

Thomas of Celano: Life and Work

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There are few saints of the middle ages who can claim as many contemporary descriptions of their lives as can Francis of Assisi. At that time these hagiographic works were called "lives" or "legends." It should be mentioned that "legends" simply indicated a text which was intended to be read aloud, whether in the celebration of the Office of the Hours or in the monasteries during the common meal. The word has nothing to do with our word of current usage, or with the word "legendary." Abstracting from the content and literary form of the legends, Dominic compares with Francis as to the number of legends about his life. But with regard to Francis we are in the fortunate situation of having a good number of his own extant works which to a certain extent can serve as a criterion for the credibility and truthfulness of the legends. This possibility is lacking with Dominic, who left next to nothing of his own writings.

In his highly regarded contribution to the "Franciscan question,"¹ Raoul Manselli utilized a relevant and appropriate distinction with regard to the legends and the collections of material of the life of Saint Francis—dividing them into *official* and *unofficial* works. The distinction between the two types was the consequence of the following consideration: *official* legends or collections are written upon request. In this situation the hagiographer reworks his own memories and observations, verbal descriptions of witnesses or written materials placed at his disposal. The *unofficial* sources are materials in a preliminary state which may have either a long or short tradition behind them, but which have been neither developed nor reworked in the strict sense of the terms. There is no conclusive decision yet about the worth and importance of the respective texts. Only a critical examination of the texts can decide that.

¹Raoul Manselli, *Nos qui cum eo fuimus. Contributo alla questione francescana*, Roma, 1980.

But it is clear that fundamentally the unreworke text should be given preference.

I. Official Legends

1. Thomas of Celano: *First Life*
2. Thomas of Celano: *Legend for Choral Use*
3. Thomas of Celano: *Second Life*
4. Thomas of Celano: *The Book of Miracles*
5. Bonaventure: *The Major Life of Francis (Legenda Major)*

II. Unofficial Legends and Collections

a. Systematically Organized

1. Julian of Speyer: *Life*
2. *Legend of the Three Companions*
3. Bernard of Bessa: *Book of the Praises of St. Francis*
4. *The Mirror of Perfection*

b. Not Systematically Organized

1. *Compilation of Perugia [Legend of Perugia]*²
2. *The Minor Mirror of Perfection*
3. The Collection, "Fac secundum exemplar"
4. *Actus of St. Francis and his Companions*
5. *The Collection of the Little Manuscript*

The three works composed by Thomas of Celano—*First Life*, *Second Life*, and also the *Book of Miracles*—count among the hagiographic writings about the Saint of Assisi as some of the most important sources for the history of St. Francis, for foundational Franciscan history and for the development of the original brotherhood into a worldwide order. This recognition is relatively recent, but it is hardly contested today. From 1266 when it was removed from circulation, so to speak, until the last century, Celano's trilogy on Francis remained completely in the shadow of St. Bonaventure's *Major Life of Francis*. It is interesting to note that from the beginning of the 14th century more than a few individual episodes from Celano's *Second Life* surfaced in various collections by way of oral tradition.

²[In this article, the author refers to the *Compilation of Perugia*, which he considers a better title than the *Compilation of Assisi*, referring to Marino Bigaroni, *Compilatio Assisiensis*, revised edition (Porziuncola, 1992). Bigaroni's edition is not available in English. Hence, all references have been made to the "Legend of Perugia," an earlier translation and arrangement of this collection, (see *Omnibus*, 957-1101). — Ed.]

Before embarking on a detailed description of the works of Celano, a brief biographical presentation is in order. This will provide a definite entry into the question as to whether and to what extent Celano himself could write as an actual witness of the life of St. Francis.

I. The Life of Brother Thomas of Celano

Details of the life of the first biographer of St. Francis are very sparse. Brother Thomas was born in Celano, a small city above Lake Fucino (dried up since 1875) in the Abruzzi, approximately 20 miles south-southeast of Aquila.³ His year of birth is unknown.⁴

After the return of St. Francis from Spain, Thomas, as is generally known from the *First Life*, entered the young order of the Friars Minor. In the *First Life* it is stated:

But the good God, whom it please in his kindness to be midful of me and of many others, withstood him [Francis] to his face... and recalled him from the journey he had begun by a prolonged illness. Not long after he had returned to the Church of St. Mary of the Portiuncula, some educated and some noble men very gratifyingly joined him" (1Cel 56-57).

Celano counts himself among the "learned men." That Celano should be included among the "learned men" is shown by the fact that he was a person of exceptional talent with an above average education. Whether Celano also belonged to the aristocracy cannot be answered.

Any further remarks of the author about himself during this period are not available. According to the *Second Life* Francis stayed the winter of 1216 in Celano, the home of Brother Thomas. It cannot be proven that the latter accompanied Francis, even though some authors claim it.⁵ In the *Second Life*, as in the *Book of Miracles*, there are several passages where it seems that the author is speaking about himself. But in reality this is not the case. We will return to this point later.

The first certain piece of information about Brother Thomas does not appear until the year 1221. In the meantime he became part of a group of

³Cf. Atanesio Masci, "La patria di Tommaso da Celano," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* [AFH] 2 (1909) 514-51. There have been attempts to locate Celano's birthplace elsewhere, without success. See Giovanni Odoardi, "Tommaso da Celano e S. Francesco," in *Tommaso da Celano e la sua opera di biografo di S. Francesco*. Atti del Convegno di studio: Celano November 29-30, 1982 (Celano, 1985), 105-23.

⁴Odoardi, *Tommaso da Celano*, 107, believes that Celano's birth took place between 1185-1190.

⁵See Odoardi, *Tommaso da Celano*, 106-7.

brothers or province of the order. A territorial division of the brothers took place at the yearly Pentecost Chapter which was held at the Portiuncula. Whether Celano entered the Order as a priest or was later ordained cannot be determined.

At the Pentecost Chapter of 1221 a group of 27 brothers under the leadership of Caesar of Speyer were chosen to establish a permanent base for the Order in Germany.⁶ The chronicler, Brother Jordan of Giano, himself a member of this mission, indicated the names of a number of the group and in fourth place he named "Thomas of Celano, who later wrote both the first and the second legends of St. Francis" (Chrn 19).

