

## Marbod , *Life of St. Licinius, Bishop of Angers*

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*Marbod (c. 1035-1122) was an archdeacon and schoolmaster at Angers before being made bishop of Rennes in 1096. He is best known for his poetry, but he also produced a number of prose works including this account of the life of Licinius (c. 540-c. 610), a Frankish nobleman who ultimately became bishop of Angers. As Marbod reveals at the end of the work, he wrote this while still archdeacon of Angers.*

Vita Sancti Licinii Episcopi Andegavensis

The Life of St. Licinius, bishop of Angers

Auctore Marbodo archidiacono Andegavensi, ac postea Redonensi episcopo.

by the author, Marbod, archdeacon of Angers and afterwards bishop of Rennes

Prologus Auctoris

The author's prologue

1. Vitam et actus beati Licinii episcopi et confessoris explicare cupientes, Dominum Deum, a quo omnis sapientia est, volumus invocare; ut eodem sancto intercedente, ostium nobis sermonis aperiat, quatenus et vera, et non superfluat, et auditoribus profutura dicamus. Quod ita demum fieri posse putamus, si nihil gestorum praetermittentes, sicut ea ex priori editione collegimus, diversas adjectiones et replicationes, quae vel prolongationis vel ostentationis notam habent, magisque lectori taedium, quam lectioni ornatum afferunt, ex toto recidamus. Haec enim vel maxime causa exstitit, quae fratres nostros ad injungendum nobis praesens opus impelleret, quoniam in priori opere superfluae orationis importuna loquacitas minuere videbatur materiae dignitatem. Significat enim quodammodo dicendorum defectum, frequens circa idem verborum revolutio. Neque vero nos aut animi levitate, aut vanitate aliqua ducti sumus, ut quasi alieni operis correctores, studii nostri ostentatione vellemus vulgares rumusculos aucupari, sed aeternae potius mercedis intuitu, probabiliumque personarum precibus victi sumus, ut majorem viribus non recusaremus laborem. Non enim de nobis, sed de auxilio divino praesumimus. Referemus ergo, quantum poterimus, sub ope Christi, quae dicenda sunt, salva rerum fide, ad praedicti sancti laudem, et gloriam Dei-non nostram, sed et omnium legentium utilitatem consequi cupientes. Magnum enim studii sui fructum capit, qui ea scribens, quibus aedificentur legentes, multorum profectibus famulatur. Dabimus igitur operam oratione uti mediocri et temperata, quatenus nec gravitas obscuritatem, nec humilitas utilitatem, nec taedium prolixitas operetur. Lectoris autem partes erunt, attente et fideliter haec accipere; ne sibi, quod ad salutem comparatum est, in perniciem vertat, dum negligit. Sed jam narrationis initium faciamus.

1. Longing to explain the life and acts of blessed Licinius, bishop and confessor, we wished to invoke the Lord God, from whom comes all wisdom, so that he might, with that same saint interceding, open the door of words (may it not overflow!) to us so that we may relate true things that will be of profit to our listeners. In the end we think this can be done in this manner: if, passing over nothing in the way of deeds, just as we have gathered them from the prior edition, we completely cut away the various additions and replications, which show signs of either [unnecessary] prolongation or ostentation, and which convey more tedium to the reader than ornamentation to the reading. Indeed this motive in particular stood out, which seems to have impelled our brothers to enjoin the present work on us: because the annoying loquacity of the superfluous oratory in the previous work seemed to diminish the dignity of the material. The frequent repetition of words all referring to same thing indicates to some extent a defect in the things that are to be said. In truth, we were led neither by levity of spirit nor by any vanity, such that we, being correctors of someone else's work, might have wished to seek after vulgar reputation through some display of our own enthusiasm; instead, with an eye to our eternal reward, we have been overcome by the prayers of commendable persons, such that we did not refuse a labor greater than our abilities. We presume to do so with divine assistance, not on the basis of our own [talent]. Therefore we will relate, to the extent that we will be able to do so with the assistance of Christ, those things that are to be said, with a sound faith in the facts, to the praise of the aforementioned saint and to the glory of God, longing to acquire an advantage not only for ourselves but for all of those reading. For he secures the greatest fruit of his zeal who records those things by which those reading them may be edified, and thus attends to the progress of the many. We will therefore be careful to use modest and temperate language, so that its gravity may not lead to obscurity, its humility may not lead to expediency, and its prolixity may not lead to tedium. The role of the reader will be to receive these things attentively and faithfully, lest that which was prepared for his salvations be turned to his ruin, should he neglect it. But now let us begin the account.

Caput primum. Sancti Licinii studia, officia palatina, sanctioris vitae professio.

2. Igitur Licinius clarissimo genere ortus (reges enim Francorum in suis majoribus numeravit), bonis omnibus animae et corporis a natura ditatus, felicitatem suam virtutis studio cumulavit. Cujus jam inde a pueritia talis exstitit conversatio, ut in eo futurae cujusdam perfectionis, et inusitati exempli species praeluceret. Nam praeter exterioris formae bonitatem, et vultus modestiam, qua spectantium mentes occulto quodam munere permulcebat; illud in puero cernebatur egregium quod ea vitia, quae novellae aetati videntur ingenita, et quasi jure naturae omnibus dominantur, jam tunc Dei gratia praeventus aspernabatur. Neque enim vel ad ludendum nimius, vel ad edendum importunus, vel ad loquendum garrulus erat. Non iram temere colligebat, nec inter coevos superbula violentia grassabatur; non animi levitate, ut est puerilis mobilitas, ad diversa protinus raptabatur, ut cupide quid incoeptum repente contemneret. Prorsus in puero virilis constantiae plurima videbantur.

First Chapter: the pursuits of St. Licinius, his palatine duties, and the profession of his holier life

2. Having arisen from a most excellent family—indeed it numbered among its ancestors the kings of the Franks—Licinius, enriched by nature with all good things of both the soul and the body, augmented his happiness by the pursuit of virtue. Such [impressive] conduct began to stand out already from his childhood, to the point that in him shone a rare model of a kind of future perfection. For beyond the beauty of his exterior form and the modesty of his face, with which he charmed the minds of those looking on with a certain hidden gift, an excellence was discerned in the boy, because he, preceded by the grace of God, despised those vices that seem inborn in that tender age, ruling over everyone as if by a law of nature. He was not excessive when it came to joking, nor rude when it came to eating, nor garrulous when it came to speaking. He did not blindly accumulate anger, nor did he rage with proud violence among his peers; he was not all at once dragged (as puerile fickleness so often is) toward a variety of different things by any shallowness of his soul, such that he would all of a sudden dispise that which he had rashly begun undertaken. In sum, a great many aspects of manly constancy were seen in the boy.

