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quarterly journal
devoted to research, the
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MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN

THE collection of Miracles of the Virgin here edited for the first time is contained in a manuscript (MSS. B. 14) belonging to the President White Library of Cornell University.¹ The volume is a small quarto (size of leaf cm. 19.2 × 13.7; of text cm. 13.2 × 10) of 184 folios, vellum, written in two columns (except f. 96, written in one), and contains works in various hands and of different dates, from the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. Our collection, of the late thirteenth century, written in two columns of twenty-five lines, occupies fols. 104-119.

The contents of the whole manuscript is as follows: (1) *Meditationes piissimae beati Bernardi de cognitione humanae conditionis*, incomplete, lacking chaps. XIV-XV, cf. Mabillon's ed. of St. Bernard's *Opera*, Paris, 1690, Vol. II, coll. 319-335, f. 1; (2) A mystical treatise, the beginning of which is missing, a leaf of the quire being lost, f. 16; (3) *Vitas Patrum*, f. 33vo; (4) The present article, f. 104; (5) Sermons, f. 120vo; (6) Moral reflections, f. 140vo; (7) Two chapters of Gregory's *Dialogues*, Bk. IV, 37, 38, f. 141vo; Treatise on canonical law, f. 143; (9) Theological treatise, f. 168; (10) Letter of Presbyter John to the Emperor Manuel,² fols. 171vo-172vo. Articles (1)-(5) appear to be in the same hand and of the thirteenth century. The remaining articles are in different hands of the fourteenth century. I have written out

¹The volume, it is believed, was formerly in the library of the Carthusian monastery of Buxheim, near Memmingen in Bavaria.

²This letter forms the subject of a thesis by Mr. R. P. Redfield, A.B., Cornell University, 1896, "Prester John. A critical Study of his Letter to the Emperor Manuel, with especial reference to the Manuscript in the President White Library of Cornell University. Thesis presented for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in Cornell University."

the abbreviations, punctuated, and corrected a few evident slips of the scribe's pen. I have left the text as it is in the manuscript, with the usual mediaeval orthography (*e* for *ae*, etc.), and I have not attempted to correct the scribe's construction.^{2a}

A sufficient account of the history and literature of the subject will be found in Mussafia, *Studien zu den Mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, I. pp. 1-22, a résumé of which, with additions, is in Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. II, pp. 586-594. Exceedingly useful is Albert Poncelet's *Miraculorum B. V. Marie quae saec. VI-XV. Latine conscripta sunt Index postea perficiendus*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XXI (1902), pp. 241-360. The most important additions to the list on pp. 243-4 of "Libri saepius allati" are: J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III, 1910; and A. G. Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum saeculo XIII compositus a quodam fratre minore Anglico de provincia Hiberniae, secundum codicem Dunelmensem*, Aberdoniae, 1908. In citing Mussafia's *Studien* I have used the reprints of the first four parts, Vienna, 1887, 1888, 1889, and 1891, and for the fifth part the *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe, Bd. CXXXIX, 1898, VIII Abh.* Poncelet's Index is usually cited as *Initia Miraculorum*.

Mussafia in the third part of his *Studien*, pp. 53 *et seq.*, passes in review the great number of manuscript collections of Miracles of the Virgin found in European libraries and endeavours to draw some general inferences as to their origin and relationship. The results, it must be confessed, are meagre, and the distinguished author is obliged to acknowledge "Auf welche Art zuerst die einzelnen Erzählungen dann die Sammlungen zu Stande kamen, ist bisher unaufgeklärt geblieben." He does establish certain families of MSS. and reduces the number of legends to about one hundred. He also sifts this number and is enabled to arrange them in somewhat chronological order. But after all, as the Catalogues of Ward

^{2a} In several instances the scribe has written *gn* for *ng*, *gl* for *lg*, and *x* for *s*, e. g., *logne* for *longe*, *fuglebat* for *fulgebat*, *salux* for *salus*. I have not followed this orthography. I am greatly indebted to my colleague, Professor G. L. Burr for aid in deciphering the MS.

and Herbert amply show, the greatest freedom and independence prevail in this as in other fields of medieval literature. No two MSS. are exactly alike, the arrangement of the stories is different, and it is even difficult generally to determine the source of the stories—this being especially true of the later prose legends. As Mussafia says, the sources of the metrical versions in French, English, and Spanish can be determined with considerable (*ziemlicher*) certainty.

I shall now examine the stories in our MS. to see whether they throw any light on the date or place of the collection. The oldest group of legends is considered by Mussafia to be the one consisting of seventeen tales, and termed HM from beginning with the legend "Hildefonsus" and ending with that of "Murielidis." This group is the first seventeen stories in Pez (Mussafia, I, pp. 23-30); of this group four (possibly, five) are in our collection: X (Pez 3); XI (Pez 6); IX (Pez 7); XX (Pez 16). No. VIII may possibly be considered a variant of Pez 2, at any rate, they both belong to the same class of legends.

The second group of Mussafia consists of four legends: Jew of Bourges, Theophilus, Julian the Apostate, and Childbirth in the Sea; of these the second only, Theophilus, is in our collection, No. XXIX.

The third group, called TS (Toledo—Sardenay) consists of sixteen, possibly, seventeen, legends, of which four, possibly, five, are in our collection: XXVII (TS 3); VIII (TS 8, variant); XII (TS 11); XV (TS 13); XVIII (TS 15).

Of these, VIII has already been mentioned as a variant of Pez 2, XII is also Pez 30; XV is Pez 32; and XVIII is Pez 19. Our MS. therefore contains ten legends found in the oldest and most popular collections.

Of the nineteen remaining stories, two, XIV and XXIV, are peculiar to this collection, but throw no light on its origin. The first is an ordinary monastic vision, in which the Virgin appears to a devout monk and promises to conduct him to heaven. No locality is mentioned except "in quodam monasterio." The second is the story of an angry mother who commends her undutiful son to "fifty thousand devils." At night devils carry him from his

bed up through the chimney, but let him fall to the hearth on his exclaiming: "Sancta Maria, adjuva me." The story is said to take place "in quodam castro episcopatus Toletanensi," one of the few local references in the collection. I have found no exact parallel to this story.

The remaining seventeen legends are among the oldest and most popular of the legends attributed to the Virgin, although some are found in relatively few collections. I shall mention the latter class first. They are: I. Stephan, a French cleric, saved by the Virgin from shipwreck and afterwards from carnal temptations; found only in two collections in England and in a French metrical version; IV. Vision of wicked man granted a respite by the Virgin in order that he may amend his life; found only in two MSS. in the British Museum, and in various printed works; VI. Emperor of Constantinople buried in mine; found in Paris Lat. 5267, as well as in the French metrical version alluded to above, and in a considerable number of collections in the British Museum, where it is sometimes told of an unnamed "miner"; XIII. Carthusian monk persecuted by demons in shape of swine; found only in British Museum, Additional 15723, and in some printed collections, such as, *Speculum Historiale*, *Scala Celi*, and W. de Worde's *The Myracles of our Lady*; XX. Brother of the King of Hungary forsakes bride for Virgin; found in Pez, in the French metrical collection mentioned above, and in a considerable number of collections in the British Museum.

Of the fourteen remaining legends, nearly all are of wide popularity and are found in a large number of collections. This is especially the case with: VIII. Sacristan drowned while returning from the commission of sin, buried outside of churchyard, at Virgin's command body is disinterred and lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name in golden letters on tongue; IX. Lewd monk recalled to life to repent and receive the sacraments; X. Ebbo the Thief; XII. Sick cleric restored to health by Virgin's milk; XV. Virgin reproves nun (Eulalia) for saying prayers too rapidly; XVII. Monk writes Virgin's name in various colors; XVIII. Elsinus; XXVI. Devil in service; and XXIX. Theophilus. The other legends are less popular, although found in many col-

lections. The following do not occur in Ward's Catalogue (that is, are not in collections in the British Museum): XIV, XVII, XXIV, XXVIII. Two of these, XIV, XXIV, as we have seen, are peculiar to our collection. Twenty-one of the twenty-nine occur, as to subject, in the Paris MS. Fr. 818, in metrical form. Those which do not occur are: IV. Vision of wicked man granted a respite by the Virgin; XIII. Carthusian monk persecuted by devils in shape of swine; XIV. peculiar to our collection; XVIII. Elsinus (Feast of Conception); XXI. Miracle of Sardenay; XXII. Money-changer swears by Virgin's breasts, tongue turns black and he dies; XXIV Peculiar to our collection; XXV. Knight turned monk can learn Ave Maria only.³

Mussafia concludes his careful examination of the above MS. 818, with these words: "Ob der französische Reimer selbst die Sammlung der Wunder veranstaltete, oder ob er sie in einer lateinischen Handschrift vorfand, ist schwer zu bestimmen. Nach dem compilatorischen Charakter des auf Maria sich beziehenden Theiles der Handschrift ist ersteres wahrscheinlicher." My own conclusion, based on a general study of the collections of Latin tales in Ward and Herbert's Catalogue is the same. It seems to me that there is considerable independence in the choice and arrangement of material, and that it is generally impossible to discover the source of any collection. This is not saying, of course, that the source of individual stories may not be discovered, especially, as has already been said, in the case of metrical translations, such as Gautier de Coincy, Adgar, the French MS. 818, etc.

³ Mussafia divides the contents of MS. 818 into eight groups, all of which are represented in our MS. as follows (the stories of the Cornell MS. in parentheses): I Group, HM, *i. e.* Pez, 17 tales, 2 (cp. 8), 3 (10), 6 (11), 7 (9), 16 (20); II Group, TS, 3 (27), 7 (8), 10 (12), 13 (15); III Group, "Pez und grosse Sammlungen", 27-28 (2-3); IV Group, "Grosse Sammlungen", 59, Theophilus (29); V Group, Gautier de Compiègne, 16 (7), 18 (cp. 8); VI Group, Paris MS. Lat., 5, 268, 20 (19), 21 (28), 22 (17), 26 (6); VII, "Nicht deutlich woher entnommen", 30 (23), 52-54 (cp. 12), 61 (16); VIII Group, "Legenden, die bisher in lateinischen Sammlungen nicht oder selten nachgewiesen wurden", 3 (1, Stephen saved from shipwreck, etc.).

EXPLICIT VITAS PATRUM INCIPIUNT MIRACULA DE GLORIOSA VIRGINE
MARIA DEI GENITRICE

Cap. I. Fuit quidam clericus Stephanus nomine, Gallus nomine (l. natione), beatam Dei Genitricem pre omnibus sanctis ardenti corde diligens, ore frequenter nominans, festiva memoria colens. Hic cum ex devotione Ierosolimam pergeret, in mari naufragium pertulit et undis absortus pelagiolvebatur in imo, nec tamen inter undarum procellas moriens matris misericordie poterat oblivisci. Stella quippe maris ab ethere summo ei fulgebat, quam videns et de auxilio Virginis sperans sic eam quia voce non poterat corde clamabat: O domina, O celi regina, O post Deum tota spes mea, O omnium te invocantium salus, O certe naufragantium portus, O miserorum solatium, O pereuntium refugium, adesto nunc pereunti clerico tuo, et ostende super eum misericordiam unda vehemens eum longe in terram prohiceret. Et secundum quod viderat sic (l. se) longe a mari in terra translatum invenit. Vadens autem Ierosolimam et visitatis locis sanctis ad patriam rediens factus est heremita probatus. Ante lectulum suum vero habebat depictam ymaginem Virginis, ante quam precēs et lacrimas devotissime effundebat. Insurrexit autem in eum hostis antiquus cepitque stimulis carnalis concupiscentie fortissime perurgeri, in tantum ut per se resistere non valeret. Confugit igitur ad solitum auxilium Virginis, eam multis lacrimis obsecrans ut sicut ipsum liberaverat de maris periculo, sic eum ab illa temptatione eriperet. Ipso autem orante adfuit ei misericordie mater, his verbis alloquens eum: Quid, frater Stephane, gemis? Quid lacrimis? Quia, domina, precibus assiduis te pro mea tribulatione pulso, nec adhuc remedium aliquod invenisse me sentio. Cui illa, pulcerimo vultu et placido ut solet affatu: Fili, inquit, ammodo liber esto, nec ultra tali exagitaberis stimulo. Et sic plene liberatus et totus consolatus remansit.

NOTES

Chap. I. A cleric named Stephen while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem is shipwrecked and saved by prayer to Virgin. On his return he becomes a hermit and is subject to carnal temptations, from which the Virgin delivers him.

This unusual legend is found, so far as I know, in three collections only: Brit. Mus. Royal 6, B. xiv (Ward, p. 640, Nos. 12, 13); Oxford, Corpus Chr. Coll., 42, No. 29, (cited by Mussafia, V, p. 2), both Latin prose versions; and Paris, Bib. Nat. Fr. 818, f. 25d, in French octosyllable verse. Mussafia, V, pp. 24-29, prints the prose version Royal 6, B. xiv, and the French version just mentioned. He includes, V, p.

18, this legend in the eighth group of "Legenden, die bisher in lateinischen Sammlungen nicht oder selten nachgewiesen wurden." This is the only one of the six in this group found in our MS. The briefer version in the Oxford MS. may be the source of the legend in the text, which uses many of the words and expressions of the much longer Brit. Mus. version, see Mussafia's reprint cited above.

Cap. II. De quodam homine liberato a periculo maris.

Quidam sanctus episcopus cum multis sociis causa devotionis Ierosolimam pergens, passus naufragium cum paucis evasit. Qui cum plorans sociorum submersorum animas Deo commendaret, aque per mare circumspiceret si forte aliqua inditia suffocatorum corporum posset agnoscere, videt subito per diversas partes maris sociorum animas in specie columbarum de mari ascendere cel[er]ique volatu celi secreta penetrare. Tunc pro se cepit magis flere episcopus quod cum illis non meruerat illam mortem. Stante autem eo cum paucis sociis qui evaserant circa litus in terra subito unum de submersis sanum et incolumem de mari cernunt exire. Stupentes autem querunt ab eo quomodo evasisset. Respondit: Cum in aqua caderem Beate Virginis nomen invocavi, et sic eius memorando et nomen inclamando ad yma deveni, et ipsa misericordie mater sub undis adfuit mihi et pallio suo me contextit et contectum ad litus perduxit et incolumem conservavit.

