

The Conformity of the
Life of Blessed Francis to the
Life of the Lord Jesus

BOOK ONE

Bartolomew of Pisa

The Conformity of the
Life of Blessed Francis to the
Life of the Lord Jesus

BOOK ONE

Translation by
Christopher Stace, M.A., Ph.D.


New City Press

Published by New City Press
202 Comforter Blvd.,
Hyde Park, New York 12538
© 2020 New City Press

Typesetting and layout: Miguel Tejerina
Cover design: Nick Cianfarani

Cover art: Taddeo Gaddi, The Tree of Life (*Lignum vitae*),
Refectory, Santa Croce, Florence (1340 ca.).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, Volume IV

Editor: William J. Short, O.F.M.,

Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap.,

J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv.

Translated by: Christopher Stace, M.A., Ph.D.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020931346

ISBN: 978-1-56548-026-1 - Book IV/1, Manifestation (paperback)

ISBN: 978-1-56548-340-8 - Book IV/2, Proclamation (paperback)

ISBN: 978-1-56548-046-9 - Book IV/3, Exaltation (paperback)

Printed in the United States of America

Acknowledgements

The editor and translator wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance of several individuals whose advice and suggestions contributed to improving the text in many ways. Prof. Mary Elizabeth Ingham CSJ, an expert in medieval philosophy and its Franciscan exponents, helped with translating technical philosophical terms. The late Br. Gregory Shanahan OFM generously provided opinions and suggestions on concepts and terminology deriving from Bonaventure and other 13th-century Franciscan authors. The members of the Collegio Sant'Isidoro in Rome offered gracious hospitality to us during our labors. Brs. Mícheál Mac-Craith and Hugh McKenna OFM, each in his turn Guardian of the Collegio, always made us feel very welcome. Br. Bogdan Fajdek OFM, librarian emeritus of the Collegio San Bonaventura at Grottaferrata and later at St. Isidore's in Rome, made available to us the rare early print editions of the *Book of Conformities*. Br. Mateusz Wierbiczki, editor of the Quaracchi series on the *Quaestiones Disputatae*, patiently updated references to early editions of Alexander of Hales to the most recent critical edition. Brs. Juri Leoni, Florian Mair, Benedikt Mertens and other Quaracchi friar-editors searched out obscure references for us, corrected many of our errors, and offered scholarly encouragement along the way. The errors still to be found are our own.

To Susan Hopkins, our hearty gratitude for her gracious hospitality in Bagni di Lucca for our extended and convivial editorial meetings. And to the many members of the Stace and Short families, in the U.K., the U.S. and Italy, our appreciation for their patience over the course of this long journey.

Christopher Stace
William Short

Contents

Introduction	17
1. The Author: Bartolomew of Pisa–18; Bartholomew’s Works–18; Printed Editions–19; Translations–21	
2. Sources Used in the Conformities–21; Franciscan Sources–22; Franciscan Hagiography–23; 13 th -Century Franciscan Hagiography–24; 14 th -Century Franciscan Hagiography–24; Franciscan Historical and Geographical Works–25; Prophetic, Oracular, and Sybilline Texts–26; Prophetic Texts and the Life of St. Francis–27; Works of Joachim and Pseudo-Joachim–27; The <i>Liber Concordiae</i> –28; Joachite Franciscan Authors–29; Pseudo-Joachim, <i>Super Hieremiam</i> –29; The Prophecy of the Sibyl of Erythrae–30; Cyril of Mount Carmel–31	
3. The Text: The Content of the <i>Book of Conformities</i> and its Organization–32; Bartholomew’s Method–33; The Spirituality of “Conformity”–34; The Theme of Conformity in Earlier Franciscan Sources–35; The <i>Book of the Conformities</i> and Its Wide Diffusion–36; The <i>Conformities</i> in the Reformation: Supporters, Critics and Printers–37; The <i>Conformities</i> in the 17 th Century–39; The <i>Conformities</i> in the 18 th and 19 th Centuries–40; The <i>Conformities</i> from 1900 to the Present–42	
4. The Present Edition–42	
Appendix <i>The Book of Conformities</i> , Manuscript Tradition	45
Translator’s Preface	55
Abbreviations	58
Abbreviations in References:–58; Scriptural abbreviations:–58; Franciscan Sources:–58; Writings of Francis:–58; Hagiographical and Biographical Sources (Francis):–59; Writings of Clare of Assisi:–60; Hagiographical and Biographical Sources (Clare):–60; Abbreviations for <i>The Book of Conformities</i> , Manuscripts.–60; Abbreviations of other sources frequently cited:–61	
First Prologue	63
Second Prologue	66

