

James of Voragine's "Legenda sancti Augustini" and its Sources¹⁾

The probability that we shall never see an adequate critical edition of James of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, made from the manuscripts, to replace Graesse's unsatisfactory and now itself largely forgotten printed version, has already been indicated²⁾. There are many reasons for regretting this, the first being that what was, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by far the most popular and widely-known source of hagiographical lore³⁾ is now seldom consulted. Another, with which we intend here to engage ourselves, is that little attention has been paid to the working methods of this influential book, and that some of what has been written concerning its author is demonstrably untrue.

For reasons which the present writer explained in his previous article, he has been concerned with the iconography of St. Augustine, and, thus, with his legend; and this study attempts no more than to examine what were some of James's Augustine sources, and how they were collected and employed. The first task was to produce a text from the earliest witnesses, three of which at least were written, not in Italy, before James's death in 1298: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. nouv. acq. 1800, dated 1281, and Munich Staatsbibliothek clm 13029 and Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS 21877, the 'summer half' only, but containing 'Augustinus' — both dated 1282. What now follows is an

¹⁾ The work for this article and the preparation of its text from the *Legenda aurea* was begun at a time when I was enjoying subvention from the Humanities Research Council of Canada. More recently, my investigations of James of Voragine have been supported by the British Academy. At the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, Professor Virginia Brown responded generously to my appeals for help with the Latin text. My confreres and their collaborators at the Thesaurus Augustinianus in Eindhoven and the Augustinus-Institut in Würzburg have provided me with invaluable information. As always, Mr. J.C. Marler has supported what I have been engaged in from first to last. I shall have occasion throughout to refer to "Caxton", my recent article, "Caxton's Addition to the 'Legenda sancti Augustini'" (*Augustiniana* 34, 1984, pp. 198-212).

²⁾ See Edmund COLLEDGE and J.C. MARLER: "'Céphalologie': a Recurring Theme in Classical and Mediaeval Lore" (*Traditio* 37, 1981, pp. 411-426).

³⁾ See Edmund COLLEDGE, "Caxton", p. 202-205.

'Augustinus' text from the Munich codex (M), with variants recorded from that at Brussels (B).

DE SANCTO AUGUSTINO

f. 206a Augustinus doctor egregius in prouincia Affricana ciuitate Karthaginen-
 si ortus et honestis ualde parentibus scilicet patre Patricio matre Monica
 genitus in liberalibus artibus sufficienter edoctus fuit adeo ut summus
 phylosophus et rethor luculentissimus haberetur. Nam libros / Aristotilis
 et omnes libros liberalium artium quoscumque legere potuit per se
 didicit et intellexit sicut in libro Confessionum testatur dicens : Omnes
 libros artium quas liberales vocant tunc nequissimus malarum cupidita-
 tum seruus per me ipsum legi et intellexi quoscumque legere potui.
 Item in eodem : Quicquid de arte loquendi et disserendi, quicquid de
 dimensionibus figurarum et de musicis et de numeris, etiam sine magna
 difficultate nullo hominum tradenti intellexi. Scis tu domine deus
 meus quod celeritas intelligendi et discendi donum tuum est, sed non
 inde sacrificabam tibi. Uerum quia sciencia sine caritate non edificat
 sed inflat, in errorem Manicheorum qui Christum fantasticum fuisse
 affirmant et carnis resurrectionem negant incidit et in eo per annos
 nouem dum adhuc adolescens esset permansit. Ad has etiam nugas
 ductus est ut arborem fici plorare diceret cum ab ea ficus uel folium
 tolleretur. Cum ergo esset annorum decem et nouem et quendam
 librum cuiusdam philosophi scilicet Cyceronis in quo vanitas mundi
 contempnenda et phylosophia appetenda docebatur legeret, ex hoc
 quidem liber ei plurimum placuit, sed quia nomen Christi Jhesu quod
 a matre inbiberat ibi non erat, dolere cepit. Mater uero eius pro eo
 plurimum flebat et ipsum ad vnitatem fidei reducere satagebat. Quadam
 igitur uice ut legitur in libro Confessionum uidit se stare in quadam
 linea lignea licet tristem, et quidam ei pulcherrimus iuuenis astitit et
 causam tante tristicie requisiiuit. Que cum diceret : Perdicionem filij mei
 Augustini deploro, ille respondit : Esto segura, quia ubi tu ibi ille. Et
 ecce continuo filium suum iuxta se stare uidit; sed cum Augustino

2 matre add. B: uero. Monica B: Moniacha. 7 malarum om. M. 9 quicquid (de dimensionibus) add. B: est. 10 etiam om. B. 16 Ad B: Et ad. 19 scilicet Cyceronis om. B. 21 ei er. M. 25 et (quidam) B: et ecce. iuuenis B: puer ei. 27 ibi (ille) B: ubi. 28 cum M: dum.

30 retulisset ille ait: Falleris mater, nec sic tibi dictum est, sed ubi ego
 31 ibi tu. Econtra illa dicebat: Non fili michi dictum est: / Ubi ille f. 206b
 32 ibi tu, sed ubi tu ibi ille. Rogabat igitur sedula mater quasi importuna
 33 quendam episcopum, sicut in eodem libro Confessionum Augustinus
 34 testatur, ut pro suo filio intercedere dignaretur, cui tanta quodammodo
 35 importunitate deuictus prophetica uoce respondit: Uade secura, quia
 36 impossibile est ut filius tantarum lacrimarum pereat. Cum autem apud
 37 Karthaginem multis annis rethoricam docuisset, occulte matre nesciente
 38 Romam uenit, et ibidem multos discipulos congregauit. Cum enim
 39 mater usque ad portam eum secuta fuisset ut aut eum retraheret aut
 40 secum iret, ipse eam decipiens nocte latenter recessit, quod illa mane
 41 considerans aures dei clamoribus adimplebat. Quolibet autem die
 42 mane et uespere ad ecclesiam ibat et pro filio orabat. Hijs temporibus
 43 Mediolanenses a Symacho prefecto Romanorum petierunt sibi doctorem
 44 in rethorica destinari; presulabatur tunc etiam ibi uir dei Ambrosius
 45 et ad preces Mediolanensium illuc mittitur Augustinus. Mater autem
 46 eius quiescere non ualens cum multa difficultate ad eum uenit, et ipsum
 47 iam nec uere Manicheum nec uere Catholicum reperit. Cepit autem
 48 Augustinus beato Ambrosio adherere et eius predicationes frequenter
 49 audire. Erat autem in predicatione ualde suspensus ne quid contra
 50 ipsam Manicheorum heresym uel pro ipsa diceretur. Quadam uice
 51 contra illum errorem Ambrosius diutius disputauit et ipsum apertis
 52 rationibus et auctoritatibus confutauit, ita ut error ille a corde Augustini
 53 penitus pelleretur. Quid autem post hec sibi contigeret ipse in libro
 54 Confessionum narrat dicens: Cum te primum cognoui reuerberasti
 55 infirmitatem aspectus mei, radians in me uehementer, et contremui
 56 amore et horrore, et inueni longe me esse in regione dissimilitudinis,
 57 tamquam audirem uocem tuam de excel-/so: Cibus sum grandium. f. 206c
 58 Cresce et manducabis me, nec tu me mutabis in te, sicut cibus carnis
 59 tue, sed tu mutaberis in me. Cum autem sicut ibidem refert uia sibi
 60 Christi placeret, sed per ipsam angustam adhuc ire pigeret, inmisit
 61 dominus in mentem eius ut ad Simplicianum in quo lucebat gracia diuina
 62 pergeret ut sibi estus suos secum conferenti proferret, quis esset aptus

31 *sedula* B: *sedule*. 32 *Confessionum* om. B. 33 *suo* om. B. *cui* add. B: *illa*.
 37 *enim* B: *ergo*. 40 *adimplebat* B: *replebat*. 43 *etiam* B: *autem*. *ibi* B: *inibi*.
 47 *Augustinus* B: *beatus Augustinus*. 49 *Quadam* add. B: *autem*. 55 *horrore* M:
honore, 'n' exp. *esse* add. B: *a te*. 57 *Cresce et* B: *crescens*. 59 *ipsam angustam* B:
ipsas angustas. 61 *estus* M: *gestus*. *secum* om. B. 61 *proferret* B: *profert*.

modus viuendi ad ambulandum in uia dei in qua alius sic alius sic ibat. Displcebat enim ei quicquid agebatur in seculo pre dulcedine dei et decore domus eius quam dilexit. Simplicianus autem cepit eum hortari, ipse autem cepit seipsum hortari ac dicere quod pueri et puelle intra ecclesiam deo seruiunt — tu non poteris quod isti et iste? An uero isti et iste in seipsis possunt et non in deo suo, quid in te stas et non stas? Proice te in eum et excipiet te et sanabit te. Inter horum colloquia memoria Victorini uenit in medium, unde exhylaratus Simplicianus narrat qualiter idem adhuc gentilis ob sui patientiam Rome quod maximum tunc erat statuam meruisset, et qualiter se sepius Christianum dicebat; cui cum Simplicianus diceret: Non credo nisi te in ecclesia uidero, ille iocando dicebat: Numquid parietes faciunt hominem Christianum? Tandem dum ad ecclesiam uenisset et ei tamquam uerecundo occulte liber ubi erat symbolum fidei ad legendum datus fuisset, ille in altum ascendit et alta uoce pronunciauit pronunciandum, ut tunc moris erat, mirante Roma gaudente ecclesia. Omnes autem subito perstrepuerunt: Uictorinus, Victorinus! Cito sonuerunt et cito siluerunt. Tunc etiam ab Affrica quidam amicus Augustini nomine Pontianus superuenit, et uitam et miracula illius magni Antonij qui nuper in Egypto sub Constantino imperatore defunctus fuerat recitauit. Horum exemplis Augustinus uehe-/menter exarsit, ita quod socium suum Alippium tam uultu quam mente turbatus inuasit et fortiter exclamauit: Quid patimur, quid audimus? Surgunt indocti et celum rapiunt, et nos cum doctrinis nostris in infernum demergimur; an quia precesserunt pudet sequi, et non pudet nec saltem sequi? Et accurrens in quendam hortum sub quadam ficu se proiecit, ut in eodem libro Confessionum commemorat, et amarissime flens lamentabiles uoces dabat: Quamdiu quamdiu, cras et cras, sine modo sine paululum. Modo non habet modum, et sine paululum ibat in longum. De hac sui tarditate plurimum conquerabatur, sicut postmodum in libro eodem scripsit: Ei michi, quam excelsus es in excelsis et quam profundus in profundis, et nunquam recedis et uix redimus ad te. Age domine et fac et excita et reuoca nos, accende et rape et fragla et dulcesce. Impedimentis omnibus sic time-

63 agebatur B: agebat. 65 autem (cepit) B: quoque. 66 deo B: domino. 67 uero om. B. 68 eum M: ipsum. 70 patientiam B: sapientiam. 72 cum B: tamen. 74 ad om. M. uenisset M: mirasset. 75 symbolum B: symbolus. 86 nec M: ne (er.) 87 Confessionum om. B. 88 et (amarissime) om. B. 89 habet B: hebeat. 90 ibat B: prodibat. longum B: longinquum. 91 Ei M w. er.; B: Heu. 94 accende B: eccede.