NOTES

Cap. II. Pilgrims to Jerusalem suffer shipwreck: bishop sees souls of drowned companions ascend to heaven in form of doves. One of the drowning pilgrims calling on the Virgin is saved by her mantle.

Mussafia, I, p. 27 (Pez, 27); II, p. 42 (Paris, Lat. 5562, No. 1); III, p. 16 (Erfurt, Ampl. MSS., 44, No. 23, in elegiac verse); V, p. 2 (Paris, Fr. 818, No. 5, in French octosyllabic verse). See also Mussafia, *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 10.

The references to MSS. in the British Museum may be found in Ward, pp. 626 (No. 8); 640 (No. 14); 684 (No. 39); 689 (No. 10); 701 (No. 10); and 727 (No. 52); and in Herbert (i. e., J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III, London, 1910), pp. 523 (44); and 608 (29).

The Bollandist *Initia miraculorum* registers the above and the printed versions to be mentioned.

The story is found in Vincent. Bellov., *Spec. hist.*, Strasburg, 1476 (?), VIII, 88; *Scala celi*, Ulm, 1480, f. 114, "legitur in Mariali Magno," the source of the *Spec. hist.*; Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de Tempore*

et de Sanctis cum Exemplorum Promptuario ac Miraculis B.V., Venet., 1606, cap. XXIX, cites *Spec. hist.* as source; and Gil de Zamora, *Cinuenta leyendas* ed. Fita in *Boletín de la real acad.*, vol. VII, p. 92, No. 18.

A Provençal version has been published by J. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII, p. 23, "Miracles de Notre Dame en Provençal," No. x. This collection has been shown to be derived from the *Spec. hist.*, see Mussafia in *Romania*, ix, 300. A French prose version is in *Miracles de Notre Dame* collected by Jean Mielot, Roxburghe Club, 1885, No. XXXIII. Spanish versions are in *Cantigas de Santa Maria* de Don Alfonso el Sabio, Madrid, 1889, vol. I, p. xliii, No. xxxiii, where references to other versions are given by Mussafia and others; and in Berceo, *Milagros*, xxii, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Madrid, 1864, *Poetas Castellanos ant. al siglo XV*.

Cap. III. De quodam abbate cum pluribus liberatus a periculo maris.

Abbas quidam cum aliquibus monachis et pluribus laicis in mari Brutanie (i. Britannico) tempestatem validam patiens ita ut jam desperaret de vita, ortatus est omnes diversos socios secundum eorum devotionem pie clamantes ut misericordie matrem lacrimis et vocibus conclamarent. Tunc omnes, sancta, inquit, pia et perpetua Virgo Maria, succurre miseris, subveni iam morituris. Sentiamus tuum levamen qui in nostra tribulatione tuas consolationes deprecamur. Tu Dei mater alma; tu celi potens regina; tu semper in misericordia pronta; tu desolatorum solamen; tu destitutorum iuvamen. Ipse quoque abbas vero afflicto erat qui per duos dies preter unum pomum nil comederat, illud responsorium: *Felix namque es*, et eiusdem versum: *Ora [pro] populo*, devotissime cum suis monachis decantare incepit. Nondum autem responsorio finito et precibus populi, ecce in summitate navis lux magna cerei ad instar apparuit, que noctis tenebras fugans, omnes qui erant in navi sua claritate perfudit qui prius se videre non poterant. Totaque illa cessavit tempestat, celique regina jubente sancta, est tranquillitas magna. Non multo autem post dies serenus illuxit et terre ad quam tendebant navis applicuit.

NOTES

Cap. III. Abbot with monks exposed to storm in "mari Britannico" exhorts companions to pray to the Virgin. A light like a great candle appears on mast and the storm ceases.

This miracle usually follows the preceding one, and the references to Mussafia, I, II, V, hold good here as well as Gautier de Coincy, p. 10.

The references in Ward also hold good, except that the miracle in question is not found, p. 701, and is found p. 655 (No. 5); and p. 722 (No. 26, Gautier de Coincy). The miracle is also found as above in *Spec. hist.*, VIII, 89; Ulrich, No. xi; Gil de Zamora, No. xx; *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, No. xxxvi (cf. No. cccxiii); and F. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, Wien, 1863, No. xii, the Latin version of Pez is printed, p. 272.

Cap. IIII. De quodam magno peccatore cui Beata Virgo indulgentiam impetravit et gratiam a filio suo.

Fuit quidam homo valde facinorosus fere omnium peccatorum genere cottidie peccata accumulans et cuncta remedia salutis devitans, preter hoc solum, quod per horas Beate Virginis nullo modo preterire volebat, sed eas qua poterat cottidie devotione dicebat. Hunc tali visione dignatus est omnipotens deterrere. Videbatur namque sibi quod iudex omnium, astantibus omnibus angelis et sanctis suis, in sede iudiciaria constitutus de vindicta cuilibet inlate sibi iniurie pertractabat. Territus ergo tante presentia majestatis que ibi dicerentur trepidus audire volebat. Dominus de eo itaque sic adstantes alloquitur: De isto qui nos aspicit quo iudicio ut decernatis quem sepe monitis meis ut ad me redierit invitavi, et diu eius pertinaciam tolleravi, et nullum in eo emendationis signum inveni. Ad hec districti iudicis verba presentium sanctorum responsa sunt competentia reddita et sue dampnationis est perlata sententia. Post hec mater misericordie ante thronum filii reverenter adveniens pro peccatore sic exorsa est loqui: Pro isto, fili, clementiam tuam deposcor ut sue dampnationis sententiam revoces, qui licet multum peccaverit, meas tamen horas cottidie devote dicebat. Lege enim tua justissima sanxisti nullum omnino bonum quantumcumque parvum inremuneratum perire. Hic autem hujus tanti boni quo mihi servivit nec dum aliquid mercedis accepit. Vivat ergo ob gratiam meam qui ob propria merita adicitur morti. Cui statim iudex benigno annuens vultu: Fiat autem, dulcissima mater, ut tibi placet; nam tuo amore vitam et veniam ei tribuo, salutem perpetuam largiturus si ejus correptionem conspexero. Tunc conversa ad peccatorem regina clementie ait: Vade, et iam amplius noli peccare ne deterius tibi aliud contingat. Post hec conventus ille solutus est; et ille totus ad deum conversus et habitum sancte religionis assumens residuum vite sue in dei servitio et sue matris laudibus consumavit.

NOTES

Cap. IIII. A sinner has a vision of himself before the judgment seat of God. He is damned by consent of angels and saints. The Virgin

obtains his pardon in order that he may change his life. He is converted and assumes the habit of a religious order.

A briefer version of this miracle is found in the *Legenda aurea* ed. Graesse, Dresdae et Lipsiae, 1846, cap. CXXXI, 9, p. 593. Some of the expressions are found in our miracle: "de illo, qui vos adspicit, quo iudicio dignus sit, vos ipsi decernatis, quem tamdiu et toleravi et nullum adhuc in eo emendationis signum inveni" . . . "vivat ergo hic ob gratiam meam, qui ob propria merita addicitur morti" . . . "vade et amplius noli peccare, ne deterius tibi contingat." The version in the *Legenda aurea* is followed closely by Gil de Zamora, No. lviii, and Mielot, No. lxxiii, both cited by Mussafia, II, p. 64 (No. 8) and III, p. 31 (No. 12), and by Ward, p. 663 (No. 11). A MS., Add. 33,956 is cited by Ward, p. 676 (No. 43). A German metrical version in a fourteenth century MS. in Klosterneuburg is printed by Dr. Floss in *Neun Marienlegenden nebst einem Gebete an Maria*, no place or date, p. 29, No. viii, "Der Schüler von Sicilien." The scene of the miracle is laid in Sicily and the version is fuller than the one in the *Legenda aurea*, but differs from our miracle. The same legend is in *Marienlegenden*, No. ix.

Cap. V. De miraculo facto ad ostensionem tunice Beate Virginis Marie.

Anno ab incarnatione dominica octingentesimo xc. ix. Rollo primus dux Normandorum cum maximo exercitu ex diversis gentibus congregatus (sic) venit in Franciam et depopulavit eam et obsedit Carnotensem civitatem et coangustavit eam. Episcopus autem eiusdem civitatis vir religiosissimus videns populum in maxima angustia positum et liberationem (i. liberatorem) neminem, fugit ad auxilium dei et gloriose matris eius post deum totam spem suam posuerat.⁴ Tulit ergo tunicam eiusdem Virginis Marie que tunc in sacrario ecclesie servabatur et collocans eam super astam pervalidam ad instar vexilli quasi vexillifer cum populo suo adiutorium Beate Virginis invocante civitatem egressus est contra hostes, qui potenti virtute contra vexillum et populum venire ceperunt. Sed statim tam dux quam totus exercitus divinitus cecitate percussus, quo irent, vel quid agerent ignorabant. Quod videntes Carnotenses gratia dei virtus sibi concessa abusi, quam plures sternere multosque debilitare ceperunt. Quod quia deo et matri sue non placuit tunica illa sanctissima disparuit subito. Sicque hostibus visum recipientibus fugaque labentibus Carnotensis, civitas tanto thesauro et beneficio est privata. Unde datur intelligi neminem deo suum iudicium exequante, humanum iudicium exaggerare debere.

⁴There is an omission in the text, see Notes.

NOTES

Cap. V. The city of Chartres is saved during the siege by Rollo by showing the Virgin's tunic.

This widely spread historical legend is found in Mussafia, I, p. 50 (No. 46, Paris, 12,593); II, pp. 17 (No. 5, Brit. Mus. Cleop. C., 20), 36 (No. 36, Cambridge Mm., 6, 15), 45 (No. 21, Paris, 5,562); III, pp. 4 (No. 5, Brit. Mus. Vesp. D, 19, in elegiac verse), 38 (No. 132, Etienne de Bourbon, *Liber de septem donis*, p. 112, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, under the title *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d' Etienne de Bourbon*); V, p. 3 (No. 9, Paris, Fr. 818, in verse). See also Ward, pp. 603 (No. 5, Cotton, Cleop. C, x), 693 (No. 5, Cotton, Vesp. D, xix), 703 (No. 32, Royal 8, G. iv), 713 (No. 20, Egerton 612, Adgar, French verse, see later); and Herbert, p. 395 (No. 382, Add. 11,284, "Speculum Laicorum"); 730 (No. 5, Royal 20, B. xiv, French verse). The growth of the legend and some additional references will be found in Mielot, p. viii, No. 1. There is also a brief version in Gil de Zamora, No. 64. The French version by Adgar will be found in Neuhaus, *Adgar's Marienlegenden*, Heilbronn, 1886, p. 127 (*Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, ix). The editor also prints the version in Cleop. G, x, in *Die lateinischen Vorlagen zu den Alt-Franz. Adgar'schen Marien-Legenden*, Aschersleben, no date, p. 25. The version in the text is, as usual, the unskilful condensation of a longer form which the compiler had before him, probably Cleop. C, x, or its original. Compare a few passages (Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorl.*, p. 26): "ut hostilis exercitus cum suo duce divinitus caecitate percussus, quo iret vel quid ageret ignoraret." "Intelligens itaque Carnotensis acies suos hostes a deo percussos, abusi potestate divinitus sibi concessa, quam plures sternere, multos ex eis debilitare coeperunt." "Sicque hostibus visum recipientibus, fugaque labentibus, Carnotensis civitas peccatis exigentibus tam magno praesidio tantoque thesauro hactenus caruit. Unde datur intelligi neminem hominum deo suum iudicium exsequante, humanum iudicium exaggerare debere."

Cap. VI. De imperatore Constantinopolitano.

Imperator tertius Constantinopolitane civitatis dum super artificibus fodientibus metalla insisteret, moles terre permaxima super eum corrui, suosque sodales extinxit, ipse vero in angulo fovee vivus et incognitus remansit. Uxor autem eius Beate Virgini valde devota, hoc audiens ad altare Beate Virginis lacrimis perfusa accessit, obsecrans sacerdotem ecclesie ut per annum integrum pro illius anima celebraret. Propter

quod Beata Virgo ad eius virum veniens dulciter consolabatur eum, angelos ei comites et custodes assignans. Et tempore quo pro eo missa celebrabatur spiritualiter cibum ipsi ministrabat, dicens: Hec per me tua fidelis uxor tibi mittere procurat. Peracto vero anno, sancta dei Genitrix in sompno dixit episcopo: Accelera, imperatorem de fovea extrahe, quem ob amore uxoris sue per annum pavi ac sanum et incolumem custodivi. Episcopus autem hoc audiens sine mora cum multitudine populi ad locum accessit et terra remota imperatorem in quadam latebra sanum invenit, qui per se ipsum inde eductus omnibus que Beata Virgo sibi fecerat enarravit et omnes eam glorificaverunt.

NOTES

Cap. VI. The emperor of Constantinople is buried in a mine. His wife has mass said for a year at altar of Virgin, who nourishes emperor and commands bishop to rescue him.

The source of this version is probably the Latin text printed by Mussafia, V, p. 41 (Paris, 5,267, 5,268), see I, p. 75 (No. 6); Ward, p. 675 (No. 30, Add. 33,956), cites Petrus Venerabilis, *De Miraculis*, lib. II, cap. 2 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, clxxxix, col. 911), where the miracle is said to have happened in the diocese of Grenoble. See Herbert, p. 85 (No. 34, Add. 28,682, Etienne de Bourbon, "Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus." Herbert remarks, "Perhaps the earliest appearance of this tale is in Petrus Damianus, Opusc. xxxiii, "De bono suffragiorum," cap. 5, Migne, cxlv, col. 567); 96 (No. 36, Sloane, 3,102, "Tractatus de Abundantia Exemplorum," the story is here told of "an imprisoned miner saved by his wife's masses," the present version is that of Peter of Cluny, who is cited); 383 (No. 159, "Speculum Laicorum," same as last); 463 (No. 118, Harley, 3,244, same as last); 480 (No. 24, Royal 7 D. 1, same as last); 525 (No. 70, Harley, 2,385, same as last); 549 (No. 120, Arundel, 506, same as last); 608 (No. 33, Add. 18,364, told of "Alexander III, Emperor of Constantinople," Nos. 67 and 115 of same MS. give story of miner). See *Liber de Abundantia Exemplorum*, s. a. et l. fol. 58. There is also a version in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, No. cxxxii. In a note Mussafia says that he knows of no printed version of this miracle.