3. Cum ergo post prima elementa, sicut liberi nobilium solent, in disciplinam litterariam datus esset, ibi vero generosae naturae benignitas et ingenium capax enituit. Audita a magistris facile capiebat et retinebat memoria. Nec ejus attentionem, sicut plerumque solet, timor verberum extorquebat, sed amor scientiae accendebat. Doctoribus reverentiam, paedagogis obedientiam, condiscipulis benevolentiam, omnibus humilitatem noverat exhibere. Nec aliena tarditate offensus, nec de suo est acumine gloriatus. Non operum tantum, sed et verborum turpitudinem sic horrebat, ut eam nec in aliis irreprehensam pateretur. Jam plane puer censorius a contubernalibus timebatur, si quid auderent illicitum. Aemulorum inimicitias tolerabat aequanimiter, finiebat velociter. Iram patientia, superbiam humilitate vincebat; detractionibus sociorum nec aurem nec linguam adhibuit; contumelias in se jactatas dissimulavit, in alios mitigavit. Prorsus in professione discipulorum magister factus erat.

3. When after these first beginnings, he was given over to literary training, as was the custom for the sons of noblemen, there the kindness of his generous nature and his great talent truly shone. He easily grasped the things that he heard from his teacher and retained them in his memory. Fear of the lash did not compel his attention, as is generally the custom; instead a love of knowledge ignited it. He knew to exhibit reverence for his teachers, obedience to his tutors, and benevolence to his fellow students. He was neither offended by another [student's] slowness, nor did he glory in his own acumen. He so abhorred turpitude of actions as well as of words, that he did not permit it to happen without reproaching others. Already this censorious boy, was clearly feared by his companions, if they dared to do something that was illicit. He tolerated the enmities of his rivals with equanimity, and put an end to them quickly. He conquered anger with patience and pride with humility; he lent neither ear nor tongue to the slanders of his associates; he ignored the insults launched against him and softened the ones aimed at others. He was a master in terms of his character, though he was still a student.

4. Decursis ergo in hoc studio pueritiae annis, cum sibi ad magistrorum scientiam in sacris et saecularibus litteris propria industria non modicum adjecisset, ad imperium patris, qui primum post regem in palatio locum tenebat, compulsus est philosophiae renuntiare, et ab otio ad negotia, a studio ad militiam, a scholasticis ad palatina munera translatus est. Quem rex Clotarius, cum propter sanguinis propinquitatem, tum propter egregiae formae dignitatem ac morum elegantiam quae in adolescente eminebant, libens suscepit, brevique post tempore cingulo militiae honoratum, inter amicos habere coepit, dignum plane cognitum, cum quo de magnis rebus, et regni administratione tractaret. Non enim illi deerat, vel ad consulendum prudentia, vel ad tegendum fides, vel strenuitas ad exsequendum. Nec expedita facundia carebat, nec amore iustitiae: unde et actioni causarum et jurisdictioni perutilis videbatur.

4. With the years of his youth having passed in this pursuit, after he had added, by his own industry, no small amount to the knowledge of his masters in both sacred and secular letters, he was compelled, by order of his father, who held the first position in the palace after the king, to give up philosophy and was transferred from leisure to activity, from study to military service, from scholastic pursuits to palatine duties. King Chlothar<sup>1</sup> gladly received him, not only on account of their close blood relationship, but also because of the dignity of excellent form and the elegance of morals that shone forth in the young man; after a brief time, he began to count him, honored with the belt of military service and clearly found to be worthy, among his friends, discussing with whom the most important matters and the administration of the kingdom. Neither the prudence necessary for advising, nor trust necessary for keeping things confidential, nor the effort necessary for carrying things out was absent in him. He was lacking in neither unfettered eloquence nor in the love of justice; whence he was regarded as extremely useful in both the handling and jurisdiction of lawsuits.

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<sup>1</sup> Chlothar I (d. 558) was one of the sons of the Merovingian Frankish king Clovis (d. 511), who divided his kingdom among four sons, including Chlothar. He spent his entire career fighting to extend his reign.

5. Praeterea perpetuae castitatis custos et cultor, de sua familiaritate regis apud omnes iudicium decorabat. Erga commilitones suos ita se gessit, ut singulorum gratiam aliquo studeret obsequio demereri. Omnibus affabilem se praebebat; omnium necessitatibus, si ope non posset, occurrebat consilio; in omnium contristabatur adversis; in suis lucris omnium prospera numerabat. Apud regem proderat quibus posset, poterat autem omnibus quibus vellet. Sic nullus relinquebatur, ad quem non ejus aliquod beneficium perveniret. Praedicabat facta fortia singulorum, cum de ipsius virtute praeter ipsum nullus sileret. Prorsus in aulae satellitio procuratoris partibus fungebatur. Unde factum est, ut a rege, flagitantibus cunctis, tribunus militum crearetur, qui nunc more nostro comes Stabuli nuncupatur. Quod officium sic transegit, ut ampliori dignissimus haberetur. Animus tamen ejus inter haec semper vigilabat ad Deum, cui sine intermissione puras fundebat preces, ut se de praesenti saeculo nequam incorruptum eriperet. Sacrae lectioni quoties posset operam dabat; cujus assiduitate desiderium suum ad superna magis accenderet. Juventutis ardorem crebris jejuniis non tam exstinguebat quam anticipabat, ne per luxum et licentiam humanus animus posset insolescere. In pauperes et afflictos usque adeo misericordiae visceribus abundabat, ut nullum in his juvandis loci per temporis praetermitteret occasionem. Plane in milite monachum, in activo contemplativum gerebat, utrumque sic implebat ut alterum, et a neutro ad alterum tardabatur.

