

Brother Bonaventure of glorious memory, bishop of Albano died in the same year and month in the early morning hours of Sunday the 15th. He was a man of knowledge and distinguished eloquence, illustrious in holiness, life, conduct and customs. Loved by God and men, he was good, affable, pious, merciful, and full of virtue. He was buried that Sunday in the church of the Friars Minor of Lyons. The Lord Pope was present at the rites together with all the cardinals, almost all the prelates of the Council and the entire curia. The Dominican friar, Pietro di Tarantasia, formerly the archbishop of Lyons and now the cardinal bishop of Ostia, celebrated the mass and preached on the theme from *The Second Book of Kings*, "I cry for you, my brother Jonathan." [1:26]. There were many tears and anguished sighs. God had given him, in fact, such a singular grace that whoever met him was moved by a heartfelt love for him.<sup>168</sup>

Capturing the atmosphere of the moment and the enduring legacy of Bonaventure, the *Ordinatio* mentions his eloquence and holiness, and makes a special note of the funeral sermon that was preached by a fellow mendicant. In protheme after protheme, the Seraphic Doctor stressed personal sanctity as an irreplaceable component of effective preaching, and confessed that the poverty of his sins kept him far from such an ideal.<sup>169</sup> Whatever truth may lie behind Bonaventure's self-portrait of the preacher as pauper, the recollections of the council reporter tell the story of a man whose presence confirmed for many the veracity of the love he proclaimed.

<sup>168</sup> Franchi, *Il Concilio*, 95.

<sup>169</sup> *Sermo* 79, *SDT*, 132; *Sermo* 8, *SDD* 1, 147; *Sermo* 17, *SDD* 1, 261; *Sermo* 48, *SDD* 2, 630; *Sermo* 54, *SDD* 2, 702; *Sermo* 11, *SDM*, 205; *Sermo* 17, *SDM*, 253; and *Sermo* 48, *SDM*, 459.

## THE LEGENDA MINOR

Timothy J. Johnson

If the adjective "minor" connotes a sense of inferiority or a relative lack of importance, Bonaventure's *Legenda minor* surely confirms this appellation—at least according to most studies dedicated to the Seraphic Doctor's literary opus. The neglect of the *Legenda minor* in favor of Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* is evident in the paucity of studies dedicated to this liturgical text, and for that matter, to any Minorite choir legends.<sup>1</sup> While displaying little sustained interest in the *Legenda minor*, scholars are unanimous in following the Quaracchi editors<sup>2</sup> and ascribing this choir legend to Bonaventure of Bagnoregio. The critical text, which comprises sixty-three readings equally divided according to the Octave of the Feast of St Francis, is found in vol. 10 of the *Analecta Francesca*.<sup>3</sup> The widespread diffusion of the *Legenda minor* is striking, but not surprising given the canonical status of the text within the liturgical life of the brothers after the declaration in Paris of the General Chapter in 1266 mandated the destruction of earlier legends. As the Quaracchi editors noted, the earlier attempt in 1898 to collate manuscripts with the *Legenda minor* numbered forty-three codices,

<sup>1</sup> This essay, in part, is based on the following earlier studies: Timothy J. Johnson, "Prolegomena to the Study of Bonaventure's *Legenda minor*," *Frate Francesco* 76/1 (2010): 225–239; idem, "Introduction," in *La Légende mineure de François d'Assise*, trans. Armelle Le Huërou, in *François d'Assise. Écrits, Vies et témoignages*, ed. Jacques Dalarun (Paris: 2010), 2141–2151; idem, "Wonders in Stone and Space: The Theological Dimensions of the Miracle Narrative in Thomas of Celano and Bonaventure of Bagnoregio," *Franciscan Studies* 67 (2009): 71–90; idem, "Into the Light: Bonaventure's *Minor Legend of Saint Francis* and the Franciscan Production of Space," in *History, Hagiology, and Hermeneutics in Francis of Assisi*, ed. Jay Hammond, (New York: 2004), 229–249; idem, "Lost in Sacred Space: Textual Hermeneutics, Liturgical Worship, and Celano's *Legenda ad usum chori*," *Franciscan Studies* 59 (2001): 109–131. On Franciscan choir legends, see Jacques Dalarun, *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine: La Légende ombrienne de Thomas de Celano* (Paris: 2007); Francesco Dolcianni, "Francesco d'Assisi: tra devozione, culto, e liturgia," in *Collectanea Franciscana* 71 (2001): 5–45; Felice Accrocca, "La straordinaria fecondità della sterile: la *Legenda minor* di Bonaventura," *Frate Francesco* 75 (2009): 179–211.