Cap. VII. De muliere que alteri virum auferebat.

Fuit quidam peccator qui quamdam puellam defloravit et uxore propria derelicta eam sibi in amasiam sociavit. Uxor autem eius de hoc valde afflictata, de illa muliericula ante ymaginem Beate Virginis cottidie conquerebatur dicens: Sancta Maria, mater domini, fac mihi

iustitiam de meretrice illa que mihi abstulit virum meum. Peccatrix autem illa ante eandem ymaginem frequenter in die dicebat: Ave Maria, etc. Illa clamabat, hec salutabat, donec sic agendo annum peregerit. Illucescente autem die dominice resurrectionis, apparuit Beata Virgo mulieri que ab ea iustitiam exigebat et dixit ei: Mulier, quere alium qui tibi de peccatrice illa iustitiam faciat. Ego enim eam tibi facere non possum. Illa vero ut sibi videbatur respondebat dicens: Quomodo celi regina potestatem habes in celo et in terra et super demones, dicis te non posse mihi iustitiam facere de meretrice illa que peccat in filium tuum et in te auferendo mihi maritum meum. Cui Virgo: Verum dicis, mulier, de potestate mea, sed quia peccatrix illa cottidie me devote salutatur, non possum pati ut aliqua adversitas sibi contingat. Et his dictis visio disparuit. Mulier autem illa extimans se fantastica illusionem deceptam ivit mane ad ecclesiam sed ante ymaginem Virginis minime⁵ presentavit se. Mansit autem diu in ecclesia nesciens quid ageret. Egrediens tandem de ecclesia obviam habuit adversariam suam in porta ecclesie, contra quam clamavit dicens: O infelix mulier, quomodo in ecclesia presumis intrare que mihi maritum tulisti et ipsam dei matrem incantationibus tuis adeo seduxisti ut de te nullam mihi possit facere vindictam. Peccatrix autem illa nil respondens sed patienter concitatam fugere volens, in medio populi se ingerebat. Sed illa furibunda et vociferans insequabatur eam, vix a percussione continens manus suas. Fit concursus clericorum: propter causas clamoris inquirent. Refert mulier visionem quam viderat. Ubi vero peccatrix illa se exauditam cognovit, ante ymaginem Virginis genuflexit et audiente populo perpetuam continentiam deo vovit,⁶ seque sanctimoniam fieri postulavit. Quod consecuta cellulam iuxta predictam ecclesiam hederificari fecit, et in ea usque ad terminum vite sue in omni sanctitate permansit.

NOTES

Cap. VII. Husband deserts wife for mistress. Wife complains to image of Virgin, who answers in a vision that she can do nothing as mistress salutes her devoutly. Wife meets mistress in church and upbraids her, accusing her of enchanting the Virgin. When mistress hears vision she is converted and spends remainder of life in a cell built near the church.

Mussafia I, pp. 13 (No. 12, Guibert de Nogent, *De laude S. Mariae*, cap. 12), 15 (No. 2, Gautier de Cluny, *De miraculis beatae Virginis*

⁵ Gautier de Cluny, Migne, clxxiii, col. 1,382, *intime*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 1,383, *devovit*.

Mariae, No. 2); IV, p. 22 (No. 48, Salisbury MS. 97, "Willelmus Meldunensis"); V, p. 5 (No. 16, Paris, Fr. 818); Ward, pp. 621 (No. 30, Arundel, 346, Ward cites Guibert de Nogent and Gautier de Cluny *ut supra*, and Duplessis, *Le Marchant, Miracles de N. D. de Chartres*, pp. xxiv-xxviii), 627 (No. 14, Add. 15,723, Ward cites *Spec. hist.*, VII, should be VIII, 100, and, *Scala celi*, f. clxiv, Ulm, 1480, f. 115), 665 (No. 28, Arundel, 406), 675 (No. 34, Add. 33,956), 715 (No. 34, Egerton, 612, Adgar, p. 209), 722 (No. 24, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy), 733 (No. 53, Royal, 20, B. xiv). See also Mussafia, *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 25. The miracle is also in Mielot, No. xv, and *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lxviii. A version not cited by Mussafia, Ward, or the Bollandists, is in my edition of the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, No. ccxxiii. See Herbert, p. 550 (No. 135, Arundel, 506). Our version seems to be a slightly condensed form of Gautier de Cluny's legend.

Cap. VIII. De quodam monacho sacrista in cuius lingua nomen Virginis aureis litteris scriptum inventum est.

In quodam monasterio fuit quidam sacrista levitate locutionis et operis nimis^{6a} notabilis. Sed spem habens in auxilio Beate Virginis, horas eius devote et reverenter dicebat et eam cottidie frequentissime salutabat, et omnia que ad sacrum cultum pertinebant sollicite munda tenebat. Hic quadam nocte perpetrato cum muliere libidinis scelere cum ad monasterium remearet nave labente in flumine mersus est. Qui diu quesitus inventus est. Et quia mersus in profundo inferni credebatur, extra cimiterium monachi corpus eius posuerunt. Sequenti autem nocte Beata Virgo cuidam antiquo monacho apparens ait: Servum meum qui me humiliter salutabat et moriens se mihi totaliter commendavit extra cimiterium posuistis. Sciatis quod dolor cordis et tormentum mortis crimen diluerunt. Ite ergo et eum in loco debito honorifice tumulate. Invenietis autem tria lilia ex eius hore precedentia et in lingua ejus nomen meum aureis litteris scriptum. Et post hec disparuit Virgo, et inventum est ut dixerat et factum ut jusserat.

NOTES

Cap. VIII. Sacristan is drowned returning from mistress and buried without the cemetery. Virgin appears to monk and commands sacristan's body to be buried in consecrated ground. Three lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name written in golden letters on tongue.

^{6a} MS. ymnis.

There are several versions or variants of this miracle, usually confused in the references in Ward and the Bollandists. These versions generally have in common: the death (by drowning, or assassination) of a person (cleric, monk, sacristan) in his sins; his soul is saved from damnation by intervention of Virgin (whom he has devoutly greeted, etc., during lifetime); sometimes by prayers of friend; sometimes angels and demons dispute over soul; sometimes a new lease of life is granted for repentance; usually he is buried without the cemetery and the Virgin orders him to be buried in consecrated ground; and as proof of his repentance lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name written on tongue in golden letters. Sometimes the *ave* half uttered at death is completed when mouth of disinterred body is opened. Frequently the miracle is localized, as in No. X, at Chartres, etc.

I shall confine myself in this note to the versions which contain practically all these traits: lewd sacristan (cleric, monk) drowned while returning from mistress; invokes Virgin in moment of death; buried without cemetery; Virgin orders body to be disinterred and placed in consecrated ground; as proof of repentance three lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name written in letters of gold on tongue.

Mussafia, I, p. 33 (No. 47, MS. 638, Admont in Steiermark); 53 (No. 86, Paris, 12,593), 76 (No. 40, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, p. 15 (No. 3, Toulouse, 478); 84 (No. 55, Florence, Camald, 747, D. 3); III, p. 24 (No. 4, Paris, Lat., 10,770); 41 (No. 18, *Scala Celi*, 116vo, belongs more properly to No. X); 42 (Nos. 45-47, same source, variants); 50 (No. 71, Herolt, *Promptuarium*); IV, p. 21 (No. 35, Salisbury MS., 97); V, p. (No. 19, Paris, Fr., 818). Mussafia in last references cites MS. Ambros. D. sup., which our miracle follows at beginning, but soon differs. Ward, p. 604 (No. 8, Cotton, Cleop. C, x); 676 (No. 48, Add. 33,956); 678 (No. 2, Royal, 8, C. 12); 723 (No. 33, Harley, 440); 731 (No. 16, Royal, 20, B. xiv). See also Mussafia, *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 7 (I, 33). Herbert, p. 395 (No. 378, "Speculum Laicorum"); 467 (No. 13, Add. 16,589); 557 (No. 224, Arundel, 506); 570 (No. 160, Harley, 268); and 607 (No. 14, Add. 18,364, a variant of our story).

Cap. IX. De quodam alio reprehensibili monacho cui Beata Virgo Maria salutem impetravit.

Fuit in quodam monasterio monachus quidam qui fere in cunctis que agebat reprehensibilis erat. Tamen Beate Marie Virgini multum devotus erat et eius missam ter vel bis in septimana reverenter dicebat. Infirmatus autem et mori timens, misit pro abbate et monachis ut eos

sibi reconciliaret quos malo exemplo frequenter turbaverat. Quo facto, monachos affectuose rogavit ut ecclesiam intrantes dei misericordiam et beatam Virginem pro se devotis precibus exorarent. Quod dum fieret, loquelam amisit et quasi mortuus effectus est. Quod audientes, monachi ad eum currunt tristes quam plurimum quia nec communionem nec unctionem acceperat. Cumque circa eum merentes astarent et quid agerent ignorarent, subito respiravit infirmus qui mortuus putabatur, et cepit clara voce nomen Beate Virginis nominare, eique gratias immensas referre quod sua pia intercessione eternam dampnationem evaserat. Post sancta vera confessione et corpore Christi et sacra unctione accepta, absolutus ab omnibus et benedicens omnibus totus exilaratus migravit ad dominum, et monachi eum in capitulo sepelierunt, gloriosam Virginem collaudantes que ei in tanta necessitate affuerat.

NOTES

Cap. IX. A monk of evil life feeling his end approach and fearing to die, asks his fellow monks to pray to the Virgin for him in the church. While they are doing this he apparently dies, but revives to thank the Virgin for saving him from damnation by her intercession. He receives the sacraments and makes an exemplary end.

This is a version of the widespread story technically known as the "Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne." A monk of St. Peter's at Cologne leads an unseemly life and dies without receiving the sacraments. The devil carries his soul off to hell, and St. Peter in vain entreats the lord for him. The Virgin at last interferes and obtains pardon for the monk, who is rescued from the devil and permitted to live for a time in order to do penance for his evil deeds.

The legend in the text is not localized and lacks the consequent intercession of St. Peter. The seizure of the monk's soul by the devil is also wanting. I have not found any other version like the one in the text.

Sufficient references to the version known as the "Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne" may be found in Mussafia's note to *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, XIV, and in the Bollandist, *Init. Mirac.*, 103, 460, 819, 1216, 1375, 1495, and 1778.

Cap. X. De monacho in cuius ore inventus est flos pulcerimus.

Quidam clericus fuit in civitate Carnotensi qui levis erat moribus, seculi curis deditus, carnalibus desideriis totus accensus. Tamen gloriosam Virginem in memoriam frequenter habebat et ei salutationem suam sepiissime transmittebat. Hic dum ab inimicis suis peremptus

esset, socii sui clerici credentes eum male vitam suam finisse, corpus eius extra cimiterium sepelliri fecerunt. Quod dum illic diebus xxx iacuisset, Beata Virgo apparuit cuidam clerico dicens: Cur sic iniuste egistis erga meum cancellarium ponentes eum extra vestrum cimiterium qui mihi devotissime serviebat. Citius ergo in loco debito cum reverentia sepelite eum. Quod dum fieret invenerunt in eius ore florem pulcherrimum et linguam eius sanam et integram quasi ad laudandam deum paratam. Quod videntes deum et matrem eius plenissime laudaverunt.

NOTES

Cap. X. A cleric of Chartres devoted to the Virgin leads an evil life, is killed by his enemies, and buried without cemetery. Virgin orders honorable burial and a beautiful flower is found growing from mouth and the tongue with which he praised the Virgin sound and whole.

This miracle resembles in many features No. VIII. The original of the present version is probably the form in Pez, No. 3, reprinted by Pfeiffer in his *Marienlegenden*, p. 269. As usual our version is a condensation of the original. This miracle has always been a popular one and versions are found in French, Italian, Spanish, and German. See Mussafia, I, p. 24 (No. 3, Pez); II, p. 4 (No. 11, Paris, Lat. 5268); III, p. 14 (No. 3, MS. Ampl. 44); IV, p. 19 (No. 9, MS. Salisbury, 97); V, pp. 7 (No. 32, Paris, Fr. 818), 11 (No. 68, same source as last reference, but here the miracle is localized at Rouen: "Fuit . . . in Rotomagensi ecclesia clericus quidam"). Ward, pp. 605 (No. 9, Cotton, Cleop. C. x), 619 (No. 3, Arundel 346), 623 (No. 5, Add. 15, 723), 641 (No. 22, Royal 6, B. xiv, scene laid at Rouen, as above), 674 (No. 24, Add. 33, 956), 720 (No. 6, Harley, 4401), and 731 (No. 17, Royal 20 B. xiv). Neuhaus in *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 32, prints the version in Cleop. C. x. See also Mussafia *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 7 (I, 6). Copious references to other versions by Monaci, D'Ancona and Mussafia will be found in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, XXIV. The Bollandist *Init. Mirac.* registers as usual all the above references, see No. 339 and versions there cited. See P. Meyer in *Romania*, vol. XXIX, 27, "Miracles de la Vierge par Everard de Gateley," MS. Rawlinson, Poetry, 241, Cambridge. Meyer publishes Latin text similar to Pez, and French version in verse. A Latin version from MS. B. IV. 19, Library of Durham Cathedral may be found in A. G. Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum*, Aberdoniae, 1908, cap. 40, p. 23, see notes, p. 132. To the versions in

Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 467 (No 3, Add. 16589); 546 (No 71, Arundel 506); and 570 (No. 161, Harley 268).

Cap. XI. De latrone suspenso et a dei genitrice adiuvato.

Fuit quidam latro qui Beatam Virginem venerabatur et salutavit ex corde. Hic deprehensus in furto ad suspendendum est ductus. Cumque jam pedes eius penderent, ecce mater misericordie adveniens per biduum eum ut sibi videbatur, suis manibus sustentavit, nec eum aliquam lesionem pati permisit. Illi vero qui eum suspenderant casu transeuntes per locum videntes eum yleri vultu viventem et nil mali patientem, putaverunt eum non plene laqueatum fuisse. Et dum guttur eius gladio vellent transfigere, Beata Virgo gutturi manum imposuit nec eum transfigi permisit. Cognoscentes vero illi, latrone referente, quod Beata Virgo auxiliaretur ei, demiserunt eum. Qui factus monachus donec vixit deo et matri eius in omni sanctitate servivit.