Around the feast of St. Gall (October 16th) the brothers held the first chapter of the "Teutonia" Province, as the German province of the Order was called. It took place in Augsburg. The brothers were divided into the different regions of Germany (Chrn 23). The chronicle doesn't say where Brother Thomas of Celano was sent. Two years later, Celano's name appears once again in the Chronicle: Brother Caesar, in 1223, appointed "Brother Thomas of Celano as Custos for Mainz, Worms, Cologne and Speyer" (Chrn 30). The chronicler also reports that in the same year, Brother Caesar "experienced burnout from his office and had the desire to see St. Francis and the brothers from the Valley of Spoleto once again." For this reason and since the Order was well established in Germany, continues the chronicler, Caesar appointed Brother Thomas as Vicar during the period of his absence (Chrn 31). It is undoubtedly apparent from this that Celano enjoyed a certain esteem and trust among the brothers. At the Pentecost Chapter of the same year "Caesar was relieved of the office of minister, which he had held for two years and he was given Albert of Pisa as his successor" (Chrn 31). The new minister provincial held a chapter at Speyer on the 8th of September, at which Thomas of Celano was present and at which it appears he was confirmed as custos (Chrn 33). These details exhaust the information which the Chronicle of Jordan of Giano provides about Brother Thomas, except for one brief later episode: "On his return journey to Germany Brother Jordan met Brother Thomas of Celano, who was delighted and gave him some relics of St. Francis" (Chrn 59). According to the Chronicle of Nicholas Glassberger,⁷ this meeting took place in Assisi.

⁶See Jordan of Giano, *Chronicle*, in *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, trans. Placid Hermann, OFM (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961) 17-19.

⁷Nicholas Glassberger, *Chronica*, in *Analecta Franciscana* II, p. 53.

The year in which Thomas of Celano returned to Italy and where he stayed while there are unknown. There is also no evidence that he was present at the burial of St. Francis on October 4, 1226, in Assisi and that he saw the wounds on the body of the saint on this occasion.⁸ It is probable that Celano was present at the canonization of Francis on the July 16, 1228, in Assisi. This probability is based on the description of the particulars of the festivities in the *First Life*. Only an eyewitness could have written something so fresh and lively (1Cel 124-126).⁹

Around this time Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) commissioned Brother Thomas to write a life of Francis. Celano was obviously not an unknown in the Order. His superiors were aware of his talents when they suggested him for this task. In any case, the composition of the *Legend* required a stay in Assisi and the surrounding area. Celano composed the *Legend for Choir Use* immediately after the solemn transfer of the the body of St. Francis to the new Basilica of St. Francis, probably around 1230. For the next fourteen years there are no further extant reports about Brother Thomas.

At the General Chapter of the Order in Genoa in 1244, the General Minister, Crescentius of Jesi (1244-1247), entrusted Celano with the prestigious task of taking on the composition of the *Second Life*. This work brought the already famous biographer back to Assisi. Finally, under the generalate of John of Parma (1247-1257) he composed the *Book of Miracles*.¹⁰ If Thomas had left Assisi in the time that followed, it is certain that he returned again in 1255 in order to undertake another work. Pope Alexander IV (1254-1261), who had canonized Clare of Assisi on August 15, 1255, entrusted him with the composition of a *Legend of St. Clare*.¹¹ After this rich and fruitful life as an author, Celano, now advanced in age, was able to return to the Custody of the Marches, in which his home lay. There he ministered as chaplain to the Clares

⁸The statement "We, who are telling these things, have seen them; we have written about them with the very hands with which we have touched them," in 3Cel 5a, is certainly not an affirmation offered by Thomas of Celano himself. See below under *Book of Miracles*.

⁹See Michael Bihl, *AFH* 21 (1928) 468-514, 468.

¹⁰See *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, in *Analecta Franciscana* III, 276.

¹¹See "The Legend of Saint Clare" in Regis J. Armstrong, OFM Cap., trans., *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1988) 184-240 [2nd edition revised and enlarged, St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1994. Pp. 246-308.] Not everyone agrees that Celano is the author. For arguments in favor, see Engelbert Grau, "Die Schriften der heiligen Klara und die Werke ihrer Biographen" in *Movimento religioso femminile e Francescanesimo nel secolo XIII. Atti del VII Convegno della Società internazionale di Studi francescani*, Assisi, October 11-13, 1979, (Assisi, 1980) 223-25. For an overview of the discussion, see Armstrong, *Clare of Assisi*, 184-87 [246-49].

of the convent of S. Giovanni di Val dei Varri in the area of Tagliacozzo.¹² He died there around 1260¹³ and was buried in the Church of the Clares. In 1476 the Clares abandoned the convent. In 1506 Pope Julius II (1503-1513) attached the house to the friary of the friars of Tagliacozzo.¹⁴ In 1516 the friars transferred the bones of blessed Thomas to their church in Tagliacozzo and interred them behind the main altar. At the beginning of the 18th century the bones were set together and clothed in a Conventual habit. They were placed in a gold leafed wooden shrine with a glass panel in front and placed under the main altar. The shrine is there today and bears the inscription:

Thomas De Celano S F D
Scriptor chronicarum Et Sequentiae Mortuorum.¹⁵

II. The Works of Brother Thomas of Celano

1. *The First Life*

On April 29, 1228, almost three months before the canonization of Francis, Pope Gregory IX issued the bull, "Recolentes," which provided that a burial church be built for Francis in Assisi. So it is also not improbable that Brother Thomas received the commission from the pope to write a life of the new saint, not on the occasion of the canonization on July 16, 1228, but a few weeks before. Celano expressly mentions in the prologue of the *Life* that a papal commission required this work of him (1Cel Prol. 1). Since he was not an eye witness to the greater part of Francis's life, he had to depend on "faithful and trustworthy witnesses" (1Cel Prol 1) most of whom were to be found in Assisi. In any case, Thomas received this prestigious commission at the latest occasion of the canonization. The work was probably finished in 1228, but, at the latest, by the beginning of January 1229. According to the Paris Manuscript, the *First Life* was approved, confirmed, and declared official by Pope Gregory IX on February 25, 1229.¹⁶

The work is divided into three parts: Book One (1Cel 1-87) contains the life of St. Francis from his youth until December 23, 1223. For the years 1213

¹²About 15 miles west of Celano.

¹³See *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, auctore Arturo a Monasterio, recognitum et auctum a Ignatio Beschin et Juliene Palazzolo (Roma, Librariam Collegii S. Antonii, 1938) under October 4.

