.

**elimite**, nobly, elaborately, 123, 515.

**Elios**, **Elyos**=**Helios**, sun, 128-129, 609.

**Elya**, **Elia**, **Helya** [Capitolina], Roman name for Jerusalem, 99, 142; 102, 169.

**erispila**, **erisupila**, **herisipula**, **erysipelas**, 122, 487; 131, 654, 657; 135, 738.

**eronius**=**erroneus**, 88.

**evanescibilis**, disappearing, 116, 393.

- famen, word, 132, 669.  
 febrilis, fever-bringing, 97, 117.  
 formula, small image, 129, 612.  
 frequentativus, frequentative, which denotes the repetition of an act, 92, 40.
- gradus, steps, as a ladder, 140, 843.
- heremus (adj.), barren, waste, 93, 54.  
 heremus (noun), (1) desert (2) hermitage, 93, 54.  
 hoc = hoc est, *passim*.
- Iebus, Jebusite Jerusalem (Vulg., *I Par.*, 11, 4), 102, 169.  
 Ierosolomitanus, of Jerusalem, 137, 776.  
 ignis infernalis, ignis pestiferus, ignis execrabilis, ignis sacer, ergotism, 121, title; 122, 487; 123, 508; 131, 657; 135, 737-738.  
 iugulator, cut-throat, 112, 319.  
 iunctura, relationship, 103, 181; 149, 1042.
- karacter, character, sign, in particular of the cross, 117, 397.
- lentesco, to become slow, 101, 164.  
 leonina, kind of leprosy, 111, 304, 310.  
 lictorus, legate, 151, 1075.  
 lira, measure and diversity, as in song or poetry, 98, 133.  
 lirepuup = liripoop, luripup, lurepoop, etc. (English), something to be learned, lessons, 132, 675.
- magum, mystery, 87.  
 medica, female physician, 94, 72.  
 melancolia, malencolia, melancholy, 111, 304, 311.  
 maniabilis, capable of being handled, 117, 404.  
 mercans, merchant, 115, 377.  
 miseralia, things to be deplored, 138, 802.  
 mirum, miracle, 89, 1; 92, 26, 28; 121, 472; 122, 501; 136, 757; 143, 910.  
 monacor, monachor, to be a monk, 152, 1117.
- nemen, nerve, 133, 696.  
 nephas, crime, 116, 386.  
 neupma, neuma, Holy Spirit, 151, 1072.  
 ningo, to snow, to shower down, 149, 1046.
- obaudio, to hear unpropitiously, 140, 848.
- pallio, to cover, 107, 232; 144, 940.  
 pappo = pappo, to eat, 134, 710, 713, 715.  
 Parmensis, Farmansis, of Parma, 143, title, 904, 907.
- pastoria, shepherdess, 127, 582; 153, 1131.  
 percamenum, parganum, parchment, 129, 620.  
 perhendino, abide, stay, 91, 13.  
 periclitans, in danger of shipwreck, 88; 124, title; 136, 743.  
 perforcuens = pertorquens, distorting by wriggling into the form of, 89.  
 plasmator, creator, 103, 182.  
 plasmatura, thing created, 103, 182.  
 plegius, pledge, guarantor, 115, 376.  
 posse, potency, power, 89.  
 promus = promptus (from promeo, to turn), 104, 188.  
 pronosticum, prognostics (in medicine), 94, title; pronostica, symptoms, 132, 672.  
 pronosticor, to show, indicate, 132, 672.
- Ramissey, Ramsey, 124, 538.  
 Remis, Rheims, 122, 503.  
 revolutio, repetition, 88.  
 ridmifico, to versify, 87.  
 ridmus, rithmus = rhythmus, 139, 820.
- [sacer]flatus, Holy Spirit, 149, 1027; 150, 1063, 1069.  
 sacrum, sacrament, office, 137, 783.  
 Salem, [Ieru]salem, (1) ancient name for Jerusalem (2) pacific, 102, 169. See Solima.  
 Sarsacenus, Saracenus, Saracen, 106, 214.  
 scolastes, schools, 109, 265.  
 seisunabilis, seasonable in the sense of appropriate, 125, 557.  
 sicorea, a kind of flower, 121, 477.  
 sinaxis, evening prayer, 103, 173.  
 Solima, [Iero]solima, poetic name for Jerusalem (cf. *Roberti Monachi Historia Iherosolimitana*, IX, 25 [*Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*, III (Paris, 1866), 881]), 102, 169.  
 sotularis, slipper, 131, 658, 659, 661.  
 spiculator, executioner, 110, 283.  
 spiritalis = spiritualis.  
 strangulator, cut-throat, 112, 319.  
 studium, university, 88; 143, 912, 913.  
 subpedio, to tread under foot, 89.  
 Suessionensis, Suesionensis, Suessionis, Soissons, 131, 652, 658.  
 sumteneo = subteneo, 144, 927.  
 suppodio, to support, 147, 988.
- Toletus, Toledo, 107, 226; 129, 616.  
 Tholetanus, Toletanus, of Toledo, 128, title, 592; 129, 616.  
 tyria, tiria, (1) kind of leprosy (2) serpent, 111, 304, 307.  
 tyriatus, serpent-like, 111, 307.

## Glossary

213

**ve**, woe, 98, 127, 128.

**viaticum**, (1) travelling expenses (2) eucharist (3) medical knowledge relating to food and diet (as found in *Liber viaticorum*), 132, 675.

