

But thou, heretic,¹ wilt say: "Christ said to his disciples, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them'; therefore the priest who does not receive the Holy Ghost because he is wicked cannot absolve." Even if a wicked priest has neither charity nor the Holy Ghost as a private man, nevertheless his priesthood is worthy as far as the efficacy of the sacraments goes, though he himself may be unworthy of the priesthood. . . .

For example, a red rose is equally red in the hands of an emperor or of a dirty old woman; likewise a carbuncle in the hand of a king or of a peasant; and my servant cleans the stable just as well with a rusty iron hoe as with a golden one adorned with gems. No one doubts that in the time of Elijah there were many swans in the world, but the Lord did not feed the prophet by swans, but by a black crow. It might have been pleasanter for him to have had a swan, but he was just as well fed by a crow. And though it may be pleasanter to drink nectar from a golden goblet than from an earthen vessel, the draught intoxicates just the same, wherever it comes from.

V. ATTITUDE OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT TOWARD HERETICS

The following document is a good example of the cordial manner in which the temporal rulers cooperated with the Church in the detection and punishment of heresy, which was universally regarded as the most horrible of crimes (see above, p. 364). It is taken from the laws of the enlightened Frederick II of Hohenstaufen.²

The heretics endeavor to rend the seamless garment of our Lord, and in accordance with their vicious name, which

¹ The Waldensians against whom the writer is arguing, maintained, as did the Albigenses (see above, p. 382) that only good priests could administer the sacraments so that they would benefit the sinners.

² Extracts from the laws in France and Germany relating to heretics will be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. III, No. 6.

means division, they would destroy the unity of that same indivisible faith. They would withdraw the sheep from Peter's guardianship, to which they were intrusted by the Good Shepherd. They are ravening wolves within, but feign a love for the flock, until they shall have crept into the Lord's fold. They are bad angels, sons of perversity, appointed by the father of lies and deception to mislead the simple-minded. They are serpents who deceive the doves. Like serpents they creep stealthily abroad; with honeyed sweetness they vomit forth their virus. While they pretend to offer life-giving food they strike with their tail, and prepare a deadly draught, as with some dire poison.

These sects do not assume the old names lest they should be recognized, but, what is perhaps more heinous, not content like the Arians, who took their name from Arius, or the Nestorians, from Nestorius, and others of the same class, they must imitate the example of the martyrs who suffered death for the Catholic faith. They call themselves Patarins, as if they, too, were sufferers.¹

These same wretched Patarins, who refuse to accept the holy belief in the eternal Trinity, combine three offenses in their wickedness. They offend God, their neighbor, and themselves,—God, since they refuse to place their faith in him or recognize his Son; their fellow-men, since they deceive them by offering them the seductions of a perverse heresy under the form of spiritual nurture. Against themselves they rage even more fiercely, for, prodigal of life and careless of death, in addition to the sacrifice of their souls, they involve their bodies in the toils of a horrible end, which they might avoid by acknowledging the truth and adhering to the true faith. What is worst of all, the survivors are not terrified by such examples.

Against these, who offend alike against God, themselves, and their fellow-men, we cannot restrain ourselves, and must draw forth the sword of merited retribution. We pursue

¹ The name Patarin, which seems here to be derived from the Latin word *patior*, to suffer, appears to have been given to the Cathari of Milan because they lived among the ragpickers (*patari*).

153. Concerning heretics. (From the laws issued by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, for Sicily, about 1235.)

them the more closely inasmuch as they are known, to the obvious prejudice of the Christian faith, to extend the crimes of their superstition toward the Roman church, which is regarded as the head of all other churches. Thus from the confines of Italy, especially from parts of Lombardy, where we are convinced that their wickedness is widespread, we now find rivulets of their perfidy reaching even to our kingdom of Sicily.

Feeling this most acutely, we decree, in the first place, that the crime of heresy and of reprehensible teaching, of whatever kind, by whatever name its adherents may be known, shall, as provided by the older laws, be included among the recognized crimes. (For should not what is recognized to be an offense against the Divine Majesty be judged more terrible than the crime of leze majesty directed against ourself, although in the eyes of the law one is not graver than the other?) As the crime of treason deprives the guilty of life and property, and even blackens the memory of the dead, so in the aforesaid crimes of which the Patarins are guilty, we wish the same rules to be observed in all respects.