<sup>2</sup> Prolegomena, c. 2, n. 13: *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia* (10 vols., Quaracchi: 1882–1902), vol. 8, xcii, and Praefatio in *Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis Saeculis XIII et XIV Conscriptae ad Codicum Fidem Recensitae a Partibus Collegii*, (*Analecta Franciscana*) 10 (Quaracchi: 1895–1941), lxxi–lxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Legenda minor* in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 655–678. The preceding edition supplanted the *Legenda minor* in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 8, 565a–579b.

but the number could have easily been tripled if Minorite breviaries in various libraries had been included.<sup>4</sup> A study of such breviaries in the Apostolic Vatican library alone underscores the centrality of this *legenda* in the liturgical life of Franciscans. Not only was the *Legenda minor* utilized for the Octave and Feast of St Francis, but also occasionally for the Feast of the Stigmata.<sup>5</sup>

This essay, first of all, examines the *Legenda minor* as Bonaventure's attempt as minister general to construct the identity of his confreres by reworking the institutional memory of the Poverello through the spatial-theological genre proper to choir *legendae*. Miracles stories are afforded special attention since they illustrate how Bonaventure removed Francis from the category of local thaumaturge and reformulated his memory as that of a universal miracle, accessible to all through contemplation and transferable, so to speak, to any locale. The second section explores the performative nature of the *Legenda minor* as a liturgical text and the architectural context of Bonaventure's writing by emphasizing the theological significance of light in choir prayer. The final section of this essay takes up selected questions revolving around the date of Bonaventure's liturgical legend, which is typically assigned by scholars simply in relation to the presumed earlier date of the *Legenda maior*.

#### THE LEGENDA MINOR AND FRANCISCAN IDENTITY

Choir legends like the *Legenda minor* are primarily conceived, composed, and received as spatial-theological texts, ritually performed in a designated sacred space and season. The ritual context is the Liturgy of the Hours, where those gathered in prayer enter into a dialogical exchange with the divine interlocutor in the paradox of the paschal mystery.<sup>6</sup> Choir *vitae* function as unique witnesses to a specific communal memory of a saint, whose life of virtue and miraculous deeds are recounted within the dynamics of liturgical prayer and the dominant cultic-cultural identity of the institution in question. Given their essential status within worship, these particular hagiographical texts take on a level of iconicity that is

<sup>4</sup> Praefatio, *Legendae S. Francisci*, lxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Dalarun, *Vers une résolution*, 321–323.

<sup>6</sup> Augustinus Hollaardt, "Die Feier des Stundengebetes und das Pascha-Mysterium," in *Lebendiges Stundengebet: Vertiefung und Hilfe*, ed. Martin Klöckner and Heinrich Rennings (Freiburg: 1989), 40–147.

not shared by non-liturgical documents.<sup>7</sup> Intended more specifically for communal contemplation than for the promulgation of the saint's cult throughout the universal church, choir legends recount through ritual narratives the stories of the saints whose power and authority construct and confirm identity.<sup>8</sup> Their privileged place in the religious community was underscored by the preaching that accompanied them.<sup>9</sup> Since hagiographical texts offer models to be emulated,<sup>10</sup> and the performative dimension of liturgical prayer offers a ritual context for the transformation for those at prayer, the choice of choir legend was decisive in the formation of Franciscan identity.

The need for a new image of Francis of Assisi that would represent the order's self-understanding in the 1250s and 1260s, and serve as the transformative instructional paradigm in choir, induced Bonaventure and other second-generation friars to suppress the *Legenda ad usum chori*, along with Celano's *Vita prima* and any other legends—liturgical or otherwise—in circulation, and construct a performative identity for Minorites with his *Legenda minor*. As a choir legend, the *Legenda minor* was not composed to promulgate the cult of St Francis throughout the universal church, but for ritual celebration and the construction of identity within a designated sacred space of the ecclesial choir. Indeed, rubrics from extant manuscripts prescribed this legend for inclusion in choir books such as the *sanctorales* and portable breviaries.<sup>11</sup> By composing the *Legenda minor* for his confreres, Bonaventure presented a "prayed Francis" whom the

<sup>7</sup> Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: 1988), 36–37.