NOTES

Cap. XI. A robber devoted to the Virgin is caught committing crime and straightway hanged. The Virgin supports his feet with her hands for two days, and when his executioners passing that way find him alive and are about to cut his throat, the Virgin interposes her hand and saves him again. The robber makes known the miracle, is released and turns monk.

Singularly enough this miracle is one of the most popular of mediæval legends. It is found in all the great Latin collections, and there are versions in French, Spanish and German. Pfeiffer in his *Marienlegenden*, p. 269, prints the version in Pez, of which the miracle in the text is an unskilful condensation. Pez is probably also the source of the *Spec. hist.*, VIII, 116, and *Legenda aurea*, CXXXI, 5, as well as the other printed Latin versions in Wright's *Latin Stories*, CIX, Etienne de Bourbon, cxix, and Herolt, v.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 24 (No. 6, Pez), 59 (No. 2, MS. Leipzig, 819), 64 (No. 43, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 72 (No. 52, Paris, 18,134), 77 (No. 45, Paris, 5,267); II, pp. 5 (No. 28, Paris, 5,268), 44 (No. 12, Paris, Lat. 5,562), 54 (No. 116, *Spec. hist.*), 64 (No. 5, *Legenda aurea*), 66 (No. 109, Wright, *Lat. Stories*), 75 (No. 30, Paris, Ars., 903), 82 (No. 26, Laurentiana, Camald., 747, D. 3); III, pp. 14 (No. 6, MS. Ampl. 44), 25 (No. 8, Paris, Lat. 10,770), 27 (No. 2, Gil de Zamora), 37 (No. 119, Etienne de Bourbon), 43 (No. 54, *Scala celi*), 44, No. 7, *Alphabetum narrationum*), 46 (No. 5, Herolt); IV, pp. 7 (No. 3, MS. Darmstadt MS. 2,777), 20 (No. 14, Salisbury MS. 97); V, p. 7 (No.

35, Paris, Fr. 818). Ward, pp. 606 (No. 12, Cotton Cleop. C, x, printed by Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 35), 671 (No. 8, Harley 2,851), 676 (No. 51, Add. 33, 956), 678 (No. 4, Royal 8 C. xii), 680 (No. 5, Add. 19,908, Herolt), 707 (No. 61, Royal 8 C. iv), 721 (No. 21, Harley 4,401), 731 (No. 20, Royal 20 B xiv). See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 58.

There are versions also in Gautier de Coincy, I. 21; *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, xiii; Gil de Zamora, vii; Berceo, vi; and *Libro de Exemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, vii, pp. 481-526), xlvi, ed. Gayangos, cci. The Bollandist *Init. Mirac.* register the above and give a few additional references, among them Budge, *Lady Meux MSS.* Nos. 2-5, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, London, 1900, Chap. XXX, p. 85, "The Virgin Mary and the widow's son who became a thief." Generally the thief is hanged and the Virgin supports his feet with her hands: here he is crucified and the Virgin holds back the nails from touching his feet. There is a similar story in Chap. XXXI, p. 88, "The Virgin Mary and the Lady Euphemia." The son is captured and hanged on a fig-tree. The mother steals the image of Jesus from the church and holds it as a hostage. The Virgin cuts down the thief on the third day. This version is evidently taken with some changes from the *Legenda Aurea*, Chap. CXXXI, no. 4.

See also Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum*, cap. 42, p. 42, and notes, p. 132. To the versions in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 466 (No. 47, Add., 27,909 B.), 467 (No. 14, Add., 16,589); 513 (No. 6, Sloane, 2,478); 546 (No. 64, Arundel, 506); 558 (No. 229, Arundel, 506); 608 (No. 20, Add., 18,364); 614 (No. 109, Add., 18,364); and 685 (No. 47, Harley, 1,288).

Cap. XII. De clerico cui Beata Virgo proprio lacte labia et linguam perunxit.

Fuit in quadam ecclesia clericus quidam decanus homo sanctus et sapiens et Beate Virgini valde devotus, de ea libenter predicans et devotos sermones componens, et quotiens ante eius altare transibat ipsam affectuosissime salutabat. Hic post multorum annorum felicem decursum infirmatus est graviter et angustiabatur precipue in scissura quam patiebatur labiorum et lingue. Cumque iam prope esset ad exitum Beata Virgo cum magno splendore ei apparuit ita dicens: O bone fili, quomodo ferre possum huius lingue et labiorum scissuram quibus me devotissime salutabas! Et hoc dicens stillavit lac mamillarum suarum in labiis eius et lingua, et digito proprio delinivit, et sic eum perfecte reddidit sospitati. Qui liberatus sanctissime vixit et gratiam sibi factam frequenter populo predicavit.

NOTES

Cap. XII. A cleric devoted to the Virgin falls ill and suffers from a fissure in his lips and tongue. The Virgin anoints them with milk from her breast and restores the cleric to health.

This very popular miracle is found in a number of forms, of which the principal feature is the healing of the diseased lips and tongue of a cleric by the Virgin's milk. The simplest version (*a*) is that in the text; sometimes (*b*) the cleric is so ill that in his frenzy he bites off his lips and tongue; sometimes (*c*) he is apparently dead and laid on the bier; sometimes (*d*) he has a cancer of the lips and sees a vision of flowers symbolizing the Psalms, the Virgin later appears and heals him with her milk, he dies presently a happy death (Adgar, p. 27).

It is impossible to give here full references to all forms. I shall mention those relating to (*a*), and a few to the other forms. Mussafia, I, pp. 28 (No. 30, Pez), p. 65 (No. 79, Paris, Lat., 17,491); II, pp. 4 (No. 10, Paris, 5,268), 14 (No. 29, Bern MS. 137), 16 (No. 40, Toulouse MS. 478), 30 (No. 38, Oxford MS. Balliol, 240, perhaps this belongs rather to form (*c*)); III, p. 16 (No. 26, MS. Ampl. 44); IV, pp. 14 (No. 13, Adgar, belongs rather to (*c*)); 83 (No. 13, references to the sources of Adgar).

Spec. hist., viii, 84, Herolt, xxxii, *Scala celi*, f. 113vo, Gautier de Coincy, I, 8 all belong to (*b*); Gautier de Coincy, I, 31, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, liv, Gil de Zamora, 29, Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 63 all to (*c*). To (*d*) belong Mussafia, II, pp. 29 (No. 72, Toulouse MS. 482); 35 (No. 5, Cambridge MS., 6, 15); III, pp. 5 (No. 12, Brit. Mus. Vesp. D., 19); IV, p. 83 (No. 6, Adgar). The references in Ward all belong, so far as I can judge, to the forms *b*, *c*, and *d*. See also P. Meyer in *Romania*, XV, 327, Cambridge MS. GG I, 1., version (*d*), p. 272, MS. E.E. b 30, version (*a*); and *Romania*, XXIX, 27, "Miracles de la Vierge par Everard de Gateley," MS. Rawlinson, Poetry, 241, version (*d*) in French verse. To the references in Ward may now be added a number in Herbert: 512 (Nos. 1 and 3, belonging to *c* and *d*); 546 (No. 69, apparently to *a*); 661 (No. 195, apparently to *a*); 696 (No. 10, apparently to *c*); 697 (No. 27, a variant of the legend, told of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres).

Cap. XIII. De quodam monacho quem Beata Virgo a demonibus liberavit.

In ordine Cartusiensi fuit quidam monachus valde religiosus et Beate Virgini specialiter devotus, pro cuius amore jejunia et orationes

genuflexiones et multa bona opera faciebat. Huic antiquus hostis invidens taliter eum voluit terrere. Quadam enim nocte cum in cella sua vigilans jaceret, multitudo demonum in specie porcorum sibi apparuit, qui magnum strepitum per totam cellulam facientes dentibus acutis et furentibus in ipsum impetum minabantur. Cumque totus tremebundus jaceret, ecce demonum princeps in similitudine hominis enormis magnitudinis eveniens ad ad porcos: Quid pigritatis et istum cito non rapitis et totum discerpitis? Responderunt: Multum conati sumus sed facere non potuimus. Et ille: Ego, inquit, iam faciam quod vos facere nequivistis, et uncinum magnum ferreum ad eum rapiendum et discerpendum adaptans, ipsum in tantum exterruit ut pene exanimis fieret. Et ecce mater misericordie demonum inimica visibiliter affuit et cum magno imperio ait ad demones: Quid miseri et super omnia detestandi huc ausi fuistis intrare et hunc servum meum vestris terroribus molestare? Et his dictis totum illud nefandum collegium velud fumus evanuit. Post quorum fugam perstitit cum homine adhuc tremente Virgo sanctissima et eum est taliter consolata: Placet, inquit, mihi quid facis et de his ad meliora semper stude proficere, et ut tibi aliquid singulare in mandatis tradam, utere vilibus escis et vestibus, operibus manuum aliquando devotus insiste. Et sic totum confortatum in domino Beata Virgo reliquit.

NOTES

Cap. XIII. A monk of the Carthusian order devoted to the Virgin is visited in his cell by a band of demons in the form of swine. The Virgin appears and frees him from their persecution.

Mussafia, II, p. 53, No. 112, cites the *Speculum historiale*, viii, 112, but curiously enough in I, p. 17 overlooks the fact that this miracle is found in Petrus Venerabilis, *De miraculis*, cap. 29, Migne clxxxix, col. 946. The latter version is very prolix and the *Spec hist.* has condensed it considerably. A much shorter version still is in the *Scala celi*, f. 120vo, which cites "Legitur in Mariali magno." Ward, p. 631 (No. 26, Add. 15,723), cites the *Spec. hist.*, *Scala celi*, Petrus Venerabilis, and *The miracles of our Lady*, printed by W. de Worde, 1514.

Cap. XIII. De monacho cui oranti Beata Virgo apparuit.

Fuit in quodam monasterio quidam monachus Beate Virgini valde devotus, qui cum in devotis orationibus et laudibus Virginis pernoctaret, ei cum suis virginibus benignissima Virgo apparuit, dicens ei: Tu per me filium meum collaudas in terris, ego te ante illum perducam in celis. Ex quo ille letificatus ferventior factus est.

NOTES

Cap. XIII. The Virgin appears to a devout monk: You praise my son through me in your heart: I will lead you to him in heaven. I have not found any parallel to this vision.

Cap. XV. De monacho quem Beata Virgo ammonuit.⁷

Aput Saxoniam fuit in quodam monasterio quedam sanctimonialis religiosa valde famosa et Beate Marie specialiter devota, que propter nimium numerum genuflexionum et salutationum sancte Marie quem sibi assumpserat *Ave Maria* etc. aliquantulum cursim dicebat. Huic vigilantanti et cogitanti quid honoris quidve servitii sibi gratis posset impendere, apparuit Virgo gloriosa et ait: Confortare, O filia, et si vis quod mihi placeat tuum servitium, salutationem meam non ita velociter proferas. Quo illa audito diminuit de numero et deinceps cepit dicere rarius.

NOTES

Cap. XV. Virgin reproves nun in Saxon convent for repeating too rapidly the *Ave Maria*, etc.

Mussafia, I, pp. 28 (No. 28, Pez, the nun's name is Eulalia, and the scene is "apud S. Cadowardum Cestione"), 42 (No. 52, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 49 (No. 36, Paris, 12,593), 61 (No. 15, Paris, Lat., 16,498), 64 (No. 52, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 72 (No. 51, Paris, Lat., 18,134); II, pp. 6 (No. 47, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 48 (No. 16, Charleville MS. 168), 83 (No. 39, Laurentiana, Camald., 747, D. 3); III, 16 (No. 28, MS. Ampl. 44); IV, p. 8 (No. 9, Darmstadt MS., 2,777); V, p. 8 (No. 48, Paris, Fr., 818, "Or dit que el mostier le Scetoine, etc."). Ward, p. 614 (No. 34, "apud sanctum eaduardum sceftoniae," Cotton, Cleopatra C. x), p. 655 (No. 4, Arundel, 407). See also Gautier de Coincy, I, 20, and *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 56vo. The *Init. Mirac.* cites (241) Petrus Caelestinus, cap. 10, and (522) Isnard, *Miracles*, 50-52, I have not seen these.

To the references in Ward may now be added a number in Herbert: pp. 397 (No. 397, Add. 11,284, "Speculum Laicorum"); 523 (No. 38, Harley, 2,385); 585 (No. 3, Harley, 495); 560 (No. 12, Harley, 268); 605 (No. 14, Add., 18,349); 638 (No. 1, Harley, 1,022); 697 (No. 23, Sloane, 4,029).

Cap. XVI. De quodam ceco nato cui Beata Virgo Maria reddidit visum.

Tempore Sancti Bonifatii pape extitit Rome quidam cecus Victor

⁷I have left the title of this chapter as it is in the manuscript.

nomine, Beate Marie Virginis valde devotus et eius in omnibus quibus poterat assiduus famulator. Hic cum quadam die ante altare ejus devotus adstaret amore Virginis debriatus et dei sapientia illustratus, cepit cogitare de edictione unius responsorii quod esset ad laudem ipsius Virginis et ad destruendam pravitatem hereticam et iudeorum perfidiam confutandam. Unde divina gratia et virtute edidit illud responsorium cum suo versu: Gaude, Maria Virgo, cunctas hereses sola interemisti. Que Gabrielis Archangeli dictis credidisti. Dum virgo deum et hominem genuisti et post partum virgo inviolata permansisti. Gabrielem Archangelum scimus divinitus te esse affatum uterum tuum de spiritu sancto impregnatum. Erubescat iudeus infelix qui dicit Christum ex Josep semine esse natum. Cum igitur hoc cum magna mentis exultatione cantasset subito oculos et lumen recepit.

NOTES

Cap. XVI. In the time of Saint Boniface the Pope a blind man composes the response Gaude Maria and recovers his sight by singing it before the altar of the Virgin.