And in order that the wickedness of those who walk in darkness, since they do not follow God, should be thoroughly exterminated, we desire that those who practice this class of crimes should, like other malefactors, be diligently sought for and hunted out by our officers. If such be discovered, even if there be only the slightest suspicion of their guilt, we command that they shall be examined by churchmen and prelates. If they shall be found by these to have deviated from the Catholic faith, even in a single respect, and if, when admonished by such churchmen in their function of pastors, they refuse by leaving the wiles of the devil to recognize the God of light, and stubbornly adhere to their error, we command, by this our present edict, that such condemned Patarins shall suffer the death they court; that, condemned to the sentence of the flames, they shall be burned alive in the sight of the people. Nor are we loath to satisfy their cravings in this respect, for they only suffer the penalty of their crime and reap no further gain. No one

shall dare to intercede with us for any such, and should any one presume to do this, we shall properly direct the darts of our indignation against him, too. . . .

All who shall receive, trust, aid, or abet the Patarins in any way, seeking to shield others from a penalty which they rashly do not fear for themselves, shall be deprived of all their goods and banished forever. Their sons shall thereafter be excluded from all honors whatsoever and shall be branded with perpetual disgrace. They shall not be permitted to act as witnesses in any case, but shall be rejected as infamous.

But if any one of the sons of such harborers or fautors shall point out a Patarin, whose guilt shall be thus proven, he shall, by the imperial clemency, be freed from the opprobrium and restored to his full rights, in view of the good faith which he has shown.

VI. LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ST. FRANCIS

Until his twentieth year Francis wretchedly wasted his days. He astonished every one, for he sought to exceed all others in pomp and vain display. He was full of jests, quips, and light words; he dressed in soft flowing garments, for he was very rich; yet he was not avaricious, only prodigal, and squandered instead of saving his money. He was withal a man of gentle manner, friendly and very courteous.

In the midst of the joys and sins of his youth suddenly the divine vengeance, or grace, came upon him, which began to recall him to the right way by bringing anguish to his mind and suffering to his body, according to the saying of the prophet, "Behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and I will encompass it with afflictions." When he had long been afflicted by bodily sickness — as the sinful man merits, since he will not amend his ways except by punishment — he began to turn his thoughts to other things than had been his wont.

When he had somewhat mended, he once more wandered about the house, supported by a staff, in order to hasten his

Penalties for those who harbor or aid heretics.

Premium on delation.

154. How St. Francis came to undertake his mission. (From the first *Life of St. Francis*, by Thomas of Celano, written in 1228; condensed.)

recovery. One day he went out of doors and looked thoughtfully over the neighboring plain; but the beauty of the fields and their pleasantness, and all things whatsoever that are lovely to the sight, in no way delighted him. He marveled at the sudden change in himself, and those who still loved the things that he had formerly loved seemed to him most foolish.

From that day it came to pass that he seemed worthless in his own sight, and did hold in a certain contempt those things that he was used to hold in admiration and love. He would fain conform his will to the divine will, and so he withdrew himself for a season from worldly business and tumult and sought to store away Jesus Christ within his soul.

[Together with a certain man of Assisi who did love him greatly, he was used to go apart into the country.] Now there was near the city a certain grotto and thither they often went. Francis, the man of God, who now was blessed with a holy purpose, would enter into the grotto whilst his companion awaited him without. There he did pray fervently that the eternal and true God would direct his way and would teach him to do his will. His soul glowed with divine fire and he could not hide the brightness of his spirit. And he repented him because he had sinned so grievously and had offended in the eyes of the Divine Majesty.

On a certain day when he had most earnestly besought the mercy of God, it was made known to him by the Lord what he should do. Therefore he was filled with so great gladness that he could not keep from rejoicing inwardly, and yet he would not make known unto men anything concerning this joy. But so great was the love kindled within him that he could not be wholly silent, so he spoke somewhat cautiously and in parables and told his companions how that he would do noble and mighty deeds. They asked him, saying, "Wilt thou marry a wife, Francis?" Who, answering, saith, "I will marry a wife more noble and fairer than ever ye saw, and this spotless bride is the true religion of God."

Ever had he been the benefactor of the poor, but from this time he resolved more firmly in his heart to deny no poor man anything who asked of him in the name of the Lord. Thenceforth whensoever he walked abroad and a beggar asked alms of him, if he had money he gave it to him. If he had no money, then he went apart into some hidden place and took off his shirt and sent it to the beggar secretly.