<sup>8</sup> On hagiographical legends, liturgical celebrations, and identity, see Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy & History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–125* (Ithaca: 2006), esp. 65–80; 184–185; 208.

<sup>9</sup> Sermons typically came after the third set of readings in the Office of Matins before the Gospel was read, according to Martin Morard, "Quand Liturgie 'Épousa' Prédication," in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: 2008), 117. In Sermo 58, in *Sancti Bonaventurae Sermones de diversis*, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol, vol. 2 (Paris: 1993), 773, Bonaventure may be referring to the *Legenda minor*. The reading would have been *Legenda minor* in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 1.8, 657–658. The reference may have also been to a sermon on the *Legenda minor* from earlier in the day; see Timothy J. Johnson, "La preghiera corale come luogo di formazione e definizione dell'identità religiosa: l'esempio dell'Ordo Minorum," trans. Daniele Sini, in *Religiosità e civiltà. Identità delle forme religiose (secoli X–XIV)* (Milan: 2011), 243–255.

<sup>10</sup> For example, see David of Augsburg, *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* (Quaracchi: 1899), c. 13, n. 1, 16–17.

<sup>11</sup> Jacques Dalarun, "Comment détruire les légendes franciscaines? Une ingénieuse application de la définition de 1266 dans le manuscrit *Reg. lat.* 1738 de la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, vol. 14, 219–220.

brothers encountered in the contemplative performance of the Liturgical Hours.<sup>12</sup> Through liturgical prayer, the memory of the saint functioned as the mediator of identity which was internalized through reading, responsorial psalms, and silent meditation in accord with the admonition, "Do this in memory of me," in the Eucharistic celebration. This transformative power of liturgical hagiography in sacred space, which is essentially contested space,<sup>13</sup> offers insight into the origin of the *Legenda minor*.

When a salient segment of a religious community no longer promotes the prevailing "prayed" likeness of their founder, a new image may be constructed, and the previous choir legend may be supplanted or even suppressed by another legend that reflects the prevailing institutional-theological identity. There is evidence of this process among Dominicans and Franciscans in the 1250s, when Humbert of Romans undertook to write a new liturgical *vita* of St Dominic at the request of the 1254 chapter of Preachers,<sup>14</sup> and the Minorite chapter of 1254 or 1257 called for a new legend of St Francis.<sup>15</sup> Both requests reflected a shifting interpretation of their respective founders and the perceived need for a "prayed" image in conformity with the established communal identity of the 1250s. The composition of the *Legenda ad usum chori* composed perhaps around 1230 by Thomas of Celano or Julian of Speyer, the refusal of the minister general Haymo of Faversham to identify a liturgical legend for the Minorite *Ordinals* in the early 1240s,<sup>16</sup> the proliferation of *vitae* of Francis, and the introduction of the *Legenda minor* as the canonical choir legend in 1266 testify to the crucial, contested nature of the "prayed Francis" among Franciscans between the 1230s and the 1260s. The call for a new liturgical *legenda* as

<sup>12</sup> On liturgy and performance, see Richard D. McCall, *Do This: Liturgy as Performance*, (Notre Dame: 2007). See also Joyce Ann Zimmerman, *Liturgy and Hermeneutics* (Collegeville: 1999), 18–20, and Bridget Nichols, *Liturgical Hermeneutics: Interpreting Liturgical Rites in Performance* (New York: 1996), 9.

<sup>13</sup> Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity* (Baltimore: 2001), 5.

<sup>14</sup> Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto: 1984), 93.

<sup>15</sup> Hieronymus Golubovich, "Ceremoniale Ord. Minorum vetustissimum seu 'Ordinationes divini Offici'," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 3 (1910): 76, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Liturgy* (Westminster, Md.: 1960), 381. On the possibility of Julian of Speyer as the author of the *Legenda ad usum chori*, see Filippo Seda, "La *Legenda ad usum chori* e il codice assisano 338," *Franciscana* 12 (2010): 43–83, and idem and E. Rava, "Sulle tracce dell'autore della *Legenda ad usum chori*. Analisi lessicografica e ipotesi di attribuzione," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 69 (2011): 77–140. Filippo Seda has also brought to light a Minorite choir legend that adheres to the liturgical guidelines of the 1240s; see "La *legenda liturgica* Vaticana per l'ottava di san Francesco: Franciscus alter Evangelista," *Frates Francesco* 78 (2012): 83–126.

early as the Chapter of Genoa in 1254 and the edict of the Paris Chapter of 1266 to destroy the earlier *vitae* confirmed the renunciation of the earlier portrait of the Poverello by those who understood the transformative power of liturgical prayer and desired to construct a new Minorite identity around a different memory.