**vola**, palm of the hand, 109, 266.

**Ypapanti**, festival of the Purification, 123, 511.

**yconia** = icon, image, 106, 220; 139, 826.

## VI. INDICES

### I. GENERAL INDEX

- A=MS London British Museum Additional 15723.*  
*Acta sanctorum*, 158, 181, 200, 208.  
 Adam, abbot of Estrée, 50.  
 Adamnan, 173.  
 Adgar, William, 5, 155, 156, 159, 160, 163, 166, 171, 172, 173, 175, 179, 182, 185, 189, 191, 197, 198, 200, 207, 209, 210.  
*Ad laudem* prologue, 5, 16, 26, 31, 58. *See HM.*  
 Adolf the Scribe, 69, 70, 82.  
 Aelfric, abbot of Eynsham, 182, 209.  
 Ahsmann, H. P. J. M., 3, 7, 11.  
 Albe, Edmond, 4.  
 Albumasar, 81, 85, 146, *l.* 976.  
 Alexander III, pope, 25, 63, 184.  
 Alexandria, 174, 175, 186.  
 Alfonso X, el Sabio, king of Castile, 9, 68-69, 72, 74-75, 76, 155, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 166, 167, 168, 170, 172, 173, 175, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210.  
 Algazel, 99.  
 Alphabet of Tales, *Alphabetum narrationum*, 164. *See Banks and Arnold of Liège.*  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 181.  
 Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium, 181.  
 Anchin, 15.  
 Andrew. *See Arras and Vaux-Cernay.*  
 Anna, mother of the Virgin Mary, 91, *ll.* 16 and 21, 113.  
 Anselm of Canterbury, 189.  
 Antonio of Novgorod, 203.  
*APM* series of collections, 17-19, 25, 58.  
 Arculf, a French pilgrim, 173.  
 Aristotle, 99-100.  
 Arnold of Liège, 156, 165, 178.  
 Arras, 15, 188, 195, 196; bishop Alvisius, 188; bishop Andrew, 41, 63; church of Notre-Dame-des-Ardents, 188. *See legend*, 'Maid of Arras.'  
 Astalius, astronomer, 146.  
 Athelstan, king of England, 167.  
 Auxerre, 204, 205.  
 Avenon, near Orleans, 183.
- B=MS Bruges 546.*  
 'B,' biographer of St. Dunstan, 167.  
 Bacon, Roger, 147.  
 Barger, George, 196.  
 Baldwin. *See Belleval.*  
 Bale, John, 70.  
 Banks, Mary MacLeod, 156, 158, 162, 166, 177, 182, 197, 200, 209, 210.  
 Bär, Franz, 158, 162, 177, 210.  
 Baring-Gould, Sabine, 174.  
 Baronius, Caesar, 158, 177-178, 207.  
 Bartsch, Karl, 159, 209.  
 Baum, Paul Franklin, 163, 164, 165.  
 de Beaurepaire, E. de Robillard, 192.  
 Beauvais, 45.  
 Bede, The Venerable, 162.  
 Beirut, 203. *See legend*, 'Beirut.'  
 Beissel, Stephan, 3, 4, 7, 8.  
 Beleth, John, 171.  
 Belleval, Praemonstratensian monastery in Lorraine: abbot Baldwin, 23-24, 25, 63; monk Gualterus, 23.  
 Benedictines. *See Mary legends.*  
 Berceo, 157, 159, 162, 166, 167, 175, 179, 180, 182, 191, 193, 197, 198, 200, 209, 210.  
 Bibliothecarius, Anastasius, 184.  
 Bimbenet, Eugène, 183.  
 Blakerna, 207.  
 Bland, C. C. Swinton, 53, 57, 182.  
 Blois, 45.  
 Bobbio, monastery of, 168.  
 Boethius, *Cons. philos.*, 103, 108.  
 Bolte, Johannes, 156, 158, 177, 182, 197, 209.  
 Boniface [?], pope, 185.  
 Boso the Servant. *See Soissons.*  
 Boston, John, monk of Bury St. Edmunds, 70, 81.  
*Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux*, 30, 57-59.  
 Bouchet, Charles, 49.  
 Brabant, youth of, 180.  
 Bromyard, John, 176, 181.  
 Brown, Carleton, 58, 67, 194, 195.  
 Bruges, Public Library of, 77, 80. *See MS Bruges.*  
 Bryan, W. F., 194, 195.  
 Budge, E. A. W.: *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 157, 160, 191, 201, 205, 210; *One Hundred and Ten Miracles*, 157, 158, 160, 166, 173, 175, 177, 179, 191, 197, 200, 201, 202, 205, 206, 210; *History of the Blessed Virgin*, 177.  
 Bury St. Edmunds, monastery of, 69-70, 81-82. *See Adolf the Scribe, Curteys, Boston, and Everard de Gateley.*  
 Caesar of Heisterbach, 30, 52, 55-59, 182.  
 Caesarea, 119, *ll.* 436, 181.  
 Calabria, 45.  
 Calixtus II, pope, 200.  
 Callistus, Nicephorus, 158, 207.  
 Cambrai, monastery of, 9, 180. *See MS Cambrai.*

- Cantigas de Santa Maria*. See Alfonso X.  
 Capelle, Theodoric, abbot of, 12.  
*Carmina triumphalia de Victoria*, 208.  
 Celestine V, pope, 51.  
 Chalade, Cistercian monastery of, 22. See Gonterus.  
 Châlons-sur-Marne, Benedictine monastery of St. Peter at, 21, 22.  
 Charles the Bald, 163, 187.  
 Charles the Simple, 186.  
 Chartres, 4, 45, 49, 186, 187; scene of *S.M.* legends, 117, 118, *l.* 415, 123-124, *ll.* 526, 178, 186; bishop Antelmus, 186-187; bishop Fulbert, 155, 204, 205. See legends, 'Milk: Fulbert of Chartres,' 'Chartres,' and 'Clerk of Chartres.'  
 Chaucer: *Man of Law's Tale*, 169; *Prioresses Tale*, 67, 194-195.  
 Chrysostom, John, 88.  
 Cistercians. See Mary legends.  
 Citeaux, monastery of, 48; abbot Alberic, 7.  
 Cixila, archbishop of Toledo, 190, 191.  
 Clairvaux, monastery of, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 55, 69, 76, 191; unnamed abbot, 50; abbot Serlo de Vaubadon, 25, 63, 192. See also *Book of the Miracles of Clairvaux*, *Clairvaux Mariale*, Herbert of Torres, Savigny, and St. Bernard.  
 Clairvaux *Mariale* = *Ur-Mariale*, 34, 39, 40-44, 48, 49, 50, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 65, 66, 67, 71, 194.  
*Clavis Compendii*. See John of Garland.  
 Clermont, council of, 207.  
 Clermont-en-Argonne, 22.  
 Cluny, monastery of, 4, 41, 167; abbot Odo, 4, 171-172; abbot Hugh, 199, 200; abbot Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, 12. See also Gautier de Compiègne, Girard of Lyons; and legends, 'Peter the Venerable,' 'Woman Revived for Confession,' and 'Vision of St. Hugh of Cluny.'  
 Cologne, 57.  
 Combefis, François, 174, 202-203, 204.  
*Compendium grammaticæ*. See John of Garland.  
 Conrad of Eberbach. See *Exordium*.  
 Constantine the African, 132.  
 Constantine, emperor, 168.  
 Constantine Copronymous, emperor, 177, 207.  
 Constantinople, Byzantium, 9, 168, 173, 174, 177, 184-185, 187, 198, 202, 203, 207; scene of *S.M.* legends, 115, 123, *l.* 510, 134, 138, *l.* 798, 142, *l.* 889; Santa Sophia, 174, 202, 203, 204; Tetrastyle, 174; church of St. Nicholas, 203; Orthodoxy Sunday, 174; festival of Testimony, 175.  
 Corbie, 141, 207.  
 Crane, Thomas Frederick, 4, 167, 179, 180, 181, 186, 189, 208, 210. See also Jacques de Vitry and Pez.  
*Crescentia-Florentia-Hildegard* series of tales, 169-170.  
 Crete. See Landos.  
 Cullman, Oscar, 169.  
 Curteys, William, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, 81.  
 Damascus, 161.  
 Damian, Peter, 182.  
 Dasent, George Webbe, 208, 209.  
 Dean, Ruth J., 37, 48.  
 Delisle, Léopold, 4, 192.  
 Dempster, Germaine, 194, 195.  
 De Poorter, A., 77, 80.  
 Dexter, Elsie F., 155, 159, 160, 162, 166, 167, 172, 173, 179, 182, 189, 191, 192, 197, 198, 200, 207, 210.  
 Diaconus, Paulus, 208.  
*Dictionarius*. See John of Garland.  
 Diomedes, 98.  
 Discipulus, 54. See Herolt.  
 Dominicans. See Mary legends.  
 Dormans, on the Marne, 196, 198.  
 Ducrot-Granderye, Arlette P., 27, 206.  
 Dunes, Cistercian monastery of, 80.  
 Durandus, William, 171, 207.  
 Eadmer, of Canterbury, 167, 189.  
 Ebalus, count of Poitiers, 187.  
 Ebbo the Thief, 209.  
 Ebersolt, Jean, 174.  
 Egbert of Schönau, 37.  
 Egidius of Paris, 81.  
 Elements-series of legends, 5, 6, 12, 14, 31, 72, 73.  
 Endres, J. A., 6.  
 England, scene of *S.M.* legends, 108, 120, 124, 130.  
 Elisinus, Helisinus, abbot of Ramsey, 188.  
 Ephesus, council of, 172.  
*Epithalamium beate Marie virginis*. See John of Garland.  
 Ergotism, 78, 122, *l.* 487, 123, 131, 135, *ll.* 737-738, 184, 185, 188, 195-197, 200. See *Ignis infernalis*.  
 Erysipelas. See Ergotism.  
 Estrée, Cistercian monastery of, 50. See Adam.  
 Ethelfleda, Elgifu, English noblewoman, 167.  
 Etienne de Bourbon, 156, 163, 170, 171, 176-177, 186, 187, 189, 196, 210.  
 Evagrius Scholasticus, historian, 157, 158.  
 Everard de Gateley, monk of Bury St. Edmunds, 156, 179, 191.  
 Exemplum. See Mary legends.  
*Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis*, 41, 58, 168.  
 Fabliau. See Mary legends.