After some days, as he was passing by the church of St. Damian, it was revealed to him in the spirit that he should go in and pray. When he had entered and had begun to pray fervently before a certain crucifix, lo, the Christ upon the cross spoke to him kindly and lovingly, saying, "Francis, do you not see that my house is destroyed? Go then and repair it for me." Trembling and astounded, he answered, "That will I gladly do, Lord." For he thought that our Lord did speak of the church of St. Damian, which, because of its too great age, was like to fall into decay. So Francis straightway sought out the priest and gave him a certain sum of money that he might buy oil for the lamp before the crucifix. From that hour was his heart softened and wounded by the memory of our Lord's passion, so that even while he lived he did bear in his heart the stigmata of the Lord Jesus. . . .

[Now Francis, from this time, did long to give all things that he had to the Lord;] so this blessed servant of the Most High took some pieces of cloth that he might sell them, and went forth mounted upon his horse and arrived straightway at the city called Foligno. There did the happy merchant sell all the goods that he had, and did even part with his horse when a price was offered for him. Then he took his way toward Assisi, and he passed by the way the church of St. Damian. The new soldier of Christ straightway entered the church and sought out a certain poor priest, and with reverence did kiss his hands and then offered to him all the money that he had. . . .

[Rejoicing in the Lord, he lingered in the church of St. Damian.] His father, hearing of these things, gathered together his friends and neighbors and made all speed

possible to the place where the servant of God was abiding. Then he, because he was but a new champion of Christ, when he heard the threats of vengeance, did hide himself in a certain secret cave and there did lie concealed for a month. Fasting and praying, he did entreat the mercy of the Saviour; and though he lay in a pit and in the shadow of death, yet was he filled with a certain unutterable joy, unhopèd for until now. All aglow with this gladness, he left the cave and exposed himself openly to the abuses of his persecutors. . . . Armed with the shield of faith and the armor of trust, he took his way to the city. All who knew him did deride him and called him insane and a madman, and pelted him with the mud of the streets and with stones.

The father of the blessed Francis, when he learned that his son was ridiculed in the open streets, first strove by abuse to turn him from his chosen way. When he could not thus prevail over him, he desired the servant of God to renounce all his inheritance. That this might be done, he brought the blessed Francis before the bishop of Assisi. At this Francis did greatly rejoice and hastened with a willing heart to fulfill his father's demands.

When he had come before the bishop he did not delay, nor did he suffer others to hinder him. Indeed, he waited not to be told what he should do, but straightway did take off his garments and cast them away and gave them back to his father; and he stood all naked before the people. But the bishop took heed of his spirit and was filled with exceeding great wonder at his zeal and steadfastness; so he gathered him in his arms and covered him with the cloak which he wore. Behold now had he cast aside all things which are of this world.

The holy one, lover of all humility, did then betake himself to the lepers and abode with them most tenderly for the love of God. He washed away all the putrid matter from them, and even cleansed the blood and all that came forth from the ulcers, as he himself spake in his will: "When I was yet in my sins it did seem to me too bitter to look upon

the lepers, but the Lord himself did lead me among them and I had compassion upon them."

Now upon a certain day, in the church of Santa Maria Portiuncula, the gospel was read—how that the Lord sent forth his disciples to preach. It was while they did celebrate the solemn mystery of the mass, and the blessed one of God stood by and would fain understand the sacred words. So he did humbly ask the priest that the gospel might be expounded unto him. Then the priest set it forth plainly to him, and the blessed Francis heard how the disciples were to have neither gold, nor silver, nor money, nor purse, nor script, nor bread, not to carry any staff upon the road, not to have shoes nor two coats, but to preach repentance and the spirit of God, rejoicing always in the spirit of God.

Then said the blessed Francis, "This is what I long for, this is what I seek, this is what I desire to do from the bottom of my heart." And he was exceeding rich in joy, and did hasten to fulfill the blessed words that he had heard. He did not suffer any hindrance to delay him, but did earnestly begin to do that which he had heard. Forthwith he did loose the shoes from his feet, and did lay down the staff from out his hands, and was content with one tunic, and changed his girdle for a rope. Then with great fervor of spirit and joy of mind he began to preach repentance to all men. He used simple speech, yet by his noble heart did he strengthen those who heard him. His word was as a flaming fire, and found a way into the depths of all hearts.