¹⁴L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Quaracchi, 1931-). See under the year 1506, XLVIII.

¹⁵B[lessed] Thomas of Celano, D[isciple] of S[t.] F[ran]cis. The author of the *Chronicles* (1-3 Celano) and the *Sequence of the Dead* (*Dies Irae*).

¹⁶*Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. Johannes H. Sbaralea, I, 40-41, 794.

to 1219, and also a bit before that, the chronological order is not always observed, although the author maintains in the "Prologue" that he intended to do that (1Cel Prol 2). The arrangement of the text is more thematically determined, and there are also various miracles woven into the text. Book Two (1Cel 88-118) takes up the chronology from 1224 and describes in fairly short order the events of the two last years of the life of the saint. There is no lack of allusions to the grave illnesses of his last days or to the brothers who cared for him.¹⁷ Greater space is given to the stigmatization as well as to the death and burial. In the first part of paragraph 100 events are related which are to be placed back in the Spring of 1220 (!). Finally, Book Three is concerned with the canonization (July 16, 1228) and includes a catalog of miracles which was read aloud at the celebration of the canonization (1Cel 125, 127ff). These miracles were probably a part of the Process of Canonization (1Cel 123), which are not extant.

The *First Life* is without doubt a hagiographic masterpiece and belongs to the finest lives of the saints of the Middle Ages. The language is elegant and does not conform itself to the rigorous rules of classical Latin, but rather to the grammatical prescriptions of that time. Since this life was intended to be read aloud, the final syllables of sentences or parts or sentences are provided with the so-called *cursus*.¹⁸ This was a cue for the reader to insert a meaningful pause or to let the voice drop. Celano composed in an authentic medieval rhythmic prose. From a literary and stylistic point of view, his work is a distinguished piece.

The question regarding which sources were available to Brother Thomas in the development of the *First Life*, can be answered in the following way: The author writes in small part as an eye witness.¹⁹ In greater part he depends on "faithful and trustworthy witnesses"²⁰ who verbally communicated to him what they remembered. Among them he especially depends on the close

¹⁷See Octavian Schmucki, "Le malattie di Francesco durante gli ultimi anni della sua vita" in *Francesco d'Assisi e Francescanesimo dal 1216 al 1226. Atti del IV Convegno della Società internazionale di Studi francescani*, Assisi, October 15-17, 1976, (Assisi, 1977) 315-362. [A Spanish translation can be found in *SelFran* 48 (1987) 403-36.]

¹⁸In the Middle Ages, the *cursus* was constituted by a fixed series of accented and unaccented syllables at the conclusion of a sentence or phrase. The principal ones were *planus*, *tardus*, *velox*, *medius*, and *trispindaicus*. [See Noël Denholm-Young, "Cursus" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* IV 548-49. See also *Omnibus* 201-2. —Ed.]

¹⁹"I have tried ... to set forth as well as I can, though indeed with unskilled words, at least those things that I have heard from his own mouth ..." (1Cel Prol. 1).

²⁰"I have tried ... to set forth as well as I can, though indeed with unskilled words, at least those things that I ... have gathered from faithful and trustworthy witnesses" (1Cel Prol. 1).

companions of the saint, on Brother Elias and certainly also on St. Clare in San Damiano. Added to these are also several individuals of the city of Assisi who knew St. Francis well, for instance, Bishop Guido II, and who contributed material which Celano reworked.

Did Brother Thomas also have written sources at his disposal? It is certain that he had access to a part of the writings of St. Francis: the *Earlier Rule*, *The Final Rule*, the *Testament*, *The Canticle of the Sun*, all of which he often either quoted literally or paraphrased. To what extent he had these writings actually before him in written form or worked them in from memory cannot be determined. However, it is almost certain that Celano had before him in written form the papal documents which concern the Order.²¹ Their content does not contain much material for the life of St. Francis, but they do establish certain important situations in the development of the young Order which are inseparably connected with the life of St. Francis. One of the written documents, of no little importance, which the biographer definitely had at his disposal, and which he used more than once, is the encyclical letter by which Brother Elias officially announced to the whole Order the death of St. Francis and the reality of the stigmata.²²

A last question with regard to the sources which Celano had at his disposal for the *First Life* concerns the *Process of Canonization*. Michael Bihl has examined this matter carefully and in depth.²³ With regard to such a process there are essentially two investigations: testimony regarding the authenticity of the miracles and testimony regarding of holiness of the life.

There is no doubt about the miracles, since Celano reports on them in unmistakable fashion. In the gathering of the pope with the cardinals at which the canonization of Francis was discussed, a great number of miracles were analyzed. "They were approved, verified, heard, and accepted" (1Cel 123).²⁴ Bonaventure indicates an interesting circumstance in this context: Gregory IX, who from his own personal experience was deeply convinced of the holiness of Francis,

²¹See *Bullarium Franciscanum* I, 1-26.

²²Br. Elias, *Epistola encyclica de transitu S. Francisci* in *Analecta Franciscana* X, 523-38. Citations from or allusions to this letter are found in 1Cel 107, 108, 109 (twice), 112.

²³Michael Bihl, "De canonizatione S. Francisci" in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 21 (1928) 468-514.

²⁴See Robert Paciocco, "Miracles and Canonized Sanctity in the 'First Life of St. Francis,'" in *Greyfriars Review* 5 (1991) 251-274.

had known miracles recorded and attested to by appropriate witness. These he submitted to the examination of those cardinals who seemed less favorable to his cause. This material was examined carefully and approved by all. With the unanimous advice and assent of his confreres and of all the prelates who were then in the Curia, he decreed that Francis should be canonized (LM 15:7).

As already mentioned, these miracles were read aloud at the canonization in the presence of the pope (1Cel 125; cf. 1Cel 127). Celano added this catalog of miracles to the end of his *First Life* (1Cel 127-150). At the end of this assembly, the Pope and Cardinals made an extraordinary statement:

‘The most holy life of this most holy man,’ they said, ‘needs no attestation of miracles; what we have seen with our eyes, what our hands have handled, we have proved with the light of truth’ (1Cel 124).