BOOK ONE

The First Fruit and Conformity

Jesus known to the Prophets – Francis is proclaimed

Jesus known to the prophets. 95
Francis is proclaimed 110

The Second Fruit and Conformity

Jesus sent from heaven – Francis is appointed

Jesus sent from heaven. 147
Francis is appointed 162

The Third Fruit and Conformity

Jesus brought forth in joy – Mankind rejoices in Francis

Jesus brought forth in joy 179
Mankind rejoices in Francis. 199

The Fourth Fruit and Conformity

Jesus shown to the Magi – Francis is embraced

Jesus shown to the Magi 206
Francis is embraced 218

The Fifth Fruit and Conformity

The little Jesus is persecuted – Francis is assailed

The little Jesus is persecuted 225
Francis is assailed. 230

The Sixth Fruit and Conformity

Jesus is seen as humble – Francis is detached

Jesus is seen as humble 241
Francis is detached 265

The Seventh Fruit and Conformity

Jesus is exposed to the Enemy – Francis is afflicted

Jesus is exposed to the Enemy	280
Francis is afflicted	291

The Eighth Fruit and Conformity

Jesus is followed by a throng – Francis is blessed with offspring

Jesus is followed by a throng	302
Francis is blessed with offspring	319

The Ninth Fruit and Conformity

Jesus gives law to the peoples – Francis the maker of Rules

Jesus gives law to the peoples	553
Francis the maker of Rules.	562

Exposition of the First Chapter of the Rule–577; Exposition of the Second Chapter of the Rule–586; Exposition of the Third Chapter of the Rule–597; Exposition of the Fourth Chapter of the Rule–602; Exposition of the Fifth Chapter of the Rule–612; Exposition of the Sixth Chapter of the Rule–615; Exposition of the Seventh Chapter of the Rule–622; Exposition of the Eighth Chapter of the Rule–625; Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Rule–628; Exposition of the Tenth Chapter of the Rule–629; Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Rule–633; Exposition of the Twelfth Chapter of the Rule–634

Tenth Fruit and Conformity

Jesus the wonderful Teacher – Francis the Preacher

Jesus the wonderful Teacher	676
Francis the Preacher.	688

The Eleventh Fruit and Conformity

Jesus instructs the disciples – Francis the sender of missions

Jesus instructs the disciples	714
Francis the sender of missions	727

The Province of Saint Francis–740; The Province of The Marches–750; The Province of Rome–755; The Province of Tuscany–757; The Province of Bologna–762; The Province of

Saint Anthony–767; The Province of Milan–768; The Province of Genoa–769; The Province of Slavonia–770; The Province of Terra di Lavoro–771; The Province of Penne–773; The Province of Sant’Angelo–774; The Province of Apulia–775; The Province of Calabria–775; The Province of Sicily–776; The Province of Romania–777; The Province of The Holy Land–778; The Province of Santiago–779; The Province of Castille–781; The Province of Aragon–782; The Province of Aquitaine–783; The Province of Provence–786; The Province of Burgundy–788; The Province of Tours–789; The Province of France–790; The Province of England–794; The Province of Ireland–796; The Province of Dacia–797; The Province of Cologne–798; The Province of Argentina–799; The Province of Saxony–801; The Province of Austria–803; The Province of Bohemia–804; The Province of Hungary–806; The Vicariate of Bosnia–808; The Vicariate of Russia–809; The Vicariate of the Orient–811; The Vicariate of the North–812; The Vicariate of Tartary–814; The Vicariate of Sardinia–815; The Vicariate of Corsica–816

The Twelfth Fruit and Conformity

Jesus speaks to the humblest – Francis the Teacher

Jesus speaks to the humblest	825
Francis the Teacher	850

BOOK TWO

The first fruit and conformity and thirteenth in order

Jesus works wonderful miracles – Francis’s fame is spread

Jesus works wonderful miracles	17
Francis’s fame is spread	31

The second fruit and conformity and fourteenth in order

Jesus the Caring Shepherd – Francis is enlivened

Jesus the Caring Shepherd	48
Francis is enlivened	59

The third fruit and conformity and fifteenth in order

Jesus arrayed in glory – Francis is lifted on high

Jesus arrayed in glory	97
Francis is lifted on high	127

The fourth fruit and conformity, and sixteenth in order

Jesus the poor and humble – Francis is united with poverty

Jesus the poor and humble	147
Francis is united with poverty	166

The fifth fruit and conformity and seventeenth in order

Jesus submissive to all – Francis abases himself

Jesus submissive to all	196
Francis abases himself	208

The sixth fruit and conformity and eighteenth in order

Jesus the shining Prophet – Francis is enlightened

Jesus the shining prophet	229
Francis is enlightened.	251

The seventh fruit and conformity and nineteenth in order

Jesus embraces hardships – Francis follows his example

Jesus embraces hardships	280
Francis follows his example.	292

The eighth fruit and conformity and twentieth in order

Jesus pacifies the waves – Francis is held fast at sea

Jesus pacifies the waves	306
Francis is held fast at sea	321

The ninth fruit and conformity and twenty-first in order

Jesus drives out the devil – Francis the exorciser

Jesus drives out the devil	326
Francis the exorciser	338

The tenth fruit and conformity and twenty-second in order

Jesus turns water to wine – Francis the transformer

Jesus turns water to wine	349
Francis the transformer	358

The eleventh fruit and conformity and twenty-third in order

Jesus considered at prayer – Francis the man of prayer

Jesus considered at Prayer	361
Francis the Man of Prayer	377
<i>A Prayer–398; A Prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary–398; The Praise of the Most High Lord God, which blessed Francis composed–398; A Prayer–398; A Salutation of the Blessed Virgin composed by blessed Francis–399; The Praise of the Creatures, composed by blessed Francis, when the Lord gave him an assurance of his kingdom–399</i>	