- Farsitus, Hugo, 4, 15, 23, 61, 195-196, 206-207.  
*See also* Soissons.
- Fécamp, church of, 4.
- Fita, Fidel, 166, 191. *See* Gil de Zamora.
- Flanders, 40-41, 45, 54, 205.
- Floardus, 158, 161, 168.
- Florence de Rome*, 169.
- Floss, H. L., 181, 182.
- Franciscans. *See* Mary legends.
- Frank, Grace, 209.
- Frederick II, emperor, 67, 78, 79, 143, *l.* 905.
- Furnival, F. J., 166.
- Galtier, Émile, 177-178, 202, 203-204.
- Gautier de Château Thierry, 78, 79, 143, *l.* 913.
- Gautier de Coincy, 10, 27-31, 67, 156, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167, 170, 173, 175, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 188, 191, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 202, 206, 207, 209, 210.
- Gautier de Compiègne or de Cluny, 15, 196, 198, 199.
- Gayangos, Pascual de, 159, 162, 177, 178, 180, 197, 204, 205, 207, 209, 210.
- Gesta Romanorum*, 169, 176-177.
- Gil de Zamora, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162, 163, 166, 167, 172, 173, 175, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 187, 189, 191, 192, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 207, 208, 210.
- Giles, J. A., 33.
- Gilson, Julius P., 81, 82.
- Girard of Lyons, lay brother of Cluny, 199, 200.
- Glastonbury, 167.
- Gobius, Johannes, Junior, 9, 28, 34, 40, 41-42, 46-47, 48, 52-54, 56, 57, 58, 74-75, 156, 158, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 173, 175, 176-177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 189, 190, 191, 194, 197, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 208, 209-210.
- Gonterus, abbot of Chalade, 22.
- Gower, John, 169.
- Grant Marial*, 30, 54. *See also* *Mariale magnum*.
- Gregory II, pope, 174.
- Gregory of Tours: *In gloria martyrum*, 3, 5, 9, 23, 25, 32, 38, 63, 64, 158, 161, 168, 203-204, 205; *Historia Francorum*, 193.
- Graesse, Theodor. *See* *Legenda aurea*.
- Grosseteste, Robert, 81.
- Guafferus of Monte Cassino, 200.
- Guérard, Benjamin, 78.
- Guibert de Nogent, 4, 15, 199, 200.
- Gundrada, woman of Sudignicourt, 196.
- Hagen, Friedrich Heinrich von der, 162, 180, 182, 205, 209.
- Haimon, abbot of St. Pierre-sur-Dive, 4.
- Halliwell, J. O., 194.
- Halm, Karl von, 98.
- Hamartolus, Georgios, chronicler, 174.
- van Hamel, A. G., 29.
- Heisterbach, monastery of. *See* Caesar of Heisterbach.
- Helinand of Froidmont, 23, 25, 32, 62, 63, 183.
- Henmann of Bologna, 156, 177, 179.
- Henry de France, archbishop of Rheims, 25, 184.
- Henry II, king of England, 37.
- Heraclius, emperor, 170.
- Herbert, J. A., 157, 162.
- Herbert of Torres, or of Clairvaux, 41.
- Herman of Laon, 4, 23.
- Hermitage, 27.
- Herolt, John, called Discipulus, 9, 30, 53-54, 56; *Promptuarium exemplorum*, 53, 166, 168, 173, 175, 178, 181, 193, 194, 199, 203-204; *Promptuarium de miraculis*, 30, 53, 156, 159, 160, 167, 168, 172, 179, 180, 183, 186, 190, 192, 198, 199, 205, 210; *Sermones*, 53.
- Hervieux, Léopold, 177, 181, 205.
- Heuser, Wilhelm, 209.
- Hildefonsus, archbishop of Toledo, 190-191; *Liber de virginitate*, 190.
- Hilka, Alfons, 57, 158, 159, 161, 163, 167, 170, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 185, 186, 191, 194, 198, 200, 204, 205.
- Hippocrates, 67, 81, 94, *l.* 64.
- HM* series of legends, 5-7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16-18, 24, 31, 44, 72, 156, 162, 182, 190, 191, 198, 200.
- Hoferer, Max, 174.
- Holweck, F. G., 171.
- Honorius of Autun: *Gemma animae*, 171; *Sacramentarium*, 171; *Speculum ecclesiae*, 171, 172, 208.
- Hopf, Karl, 201.
- Horace: *Ep.*, 92; *Sat.*, 115; quoted in error, 134.
- Horning, Adolf, 209.
- Horstman, Carl, 155, 159, 175, 180, 187, 195, 200, 209.
- Hrotswitha of Gandsheim, 208.
- Huet, Gédéon Busken, 52, 164, 165.
- Hugh of Fleury, 158, 185.
- Hugh of St. Victor: *Liber excerptionum*, 185; *Liber de sacramentis*, 200.
- Hugo of Trimberg, 156, 158, 160, 162, 163, 175, 179, 180, 182, 191, 197, 199, 200.
- Huber, P. M., 203-204. *See* Monachus.
- Huynes, Dom Jean, 192.
- Ibn al-Jassâr, 132.
- Ignis infernalis, pestiferus, execrabilis, subcutaneous, sacer, divinus*. *See* Ergotism.
- Innocent IV, pope, 79.
- Isnard, H., 48, 49, 50, 67, 155, 156, 159, 162, 163, 165, 172, 175, 179, 180, 182, 191, 194, 206, 210.