5. Moreover this guardian and cultivator of perpetual chastity, adorned the administration of justice in the presence of everyone thanks to his close ties to the king. He carried himself in such a manner towards his fellow soldiers, that he strove to earn the goodwill of every one of them with a certain indulgence. He presented himself as affable to all; if he was not able [to do something] with his influence, he rushed to the needs of everyone with his counsel; he was saddened by those things that went against the needs of all; he numbered among his own gains the successes of all others. In the presence of the king, he was useful in those things that he was able to do; on the other hand, he was able to do everything that he wished to do. Thus there was no one who was abandoned, to whom some assistance of his did not reach. He made known the courageous things done by others, when he was the only one who kept silence with regard to his own virtue. With regard to the palace guards, he truly discharged the duties of a procurator. As a result, it happened that he was made tribune of the soldiers by the king, with everyone demanding it, and at that time was called “count of the stable” in accordance with our custom.<sup>2</sup> He performed this duty in such a way as to be held as worthy of a greater one. However his soul remained always vigilant toward God, to whom he poured out pure prayers without intermission, so that he might rescue himself uncorrupted from the present evil age. As often as he was able, he devoted himself to sacred reading; by attention to it he kindled his longing for heavenly things even more. He did not so much extinguish the ardor of his youth as to get ahead of it with his frequent fasts, lest his human spirit be able to grow proud through excess and a lack of restraint. He overflowed towards the poor and afflicted in his heart of mercy, to such a degree that he overlooked no one in need of assistance in that region insofar as time permitted. Clearly he carried himself as a monk in the midst of his military service, and as a contemplative in the midst of his active life, in such a way that he fulfilled the one as he carried out the other, and he was hindered by neither one while performing the other.

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<sup>2</sup> The title *comes stabuli* (“count of the stable”) is found in the Roman and particularly in the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire from the fifth

century, referring to the head of the stables at the imperial court. The Franks borrowed the title.

6. Interea succedentibus sibi prosperis, cum et patria bona jam ad eum jure haereditario devenissent, et ex regali munificentia amplissimis polleret honoribus (nam et comes Andegavensium factus erat), cogentibus amicis et ipso rege, de clarissima familia sibi virginem desponsavit, contra animi sui votum, quo caelibem vitam ducere, et abdicatis honoribus jamdudum Deo vacare decreverat. Quam cum traducere jam pararet (mirum dictu!) in solemni conventu lepra percussam deprehendit. Sic a nuptiarum necessitate, quam sibi amicorum consilia importabant, optato infortunio solutus est.

6. Meanwhile, while such favorable things were happening to him, and after his family properties had already come to him by right of inheritance and he had grown strong from royal munificence with the most distinguished honors—for he was made the count of the people of Angers<sup>3</sup>—he, with his friends and the king himself compelling him, betrothed a virgin from a most illustrious family. In doing so, he was acting against a vow of his soul, by which he had determined to lead a celibate life and then, after renouncing [worldly] honors, immediately empty himself for God. At the time when he was preparing to take [her as his wife], he (wonderful to relate!) discovered that she was struck with leprosy in the midst of that solemn assembly. Thus he was released from the obligation to marry (which came about as a result of the advise his friends had given him) by this welcome misfortune.

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<sup>3</sup> Licinius was made count of Angers under Chlothar's son and successor, Chilperic I (561-584).

7. Neque vero ruborem suum, festinato alio matrimonio studuit abolere; sed potius Dei providentiam votis suis concordare intelligens, vertit casum in occasionem, ne tentare iterum cogere, quod prius tentatum secus cecisset. Itaque, confirmato animo, ne quod olimolvebat ultra differret, petita protinus missione, cingulum militiae deposuit, et caducis renuntiavit honoribus, totumque se in Dei servitium tradens, tonsuram clericalem cum professione suscepit. O quantum gaudium de se fratribus dedit, quibus Dei laudibus ora omnium adimplevit! Quam multorum corda in compunctionem oculos laxavit in lacrymas, cum viderent illam nobilissimae stirpis indolem fascibus et divitiis sublimatam, forma praecipuam, gloria perpollentem, contemptis omnibus, Christi jugo generosas inclinare cervices, et de divite pauperem, de potente infirmum, servum de domino spontanea commutatione fieri! Rarum hoc quidem et magnis laudibus prosequendum [fut part], ea, cum adsint, sine difficultate contemnere, quorum spem solam vix ullus etiam inter adversa dimittit. Sed Dei servus futuram gloriam cogitabat, cujus pulchritudini comparatum terrenum omne sordescit. Bonum ei erat Deo adhaerere, et non in incerto divitiarum, sed in Domino Deo spem suam ponere.

7. Truly he was not eager to abolish his disgrace with another hurried marriage, but rather, understanding the providence of God to be in harmony with his wishes, he turned his misfortune into an opportunity, lest he be compelled to try again what, previously attempted, he had yielded to contrary to his wishes. And so, with his mind made up, lest he put off any further what he had been previously considering, having immediately requested a dismissal, he laid down his belt of military service, renounced his transitory honors, and, surrendering himself completely in service to God, received the clerical tonsure as part of his monastic profession. O how much joy with regard to [his decision] he gave to his brothers, filling their mouths and those of everyone else with the praises of God! How he opened the hearts of many to remorse and their eyes to tears, when they saw that inborn quality of his most noble lineage—raised up with honors and riches, conspicuous in form, and exerting power with glory—incline his noble neck to the yoke of Christ, with everything of this world having been despised, transformed, by means of such a spontaneous change, from a rich man to a pauper, from a strong man to a weakling, from a lord to a servant! This is indeed a rare thing, one that is to be regarded with great praise: to despise without difficulty those things when they are present, the very hope for which scarcely anyone, even those in the midst of adversities,<sup>4</sup> is capable of abandoning. But the servant of God was reflecting on his future glory, compared to the beauty of which every earthly thing is soiled. It was good for him to adhere to God and to place his hope not in the uncertainty of riches, but in the Lord God.

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<sup>4</sup> In other words, even people without access to much in the way of worldly possessions still have a hard time giving up the hope of having them someday.