The most blessed Father Francis once made his way through the valley of Spoleto, and he came to a place near Bevagna where birds of divers kinds had gathered together in a great multitude,—crows, doves, and others which are called, in the vulgar tongue, bullfinches. Now Francis, most blessed servant of God, was a man full of zeal and moved to tenderness and gentleness toward all creatures, even those that be lowly and without reason. So when he had seen the

155. St. Francis' sermon to the birds. (From Thomas of Celano.)

birds he did run to them quickly, leaving his companions upon the way.

When he had come near to them he saw that they awaited him, and he made salutation, as he was wont to do. Wondering not a little that they did not take flight, as is the habit of birds, he begged them humbly, yet with great joy, that they would hear the word of God. And among many things which he said unto them was this which follows: "My brother birds, greatly should ye praise your Creator and always serve him, because he gave you feathers to wear, wings to fly, and whatsoever ye needed. He exalted you among his creatures and made for you a mansion in the pure air. Although ye sow not, neither reap, none the less he protects you and guides you, and ye have not any care."

At this the birdlings — so one said who was with him — began to stretch out their necks and raise their wings, to open their mouths, and to look upon him. He went and came, passing through the midst of them, and his tunic touched their heads and bodies. Then he blessed them, and made the sign of the cross, and gave them leave to fly to other places.

156. The
will of
St. Francis.

Francis left no more important memorial of himself and his ideals than his will, dictated by him shortly before his death.

God gave it to me, Brother Francis, to begin to do penance in the following manner: when I was yet in my sins it did seem to me too bitter to look upon the lepers, but the Lord himself did lead me among them, and I had compassion upon them. When I left them, that which had seemed to me bitter had become sweet and easy.

A little while after I left the world, and God gave me such faith that I would kneel down with simplicity in any of his churches, and I would say, "We adore thee, Lord Jesus Christ, here and in all thy churches which are in the world, and we bless thee that by thy holy cross thou hast ransomed the world."

Afterward the Lord gave me, and still gives me, so great a faith in priests who live according to the form of the holy Roman Church, because of their sacerdotal character, that even if they persecuted me I would have recourse to them, and even though I had all the wisdom of Solomon, if I should find poor secular priests, I would not preach in their parishes against their will. I desire to respect them like all the others, to love them and honor them as my lords. I will not consider their sins, for in them I see the Son of God, and they are my lords. I do this because here below I see nothing, I perceive nothing corporeally of the most high Son of God, except his most holy body and blood, which the priests receive and alone distribute to others.

I desire above all things to honor and venerate all these most holy mysteries and to keep them precious. Wherever I find the sacred names of Jesus, or his words, in unsuitable places, I desire to take them away and put them in some decent place; and I pray that others may do the same. We ought to honor and revere all the theologians and those who preach the most holy word of God, as dispensing to us spirit and life.

When the Lord gave me the care of some brothers, no one showed me what I ought to do, but the Most High himself revealed to me that I ought to live according to the model of the holy gospel. I caused a short and simple formula to be written, and the lord pope confirmed it for me.

A reference
to Francis'
first Rule.

Those who presented themselves to follow this kind of life distributed all they might have to the poor. They contented themselves with one tunic, patched within and without, with the cord and breeches, and we desired to have nothing more. The clerics said the office like other clerics, and the laymen repeated the paternoster.

We loved to live in poor and abandoned churches, and we were ignorant, and were submissive to all. I worked with my hands and would still do so, and I firmly desire also that all the other brothers work, for this makes for goodness. Let those who know no trade learn one, but not for the purpose of

receiving the price of their toil, but for their good example and to flee idleness. And when we are not given the price of our work, let us resort to the table of the Lord, begging our bread from door to door. The Lord revealed to me the salutation which we ought to give: "God give you peace!"

Let the brothers take great care not to accept churches, habitations, or any buildings erected for them, except as all is in accordance with the holy poverty which we have vowed in the Rule; and let them not live in them except as strangers and pilgrims. I absolutely interdict all the brothers, in whatsoever place they may be found, from asking any bull from the court of Rome, whether directly or indirectly, in the interest of church or convent, or under pretext of preaching, nor even for the protection of their bodies. If they are not received anywhere, let them go of themselves elsewhere, thus doing penance with the benediction of God.

I firmly desire to obey the minister general of this brotherhood, and the guardian whom he may please to give me. I desire to put myself entirely into his hands, to go nowhere and do nothing against his will, for he is my lord. Though I be simple and ill, I would, however, have always a clerk who will perform the office, as it is said in the Rule. Let all the other brothers also be careful to obey their guardians and to do the office according to the Rule.