95 bam expediri quemadmodum impediri timendum est. Sero te amaui,
 100 pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam noua, sero te amaui. Intus eras et ego
 foris, et ibi te querebam et in ista formosa que fecisti deformis irrueram.
 Mecum eras et tecum non eram. Uocasti et clamasti et rupisti surdita-
 tem meam, choruscasti et splenduisti et fugasti cecitatem meam, fraglasti
 105 et duxi spiritum meum et anhelum tibi, gustavi et esurio et sitio te.
 Tetigisti me et exarsi in pacem tuam. Cum autem amarissime fleret,
 audiuit uocem dicentem sibi: Tolle lege, tolle lege; aperuitque statim
 codicem apostolicum et coniectis oculis ad primum capitulum legit:
 110 Induimini dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum; et statim ab eo omnes
 dubietatis tenebre diffugerunt. Interim autem tam uehementissimo dolore
 dencium torqueri cepit ut fere, sicut ipse ait, ad credendum opinionem
 Cornelij philosophi duceretur, / qui summum bonum anime in sapien- f. 207a
 tia, summum uerobonum corporis in nullum senciendo dolorem posuerat.
 Tam uehemens autem ille dolor fuit quod etiam loquelam amisit,
 115 quo circa, in libro Confessionum refert, in tabulis cereis scripsit ut
 omnes pro eo orarent ut dolorem illum dominus mitigaret. Ipse igitur
 genua cum aliis flexit, et subito sanum se sensit. Insinuauit ergo per
 litteras sancto uiro Ambrosio uotum suum ut moneret quid sibi de
 libris sanctis legendum esset quod aptior fieret fidei Christiane; at
 120 ille iussit Ysaia prophetam, eo quod euangelij et uocationis gencium
 pronunciator apertior uideatur. Cuius principium cum Augustinus non
 intelligeret totum illud tale esse arbitrans distulit ut illud relegeret cum
 in scripturis sanctis magis exercitatus esset. Adueniente uero paschali
 tempore Augustinus, cum esset annorum triginta, cum filio suo Adeo-
 125 dato puero ualde ingenioso quem Augustinus in sua adolescentia dum
 adhuc gentilis et philosophus esset genuerat, necnon et cum Alippio
 amico suo, meritis matris et predicatione Ambrosij sacrum baptismum
 suscepit. Tunc sicut fertur Ambrosius Te deum laudamus inquit, et
 Augustinus Te dominum confitemur respondit; et sic ipsi duo hunc
 ymnus alternatim composuerunt et usque in finem decantauerunt,
 sicut etiam testatur Honorius in libro qui dicitur Speculum ecclesie.
 In aliquibus etiam libris antiquis titulus talis preponitur: Canticum
 ab Ambrosio et Augustino compilatum. Protinus autem in fide kato-

96 *pulchritudo* ... *amaui* (*Intus*) om. B. 99 *et* (*splenduisti*) om. B. 100 *meum*
 om. B. 104 *nostrum* om. B. 106 *credendum* M: credenda. 110 *in libro* ... *refert*
 om. B. 114 *quod* B: quo. 115 *ille* B: ipse. 118 *sanctis* (*magis*) B: sacris. uero
 B: igitur. 119 *Adeodato* M: Deodato. 121 *Alippio* M: Alippo. 128 *autem* (*in*)
 add. B: Augustinus.

- lica mirabiliter confirmatus, spem omnem quam habebat in seculo
dereliquit et scolis quas regebat abrenunciauit. Quanta autem dulce- 130
dine diuini amoris ex tunc fieretur ipse in libro Confessionum aperit
dicens: Sagittaueras tu cor meum caritate tua et gestabam uerba tua
transfixa in uisceribus, et exempla seruorum tuorum quos de nigris
f. 207b lucidos, de mortuis uiuos feceras / congesta in sinum cogitationis mee 131
urebant et absumebant grauem torporem et ascendenti a conualle 135
ploracionis et cantanti canticum graduum dederas sagittas acutas et
carbones vastatores, nec saciabar in illis diebus dulcedine mirabili
considerare altitudinem diuini consilij super salutem generis humani,
quantum fleui in ymnis et canticis tuis suaue sonantis ecclesie uocibus
commotus acriter uoces ille influebant auribus meis, et eliquabatur 140
ueritas tua in cor meum et currebant lacrimae, et bene michi erat cum
eis. Tunc enim in ecclesia Mediolanensi hec cantari instituta sunt, et
clamabam clamore alto cordis mei: O in pace, o in idipsum, o qui
dixit dormiam et sompnum capiam. Tu es enim idipsum qui non
mutaris, et in te requies obliuiscens laborum omnium. Legebam totum 145
psalmum illum, et ardebam qui fueram latrator amarus et cecus
aduersus litteras, de melle celi melleas et de tuo lumine luminosas, et
super scripturas huiusmodi tabescebam. Christe Jhesu adiutor meus,
quam suaue michi subito factum est carere suauitatibus nugarum
mearum, et quas amittere metus fuerat iam dimittere gaudium erat! 150
Eiciebas enim eas a me uera tu et summa suauitas. Eiciebas et intrabas
pro eis omni uoluntate dilector sed non carni et sanguini, omni luce
clarior, sed omni secreto interior, omni honore sublimior sed non
sublimibus in se. Post hec assumptis Nebridio et Euodio et matre,
ad Affricam remeabat; sed cum essent apud Hostiam Tyberinam, 155
pia mater eius defuncta est, post cuius mortem reuersus est Augustinus
ad agros proprios, ubi cum hijs qui sibi adherebant ieiunijs et oracionibus
deo uacabat et libros scribebat et indoctos docebat. Fama autem eius
ubique diffundebatur, et in omnibus libris suis et actibus ammirabilis
f. 207c habebatur. Refugiebat autem ad aliquam ciuitatem ac-/cedere que 160

130 *Quanta* M: Quanto. 131 *fieretur* M: ferretur. 134 *mee* om. B. 139 *sonan-*
tis B: sonantibus. 140 *acriter* B: attentus. *eliquabatur* M: eloquebatur, corr.
142 *hec* B: hoc. 143 *alto* B: altissimo. *in pace o* om. B. 144 *idipsum* (*qui*)
om. B. 145 *requies* add. B: non. 147 *melleas* B: mellitas. 151 *Eiciebas* (*enim*)
M: Eicieba. *uera* B: nam. 152 *uoluntate dilector* B: uoluptate dulcior. 153 *sed*
(*omni*) B: et. 155 *Hostiam Tyberinam* M: Hostia Tyberina.

episcopo carebat, ne ipsum in predicto officio impediri contingeret.
 Eodem tempore erat uir quidam magnarum opum qui Augustino misit
 quod si ad eum accederet et uerbum ex ore suo audiret seculo renun-
 ciare posset, quod Augustinus ubi comperit illuc concitus iuit. Audiens
 165 autem Ualerius Yponensis episcopus famam eius ipsum plurimum
 renitentem in ecclesia sua presbyterum ordinauit, nonnullis quidem
 lacrimas suas superbe interpretantibus et tamquam eum consolantibus
 et dicentibus quia et locus presbyterij licet ipse maiori dignus esset,
 appropinquaret tamen episcopatui. Qui statim monasterium clerico-
 170 rum instituit, et cepit viuere secundum regulam sub sanctis apostolis
 constitutam, de cuius monasterio fere decem episcopi sunt electi. Et
 quia predictus episcopus erat Grecus et minus in Latina lingua et litteris
 doctus, Augustino potestatem tribuit ut contra morem Orientalis ecclesie
 coram se in ecclesia predicaret. Unde cum multi episcopo derogarent,
 175 ille de hac non curabat, dummodo per alterum fieret quod per se fieri
 non ualeret. Eodem tempore Fortunatum presbyterum Manicheum et
 alios hereticos precipue rebaptizandos Donatistas et Manicheos conui-
 cit, abstulit et fugauit. Cepit autem beatus Valerius formidare ne sibi
 Augustinus tolleretur et ab alia ciuitate in episcopum peteretur. Nam
 180 sibi aliquando ablatus fuisset nisi eum ad locum secretum transire
 curasset, ita ut inueniri minime potuisset. Impetravit igitur ab
 archiepiscopo Karthaginensi ut ipse cederet et Augustinum Yponensi
 ecclesie in episcopum promoueret; sed cum hoc Augustinus omnino
 recusaret, compulsus tandem et coactus succubuit et episcopatus curam
 185 suscepit. Quod in se postea fieri non debuisse ut suo uiuente episcopo
 ordinaretur et dixit et scripsit propter concilij vniuersalis prohibitionem
 quam postmodum ordinatus didicit, nec quod sibi factum / esse doluit f. 207d
 alijs fieri voluit. Vnde etiam sategit ut in concilijs episcoporum
 constitueretur ut omnia statuta patrum ordinandis deberent ab ordina-
 190 toribus intimari. Ipse autem de se dixisse postmodum legitur : In nulla

161 carebat M: cereret. 162 tempore add. B: apud Yponem. 163 ex B: ab.
 164 ubi B: ut. 166 quidem B: autem. 168 et (locus) om. B. 171 fere om. B.
 172 lingua om. M. 173 contra er. M. morem B: mores. 174 episcopo add.
 B: ei. 175 alterum B: eum. 176 Fortunatum M: Fortunatu. 177 rebaptizandos
 M: rebaptizatos. 178 fugauit B: confutauit. 179 et ab alia ... peteretur om. M.
 182 archiepiscopo B: episcopo. cederet M: dederet. 183 hoc om. B. omnino B:
 omnimodo. 184 tandem B: tamen. 185 postea B: postmodum. debuisse add. B:
 considerans. 187 sibi add. B: tunc. esse om. B. 188 alijs fieri voluit om. B.
 sategit B: tunc statuit.

re michi dominum sencio sic iratum sicut in hoc, quod cum non essem dignus poni ad remum, posuit me ad amplustram in apice regiminis ecclesie. Uestimenta eius et calciamenta et ornamenta alia nec nitida nimium nec abiecta plurimum, sed ex moderato et competenti habitu erant. Ipse enim dixisse de se legitur : Fateor de pretiosa ueste erubescere, et ideo cum datur michi uendo eam, ut quia non potest uestis esse communis, pretium sit commune. Mensa frugali et parca semper usus est, et inter olera et legumina propter infirmos et hospites plerumque carnes habebat. In ipsa autem mensa magis lectionem uel disputationem quam epulacionem diligebat, et contra pestem detractionis in ea sic scriptum habebat : Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam hanc mensam indignam nouerit esse sibi. Nam et aliquando cum quidam familiarissimi sibi coepiscopi ad detractionem linguam laxassent, adeo dure eos redarguit quod nisi disisterent aut uersus ipsos deleret aut a mensa recederet. Quadam uice cum quosdam suos familiares ad prandium inuitasset, vnus illorum curiosior ceteris coquinam ingressus est. Cumque omnia frigida reperisset, reuersus ad Augustinum interrogauit quid ciborum pransuris ipse paterfamilias preparasset? Cui Augustinus nequaquam talium epularum curiosus respondit : Et ego uobiscum nescio. Tria a beato Ambrosio se didicisse ait. Primum quod uxorem cuiquam nunquam peteret, secundum quod militare uolentem ad hoc non commendaret, tercium quod ad conuiuium inuitatus non iret. Causa primi est ne illi inter se non conueniant et sibi maledicant, / causa secundi est ne militantes calumniam exerceant et in eum alij culpam refundat, causa tercij est ne forte temperancie modum perdat. Tante autem puritatis et humilitatis fuit ut ipsa eciam minima peccata que apud nos nulla uel minima reputantur in libro Confessionum deo confiteatur et de hiis coram domino humiliter se accuset. Nam ibidem accusat se de eo quod cum puer esset ludebat ad pilam cum ad scholas ire deberet. Item de eo quod nolebat legere uel addiscere nisi vi a parentibus uel magistro urgeretur. Item de eo quod fabulas poetarum sicut fabulam Enee cum adhuc esset puer libenter legebat et Didonem propter amorem mortuam plorabat. Item de hoc, de cellario parentum uel mensa aliqua furabatur ut pueris ludentibus daret. Item de eo quod in ludo puerorum fraudulentas uictorias