8. Jam vero in clericatu quantum promoverit, ex antecedentibus possumus aestimare. Totam industriam, quam saeculi functionibus prius impenderat, ad animae suae et fratrum, cum quibus vivebat, utilitatem convertit; et qui ad utrumque divisa intentione suffecerat, collectis viribus maxime suffecit ad alterum. Nunquam illum alti sanguinis gloria titillavit, quominus vilissimorum obsequiis subderetur; nec ejus eruditio indoctorum aliquando simplicitatem irrisit, jejunans aliorum prandiis non detraxit, dormientes excubans non despexit, dissidentes revocare festinavit ad pacem, indisciplinatos ad ordinem; bona sibi omnium ad imitationem, mala vero proposuit ad cautelam. Et cum ab omnibus amaretur ut pater, omnes venerabatur ut dominos.

8. Truly we are already able to imagine, based on those things that came before, how much he would advance in the clerical office. He diverted all the diligence that he had previously expended on worldly functions toward the benefit of his soul and toward the souls of the brothers with whom he lived; and he who had proved capable when his intention was divided with regard to the one, sufficed to the utmost, now that all his powers had been gathered together with regard to the other. The glory of noble blood never provoked him, such that he would not allow himself to be subjected in obedience to the most common men; nor did his erudition ever mock the simplicity of the uneducated. When fasting, he did not disparage the meals of others, and when keeping vigils, he did not look down on those who were sleeping. He hastened to recall to peace those who were at odds to peace and to order those who were undisciplined. He held up to himself the good behaviors of everyone for imitation, but the bad ones as a warning. And while he was loved by all as a father, he venerated everyone else as his lords.

## Caput II. *Sancti Licinii functiones episcopales.*

9. Secundum Christi praeceptum, ad Ecclesiae convivium invitatus, in novissimo loco recubuerat. Cum ergo jam tempus esset ut ei a Domino diceretur: «Amice, ascende superius (Luc. XIV, 10),» dictum est et Andegavensis sedis episcopo, pulsante corpus aegritudine: «Da huic locum (ibid., 9).» Defuncto igitur Audoino qui prius Andegavensem Ecclesiam regere videbatur, cum jam sancti viri longe lateque percrebuisset opinio, utriusque ordinis acclamatione, cum promptissimo regis assensu, petitur, rapitur, ordinatur; et qui in domo Dei abjectus esse elegerat, invitus et lacrymans praeesse compellitur. Dignissime plane, ut bona quae diu per otium in se convexerat, tandem per dispensationem in multorum utilitatem refunderet.

## Chapter II: The Episcopal Functions of St. Licinius

9. In accordance with the command of Christ, upon being invited to the banquet of the church, [Licinius] had himself in the lowest place.<sup>5</sup> Therefore when it was time for it be said to him by the Lord, “Friend, go up higher,” it was said to the bishop of the see of Angers, with sickness pounding on his body, “Give this man place.”<sup>6</sup> Therefore, with Audouin<sup>7</sup> (who was seem to rule the church of Angers previously) having died, and news of the holy man [Licinius] having already spread far and wide, by the acclamation of each order and with the most prompt assent of the king, he was sought out, seized, and ordained.<sup>8</sup> He who had elected to be abject in the house of God, was compelled, unwilling and weeping, to be in charge. Clearly this was done most worthily, so that he might finally, by means of his good stewardship, give back for the benefit of many the good things that he had long since gathered in himself through [monastic] leisure.

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<sup>5</sup> Luke 14:10: *Sed cum vocatus fueris, vade, recumbe in novissimo loco: ut, cum venerit qui te invitavit, dicat tibi: Amice, ascende superius.* “But when thou art invited, go, sit down in the lowest place; that when he who invited thee, cometh, he may say to thee: Friend, go up higher. Then shalt thou have glory before them that sit at table with thee.”

<sup>6</sup> Luke 14:9: *Et veniens is, qui te et illum vocavit, dicat tibi: Da huic locum: et tunc incipias cum rubore novissimum locum tenere.* “And he that invited

thee and him, come and say to thee, Give this man place: and then thou begin with shame to take the lowest place.”

<sup>7</sup> Bishop Audouin died about the year 600.

<sup>8</sup> He had to be “seized” because it was imagined that would-be saints would have a more difficult path as bishops than as monks, given the “dirty work” that bishops were expected to do “in the world.”

10. Suscepto ergo regimine, non tam sibi honorem quam onus iudicans accrevisse, quasi nihil hactenus promovisset quod consummaverat, tunc incoepit, et qui sanctitate vitae jamdudum caeteros cunctos praeibat, quod solum restabat, vincere seipsum instituit. Sed cui nulla probaretur deesse virtutum, quo cresceret non habebat, nisi quod numero non poterat, adderet quantitati. Extendit ergo vigiliis, ampliavit orationes, protraxit jejunia, trivit carnem cilicio, corpus frigore cruciavit; et qui de se quod lueret non habebat, exemplo Christi, commissorum sibi peccata in se transtulit et languores. Eleemosynarum largitionem sic profudit, ut de remotis quoque provinciis ad eum fama exciti greges pauperum properarent: quippe qui nullam praetermitteret munificentiae portionem. Operiebat nudos, famelicos reficiebat, procurabat languidis medicinam, mortuis sepulturam; peregrinis dabat hospitium, moestis impendebat solatium, captivis redemptionem, pupillis tuitionem, viduis patrocinium exhibebat; abluabat manibus pauperum pedes, flebat oculis, ore osculabatur, capillis tergebat. Postremo, tot exercebat misericordias, quot patitur humana vita miserias. Nec solum in pauperes, sed in omnes quoque ordines, in quosdam etiam episcopos sese liberalitas ejus extendit.

10. With this regimen having been undertaken, deciding that a burden had been given to him more than an honor (as if he could advance nothing that he had achieved up to that time or that he was beginning at that time), he who previously outdid all the others in holiness of life, because he now remained alone, set out to conquer himself.<sup>9</sup> While none of the virtues could be shown to be lacking in him, he did not have the means by which he could grow unless what he was not able to do in number, he might add in quantity.<sup>10</sup> With this in mind he extended his vigils, increased his prayers, protracted his fasts, chafed his flesh with hair shirts, crucified his body with cold; and he who had nothing to atone for with regard to himself, transferred into himself the sins and apathies of other perpetrators, according to the example of Christ. He thus poured forth the generosity of his alms so that, even from remote provinces, crowds of paupers hastened to him, incited by his fame; indeed he overlooked no portion of munificence. He clothed the naked, restored the famished, procured medicine for the weak and burial for the dead, gave hospitality to pilgrims, and expended solace for the sad; he furnished ransom for the captives, protection for the orphans, and defense of the widows; he washed the feet of the paupers with his hands; he wept on them with his eyes, kissed them with his mouth, and dried them with his hair.<sup>11</sup> In short, he exercised as many mercies as human life suffers miseries. His liberality extended not only to the poor but to all the orders as well, and also toward certain bishops themselves.