If it come to pass that there are any who do not the office according to the Rule, and who desire to make any other change, or if they are not Catholics, let all the brothers, wherever they may be, be bound by obedience to present them to the nearest custodian. Let the custodians be bound by obedience to keep such a one well guarded, like a man who is in bonds, day and night, so that he may not escape from their hands until they personally place him in the minister's hands. And let the minister be bound by obedience to send him, by brothers who will guard him as a prisoner day and night, until they shall have placed him in the hands of the lord bishop of Ostia, who is the lord protector, and the corrector of all the brotherhood.

And let the brothers not say, "This is a new Rule"; for this is only a reminder, a warning, an exhortation; it is my last will and testament, that I, little Brother Francis, make for you, my blessed brothers, in order that we may observe in a more Catholic way the Rule which we promised the Lord to keep.

Let the ministers general, all the other ministers, and the custodians be held by obedience to add nothing to and take nothing away from these words. Let them always keep this writing near them beside the Rule; and in all the assemblies which shall be held, when the Rule is read, let these words be read also.

I interdict absolutely by obedience all the brothers, clerics and laymen, to introduce comments in the Rule, or in this will, under pretext of explaining it. But since the Lord has given me to speak and to write the Rule and these words in a clear and simple manner, so do you understand them in the same way without commentary, and put them in practice until the end.

And whoever shall have observed these things, may he be crowned in heaven with the blessings of the heavenly Father, and on earth with those of his well-beloved Son and of the Holy Spirit, the Consoler, with the assistance of all the heavenly virtues and all the saints.

And I, little Brother Francis, your servitor, confirm to you, so far as I am able, this most holy benediction. Amen.

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The Albigensian Crusade: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 506-511; EMERTON, pp. 339-342.
The Mendicant Friars: EMERTON, pp. 578-581; MUNRO, pp. 178-180; TOUT, pp. 434-444.
The Rule of St. Francis: HENDERSON, *Historical Documents*, pp. 344-349.

B. Additional reading in English.

LEA, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I: Chapters II-V deal very fully with the development of the Waldensian and Albigenian heresies and the early attempts to suppress them; Chapter VI takes up both the Franciscan and Dominican orders; while in Chapters VII-XIV there is by far the fullest and best account in English of the origin of the papal Inquisition, its organization and methods. This is one of the most scholarly works ever produced in the United States.

SABATIER, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, translated from the French of the Protestant scholar who has done most to clear up the problems connected with the sources for the saint's life and teachings. A charming book, with a very full and scholarly discussion of the sources.

ABBÉ LÉON LE MONNIER, *History of St. Francis of Assisi*, 1894. From the French edition of 1890. The work of a Catholic, written before the appearance of Sabatier's.

JESSOPP, *The Coming of the Friars*.

DRANE, AUGUSTA, *History of St. Dominic, Founder of the Friars Preachers*, 1891.

The oldest and most authentic life of St. Francis, BROTHER LEO'S *Mirror of Perfection* (see below), is to be had in English (Temple Classics). It was written almost immediately after the death of Francis by one who was anxious that the friars should carefully adhere to the ideas of their founder as they are expressed in his will (see pp. 392 sqq.).

The Life of Francis by THE THREE COMPANIONS, written in 1246, is also in the Temple Classics.

The Little Flowers of St. Francis is a charming collection of anecdotes about him, which was probably written in the fourteenth century.

C. Materials for advanced study.

The Albigenes and Waldensians.

SCHMIDT, CH., *Histoire et doctrine de la secte de Cathares ou Albigeois*, 2 vols., 1849. Rather old but still the best full account. It may be controlled by Lea and also by Karl Müller (*Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. I), who has given much attention to the heresies of the Middle Ages. See also DOUAIS, *Les Albigeois, leurs origines*, etc., Paris, 1879, and TOCCO, *L'Eresia nel medio evo*, 1884. For the Waldensians: KARL MÜLLER, *Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen*, 1886, and the new edition of COMBA, *Histoire des Vaudois*, Vol. I, Florence, 1901.

We have to rely for the sources of our knowledge of the heretics mainly upon the writings of their Catholic opponents and upon the reports of the inquisitors. An excellent review by CH. DE SMEDT of the writers who deal with the Albigenes will be found in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Vol. XVI, pp. 433 sqq. The most considerable

collection of material is that of DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge zur Sectengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1891, especially Vol. II, "Documente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der Valdesier und Katharer."