The twelfth fruit and conformity and twenty-fourth in order

Jesus refreshes the multitude – Francis the provider

Jesus refreshes the multitude	401
Francis the provider	423

The thirteenth fruit and conformity and twenty-fifth in order

Jesus’s admirable Life – Francis the worker of good

Jesus’s admirable Life	431
Francis the worker of good	442

The fourteenth fruit and conformity and twenty-sixth in order

Jesus, a miraculous splendor – Francis the searcher of hearts

Jesus, a miraculous splendor	458
Francis the searcher of hearts	472

The fifteenth fruit and conformity and twenty-seventh in order

Jesus the Venerable King – Francis the awakener

Jesus the Venerable King	477
Francis the awakener	485

The sixteenth fruit and conformity and twenty-eighth in order

Jesus the formidable leader – Francis the loather of sin

Jesus the Formidable Leader	492
Francis the loather of Sin	498

BOOK THREE

The first fruit and conformity and twenty-ninth in order

Jesus eats with his disciples – Francis emulates him

Jesus eats with his disciples	19
Francis emulates him	53

The second fruit and conformity and thirtieth in order

Jesus enriches his followers – Francis discourses

Jesus enriches his followers	55
Francis discourses	59

The third fruit and conformity and thirty-first in order

Jesus takes up the Cross – Francis is imprinted

Jesus takes up the Cross	64
Francis is imprinted	76

The fourth fruit and conformity and thirty-second in order

Jesus departs this life – Francis is summoned

Jesus departs this life	139
Francis is summoned	155

The fifth fruit and conformity and thirty-third in order

Jesus delivers his people – Francis is thronged

Jesus delivers his people	165
Francis is thronged	170

The sixth fruit and conformity and thirty-fourth in order

Jesus's body is entombed– Francis is buried

Jesus's body is entombed	173
Francis is buried	177

The seventh fruit and conformity and thirty-fifth in order

Jesus is considered in glory – Francis is made beautiful

Jesus is considered in glory	182
Francis is made beautiful	193

The eighth fruit and conformity and thirty-sixth in order

Jesus is received as leader – Francis is crowned with laurels

Jesus is received as leader	195
Francis is crowned with laurels	200

The ninth fruit and conformity and thirty-seventh in order

Jesus transcends the Angels – Francis is exalted

Jesus transcends the Angels	204
Francis is exalted	210

The tenth fruit and conformity and thirty-eighth in order

Jesus sends out his Apostles – Francis comes to man's aid

Jesus sends out his Apostles	215
Francis comes to man's aid	219

The eleventh fruit and conformity and thirty-ninth in order

Jesus delivers the downcast – death is banished by Francis

Jesus delivers the downcast	222
Death is banished by Francis	225

The twelfth fruit and conformity and fortieth in order
Jesus enriches the worthy – Francis is given all things

Jesus enriches the worthy. 232
Francis is given all things. 235

Of the dead raised to life–236; Of many who were delivered from the danger of death–236; Of those delivered after drinking poison–239; Of those mortally wounded–239; Of those delivered from shipwreck–239; Of those who were drowning and were saved by blessed Francis–240; Of those freed from captivity and imprisonment–241; Of those delivered from bodily torments–242; Of those delivered from evil spirits–242; Of those delivered from the peril of childbirth–243; Of those fainting with thirst–244; Of the blind and visually handicapped who were cured–244; Of the deaf he cured, whose ears were stopped up–246; Of the deaf and dumb he healed–246; Of the dumb whose speech he restored–247; Of those cured of ruptures and hernias–248; Of those cured of insanity–249; Of cripples who were straightened–249; Of lepers and other defiled persons who were cured–251; Of those cured of paralysis and gout–252; Of the punishment of those who slandered blessed Francis–252; Of God’s punishment of those who did not celebrate the feast of blessed Francis–252; Of those cured of hemorrhages–254; Of the rescue of those buried beneath the earth–254; Of those cured of broken legs–255; Of those delivered from the jaws of beasts–255; Of the boat that came of its own accord when blessed Francis was invoked–255; Of those fainting with hunger whom blessed Francis delivered–255; Of those delivered from burning–256; Of those who fell from great heights and were saved–256; Of the weak whose limbs were strengthened–257; Of the healing of those suffering from eye problems–258; Of those freed from fevers–258; Of the healing of those with dropsy and palsy–259; Of those cured of abscesses, ulcers, scrofulas and tumors–260; Of the barren who were made fertile–261; Of those who meant to steal from blessed Francis’s church and were not permitted to do so–261; How God through His miracles caused those who did not believe blessed Francis was a saint to believe in him–261; Of those saved from hanging–262; Of the curing of those unable to use their hands–262; Of other miracles of different kinds performed by blessed Francis–263; Blessed Francis aids those who served him with devotion–264; Letter sent to the General Minister and General Chapter by Master Bartholomew of Pisa seeking their approbation of this work–266; Letter of reply of the General Chapter approving this work–267

Bibliography268

Biblical Texts–268; Reference Works, Document Collections–268;
Works by Bartholomew of Pisa–270; Classical Authors–270; Patris-
tic Authors–273; Medieval Authors–287; Reformation and Enlight-
enment Authors–315; Modern Authors–318

Index (on line) www.newcitypress.com/media/downloads/Conformity_Index.pdf

Introduction

In the early 1380s a respected Franciscan preacher and professor of theology, Friar Bartholomew of Pisa, set to work on what was to be a book with a surprisingly long life-span. It was called a book of “conformities,” showing the many similarities between the life of Jesus Christ and the life of the Italian saint, Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). He approached his task in the manner of the scholastic master that he was: proposal of a theme, accompanied by supporting evidence from authoritative sources, whether authors of classical antiquity, biblical texts, or Patristic and Scholastic writers. His organizing theme was that of a great tree with many branches bearing fruit, each of which represented one of the conformities he proposed. He finished his work on March 18, 1390, and presented it for approval to the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order. After review, the book was given the Order’s approval in a letter of the Minister General, Enrico Alfieri, on August 2, 1399.