This miracle appears in three forms: (a) as in the text, where a devout blind man invents the responsorium Gaude Maria and recovers his sight by singing it before the altar of the Virgin; (b) where the blind man disputes with the Jews, who reproach him with his blindness and the powerlessness of his god; he puts them to confusion and recovers his sight when he sings the response which he has invented; and (c) a brief version in Etienne de Bourbon, p. 99, where a blind man given to the invention of new and vain songs, repents and recovers his sight by singing in the church of "Santa Maria Rotunda" (The Pantheon) the response in question. It is evident that the version (a) is a condensation of (b), for the contents of the response shows its polemic nature.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 32 (No. 47, Kremsmünster MS. 114, version (b)), 36 (Salzburg, St. Peter, MS. a, V. 3, version (b)), 51 (No. 54, Paris, Lat., 12,953, the blind man is named Victor, the church is the "Rotunda," this version corresponds to (a)), p. 55 (No. 101, same as last citation, but version (b)); II, p. 61 (Thomas Cantipratanus, version (a)); V, p. 10 (No. 61, Paris, Fr., 818, version (a)). Ward, p. 648 (No. 47, Add., 18,346, version (b), Ward cites Herolt, 31, and has a note on "Didymus"), p. 655 (No. 6, Arundel, 407, probably version (b)). The *Init. Mirac.*, 959, cite Caesar Heisterb. *Mirac.*, iii, 27, version (b), and Herolt, *ut supra*, 1707, cite two versions to be mentioned presently. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, No. iii, contains version (b). See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 57.

The two versions cited by the *Init. Mirac.* are both (*b*) and are found in *Analecta Boll.*, vol. IV, p. 168, and vol. XVII, p. 154.

To the versions in Ward may now be added those in Herbert, pp. 468 (No. 19, Add., 16,589, the blind man is here named Basil); 546 (No. 67, Arundel, 506); 570 (No. 159, Harley, 268, blind man here named Victor).

Cap. XVII. De monacho qui nomen Beate Virginis diversis scribebat coloribus.

Exstitit quidam monachus in quodam monasterio qui intimo cordis affectu gloriose Marie Virginis serviebat, eam sepius salutando, eius horas devotius cantando et eius nomen affectuosius reverendo et ipsum corde et ore portando. Et quia sacrarum scripturarum scriptor erat, quotiens nomen Marie eum scribere oportebat, ipsum in quantum poterat adornabat et pro nimio amore osculabatur. Hic dum infirmatus iam esset penitus in extremis, quidam frater in dormitorio, quod ab infirmaria erat longinquum, dum semivigil jaceret, vidit Beatam Virginem yleri vultu iuxta lectum illius adstantem et talia proferentem: O bone fili ne paveas, quia enim nomen meum venerabile tibi fuit, in terris nomen sanctum accipies et in libro viventium conscriberis. Surge, karissime, et sequere me. Et sic discedebat Virgo Beata. Frater autem qui hoc viderat evigilans surrexit et ad infirmariam velociter ivit et fratrem morientem invenit. Et veram de illo esse visionem intelligens cuncta que viderat fratribus enarravit.

NOTES

Cap. XVII. A devout scriptor who honored the virgin by writing her name in various colors is *in extremis*. A brother monk beholds a vision of the Virgin standing at the scriptor's bed and telling him that his name was written in the Book of Life.

Usually it is specified that the scriptor writes the Virgin's name in three colors, "auro, minio, croco," etc. See *Mussafia*, I, p. 76 (No. 39, Paris, Lat., 5,267, printed in *Mussafia*, V, p. 36); II, p. 5 (No. 20, Paris, Lat., 5,268, printed by *Mussafia*, *ut supra*), p. 85 (No. 60, Paris, Ars., 903), III, p. 39 (Etienne de Bourbon, p. 119); V, p. 6 (No. 22, Paris, Fr., 818, on p. 37 *Mussafia* prints the French miracle in verse, and as has been said above the two Latin versions, from which, or from similar ones, the version in our text may have been condensed). The *Init. Mirac.* cite Etienne de Bourbon and Budge, *Miracles*, xxxi-xxxii. The miracle is also found in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ccclxxxiv.

The miracle in Budge is Chapter III, p. 28, "The Virgin Mary and the Scribe Damianus." The scribe writes the Virgin's name in gold.

Cap. XVIII. De quodam abbate cui dictum est diem conceptionis Sancte Marie sollemniter celebrandum.

Tempore quo Anglia ad fidem Christi conversa est, abbas monasterii Remensis vir religiosus et bonus, Helsinus⁸ nomine, dum de Dacia per mare cum pluribus sociis pro quodam Anglorum negotio iret in Angliam, orta tempestate prevalida, ipse cum sociis periclitari cepit. Cumque iam essent omni humano auxilio et remedio destituti et de salute corporum peniter desperati, animas deo maximis clamoribus et lacrimis commendabant et reginam misericordie invocabant. Et ecce inter undas maris navi periclitanti, proximus quidam episcopus apparuit, qui vocans ad se abbatem dixit ei: Scias me ad te missum a dei genitrice Maria, quam pio cordis affectu clamatis. Et si mihi credere volueris istud periculum totaliter cum omnibus sociis evadetis. Et illo confestim promittente, ait episcopus: Volo et consulo ut diem conceptionis domine nostre annuatim vi. idus decembris firmiter celebrare proponas et celebrandum aliis predicare. Et ille libentissime annuens ait: Dicatis mihi, obsecro, de quo officio utemur in ipso festo. Respondit: Omne officium quod dicitur in eius nativitate dicatis in isto festo, excepto quod nomen nativitatis in nomine conceptionis mutabitur. Et his dictis disparuit. Et statim omni tempestate sedata, abbas cum sociis ad optatum portum felici cursu pervenit. Et supra dicta adimplens in suo monasterio perpetuo statuit adimplenda.

NOTES

Cap. XVIII. A certain abbot on his way to England is overtaken by a storm and in danger of his life. A bishop appears to him and says he can escape the danger by celebrating every year on the sixth of December the conception of the Virgin and urging others to do the same.

See *Mussafia*, I, pp. 26 (No. 19, Pez), 35 (No. 29, Munich MS. 13,588), 36 (No. 42, Reun MS. 16), 37 (No. 37, Ambros. C. 150), 39 (No. 10, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 46 (No. 8-10, Paris, Lat., 16,056), 48 (No. 20, Paris, 12,593), 57 (No. 21, Copenhagen MS. Thott 26), 59 (No. 16, Leipzig MS. 819), 62 (No. 11-12, Cambray MS. 739), 65 (No. 66, Paris, Lat., 17,491); II, pp. 4 (No. 14, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 13 (No. 14, Vat. Regina 537), 14 (No. 26, Bern MS. 137), 30 (No.

⁸The name is usually *Elsinus*, but there are variants: *Elisinus* (*Gil de Zamora*), *Egelsinus* (*Ward*, 653), etc.

39, Oxford, Balliol MS. 240), 36 (No. 38, Cambridge, MS. 6, 15), 40 (No. 64, *Leg. aurea*, Appendix, clxxxix); III, pp. 15 (No. 18, Ampl. MS. 44), 36 (No. 106, Etienne de Bourbon, cap. 106); IV, p. 19 (No. 3, Salisbury MS. 97). Ward, pp. 614 (No. 36, Cotton, Cleop. C. x, printed in Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 69, Ward gives a long note on the history of the feast), 653 (No. 14, Royal 5 A. viii), 676 (No. 65, Add. 33, 956), 704 (No. 34, Royal 8 C. iv), 707 (Add. 15,606, a French metrical version by Wace), 713 (No. 22, Egerton 612, printed in Adgar, p. 135), 732 (No. 40, Royal 20 B. xiv). The *Init. Mirac.*, Nos. 404, 405, 1698, give historical references; 714, cite Gil de Zamora, 51; 1702, cite *Anal. Boll.* iii, 208-9, a version of the miracle contained in a MS. of the city and academy of Ghent, No. 499 (17), "Lectiones sex de historia feste concep. B. M." See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 56.

To the references in Ward may now be added those in Herbert, pp. 523 (No. 29, Harley 2,385, Egelsinus); 540 (No. 33, Roy. 12 E. 1, Egelsinus of Ramsey); 608 (No. 30, Add., 18,364, Abbot Elsinus); 697 (No. 14, Sloane 4,029, Egelsinus).

Cap. XIX. De Papa Leone cui Beata Virgo Maria manum restituit.

Sicut in commentariis pontificalibus dicitur esse scriptum, fuit Rome quidam nobilis adolescens Cesareus nomine, valde luxuriosus sed Beate Virgini multum devotus, quam pro dono continentie frequenter et humiliter precabatur. Cui hoc in oratione petenti Beata Virgo apparuit dicens: Quia iustum queris iustum est ut tibi prestetur quod queris. Unde scias quod tantam carnis molestiam de cetero non patieris sed castitatem servando ad summum perveheris. Et sic Virgo disparuit. Cesarius vero bonus, penitens, et continens factus in tantum in virtute profecit, quod summus pontifex factus papa Leo vocatus est. Sed antiquus hostis contra eum surrexit in prelium et eum de peccatis preteritis temptare presumpsit. Cum enim in assumptione Beate Virginis missam sollempniter celebraret, mulier quedam que in adolescentia ipsum amaverat, cum oblatione inter alias mulieres ad altare accessit et eius manum osculata recessit. At ille diabolica persuasione ductus illecebrosa quondam gesta ad memoriam revocavit. Nam facie pulcritudinem aspiciendo labiorumque mollitiem manibus sentiendo, cogitationibus iniquis assensum parum prebuit. Sicque nocivo calore repletus ad altare rediit, et Virginis ymaginem intuens de tam scelesti cogitatione amarissime flere cepit. Et dum fleret in excessu mentis sanctus quamdam reginam ante se transeuntem et minime respicientem conspexit. Ad se autem reversus dei genitricem

fuisse intellexit. Unde plus doluit et uberius fleuit. Quamobrem venerabilis Virgo rediit et flentem conspiciens de misericordia securum reddidit. Et sic ipse quam citius potuit missam perficiens ad suam cameram rediit. Et familiarem amicum secretius vocans, manum per quam malum venerat sibi abscidi fecit et eam mirra balsamoque perunctam servavit. Et aliquo tempore aliam infirmitatem simulans in lecto decubuit. Quem Romanus clerus ut de lecto consurgeret et missam pontificaliter celebraret sepe multis precibus imploravit. Quo semper renuente, populus Romanus eum hereticum credens in suum consilium ipsum venire fecit. Cui primates civitatis dixerunt: Non te, pater, accusamus, sed cur missam non celebras scire volumus. Ipse autem quid responderet ignorans, ingemuit et tacita obsecratione dei genitricis consilium et auxilium invocavit. Tunc ecce mater misericordie in medium veniens et manum pulcerimam afferens, ait ad presulem: Quoniam pauperibus meis misericordiam facere non cessasti et a te manum scandalizantem castitatis amore abscidisti, ecce pro carnali manu celestem restituo, et sic disparuit. Circumstantes vero non personam sed claritatem viderunt et verba et voces ammirantes audierunt. Pontifex autem rei ordinem enarravit et celestem manum altera graciliorem et decentiorem et illam quam absciderat evidenter ostendit. Et ad dei laudem et honorem Virginis matris missam pontificaliter celebravit.

NOTES

Cap. XIX. A noble Roman youth named Cesareus, who has led a sensual life, but is devoted to the Virgin, prays that she will make him continent. His prayer is answered and he later becomes Pope Leo. While celebrating mass a woman who had loved him kissed his hand. The pope is so disturbed by memories of the past that he cuts off his hand. He is obliged to explain why he no longer celebrates mass and the Virgin restores his hand.

See Mussafia, I, p. 75 (No. 7, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, p. 4 (No. Paris, Lat., 5,268), 88 (No. 77, Laurent. Camald., 747 D. 3); III, p. 24 (No. 7, Paris, Lat., 10,770), 42 (No. 39, *Scala celi*, f. 121v0), 44 (No. 4, Etienne de Besançon, *Alphabetum narrationum*), 53 (Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.* L. 26); V, p. 5 (No. 20, Paris, Fr., 818, Mussafia prints on p. 33, the versions from the Paris, MSS. Lat., 5,267 and 5,268, probably the source of our miracle, which, however, is somewhat condensed. Ward, pp. 674 (No. 23, Add. 33,956), 675 (No. 40, *ibid.*). The version in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. LXXXVIII, is even more condensed, the source is given "ut in miraculis beatae virginis legitur." See also *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, No. 4,817, sub Leo I, where

are cited the *Leg. aur.*, Mombricitus, II, 55-56, and *Bibl. Casin. I*, *Floril.* 269.

There are Spanish versions in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ccvi, and *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, cccxxxv; and an Italian one in *Miracoli della Madonna*, xxxiii and xxxvi. The reference in the notes to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* to Braga, *Contos tradicionaes*, 233, does not seem to me pertinent.

There is an Ethiopic version in Budge, Chapter IV, p. 28, "The Virgin Mary and the Bishop Abbâs of Rome."

Cap. XX. De rege Ungarie cui Beata Virgo apparuit.

Fuit in Ungaria quidam clericus frater carnalis regis Ungarie a quo Beata Virgo exorata ipsum liberaverat a gravi infirmitate, propter quod ei devotissimus factus. Cottidie horas eius sollempniter decantabat, et ad suam laudem castitatem devovit. Contigit autem ut rex frater suus sine herede moriretur aliquo. Ob quam causam a principibus et populo patrie coactus est ut curam regni susciperet et rex factus desponsaret uxorem. Quo facto, dum cum sponsa missam nuptialem audiret, recordatus est quod illo die horas Beate Virginis non cantaverat. Unde finita missa, omnes de ecclesia exire fecit et ipse solus ante altare remanens matutinas et omnes alias horas Virginis submissa voce cantavit. Cum autem antiphonam ad nonam, scilicet: Pulcra es et decora, etc., diceret, ecce Virgo decora cum duobus angelis super altare apparuit, dicens ei: Si pulcra sum et decora ut asseris quidem, quid me dimittis et aliam accipis? Numquid non ego pulcrior illa? Ubi pulcriorem vidisti? Nonne mihi castitatem tuam vovisti? Numquid te a magna egritudine liberavi? Quantum distat ortus ab occidente tantum distas ab amore filii mei. At ille: Piissima domina, quid placet vobis ut faciam? Et illa: Si sponsam istam amore meo dimiseris et festum mee conceptionis et sabbata mea celebraveris, me sponsam in celesti regno habebis. Et his dictis Beata Virgo disparuit. Et rex vestibus regalibus uni pauperi datis secreto recessit ab urbe. Et Aquilegiam peregrinando pervenit, et super ripam quamdam ix annis vitam heremiticam traxit. Et post factus est Aquileie patriarcha. Et quamdiu vixit in cunctis ecclesiis suis ipsum festum celebrari precepit.