With this statement another question is raised: Was the life of Francis submitted to an investigation in the strict sense? More precisely: was it the object of a canonical process? The last quote from 1 Celano 124 indicates that there was an examination,²⁵ but says nothing about the method involved. After researching all the details of this question Bihl comes to the following cautious conclusion: “After a careful process of weighing and sorting all the facts (from the sources) and secondary information, one can cautiously conclude that it is doubtful that a questioning of witnesses and a formal process concerning the holiness of the life of blessed Francis took place either in Assisi or Perugia.”²⁶ With this weighed judgment Bihl is of the mind that it cannot be proven from the pertinent sources that any investigation of witnesses about the holiness of the life took place in a canonical process.

There exists in the *Legend of Perugia* the report about a “spiritual brother,” whose most secret thoughts were revealed to him by Francis (LP 30). This is also reported in Celano’s *Second Life* (2Cel 31). In Celano the report is reworked and provided with the *cursus*, which it does not have in the parallel text. As in many other cases, Celano had the “texts of *The Legend of Perugia*” before him as a basis. He also provides the name of the brother, Leonard of Assisi, and notes when the situation occurred: “At the time when the saint returned from his overseas journey.” In the “*The Legend of Perugia*” the episode ends with the following sentence: “And so, when the brothers at Assisi begged the Lord Pope Gregory and the cardinals to canonize blessed Francis, this

²⁵ A similar impression is given by the description of the gathering of cardinals with the Pope in Perugia: “...they commended the life and conduct of the blessed father with the highest praises” (1Cel 123b).

²⁶ Bihl, “De canonizatione,” 500.

brother testified before them to the authenticity of this episode" (LP 30). Without a doubt this is an authentic testimony of a witness before the highest office holders of the church. It would, however, be more than surprising if this had been the only one. As Bihl supposes, the pope would have commissioned one of the cardinals to appropriately expedite the canvassing of witnesses "with regard to the virtues" of the saint.²⁷ In his study Bihl also quotes this source. However, for him the "*Legend of Perugia*" does not have the value that one attributes to it today.

Without articulating new hypotheses, it can be said: A canonical process on the holiness of the life of Francis had, according to the statements in the sources, taken place at most in shortened and simplified form. Whether or not Brother Thomas had the documents of the *Process* at hand remains open.²⁸

What should also be mentioned is the remark of John R. H. Moormann that a part of the *Legend of the Three Companions* had already been written before 1228 and that Celano used this for his *First Life*.²⁹ Michael Bihl basically disproved this hypothesis.³⁰ Before the *First Life* of Celano no biographical writings existed except the circular letter of Brother Elias in which he communicated to the entire Order the death of the Father of the Order.

The author of the *First Life* is concerned with indicating the holiness of Francis. He provides valuable, even though incomplete, material for the life of the saint and the early years of the Order, as well as for proto-Franciscan spirituality. The joy of the beginning emerges from the whole work.

2. *The Second Life*

On October 4, 1244 at the General Chapter of the Order of Friars Minor at Genoa, the Minister General, Crescentius of Jesi, ordered all the brothers to collect everything "they knew as truthful about the life, signs and miracles

²⁷ Bihl, "De canonizatione," 600-601.

²⁸ Raoul Manselli maintains that "there is no trace of a process in the technical sense, no collection of statements about the conduct (*conversatio*) of Francis, that is, how he lived his life," ("Tommaso da Celano e i 'soci' di Francesco: La Vita II" in *Tommaso da Celano*, p. 83). Compared with Bihl's opinion, Manselli's statement seems hasty. On the other hand, it is surprising that particularly Manselli, who is the one who has clearly shown the value and importance of the material contained in the *Legend of Perugia*, here bypasses a report obviously of the companions, which, although it does not have the phrase "we who were with him," comes directly from Br. Leonard. Manselli's explanation regarding the final sentence of LP 30 is insufficient.

²⁹ John R. H. Moorman, *The Sources for the Life of S. Francis of Assisi* (Manchester, 1940) 68-76.

³⁰ *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 39 (1946) 3-37, 279-87.

of saint Francis and to communicate this to him in writing."³¹ Of the reports that resulted from this request, the following are known:

a. The *Legend of the Three Companions* composed by Brothers Leo, Rufinus, and Angelus with the assistance of several other brothers whose names are mentioned in the "Letter of the Three Companions" (L3S 1)

b. Reports or, better stated, "remembrances" of brothers, who were around Francis during the last years of his life. The names of these companions are not mentioned. Those naturally come to mind who had tended to Francis in his last difficult sufferings and sicknesses and of whom Celano makes mention in the *First Life* (1Cel 102). He describes their qualities and virtues, but does not mention their names. Also several of those—in total eight—brothers, who are mentioned in the letter accompanying the *Legend of the Three Companions*, once again could have been involved.

c. The conversation about the deeds of the holy Friars Minor.³² F. Delorme attributes this work to the friar, Thomas of Pavia. Nothing of importance is communicated in this book about Francis. The author doesn't want to confine himself to Francis, because "for a long time what another brother has described rather completely and with great zeal has been accessible."³³ The *First Life* of Celano is intended by this remark.

Other brief communications had also been sent to the Minister General, e.g. from Brother Leonard of Assisi.

The aforementioned General Chapter at Geneo, or the Minister General, not only ordered the collection of all material about Francis, but also commissioned Thomas of Celano to write a second life of Francis, using the materials which had been sent to the Minister General. The considerations at the Chapter must have been the following: It was determined that many sayings, episodes and events of the Father of the Order, had been handed down orally. These were preserved neither in Celano's *First Life* nor in the *Life* of Julian of Speyer which was written between 1232-1235. In order that all of this would not be forgotten and would be assembled during the lives of the witnesses or their corroborators, the above mentioned comprehensive collection was organized.

³¹ *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum, Analecta Franciscana* III, 262.

³² Thomas a Pavia, *Dialogus de vitis sanctorum fratrum minorum. Scriptum circa 1245 nunc primum ed.* Leonardus Lemmens (Romae, 1902). This partial edition was continued and completed in 1923 by Ferdinandus M. Delorme: *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum auctore Fr. Thoma de Pavia* (Quaracchi, 1923).

³³ Thomas a Pavia, *Dialogus*, p. 6.

From the time of his work on the *First Life* (1228) until 1244 Thomas of Celano himself came by information which was unknown to him at the time of the writing of the *First Life*. It should be clear that he had an attentive ear for such "novelties," especially when he met companions of the saint.