- Jacques de Vitry, 177, 193-194.  
 James, M. R., 69-70, 81.  
 Janauschek, Leopold, 80.  
 Joachim, father of the Virgin Mary, 62, 91, l. 13, 176.  
 Jehan le Marchant, 179, 182.  
 Johannitus, 81, 97.  
 John of Coutances, 4.  
 John of Garland, 33, 39, 41, 49, 61, 66, 76, 77, 79, 80, 84, 85, 139, ll. 821-822, 160, 164, 167, 189, 193, 194, 196, 203, 204, 206, 208, 209; *Ars lectoria*, 77; *Assertiones fidei*, 77; *Clavis Compendii*, 85, 87, 88, 111; *Commentarius*, 77; *Compendium grammaticæ*, 85, 114; *Dictionarius*, 77; *Epithalamium beate Marie virginis*, 60, 69, 85, 90, 91, 145; *Georgica spiritalia*, 77; *Liber elegiarum*, 81, 145; *Mira or Mirabilia*, 77; *Morale scolarium*, 77, 88, 93, 98, 106, 132. *See also Stella maris*.  
 Jerome: *Epistolae*, 172; pseudo-, 173.  
 Jerusalem, 102, 185; scene of *S.M.* legends, 99, l. 142, 137, 138, 160, 166.  
 John of Damascus, 172.  
 Joly, M. A., 175.  
 Jonas, monk, 168.  
 Joscio, monk of Canterbury, 63.  
 Jubinal, Achille, 177, 208.  
 Julian the Apostate, 118, l. 430, 119, l. 434, 181, 203. *See legend*, 'Julian the Apostate.'  
 Jumieges, monastery of, 31, 42, 55. *See Rouen Mariale*.  
 Justinian, emperor, 157, 174, 185.
- Kaiserchronik*, 164-165, 169-170.  
 Keil, Heinrich, 98.  
 von Keller, Adelbert, 202.  
 Kerényi, Karl, 169.  
 Khitrovo, S. P., 203, 204.  
 Kjellman, Hilding, 5, 6, 10, 155, 156, 157, 160, 162, 166, 167, 171, 173, 175, 178, 179, 180, 182, 185, 187, 189, 191, 192, 193, 197, 198, 200, 207, 209, 210.  
 Klapper, Joseph: *Erzählungen*, 180, 186, 195, 204; *Exempla*, 162, 164, 205.  
 Kölbing, Eugen, 209.  
 Kronenburg, J. A. F., 7.
- Laborde, Alexander, comte de. *See* Miélot.  
 Lambecius, Petrus, 178.  
 Landos, Agapios, monk of Crete, 158.  
 Långfors, Arthur, 4, 27, 30, 54, 156, 165, 194.  
 Langres, 167.  
 Laon, 200.  
 Laude, P. J., 80.  
 Lausanne, 40, 41, 45. *See legends*, 'Blasphemer of Lausanne' and 'Girl of Lausanne.'  
*Legenda aurea*, 159, 162, 178, 181, 182, 189, 200, 210.  
 Legrand d'Aussy, P. J. B., 156, 170, 200, 210.
- Leicester, countess of, recluse of Canterbury, 50.  
 Leland, John, 70.  
 Leo the Great, 20.  
 Leo, the Isaurian, emperor, 203.  
 Leo IX, pope, 164.  
 Leodegarius, bishop of Viviers, 200. *See legend*, 'Foot Cut Off: Grenoble.'  
 Leprosy, kinds of, 111-112, ll. 304-315.  
 Lesser Armenia, 158. *See legend*, 'Jewish Boy Baptized.'  
 Levi, Ezio, 155, 157, 160, 163, 167, 170, 177, 180, 200, 210.  
 Libanius, the sophist, 181.  
*Liber viaticorum* of Ibn al-Jassār, 132.  
 Liège, archdeacon of, 175.  
 Lincoln, 167.  
 Little, A. G., 171, 179, 180, 185, 206, 210.  
 Louis, abbot of St. Peter at Châlons-sur-Marne, 21-22.  
 Louis VII, king of France, 12.  
 Luard, H. R., 79, 208.  
 Lucerna. *See* Blakerna.  
 Lucius, Ernst, 3, 171, 172, 185.  
 Lucius, pope, 176. *See legend*, 'Incest.'  
 Ludorff, Frans, 209.  
 Lundgren, Hjalmar, 208.  
 Lydda, Lidd. *See legend*, 'Libia.'  
 Lyons, 79. *See* Cluny, Girard of Lyons.  
 Lumley, John, Lord, 81-82.
- Magnum legendarium Austriacum*, 186.  
*Magnum speculum exemplorum*, 156, 163, 165, 172, 177, 181, 186, 191, 194, 205, 208. *See also Speculum exemplorum*.  
 Major, John. *See Magnum speculum exemplorum*.  
*Mal des ardents*. *See* Ergotism.  
 Mâle, Émile, 205.  
 Mansi, G. D., 178.  
 Map, Walter, 205.  
 Marbod of Rennes, 208.  
*Mariu saga*, 155, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 168, 170, 172, 173, 175, 179, 180, 182, 187, 188, 189, 191, 193, 195, 196, 197, 200, 205, 207, 209, 210.  
 Mare, Praemonstratensian monastery of, 184. *See legend*, 'Mare.'  
*Mariale magnum*, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36-55, 56-59, 62, 65, 66, 67, 69, 73, 76, 158, 164, 194, 204. *See also Grant Marial*.  
 Martène, Edmond, 184.  
 Martianus Capella, 67, 99.  
 Mary images, 3, 9, 106, ll. 214-219, 115, ll. 364-369, 161, 172-173; eastern, 115-116, ll. 370-381, 138, ll. 796-801, 142, ll. 886-903, 173-175, 202-204, 207; western, 106, ll. 220-225, 120, ll. 454-459, 122, ll. 502-507, 129, ll. 610-615, 134-135, ll. 706-723, 139-140, ll. 826-843, 161-166, 183, 184, 192-193,

- 198-199, 204-205, 207; in guide-books, 165, 173, 174; legendary portraits, 3, 20, 114, ll. 358-363, 143, ll. 904-909, 159, 172, 207-208. See *Miraculous crucifixes and Venus image*.
- Mary legends and oral sources: pilgrims and travellers, 9, 175, 180, 203; a merchant, 9, 175; a minstrel, 202; word-of-mouth, 21-22, 23-24, 49-50, 57, 175, 180, 184.
- and other literary forms: the *exemplum*, 8-9, 52-54, 73, 176, 193, 198; the *fabliau*, 202; the romance, 169-170, 180, 201.
- and written sources: chronicles and histories, 8, 20, 23, 25, 79, 158, 178, 184-185, 192, 204, 207-208; communal records, 20, 79, 207-208; monastic records, 5, 8, 50, 192; saints' lives, 5, 8, 160, 167, 171, 181, 189, 190-191, 193, 200; sermons and homilies, 157, 162, 174-175, 177.
- and the monastic orders: Benedictines, 21-22, 31, 42, 55; Praemonstratensians, 7, 11, 23, 184; Cistercians, 7-8, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 34, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 71, 73, 76, 168, 192; Dominicans, 8, 30, 41, 43, 52, 53, 54, 55, 73, 165, 191; Franciscans, 8, 43, 54, 73, 79.
- , cycles of, 9, 155-156, 161-165, 178-179, 179-180.
- Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, 15, 171.
- Meister, Aloys, 57, 158, 159, 161, 163, 167, 175, 177, 179, 180, 185, 186, 191, 194, 198, 200, 204, 205.
- Melito of Sardis, 12, 23, 26, 31, 37, 38, 45, 49, 55, 61, 65, 73.
- de Mély, Ferdinand, 174.
- Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, 157.
- Méon, D. M., 156, 165, 170, 177, 200, 210.
- Meyer, Paul, 159, 161, 168, 179, 182, 201, 202.
- Mielot, Jean, 155, 156, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 172, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 182, 183, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210.
- Mirabilia Romae*, 165, 174.
- Miracula beate Marie virginis* of John of Garland, 69, 85, 154. See *Stella maris*.
- Miraculous crucifixes, 64, 107, ll. 226-231, 117, ll. 400-408, 166, 174, 177-178, 202, 203-204.
- Mirande virginis laudes* prologue, 31, 38, 44, 60.
- Molinet, R. P. Claude du, 60.
- Monaci, Ernesto, 202.
- Monachus, Johannes, 157-158, 174, 203-204.
- Mont-St.-Michel, 129, 192. See *legends*, 'Fire at Mont-St.-Michel' and 'Childbirth in the Sea.'
- Morawski, Jozef, 30, 54, 162, 163, 164, 168, 189, 190, 199, 202, 205.
- More, R. P., 208.
- Moschos, Johannes, 158.
- MS Cambridge 385*, 77.
- MS Bruges 546*, 77, 87, 88, 90, 91, 111, 114, 145. See *below*, *MS Bruges*.
- MS London British Museum Royal 12 B xii*, 94, 97.
- MS London British Museum Royal 12 G ii*, 99.
- Mussafia, Adolf, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 40, 43, 52, 53, 60, 61, 62, 159, 161, 163, 165, 169, 170, 173, 175, 177, 178, 183, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194, 201, 202, 203, 206.
- Nerva, emperor, 174.
- Neuhaus, Carl, 5, 155, 159, 160, 166, 172, 173, 179, 180, 181, 182, 187, 189, 197, 198, 200, 208-209, 210.
- Neufchatel, 45.
- Nicea, council of, 177.
- Negri, Gaetano, 181.
- Notre-Dame-des-Ardents, church of. See *Arras*.
- Notre-Dame de Paris. See *Paris*.
- Noyon, 19, 45; monk of, 12; bishop Radbod II, 38. See *legend*, 'Thread in Lip.'
- Novati, Francesco, 202.
- Osbern, of Canterbury, 167.
- Odo of Cheriton, 181, 205.
- Omont, Henri, 26.
- Originum Cisterciensium*, 80.
- Orleans, 120, ll. 455, 183. See *legend*, 'Orleans.'
- Orthodoxy Sunday. See *Constantinople*.
- Ovid, *Meta.*, 99.
- Oviedo, 191.
- Pachomius, 205.
- Paetow, L. J., 77, 80, 81, 85. See *John of Garland*, *Morale scolarium*.
- Palmer, P. M., 208.
- Paris, 11-12, 14, 22, 43, 45, 49, 55, 59, 67, 69, 72, 73, 78, 87, 171, 184, 195; scene of *S.M.* legends, 121, ll. 486, 143, ll. 912; Notre-Dame de, 67, 78, 121, 122, 184; church of St. Martin, 12; St. Germain-des-Prés, 11-12, 22, 59, 72; St. Victor, 11-12, 59; Sorbonne, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 72; Ste. Geneviève, 11, 59, 70, 73, 80, 87. See also *MSS Paris 14463 and 12793*, Ste. Geneviève, William of Auvergne, and *Gautier de Château Thierry*.
- Paris, Gaston, 164.
- Paris, Matthew, 79, 208.
- Parma, 9, 67, 78-79, 143, ll. 904, 207-208.
- Pauli, Johannes, 199.
- Pelbart, Oswald, of Temesvar, 54, 56, 156, 163, 165, 171, 179, 180, 181, 186, 190, 191, 194, 202, 205, 209, 210.
- Pelizaeus, Theodor, 158.