Highly popular throughout the ensuing century, frequently copied by hand, in whole or in part, the text circulated throughout the Franciscan houses of Europe. It was destined to occupy the talents of some of the Europe’s earliest printers, and was among the first printed books to be brought to the Americas, to today’s Venezuela, in 1516.

Yet Friar Bartholomew’s book has also been reviled as “the Cord-bearers’ Alkoran,” “a synke of Lyes” and a work about a “stigmatized Idol.” Martin Luther felt obliged to pen a critique of the work in the early years of the Reformation. Illustrated excerpts of the text in Protestant polemical works, in French, English, Dutch and German, satirized the book and its hero, St. Francis. Catholic authors issued rebuttals of these critiques, assuring that the work would remain a focus of attention well into the 17th century. Later centuries would see the work gradually vanish from public attention, only to see a revival of interest as modern studies of the Poverello of Assisi flourished anew in the late 19th-century. That renewed interest in studies of St. Francis led, at the beginning of the 20th century, to the publication of the text in a scholarly Latin edition, the work of the Friar Editors of Quaracchi, whose mission is that of making texts of the Franciscan tradition available in reliable modern editions.

The story of this first English translation of Friar Bartholomew’s *Book of Conformities* began in Canterbury, home to the earliest Franciscan friars who arrived in England in 1217. At a book launch there, in 2001, the editors of the three-volume series *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* presented the third volume of the series, which includes documents from the 1350s to approximately 1380. When asked by one of those in attendance about possible future volumes in the series, the editors replied that they had little expectation of moving forward because of an obstacle on the horizon: Bartholomew’s *Book of Conformities*. A

translation of the full text had never been published, and the work ran to more than a thousand pages in the modern Latin edition: a formidable challenge. Most texts about Francis in following centuries following its composition presumed knowledge of the *Conformities*, so until it could become available in English translation, further work on the series could likely not go forward. The translator of the present volume then proposed that he would undertake the task, and the results of that work now open the way for continuing translations of documents about Francis of Assisi from the early 15th-century onward.

1. The Author: Bartolomew of Pisa

The biographical information about Friar Bartholomew is surprisingly limited for an author whose works were widely known and appreciated during his lifetime.¹ He was a member of the Order of Friars Minor, from Rinonico, a district of Pisa.² The earliest reference to him, in 1352, as a professed friar in Pisa, has led to the conjecture that he could have been born around 1335 if he had entered the Franciscan Order at the earliest permissible age of fifteen, not uncommon at the time.

We know that between 1368 and 1373 he had changed from being a student in the Franciscan *studium* at Bologna to the status of “lector,” an approved teacher in the study centers of the Order. He also taught in his native Pisa, in Siena, Florence and Padua.

At the Order’s General Chapter of Toulouse in 1373 he was assigned to a teaching appointment as lector at the Franciscan *studium* at Cambridge, opening the way for him to earn the title of *magister*, the equivalent of the doctoral degree. Impeded by the hostilities of the Hundred Years’ War from travelling to England to take up his appointment,³ he had to wait until 1375 to receive his title as “master” by special decree from Pope Gregory XI in Avignon. We know of his preaching activities from cycles of sermons that have survived from 1390 and 1397. The letter approving his *Conformities* for distribution dates to 1399, and his date of death is believed to be about 1401.

Bartholomew’s Works

A prolific writer, Bartholomew has left us, besides his great work on St. Francis, a significant amount of other writings. These include two collections of

-
1. The most recent overview of his life and work is Alessandro Mastromatteo, *Similem illum fecit in gloria sanctorum. Il profilo cristiforme di Francesco d’Assisi nel De conformitate di Bartolomeo da Pisa* (Rome: Pontifical University Antonianum, 2012).
 2. Or “de Rinonichi” may be a family name.
 3. Raoul Manselli, “Bartolomeo da Pisa (da Rinonico, de Rinonichi),” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani VI* (Rome: Treccani, 1964) 756-758.

his sermons: a Lenten cycle on contempt of the world, given in Pisa in 1397,⁴ and another on Lenten Sunday Gospels explaining cases of conscience, preached in Florence in 1390.⁵ We also have his book on the Life of the Virgin Mary, with the text organized as a series of fruits on the branches of a tree.⁶

The *Book of Conformities* prospered, within Franciscan circles and beyond, for more than two centuries after its composition in the late 1380s. Its early popularity is attested by the more than one-hundred fifty manuscripts listed in the Quaracchi edition.⁷ A full listing of the twenty-seven manuscripts available to the Quaracchi editors in 1906 is provided in their first volume (AF IV). Some additional manuscripts came to the notice of the editors in the years preceding the 1912 publication of their second volume and are noted at the beginning of the second volume (AF V). In the two decades after that edition was completed, the editors of the Quaracchi journal *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* published still more descriptions of manuscripts of the *Conformities* described by such scholars as Walter Seton and Benvenuto Bughetti.⁸ Since then other manuscripts containing the whole text or significant excerpts have been added to the list through the patient efforts of other scholars.⁹ Most recently, Alessandro Mastromatteo presents an up-to-date listing of all manuscripts known up to 2013, and that listing of manuscripts will be found below in the Appendix.