It is certain that the Minister General provided Brother Thomas with all of the gathered material. However, the question arises as to how and to what extent Celano used it. This point will be pursued later. Celano called his second work on Francis "A Passionate Memorial of the Deeds and Words of our Most Holy Father Francis" (2Cel Title of Book One).

Celano was able to begin the work on the *Second Life* only after the principal material was in his hands, i.e., sometime after August 11, 1246, the date of the "Letter of the Three Companions" (L3S 1). As is obvious in the prologue of the *Second Life* (2Cel 2), the work is dedicated to the General Minister, Crescentius of Jesi, who commissioned it. It can be concluded from this that the work was completed during his term of office. Crescentius was replaced on July 13, 1247, at the General Chapter at Lyons, at which he was not present. He had excused himself due to his old age. His successor was John of Parma (1247-57). Based on this, the editors in charge of the Quaracchi edition conclude that Crescentius personally approved the *Second Life* and then sent it to Lyons to Bonaventure of Iseo, his representative at the General Chapter.³⁴ Celano, therefore, must have completed his work at least two months before July 13, 1247. With that presupposition, the period may be pinpointed in which the *Second Life* was composed: between the middle of August 1246 and the middle of May 1247. The new narration of the saint's life would have been confirmed either by the capitulars at Lyons or by John of Parma while he was still at the Chapter or shortly thereafter.³⁵

The *Second Life* has two parts³⁶ which differ from each other in length and focus. The first book (2Cel 3-25) encompasses only 17 chapters which concentrate on three themes: the conversion of Francis; the Portiuncula as the central place of this conversion (2Cel 18-20); and the transformation of Francis and his brothers (2Cel 21-25), i.e., the first beginnings of the Order.

In Book One of the *Second Life*, Thomas, from the new eye-witness material, could remedy what was lacking in the *First Life*, which he mentions in the

³⁴See *Analecta Franciscana* X, p. xxvi.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶This is the division of the Assisi Codex, used by the Quaracchi editors. St. Rinaldi, L. Amoni, and H. G. Rosedale, the first editors of the *Vita II*, divided it into three parts, following the same division as *Vita I*.

Prologue (2Cel 2) and which was alluded to by the companions in L3S 1: much worthwhile material pertaining to the conversion of Francis was not contained in the *First Life* because "the author had never heard of it." Further, the reports of the three companions concerning the youth of Francis, which were more realistic and written with a natural connection to the source, served as a correction to the picture which Celano had developed in the *First Life*. As S. Clasen has demonstrated in detail, Celano used extensively the writings of the three companions.³⁷ The following table lists the parts of Book One of the *Second Life* in which the *Legend of the Three Companions* was used as a model.

L3S	2 Celano	L3S	2 Celano
2	3	13	11
3	6	14	11
4	4	22	14
5	6	23	12
6	5-6	24	13
7	7	50-51	16
8	8, 9	51	17
10	8	59	22
12	9	63	24

In this way Celano was able to fill out much of the narrative of the *First Life*. In other instances he was able to tone down the material, e.g. the exaggerated black and white portrait of the difference between the youthful Francis and the converted Francis (cf. 1Cel 2); the all too harsh judgment of Francis's frater or parents (Cf. 1Cel 1-2, 12-14).

In Book One, Celano not only drew upon *The Legend of the Three Companions*, but also upon the reports of the *Companions of the Saint*, whose names he does not mention, but whom he often presents as eye and ear witnesses with the identifying formula: "We who were with him,"³⁸ or similar "signs of recognition," also called "cachets." These reports of the companions which Celano obtained from the General Minister are at least in part preserved in

³⁷See Clasen, *Legenda antiqua*, 314.

³⁸"Nos qui cum eo fuimus." See Raoul Manselli, *Nos qui cum eo fuimus* (cited in note 1). In the *Legend of Perugia*, the formula "Nos qui..." appears in 17 episodes. Manselli says: "... of these only 11 are found in Thomas of Celano," that is, in the *Second Life*, and in the same context, immediately begins to talk about "omitted fragments," implicitly presupposing that Celano had all 17 episodes at his disposal (Manselli, *Tommaso de Celano*, 77). This hypothesis has not been and cannot be proven, since no one can prove that Celano had at his disposal the 6 selections that are supposed to have been "omitted." Besides, the *Legend of Perugia* was put together more than 60 years after the *Second Life*.

several old collections, such as the *Legend of Perugia*, in the *Speculum perfectionis minus*, in the *Mirror of Perfection* and in the *Little Manuscript*.

In the following five episodes of Book One Celano has used such testimonies of the companions, but, without any identifying formula:

2C3I	LP	SpecMin	SP	MsLittle
11	72	-	92	-
18-19	8-12	27-28	55	140, 165
21-22	1-2	24	27	160

Book Two of the *Second Life*, considerably longer than Book One, contains 167 chapters. Book One maintained a biographical thrust and, consequently, a definite chronological arrangement. Book Two organizes the material thematically, with no chronological arrangement. Only in the last chapters is a chronological sequence apparent (2Cel 210-220), where the text treats of the sicknesses of the saint, his death, his canonization and the transfer of his body (only in the title). A prayer of the companions concludes the work (2Cel 221-224).

Celano precedes Book II with a short introduction, with the purpose of clarifying his aim (2Cel 26). In the middle of this short prologue is the sentence: "I think Blessed Francis was a most holy mirror of the sanctity of the Lord and an image of this perfection." It is the intention of the author to hold up a "mirror of perfection" of Francis's exemplary life to the friars of the second generation who had not personally experienced or known him in his lifetime. When one considers the internal situation of the Order at this time, one can assume that the pressing need of such a "mirror" for the brothers in part motivated the commission of the General Chapter of Genoa and of the General Minister Crescentius. It would be remarkable, if the capitulars and especially the Minister General himself³⁹ had not addressed and complained about various negative conditions in the Order. The Order of Friars Minor was still in search of a healthy middle way through which the enormous number of brothers could live the life according to the *Rule*.⁴⁰ The emerging tensions with regard to poverty between the so-called conservatives and (moderate) progressives had already burdened the brotherhood and authentic minority for quite some time. A reflection on Francis was urgently necessary so that the brothers could live the *Rule*, which obligated them all, as Francis

³⁹See Heribert Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1909) 29-30.