- Persius, 134.  
 Peter, archdeacon of St. Peter's at Rome, 197.  
*See legend, 'Two Brothers at Rome.'*  
 Peter the Venerable. *See* Cluny.  
 Pez, Bernhard, 4, 6-7, 9, 13, 14, 27, 31, 33, 38, 44, 58, 64, 71, 72, 73, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162, 167, 171, 172, 175, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189, 190, 191, 192, 197, 198, 200, 210.  
 Pfeiffer, Franz: *Marienlegenden*, 158, 162, 171, 179, 180, 181, 182, 186, 199, 205, 209, 210; *Predigtmärlein*, 158, 199.  
 Philip, podesta of Parma, 207.  
 Philip Augustus, king of France, 37, 45.  
 Pigeon, E. A., 4.  
 Pirenne, Henri, 80.  
 Pits, John, 70.  
 Plenzat, Karl, 208.  
 Poncelet, Albert, 31.  
 Poquet, Alexandre Eusèbe, 188. *See* Gautier de Coincy.  
 Potho, Botho, monk of Priefling, 4, 6.  
 Power, Eileen, 53.  
 Praemonstratensians. *See* Mary legends.  
 Procopius, 174.  
 Ptolemy, astronomer, 100, 102.  
 Pseudo-Anselm, 6, 15, 17, 18, 162, 171-172, 200.  
 Pseudo-Boethius, 81.  
 Pseudo-Caesarius, 30, 44, 53, 55-59. *See also* Hilka *and* Meister.  
 Pseudo-Celestine, 50, 51, 56, 156, 159, 163, 194, 206, 210.  
 Pseudo-Clementine romance, 169.  
*Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, 3, 49, 55, 60, 65, 73, 84, 91.  
  
 Q = MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18134.  
*Quoniam gloriosissima virgo* prologue, 16, 19, 22, 24, 32, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 72, 73, 84.  
  
 R = MS Rouen A 535 and U 134 = Rouen *Mariale*.  
 Radbertus, Paschasius, 158.  
 Radbod II. *See* Noyon.  
 Rademacher, Louis, 208.  
 Radewin of Freising, 208.  
 Ramsey, monastery of, 124, 189.  
*Recull de eximptis*, 164, 166, 170, 182, 194, 197, 209, 210.  
 Renclus of Moiliens, 29, 30.  
 Raynaud, Gaston, 161.  
 Rich, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 82, 106, 165.  
 Richard sans Peur, Duke of Normandy, 180.  
 Rheims, 12, 23, 25, 45; scene of *S.M.* legends, 122, *l.* 503, 184.  
 de Ricci, Seymour, 80.  
 Richard, duke of Burgundy, 186, 187.  
 Ritter, Franz, 179.  
 Robert of Brunne, 194.  
 Robert of Molesme, 7.  
 Robert of Torigny, abbot of Mont-St.-Michel, 192.  
 Robert the Devil, romance of, 201.  
 Rocamador, 4, 23, 42-43.  
 Rochefoucault, Cardinal de la, 60.  
 Roderigo of Cerratensis, 191.  
 Rollo, duke of Normandy, 186.  
*Roman de Rou* of Wace, 180, 187.  
 Rome, 15-16, 20, 164, 168, 174, 176, 185, 186, 197, 201; scene of *S.M.* legends, 109, *l.* 269, 123, 133; Coliseum, 165; Lateran, 174; Pantheon, St. Maria Rotunda, 165, 185; church of St. Agnes, 197; church of St. Lawrence, 197; church of St. Peter's, 165.  
*Rosarius*, 9, 30, 42, 54, 56, 167.  
 Rouen, Public Library of, 31; abbey of St. Ouen, 180. *See* MSS Rouen.  
 Rouen *Mariale*. *See* MSS Rouen.  
 Royaumont, monastery of, 55.  
 Rufinianus, Julius, 98.  
 Rufinus, historian, 186.  
  
 St. Anthony of Vienna, 202.  
 St. Augustine, 11; sermon of, 31.  
 St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, 69-70.  
 St. Basil, 119, *l.* 438, 181.  
 St. Bernard, 12, 31, 50, 55, 191.  
 St. Bricius, 193.  
 St. Cassian, monastery of, 162.  
 St. Dunstan, 160, 167. *See* legends, 'St. Dunstan.'  
 St. Elizabeth of Schönau, 37, 44-45, 49, 55, 61, 65, 73.  
 Ste. Geneviève, monastery of, 11, 70; collection of, 9, 11-12, 22, 33, 44, 59-69, 71, 73, 80, 84, 193, 194, 204, 205; library of, 59-60.  
 St. Germain-des-Prés. *See* MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593.  
 St. Hugh of Cluny. *See* Cluny.  
 St. James, 199, 200.  
 St. James of Compostella, 199, 202.  
 St. Louis, king of France, 68.  
 St. Martin of Tours, 193; monastery of, 22; monk Gonterus, 22. *See* Chalade.  
 St. Mauritius, 171.  
 St. Mercury, 119, *l.* 441, 181.  
 St. Michael, 205, 206.  
 St. Nicholas, 175.  
 St. Nicholas of Clusa, monk of, 159.  
 St. Norbert, 11.  
 St. Odo of Cluny. *See* Cluny.  
 St. Ouen, abbey of. *See* Rouen.  
 St. Peter, 169-170, 199.  
 St. Pierre-au-Mont. *See* Châlons-sur-Marne.  
 St. Pierre-sur-Dive, monastery of, 4.  
 St. Projectus, 197.  
 St. Raphael, 183.  
 St. Riquier, monastery of, 206.