The memory of Francis in the *Legenda minor* is distinct from both the earlier *Legenda ad usum chori* and Bonaventure's own *Legenda maior*. This is particularly evident in the treatment of the thaumaturgical actions of the Poverello. Adhering to the structure of celebration during the Matins Office of the Octave, the minister general proposed seven series of readings: I. His Conversion II. Institution of Religion and the Efficacy of Preaching III. Prerogatives of the Virtues IV. Zeal for Prayer and the Spirit of Prophecy V. Obedience of Creatures and Divine Condescension VI. Sacred Stigmata and VII. Passage of Death. While five of nine lessons of the *Legenda ad usum chori* speak of miraculous healings, only seven of sixty-three lessons in the *Legenda minor* recounted incidents of people being cured from sickness.<sup>17</sup> The numerical disparity between the two *legendae* is immediately evident, as are the differing theological agendas. When concluding the *Legenda minor*, Bonaventure did not mention the miracles of Francis among the seven testimonies to the Poverello's holiness,<sup>18</sup> whereas the *Legenda ad usum chori* emphasized them. Nevertheless, Bonaventure displayed a concern with the liturgical context of the choir legends by providing two, albeit dissimilar accounts of healings linked to bread and wine. In the first instance, Francis took bread crumbs, mixed them with oil taken from a lamp before the altar of the Virgin, thereby confecting a medicinal pill for a sick religious lying in a hospital outside of Assisi. Not only was the sick man healed, he became one of the Lesser Brothers, and never again ate cooked food or drank wine.<sup>19</sup> In the second instance, Francis, who was seriously ill at the hermitage of St Urban, changed water into excellent wine, thus providing a most efficacious, and undoubtedly tasty medicinal tonic.<sup>20</sup> These stories evince Bonaventure's theological perspective in the *Commentaria in quatuor*

<sup>17</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 2.7, 661; 4.8, 668; 5.2, 669; 6.7, 674; 6.8, 675; 7.7, 677–678; 7.8, 678.

<sup>18</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 7.9, 678.

<sup>19</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 2.7, 661.

<sup>20</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 5.2, 669.

*libros sententiarum*, whereby the sacraments are the sweet confections of the druggist, perfect for healing body and soul.<sup>21</sup>

Both writers, the author of the *Legenda ad usum chori* and Bonaventure, were intent on constructing their confreres' ecclesial identity in choir, but the minister general conspicuously avoided linking the "prayed Francis" to papal power, canonization, and miracles at the Poverello's tomb. As Bonaventure noted in the *Regula novitiorum*, choir prayer promotes the paradoxical passage from darkness to light,<sup>22</sup> that is, from death to new life. The *Legenda minor* was composed with this liturgical-theological framework in mind; the opening chapter recounts how the Father of mercy and light guided Francis as a young man from darkness to light.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, the liturgical imperative, "Do this in memory of me," finds a surprising performative-theological impetus in Bonaventure's own experience. In the final chapter, he confessed that when he was seriously ill as a child, his mother made a vow to St Francis. Bonaventure thus escaped death and was restored to life by the saint's miraculous intercession.<sup>24</sup> Such an appeal to personal experience as an epistemological principle of theology is noteworthy, and is also found in the *Itinerarium in mentis Deum*<sup>25</sup> and the *Sermones dominicales*.<sup>26</sup> These accounts, where memory serves as the matrix for theological reflection, are intertwined with the paschal mystery, and in particular, the cross and/or the stigmata. Indeed, two of the three extended healing narratives in the *Legenda minor* are viewed through the interpretive lens of the stigmata,<sup>27</sup> which organizes the text, together with other mysteries of the cross, from the opening lesson to the conclusion.<sup>28</sup>

Bonaventure's new liturgical reading of Francis of Assisi created a performative memory of the founder eminently suited to the realities of the Minorite Order. In sharp distinction to the earlier *Legenda ad usum chori*, no emphasis was placed on the canonization and burial of the Poverello in Assisi. The *Legenda minor* shifted the attention of the brothers away from

<sup>21</sup> *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum*, prooem. (4, 1a-3b).