⁴⁰See Lazaro Iriarte, *Franciscan History* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982) 38-39.

had wanted them to. To that end the "mirror of perfection" was supposed to be a help and support to the brothers. It should have, as Celano expressly states at the end of the Prologue to Book Two, "brought us closer to the Saint and awaken our slumbering lives" (2C31 26). This intention was reiterated in the *Prayer of the Companions*:

Our weak eyes cannot bear the dazzling rays of your (Francis's) perfection. Renew our days as from the beginning, O mirror and model of the perfect, and do not suffer us who are like you in our profession to, be unlike you in our life (2C31 2216).

If the *Legend of the Three Companions* was the most important source and model which Celano had at his disposal for Book One of the *Second Life*, it is also clear that it was used in Book Two in the following five places:

L3S	2Cel	L3S	2Cel
15	200	45	65
30-31 ⁴¹	109	57	151
43	155		

Another important source for this comprehensive segment of the *Second Life* are the testimonies of the companions which, as already mentioned, Celano used in five episodes of Book One and whose reporters identify themselves with the formula "we who were with him." In the places where he uses these "memories" in Book Two, Celano always leaves out this "sign of identification." The following table indicates the pericopes in which he had the *reports of the Companions* as model:

2Cel	LP	SpecMin	SP	MsLittle
28	91	-	102	198
51	-	-	-	187
56, 59	13-14	(29)	9	-
58	-	-	6	-
77	59	1	22	-
91	56	-	38	-
92	52	-	33	-
119-120	92	20	67	-
132	41	-	63	-
151	105-6	14-16	46	158
165	51	-	118	-
166	46-9	-	115-116	-
199-200	110	19	113-114	-

⁴¹This deals with the story of Br. Sylvester's conversion.

simply repetitions from the *First Life* (2Cel 44a, 217a, 220a); the prologue to Book Two as well as the four paragraphs that make up the "Prayer of the Four Companions" (2Cel 26; 221-224); and finally, the three paragraphs in which Celano makes remarks of his own and holds in front of the brothers the other side of the "mirror" (2Cel 139, 149, 162). If one subtracts these 11 sections from the 106, one is still left with the considerable number of 95 episodes, for which no source is available. Based on this the following can be concluded: undoubtedly Celano took the material for the greater part of these sections from the reports which were made available to him from the Minister General for the *Second Life*.⁴⁶

Book Two of the *Second Life* is in its conception and literary construction a "mirror of perfection" for the Friars Minor. From the point of view of its content, this part is also a completion of the *First Life*. As was already mentioned, this was the original point of departure for the General Chapter at Genoa of 1244. Nothing was supposed to be forgotten which at the time was only orally preserved with regard to Francis and which was not contained in the extant textual legends. From this point of view Celano was careful not to repeat what was said in the *First Life*. Only those three selections, which were already mentioned, could be considered as repetitions: 2 Celano 44a., 217a, 220a. Points of contact between the two *Vitae* were, of course, not always avoidable. In these cases, the author expanded what he had incompletely reported, or corrected statements in the text.⁴⁷ Points of contact are found in the following:⁴⁸

2 Celano	1 Celano	2 Celano	1 Celano
5	17	111	56-61
6	5	135	95
7	2	138	95
10	6.8	165	79, 80
13	120	166	98, 101
21	40	196	17
25	73-74, 100	199	86
83	76 ⁴⁹	203	90

⁴⁶Manselli ignores this point of view (see *Tommaso da Celano*, 76-77). See also note 38 above.

⁴⁷Compare, for example, 2Cel 217 and 1Cel 110 regarding the biblical citations from Jn 13:1 and Jn 12:1.

⁴⁸The following arrangement applies to the whole *Second Life*.

⁴⁹This and the following pertain to Part II.

87	76	210	97-98, 101
94	96	214	15
98	63	216	108
106	78	217	110, 109
107	73		

What was said about the stylistic characteristics of the *First Life* holds in a similar way for the *Second Life*, particularly with regards to the *cursus*. This *Life* was also intended to be read aloud. Remarkably, however, some sections are preserved in a simpler style. The majority, however, are presented in Celano's more elaborate style. For this reason the observation is not unfounded that the author sometimes used material from the companions with hardly a change⁵⁰ although for the most part, he was more actively involved with the text. Perhaps Celano was pressed for time to conclude his work (cf. 2Cel 221).

In general the governing thesis of the *Second Life* allowed Celano a certain literary license with the material of the companions. Hence, "the remembrances of the companions" were often only partly communicated, often toned down. Sometimes the main point of their report is missing. The reasons for such reworking of the material could be quite different: e.g. the situation of the Order and its development twenty years after the death of St. Francis; perhaps consideration of several still living companions who would have been seen in a bad light due to their occasional impatience with the severely sick Francis.⁵¹ There could also have been occasions when purely compositional demands dictated the way the material was used. For instance, when the author had to divide up the reports of the companions in order to distribute them in various sections of his work.⁵² Also, in the period between the writing of the two lives, the mention of Brother Elias became problematic.⁵³

Worth mentioning for the character of the work of Celano on the *Second Life* is the following observation: In the "reports of the companions" which bear the authoritative "We who..." there is always a new reference to the *exemplarity* of the life of Francis. Because these reports were not originally connected pieces, the repetition of this identification can be justified. In his

⁵⁰ See Petrus Hoonhout, *Het Latijn van Thomas von Celano* (Amsterdam, Nootd-Hollandsche, 1947) 8-13.

⁵¹ Compare 2Cel 51 with *Ms Little* 187.

⁵² Compare, for example, 2Cel 56 and 59 with LP 22 and 13-14.

⁵³ Regarding Br. Elias, see: Cuthbert Hess, *Life of St. Francis* (NY, 1914) 305-21). Giovanni Odoardi, "Un geniale figlio di S. Francesco: Frate Elia di Assisi" *Miscellanea Francescana* 54 (1954) 539-635. Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge, 1959).

"mirror of perfection" where the exemplarity of the founder of the Order was his central theme, Celano dropped the identifying mark "We who ...". Over and above this, the seasoned author was well aware that the constant repetition of definite, even though important, words could easily bore or repulse the reader.

With Book Two of the *Second Life* Thomas of Celano created a work which presents a successful synthesis of the material placed at his disposal, an authentic "mirror of perfection" of the life of St. Francis. The abundance of material which Celano offers and which is chronologically prior to all other sources for the life of St. Francis and the beginning of the Order makes this work worthwhile and indispensable, even when the material has been reworked, for the most part.⁵⁴ For the legends and compilations of material which chronologically succeed 2 Celano, this work of the author (together with his *First Life* and, in part, the *Book of Miracles*) would become, quite simply, the source.