- St. Thomas of Canterbury, 182.  
 Salimbene, Fra, 79.  
 Salter, H. E., 70.  
 Sanchez, Climente, 210.  
 Savigny, Cistercian monastery of, 23, 25, 62, 63, 192.  
*Scala celi*. See Gobius.  
 Schlauch, Margaret, 169.  
 Schönbach, Anton E., 159.  
 Schröder, Edward, 164, 170.  
 Scott, H. von E., 57, 182.  
 Sedulius, *Paschal. carmin.*, 129.  
 Seneca, *Ep. mor.*, 87.  
 Sergius I, pope, 171, 185.  
 Serlo de Vaubadon, abbot of Savigny, 25, 63, 192. See also Clairvaux.  
 Servois, Gustave, 4.  
 Severinus, pope, 162.  
 SG = collection of St. Germain-des-Prés = MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593.  
 Siagrius, so-called archbishop of Toledo, 190, 191.  
 Sigibert of Gembloux, 158, 178, 204, 208.  
 Simon, abbot of Los (Loz) or Loo, 34, 41, 63.  
 Sisbert, archbishop of Toledo, 190, 191.  
 S.M. = *Stella maris*.  
 Small, John, 157.  
 Soissons, 4, 8, 12, 27, 30, 43, 54, 68, 69, 76, 195, 196; scene of S.M. legends, 131, ll. 652 and 658; church of Ste. Mary, 195; abbey of St. Medard, 30; abbess Matilda, 195; rustic Boso, 195. See Farsitus, Gautier de Coincy, *Rosarius, and legends*, 'Boy Freed From Captivity,' 'Nose Restored,' and 'Soissons.' Spain, 127.  
*Speculum exemplorum*, 43-44, 54, 56. See also *Magnum speculum exemplorum*.  
*Speculum laicorum*, 193.  
 Speyer, 15, 198.  
 Steele, Robert, 147.  
 Stefanović, Svetislav, 169.  
*Stella maris*, 5, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 19, 20, 32, 33, 35-36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46-47, 59-69, 70, 71, 72, 74-75, 76, 97, l. 124, 166, 168, 170, 174, 175, 183, 189, 193, 195, 196, 198, 206, 207, 208, 209; authorship of, 77; date of, 77-79; manuscripts of, 80-86; in England, 69-72.  
 Stephen, a judge at Rome, 197.  
 Stolfi, Casimiro, 206.  
 Strange, Joseph, 57.  
 Strassburg, 21.  
 Stubbs, William, 160, 164, 167.  
 Sumi, Henry, knight, 80.  
 Surlus, Laurentius, 165.  
 SV = Collection of St. Victor = MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14463.  
*Tabula exemplorum*, 205.  
 Tanner, Thomas, 70.  
 Taylor, Archer, 205.  
 Telera, Coelestinus. See Pseudo-Celestine.  
 Teubert, Stephan, 169.  
 Thaddeus, the judge, 208.  
 Theodoret, 181.  
 Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, 63.  
 Theodosius, emperor, 165.  
 Thibaud de Marley. See Vaux-Cernay.  
 Thomas, Antoine, 4, 187.  
 Thomas de Wyvelsberge, monk of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, 69-70.  
 Thomas of Cantimpré, 180-181, 186, 194.  
 Toledo, 128, l. 592, 129, l. 616, 166, 190, 193.  
 Trier, 21, 37.  
 TS collection of legends, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17-18, 38, 39, 44, 72, 155, 160, 166, 167, 171, 173, 192, 200, 207.  
 Turner, G. J., 70.  
 Tryon, Ruth Wilson, 70, 71, 156, 158, 160, 166, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 177, 179, 182, 199.  
 Ubaldus, the knight, 28.  
 Ullman, B. L., 36.  
 Ulrich, Jacob, 27, 54, 156, 157, 166, 167, 168, 175, 177, 183, 193.  
 Urban II, pope, 207.  
*Ur-Mariale*. See Clairvaux *Mariale*.  
 Vaux-Cernay, Cistercian monastery of, 49; abbot Andrew, 41, 63; abbot Thibaud de Marley, 49, 50, 51.  
 Vendome collection, 30, 45, 48-51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 67, 74-75, 179, 180, 194, 206. See Isnard.  
 Venus image, 164, 165.  
 Victoria, siege of, 79.  
*Vie des anciens pères*, 165, 190.  
 Vincent of Beauvais, 31, 41, 55, 59; *Speculum historiale*, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35-36, 37-44, 45, 46-47, 48, 49, 52, 54, 56, 58, 61, 62, 64-66, 69, 73, 74-75, 156, 158, 161, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 209, 210.  
 Virgin Mary in the calendar and the liturgy of the church: Annunciation, 24, 38; Assumption, 24, 37, 50, 147, ll. 994-996; Conception, 7, 147, ll. 991-993, 162, 188-189; Nativity, 148, l. 997, 170-171, 190; Purification, Ypapanti, 3, 79, 123, l. 511, 184-185, 190; Visitation, 7; Saturday, 4, 7, 142, ll. 886-888; *Ave Maria*, 7, 28, 53, 98, l. 127, 107, 127, l. 576, 152, l. 1111, 178, 179, 180, 182, 209; *Ave maris stella*, 67, 74, 141, l. 865; *Beati immaculati*, 133, l. 683, 197; *Gaude Maria virgo*, 123, 130, 194; *Missus Gabriel*, 50; *Nona*, 162, 163; *O Maria virgo, pia maris stella*, 19; *O intemerata*, 19, 22, 36, 45, 46; *Salve regina*, 7; *Salve sancta*

- parens*, 4, 7, 119, *l.* 445, 182. *See legends*, 'Five Joys,' 'Five Psalms,' and other appropriate legends.
- and secular learning, 87–88; astronomy, 99–105, *ll.* 148–213, 145–146, *ll.* 946–969, 146–147, *ll.* 976–987; medicine, 94–95, *ll.* 64–75; 111–112, *ll.* 304–315, 132, *ll.* 670–675; meteorology, 148–149, *ll.* 1006–1029.
- and theology, 89–90, *ll.* 1–12, 143–144, *ll.* 916–945, 148–149, *ll.* 1006–1035, 150–151, *ll.* 1060–1095.
- sequence in honor of, 149–150, *ll.* 1036–1053.
- Virgil, *Georg.*, 101, 102; quoted in error, 103.
- Virgo, constellation of, 68, 88, 146, *l.* 978.
- Vita Columbani*, 168.
- Viviers, 195, 200.
- de Vooy, C. G. N., 166.
- Wallensköld, Alexis, 169–170.
- Walter of Woburn, 70.
- Walther, Hans, 90.
- Ward, H. L. D., 3, 5, 29, 37, 42, 44, 45, 48, 52, 54, 63, 162, 171, 185, 206.
- Warner, George F., 81, 82, 172, 207. *See* Miélot.
- Welter, J. Thomas, 43, 52, 168.
- William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, 67, 78, 79, 122, *l.* 496, 184.
- William of Champeaux, 11.
- William the Conqueror, 188.
- William of Jumièges, 186, 187.
- William of Malmesbury, 163, 164, 165, 167, 185, 187, 207.
- Wilmart, André, 15.
- Wolter, Eugen, 157, 158, 159.
- Wright, Thomas, 156, 177, 194, 205, 210.
- Wyrembek, Anna, 162, 163, 164, 165.
- X=MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491.
- Xanten, 177.
- Zephirinus, pope, 162.
- Zimisce, John, emperor, 177.