192 *amplustram* BM: *amplustre*. 193 *calciamenta* add. B: *necnon*. 197 *pretium* add. B: *saltem*. 215 *forte* om. B. 218 *confiteatur* M: *confiteantur*. *domino* B: *deo*. 219 *accuset* B: *accusauit*. 223 *libenter* add. B: *audiebat et*.

exercebat. Item de eo quod pira de quadam arbore vicina uinee sue
 cum adhuc esset annorum sedecim furatus fuit. In eodem quoque
 libro accusat se de ipsa modica delectatione quam aliquando in come-
 dendo senciebat dicens: Sic me docuisti ut quemadmodum medica-
 230 menta sic alimenta sumpturus accedam; sed dum ad quietem sacietatis
 ex indigentie molestia transeo, in ipso transitu insidiatur michi laqueus
 concupiscencie, ipse enim transitus uoluptas est, et non est alius quo
 transeatur quo transire cogit necessitas, et cum salus sit causa edendi
 et bibendi, adiungit se tanquam pedissequa periculosa iocunditas et
 235 plerumque preire conatur ut eius causa fiat quod salutis causa me
 facere uel dico uel uolo. Ebrietas longe a me; misereberis ne appropinquet
 michi. Crapula autem nonnunquam surrepsit seruo tuo; misereberis
 ut longe fiat a me. Et quis est domine qui non rapitur aliquantulum
 extra metas necessitatis? Quidquis est ille, magnus profecto / est. f. 208b
 240 Magnificet nomen tuum; ego autem non sum, quia homo peccator
 sum. Habuit eciam se suspectum de olfactu dicens: De illecebra odorum
 non satago nimis; cum absunt non requiro, cum obsunt non respuo,
 paratus etiam eis semper carere. Ita michi uideor, forsitan fallor; nemo
 enim securus esse debet in ista uita, que tota nominatur temptatio. Utrum
 245 qui fieri potuit ex deteriori melior non fiat ex meliori deterior. Item de
 auditu confitetur dicens: Uoluptates aurium tenacius me implicaue-
 rant et subiungauerant, sed resoluisti et liberasti me cum michi accidit
 ut me amplius cantus quam res que canitur moueat. Penaliter me
 peccare confiteor, et tunc non mallem audire cantantem. Accusat etiam
 250 se de uisu sic dicens quod aliquando nimis libenter canem uidit curren-
 tem, et de eo quod per agrum casu transiens venacionem libenter
 prospexit, et de eo quod domi existens araneas muscas suis retibus
 capientes nimis ardentem conspexit. Ideo autem de hiis coram domino
 confitetur ut ibidem dicit quia aliquando hec a bonis meditationibus
 255 auertunt et oraciones interrumpunt. Accusat eciam se de appetitu
 laudis et motu inanis glorie dicens: Qui laudari uult ab hominibus
 uituperante te ne defendetur ab hominibus iudicante te nec eripietur
 dampnante te. Laudatur homo propter aliquod donum quod dedisti

229 *senciebat* M: senciebant. 236 *longe* add. B: est. *appropinquet* M: appropinquent.
 238 *aliquantulum* B: aliquando. 240 *autem* om. B. 242 *absunt* B: absint.
 243 *etiam* B: enim. *uideor* add. B: et. 245 *Item* M: Iterum. 247 *me (cum)* add.
 B: tamen. 248 *canitur* B: cantatur. 249 *etiam* M: enim. 250 *sic dicens* M:
 sicut de eo. 251 *et de eo quod ... conspexit* om. B. 254 *ut* om. M. 255 *inter-*
rumpunt M: interrumpunt. 256 *et (motu)* add. B: de. 257 *ne* B: non. 258 *ali-*
quod B: aliquot.

ei, et tamen plus gaudet se laudari quam donum. Temptamur hijs
 temptationibus cottidie sine cessatione, cottidiana fornax nostra est
 humana lingua. Verumtamen nollem ut uel augeter michi gaudium
 cuiuslibet boni mei suffragacio oris alieni; sed auget fateor non solum
 sed uituperacio minuit. Confundor autem aliquando laudibus meis
 cum ea laudantur in me in quibus ipse michi displiceo, uel eciam bona
 f. 208c minora et leuia pluris estimantur quam estimanda sunt. Hereticos / uir
 iste sanctus ualidissime confundebat, ita ut ipsi inter se publice predi-
 carent peccatum non esse interficere Augustinum, quem tanquam
 lupum occidendum esse dicebant, et occisoribus peccata sua omnia
 dimittenda asserebant. Multas ab eis insidias pertulit, ita ut sibi aliquo
 pergenti in uia insidias ponerent, sed dei prouidencia itineris errore
 factum est ut seductum inuenire non possent. Compauperum semper
 memor erat, eisque ex hijs que habere poterat liberaliter exhibebat.
 Nam et de uasis dominicis propter pauperes et captiuos aliquando
 iubebat frangi et conflari et indigentibus dispensari. Domum uel agrum
 uel uillam nunquam emere uoluit, et multas hereditates sibi dimissas
 respuit, eo quod defunctorum filiis uel propinquis potius ipsa deberi
 dicebat. In hiis quoque que ecclesia possidebat, intentus amore uel
 implicatus non erat, sed die ac nocte de scripturis ac rebus diuinis
 cogitabat, fabricarumque nouarum numquam studium habuit, devi-
 tans in eis implicationem sui animi quem semper liberum habere uolebat
 ab omni molestia corporali, ut libere uacare posset continue medita-
 cioni et assidue lectioni. Non tamen illa edificare uolentes prohibebat,
 nisi forte immoderate fieri conspexisset. Laudabat quoque plurimum
 illos quibus moriendi desiderium inerat, et super hoc trium episcoporum
 exempla sepius recitabat. Ambrosius enim cum in extremis esset et
 rogaretur ut prolongationem uite sibi precibus obtineret, respondit:
 Non sic uixi ut me pudeat inter uos uiuere, nec mori timeo, quoniam
 bonum habemus dominum; quod responsum Augustinus mirabiliter
 extollebat. Addebat quoque de alio episcopo cui cum diceretur eum
 ecclesie multum necessarium fore et ideo eum adhuc dominus liberaret,

260 *est* om. B. 262 *mei* B: nomen. 263 *Confundor* B: Contristor. 265 *et (leuia)*
 B: uel. *quam estimanda* B: extimantur quam extimanda. *estimanda* M: existimanda.
 266 *confundebat* B: confutabat. 268 *esse (dicebant)* om. B. *omnia* add. B: a deo.
 271 *factum est ut* om. B. 273 *et (de)* om. B. 275 *uel (uillam)* B: siue. *et* om. M.
 276 *defunctorum* B: mortuorum. *uel (propinquis)* add. B: eciam. 278 *ac (rebus)*
 B: et. 279 *Fabricarumque* B: fabricarum quoque. *devitans* M: dubitans. 286 *sibi*
 B: suis. 287 *uixi* add. B: sic. 289 *Addebat* B: Aiebat.

292 / ait : Si numquam bene, si aliquando quare non modo? De alio quoque f. 208d
 episcopo aiebat Cyprianum referre, quod cum infirmitate graui laboraret,
 296 adhuc sibi restitui sanitatem exorabat, cui iuuenis speciosus apparens
 cum indignatione infremuit et ait : Pati timetis, exire non uultis? Quid
 295 faciam uobis? Feminarum nunquam nullam, nec eciam germanam
 297 sororem aut fratris filias que deo pariter seruiebant, secum habitare
 permisit. Dicebat enim quod etsi de sorore uel nepotibus nulla mali
 298 posset oriri suspicio, tamen quia tales persone sine alijs sibi necessariis
 esse non possent, et ad eas eciam alie aduenirent ex illis possent
 300 infirmiores humanis temptacionibus commoueri aut certe malis hominum
 299 suspicionibus infamari. Numquam cum muliere solus loqui uolebat,
 nisi secretum aliquid interesset. Consanguineis sic benefecit non ut
 301 diuicias haberent sed ut non aut nimis egerent. Raro pro aliquo
 litteris aut uerbis intercedere uolebat, recolens quendam phylosophum
 305 contemplacione fame a museis multa non prestitisse, et sepe dicebat :
 304 Plerumque potestas que petitur premit. Cum autem id faciebat, sic
 stilum temperabit ut onerosus non esset, sed mereretur urbanitate dic-
 303 taminis exaudiri. Uolebat potius inter ignotos quam inter amicos
 causas audire, dicens quia inter illos poterat libere iniquum cognoscere
 310 et unum ex his amicum esset facturus, pro quo scilicet iusticia mediante
 302 sentenciam daret. Ex amicis uero esset unum perditurus, scilicet contra
 quem proferret sentenciam. A multis ecclesiis inuitabatur ubi uerbum
 306 dei predicabat et multos ab errore conuertebat. Aliquando a proposito
 digressionem facere a predicatione consueuerat, et tunc dicebat deum / f. 209a
 315 ad profectum salutis alicuius ordinasse, sicut in quodam Manicheorum
 307 negotiatore patuit, qui in quadam predicatione Augustini. ubi ipse
 digressionem faciens contra hunc errorem predicauerat, conuersus fuit.
 308 Eo tempore quo Gothi Romam cepissent, ydolatre et infideles Christianis
 plurimum insultabant, propter quod Augustinus librum De ciuitate
 320 dei composuit, in quo iustos in hac uita premi, impios autem florere
 309 ostendit. Ubi de duplici ciuitate scilicet Ierusalem et Babilonica et
 earum regibus ait, quia rex Ierusalem Christus, rex Babylonis dyabolus,
 311 que duas ciuitates ut ibi dicit duo amores sibi fabricant, quia ciuitatem
 terrenam construit amor sui crescens usque ad contemptum dei, ciuita-

293 *apparens* B: apponit et. 294 *et ait* B: dicens. 296 *fratris* add. B: sui.
 299 *aduenirent* B: aduentarent. 300 *infirmiores* add. M: aut. 305 *a museis* B:
 amicis. 306 *que* B: qua. 307 *urbanitate* B: urbanitatem. 312 *ubi* B: et ibi.
 314 *facere* om. M. 318 *quo* B: dum. 320 *premi* add. M: debere. 321 *et (earum)*
 add. B: de. 323 *que* B M: quas, M 'que' interl. al. m. contemp. 324 *terrenam* B:
 dyaboli.