For the considerable literature that exists upon the Inquisition, see LANGLOIS, *L'Inquisition d'après des travaux récents*, Paris, 1901, and the introduction by FREDERICQ to the French translation of LEA'S *Inquisition*, Paris, 3 vols., 1902. Besides LEA'S great work, see TANON, *Tribunaux de l'inquisition en France*, 1893, and HENNER, *Beiträge zur Organisation und Kompetenz des päpstlichen Ketzergericht*, 1890.

Of the inquisitorial guides containing official acts and much other information, one of the oldest and most authoritative is that of BERNARD OF GUI (d. 1331), an experienced inquisitor, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, printed for the first time by DOUAIS, in 1886. EYMERIC, an inquisitor in Aragon, composed his *Directorium Inquisitionum* toward the end of the fourteenth century, some fifty years later than the date of the *Practica* of Bernard. It proved more popular than Bernard's, and was printed a number of times in the sixteenth century, and old copies of it are not difficult to find. Among the collections of material recently published are: FREDERICQ, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae, 1025-1528*, 5 vols., 1889-1902, and DOUAIS, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'inquisition dans le Languedoc*, Paris, 1900 (Soc. de l'hist. de Fr.).

In addition to the excellent and popular biography of St. Francis by SABATIER, the student may consult KARL MÜLLER, *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens*, 1885. There has been not a little discussion, which has in some cases become rather acrid, about the early Lives of St. Francis. The *Speculum perfectionis* of BROTHER LEO, written apparently a year after the saint's death, is the earliest. This has been reconstructed and edited with elaborate notes and discussion by SABATIER, Paris, 1898. The first of the two Lives of the saint by THOMAS OF CELANO (written in 1228), was previously regarded as the earliest and most authoritative. This is in the *Acta sanctorum*, October, Vol. II, and in an edition published at Rome in 1880. The *Legenda trium sociorum*, written in 1246, is also important and very charming. The official Life composed by BONAVENTURA in 1261 was prepared with a view to taking the place of the earlier Lives, which were all ordered to be destroyed. This order was apparently pretty generally carried out, and it is this that has rendered the investigation of the material for St. Francis so difficult. All these Lives, including the second one by THOMAS OF CELANO, may be found in the *Acta sanctorum*. See "The Sources of

The mediæval Inquisition.

Inquisitorial guides.

Early Lives of St. Francis

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MACDONELL, ANNE, *The Sons of St. Francis*, 1902. Deals with the troubles in the order after the death of the founder.

Life of
St. Dominic.

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See articles in the *Kirchenlexikon* and *Realencyclopädie* for all the subjects spoken of in this chapter. Also HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Congregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 1896.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PEOPLE IN COUNTRY AND TOWN

I. THE MANOR AND ITS PEOPLE¹

The following official accounts of two English manors and their people give a good idea of the condition of the serfs in general.

In Wermington are 7 hides at the taxation of the king. And of this land 20 full villeins and 29 half-villeins hold 34 virgates² and a half; and for these the full villeins work 3 days a week through the year; and the half-tenants as much as corresponds to their tenancies. And these men have in all 16 plows, and they plow 68 acres and a half and besides this they do 3 boon-works with their plows, and they ought to bring from the woods 34 wagonloads of wood. And all these men pay £4 11s. 4d.; and at the love feast of St. Peter, 10 rams and 400 loaves and 40 platters and 34 hens and 260 eggs. And there are 8 socmen who have 6 plows. In the demesne of the court are 4 plows and 32 oxen and 9 cows and 5 calves and 1 riding horse and 129 sheep and 61 swine and 1 draught horse and 1 colt. And there is 1 mill with 1 virgate of land, and 6 acres which pays 60s. and 500 eels. And Ascelin, the clerk, holds the church with 2 virgates of land, from the altar of St. Peter of Borough. Robert, son of Richard, has 2 virgates and a half. In this vill 100 sheep can be placed.

157. Official description of a manor belonging to Peterborough Abbey (ca. 1125).

¹ I am indebted for the illustrations used in this section on the manor and in the one which follows on the towns, to Professor Cheyney's admirable selection of documents in the *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1, and Vol. III, No. 5.

² A virgate appears to have varied greatly in extent.