## 2. INDEX OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

- Bruges 546=*Stella maris*=B, 59, 80–81, 83–85, 86, 192.
- Brussels Phillipps 336, 11, 12, 15, 17, 31, 199.
- Brussels 7797–7806, 11, 12, 15, 17.
- Cambrai 739, 22, 31.
- Charleville 168, 24, 26, 61, 62, 63, 184.
- Copenhagen Thott 26, 21.
- Leipzig 819, 21.
- Leipzig 821, 21, 175.
- London British Museum Additional 11579, 162.
- London British Museum Additional 15723=*A*, 29, 33, 34, 40–41, 42, 44–48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 73, 76, 198.
- London British Museum Additional 17920, 54, 56. *See* Ulrich.
- London British Museum Additional 18344, 204, 205.
- London British Museum Additional 33956, 175, 206.
- London British Museum Additional 39996, 70, 71, 74–75, 160. *See* Tryon.
- London British Museum Arundel 346, 17–18, 19, 25, 58. *See* APM above.
- London British Museum Cotton Cleopatra C x, 5–6, 12, 14, 167, 171, 179, 181. *See* Neuhaus.
- London British Museum Harley 2316, 206.
- London British Museum Harley 3244, 206.
- London British Museum Royal 8 c iv=*Stella maris*=M, 69, 81–85, 85–86, facing 96, 192.
- London British Museum Royal 6 B x, 12.
- Montpellier 146, 17–18, 19, 25, 58. *See* APM above.
- Oxford Balliol 240, 5–7, 10, 12, 14, 167, 178. *See* Kjellman.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 2333A, 11, 22–26, 31, 32.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 5267, 174.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 5268, 20, 31, 60, 174, 203.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 12593=Collection of St. Germain-des-Prés=SG, 9, 11, 16–22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 46–47, 51, 59, 60, 61–62, 63, 71, 72, 73, 74–75, 84, 86, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185–186, 188, 190, 191, 192, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 205, 207, 208, 209.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 14463=Collection of St. Victor=SV, 9, 11, 12–16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33, 43, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64, 72, 73, 74–75, 86, 170, 173, 176, 177, 195, 196, 206.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 16056=Collection of the Sorbonne, 11, 12, 17–18, 72.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 17491=X, 11, 22–26, 31, 32–34, 35–36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46–47, 58, 59, 60, 61–62, 63–64, 65, 71, 74–75, 86, 157, 168, 183, 184, 189, 192.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18134=Q, 11, 26–30, 31, 33, 34, 44, 48, 53, 57, 58, 61, 67, 74–75, 164, 173, 194.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 18168, 17–18, 19, 25, 58. *See* APM above.

- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale French 818, 45, 177.  
 Paris Bibliothèque Nationale French 2094, 30.
- Rouen U 134 and A 535=Rouen *Mariale*=R, 24, 30-36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46-47,
- Toulouse 478, 40.  
 Toulouse 482, 5-7, 12, 14.

## 3. INDEX OF LEGENDS

- Abbe: Bishop Comes Unexpectedly, 6, 13, 27, 35, 46, 49, 74, 93-94, *ll.* 46-63, 156-157;  
 Confidence Betrayed, 157.
- Abbey of Le Val, 50.
- Abbot Baldwin, 23-24, 25, 26, 63.
- Abbot Eats Spider, 33, 36.
- Ave maris stella*, 67, 75, 141, *ll.* 862-867, 206.
- Barns Filled, 20, 25, 32, 35, 74, 98-99, *ll.* 139-147, 160-161.
- Beatrice the Sacristan, 30, 57.
- Beirut, 33, 36, 64, 74, 117, *ll.* 400-408, 177-178.
- Blasphemer of Lausanne, 40, 41, 45, 46, 53.
- Bonus, 6, 13, 18, 33, 35, 39, 46, 49, 63, 64.
- Boy Devoted to the Devil, 15, 16, 20, 42, 47, 75, 137-138, *ll.* 760-795, 201-202.
- Boy Freed From Captivity, 75, 141, *ll.* 868-879, 206-207.
- Boy Saved From Drowning, 28, 58.
- Brabantine Blasphemers, 33, 36, 37, 46, 53, 63.
- Bread: *Spiris est locus*, 15, 32, 36, 46, 75, 134-135, *ll.* 706-723, 198-199; *Quantum pura simplicitas*, 21-22, 51.
- Bridegroom, 161-166; Brother of the King of Hungary, 162-163; Clerk of Pisa, 25, 39, 162, 163, 164; Love by Black Art, 6, 13, 18, 25, 163-164; Ring on Finger, 8, 10, 19, 46, 49, 74, 106, *ll.* 220-225, 161-162, 164-166, 170; Roman Noble, 162; Transported to a Remote Region, 14, 20, 35, 75, 125, *ll.* 550-555, 163, 189.
- Chaplain Whom Mary Chose, 34, 36.
- Charitable Almsman, 36, 64, 75, 134, *ll.* 700-705, 198.
- Chartres, 8, 19, 35, 75, 123-124, *ll.* 520-528, 186-187.
- Chaste Empress, 8, 10, 15, 16, 20, 25, 33, 35, 39, 46, 54, 62, 63, 74, 109-113, *ll.* 268-336, 165, 168-170.
- Childbirth in the Sea, 5, 6, 46, 49, 53, 54.
- Chorister, 30, 58, 67, 75, 130-131, *ll.* 634-645, 194-195.
- Christ-Child Seized as Pledge, 206.
- Christ Appears to Monk, 25, 32, 35, 38, 62, 63, 75, 128, *ll.* 604-609, 192.
- Christ Image Wounded, 64, 75, 138, *ll.* 796-801, 202-204.
- Cistercian Monk Could Learn Only *Ave Maria*, 28, 53, 58.
- Cistercian Monk Persecuted, 33-34, 36, 41, 46, 63.
- Cistercian Monk Sang Softly, 29.
- Cistercian Monks at Their Field Work, 33, 36, 41, 46, 50, 51-52.
- Cistercians Beneath the Virgin's Cloak, 50, 57.
- Cistercians Honored, 50.
- Clerk of Chartres, 48, 74, 117-118, *ll.* 409-417, 178-179.
- Clerk of Pisa. *See* Bridegroom.
- Columns Raised, 24, 32, 35, 38, 46, 62, 108-109, *ll.* 259-267, 168.
- Complines, 6, 13.
- Conception, 6, 10, 13, 17-18, 26, 75, 124-125, *ll.* 538-549, 188-189.
- Constantinople Saved, 19, 35, 187.
- Conversus* at Clairvaux Hears Angels Celebrate Assumption, 50.
- Demons in the Form of Swine, 34, 36, 46.
- Devil in Beasts' Shapes, 6, 13, 27, 35, 74, 97, *ll.* 118-123, 159-160.
- Dream of a Harlot and Her Horses, 50.
- Drowned Sacristan, 9, 21, 75, 126-127, *ll.* 568-585, 179-180, 189; Clerk Named Nonus, 6, 12, 13; Friend Prays, 7, 13.
- Ebbo the Thief, 27, 42, 47, 75, 152-153, *ll.* 1108-1125, 209-210.
- Electuary, 28, 41, 46, 52, 57.
- Eulalia, 6, 13, 27, 28, 32, 36.
- Excommunicate Absolved by Foolish Servant of Mary, 15.
- Fire at Mont-St.-Michel, 26, 35, 54, 75, 129, *ll.* 610-615, 192-193.
- Five Joys, 36, 64.
- Five Psalms, 29, 34, 36, 41, 42, 45, 47, 63.
- Foot Cut Off, 6, 13, 18, 75, 135-136, *ll.* 736-741, 200-201; Grenoble, 14, 200.
- Fulbert of Chartres. *See* Milk.
- Garlands for the Virgin, 30.
- German Nobleman Healed, 7, 13.
- Gethsemane, 6, 13, 14, 18, 23, 35.
- Girl Named Mary, 40, 41, 46, 57.
- Girl of Lausanne, 33, 36, 40.
- Hundred Aves a Day, 29, 48, 50.
- Hand Restored to Priest, 51.