tem autem celestem amor dei crescens usque ad contemptum sui. In 325
 diebus autem eius, scilicet anno domini quadragesimo tricesimo,
 Wandali totam prouinciam Affrice occupauerunt, uastantes omnia nec
 parcentes sexui ordini uel etati. Post hec ad Yponensem ciuitatem
 uenerunt et ipsam manu ualida obsederunt. Sub hac tribulatione
 Augustinus pre ceteris sue senectutis amarissimam et lugubrem uitam 330
 duxit, fueruntque sibi lacrimae panes die ac nocte, cum alios videret
 occisos, alios effugatos, ecclesias sacerdotibus uiduatas, ciuitates cum
 accolis dissipatas. Inter tot tamen mala cuiusdam sapientis sententia se
 consolabatur dicentis: Non erit magnus magnum putans quod cadunt
 ligna uel lapides et moriuntur mortales. Conuocatis autem fratribus 335
 dixit eis: Ecce rogauimus dominum ut aut nos ab hijs periculis eruat aut
 patientiam tribuat aut me de hac uita suscipiat, ne tot calamitates uidere
 compellar. Et ecce tertium quod petiuit obtinuit, et tercio obsidionis
 f. 209b mense, febribus laborans, lecto decubuit. / Intelligens autem dissolutio- 340
 nem sui corporis imminere, septem psalmos penitentiales sibi scribi
 fecit ipsosque in loco contra parietem positos lecto decubans legebat,
 et ubertim ac iugiter lacrimas fundebat; et ut deo uacaret liberius et eius
 intentio a nullo impediri posset, ante decem dies sui exitus nullum ad
 se ingredi precepit, nisi uel cum medicus ingrederetur uel cum sibi
 refectio portaretur. Quidam autem eger ad eum uenit et ut sibi manum 345
 imponeret et ab infirmitate curaret ipsum instanter rogauit; cui Augusti-
 nus respondit: Quid est fili quod loqueris? Putas quod si tale quid
 facere possem, michi hoc ipsum non conferrem? Ille autem instabat,
 asserens sibi in uisione preceptum esse ut ad eum accederet et sanitatem
 reciperet. Uidens Augustinus fidem eius pro eo orauit, et sanitatem 350
 recepit. Energuminos multos curauit, et plura alia miracula fecit. In
 libro xxij^o De ciuitate dei duo miracula de se tamquam de quodam alio
 refert dicens: Yponensem quandam uirginem scio que cum se oleo
 perunxisset, cui pro illa orans presbiter lacrimas suas instillauerat
 mox a demone fuisse sanata. In eodem etiam libro sic ait: Scio etiam 355
 episcopum semel pro adolescente quem non uidit orasse, illumque
 illico demonio caruisse. Nullum autem dubium uidetur quin de se

325 autem B: uero. celestem B: dei. 326 quadragesimo tricesimo B: cccc xl; M: trecentesimo quadragesimo. 327 occupauerunt B: occuparunt. 331 lacrimae add. M: eius. 332 uiduatas B: uiduatos. 334 magnus B: magnum. 339 laborans B: elaborans. 344 uel (cum medicus) om. B. 347 respondit om. B. est add. B: hic. 357 Nullum B: Nulli. se add. B: ipso.

loquatur si humilitatis causa seipsum noluit nominare. In eodem
 quoque libro De ciuitate dei ait quod cum quidam infirmus incidi
 deberet et de eius morte ob incisionem plurimum timeretur, cum infirmus
 cum multis lacrimis deum exoraret, cum eo et pro eo Augustinus orauit,
 et sine aliqua incisione integram sanitatem recepit. Denique dissolu-
 cioni corporis appropinquans, hoc memoriale docuit, nullum uidelicet
 hominem, quantumcumque excellentis meriti, sine / confessione et f. 209c
 eucharistia debere transire. Ad extremam autem horam ueniens, mem-
 bris omnibus sui corporis incolumis, integro aspectu atque auditu,
 anno etatis sue septuagesimo sexto, episcopatus sui quadragesimo,
 coram positis fratribus et orantibus migravit ad dominum. Testamen-
 tum nullum fecit, quia unde faceret pauper Christi non habuit. Floruit
 circa annum domini quadregentesimum quadragesimum. Itaque Augus-
 tinus sapientie lumen prefulgidum propugnaculum ueritatis et fidei
 munimentum, omnes ecclesie doctores tam ingenio quam scientia uicit,
 incomparabiliter florens tam exemplis quam affluencia doctrinarum.
 Unde et beatus Remigius Jeronimum et quosdam alios doctores comme-
 morans sic concludit: Hos omnes Augustinus ingenio et sciencia sua
 uicit. Nam licet Jeronimus sex milia voluminum Origenis se legisse
 fateatur, iste tamen tanta scripsit, et non solum diebus ac noctibus
 scribere libros eius quis non posset, sed nec legere quod occurrat.
 Volusianus autem cui Augustinus epistolas scripsit sic de eo dixit:
 Legi dei deest quicquid Augustinum contigerit ignorare. Jeronimus
 quoque in quadam epistola scribens Augustino ait: Duobus libellis
 tuis eruditissimis et omni eloquentie splendore fulgentibus respondere
 non potui; certe quicquid dici poterat, et assumi ingenio et de scriptura-
 rum hauriri fontibus a te positum atque disertum est. Sed queso reueren-
 tiam hauriri fontibus a te positum atque disertum est. Sed queso
 reuerentiam tuam parumper patiaris me tuum laudare ingenium. Jero-
 nimus etiam in libro De duodecim doctoribus sic de eo scribit: Augustinus
 episcopus uolans per mentium cacumina quasi aquila et ea que sunt
 in montium radicibus non considerans multa celorum spacia terrarum-
 que situs et aquarum circulum claro sermone pronunciat. Denique
 in quanta cum reuerencia et dileccione Jeronimus habuerit patet in

359 *De ciuitate dei* om. B. 361 *cum eo et* B: quoque. 363 *hoc* B: hec. 367 *episco-*
patus add. B: uero. 369 *Christi* om. B. 370 *annum* B: annos. 376 *voluminum*
 B: uolumina. *Origenis* B: Origenes. 377 *tamen* B: autem. 378 *quod* B: quidam.
 381 *Augustino* add. B: sic. 382 *tuis* om. M. 391 *cum* om. M. *habuerit* M: habuit.

- f. 209d epistolis quas eidem / misit, in quarum una sic dicit : Domino sancto et beatissimo patri Augustino Jeronimus : Omni quidem tempore beatitudinem tuam eo quo decet honore veneratus sum et habitantem in te dilexi dominum saluatorem. Sed nunc si fieri potest cumulo aliquid addimus et plena complemus, et absque nominis tui mentione unam quidem horam preterire patiamur. Item in alia epistola ad eundem : Absit autem ut quicquid de libris beatitudinis tue attingere audeam; sufficit enim michi probare et aliena non carpere. Gregorius quoque in epistola ad Innocentium Affrice prefectum de eius libris sic ait : Quod expositionem sancti Job nobis transmitti uoluistis, uestro studio congaudemus, sed si delicioso cupitis pabulo saginari, beati Augustini compatriote uestri opuscula legite, et ad comparationem illius simulaginis nostrum furfurem non queratis. Idem quoque in registro sic ait : Legitur quod beatus Augustinus nec cum sorore habitare consensit, dicens : Que cum sorore mea sunt sorores mee non sunt. Docti igitur uiri, cautela magna uobis debet esse instructio. In prefacione quoque Ambrosiana sic legitur : Magnificentiam tuam in mortificatione Augustini adoramus, tua in omnibus operante uirtute ubi nullis promissis blandimentorum fallacium uir tuo ignitus spiritu uinceretur, quia eum ita omni genere pietatis imbueras, ut ipse tibi ara et sacrificium et sacerdos esset et templum. Beatus insuper Prosper in tercio libro De uita contemplatiua sic de eo dicit : Sanctus Augustinus episcopus, acer ingenio. suauis eloquio, secularis litterature peritus, in ecclesiasticis laboribus operosus, in cotidianis disputationibus clarus, in omni sua actione compositus, in questionibus soluendis acutus, in conuincendis hereticis circumspetus, in exposicione fidei nostre catholicus, in exponendis scripturis canonicis cautus. Bernhardus quoque sic de eo scribit : Augustinus, hic est ualidissimus malleus hereticorum. Post hec autem cum barbara gens terram illam occupasset et sancta loca prophanaret, fideles corpus Augustini ceperunt et ipsum in Sardiniam transtulerunt. Transactis autem ab eius obitu annis ducentis octoginta, circa annum domini quingentesimum decimum octauum, tempore Leonis tercij Luprandus deuotus Langobardorum rex audiens Sardiniam a Sarracenis depopulatam, sollempnes illuc nuncios misit ut doctoris sancti reliquias Papiam
- f. 210a

392 *epistolis* B: *epistola*. *misit* B: *mittit*. *sancto* B: *suo*. 393 *et* B: *ac*. *patri* B: *pape*. 397 *Item* B: *Idem*. 401 *nobis* B: *vobis*. 405 *sorore* (*habitare*) *add.* B: *sua*. 406 *igitur* B: *ergo*. 417 *exponendis* B: *exemplandis*. 418 *scribit* B: *ait*. 423 *tempore Leonis tercij* *om.* B. *Luprandus* B: *Liprandus*.

deferrent, qui magno precio dato corpus sancti Augustini tulerunt, et ipsum usque Januam deportauerunt. Quod rex audiens usque ad predictam ciuitatem cum magno gaudio obuiavit, et reuerenter excepit. Cum autem mane uellent corpus deducere, nullo modo de loco potuit moueri, donec rex uotum emisit quod si se inde deduci permetteret, ibidem in suo nomine ecclesiam fabricaret. Cum autem uotum fecisset, statim sine omni difficultate inde deductum est. Rex autem quod uouerat impleuit, et ibidem in honore sancti Augustini ecclesiam fabricauit. Idem miraculum in quadam uilla episcopatus Cerdonensis que dicitur Casalle contigit, et eodem die ibidem in honorem sancti Augustini ecclesiam construxit, insuper uillam ipsam cum omnibus suis appendiciis concessit seruientibus ecclesie sancti Augustini perpetuo possidentiam. Quia uero rex uiderat sancto Augustino placere ut in suo nomine ecclesia fieret ubicumque mansisset, et timens ne in aliquo loco ubi desiderabat locum sibi eligeret, in omni loco ubi de nocte cum corpore hospitabatur in honorem ipsius ecclesiam construebat. Sicque cum magno gaudio Papiam deducitur, et in ecclesia sancti Petri que Celum aureum dicitur honorifice collocatur. Molendinarius / quidam in beatum Augustinum specialem deuotionem habens cum quandam infirmitatem que dicitur flegma salsum in tibia pateretur, beatum Augustinum deuote in sui adiutorium inuocabat. Cui per uisum sanctus Augustinus apparuit, et in tybiam manu palrans integre restituit sanitati, qui excitatus se liberatum inuenit, et deo et beato Augustino gratias reddidit. Quidam puer cum uicio lapidis premeretur, et de consilio medicorum incidi deberet, mater pueri mortis sibi timens periculum beatum Augustinum deuote in sui filij subsidium inuocauit; statimque fusa oratione puer lapidem cum vrina emisit et plenam sanitatem recepit. In monasterio quod Elemosina dicitur monachus quidam in uigilia sancti Augustini raptus in spiritu uidit nubem splendidam celitus elapsam et super nubem Augustinum sedentem pontificalibus insignitum, cuius oculi quasi duo solis radij totam illam ecclesiam illuminabant, et odor inde nimius exalabat. Sanctus quoque Bernhardus cum quadam uice in matutinis existens aliquantulum obdormisset, et de quodam tractatu Augustini