NOTES

Cap. XX. The brother of the king of Hungary is delivered from a severe illness by the Virgin and vows to remain chaste. He becomes the heir to the throne owing to his brother's death and is forced to marry. After the nuptial mass he remembers that he has not that day

repeated the Virgin's "hours," and remains alone in the church to do so. The Virgin appears to him, upbraids him for his faithlessness and promises to lead him to heaven if he will forsake his earthly bride. He does so and wanders away to Aquileja, where he later becomes patriarch.

The miracle is attributed here to a brother of the king of Hungary. Sometimes it is attributed to a cleric of Pisa, and sometimes to an indefinite "cleric." There are other versions, in one of which the cleric uses magic arts to obtain the love of a woman, in another the cleric places a ring on the finger of a statue of the Virgin and subsequently marries. The Virgin appears to him and he forsakes his bride and becomes a monk. I shall not consider here the last two versions, but only those which are practically the same as those in the text, although attributed to others than to the brother of the king of Hungary.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 17 (No. 2, Anselm, *Sermo de Concep. B. M.*), 25 (No. 16, Pez); V, p. 8 (No. 45, Paris, Fr. 818). This miracle is first found, I believe, in the sermon attributed to Anselm of Canterbury (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, clix, 320), whence it passed into certain versions of the *Legenda aurea*, ed. Graesse, cap. CLXXXIX, p. 870. A similar story told of a cleric is found in the same work, cap. CXXXI, p. 592. Ward, pp. 609 (No. 20, Cotton Cleop. C. x, printed in Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 47), 732 (No. 30, Royal 20, B. xix).

There are three similar miracles in Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ix, xx, and xxv, see Warner's note to ix. The miracle is also in Gautier de Coincy, II, 17; *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, cxxxii (cp. XLII); Gil de Zamora, 43; Berceo, xv; *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, ccii; and Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, No. vii.

The *Init. Mirac.* cite (964) *Scala celi*, f. 117vo, (691) Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 50; and (1713) a number of historical references to the Feast of the Conception, with which the present miracle and the Elsinus legend (No. xviii) are connected.

Cap. XXI. De ymagine Beate Virginis incarnate que salutiferum liquorem emittit.

Tempore quo Greci terram Syrie inhabitabant fuit apud Damascum quedam nobilis domina que in religionis habitu devote domino serviebat, que vi. miliario ab urbe predicta locum et oratorium in honore Sancte Marie sibi constituens pauperibus et peregrinis hospitalitatis gratiam exhibebat. Contigit autem quemdam monachum de Constantinopoli causa devotionis Ierosolimam pergere et ad locum predictae domine declinare. A qua devote susceptus rogatus est ut sibi unam yconam Beate Marie portaret quam in suo oratorio collocare volebat. Qui eius

precibus annuens et Ierosolimam vadens et oratoriis visitatis oblitusque promissi egressus civitatem redibat. Et ecce vox de celo dicens: Quomodo sic redis vacua manu? Ubi est ycona quam te delaturum illi devote domine promisisti? Tunc regressus Ierosolimam emit yconam, cum qua civitatem egressus ferocissimo obviavit leoni a quo per misericordiam dei nil mali passus, inde procedens incidit in latrones, a quibus dei virtute nec se movere nec loqui valentibus illesus evasit. Et sic liber deambulans cogitare cepit et credere quod ycona illa quam ferebat aliquid divine virtutis haberet. Unde deliberavit se predicte domine non daturum sed ad suam patriam delaturum. Intrans autem navi orta tempestate periclitari cepit ita quod singuli sua queque proiciebant in mari. Volens autem monachus yconam in mari prohicere audivit vocem angelicam dicentem sibi: Noli yconam prohicere sed eam ad celum erige. Quod illo faciente statim cessavit tempestas. Errantes autem per mare et nescientes quo pergerent ad Achon civitatem unde exierant reversi sunt. Tunc monachus dei voluntatem intelligens predicte domine retulit yconam, retardans aliquantulum proferre ei ipsam. Ipsa autem eum non recognoscens yconam non querebat ab eo. Quod ille attendens cogitavit yconam non dare sed secum portare. Licentians se itaque a predicta domina intravit oratorium ut facta brevi oratione cum ycona pergeret viam suam. Sed dei voluntate hostium horatorii unde exiret invenire non potuit, deponens autem yconam hostium videbat. Resumens autem et exire volens hostium non videbat et sic per totum diem inutiliter laboravit. Tandem dei voluntatem intelligens, predicte domine yconam protulit, referens que gesta fuerant cuncta per ordinem. Que gaudens yconam suscepit et reverenter in suo oratorio collocavit. Monachus vero in predicto loco donec vixit deo servivit. Cum autem predicta ycona in magna reverentia haberetur a populo cepit liquorem quemdam emittere et sudare, quem cum sindone munda predicta domina colligebat et infirmantibus ministrabat, quos dei virtute sanabat.

NOTES

Cap. XXI. A noble lady founds an oratory and hospice near Damascus, where she entertains pilgrims and poor. A monk of Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem promises to bring back with him an image of the Virgin to place in the oratory. He forgets his promise and is reminded of it by a voice from heaven. The image protects him against lions and robbers and he concludes that he will keep the image for himself. A violent storm arises and the passengers throw over their goods, but a voice directs the monk to hold the image up to heaven; he does so and the storm ceases. He takes the image to the

lady who does not recognize him or ask him for it. He again determines to keep it and enters the oratory with it, but cannot get out until he leaves the image. It becomes an object of reverence and emits a liquor which heals diseases.

This is the legend technically known as the miracle of Sardenai, a place near Damascus, where during the middle ages was an abbey with a wonder-working image of the Virgin. The historical element in the legend is fully treated by G. Raynaud in the *Romania*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 517-537, "Le miracle de Sardenai," see also a supplementary article by the same writer in vol. XIV (1885), pp. 82-93. See also for historical references the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, Nos. 5408-9.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 36 (Salzburg MS. a, V 3), p. 50 (No. 47, Paris, 12,593), 67 (No. 1-2, Paris, 2,333); II, pp. 38 (No. 53, Cambridge Univ. Mm. 6, 15), 87 (No. 73, Laurent. Camald. 747, D. 3, a variant in which a heathen woman asks her brother to bring her an image of the Virgin from the holy land. The image calms a storm and subsequently "de figure mamilla—olei manat copia"). See Ward, pp. 655 (No. 1, Arundel, 407), 723 (No. 36, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy). The miracle is in Gautier de Coincy, II, 18, and *Cantigas de Santa Maria* ix. There is a brief reference to the image in Caesarius Heisterb. *Dial. Mirac.*, vii, xxiv.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, p. 561 (No. 22, Harley, 268).

Cap. XXII. De nummulario punito qui iuravit per ubera Virginis.

Nummularius quidam malignus fuit qui pro augendis lucris suis per Christum et membra eius frequenter iurabat. Dum autem semel iuraret per ubera Beate Virginis, tendens manus ad celum, Christus qui iniurias suas patienter substinuit matris iniurias noluit substinere. Nam mox miser retio corruens et linguam nigerrimam emittens et labia torquens divina ultione miserabiliter vitam finivit.

NOTES

Cap. XXII. A money-changer swears by the members of Christ, who bears his wrongs with patience; when, however, the blasphemer swears by the breasts of the Virgin he dies a miserable death.

There are many similar legends turning on the punishment of blasphemy; sometimes the one punished is a gambler, sometimes a dishonest merchant, etc. See Mussafia, I, p. 78 (No. 59, Paris, Lat., 5,267, a dishonest merchant), II, pp. 51 (No. 104 b, *Spec. hist.*, a gambler is punished), 79 (No. 47, Paris, Ars. 903, a merchant swears by the breasts of

the Virgin); III, pp. 8 (No. 3, Paris, Lat., 14,857, a gambler swears by the Virgin and receives a heavy blow and dies), 38 (No. 133, Etienne de Bourbon, an innkeeper swears by the Virgin's tongue and dies). Ward, pp. 628 (No. 18, Add. 15,723, a gambler at Lausanne), 696 (No. 3, Add. 32,248, apparently like the last). This last form is in the *Spec. hist.*, VIII, 104 cited above. In the *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, s. v. *Blasphemia*, Ex. iv, v, are two stories, one of a gambler pierced by a celestial sword, the other of a certain blasphemer whose tongue is punished as above. The source of these stories is "Ex hist. viris illust. ord. Cisterc."

Cap. XXIII. De Johanne Damasceno cui Beata Virgo restituit manum.

Regnante Theodosyo imperatore fuit apud Damascum iuvenis quidam, Iohannes nomine, morum honestate ornatus, liberalium artium scientia plenissime eruditus, eloquentia et verborum facundia et dictandi ac scribendi scientia excellenter ditatus, et nobilium filios sibi ad docendum commissos doctrinis et exemplis sufficienter informans. Hic amore dei et matris eius accensus in sua virginitate habitum monachalem suscepit et horas Beate Virginis die et nocte devotissime decantabat, orationes et antiphonas, responsoria, prosasque ad laudem Beate Virginis faciebat, et cum dulcedine et devotione mirabili personabat. Hic etiam inter alios quos habebat, quemdam discipulum de Persida habuit, quem formam suam in dictando, scribendo, cantando, ita sufficienter edocuit ut sibi similis videretur. Contigit autem ut fama eius ad aures predicti imperatoris Constantinopolim perveniret. Qui ipsum ad curiam suam cum honorabili comitatu adducens ut quiete deo serviret monasterium ei dedit et cum eo de salute anime sue frequenter et devote tractabat. Iohannes autem in sua humilitate et devotione perdurans et laudibus Beate Virginis totus intentus studebat cottidie ad eius laudem novi aliquid invenire, et in hoc totum gaudium suum erat. Interea discipulus ille de Persida nolens (l. volens) in sua scientia habere (l. haberi) meliorem vel similem, spiritu diabolico instigatus cogitare cepit de morte magistri. Et cogitando taliter ad effectum perduxit. Nam sub nomine Iohannis monachi dictavit et scripsit litteras in forma et stilo eius, in quibus continebatur quod cum Theodosius imperator ivisset in expeditionem cum toto robore exercitus sui, et Constantinopolis et alie civitates imperii habitatoribus vacue remansissent, poterant Persi libere venire et civitates imperii invadere et tenere. Prohicitur littera clam in imperiale palatium et inventa imperatori presentatur, et lecta clamor mortis contra monachum Iohannem attollitur. Qui vocatus

scripsisse se denegat. Obicitur ei forma et stilus finis (sic). Et sic nulla sibi excusatione valente dextra manus truncatur et manus abscisa ante ecclesiam ad terrorem aliorum suspenditur. Hanc penam Iohannes deo gratias patienter substituit hoc solum precipue dolens quod ad honorem Virginis celebrare non posset amplius. Sic igitur ante Virginis ymaginem mancus adveniens familiari quodam affectu cum ea disceptare cepit, dicens vulnere discoperto: Heccine sunt, domina, meorum premia meritorum. Hec est tuorum beatitudo servorum. Esto, domina mea, digne pro meritis me peccatorem flagellari voluisti! Sed ut quid laudis tue instrumentum abscidi permisisti? Cur propter artificis meritum periit divine operationis instrumentum? Hec manus sepius scribendo tuorum ymnorum et laudum cantica preperabat. Hec in honore tuo corpus et sanguinem filii tui frequenter pro salute populi offerebat. Hec autem et his similia dicente, recessit. Et nocte quadam cum in lecto pausaret apparuit ei regina virginum cum immenso lumine et yleri vultu dicens: Quid agis, fili Iohannes? Cui ille: Cur me quid agam interrogas? Immo interrogo ego te. Cum hoc paterer ubi eras? Cum sim mancus servus tuus gaudebit cum me viderit quicumque inimicus tuus. At illa confortans ait: Fili mi, citius tibi manum restaurare poterit qui totum corpus fecit ex nichilo. His dictis, eo vidente, ad ecclesiam accessit et manum suspensam detulit et brachio Iohannis apposuit. Et confestim fuit coniunctioni et sanitati pristinae perfectissime restituta. At ille Virgini gratiam agens facto die fratres convocat manum hostendit et ecclesiam intrans missam in honorem Virginis celebrat et clara voce in affluentia lacrimarum. Fama pervolat ad imperatorem facti miraculi. Qui veniens et predictam manum deosculans facta inquisitione maligni discipuli prodicionem invenit. Iohannes autem in omni sanctitate perdurans in senectute bona quievit in pace.

NOTES

Cap. XXIII. Saint John of Damascus has a pupil whom he has instructed to write in a way similar to his own script. The pupil, envious of his master's favor with the emperor, writes in the manner of the saint a letter betraying the emperor's military plans to his enemies. The saint is accused and his hand cut off. The Virgin, to whom the saint was devoted, appears to him and restores his hand.

Mussafia gives no reference to this miracle as being found in the manuscript collections in Latin; he cites (V, p. 6, No. 30) the French collection, Paris, Fr., 818. He also cites (II, p. 57) the *Speculum historiale*, xvii, 103-105 (III, p. 42, No. 38), the *Scala celi*, f. 120, and (III, p. 48, No. 33) Herolt's *Mirac.* 33. Ward (p. 683, No. 33) cites

only Herolt. The *Init. Mirac.* cite (15) Petrus Caelestinus, see *Bib. hag. lat.*, No. 5,371; (905) Herolt, *ut supra*; (906) Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 38; and (1009) *Scala celi*, *ut supra*. The official life of the saint is in the *Acta Sanct.*, May 6. See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 57.