Printed Editions

The publishing fortunes of the text offer some idea of the demand for copies of this encyclopedic treatise. Three editions of the *Conformities* were printed in the 16th century.

1510, Milan: *Liber Conformitatum vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu Christi*.

The first, in an edition prepared by Francesco Zeno (di Colombano), Vicar General of the Observant friars, was printed in 1510 in Milan by the Flemish typographer Gothard van der Bruggen (Gotardo da Ponte),¹⁰ “whose *officina libraria* is at the temple of St. Satyrus.” 256 fol. in-quarto, 2 cols.

4. *Quadragesimale Magistri Bartholomei de Pisis ordinis minorum de contemptu mundi: siue de triplici mundo* (Milan: Ulrich Scinzenzeller, 1498).

5. *Sermones lucidissimi et insignes dubiorum et casuum conscientialium contemptivi et elucidati super Evangelii quadragesimalibus* (Lyon: Romain Morin, 1519).

6. *De vita et laudibus b. Mariae Virginis libri sex* (Venice: Pietro Dusinelli, 1596).

7. AF IV: XXV-XXXII; AF V: XLIX-LX.

8. Walter Seton, “Two manuscripts of Bartholomew of Pisa,” *AFH* XVI (1923) 191-199. Benvenuto Bughetti, “Una nuova compilazione di testi intorno alla vita di S. Francesco (dal cod. Universitario di Bologna, n. 2697),” *AFH* 20 (1927) 525-562, examines one of Bartholomew’s sources in an Italian version by Fra Leonardo Bruni, O.F.M.

9. See Diego Ciccarelli, “Un codice messinese delle Conformità di Bartolomeo da Pisa,” in *Archivio Storico Messinese* 28 (1977) 85-107.

10. *Liber Conformitatum vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu Christi*.

1513, Milan: *Opus auree et inexplicabilis bonitatis et continentie, Conformitatum scilicet vite beati Francisci ad vitam Domini nostri Jesu Christi*

Just three years later, in 1513, also in Milan, an edition with some corrections was prepared by the Conventual friar and theologian Giovanni Mapello,¹¹ and printed by Giovanni (Zanotto) Castiglione, “huisi artis non infimi,” a typographer active both in Milan and Turin.¹² 229 fols. in-quarto, 2 cols.

1590, Bologna: *Liber aureus inscriptus*

A third edition shows some editing and correcting of the book’s most frequently criticized passages, a task carried out by the Italian Conventual friar Geremia Bucchio of Udine, formerly Minister Provincial of Tuscany; after his death it was printed in Bologna in 1590 by Alessandro Benazzi.¹³

1620, Bologna: reprint

An early 17th-century publication (1620, Bologna) is merely a reprint of the 1590 edition with a few corrections.

1906-12, Quaracchi Edition

The present translation is based on the most recent edition of Friar Bartholomew’s tome, produced at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Friar Editors of Quaracchi, in the Preface to their edition of Books One and Two of the *Book of Conformities* (dated December 8, 1906), described their complex and lengthy work of examining manuscripts and earlier printed editions of the work, resulting in the publication of the full Latin text of the *Conformities* over a six-year period (1906-12), in two substantial volumes of *Analecta Franciscana*, filling 1,136 pages. While not a complete critical edition, the Quaracchi editors took into consideration major differences in the manuscript tradition, supplying a limited critical apparatus. To date no full critical edition of the text has been published.

-
11. *Opus auree et inexplicabilis bonitatis et continentie, Conformitatum scilicet vite beati Francisci ad vitam Domini nostri Jesu Christi*.
 12. Arnaldo Ganda, *I primordi della tipografia milanese. Antonio Zarotto da Parma (1471-1507)* (Florence: Olschki, 1984) describes Castiglione (c. 1524) as working for the pioneering printer in Milan Antonio Zarotto, and eventually taking over the operation of his printing business.
 13. *Liber aureus inscriptus liber conformitatum vitae beati ac seraphici patris Francisci ad vitam Jesu Christi Domini nostri*. (Nunc denuo in lucem editus atque... correctus a... Jeremia Bucchio,... Cui... addita est perbrevis... historia omnium virorum qui sanctitate... in Franciscana religione... excelluerunt).

Translations

Despite its popularity in the original Latin, the *Book of Conformities* has never been published in a full translation in any other language. Excerpts in English, German, Dutch and French of the mid-16th century (frequently tendentious) included only passages considered useful for religious polemic.¹⁴ The single translation of the entire text, in Italian, produced in 1543-44 by the Tuscan Observant friar Dionigi Pulinari (d. 1582), still lies unpublished in its original three-volume manuscript form in the National Library in Florence.¹⁵ However, the largest single Fruit of the forty presented in the text (Book One, Fruit Eight, on the expansion of the three Orders of St Francis) has been translated into Italian: *La famiglia feconda di Francesco d'Assisi nel De conformitate vitae di Bartholomeo da Pisa: Liber I, Fructus VIII*.¹⁶

2. Sources Used in the Conformities¹⁷

Friar Bartholomew had followed the standard academic program of his day in the study of the liberal arts, philosophy, Scripture and theology. The range of his learning is displayed liberally throughout his writing, as he cites authors from Aristotle to Albumasar, Scriptural commentaries spanning the Patristic and medieval periods, philosophers and historians, whether Christian, Jewish, or Muslim, and the most widely respected theological authors of his own day. A glance at the names of the many authors in the Bibliography will give the reader some idea of his erudition, whether derived from study of singular authors or from his use of the widely used compilations of authorities popular in his day.