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<sup>9</sup> That is, he would be without his monastic brothers and without the monastic regimen.

<sup>10</sup> It is a challenge to divine Marbod's meaning here.

<sup>11</sup> Luke 7:37-38: "And behold a woman that was in the city, a sinner, when she knew that he sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster

box of ointment; And standing behind at his feet, she began to wash his feet, with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment."

11. Nec minus interea suscepto fungebatur officio, singulis quibusque diebus sacramentorum mysteria celebrans, et publice praedicans verbum Dei, intentans peccatoribus terrores poenarum, proponens gementibus gaudia praemiorum. Misericordiam et iudicium cantabat tibi, Domine, iudicium in rebelles, in supplices misericordiam. Tanta in labiis ejus gratia diffusa erat, ut quae dicebat nemini displicerent. Notabat latenter vitia singulorum, culpam corripuens, non personam; et cum in ejus dictis se quisque recognosceret, nihil in se injuriose dictum poterat recognoscere. Neque vero aliquando illum in docendo materia destituebat, cum vita sua pro libro uteretur. Quoties illi quaerendum erat quid diceret, in promptu sibi erat meminisse quid faceret.

11. At the same time, he performed no less the office he had received, celebrating the mysteries of the sacraments every day, preaching the word of God in public, threatening sinners with the terrors of punishment, and holding out the joys of reward to those who lamented. He sung mercy and judgment to you, Lord,<sup>12</sup> judgment with regard to the rebellious and mercy with regard to the suppliants. Such grace poured forth from his lips, that the things that he said were displeasing to no one. He secretly observed the vices of everyone, seizing on the sin not the person; and while someone might recognize himself in his words, he could not recognize anything said injuriously in regard to himself. Nor did he at any time leave that sinner destitute with regard to material for teaching, when his very life could be used as a book. As often as that sinner searched for what Licinius said, it was enough for him to have promptly remembered what Licinius did.

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<sup>12</sup> Psalm 101:1: *Psalmus ipsi David. Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, Domine; psallam.* "A psalm for David himself. Mercy and judgment I will sing to thee, O Lord: I will sing."

12. Quantum ad distriptionem, culpas persequatur, naturae parcebat: vitia odiens, homines diligebat. Arguebat in justitia delinquentes, suscipiebat in mansuetudine poenitentes, sic zelum indulgentia, et zelo indulgentiam temperabat, ut nec ista corrumperet, nec illa vulneraret. In synodali tractatu de misericordia plurimum disputabat, et in reorum defensionem, quantum ratio pateretur, mentem exercebat et linguam, sacerdotes accusatos maxime tuebatur. In personarum acceptionibus non honores attendebat, sed mores; ut tanto cuique plus deferret, quanto plus quemque Deum diligere perspexisset. Circuibat ecclesias; monasteria visitabat; quocumque se verteret, spiritualis laetitia nascebatur; animas verbo, corpora cibo reficiebat; circumquaque vitiis extirpatis inserebat virtutes, et expulsis languoribus sanitates restituebat. Imo vultu et eodem animo fortunam utramque spectavit, ut nec prospera extolleretur, nec frangeretur adversa. In habitu et incessu mediocritatem servavit, in famulorum numero necessitatem, in qualitate honestatem quaesivit. Prorsus sic publica ministravit, quasi privata contemneret; sic privata curavit, quasi publica non curaret; nec, sicut plerique solent, a fulgore ad fumum recidit, sed a splendore ad splendorem, a minori virtute transiit ad majorem.

12. He pursued sins with such severity, but was lenient when it came to [human] nature; hating the vices, he loved the people. He argued against delinquents with justice, and he received the penitent with gentleness; he so tempered his zeal with indulgence and his indulgence with zeal, that neither the latter [gentleness] corrupted nor the former [justice] wounded. In synodal matters he disputed a great deal with regard to mercy, and he exercised his mind and tongue in the defense of the accused as much as reason permitted, and protected accused priests in particular. When receiving people, he paid attention not to their honors but to their morals, such that, the more he observed someone loving God, the more he submitted to him. He made the rounds of churches, he visited monasteries; wherever he turned, spiritual joy was born; he restored souls with his word and bodies with his food; once vices had been plucked out all around, he planted virtues, and, with sickness expelled, he restored health. More correctly, he observed each twist of fortune with the same spirit and expression, so that he was neither elated by good fortune nor disheartened by its opposite. He maintained moderation in demeanor and approach, and aimed at necessity when it came to the number of his servants and integrity when it came to their quality. By all means, he administered public things as if he disdained the private; he concerned himself with the private as if he did not care for the public; he did not, as so many are accustomed to doing, fall from the flame to the smoke, but passed from brilliance to brilliance, from minor to greater virtue.

13. Jam totam Galliam splendor ejus irradiaverat, et ad solam ejus famam non pauci nobilium, spretis divitiis, Christum pauperes sequebantur. Unde aestimandum est quantum praesens Domino lucraretur, qui et ubi non erat plurimos convertebat. Jam regis Francorum et optimatum spes opesque de ipsius potissimum auctoritate pendebant; jam et ipsis episcopis magnus quidam et mirabilis habebatur. Omnes ad eum, velut ad fontem sitientes, in suis necessitatibus recurrebant. Omnes ex eo quod quisque cuperet hauriebant. Jam plane omnibus quidam humanus angelus, vel potius homo angelicus videbatur. Nam praeter incomparabilem sanctitatem, qua mensuram hominis excedebat, tanta miraculorum potentia coruscabat, ut ei apostolicam inesse gratiam nullus ambigeret. De miraculis aliqua recensebimus, ex quibus caetera fides lectoris poterit aestimare. Nam et ex paucis multa, et majora ex minoribus, et ex manifestis occulta colligi solent.