The miracle is in Mielot, No. 43, p. xxviii, in a very brief version, see Warner's note. There are two Spanish versions, one in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, cclxv, and the other in *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, cciv. There is a French dramatic version in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, vol. I, p. 251, where, however, the story is told of Saint John Chrysostom.

I am unable to give the immediate source of our miracle, and cannot find the authority cited by Herolt, "Prudentius ex gestis Damasceni." The version in Herolt in places follows the version in the *Spec. hist.*, or Vincent's original, "ex gestis ejus." I give the passages from Vincent, cviii, cap. cv, which are like our miracle: . . . discooperto vulnere et extento brachio cum ea pie rixabatur, inquiens: Heccine domina nostrorum premia sunt meritorum? Heccine tuorum beatitudo servorum? Est o domina mea (text has domin. ami) digne pro meritis peccatorem (sic) meum (sic) flagellari voluisti. Sed ut quid instrumentum officii tui permisisti penitus abscidi? Hec quippe manus himnorum laudis tue cantica sepius scribendo parabat et deo patri sacratissimum corpus et sanguinem filii tui multotiens in honore tuo ad omnium peccatorum salutem offerebat. . . . Et ecce regina virginum affuit cum ingenti lumine hilarique facie tali consolans eum affamine. Quid agis, inquit, puer meus fidelissime? Heu, inquit ille, domina, quid me interrogas? Quinimmo interrogo te ego. Cum hec paterer ubi eras? Ecce ad meum inmo ad tuum dedecus in ecclesia pendet abscisa clientis tui manus. At illa, confortare, inquit, fili in domino, manum tuam tibi restaurare potest qui totum hominem plasmavit ex nichilo. His dictis, eo vidente, illa ecclesiam petiit delatamque inde manum ejus brachio cum mira benignitate in momento restituit. . . . It should be said that the rest of the miracle is quite different in wording, etc., from Vincent.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, p. 663 (No. 221, Add. 27,336, "agrees almost verbatim with Vincent of Beauvais," cited above).

Cap. XXIV. De puero quem Beata Virgo a demonibus liberavit.

Contigit in quodam castro episcopatus Toletanensi quod cum matrona quedam filium de suis insolentiis et malitiis reprehenderet, ille indignatus dementitus est eam. Et illa irata commendavit illum demon-

ibus, dicens: Quidquid ego iuris in te habeo totum relinquo et dono quinquaginta milibus demoniorum. Euntes autem cubitum cum iam in lectis suis essent, venerunt demones et puerum de lecto tollentes per domus fumerium efferebant. Sed in ipso exitu fumerii exclamavit puer, dicens: Sancta Maria adiuva me. Et statim demonibus fugientibus cecidit in focarium domus. Ad cuius planctum excitati parentes et tota familia domus cucurrerunt et ipsum iacentem in focario repperunt, et rem gestam audientes deo et matri eius devotas gratias retulerunt.

NOTES

Cap. XXIV. An angry mother commends her undutiful son to the devils. He is carried off at night through the chimney, but calls on the Virgin and is delivered.

I have not found any other version of this miracle. There is a story in *Caes. Heisterb. Dial. v, cap. xii*, of an angry father who tells his son to go to the devil. The boy was soon carried off and never appeared again.

Cap. XXV. De milite monacho de cuius ore post mortem processit lilium.

Miles quidam dives valde ac nobilis ordinem Cistersiensium introivit, et quia litteras nesciebat erubescens monachi tam nobilem personam inter laycos deputare, dederunt ei magistrum si forte modicum addiscere posset et sic inter monachos permaneret. Sed cum diu cum magistro fuisset et nichil omnino preter hec duo verba Ave Maria discere potuisset, hec tam avide retinuit ut quocumque iret, quidquid ageret, ea incessanter ruminaret. Tandem moritur et in cimiterio cum aliis fratribus sepellitur. Et ecce super eius tumulum lilium speciosum excrescit et quodlibet folium Ave Maria litteris aureis habebat inscriptum. Currentes autem omnes ad tam grande spectaculum, terram de tumulo effoderunt, et radices lilii de ore defuncti procedere reppererunt. Intellexerunt ergo cum quanta devotione illa duo verba dixerit quem dominus tanti horis (l. honore) prodigii illustravit.

NOTES

Cap. XXV. An illiterate nobleman enters the Cistercian order and is unable to learn more of the service than the two words Ave Maria, which he incessantly repeated to himself. After his death a lily grows out of the grave with the words Ave Maria written on the leaves in letters of gold. The roots of the lily are found growing from the mouth of the monk.

This version is almost literally the same as that in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. LI, 2, p. 221, ed. Graesse. See Mussafia, II, pp. 45 (No. 23, Paris, Lat., 5,562), 61 (No. 9, Thomas Cantiprat. II, 29, 9), 62 (No. 2, *Legenda aurea, ut supra*). See Ward, pp. 654 (No. 21, Royal 5 A. viii, cites *Scala celi*, f. 116ro, *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii, p. 587, and Mielot, No. vii), 658 (No. 13, Add. 18,929), 665 (No. 26, Arundel, 406), 671 (No. 12, Harley, 2,851), 672 (No. 5, Add. 33,956), 697 (No. 8, Add. 32,248), 735 (No. 5, Harley, 2,277), 737 (No. 5, Cotton, Cleopatra D. ix; No. 5, Add. 10,301), 738 (No. 4, Cotton, Julius D. ix). The *Init. Mirac.* cite (1084) Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 71; (1068) Budge, *Miracles*, xlv; (1078) Gil de Zamora, 54, same as in *Legenda aurea*; (837) a very similar miracle in Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 3, and 49. See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 57vo.

There is an Italian version in *Miracoli della Madonna*, iii. I have not been able to see Bonvesin da Riva, *Laudes de V. M.*, and Franco Sachetti, *Sermoni evangel.*, ed. Gigli, xxvii, both cited by Mussafia in his note to *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lvi, where a somewhat similar miracle is told of a monk who sang constantly five psalms beginning each with one letter of the name Maria. After his death a rose-bush grows out of his mouth with five roses. An English version of our miracle is to be found in *Anglia*, iii, p. 320, No. xi, and German versions in Floss, *Neun Marienlegenden*, p. 11, No. iii; and Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, p. 105, No. xv.

There are two Spanish versions in the *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, No. xliii, ed. Gayangos, cclxiii. I have not considered above the variant of our miracle contained in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and elsewhere.

An Ethiopic version is in Budge, Chapter XXXIX, p. 137, "The Virgin Mary and Nicodemus the Horseman." A tree grows from grave, on leaves in gold ink the words: "Salutation unto thee, O my lady Mary!"

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 342 (No. 17, Add. 32,678), 344 (No. 29, a similar tale from the same manuscript), 607 (No. 15, Add. 18,364), 614 (No. 111, Add. 18,364), 638 (No. 4, Harley, 1,022), 679 (No. 43, Roy. 8 F. vi), 696 (No. 7, Sloane, 4,029), 708 (No. 1, Harley, 2,391).

Cap. XXVI. De milite quem Beata Virgo a demone liberavit.

Quidam miles quoddam in via communi habebat castrum et omnes transeuntes sine miseratione aliqua spoliabat. Virginem tamen dei matrem cottidie salutabat nec pro aliquo negotio ab ipsa salutatione

aliqua die cessare volebat. Accidit autem ut quidam religiosus vir sanctus inde transitum faceret et ipsum predictus miles continuo expoliari iuberet. Vir autem sanctus rogavit predones ut ipsum ad dominum suum deducant quia ad ipsum habet secreta que perferat. Adductus autem rogavit militem ut omnes de familia sua et castro congregari faceret ut eis verbum domini predicaret. Cum autem congregati fuissent ille ait: Nequaquam hic omnes estis, sed aliquis adhuc deest. Cum autem omnes se esse ibidem assererent aiebat: Diligenter perquirite et aliquem invenietis abesse. Tunc unus exclamans dixit quod solus canarius non venisset. Ille autem dixit vere ipse est qui solus deest. Pro eo igitur cito mittitur et in medium deducitur. Cum autem virum dei vidisset, revolutis terribiliter oculis, caput instar insani agitabat nec propius accedere audebat. Vir autem sanctus dixit ei: Adiuro te per nomen domini nostri Jesu Christi ut quis sis nobis edisseras et ob quam causam huc veneris palam pandas. Cui ille respondit: Heu adiuratus prodere cogor invitus. Ego enim non sum homo sed demon qui formam hominis accepi et xiiii annis cum hoc milite permansi. Nam princeps noster me huc misit ut die qua hic sue Marie salutationem non diceret, diligentius observarem, ut in eum potestate accepta ipsum continuo strangularem et sic in malis operibus vitam finiens noster esset. Quacumque enim die illam salutem dicebat in ipsum potestatem habere non poterat. Ecce autem de die in die diligentius observavi et nullum diem quin eam observaverit pretermisit. Hec miles audiens vehementer obstipuit et ad pedes viri dei se prohiens veniam postulavit, et in melius deinceps vitam mutavit. Vir autem sanctus dixit demoni: Precipio tibi, demon, in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi ut hinc statim abscedas et talem actenus locum possideas ut nulli dei genitricem invocanti nocere presumas. Hec ubi iussa dedit demon ascendens (l. abscedens) evanuit.

NOTES

Cap. XXVI. A knight who is devoted to the Virgin and salutes her daily, robs travellers who pass his castle on the highway. He has in his service a valet who fails to appear when a priest robbed by the band asks to be sent to their leader and requests him to collect all his servants and the people of the castle in order that he may preach to them. The valet finally appears and acts like a demoniac. On the priest's adjuration he confesses that he is a demon who assumed the form of a man and served the knight fourteen years in the hope that some day his master would omit his salutation to the Virgin and he would have power to kill him. The demon disappears and the knight changes his life.

The source of this miracle is the *Legenda aurea*, cap. LI, 3, ed. Graesse, p. 221. See Mussafia, I, pp. 49 (No. 34, Paris, 12,593), 65 (No. 69, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 73 (No. 55, Paris, 18,134); II, pp. 51 (No. 101, *Speculum hist.* viii, 101), 62 (*Legenda aurea, ut supra*); III, pp. 25 (No. 17, Paris, Lat., 10,770), 31 (No. 4, Gil de Zamora, 34), 38 (No. 129, Etienne de Bourbon, 129), 41 (No. 30, *Scala celi*, f. 119r); IV, p. 8 (No. 8, Darmstadt MS. 2,777); V, p. 15 (No. 29, Paris, Fr. 818, in reality Gautier de Coincy, I, 29). See Ward, pp. 628 (No. 15, Add., 15,723), 661 (No. 1, Arundel, 406), 675 (No. 36, Add., 33,956), 686 (No. 69, Add., 19,909, the *Promptuarium de Miraculis* of Herolt), 722 (No. 29, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy), 735 (No. 3, Harley, 2,277), 737 (No. 3, Cotton, Cleopatra D. ix; Add., 10,301), 738 (No. 2, Cotton, Julius D. ix). The *Init. Mirac.* cite (1439) Caesar Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 78 (245), Petrus Caelestinus, 27; (346) Caesar Heisterb. iii, 43, a miracle very similar to the one cited above from the same author, the second belongs to the class where the master is a pious man.

Mussafia in Gautier de Coincy, pp. 30-42, prints the versions in the Paris, Lat., 12,593, 17,491 and 2,333, they are quite different from our version, more full and concern a pious man. There is another French version in Mielot, No. 8, same as our miracle and evidently from the *Legenda aurea*.

Spanish versions are in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lxxvii (pious master), *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, xlv, ed. Gayangos, cxcvii. Italian versions are in Bonvesin da Riva, *Vulgare de Eleemosynis*, ll. 610-737 (Monatsbericht der konigl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Nov. 1850, pp. 438-464), and *Miracoli della Madonna*, ii. A Portuguese version is in Braga, *Cantos tradicionaes do Povo Portuguez*, II, 54 (No. 145). German versions are in Floss, *Neun Marienlegenden*, No. v, p. 15, Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, No. xiv, p. 94, and von der Hagen, *Gesamtabentheuer*, III, No. lxxxvi, p. 563, see note p. cxxvi.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 395 (No. 377, Add. 11,284, "Speculum Laicorum"), 506 (No. 36, Harley, 2,851), 537 (No. 2, Roy. 12 E. i.), 557 (No. 222, Arundel, 506), 638 (No. 5, Harley, 1,022), 648 (No. 11, Add. 27,336), 685 (No. 48, Harley, 1,288).

Cap. XXVII. De puella Musa nomine cui Beata Virgo apparuit.

Sicut beatus Gregorius narrat in iiii. libro dialogorum fuit quedam puella, Musa nomine, cui quadam nocte Beata Virgo Maria apparuit

adque coevas et in albis vestibus puellas ostendit. Quibus cum illa ammiseri appeteret, sed se eis iungere non auderet, Beate Marie est voce requisita an vellet cum eis esse adque in eius obsequio vivere. Cui cum puella diceret volo, ab ea mandatum protinus accepit ut nil ultra leve vel puellare ageret, a risu et iocis abstineret, sciens quod inter easdem virgines quas videret ad eius obsequium die tricesimo veniret. Quibus visis, in cunctis suis moribus puella mutata est, omnemque levitatem puellaris vite removit. Cumque eam parentes eius eam (l. tam) mutatam esse mirarentur, requisita rem retulit, quid sibi Beata Dei Genetrix iusserit, et quo die itura esset ad obsequium eius indicavit. Que post vicesimum et quintum diem febre correpta est. Die autem tricesimo cum hora exitus eius propinquasset, eandem Beatam Genetricem cum puellis quas per visionem viderat ad se venire conspexit. Cui se etiam vocante respondere cepit et depressis reverenter oculis, aperta voce clamare: Ecce, Domina, venio. In qua etiam voce spiritum reddidit, et ex virgineo corpore habitatura cum sanctis virginibus exivit.

NOTES

Cap. XXVII. The Virgin appears to a young girl and asks her if she wishes to join her band of maidens in white robes; if so, she must refrain from childish follies. In case she does this she will join the band of virgins in thirty days. She is seized with a fever the twenty-fifth day and expires the thirtieth in an ecstatic vision.