- Hieronymous, 26.  
 Hildefontus, 4, 75, 128, *ll.* 592-597, 190-191.  
 Hours Sung Daily, 6, 9, 13, 32, 74, 118, *ll.* 418-423, 180-181.
- Incest, 15, 16, 20, 25, 39, 46, 58, 61, 62, 64, 74, 116-117, *ll.* 382-399, 176-177.
- Jewish Boy, 157-159, 174, 189; Covered With Her Cloak, 5, 25, 35, 53, 61, 62, 74, 95-96, *ll.* 76-99, 157, 158; Lady Dressed in Purple, 157-158; Jew of Bourges, 5, 6, 13, 18, 61, 159; Jew versus Christian Debate, 17-18, 159; Jewish Boy Baptized, 158.
- Jew Lends to Christian, 173-175, 177; Jew Tests Christian, 174; Said to be Greek, 174-175; Sails to Alexandria, 175; Testimonium, 6, 9, 10, 13, 35, 46, 49, 74, 115-116, *ll.* 370-381, 173, 175.
- Jew of London, 40, 46.
- Jewess in Childbirth, 25, 33, 39, 46, 62, 64, 75, 127, *ll.* 586-591, 189-190.
- Judas in Hell, 25, 32, 35, 38, 39, 62, 63, 74, 120-121, *ll.* 460-471, 183, 192.
- Julian the Apostate, 5, 70, 74, 118-119, *ll.* 430-441, 181-182, 205.
- King of France, 36.
- Landmark Removed, 75, 133, *ll.* 688-693, 197-198.
- Lanfranc, 33, 35, 36.
- Leuricus, 5, 7, 13, 17, 18, 36.
- Liberated by the Prayers of Brothers, 36.
- Liberated From Captivity, 33, 36.
- Libia, 6, 13, 14, 18, 35, 74, 114, *ll.* 358-363, 172.
- Light in a Mary Church, 25, 32, 35.
- Light on Masthead, 6, 13, 46, 166, 188, 189.
- Little Devil in Church, 8, 42, 47, 75, 129-130, *ll.* 616-633, 193-194.
- Love by Black Art. *See* Bridegroom.
- Maid of Arras, 10, 12, 15, 75, 124, *ll.* 529-537, 188.
- Mal-des-Ardents at Paris, 67, 75, 121-122, *ll.* 484-501, 184.
- Man and Woman Freed, 28, 58.
- Mare, 10, 19, 23, 25, 26, 32, 35, 38, 61, 62, 63, 75, 122, *ll.* 502-507, 184.
- Mary Image Insulted, 6, 13, 18, 35, 42, 47, 52, 74, 115, *ll.* 364-369, 172-173, 207.
- Mary Relics (Gregory of Tours, ch. 10), 25, 26, 32.
- Mary Relics (*ibid.*, ch. 18), 32, 35.
- Mead, 7, 13, 17-18, 61, 74, 108, *ll.* 244-249, 167.
- Milk, 10, 155-156; Fulbert of Chartres, 33, 36, 155; Monk Laid Out as Dead, 6, 13, 18, 25, 39, 155, 156; Tongue and Lips Restored, 14, 16, 26, 27, 35, 46, 49, 74, 92-93, *ll.* 31-45, 155-156, 196, Twenty-three Plants in Flower, 156.
- Missus Gabriel*, 50.
- Monk Dies Suddenly in Burgundy, 14, 18, 25, 39.
- Mother of Mercy (*Memnimus*, Pseudo-Anselm), 14, 17, 18, 23, 171; *Sicut iterum*, 6, 13, 15, 17-18, 47, 74, 114, *ll.* 352-357, 171-172.
- Mouth of Hell, 14, 75, 128, *ll.* 598-603, 191-192.
- Murielidis, 4, 15, 18.
- Musa, 6, 13, 17-18, 26, 32, 35, 38, 63.
- Nativity, 19, 32, 35, 37, 42, 47, 74, 113-114, *ll.* 337-351, 170-171.
- Niece of a Wicked Man, 33, 36.
- Nose Restored, 75, 132, *ll.* 664-669, 196-197.
- Nun Who Could Not Unlock Convent Door, 29, 48, 50.
- O intemerata*: Buried Outside the Churchyard, 19, 36; Devil as Servant, 19, 46, 49, 53; Son of a Priest, 36; St. John Rescues Boy's Soul From Devils, 22.
- Origin of Antiphony, *O Maria virgo*, 19, 24.
- Orleans, 10, 19, 35, 46, 62, 74, 120, *ll.* 454-459, 183.
- Painter of Flanders, 33, 36, 40, 41, 45, 46, 53, 58, 64, 75, 139-140, *ll.* 826-843, 204-205.
- Parma, 9, 10, 75, 143, *ll.* 904-909, 207-208.
- Peter the Venerable, 33, 35, 36.
- Persuaded to Stay Forty Years, 50.
- Pilgrim of St. James, 5, 75, 135, *ll.* 724-735, 199-200.
- Pilgrim in the Sea, 6, 13, 35, 46, 52, 69, 74, 107, *ll.* 232-243, 166-167, 189.
- Poor Man Strikes Stone, 15, 17, 33, 35, 39, 41, 46.
- Poor Man With Three Marriageable Daughters, 21.
- Priest of One Mass, 42, 46, 74, 119-120, *ll.* 442-453, 182.
- Purification, 8, 19, 26, 32, 35, 75, 123, *ll.* 508-513, 184-185.
- Ring on Finger. *See* Bridegroom.
- Rich Man and Poor Widow, 15, 23, 25, 39, 46, 49, 58.
- Sacristan Worthy to Kiss Hands and Feet of Mary, 15, 35.
- Saracen and Mary Image, 19, 23, 35, 42, 47, 74, 106, *ll.* 214-219, 161.
- Saracens Unable to Injure Mary Image, 40, 46.
- Sardenay, 19, 23, 161.
- Saturday, 5, 7, 13, 35, 75, 142, *ll.* 886-903, 207.

- Sight Restored, 19, 35, 75, 123, *ll.* 514-519, 185-186.
- Soissons, 75, 131, *ll.* 652-663, 195-196. *See* Farsitus *above*.
- Son Restored, 6, 13, 35, 74, 96-97, *ll.* 100-117, 159, 189.
- Soul Flies to Heaven With St. Bernard's, 50.
- Souls of Cistercians Released, 50.
- Stained Corporal, 35.
- Stepmother and Stepson, 15.
- St. Blasius, 7.
- St. Dunstan, 6, 13, 35, 47.
- St. Luke's Portrait of Mary, 20, 24.
- Student Forbidden to Swim Drowns, 21.
- Tempted by the Devil, 71.
- Theophilus, 5, 17-18, 26, 75, 107, 152, *ll.* 1096-1107, 176, 193, 202, 205, 208-209.
- Thread in Lip, 19, 36, 46. *See* Radbod II of Noyon.
- Three Knights, 6, 13, 17-18, 32, 36.
- Toledo, 5, 6, 13, 18, 35, 46, 74, 107, *ll.* 226-231, 166.
- Transported to a Remote Region. *See* Bridegroom.
- Two Boys Enter Clairvaux, 45, 48.
- Two Brothers at Rome, 5, 75, 133, *ll.* 676-687, 197.
- Unwilling to Deny Mary, 33, 36, 45, 46, 49, 58.
- Unchaste Monk Warned by Widow, 19, 23, 26.
- Uncompleted Confession, 7, 13, 18, 25, 35, 39.
- Virgin Bares Her Breast, 50.
- Vision of St. Hugh of Cluny, 37, 42, 43, 47.
- Vision of Monk of Clairvaux, 50.
- Wife and Mistress, 15, 18, 26, 46.
- Will For Deed, 15, 75, 140-141, *ll.* 850-861, 205-206.
- Woman Revived For Confession, 42, 47, 74, 108, *ll.* 250-258, 167-168.