13. Once his splendor had illuminated all of Gaul, no few noblemen, on the basis of his fame alone, followed Christ as poor men, having spurned riches. Whence it should to be appreciated how much his presence was of profit to the Lord, he who converted so many in places where he was not present. Already the hope and resources of the king of France and of the magnates greatly depended on the authority of this one; and already he was held by the bishops themselves as someone great and marvelous. All rushed to him in their needs, like the thirsty to a fountain. Everyone drew from him whatever any one of them might seek. Clearly he was already seen as a kind of human angel or rather an angelic man. For beyond his incomparable sanctity, in which he exceeded human measure, he shown with such a power of miracles, that no one doubted that apostolic grace was praesent in him. With regard to miracles, we will review some, from which the faith of the reader will be able to appreciate the others. For the the many are accustomed to be gathered from the few; the greater from the lesser, and the hidden from the manifest.

Caput III. *Sancti Licinii aedificia, quietis studium, miracula.*

14. Cum in solemnibus jejunio frequens populus ad ecclesiam convenisset, quo, scilicet secundum pastorem sui institutum, devotissime recurrebat, ecce mulier, quae a daemonio tenebatur, cum vocibus furibundis et gestu vesano coetum irrupit, coepitque per ecclesiam discurrendo mimos theatricos exercere, et verbis erraticis, qualia proferre solent ebrii, risum populi commovere. Intellexit vir sanctus conatum diaboli, cujus studium est semper, quantum potest, Dei servitium impedire. Imperato ergo silentio, cum populum de instanti materia pro tempore breviter monuisset, daemoniacam illam sibi jussit adduci; et fusa super eam oratione, spectante populo, et rei exitum suspensis mentibus exspectante, virtute crucis et sacris adjurationibus statim expulit inimicum. Recepta mente, femina grates egit, et publica oratione sui confessione, grande apud omnes miraculum ampliavit. Nam se testata est septem prius habuisse daemones. Neminem ibi laudes Dei crediderim siluisse, nullum tacuisse putaverim merita sacerdotis. Vere enim forma capitis relucet in membro, et simul virtutis imagine magistrum discipulus repraesentat. De Maria Christus septem ejecit daemones; de hac femina totidem, Christo praestante, Licinius. Quamvis etenim non possit servus Domino comparari, in hoc tamen miraculo qualitas qualitati, sexus sexui, et numerus numero respondet.

Chapter III: St. Licinius' buildings, his eagerness for quiet, and his miracles.

14. When, during the solemn fast, a large crowd had gathered at the church—to which it was most devoutly hastening in accordance with their shepherd's decree—behold a woman, who was possessed by a demon, burst in to the assembly with raging utterances and frenzied movements, and began, by running through the church, to carry out theatrical mimes, and, with erratic words, like those that drunk people are accustomed to offer up, to provoke the laughter of the people. The holy man understood the workings of the devil, whose intention was always, insofar as he was able, to impede servitude to God. Therefore, with silence having been commanded, once he had briefly admonished the people about pressing matters pertaining to that [Lenten] season, he ordered that woman who was possessed by a demon to be led to himself; and, with his prayers having been poured over her, and with the people looking on awaiting the resolution of the matter with their minds in a state of uncertainty, he, with the cross and sacred oaths, immediately expelled the enemy. With her mind recovered, the woman gave thanks and, with the public confession of her mouth, glorified the great miracle in the presence of all. For she testified that she had previously been possessed by seven demons. I would reckon that no one there was quiet in the praises of God, and I would think no one was silent about the merits of the priest. Truly the form of the head shines in his members,<sup>13</sup> and at the same time the disciple manifests the master with the image of virtue. From Mary [Magdalene], Christ cast out seven demons;<sup>14</sup> and Licinius, with Christ being present, cast out just as many from this woman. Although a servant may not be able to be compared to the Lord, still in this miracle, the type [of miracle], the gender [of the victim], and the number [of demons] of the one corresponds to the type, gender, and number of the other.

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<sup>13</sup> Ephesians 5:23: "Because the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the church. He is the saviour of his body." I Corinthians 12:27: "Now you are the body of Christ, and members of member."

<sup>14</sup> Luke 8:2: "And certain women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities; Mary who is called Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were gone forth."

15. Rursum dum inter missarum solemnities die Dominica more suo populum hortaretur, caecus quidam, Ghiso nomine, in parte consistens, levata voce rupit silentium, implorans episcopum, ut qui verbo doctrinae suae mentium tenebras effugabat, ab ejus oculis, suis sanctis precibus, pelleret caecitatem. Cui cum respondisset vir sanctus non esse hic locum interpellandi, et ne intempestive obstreperet, quoniam populi turbaretur intentio: Non hoc, inquit, praesul sanctissime, importunitati ascribas, sed fidei: non enim dubito me lumen protinus tuis meritis recepturum. Nam nocte praeterita per visionem mihi revelatum est hanc tibi gratiam reservari. Unde et ad te properare sum jussus, ut mihi quod desidero largiaris. Haec cum audisset episcopus, et de promissae virtutis effectu nullatenus dubitaret, malens tamen hoc totius Ecclesiae precibus, quam suis meritis reputari, communem pro caeco poni jussit orationem; sicque finito missarum officio, populum dimisit, non quod ei futuri miraculi gratiam invideret, sed ut ipse popularem gloriam declinaret: deinde secreto caecum assumens, cum ejus oculos sacro oleo circumlisset, videntem et laetum remisit ad propria.

15. One Sunday, while he was exhorting the people as was his custom in the midst of the solemnities of the mass, a certain blind man, by the name of Ghiso, standing apart, broke the silence with his raised voice, imploring the bishop, who was putting to flight the darkness of the minds of the people with the word of his teaching, to expel the blindness from his eyes with his holy prayers. When the holy man responded to him that this was not a place for interrupting, and that he should not make a loud noise in such an untimely fashion because the people's concentration would be disturbed, the man said: "Do not ascribe this to importunity on my part, most holy prelate, but to faith. I do not doubt that I am about to receive my sight all at once through your merits. For last night it was revealed to me through a vision that this grace had been reserved for you. As a result I was ordered to hasten to you so that your might grant me what I desire." When the bishop heard these things and had doubt about the performance of the promised miracle, he, preferring to do this through the prayers of the entire church than to have it reputed to his merits, ordered a joint prayer to be offered on behalf of the blind man. Once the office of the mass was finished, he dismissed the people, not because he begrudged the grace of the miracle that was about to be done for the blind man, but so that he himself might deflect the popular acclaim away from himself. He secretly received the blind man and, after anointing his eyes with holy oil, sent him home both seeing and joyful.