The *Second Life* is further a fundamental resource for the history, especially for the internal situation of the Order around the middle of the thirteenth century. Celano does not hesitate to speak to the consciences of the brothers with earnest reflections and warnings and to point out various abuses especially with regard to poverty and to the "slumbering affections of the brothers" (2Cel 266). An appropriate evaluation of this "mirror of perfection" must take this intention of the author into consideration. A comprehensive, foundational, patient and laborious investigation of his "mirror" would certainly result in a picture of the brothers of the Order of that time which corresponds better to reality than what is usually found in the annals of the Order. The "small print" in historical descriptions, is generally clearer and of greater service to the truth.

3. *The Book of Miracles*

Celano's last work on Francis is the *Book of Miracles*, to which he gave the title, "Tractatus de miraculis," *Treatise on the Miracles*. As the name suggests, the work is not a biography, but a systematic collection of extraordinary events. However, one cannot characterize as miracles in the strict sense all occurrences which are reported. For that reason, the more encompassing expression, *Book of Miracles*, (i.e., wonderful, extraordinary events) was chosen for the whole tract.

⁵⁴Determining the particulars of this "reworking" is only possible, of course, for those episodes that have come down to us in another earlier unmodified version.

Brother Thomas had already reported on several miracles in the *First Life* and added, although with hesitancy, an excerpt from the official catalog of miracles from the canonization process.⁵⁵ This apparently did not satisfy the brothers. For that reason the new Minister General, John of Parma (1247-1257), commissioned Celano to put together a new collection of miracles.

The period of composition of the *Book of Miracles* certainly falls within John of Parma's term of office. The work was probably not written in the first years because the *Chronicle of the 24 Generals* reports that in this matter John of Parma needed to send several letters to Brother Thomas.⁵⁶ With good reason the editors of the Quarracchi place this preparation in the years 1250-53; indeed they believe they can specify the period even more closely to after July 1250 and before the end of 1252.⁵⁷ After completion, Celano sent his work to the Minister General with a letter, which begins, "Religiosa vestra sollicitudo."⁵⁸ The *Book of Miracles* was officially confirmed by the General Minister, probably at the General Chapter at Metz on May 31, 1254.⁵⁹

The tract is divided into 19 chapters⁶⁰ and encompasses the miracles and wonderful events which happened during his lifetime or due to his intercession after his death. The fact that Celano considered the "establishment of the Order" and its astonishing development the miraculous highpoint in the life of St. Francis (3Cel 1) perhaps contributed to the author's reluctance to accept this task as well as to his position on miracles.⁶¹ This text is at the same time a deep reflection on the Order itself. Following this topic is a report on the stigmata (3Cel 2-5), which is not only an account of the miracle, but places it in relation to the mystery of the Cross of Christ, which is the innermost core of this saintly life. Both reports underline the salvific-historical meaning of St. Francis, as well as of his Order. A particularly delightful story is the one about Brother Jacoba of Settessoli (3Cel 37-39), which is related here for the first

⁵⁵It is very probable that Thomas of Celano, like Innocent III, gave only a secondary importance to miracles. See in this regard Roberto Paciocco, "Tra miracolo e virtù morali. Alcuni aspetti della santità francescana intorno alla metà del ducento," *Laurentianum* 26 (1985) 298-310. See also Roberto Paciocco, "'Virtus morum' e 'virtus signorum.' La teoria della santità nelle lettere di canonizzazione di Innocenzo III," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 70 (1986) 597-610.

⁵⁶*Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum, Analecta Franciscana* III, 276.

⁵⁷See *Analecta Franciscana* X, xxxviii.

⁵⁸See *Analecta Franciscana* III, 276 and *Analecta Franciscana* X, xxxvii. Celano's letter has not been preserved.

⁵⁹See *Analecta Franciscana* X, xxxviii.

⁶⁰They comprise 198 selections, which, especially at the beginning, are further subdivided.

⁶¹See note 55 above.

time. This piece of tradition is so important because it is based on the witness of the son of this aristocratic woman.⁶² Chapters III-V and VII-XVIII depict finally all the miracles which Francis performed both during his lifetime and after his death, of which by far the miracles after his death make up the largest number. Most of the reported miracles occurred in Italy.⁶³ The short chapter XIX concludes the work, which only the vehement pressure of the brothers and superiors wrested from the author (3Cel 198).

In matters of style, the same characteristics are to be observed as in 1 and 2 Celano; the rhythmic clauses and the *cursus* are also employed here.

The question about the sources which Celano had at his disposal for the *Book of Miracles* is much less complicated than the question concerning the *Second Life*. A third of this work is a repetition of the miracle accounts in the *First Life*⁶⁴ and the *Second Life* and in the *Legenda ad usum chori*. The miracles of the catalog, which were officially read aloud at the canonization, had, as was already mentioned, been recorded in notarial form. The author sometimes reproduces the formula of confirmation.⁶⁵ But often he does it only in a generic way.⁶⁶

In 3 Celano 5 the formula of attestation appears: "We, who are telling these things, have seen them; we have written about them with the very hands with which we have touched them; we have seen through tear-filled eyes, what we confess with our lips; and what we have sworn, touching the sacred book, of this we always give public witness. During the lifetime of the saint several brothers saw the wounds with us. At his death, however, more than fifty venerated them along with innumerable lay people." The statement that "several" brothers saw the wounds during Francis's lifetime should be interpreted very conservatively. Already in the *First Life* Celano had reported that Francis was extremely careful to conceal the wounds from everyone, and "even brothers, who were always at his side, and were his most devoted followers knew nothing of this for a long time" (1Cel 95). And in the *Second Life* it states that the wounds on his hands and feet "were seen by only a few people" (2Cel 138). Other than this "only a single person—and this one only a single time,"

⁶²This episode serves as a balance to the severe admonition against "familiarity with women" found in 2Cel 112-14.

⁶³3Cel 48 narrates the resurrection of a dead man that takes place in Germany.

⁶⁴In 3Cel 4, 22-24, 108, 155, 175-77, 195, the material is taken from 1Cel. But, it seems that he also made use of Julian of Spire's *Life of Francis*.