427 *Quod* add. B: deuotus. 428 *gaudio* add. B: eodem. 431 *fecisset* B: faceret.
 432 *inde* om. B. 433 *fabricauit* B: construxit. 434 *miraculum* add. B: die sequenti.
Cerdonensis B: Sardinensis. 435 *Casalle* B: Cassile. *die* B: modo. 436 *construxit*
 B: fabricauit. 438 *Augustino* om. B. *placere* B: complacere. 444 *aliquo* B: alio.
loco add. B: quam. 441 *honorem* B: honore. *Sicque* B: et sic. 444 *specialem* B:
 spiritualem. 445 *deuote* B: de nocte. 457 *cum* B: dum.

lectionem legerentur, uidit quendam pulcherrimum iuuenem ibi stantem
 de cuius ore tantus mundancium aquarum impetus exibat quod totam 460
 illam ecclesiam uideretur implere. Qui Augustinum esse non dubitauit,
 qui fonte doctrine totam ecclesiam irrigauit. Quidam sanctum Augusti-
 num ualde diligens monacho custodi corporis sancti Augustini pecuniam
 magnam dedit ut sibi sancti Augustini digitum vnum daret; sed ille
 accepta pecunia digitum cuiusdam mortui pannis sericis inuolutum sibi 465
 tradidit, simulans esse digitum sancti Augustini, quem ille reuerenter
 accipiens semper deuotissime adorabat, et ori oculisque apponens crebro
 f. 210c pectori astringebat. Cuius fidem deus intuens digito illo pro-/iecto
 vnum digitum sancti Augustini tam mirabiliter quam misericorditer
 sibi dedit, qui cum repatriasset et multa ibi miracula fierent, fama usque 470
 Papiam delata est. Sed cum predictus monachus assereret quod cuius-
 dam mortui digitus ille esset, sepulchrum aperuerunt et unum desse
 de eius digitis inuenerunt. Unde abbas re cognita monachum ab officio
 deposuit et dure afflixit. Apud Burgundiam in monasterio quod dicitur
 Fontanetum erat quidam monachus Hugo nomine sancto Augustino 475
 ualde deuotus, qui in eius scriptis miro desiderio pascebatur, quem etiam
 crebra supplicatione rogauerat ut ipsum ex hoc luce migrare non
 sineret nisi in die sue sacratissime sollempnitatis. Ipse igitur quintodeci-
 mo die ante festum eiusdem sic cepit duris febribus estuari ut in uigilia
 ipsius super humum tamquam moriens poneretur. Et ecce plures decori 480
 et fulgentes uiri amicti albis ecclesiam dicti monasterij processionaliter
 intrauerunt, quos sequebatur quidam reuerendus pontificalibus insigni-
 tus. Quidam autem monachus in ecclesia existens hec uidens obstupuit
 et quinam essent uel quo pergerent inquisiuit. Cui unus eorum dixit
 quod sanctus Augustinus esset cum suis canonicis qui ad deuotum 485
 suum pergeret morientem, ut eius animam ad regnum glorie deportaret.
 Post hec illa reuerenda processio in infirmariam ingreditur, ubi cum
 aliquamdiu mansisset, sancta illa anima e carne soluta est; quam dulcis
 amicus et ab insidijs hostium securam reddidit et in celi gaudia introduxit.
 Legitur quoque quod dum Augustinus adhuc in carne uiueret et quedam 490
 relegeret ante se transire conspicit demonem librum humeris baiulan-

462 doctrine add. B: sue. 465 pannis om. B. 466 tradidit B: tribuit. sancti
 (Augustini quem) om. B. 468 astringebat B: astringebant, 'n' exp. 469 digitum
 (sancti Augustini tam) add. B: vnum. 479 estuari B: estuare. 481 et B: ac.
 483 existens B: consistens. 487 in B: ad. 490 quod M: quoque. 491 conspicit
 B: uidit.

496 tem, qui ab eo protinus adiuratur ut que ibi scripta lateant sibi pandat,
 qui peccata / hominum ibidem scripta esse asserit que vndecumque f. 210d
 colligit et reponit; moxque ei precipit ut si aliquid peccatorum suorum
 495 ibi scriptum retineret sibi legendum continuo manifestet. Ostenso
 autem loco, nil Augustinus ibi reperit scriptum nisi quod quadam uice
 500 completorium ex obliuione dimisit. Precipiensque dyabolo ut suum
 prestoneletur aduentum, ecclesiam est ingressus et completorium deuote
 dixit et solitas oraciones peregit, reuersusque dixit ei ut predictum
 sibi locum ostenderet iterum relegendum. Qui dum crebro reuolueret
 et tandem locum reperisset, iratus dixit: Turpiter me decepisti; penitet
 me quod librum meum tibi ostendi, quia peccatum tuum oracionum
 tuarum uirtute delesti. Et hijs dictis confusus enuanuit. Cum quedam
 mulier a quibusdam maliciosis iniuriam pateretur, illa ad beatum
 505 Augustinum accessit ut super hoc eius consilium imploraret. Que cum
 ipsum studentem inuenisset et eum reuerenter salutasset, ille nec ad
 eam respexit nec quicquam sibi respondit. Cogitans illa quod forte ob
 nimiam sanctitatem in faciem mulieris nollet intendere, propius accessit
 et negocium diligenter exposuit; sed ille nec se ad eam conuertit nec
 510 responsum aliquid sibi dedit. Ideoque illa cum magna tristitia discessit.
 Altera autem die dum Augustinus missam celebraret et dicta mulier
 interesset, post eleuacionem corporis domini rapta in spiritu uidit se
 positam ante tribunal sanctissime trinitatis, ubi uidit Augustinum facie
 inclinata de trinitatis gloria attentissime et subtilissime disputantem,
 515 factaque est uox ad eam dicens: Cum ad Augustinum iuisti, ille sic de
 trinitatis gloria attentissime disputabat, et ideo quod ibi fueris penitus
 non aduertit. Sed ad eum redeas secure, quia tu eum clementem inuenies
 et consilium / salubre recipies. Quod cum fecisset, Augustinus benigne f. 211a
 eam audiuit et consilium salubre donauit. Fertur quoque quod dum
 520 uir quidam in spiritu raptus sanctos in gloria conspexisset et beatum
 Augustinum minime uidisset, quendam de sanctis ubinam Augustinus
 esset percunctatus est, qui respondit: Augustinus residet in excelsis,
 ubi disputat de gloria excellentissime trinitatis. Cum quidam Papienses
 a marchione Malaspine in carcere detinerentur, ab eo eis omnis potus

496 *Augustinus* B: Augustini. 499 *oraciones* add. B: complete. 500 *ostenderet*
 M: ostendet. 501 *locum* (*reperisset*) add. B: vacuum. *reperisset* B: inuenisset.
 505 *consilium* B: auxilium. *imploraret* B: implorauit. 510 *discessit* B: recessit.
 512 *domini* om. B. 514 *subtilissime* B: sublimissime. 515 *Cum* add. B: autem.
 517 *tu* B: et. 518 *recipies* B: reperiens. 520 *uir* add. B: sanctus. 524 *deti-*
nerentur M: detineretur. *eo* om. B.

est interdictus, ut posset ab eis magnam pecuniam extorquere, unde 525
 plerique spiritum exalabant, plerique vrinam suam bibebant, et quidam
 iuuenis erat inter eos qui in beatum Augustinum deuocionem magnam
 habebat, ipsum in sui adiutorium inuocauit. Tunc circa noctis medium
 sanctus Augustinus predicto adolescenti apparuit, et quasi manum
 eius dexteram apprehendens usque ad flumen Graualoni ipsum deduxit, 530
 ibique cum folio uitis in aqua madefacto sic eius linguam refrigerauit
 ut qui iam vrinam bibere cuperet de potu nectaris non curaret. Prepositus
 cuiusdam ecclesie in beatum Augustinum deuocionem magnam habens
 cum per tres annos grauem infirmitatem incurrisset, ita ut de lecto
 surgere non ualeret, adueniente sollempnitate sancti Augustini, cum 535
 iam in eius uigiliis ad uesperas pulsaretur, ad rogandum sanctum
 Augustinum tota deuocione se contulit; cui in albis Augustinus apparens,
 eidem concitato proprio nomine dixit: Ecce assum tociens a te uocatus
 — surge cito et celebra michi officium uespertinum. Qui sanus surgens
 cunctis stupentibus ecclesiam intrauit, et officium deuote compleuit. 540
 Cum cuidam pastori senum ulcus inter scapulas ortum fuisset, adeo
 morbus inualuit ut iam totis uiribus esset destitutus, qui cum ad sanc-
 tum Augustinum preces emitteret, eidem / Augustinus in uisu apparuit 545
 et super locum infirmum manu apponens perfecte eum sanauit. Idem
 quoque uir procedente tempore oculorum lumine est priuatus, qui cum 545
 sanctum Augustinum sedule inuocaret, quadam die circa meridiem
 eidem apparuit et oculos manibus suis tergens pristinam sibi restituit
 sanitatem. Circa annum domini quingentesimum octogesimum duode-
 cimium uiri quidam grauiter infirmi numero plus quam quadraginta
 de Germania et Gallia Romam ibant ad limina apostolorum uisitanda, 550
 quorum quidam scampnis in terra curui se uehentes, alij baculis se
 sustentantes, alij priuati oculis post alios se trahentes, alij contractas
 manus et pedes habentes pergebant. Qui montes transeuntes ad locum
 qui dicitur Carbonaria peruenerunt. Cum autem pene ad locum qui
 Cana dicitur aduenissent, qui tribus milibus a Papia distat, sanctus 555
 Augustinus pontificalibus indutus de quadam ecclesia in honorem
 sanctorum Cosme et Damiani constructa exiens eisdem apparuit, eosque

525 *est* B: penitus. *magnam pecuniam extorquere* B: magna pecunia extorqueri.
 526 *plerique (spiritum)* add. B: iam. *plerique (vrinam)* B: quidam uero. 530 *Graua-*
loni B: Graueloni. 531 *folio* B: filo. 534 *lecto* M: loco. 536 *uigiliis* B: uigilia.
 537 *se contulit* om. B. 538 *concitato* B: ter citoto. 540 *compleuit* B: peregit.
 541 *fuisset* B: esset. 542 *iam* B: inde. 546 *sedule* om. B. 548 *quingentesimum*
octogesimum duodecimum B: dcccc xij. 552 *priuati* B: priuatis. 554 *peruenerunt* B:
 uenerunt. 555 *aduenissent* B: uenerunt. 557 *sanctorum* B: sancti.