16. Cum ad B. Licinii virtutum famam infirmorum turbae confluerent, et de vulgari frequentia contemplationi mens dedita molestiam pateretur, timens Dei servus ne forte de miraculorum magnitudine favor suam apud Deum mercedem minueret, statuit non ultra se turbis praebere concurrentium, sed intra secretam cellulam clausus, quietem coepit angelicam meditari, uno tantum clerico contentus et duobus ministris. Sed, cum nec sic pulsantium tumultus posset excludere, quippe qui ostio tenebantur, vocibus irrumpebant, et improbitate sua plerique desideratum extorquebant suffragium, necessitate coactus, locum dimisit, coepitque ex illo flagitare a rege et comprovincialibus episcopis missionem, quatenus in locum suum alio subrogato, ipse ad eremum properaret. Cui petitioni cunctis reclamantibus (quis enim dubitaret destitutum pastoris absentia Christi gregem, lupis rapacibus praedam futurum), cum ei plus in hac parte detrimenti, quam in altera lucri fore objicerent; praeterea privatum commodum publicis utilitatibus anteferre, contra legem esse contenderent charitatis, non quaerentis quae sua sunt, sed quae multorum, ut salvi fiant; victus tandem precibus et ratione confratrum, solitudinis intentionem deposuit, totusque quasi de integro ad exsequendam sibi creditam dispensationem conversus, familiae Christi coepit necessaria providere, intermissae contemplationis jacturam fructuosae actionis compendiis supplere festinans. Unde factum est ut ampliorem a Deo gratiam mereretur, qui totum se utilitatibus devoverat proximorum. Quod ut et mundo evidens esset, miraculis cum Dominus exinde majoribus et frequentioribus decoravit. Ex quibus nonnulla recitanda sunt, quorum tamen paucitas pro sua magnitudine multorum possit numero coaequari.

16. When crowds of sick people flocked to the fame of the Blessed Licinius' miracles, and his mind, dedicated to contemplation, suffered some annoyance pertaining as a result of the common crowd, the servant of God, fearing lest perchance their adulation in response to the magnitude of miracles might diminish his reward in the presence of God, he decided not to make himself available to the crowds of people rushing to him any longer, but, closed up within a secret cell, he began to reflect on the angelic quiet and was content with only one cleric and two attendants. But when he was not in this manner able to shut out the commotions of the ones pounding [on his door]—for naturally those who were kept at the door interrupted him with their voices and extorted the intercession they desired from him by their shamelessness, he, compelled by necessity, left the place and began to demand from the king and the provincial bishops a discharge from [the episcopacy], with the intention that, once another had been substituted in his place, he might hurry off to the wilderness.<sup>15</sup> With everyone protesting his petition—for who would doubt that the flock of Christ would be destitute in the absence of its pastor, future prey to rapacious wolves—when they objected that it would be more detrimental for him on this side than it would be profitable on the other, and in addition argued that, to put private advantage before public utility, was against the law of charity, which is the law of seeking not those things that are to ones advantage but those things that are to the advantage of many, so that they may be saved, finally overcome by the prayers and the reasoning of his colleagues, he laid aside his intention for solitude and, as if he were completely converted once again to executing the stewardship entrusted to him, began to provide the things necessary for the family of Christ, hastening to make up for the sacrifice of interrupted contemplation by compensating with fruitful action. Whence it happened that he who had devoted himself completely to the utility of his neighbors earned greater grace from God. And so that this might be evident to the world, the Lord adorned him with greater and more frequent miracles. Of these, only some are to be recounted here. Despite their paucity, their magnitude should be regarded as equal to all of them in number.

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<sup>15</sup> That is, the “wilderness” associated with the ascetic life of a hermit.

17. Coeperat vir sanctus aedificare monasterium extra civitatem, non longe a muris, quod postmodum rebus et possessionibus copiose dotatum, in honorem S. Joannis Baptistae, sicut optaverat, dedicavit. Ad quos opus visendum aliquando dum pergeret, uno tantum familiarissimo sibi discipulo comitatus, obviam habuit pauperum turbam, qui ab eo coeperunt vocibus importunis eleemosynae subsidia postulare; inter quos erant duodecim, quos caecos partim, partim claudos fuisse accepimus: quibus cum nihil responderet episcopus, quippe cujus mentem assiduae orationis, etiam inter eundem rapiebat intentio, iteratis eum pulsare clamoribus, et nullam permittere dissimulandi licentiam. Commotus ergo paulisper, gradum fixit, et velut ad sui defensionem, elevata contra eos dextra, signum crucis objecit instantibus. Protinus ad sancti zelum debilitas expavit et caecitas, et fugata omni aegritudine, virtus crucis intulit sanitatem. Sanati ergo medicum, qui jam discesserat, sequebantur, ut ei grates agerent quas debebant. Respexit prior, agnovitque miraculum Magnobodus (hoc nomen discipulo) et prae-euntem magistrum territus exclamavit. Qui et ipse respiciens vidensque gratiam quam meruisset ignarus, pro multiplici dono multam dedit gloriam Creatori, statimque accersitis per eundem discipulum opificibus, quos visebat, locum ex quo signaverat requisivit, sibi in honorem et memoriam sanctae crucis fundari jussit Ecclesiam, quae usque hodie permanens, antiquum credentibus miraculum repraesentat.