<sup>22</sup> Bonaventure, *Regula novitiorum*, praefatiuncula (8, 475a).

<sup>23</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 1.1, 655.

<sup>24</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 7.8, 678. Bonaventure's memory of this incident here is far more intimate than the account he offers in the *Legenda maior*, see *Leg. maj. prol.* 3, (8, 558).

<sup>25</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology* (Chicago: 1978), 305.

<sup>26</sup> *Sermo 40*, n. 4, *Sancti Bonaventurae Sermones dominicales*, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol (Grottaferrata: 1977), 407.

<sup>27</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 6.7, 674, and 6.8, 675.

<sup>28</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 1.1, 655, and 7.9, 678.

this historical locus of miracles and ministry in exchange for a peripatetic memory of a miraculous, stigmatized body constructed in the liturgical performance and harmonized with the institutional paradigm of Franciscan identity. As a result, Francis was not a miracle worker to be simply admired, but a miracle to be contemplated in worship and imitated in life through the practice of the virtues. Minorite identity was initiated by an encounter with the miracle of Francis, an event that is ever-present in the memory of the community through prayer and as "portable" as the breviaries carried by Bonaventure's confreres throughout Europe and beyond. The practice of identity extended beyond the choir into the world and returned to the choir as the brothers imitated the Christ-like virtues of Francis.<sup>29</sup>

#### THE LEGENDA MINOR AND GOTHIC CHOIR PERFORMANCE

The study of the *Legenda minor* as a major liturgical text for choir, which was neither conceived nor composed as a truncated *Legenda maior*, but rather as a distinctive hagiographical genre, leads to an exploration of the possible role of architecture in mediating the composition and performance of this spatial-theological text.<sup>30</sup> Both the original context and the unique content of the *Legenda minor* suggest that Bonaventure cultivated the liturgical remembrance of Francis within the context of the prevailing Gothic architecture of the newly constructed urban churches under the auspices of Minorite communities in Paris and elsewhere.

Paris, where Bonaventure had studied with the Faculty of Arts in 1235 and entered the Franciscans in 1243, remained his religious, academic, and legislative point of reference until his death in 1274 at the Council of Lyon. A primary locus of his liturgical life was the choir of the Minorite church of Ste-Madeleine. The Lesser Brothers began the construction of the church named after Mary Magdalene, the patroness of their religious province, as early as 1236. Alexander of Hales moved his chair of theology there in 1245. At the time of the consecration in 1262, Ste-Madeleine measured over 90 meters long, with the majority of space dedicated to the choir area. In appearance and function, Bonaventure's church seemed like

<sup>29</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 6.9, 675. On this text, the virtues, and liturgical worship, see: *FAED* 2, 712, n. a.

<sup>30</sup> On architecture, mediation, and sacred space, see Thomas Barrie, *The Sacred In-Between: The Mediating Roles of Architecture* (London: 2010).

two different churches, one for the laity and the other for the brothers. The variegated Gothic influence, prevalent throughout the city, was evident in Ste-Madeleine.<sup>31</sup>

Bonaventure's celebration of Matins during the Octave of the Feast of St Francis in Ste-Madeleine, together with other liturgical experiences throughout the Paris environs<sup>32</sup> and in numerous Minorite churches during his travels as minister general, appears to be mirrored in the structure and content of the *Legenda minor*. The theological elements of Gothic architecture, such as light and order,<sup>33</sup> linked as they are to the ascending-descending nature of the contemplative-active synthesis, are interrelated aspects of the Franciscan construction of identity in choir. Indeed, they make their appearance at the outset of the *Legenda minor*.<sup>34</sup> This pronounced emphasis on light, and the visual dynamic of perception, is notably absent from the prologue of the *Legenda maior*. These initial lines of the *Legenda minor* are already a sufficient reason to view this finely crafted hagiographical-liturgical *legenda* as far more than an abbreviated version of the *Legenda maior*. Bonaventure's predilection for light as the preferred metaphor for grace, especially in the context of prayer, is evident throughout his writings.<sup>35</sup> The light of grace illuminates, reforms, refreshes, and enlivens as it descends from the Father of lights and leads