⁶⁵For example, in 3Cel 5, 9, 54.

⁶⁶See 3Cel 5, 7, 16, 34, 37-39, 42, 48, 49, 65, 87, 109, 158, 181. See Clasen, *Legenda antiqua*, 228.

Brother Elias (1Cel 94; 2Cel 138), saw the wound on his side. Brother Ruffino had touched it one time by mistake. A brother from Brescia saw the wounds on the hands (2Cel 137). It is to be concluded from the outlined references that Brother Pacificus had likewise seen them.

On the basis of all this, the following statements can be made: 1. Only a few brothers had in fact seen the wounds of Francis during his lifetime. 2. The few were trusted companions, "who were always at his side" (1Cel 94); the brother from Brescia was an exception. 3. These few brothers are the ones who could say: "We, who say this, have seen it." Thomas of Celano cannot be included in this "We." For even if it can be established that he returned to Italy from Germany a while before the saint's death, there is not the slightest indication that he was in Assisi or in the neighboring area at the time of Francis' death.⁶⁷ Finally, would Celano, who witnessed only a few moments of the life of Francis, have missed the opportunity to indicate this evidence in the *First Life* and the *Second Life*? The statement of witnesses in 3 Celano 5 is nothing other than the summarized confirmation of the closest companions, who saw the stigmata during the lifetime of the saint.

Finally, it may be maintained as certain that a catalog was kept at the grave of Francis of the miracles which occurred there, which catalog Celano could have inspected.⁶⁸ Celano also cites records for two miracles (3Cel 7, 48). Many were also communicated to him in writing; concerning others he received an oral report. The author reworked the entire body of material into the present form of the *Book of Miracles*.

In this work also Celano demonstrates his dependability as a reporter and his faithfulness in describing the truth of things. He does not succumb to the temptation of legendary embellishment. It can rather be said that the accounts from the *First Life* and the *Second Life*, insofar as they are repeated in the *Book of Miracles* "are not developed in legendary proportions: what was reported there on miracles is for the most part and verbatim transferred to the tract on miracles and added to these were the miracles that the dead Francis effected in all the world. With regard to the miracles that Francis was supposed to have performed in his lifetime, only very few new elements have been added."⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See what we have said above when speaking of Celano's life.

⁶⁸ See *Analecta Franciscana* X, xxxix.

⁶⁹ Walter Goetz, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi* (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1904) 239. These new miracles, that Francis worked during his lifetime, can be found in 3Cel 34, 124, 174, 178, 179, 195.

The importance of the *Book of Miracles* for the history of St. Francis and of the brothers who were his contemporaries should not be underestimated. What is to be gleaned from the tract is not only the different ways in which Francis was revered: how he appeared to the brothers and to other people—even when caution on this point is advised; the vows which were made to him; the celebration of his feast; the churches dedicated to him (3Cel 6, 8); the portraits that were made of him; the legends about him; the songs which were sung in his praise in the vernacular, but also, as was already mentioned, about Jacoba of Settesoli; about the way in which Francis signed his letters, (3Cel 3, 159), etc.⁷⁰

Of importance are also the marginal notes to several miracle reports, because they mention different things about the life of the brothers which we otherwise would not have known.

4. Other Works

For the sake of completeness, other works of Thomas of Celano are mentioned here:

a) The *Legenda ad usum chora* (*Legend for Choir Use*),⁷¹ probably suggested by Brother Benedict of Arezzo, who from 1221 to 1237 was the Provincial Minister of Romania and Greece. His request was that Celano select material from the *First Life* and divide it into nine lessons, so that this short legend could be incorporated into the breviary and so that due to its conciseness it would be accessible to every brother. A consideration here was that this short legend could be taken along in a breviary for travel. It's fairly certain that Celano himself fulfilled this commission and most probably around 1230. Most of the material was taken verbatim from the *First Life*.

b) *The Legend of St. Clare*:⁷² It was commissioned by Pope Alexander IV shortly after the canonization of St. Clare (August 15, 1255). The commission was taken up by Celano and probably completed in 1256.

c) Liturgical Sequences. Brother Thomas is also considered the poet of the Franciscan sequences, "Sanctitatis nova signa" and "Fregit victor." The attribution of the latter to Celano is doubtful.⁷³

⁷⁰See in this respect Michael Bihl in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 21 (1928) 20-38.

⁷¹Latin text in *Analecta Franciscana* X, 119-126, with "addenda et corrigenda" on p. 720-22.

⁷²Regis J. Armstrong, OFM Cap., trans., *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1988) 184-240 [2nd edition revised and enlarged, St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1994. Pp. 246-308.]

⁷³The Latin text of both sequences in *Analecta Franciscana* X, 402-04. See also *Liturgia di S. Francesco d'Assisi. Testi latini liturgici*. Tran. Fausta Casolini (Arezzo, 1963).

Since the 14th century Thomas of Celano has generally been considered the poet of the sequence, "Dies irae."⁷⁴ However, M. Inguanez found a codex from the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century which contains the greater part of the sequence.⁷⁵ He was countered by F. Ermini, who had already published a work on the "Dies irae"⁷⁶ and who maintained the authorship of Celano.⁷⁷ In spite of this, the authorship of Celano remains doubtful.

* Reworked and (above all with footnotes and bibliography) expanded version of the new "Introduction" to the fourth edition of Thomas von Celano, ein Leben und Wunder des heiligen Franziskus von Assisi, Werl i. W. 1988 (Franziskanische Quellenschriften V). — A sincere thanks to Fr. Dr. Oktavian Schmucki of the Historical Institute of the Capuchin Friars in Rome for his encouragement and constant assistance.

⁷⁴See *Analecta Franciscana* IV, 530. See also the article "Dies irae" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, III (Freiburg, 1959) 308-09. The following should be added to the bibliography listed there: K. Vellekoop, *Dies irae. Studien zur Frühgeschichte einer Sequenz* (Bilthoven, 1978).

⁷⁵M. Inguanez and A. Amelli, "Il Dies irae in un codice del secolo XII," *Miscellanea Cassinese* 9 (1931) 5-11.

⁷⁶F. Ermini, *Il Dies irae* (Geneva, 1928).

⁷⁷F. Ermini, "Il Poeta del Dies irae," *Atti dell'Accademia degli Arcadi VII-VIII* (Rome, 1931).