Bartholomew's Biblical text is that of the Vulgate, with Gloss. The first part of each Fruit or Conformity in the text usually includes extensive citations from Scripture to illustrate an aspect of the life of Christ, accompanied in many cases by explanations derived from authorities cited in the *Glossa ordinaria*.

A number of authors of classical antiquity are mentioned in the text, including Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, Sixtus Pythagoreus, Calcidius, and Seneca.

Among authors of the Patristic era cited with a certain frequency are Augustine, Gregory the Great, Jerome, John Chrysostom, the *Vitae Patrum*, Ambrose, Isidore of Seville, Anselm, John Cassian, John Damascene, Bede, Ps.-Dionysius

14. These all derived from the parody by Erasmus Alber, *Der Barfüßser Mönche Eulenspiegel und Alkoran* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1542), with an Introduction by Martin Luther.

15. Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze cod. II, III, 162; cod. II, III, 163; cod. II, III, 168. See Mastro-matteo, 61. Book Three of this translation is preserved, also in Florence, in Ms. Riccard. 2609 (paper, late 16th c., 228 x 168 mm., 268 leaves): see L. Oligier, "Descriptio codicum franciscanorum bibliothecae Riccardianae Florentinae," *AFH*, 8 (1915) 270-271.

16. Trans. by Noel Muscat (Valletta: Franciscan Communications - TAU Edition, 2015).

17. See AF V xxxiv-v.

the Areopagite, Leo the Great, Cyprian of Carthage, Origen, John Climacus, Hilary of Poitiers, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen, Isidore of Seville, Benedict, Basil, Cassiodorus, and Boethius.

Christian authors of the Middle Ages appearing in the text include Remigius of Auxerre, Haymo of Halberstadt, Rabanus Maurus, Innocent III, Urban IV, Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter Lombard, Orosius, Peter Comestor, Hugh of St. Victor, Richard of St. Victor, Anthony of Padua, Robert of Lincoln, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, and Peter Auriol.

The important medieval Muslim authors cited within Bartholomew's work include Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Avicenna (Ibn Sina), important authors in the university curriculum Bartholomew knew so well, and the Persian astrological authority Abu Ma'shar (Albumazar).

Bartholomew frequently refers to texts of medieval Canon Law in his often complex argumentation: Gratian's *Decretum*; the *Libri Quinque* of the Decretals of Gregory IX, the *Liber Sextus* produced under Boniface VIII, the *Constitutiones* of Clement V, and the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. He also knows the work of such commentators as Giovanni d'Andrea (Ioannes Andreae) on the *Constitutiones Clementinae*.

On matters of historical events, names and dates, the *Conformities* often cites a variety of histories and chronicles, such as Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, the *Seven Books of History against the Pagans* of Paulus Orosius, Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, Martin of Opava's *Chronicon* and that of Johann of Winterthur.

Hagiographical texts are also cited with some frequency: the *Passiones* of various martyrs, including Andrew the Apostle, Cecilia, the *Lives* of confessors like Benedict, Martin, and Gregory Nazianzen, and the *Lives* and *Sayings* of the Desert Fathers and Mothers. Of special importance are the texts collected by the Dominican James of Voragine (or Varazze) in his *Golden Legend*.

The medieval prophetic texts of Joachim of Fiore are given special attention in the *Conformities*, along with such lesser-known figures as Cyril of Mount Carmel, Polycarp the Deacon, and the ancient Sybils (including popular medieval forgeries now attributed to Franciscan authors). These will be explained in greater detail below.

Franciscan Sources

Among the sources whom Bartholomew cited most frequently are works of Franciscan authors. Beginning with the earliest writings of the founder of the Franciscan Order, most of the texts concerning Francis of Assisi's life and holiness from the 1200s find their way into the second part of each Fruit or Conformity. A detailed listing of these will illustrate Bartholomew's overall grasp of the hagiographical dossier of Francis.

First in importance is Bartholomew's use of an impressive collection of the *Writings* of Francis himself, including almost all of those known today.¹⁸ He cites many of the saint's prayers completely and accurately: the *Prayer on the Our Father*, the *Praises to be Said at all the Hours*, the *Antiphon of the Office of the Passion* (though not the Office itself). Of the "Praises" or *laude* of Francis, Bartholomew cites the *Canticle of Brother Sun* (in its Umbrian vernacular), the *Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, the *Salutation of the Virtues*, and the *Chartula* of Assisi, that given to Brother Leo and containing the *Blessing* for Leo and the *Praises of God*. Among the saint's letters, he quotes: the *Letter to the Faithful II* (or *Later Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance*), the *Letter to a Minister*, and the *Letter to the Entire Order*.