salutans quo tenderent requisivit. Qui cum ei quo tenderent respondissent, adiecit : Ite Papiam et de cenobio sancti Petri quod dicitur Celum aureum interrogate, et ibi misericordiam habebitis quam optatis. Qui cum eum de nomine suo interrogassent ait : Ego sum Augustinus quondam Yponensis ciuitatis episcopus. Statimque ab oculis eorum euanuit. Illi autem Papiam pergentes, cum ad dictum monasterium peruenissent et ibidem corpus sancti Augustini requiescere didicissent, ceperunt omnes uoces leuare ac vnanimiter conclamare : Sancte Augustine, adiua nos! Ad quorum clamores ciues et monachi excitati ad tam grande spectaculum confluebant; et ecce ex neruorum distensione sanguis multus cepit effluere, ita ut ab introitu cenobij usque ad / tumbam sancti Augustini f. 211c tota terra sanguine uideretur aspersa. Cum autem ad sepulchrum sancti Augustini uenissent, omnes sunt sanitati integre restituti, ac si nulla in eorum corporibus lesio extitisset. Cepi ex tunc sancti Augustini fama crebrescere, et multitudo languencium ad eius tumulum aduenire, qui omnes sanitatis beneficia reportantes sue salutis pignora relinquebant. Factum est ut tanta predictorum pignorum fuerit multitudo ut inde totum oratorium sancti Augustini et porticus plena essent, ita ut eundi et redeundi impedimentum non modicum generaret. Quapropter monachi necessitate compulsi ea inde remoueri fecerunt. Notandum quod cum tria sint que maxime ab hominibus appetuntur, scilicet diuicie delicie et honores, vir iste sanctus tante perfectionis extitit quod ipse diuicias contempsit, honores respuit, voluptates abhorruit. Quod enim diuitias contempserit ipse testatur in libro Soliloquiorum, ubi ratio interrogat eum dicens : Diuicias nullas cupis? et Augustinus respondet : Hec quidem nec nunc primum, nam cum triginta annos agam, quatuordecim fere anni sunt ex quo ista cupere destiti, nec quid in hijs preter necessarium uictum cogitau. Prorsus unus Cyceronis liber michi facile persuasit nullo modo appetendas esse diuicias. Quod autem honores respuerit in eodem libro testatur, ubi ratio eum interrogat dicens : Quid honores? et respondet Augustinus : Fateor eos modo ac pene hijs diebus cupere destiti. Uoluptates quoque et delicias contempsit, et quantum ad concubitum et quantum ad gustum, quantum ad primum interrogat eum ratio in eodem libro dicens : Quid uxor? Nonne te delectat

558 *ei quo tenderent* om. B. 563 *peruenissent* B: uenissent. 569 *aspersa* B: respersa.
 572 *aduenire* B: aduentare. 573 *beneficia* B: benefacta. 574 *ut (tanta)* 'inter'
 interl. al. m. contemp. 576 *generaret* M: generarent. 578 *ab hominibus* B: a
 mundanis hominibus. *diuicie* M: diuicias. 580 *respuit* add. B: et. 584 *quid* B:
 aliud. 587 *interrogat* add. B: eum.

f. 211d pulchra pudica morigerata diues, presertim si certus sis nichil ex ea te moles-/tie passurum? Et respondet Augustinus: Quantumlibet uelis eam depingere atque cumulare bonis omnibus, nichil michi tam fugiendum quam concubitum esse decreui. Cui ratio: Non ego quero quod decreueris sed utrum adhuc allicearis? Et respondet Augustinus: Prorsus nichil huiusmodi quero, nil desidero, etiam cum horrore atque aspernacione talia recordor. Quantum ad secundum, interrogat eum ratio dicens: Quid de cibis? Et respondet Augustinus: Siue de cibo et potu siue de balneis ceteraque corporis uoluptate nichil interroges; tantum ab eo peto quantum inualitudinis opem conferre potest.

One of the first conclusions which discerning readers of this text will have achieved is that it can hardly be James of Voragine's single-handed work, but appears rather to be the product of a group of collaborators, not all of whom reached the same standard of excellence.

It is not remarkable that James could have been given such help. As a youth he had joined the Order of Preachers⁴), where he had distinguished himself by his academic ability; and the mendicant orders, from their first years, had laid down exact rules for the secretarial assistance — *socii* and scribes — which should be provided for those teaching or holding office⁵). At the age of thirty-five — that is, c. 1263 — James had been made prior of his house, and, some four years later, provincial of Lombardy, which second post he occupied for eighteen years. This meant that for more than two decades he could have presided over a staff of assistants; nor does it seem to have been the practice that those who relinquished such prelacies were always deprived of their privileges. In any case, James's retirement did not last for long; in 1292 he was offered, for the second time, the archbishopric of Genoa, in terms which no longer permitted him to refuse. This would increase,

592 *morigerata* M: morierata. 596 *adhuc* B: ad hec. 597 *desidero* add. B: et. *cum* add. B: honore. *atque* B: et. 601 *inualitudinis* B: inde et ualitudinis.

⁴) J. BANDOT, art.: "Jacques de Voragine" (*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 8, 1928, coll. 309-313); Thomas KAEPPELI: *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi* (Rome, 1975), no. 2154.

⁵) K. W. HUMPHREYS, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars, 1215-1480* (Amsterdam, 1964), and Edmund COLLEDGE, "The Capgrave 'Autographs'" (*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, 1974, p. 137-148).

if he wished for that, the number of clerics available as his adjutors; and presiding over the Genoa see, he would need to resume the journeyings through Cisalpine territories which had been his lot as a Dominican provincial.

This possibility, that James may have had secretarial help in composing the *Legenda*, seems never to have been considered, which renders nugatory calculations such as we find of how long the writing may have occupied him, of which periods of his life would most probably have allowed him the leisure for composition. The circumstances being what they were, there was no time, once he had reached a scholar's maturity, when he might not have written it.

One task, it is plain, which was assigned to his helpers was that of preparing extracts from Augustine's works. The *Confessions*, an exceptionally rich autobiographical source, has been extensively excerpted, exact contexts sometimes being shown; and other of Augustine's writings have been drawn upon, his *Epistles*, for example⁶⁾, his *Soliloquies*⁷⁾, and *The City of God*⁸⁾. Yet not all the information with which James was supplied was equally reliable.

Early in the text we have an anecdote which has since James's day gained wide currency in the form in which the *Legenda* casts it:

Rogabat igitur sedula mater quasi importuna quendam episcopum, sicut in eodem libro Confessionum Augustinus testatur, ut pro suo filio intercedere dignaretur, cui tanta quodammodo importunitate deuictus prophetica uoce respondit: Uade secunda, quia impossibile est ut filius tantarum lacrimarum pereat⁹⁾.

The source for this is *Confessiones* III 12¹⁰⁾; but the story as Augustine told it is slightly different. Monica had asked a certain bishop to overcome her son's Manichaean errors by argument, which he refused to do, because Augustine was not yet ripe for intellectual persuasion. His counsel was that Monica should pray for him, that his experience might be the bishop's own, when his mother had been seduced by the heresy. He had studied their books and had seen for himself that they were empty. When Monica persisted, the bishop lost patience

⁶⁾ E.g. line 170.

⁷⁾ E.g. l. 531.

⁸⁾ E.g. l. 329.

⁹⁾ L. 28.

¹⁰⁾ *Sancti Augustini Confessionum libri xiii*, ed. L. VERHEIJEN, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* xxvii, Turnhout, 1981, p. 38-39.

and said: 'Vade a me ...!' Augustine does not make his mother ask for the bishop's prayers, or him to say 'Uade secura ...'; and James presents the lachrymose Monica in a light more favourable than that in which the bishop — or her son — saw her when he related the episode.

Later, dealing with Augustine's reluctance to accept episcopal office, James (or a collaborator) writes:

Ipse autem de se dixisse postmodum legitur: In nulla re michi dominum sencio sic iratum sicut in hoc, quod cum non essem dignus poni ad remum, posuit me ad amplustram in apice regiminis ecclesie¹¹).

All the authorities, including the Eindhoven and Würzburg concordances, failed to identify what the *Legenda* presents as a verbatim quotation; and nowhere is Augustine recorded as using the rare Hellenism 'amplustra', 'helm'. Yet Fr. Adolar Zumkeller, when he was consulted, kindly pointed out that he had himself published an autobiographical note by a late fifteenth-century Augustinian: '... in capitulo Konigesberge Franconie peccatis meis exigentibus, cum essem ad hoc inutilissimus, prouincialatus oneri supponebar; cum essem utilis ad remum, ponebar ad amplustre ...'¹²). Fr. Zumkeller has justly called this pithy comparison of ordered religious life with the existence of galley-slaves and their masters 'ein geflügeltes Wort', a saying gaining currency and available for borrowing wherever that seemed appropriate¹³). Recently, in 'Caxton', the present writer has examined the phenomenon of transference in hagiography, using one particular instance of a legend which circulated freely and became incorporated in the repertory of pious stories told, now of one saint, now of another; and it was then observed that the saints concerned might also acquire such a legend's emblem, pictorial allusion. Here we may see another manifestation, in 'geflügelten Worten', of a similar process. None the less, one may feel surprise that in the *Legenda* Augustine has had attributed to him what is inauthentic.

¹¹) L. 174.

¹²) MS Berlin Staatsbibliothek Lat. fol. 825; "Handschriften aus der Erfurter Augustinerkloster", *Analecta Augustiniana* 49, 1977, 225-277, p. 235. Fr. Zumkeller has also pointed out how closely some of Augustine's own words reflect the sentiment of this saying: "... vis mihi facta est merito peccatorum meorum ... ut secundus locus gubernaculorum mihi traderetur, qui remum tenere non noveram" (*Epist.* 21, 1).

¹³) L. 370.

We find another comparable case of, we will not say falsification but rather careless misuse, in a passage which begins with an impeccable citation in Augustine's praise from a letter of Gregory the Great to the prefect Innocent,

Gregorius quoque in epistola ad Innocentium Affrice prefectum de (Augustini) libris sic ait: Quod expositionem sancti Job nobis transmitti uoluistis, uestro studio congaudemus, sed si delicioso cupitis pabulo saginari, beati Augustini compatriote uestri opuscula legite, et ad comparationem illius simulaginis nostrum furfurem non queratis¹⁴),

but which then continues:

Idem quoque in registro sic ait: Legitur quod beatus Augustinus nec cum sorore habitare consensit, dicens: Que cum sorore mea sunt sorores mee non sunt¹⁵).

Ewald in his edition points out that the same sense is found in the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Vita* by Augustine's early disciple Possidius¹⁶); but Gregory's treatment of the topic is more racy by far than that of Possidius, who relates that Augustine would not suffer his own widowed sister or his nieces, though vowed to God, to live under his roof.

We may perhaps suspect that someone was at work here who found such phrases as "Que cum sorore mea sunt sorores mee non sunt" and "Cum non essem dignus poni ad remum, posuit me ad amplustrum" too good to sacrifice, genuine or not. Whoever he may have been, his object was not a reputable historical document but a general success, as indeed the *Legenda* proved to be¹⁷).

Even so, there is place in it for scholarly treatment, some of it exact. The Augustine texts which have been copied, from the *Confessions* and other of his works, reflect, at least in M and B, the care with which the task was originally carried out, and the overall excellence of the manuscript from which the quotations were transcribed. It is noteworthy that Augustine's own words are treated more reverentially

¹⁴) See EWALD and HARTMANN, edd., *Gregorii I Papae Registrum epistolarum*, MHG Epistolarum II, 1899, p. 251-252.

¹⁵) L. 370.

¹⁶) PL 32 col. 55.

¹⁷) For evidence of the rapid multiplication of manuscript and printed copies, see "Caxton", p. 202-203, 210-212.

than are those of other authors, Possidius in his *Vita*, to name only one. When the *Legenda* offers us versions of the *Vita*'s chapter ix¹⁸) and chapter xv¹⁹), they are accurate and lucid, but not the verbatim extracts made from the *corpus Augustinianum*.