<sup>31</sup> Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Architektur der Bettelorden: Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa* (Darmstadt: 2000), 71–72 and idem, *Ordines studentes: Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jh.* (Berlin 1985), 76–84, esp. 83. Schenkluhn notes that Ste-Madeleine was a unique combination of Cathedral Gothic elements without certain aspects common to High Gothic. While the church was not constructed in High Gothic, Schenkluhn does leave open the possibility that the choir area was of such a design. Corrado Bozzoni maintains that, in general, the mendicants in the area of Paris were more open to the influence of High Gothic: Corrado Bozzoni, "L'edilizia mendicante in Europa," in *Lo spazio dell'umiltà: Atti del convegno di studi sull'edilizia dell'ordine dei minori* (Fara Sabina: 1984), 291. On the development of Gothic architecture in Paris, see: *L'abbé Suger, le manifeste gothique de Saint-Denis et la pensée victorine*, ed. Dominique Poirel (Turnhout: 2001), esp. Patrice Sicard, "L'urbanisme de la Cité de Dieu: constructions et architectures dans la pensée théologique du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," 109–140. On Ste-Madeleine, see also Michael Davis, "Fitting to the Requirements of the Place: The Franciscan Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Paris," in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity*, eds. Achim Timmermann and Zoe Opacic (Turnhout: 2011), 247–261.

<sup>32</sup> Bonaventure's sensitivity to the symbolism of light in a morning liturgical setting is displayed in Sermon 44 in *Sermones de diversis*, vol. 2, 580.

<sup>33</sup> Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred*, 53.

<sup>34</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 1.1, 655.

<sup>35</sup> Timothy J. Johnson, *The Soul in Ascent: Bonaventure on Poverty, Prayer, and Union with God* (St Bonaventure: 2012), 81–84.

those who pray upward in the return to the fountal source.<sup>36</sup> This divine light, which illuminates and transforms, conforms and orientates those who pray to Christ through the virtues that are so prominent in the *Legenda minor*.<sup>37</sup>

The thematic of light is particularly applicable to performative celebration of Matins for the Octave of St Francis, since this ancient form of vigil begins in the darkness of night, yet awaits the promised light of dawn.<sup>38</sup> The first chapter of the *Legenda minor* thus begins with theological imagery corresponding to the highly suggestive, ascending-descending ordered lines of Gothic choir architecture, emphasizing and contrasting both the darkness and light of the choir and the ordering of body and soul for the journey into God. As the brothers anticipated and participated in the movement from darkness to light in this initial encounter with their founder, they were introduced into the transformative dynamic of conversion that freed Francis to exchange the business of the world for service to the poor, crucified Christ.<sup>39</sup> At the end of the first chapter—and the first and eighth morning of the octave—Bonaventure's confreres found themselves in choir ruminating on the condition of the universal church reflected in the once abandoned local churches of San Damiano, Saint Peter, and Mary of the Angels.<sup>40</sup> Just as the early morning environment of the choir proffered the imagery of conversion, so too did the simple, neglected churches dear to Francis. These sacred spaces announced the necessity of emulating the example of the "prayed Francis," who discovered that churches mediated the presence of the divine in prayer and

<sup>36</sup> The scriptural reference is to Jas. 1:7, one of the most frequently quoted biblical texts in Bonaventure's works, which appears 48 times in the *Opera Omnia*. See Jacques Guy Bougerol, *Introduction à Saint Bonaventure* (Paris: 1988), 220. For Bonaventure's theological use of the light theme with reference to the return or *reductio*, see *On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology*, ed. Zachary Hayes in *Works of Saint Bonaventure*, vol. 1 (Saint Bonaventure: 1996).

<sup>37</sup> The virtues are emphasized in 3.1–9; 6, 9; and 7.9. The christological dimensions of the virtues appear as early as Bonaventure's Parisian *Commentary on the Sentences*; see *III Sent.*, d. 34, p. 1, a. 1, q. 1, concl. (3, 737a). The numerical pattern of their appearance in the *Legenda minor* underscores the *reductio* dynamic of the choir *legenda* and the agency of Gothic choir architecture.

<sup>38</sup> The thematic of light and darkness in the monastic Divine Office is treated in: Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings* (Turnhout: 2001), 96–100. On Matins in the medieval period, see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: 1991), 86–97. In regard to the Octave of St Francis, see Dolcianni, "Francesco d'Assisi," 39–44.

<sup>39</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 1.1–2, 655.

<sup>40</sup> *Leg. min.*, in *Legendae S. Francisci*, 1.9, 658.