Among the exhortations and legislative texts we find references to the saint's *Admonitions*, the *Earlier Rule* and *Later Rule* (*Regula non bullata* and *Regula bullata*), the *Rule for Hermitages*, the *Testament*, and the "saying" called the *Testament of Siena*.¹⁹

There are also authentic works of Francis known today that are not cited in the *Conformities*: the *Prayer before the Crucifix*; the *Exhortation to the Praise of God*, the *Office of the Passion*, the *Letter to Clerics I* and *II* (or *Earlier and Later Exhortation to the Clergy*), the *Letter to the Rulers of the Peoples*, the *Letter to Brother Leo* (or *Chartula* of Spoleto), the *Letter to Brother Anthony*, and the *Letter to the Faithful I* (or *Earlier Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance*). Also apparently missing from Bartholomew's library were the *First and Second Letter to the Custodians*, and the *Canticle of Exhortation* for the Sisters of San Damiano (*Audite poverelle*).

Franciscan Hagiography

Of all the texts on which Bartholomew draws for his portrayal of Francis, those of the Franciscan hagiographical tradition are certainly the most significant. And among all the Franciscan texts used by Bartholomew, the *Major Legend of St. Francis* (*Legenda maior*) by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio is by far the most frequently cited. In fact, the *Conformities* can be read as a vast commentary on Bonaventure's text, written in 1260, when Bonaventure became Minister General of the Order, succeeding Francis as the seventh in that office. A General Chapter of the Order, celebrated in Paris in 1266, ruled that this biography should be considered "the official biography" of the Saint of Assisi, and that all earlier biographies ("legends") were to be destroyed, even if found outside the houses of the Order.

Written slightly more than a century later, Bartholomew's opus makes it clear that many accounts of the life of Francis besides the *Major Legend* by Bonaventure had survived this edict and many more were written after its prom-

18. These writings can be found in FA:ED I 41-167, except where noted.

19. This text can be found in FA:ED II 161-2.

**In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and the most blessed
Virgin Mary, his mother, and our blessed father Francis. Amen**

[IV 1] *Here begins the work which is entitled "Of the Conformity of the life of blessed Francis to the life of the Lord Jesus, our Redeemer," composed out of reverence for his most excellent father, blessed Francis, by Brother Bartholomew of Pisa, of the Order of Minors, Master of sacred Theology.*¹

First Prologue

The **FIRST PROLOGUE** of the above author to the aforesaid work.

The lives of the saints, supported by their virtuous works, and their fruitful teaching, together with the miracles they perform, give greater enlightenment to the sons of the Church Militant, direct them more uprightly in their actions, edify them the more effectively, soothe their hearts to a greater peace and lead them the more eagerly to despise the world, and draw them and call them, challenge them and spur them above all else to follow Christ with all their strength and might. And if this is true of saints in general, the saints whose examples have most power to influence the faithful to the above ends are those whom our Savior has conformed the most closely to himself in the deeds they perform, favored with lavish gifts, and manifested as illustrious and glorious and renowned through the signs and marvels they perform. For whatever innate qualities the saints possess, and whatever is done by them, is employed by God's power for the direction, consolation and enlightenment of the faithful, to the end that he may be revealed and proclaimed as most wondrous in himself, and wondrous beyond question for his deeds and for his saints.

But although God's clemency has deigned to establish all the saints for his own glory and for our salvation, and has never at any time since the beginning of the human race to the present day let the world be deprived of their fellowship, when the world itself was at length growing old and becoming vile with the sores of its vices, and slothful in living the life of the Apostles, or more truly turning aside from the footprints of Christ, for whom its love was growing cold; and when it was no longer threatening to, but actually on the point of plumbing the depths of all depravity and overwhelmed in the darkness of its sins; when

1. The text is based on that of *Analecta Franciscana* (AF) IV and V, published by the Friar Editors of Quaracchi (Q.). The original page numbering of those volumes is indicated in the text within square brackets, as here [IV 1]. Notes from that edition have been used, with additions, corrections and references to more recent editions. References to the unpublished Italian version of Fra Dionisio Pulinari are given in parentheses: (P.).

it was no longer in [IV 2] mid-course but pressing on towards the very finish,² and the voice of religion and morality had been silenced, because everyone was seeking and striving after his own ends, rather than those of Christ; then the ineffable Wisdom, providently desiring and purposing to renew the world and amend its ways, suddenly brought into being a rare and unique individual, admirable in his life, exceptional in character, a pre-eminent follower of the Apostles, a powerful preacher, most ardent in his zeal for souls, a man celebrated for his virtues and miracles, who despised all worldly things, a true friend of poverty, who observed every Gospel precept, a bearer of the cross renowned for the stigmata he had suffered, one eagerly and zealously striving with all his powers to reach his heavenly home.

This celebrated, devout and holy man was the angelic Francis, whom the Father of Mercies and Lights guided with his grace, attended and brought to perfection, and who, having cast off the burden of all earthly things and following unerringly the hitherto forgotten way of the life of Jesus and the Apostles, loving poverty, taking her and clinging to her as his lifelong spouse, a scrupulous observer of the Gospel in his life, his words, his deeds and example, brought greater enlightenment to all regions of the earth with the miraculous radiance he shed, directed them to the light of perfection and urged them the more zealously to fulfill the commands of God and to follow in the footsteps of the Crucified. The abundance of grace with which the blessed father was endowed, the life he lived, the power of his words, and the liberality of his affection, friendship and love, the goal he desired and sought to achieve, and the great splendor of his glory in heaven above, are illustrated and attested not only by the Order of Lesser Brothers, which was founded by him together with the other two Orders, but also by the deeds he performed and still continues to perform.