In a passage which is introduced with

Laudabat quoque plurimum illos quibus moriendi desiderium inerat, et super hoc trium episcoporum exempla sepius recitabat ...²⁰).

we have what seems to be an instance of editorial care and skill. The anecdotes of the three bishops, as the *Legenda* relates them, are, firstly, Ambrose, when dying and urged by those around him to pray for his life to be prolonged, answering: "Non sic uixi ut me pudeat inter uos manere, nec mori timeo ...", secondly, an unnamed bishop who, when told what a loss to the Church his death would be, replied: "Si nunquam, bene; si aliquando, quare non modo?", and, thirdly, the story told by Cyprian of yet another bishop, also unnamed, dying but praying for his life to be spared, to whom a handsome youth appeared, saying indignantly: 'Pati timetis, exire non uultis? Quid faciam uobis?' These stories are found in Possidius's chapter xxvii, from which James has extracted word for word; but Possidius states that it was Ambrose who said to those lamenting at his deathbed "Non sic uixi ...". In the ease with which Possidius has borrowed from Paulinus in his "Life of Ambrose", we see the lack of compunction which the hagiographers displayed in utilizing their precursors' work and adapting it to their present needs. The Maurist editors of Possidius observed this, and pointed out his true source; but evidently James had made the same identification long before (let us stress again that the text being used here is from manuscripts copied in James's lifetime), and had deftly manipulated his material so as to restore the saying to its true context.

A different place in the Augustine biography also reveals the care with which James or a member of his entourage had examined codices which were in the thirteenth century regarded as ancient. The report of the Milanese tradition of how the *Te Deum* originated concludes:

¹⁸) L. 245.

¹⁹) L. 289.

²⁰) L. 260.

In aliquibus eciam libris antiquis tytuluss talis preponitur : Canticum ab Ambrosio et Augustino compilatum²¹).

This is confirmed by Maurice Frost's article²²), where he has shown that three manuscripts, all of the ninth century, two at St. Gall and the third in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, have such rubrics.

Inevitably, the *Legenda*'s learning is of its own age, and sometimes reflects contemporary misapprehensions. In one place we read :

Beatus insuper Prosper in tercio libro De uita contemplatiua sic de eo dicit : Sanctus Augustinus episcopus, acer ingenio ...²³);

but the true author of *De Vita Contemplativa* is now considered to have been Julian, archbishop of Toledo²⁴). The passage quoted by James is to be found in a Migne text²⁵); and although the editorial note there suggests that the false attribution to Prosper of Aquitaine dated from Luc Mangeant's Paris 1711 edition of him, this allusion in the *Legenda* shows that it was older by centuries.

This forms one of a whole series of brief extracts from eulogies composed in Augustine's honour by James's forerunners, from Remigius down to Bernard of Clairvaux, named by James so that this list of illustrious men of letters may itself redound to his subject's honour, an antique rhetorical device which writers of saints' lives had adopted²⁶). With the 'Prosper' and Bernard citations, James concludes his treatment of Augustine's life and death, in which he had described a number of miracles, allegedly performed through Augustine's intercession while he was still alive²⁷); the second half of the biography will concern itself with his fame and his veneration once he had died.

The completed *Legenda* treats of so many different epochs in Christian history, describes such a variety of characters from such differing walks of life that it is inevitable that judgments passed upon it should not always agree. J.J.A. Zuidweg, in a book designed as a

²¹) L. 116.

²²) "'Te Deum Laudamus': the received Text" (*The Journal of Theological Studies* 43, 1942, p. 59-68). I owe this reference to the erudition of Sr. Wilma Fitzgerald.

²³) L. 377.

²⁴) E. DEKKERS : *Clavis patrum Latinorum* (Bruges, 1961), no. 998.

²⁵) PL 59 col. 515.

²⁶) See Jacques DUBOIS : *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin* (L. GENICOT : *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, fasc. 26, Turnhout, 1978), pp. 19-21.

²⁷) "Caxton", p. 204-205.

popular sequel²⁸) to his doctoral dissertation²⁹), pronounced several verdicts which James's Latin text, on which Zuidweg claimed to have based his studies, will not support. Of them, perhaps the most difficult to accept is this: "De Voragine nowhere — or almost nowhere — draws upon oral tradition. Whenever one compares his legends with the sources, it is evident that he confines himself to what he found in other men's books"³⁰). How anyone who had read James's "Augustine" with attention could make such a claim is incomprehensible. It is true that the first part, dealing with the saint's earthy life, is heavily indebted to his own writings and those of early biographers, particularly that by Possidius, as has been observed; but when James describes his posthumous cult and miracles, he evinces the liveliest interest in local history in his own Northern Italy, which, as Zuidweg himself remarks³¹), ensured that the *Legenda* became known by one of two titles, "History of the Saints" — "Golden" is a later accretion — or "History of the Langobards". The obstacles which one encounters in attempting to document these Lombard traditions show how very far James was from "confining himself ... to other men's books".

It has in another place been suggested³²) that the story of when and how the *Te Deum* was first recited is given early recording in the *Datiana historia*, although James cites as his source "Honorius in libro qui dicitur *Speculum ecclesie*" (one need not be concerned whether this enigmatic author was "of Autun" or "of Augsburg"); but even the *Datiana historia* is a later version of a different compilation of Milan legends; and the probability is that the story itself, called by the Bollandist William Cuypers "that tradition of doubtful authority"³³), is older by far than either of these written sources. We encounter a similar difficulty when we consider the narrative with which James begins the second half, the account of how Luitprand the Lombard king succeeded in purchasing Augustine's bones, already translated from Hippo to Sardinia, and in enshrining them in a new tomb at Pavia³⁴).

²⁸) *De duizend en een nacht der heiligen legenden: de Legenda Aurea van Jacobus de Voragine* (Amsterdam, 1948).

²⁹) *De werkwijze van Jacobus de Voragine in de Legenda Aurea* (Amsterdam, 1941).

³⁰) *De duizend en een nacht*, p. 45.

³¹) *Ibid.*, pp. 38 e.s., where Zuidweg is following demonstrations by the distinguished incunabulist Bonaventura Kruitwagen.

³²) "Caxton", p. 204 and n. 33.

³³) *ASS* Augusti vi, p. 234.

³⁴) *LI*. 384-406.

The earliest document for this which we know was made some three centuries after the events were said to have taken place, by Bede in his *Chronicon de sex aetatibus mundi*³⁵); yet James gives no indication that it is Bede's narrative on which he is relying; and the many other Lombardy stories with which he shows himself familiar make it more probable that he is here, as very often, employing the oral reports of which, according to Zuidweg, he made no use.

James is now so generally known as "of Voragine" that it would be pedantry to insist on "Varazze" or "Varaggio"; and indeed most early manuscripts and printed editions of the *Legenda* call the author simply "frater Jacobus" or "Jacobus Januensis", since he was born in a township some thirty kilometers to the west of Genoa³⁶). Thus, his account of the growth in Italy of the cult of Augustine's relics begins with the story³⁷) of how they, safely unloaded from the ship which had brought them from Sardinia and solemnly received by King Luitprand, refused the next day to move on the first stage of their journey overland to Pavia, until the king had vowed to build a church dedicated to the saint on the spot where they had seemed to be rooted. Evidently this is a Genovese legend; and its analogues and origins are not hard to discern.

Such tales of displeasure being manifested when holy relics were unfittingly handled are by no means uncommon — in England, a like story was told of St. Swithun³⁸). Yet there can be little doubt that the particular relic which inspired James's report of how Augustine's remains refused to be moved was the most sacred treasure of all, the True Cross. For long the Ark of the Covenant, also abducted, desecrated by pagans and then victoriously regained, had been regarded as the Cross's Old Testament type, and to both relics supernatural powers of discernment and choice were attributed³⁹). And James himself, elsewhere in the *Legenda*, composing *In exaltatione sanctae crucis*, could tell the story of Heraclius's impeded entry into Jerusalem, which

³⁵) Ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MHG Cronica minora III*, 1892, p. 321.

³⁶) *De duizend en een nacht*, p. 12.

³⁷) Ll. 391-396.

³⁸) A. CAMPBELL, ed.: *Cantoris narratio metrica de sancto Swithuno* (Zurich, 1950).

³⁹) Numbers 10.33; and see A. FROLOW: "La vraie Croix et les expéditions d'Heraclius en Perse" (*Mélanges Martin Jugie, Revue des Études Byzantines* 11, 1953, p. 99-105).

appears to be the archetype from which his other narrative, no doubt familiar to him since his boyhood, of the vow which Luitprand had to make before he could despatch the Augustine relics to Pavia, derived :

Cum autem de monte Oliueti descendens per portam quam dominus passurus intrauerat in equo regio et ornamentis imperialibus ingredi uellet, repente lapides porte descenderunt et inuicem quasi unus paries se clauserunt, super quo cunctis stupentibus angelus domini signum crucis in manibus tenens super portam apparuit dicens : Cum rex celorum ad passionem per hanc portam intraret, non cultu regio sed humili asello ingrediens humilitatis exemplum suis cultoribus dereliquit. Tunc imperator lacrimis infusus seipsum discalciauit et uestimenta usque ad kamisiam exuit, crucemque domini accipiens usque ad portam humiliter baiulauit, moxque detritia lapidum celeste persensit imperium, statimque porta subrigens liberum intrantibus patefecit ingressum⁴⁰).

The story of Augustine's obdurate relics at Genoa may well be one which James had heard the citizens of the republic repeating; but though he would seem to have entered religion in the Dominican convent of his own home town, we have seen that he received early promotion as Lombardy Provincial, which office probably obliged him to reside in Milan; and, more recently than Zuidweg, the French Dominican Antoine Dondaine has paid close attention to his treatment of certain events in that city during his lifetime, the martyrdom, veneration and canonization of Peter Martyr⁴¹). Though Dondaine will not deny all originality to James, he finds him, compared with even earlier biographers of Peter, pedestrian and unenterprising; but when he claims for such new information as James did supply a high degree of reliability, his opinion of the scholarly standards of "Petrus Martyrus" is hard to reconcile with all that we see to be true of "Augustinus". None the less, his study, which seems to be based on a more careful examination of the oldest manuscript evidence than had previously been undertaken, has one further observation which accords completely with what can be found in "Augustine". Dondaine wrote : "The manuscript tradition confirms that the work received, strictly speaking, no more than a single edition, and that from the moment when it appeared, it remained substantially the same for the next fifty years".

⁴⁰) M, f. 224^b.

⁴¹) "Saint Pierre Martyr" (*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23, 1953, p. 66-162).

Some pieces of evidence show that James consulted older written sources. When, for example, he wrote, after recounting how the faithful transferred the saint's body to Sardinia for safekeeping: "These things were done two hundred and eighty years after his death, about the year of our Lord 518, in the time of Leo III"⁴²), he was using either the *Vita Augustini* of the Premonstratensian man of letters Philip of Harveng, his precursor by somewhat more than a century, or else a source common to him and Philip, who stated that "His body rested (at Hippo) and was paid honours for some two hundred and eighty years after his death"⁴³). The chronology fabricated by James from this statement is, as so often in the *Legenda aurea*, inaccurate: since Augustine died in 430, by this reckoning the removal to Sardinia must have happened c. A.D. 650; and Leo III died in 816. What sources Philip used remains mysterious: discussing this one event, he observed: "When this was done ... I have not wished to prove by quoting documents, nor do I think myself obliged to do so"⁴⁴). Here one suspects disingenuity, by which Philip perhaps was seeking to conceal a lack of confidence in older authorities.