The source of the miracle as is stated in the text is Gregory's *Dialogues*, IV, 17, in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. LXXVII, col. 348. The story was a favorite one and is found in nearly all the great collections. See Mussafia, I, pp. 37 (No. 19, Ambrosiana C. 150, inf.), 41 (No. 31, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 46 (No. 21-22, Paris, Lat., 16,056), 55 (No. 103, Paris, Lat., 12,593), 67 (No. 6, Paris, Lat., 2,333), 76 (No. 19, Paris, Lat., 5,267), 79 (No. 60, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, pp. 6 (No. 46, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 10 (No. 24, Arundel, 346, Paris, Lat., 18,168, Montpellier, 146), 12 (No. 19, Charleville MS. 79), 18 (No. 26, Brit. Mus. Cleopatra C 20, Toulouse, 482), 30 (No. 31, Oxford, Balliol, 240), 38 (No. 50, Cambridge Mm. 6. 15), 45 (No. 29, Paris, Lat., 5,562), 73 (No. 14, Arsenal, 903); V, p. 10 (No. 60, Paris, Fr., 818). See Ward, pp. 620 (No. 24, Arundel, 346, printed by Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 54), 657 (No. 11, Add. 18,929), 676 (No. 45, Add. 33,956), 712 (No. 14, Egerton, 612, printed by Neuhaus in Adgar's *Marienlegenden*, p. 72), 732 (No. 34, Royal 20 B. xiv).

The *Init. Mirac.* cite (1240) Caesar Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 19; (1245) Herolt, *Prompt. Exempl.* G. 16, "Gaudia mundi"; the same story is

told with slight changes and emphasis laid on dancing in C. II, "Chorea."

A French prose version is in Mielot, No. 21; and Spanish versions are in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lxxix, and *Castigos y documentos*, ed. Gayangos, p. 216.

An Ethiopic version is in Budge, Chapter VII, p. 33, "The Virgin Mary and the Child Mary."

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 454 (No. 2-7, Cotton, Vesp. D. ii), 461 (No. 78, Harley, 3,244), 523 (No. 40, Harley, 2,385), 608 (No. 21, Add. 18,364), 680 (No. 48, Roy. 8 F. vi).

Cap. XXVIII. De sancto Bonifatio episcopo cui Beata Virgo Maria duodecim aureos misit.

Fuit quidam presbiter, Constantius nomine, nepos sancti Bonifatii episcopi Ferentis et cum eo in episcopio commorans. Qui equum suum xii aureis vendidit. Quos in propriam arcam ponens ad exercendum aliquod opus discessit. Tunc subito ad episcopum pauperes venerunt ab eo elemosinam postulantes. Sed vir dei quod tribueret non habebat, extuare (aestuar) cepit in cogitatione ne ab eo pauperes vacui exirent. Cui repente ad memoriam rediit quod Constantius presbiter nepos eius equum suum vendidisset et pretium in arca haberet. Absente igitur eo, adcessit ad arcam et seram comminuens xii aureos tulit eosque indigentibus dedit. Quod ille inveniens cepit magna voce perstreperere et cum furore nimio clamare: Omnes hic vivunt, solus ego in hac domo vivere non possum. Ad cuius vocem advenit episcopus omnesque qui in episcopio aderant. Cumque eum vir dei locutione blanda temperare voluisset, cepit ille cum iurgio respondere, dicens: Omnes tecum vivunt, solus ego hic ante te vivere non possum. Redde mihi solidos meos. Quibus vocibus commotus episcopus, Beate Marie semper virginis ecclesiam intravit, et levatis manibus et extenso vestimento, stando cepit exorare ut ei redderet unde presbiteri furentis insaniam mitigare potuisset, repente in sinu suo xii aureos invenit ita fulgentes tanquam si ex igne producti hora eadem fuissent. Qui mox ecclesia egressus, eos in sinum furentis presbiteri projecit, dicens: Ecce habes solidos quos quesisti, sed tibi notum sit quia post mortem meam tu huic ecclesie episcopus non eris propter avaritiam tuam. Ex qua simonie veritate colligitur, quia eosdem solidos presbiter pro adipiscendo episcopatu preparabat. Sed viri dei sermo prevaluit quia idem presbiter in presbiteratu vitam finivit.

NOTES

Cap. XXVIII. Boniface, bishop of Ferentino, takes a sum of money for the poor from the strongbox of his nephew Constantine, who was hoarding the money to purchase the bishopric at his uncle's death. The nephew flies into a passion when he discovers the loss of his money and upbraids his uncle. The bishop enters the church and entreats the Virgin to give him the means wherewith to mitigate his nephew's rage. The Virgin puts into his lap the money, which he gives to his nephew, telling him that he never will be bishop on account of his avarice. The nephew consequently dies a priest.

The source of this miracle, as of the last, is Gregory's *Dialogues*, I, 9, Migne, vol. lxxvii, col. 193. This miracle occurs but seldom. See Mussafia, II, pp. 4 (No. 4, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 79 (No. 48, Arsenal, 903); V, p. 6 (No. 21, Paris, Fr., 818). For St. Boniface, bishop of Ferentino, who flourished about 519, see *Acta Sanctorum*, May 14 (May, vol. III, pp. 371-73).

Cap. XXIX. De Theophilo.

Fuit in quadam urbium Sicilie clericus quidam, nomine Theophylus, tam prudenter et utiliter res ecclesiasticas dispensans quod eum, mortuo episcopo, dignum episcopatu omnis populus acclamavit. At ille contentus vice dominatu, alium maluit ordinari in episcopum. A quo ab honore suo injuste depositus, ad tantam impatientiam devenit ut, conducto quodam magno Hebreo ad recuperandum honorem suum, opem quereret a principe demonum. A quo iussus est negare filium dei et matrem eius cum omni proposito christiani, et ipsam abnegationem scribere et sibi tradere, et sic ejus servitio se addixit. Qui in crastino recuperato honore suo non multo post reversus ad se, in ecclesia Beate Marie omni penitentia se affligit, primo sibi piam matrem dei reconciliavit, eaque sibi apparente, abrenuntians diabolo, Christum filium dei verum et ex Maria virgine natum et omne christiani propositum profitens, per eam et Christi filii eius gratiam recuperavit. Et ad indicium indulte sibi venie rursus ei dormienti apparens Christi mater etiam scriptum abrenuntiationis quod signatum diabolo dederat super pectus eius reposuit. Quo Theophylus recepto, in crastinum dominico die coram episcopo et omni ecclesia pandens ordinem rei omnes ad stuporem et laudem dei et genitricis Christi Marie commovit et in eodem loco quo sibi pia Virgo apparuit perstans, ibidem post triduum mortuus est et sepultus.

Expliciunt Miracula Beate Virginis Marie

NOTES

Cap. XXIX. Theophilus, vicedominus (of the city of Adana in Cilicia), declines the bishopric in favor of another, by whom he is later deposed from his own office. In his resentment he makes a compact duly signed with the Devil and recovers his office. He repents and the Virgin obtains his compact and returns it to him.

This is perhaps the most popular of all the miracles of the Virgin, and there is an extensive literature on the subject. I can here refer only to the sources of information and mention, as I have previously done, the collections in which the miracle is found.

For the history of the legend in general see: Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources histor. du Moyen Age*, Nouvelle ed., Paris, 1907, vol. II, col. 4439-40; E. Sommer, *De Theophili cum diabolo foedere*, Halae, 1844; G. W. Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low-German and other tongues*, London, 1845; F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1850, vol. III, pp. clxvi-clxxx; *Dictionnaire des Mystères* par le comte de Douhet, Paris, 1854, coll. 933-968; *Dictionnaire des Légendes*, by the same, Paris, 1855, coll. 1169-1176; A. D'Ancona, *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli xiv, xv, xvi*, Florence, 1872, vol. II, pp. 445 et seq.; W. Meyer, "Radewins Gedicht über Theophilus" in *Sitzungsberichte der phil. Classe der Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 1873, pp. 49-120, Meyer prints the original Greek and Latin versions; E. Kölbing, "Ueber die englischen Fassungen der Theophilussage" in *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der romant. Poesie*, etc., Breslau, 1876, pp. 1-41; same author's "Die jüngere Englische Fassung der Theophilussage" in *Englische Studien*, i (1877), pp. 16-57; F. Ludorff, "William Forrest's Theophiluslegende" in *Anglia*, vol. VII (1884), pp. 60-115, containing a convenient list of the versions in Latin, French, German, Dutch, Icelandic and English; a résumé of the literature may be found in Neuhaus, *Adgar*, p. 81; H. Strohmayer's review of M. Sepet's *Le Miracle de Théophile*, in *Romania*, vol. XXIII (1894), pp. 601-606, contains a convenient conspectus of the literature of the legend; and, finally Ward, vol. II (1893), pp. 593-597, gives valuable references.

The Greek and Latin texts will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 4 (Feb. vol. I, pp. 483-487), in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. CLXXI, coll. 1593-1604, and in Dasent and Meyer cited above.

The source of our miracle is apparently the version in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. CXXXI, 9, somewhat abbreviated.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 32 (No. 45, Kremsmünster MS. 114), 34 (Mölk MS. E. 81), 39 (No. 8, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 59 (No. 9, Leipzig MS. 819), 65 (No. 71, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 76 (No. 8, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, pp. 4 (No. 5, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 11 (Montpellier MS. 146), 17 (No. 2, Brit. Mus. Cleopatra C. 20, and Toulouse MS. 482), 44 (No. 15, Paris, Lat., 5,562), 64 (No. 9, *Legenda aurea*), 70 (No. 1, Arsenal, 903); III, pp. 4 (No. G, Brit. Mus. Vesp. D. 19), 18 (No. 46, Ampl. 44), 21 (Charleville MS. 106), 44 (No. 10, Etienne de Besançon, *Alphabetum narrat.*); IV, pp. 6 (No. 15, Darmstadt MS. 703), 8 (No. 14, Darmstadt MS. 2,777), 19 (No. 1, Salisbury MS. 97); V, p. 10 (No. 58, Paris, Fr., 818).

See Ward, pp. 595-600, where are given five independent versions of our miracle, contained in: Harley, 3,020; Cotton, Nero E. I., printed by Neuhaus in *Lat. Vorl.*, pp. 12-21; Harley, 4,719; Additional, 10,050; *ibid.*, 18,365. For the versions forming part of collections of Miracles of the Virgin, see Ward, pp. 602 (No. 2, Cotton, Cleopatra C. x), 618 (No. 40, *ibid.*, see Mussafia, II, p. 17, note 3), 675 (No. 33, Add. 33,956, the same miracle is repeated in No. 44), 677 (No. 5, Harley, 2,316), 684 (No. 42, Add. 19,909, Herolt, *De Miraculis*, 42), 693 (No. 1, Cotton, Vespasian D. xix), 706 (No. 60, Royal 8 C. iv), 713 (No. 17, Egerton, 612, printed by A. Weber in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, I (1877), pp. 525-30, and in Adgar's *Marienlegenden*, p. 79), 719 (No. 1, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy), 730 (No. 2, Royal 20 B. xiv), 735 (No. 1, Harley, 2,277, see Horstmann, *The Early South-English Legendary*, Early English Text Society, 1887, p. 288), 736 (No. 1, Cotton, Cleopatra D. ix), 737 (No. 1, Add. 10,301), 738 (No. 5, Cotton, Julius D. ix), 739 (No. 1, Harley, 4,196), and 740 (Cotton, Tiberius E. vii). See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 58vo.

A. Weber in the periodical cited above prints the version in Paris, Lat., 2,333A. See also Mussafia, Gautier de Coincy, I, 1 (p. 6), and the same editor's copious notes to *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, III. Roswitha's poem "Lapsus et conversio Theophili vice-domini" may best be found in *Hrotsvithae opera*, ed. K. Strecker, Leipzig, Teubner, 1906, pp. 67-80. Two other Latin versions are in the *Speculum hist.*, xxii, cap. 69-70, and Gil de Zamora, No. 2.

Spanish versions are in the *Cantigas* cited above, in *Castigos e documentos*, ed. Gayangos, lxxxii, p. 215; *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, cxcii, p. 493; and Berceo, xxiv. Italian versions are in *Miracoli della Madonna*, cap. xxxvi, and a dramatic one in D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresent.*, cited above. A German version is in Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, xxiii, p. 193.

For the dramatic form of the legend see D'Ancona, cited above, and *Dictionnaire des Mystères*, cited above, where, coll. 933-968, is printed Rutebeuf's "Le Miracle de Théophile," which may also be found in Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre Français au Moyen-âge*, Paris, 1870, pp. 136-156, and in Rutebeuf's works in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*, Paris, 1874, vol. II, pp. 230-262.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 395 (No. 370, Add. 11,284, "Speculum Laicorum"); 454 (No. 1, Cotton, Vesp. D. ii, the same text as Harley, 3,020, see Ward, 595), 523 (No. 45, Harley, 2,385), 534 (No. 2, Harley, 495); 543 (No. 34, Arundel, 506), 608 (No. 22, Add. 18,364), 696 (No. 3, Sloane, 4,029), 717 (No. 28, Add. 38,010).

APPENDIX

Correspondence between Cornell MS. and principal printed Collections of Miracles of the Virgin.

	Cantigas	Coincy	Mielot	Pez	Pfeiffer
I					
II	XXXIII	II, 16	XXXIII	27	
III	XXXVI	I, 26	XXXIII	28	XII
IV					IX
V			I		
VI	CXXXI				
VII	LXVIII	I, 24	XV		
VIII			XXXVI	cp. 2	
IX		I, 15		7	
X	XXIV	I, 6		3	XI
XI	XIII	I, 21		6	VI
XII	LIV	I, 8		30	
XIII					
XIV					
XV		I, 20		32	
XVI					III
XVII	CCCLXXXIV				
XVIII				19	
XIX	CCVI				
XX		II, 17	{ IX, XX XXV	16	
XXI	IX	II, 18			
XXII					

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	Cantigas	Coiney	Mielot	Pez	Pfeiffer
XXIII	CCLXV		XLIII		
XXIV					
XXV	cp. LVI		VII	XV	
XXVI	LXVII	I, 29	VIII	XIV	
XXVII	LXXIX		XXI		
XXVIII					
XXIX	III	I, 1			XXIII

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