But the Lord Jesus, by making Francis more than all other saints similar to and conformed to Himself, by imprinting him with the marks of his Passion and raising him to such an exalted status, manifestly reveals and demonstrates how great is his favor with Him, how great his grace, and how preeminent he is in his condition of glory. So although the great and marvelous things worked by God in our most blessed father Francis, and through grace by Francis himself, have been chronicled in a different and polished style by some of our own Order as well as by lay authors, men famous and distinguished for their pre-eminent holiness, authority and learning, and although I have none of the aforementioned qualities, being inferior in learning, use of language and intellect, and, what is more important, in inspiration and virtue, nevertheless I, the least of the Lesser Brothers, an unworthy Master of Sacred Theology, Brother Bartholomew of Pisa, by profession a son of the holy father (though my imitation of him is unworthy), being anxious to write something to the praise and glory and honor of Francis, after carefully weighing and considering the matter, concluded that Francis could not possibly have been Christlike at the last unless he had been conformed to the

2. Cf. Wis 18:14.

same Lord earlier (conformed, i.e., in his deeds and virtues), at the beginning of his perfection, and likewise, undoubtedly, in the intervening period.

It was this conviction that inspired me to compile the present work, supported by Christ and the merits of our father, reducing into one volume all the wonders worked by Our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in our blessed father Francis, and all the deeds performed by him, all the extraordinary signs and marvels, which I have found scattered in various sources; and this I have done concisely and succinctly, reducing my narrative to a brief summary rather than writing at length, and omitting much material, not by choice, but because I have been unable to include it.

I have decided to entitle this work “Of the Conformity of the Life of Blessed Francis to the Life of the Lord Jesus our Redeemer,” since by examining the conformities in the life of blessed Francis to the life of Christ, I have endeavored to prove that he was indeed conformed, insofar as it is possible for a mortal man to be conformed [IV 3] and similar to Christ Jesus, and have set this out under forty different deeds, or likenesses, though doubtless more could be discovered. Because I have had these conformities depicted, figuratively, as growing upon a tree, they can aptly be called the “fruits” of the tree of the conformity of the lives of blessed Francis and Christ. In elucidating these conformities, or “fruits,” I have decided to observe the procedure of first speaking of Christ under each particular conformity, then following this with proof that the same virtue was observable in blessed Francis, trusting in the goodness of God, who waits upon us, sowing the seeds of good in us, and carries us through to the end we desire, and does not withdraw his powerful hand from anyone who desires to do good, but lends it readily.

Since a great many things have been set down and written in this little work which are incommensurate with the sanctity of so great a father, and likewise inadequate and unworthy of him, I thought that I should entreat the readers of this work with all possible humility to accept whatever they find worthy of the glory of the saint, to reject whatever is unworthy, or to add to it, to correct what is inaccurate, and to deign to pray for me, a sinner, to Jesus, that he may give grace to me and to them at the present time, through the merits of his bounteous confessor Francis, standard-bearer of the same God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and in time to come grant us the kingdom of everlasting bliss. Amen.

End of the First Prologue

Second Prologue

Here begins **THE SECOND PROLOGUE** in the form of a discourse in which the contents of the ensuing work are briefly explained

“He made him like the saints in glory,” Ecclus 45:2. In order to make clear in a few words the subject of my writing in the following work, “Of the Conformity of the Life of Blessed Francis to the Life of the Lord Jesus our Redeemer,” I have chosen the above text, where it is said that the Lord Jesus made Francis “like,” that is, like himself, and that consequently through this likeness the same blessed father Francis was and is “in the glory of the saints.”

I

By way of introduction³ to these words, I set forth in the usual manner three questions which must be clarified. The first of these questions is: what was the nature of Francis’s *aspiration*, and to whom did he wish to cleave?

The second is: how powerful is, and was, Jesus’s *operation* upon blessed Francis, and what was He pleased to accomplish in him?

The third is: how great is Francis’s *exaltation*,⁴ and what place did God assign him in heaven?

Regarding these questions: the answer to the first is that blessed Francis’s only desire was to please Christ through his love for him.

The answer to the second is that Christ was to accomplish a great marvel in him through the imprinting of the stigmata.

The answer to the third is that he has a great reward in heaven, and sits on a lofty throne which is his for ever. And these three answers will be the three points that must be clarified in order to introduce our theme.

[IV 4] 1. First, I maintain that, if one asks what was the nature of Francis’s earnest desire and *aspiration*, and to whom he wanted to cleave, the answer is that his constant aspiration and whole-hearted desire was to please Christ through his love, loving Him above all things and cleaving to Him alone with all his hope, his endeavor and his faith, and to none other.

In proof of this it should be known that if one can only be impelled to cleave to God through our love and desire for Him by Him who is the Highest Good, and

3. *Introduco* = guide, initiate, interpret (P. has *deklarazione* here, but later has *introductione*).

4. An attempt to reproduce the rhyme of the three four-syllable Latin abstract nouns: *sedulitas*, *activitas*, *sublimitas*.