Whether his evident interest in Pavia as the relics' final resting place shows that he knew the city and its terrain, one is unable to say. Other places in James of Voragine's "Augustine" show how intimately he knew the territories which formed the province entrusted to him, and how familiar he was with Pavia, its environs and its lore. He has a description of one exceptionally spectacular healing at the shrine which begins:

Circa annum domini quingentesimum octogesimum duodecimum uiri quidam grauitur infirmi numero plus quam quadraginta de Germania et Gallia Romam ibant ad limina apostolorum uisitanda ...⁴⁵).

We are told how this troop of afflicted pilgrims, making their way with pain and hardship towards Rome to the "thresholds of the apostles" reached "the district called 'Carbonaria'" — known to its present-day inhabitants as "Carbonara"⁴⁶) and entered "Cana" — today "Cana-

⁴²) L. 501.

⁴³) The writer is indebted to the help he has received concerning the topography of Pavia and its environs from Miss L. A. Zaina and Miss J. Bazire.

⁴⁴) *ASS Augusti vi*, pp. 366-367.

⁴⁵) Ll. 479 e.s.

⁴⁶) *Iconographie de saint Augustin: Les cycles de xiv^e siècle* (Paris, 1965), p. 70-71, Plates LXVII-LXVIII.

rozzo", three kilometers from Pavia when an apparition who identified himself as Augustine told them that a visit to his nearby resting-place would gain them all that they were asking for the more arduous journey to the tombs of Peter and Paul. The local colour here and the gist of the story make it difficult not to suspect as propaganda, originated at Pavia in the hope of diverting there some of the flow of devout travellers bound south for Rome.

Stiltingh had found a version of this in Baronius's edition of a letter of Peter Olradi to Charles the Great; he rejected it, commenting "Idem refert Jacobus de Voragine, cap. 191, sed annum designat circiter 912"⁴⁷). Clearly, he was using, if not MS B itself, then one of the same family or a printed edition taken from a relative. Our apparatus criticus shows that where M has "592", B has the obviously erroneous "912", to which Stiltingh objected. But the dating is a minor issue; what is important is what the anecdote implies.

Another unmistakably regional legend, glorifying the power of Augustine's prayers in heaven, is the story⁴⁸) of the young man of Pavia, held prisoner on the orders of a Marquis Malaspina who was terrorizing the district, and tormented by thirst so as to extract ransom from him, whom the saint mysteriously led out of prison and down to the banks of the Gravellone, a tributary of the Ticino and thence of the Po, where his parched throat was wonderfully cooled. It is remarkable that this incident was known to Jeanne and Pierre Courcelle to have only one pictorial representation, a bas-relief on Augustine's tomb at San Pietro in Ciel' d'Oro at Pavia⁴⁹). The form of the monument is said to have been inspired when it was commissioned in 1362 by the prior of the Augustinian friars' community, by the shrine of St. Peter Martyr at San Eustorgio in Milan⁴⁷), whose legend, we have seen, also proved a rich source of exemplary narrative for James.

Familiar as he evidently was with Pavia and its history, James cannot have been ignorant of the dispute between the friars hermit and the canons regular about which of them were the true "Augustinians", rightful heirs of the saint's traditions and guardians of his remains, a quarrel which had become notorious throughout the West; but of this matter he prudently makes no mention. However, one of the legends which he recounts suggests that it had circulated among the canons. Although it concerns a monk, Hugh⁴⁸), of the Cistercian house of

⁴⁷) *Id.*, p. 63, 71.

⁴⁸) L. 434.

Fontenay⁴⁹), celebrated for his enthusiasm for Augustine's writings, an amazed witness who sees the sainted prelate and his shining cohort coming to lead the dying man home is told that these are "St. Augustine with his canons". Later, the community entrusted with the administration of the Pavia shrine are called "monachi"⁵⁰), an appellation to which neither side was entitled; but James may have been glad to find, in this ancient and common solecism, a vague and imprecise term which would not seem to apportion favour in what had become, in even so turbulent an age, a controversy conducted with a minimum of charity which was giving scandal to the faithful.

We have observed one instance, in the tale of how the relics refused to be moved from Genoa to Pavia, of a stock story adapted, not necessarily by James himself, to serve as a component of the Augustine legend; and there is another⁵¹) in the description of the sight granted to an anonymous visionary of the saints in glory, when he asks where in heaven Augustine may be found. This is a variant on the theme of the *Schutzmantelmadonna*⁵²); those who feature in that are hidden in the folds of Mary's sheltering cloak, but here we are told that Augustine cannot be seen because he is in a heaven above the heavens, where he expounds the glory of the supreme Trinity.

Historical knowledge being as vague and unsystematic as it was during the Middle Ages, it is inevitable that James, writing about so many different periods, should in places be guilty of what we now know to be anachronisms. One of the most evident is in his repetition of the story, generally agreed to be fictitious⁵³) of the woman who found him in his study so rapt in contemplation that he was unaware of her presence or words. This is made to continue:

Altera autem die dum Augustinus missam celebraret et dicta mulier interesset, post eleuacionem corporis domini rapta in spiritu uidit se positam ante tribunal sanctissime trinitatis, ubi uidit Augustinum facie inclinata de trinitatis gloria attentissime et subtilissime disputantem ...⁵⁴).

⁴⁹) Louis L. LEKAI: *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent State University Press, 1977), p. 19 e.s.

⁵⁰) L. 526.

⁵¹) L. 475 e.s.

⁵²) On the *Schutzmantelmadonna*, see Edmund COLLEDGE and J.C. MARLER: "'Mystical" Pictures in the Suso "Exemplar"' (*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* LIV, 1984, pp. 293-354), pp. 333-337.

⁵³) "Caxton", p. 204.

⁵⁴) L. 467.

This illustrates the shortness of human memory. When James was a young friar he must have known seniors who had themselves learned to celebrate Mass before the practice of elevating the host had become usual⁵⁵); and the feast of Corpus Christi, beyond any doubt a related manifestation of the same devotion, is associated with the name of Blessed Juliana of Liège, a contemporary of James⁵⁶).

Whether such an error is of his own making or that of a co-worker, one cannot be sure. We have seen the evidence of how components of the Augustine legend alternate between exact scholarship and gross carelessness, we have examined Dondaine's hypothesis that the work, once completed, was never adequately revised, and, elsewhere, mention has been made⁵⁷) of the Bollandist Stiltingh's poor opinion of James's command of the Augustine texts on which he was commenting. His criticisms can be documented more fully than he himself did. In one place James quotes Possidius's chapter xxvi :

Feminarum nunquam nullam, nec eciam germanam sororem aut fratris filias que deo pariter seruiebant, secum habitare permisit ...⁵⁸),

a topic on which we have just touched; but Possidius's testimony does not prevent James from telling the story of how the woman found Augustine so deeply rapt in contemplation that he neither saw her nor heard what she had come to ask. Stiltingh rejected this as inauthentic for reasons we have seen.

A second place in the *Legenda* which seems even better to support Dondaine's theory that, once finished, it was never checked or revised is the extraordinary error with which the "Augustine" opens :

Augustinus doctor egregius in prouincia Affricana ciuitate Karthaginensi ortus⁵⁹),

uncorrected in either M or B, both, it will be recalled, written a decade before James of Voragine was summoned to Genoa to take up his archiepiscopal duties; and thereafter the mistake regularly reappears

⁵⁵) V.L. KENNEDY: "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host" (*Medieval Studies* 6, 1944, p. 87-96).

⁵⁶) P. BROWE, "Die Ausbreitung des Fronleichnamsfestes" (*Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8, 1928, p. 107-144).

⁵⁷) "Caxton", p. 203-204.

⁵⁸) L. 270.

⁵⁹) L. 1.

as his work was copied. It is explicitly contradicted in Possidius's first chapter:

Ex provincia Africana ... civitate Tagastensi ... progenitus erat⁶⁰;

and one may surely attribute this lapse to an assistant's lack of care, and see that its presence, even in the earliest texts, confirms the supposition that once his staff had prepared the *Legenda* for publication, James did not himself scrutinize the fair copy for such faults.

Misstatements of the types we have commented on — of fact (Augustine was born at Tagaste, not Hippo), of emphasis (the bishop did not say "Vade secunda ..." to Monica), of attribution (Prosper did not write *De Vita Contemplativa*, Augustine never complained that God "posuit me ad amplustrum") — have been found in the earlier portion of the work. In the second half, after the reinterment at Pavia has been related and the history of his thaumaturgic cult begins to unfold, James embarks on a story more stereotyped, where, perhaps, he relies less upon his editorial staff for materials than at the beginning, in which he gives his account of Augustine's spirituality, supported by what had been drawn from his own writings and those of others.

The last question which remains for our consideration is how justly and adequately James represents Augustine as one of the major teachers of the universal Church? A balanced answer seems to be that, given the space at its disposal and the preferences and prejudices of its readers, the *Legenda* has done its best to draw a faithful picture.

It was written for an age agog to hear of marvels, and especially of miraculous healings. We may follow the early Bollandists in dismissing such matters as derogating from a saint's true greatness, but that was not the judgment of the Middle Ages, to which James of Voragine was appealing. It has already been shown that he attempted to offer his readers a representative survey of Augustine's huge literary output, and that he does not confine himself to the *Confessions*, even though this is the major biographical source. The concluding excerpts from the *Soliloquies* are well chosen, showing how the austere other-worldliness, the whole-hearted commitment to citizenship in the City of God, was potentially present in the days before his baptism. James is careful to convey this by retaining Augustine's allusion to what he had learned not from Scripture but from Cicero⁶¹).

⁶⁰) PL 32 coll. 33-35.

⁶¹) Cf. Hanspeter MÜLLER, ed.: *Augustins Soliloquien* (Bern-Bümpliz, 1954), p. 155.

Though we find allusions to the part played in the great battles against heresy, James seems to have judged that many of the issues which Augustine had argued so passionately belonged to history and could now safely be left to the judgment of scholars. We may find it surprising that a Dominican, by profession intimately acquainted with the prescriptions of the *Rule*, has so little to say about the bishop of Hippo's role in the Church as one of its greatest monastic legislators; but doubtless James considered that there were already commentaries enough on this topic.

Wisely, we may think, James does not attempt in his account of Augustine to include every passage from his pen which had become famous. The treatment of Monica's death at Ostia is perfunctory⁶²), without allusion to her son's report of the last conversation between them: "... Si cui sileat tumultus carnis, sileant phantasiae terrae et aquarum et aeris ..." ⁶³). We are given "Sero te amavi"⁶⁴) and "Sagittaveras cor meum"⁶⁵), which, it has recently been pointed out⁶⁶), inspired the most celebrated emblem by which the saint is to be recognized in his pictures; but James does not quote what by his day had become the most often-repeated non-Scriptural saying of all Christian literature, "Thou hast made us for thyself ..." ⁶⁷). He seems to have tried to avoid, in his direct quotations, what had become over-familiar; and it may be the verdict of others who know Augustine at first hand that James has achieved, both by selection and omission, freedom from every charge that he has misrepresented the great advocate of love of God and of neighbour.

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⁶²) Ll. 141-143.

⁶³) Ed. VERHEIJEN, p. 148.

⁶⁴) L. 87.

⁶⁵) L. 121.

⁶⁶) "Caxton", p. 210.

⁶⁷) *Confessiones* I 1, ed. VERHEIJEN, p. 1.