17. The holy man had begun to construct a monastery outside of the city, not far from the walls—which was later copiously endowed with property and possessions—and dedicated it to the honor of St. John the Baptist, just as [Licinius] had desired. At length when he was making his way there to observe the project, accompanied by a single disciple, one who was most familiar to him, he met a crowd of paupers who began, with annoying voices, to demand alms from him. Among them there were twelve whom we understand to have been partly blind and partly lame. When the bishop said nothing to them in response—clearly his mind was in the midst of assiduous prayer—the thought took hold among the same<sup>16</sup> to assail him with repeated shouts, and to allow him no liberty to ignore them. Stunned for a moment, he modified his step, and, his right hand elevated against them as if in his own defense, he opposed those threatening him with the sign of the cross. All at once their weakness and blindness grew frightened, faced with the zeal of the saint, and the power of the cross conferred health, all their maladies having been put to flight. Cured, they followed after their physician, who had already departed, so that they might render the thanks that they owed him. Magnobodus (this was his disciple’s name) looked back from where he was up ahead and recognized the miracle; astounded, he called out to his master as he went before him. Looking back himself and seeing the grace that he, unaware, had earned, [Licinius] gave great glory to the Creator for his many gifts. Having immediately sent for workmen—the very ones whom he was going to visit—by means of this same disciple, he sought for the place from which he had made the sign of the cross, and he ordered for himself a church to be founded in honor and memory of the holy cross; remaining there to this day, it displays that ancient miracle to the believers.

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<sup>16</sup> Taking *eundum* as *eundem*.

Caput IV. *Alia sancti Licinii miracula, morbus, mors, sepultura.*

18. Mos erat, ut dictum est, sancto pontifici episcopatus sui per semetipsum visitare dioeceses, et pia sollicitudine singularum non solum regionum, verum etiam personarum necessitates inquirere, ne **qua** forte vel sua, vel sacerdotum negligentia, grex sibi commissus periclitaretur. Spargebat ubique semina verbi Dei, et confirmationibus et benedictionibus populum roborabat. Super haec de facultatibus suis indigentium supplebat inopiam, et cum hospitibus habebat omni tempore mensam communem. Contigit ergo ut inter alios pauperes hospitio leprosum reciperet, cujus statura corporis egregia, et membrorum elegans compositio majorem infelici morbo faciebat invidiam. Quem sanctus cum cibo proprio refecisset, in oratorium se recepit, et noctem quae instabat, eodem assistente, duxit insomnem, dum precibus indefessus misericordem Dominum interpellat pro misero. **Jam mane facto, exorcizatis aquis lavat infirmum, et ad sacrarum manuum tactum dicto citius lepra disparuit. O virum propheticae dignitatis! O novum antiquae virtutis exemplum! Non gloriatur in miraculis populus prior, ut legem veterem Novo praeferat Testamento. Unus Dominus utriusque, cujus est aequa in utroque potentia. Habemus aquam, habemus prophetam, habemus leprosum: praesto sunt et nobis Naaman, Eliseus, Jordanis. Sed in hoc melior noster mundatus, quod ad priorem conversationem non est ultra reversus, nec a suo recedere sustinuit Eliseo, a quo litteris instructus divinis et Christianae disciplinae moribus institutus, mutato habitu comam deposuit: sicque per minores gradus probatus ex tempore, ad dignitatem sacerdotii tandem meruit pervenire: cujus vita laudabilis, et a magistri vestigiis non recedens, multis postmodum bene vivendi formam praebuit et exemplum.**

Chapter 4: Other miracles of St. Licinius, his sickness, death, and burial.

18. It was the custom, as was said, for the holy pontiff to personally visit the dioceses of his episcopate and to examine with pious solicitude the needs not only of the individual regions but also of persons, lest perchance as the result of his negligence or that of the priests, the flock committed to him be endangered. **He scattered the seeds of the word of God everywhere and strengthened the people with confirmations and benedictions.** Beyond these matters, he subsidized the poverty of the indigent from his resources, and always kept a common table with his guests. It happened that he received into his hospice, among other paupers, a leper, the exceptional stature of whose body, and the the elegant composition of whose limbs made one even angrier with [the effects of] that unfortunate disease. When the holy man had refreshed him with his own food, he received himself into the oratory, and he led a sleepless night—with that same [leper] standing nearby—while he tirelessly assailed the merciful Lord with prayers on behalf of that miserable one. When morning came, he washed the sick man with holy water and, upon the touch of his sacred hands, the said<sup>17</sup> leprosy quickly disappeared. O man of prophetic dignity! O new manifestation of an ancient exercise of power! **May that people [that is, the Jews] not boast at being first with regard to such miracles, so they place the Old Law over the New Testament. The Lord of both is one, and his power is equal in both cases. We too have water, we have a prophet, we have a leper; Naaman,<sup>18</sup> Elisha, and the Jordan are all present here among us.** But in this, our cleansed leper is better: because he did not revert anymore to his previous conduct, nor did he withdraw from his “Elisha” [that is, from Licinius], by whom he was instructed in divine letters and set up in the ways of Christian discipline. With his clothing changed, he cut his hair, and, proved as he was from that time on by means of small steps, he at length deserved to reach the dignity of the priesthood. His laudable life, not receding from the steps of the master, thereafter bestowed on many a model and example of living well.

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<sup>17</sup> Taking *dicta* for *dicto*.

<sup>18</sup> 4 Kings 5:1–19. Naaman was a commander of the king of Syria who was cured of leprosy by the Israelite prophet, Elisha. Elisha told Naaman to go wash himself in the Jordan seven times. Naaman initially refused to do it

(having expected Elisha to cure him right then and there), but ultimately was convinced by his servants to do what Elisha said and he did and he was cured.

19. Praetereunte praesule juxta portam civitatis, rei qui portae juncto carcere tenebantur, cognito quod transiret, lacrymosis eum vocibus inclamabant. Super quorum motus angustia, statuit a loco non recedere, nisi prius miseros liberaret; nimirum in illis se vinctum reputans, quorum in se per compassionem transferebat catenas. Missis ergo nuntiis, interpellat custodem, offerens pro captivis redemptionis pecuniam. Sed cum illius pertinacia nec precibus flecti posset, nec pretio, **vertit se fides vindicis quo solebat**, ut quod ab hominis nequitia non poterat impetrare, ab insensibili materia mirabilius obtineret. Jecit in ostio carceris crucis signum; et statim, mirum dictu! ferrea serarum compago dissiluit, nec potuit solitam catenarum natura servare duritiam, ubi fortior incubuit fides. Solutis ergo vinculis, omnes prosiliunt; et a sancto sacerdote verbis et sumptibus confortati, cum gaudio revertuntur ad sua. Sunt et alia ejus multa non minus digna memoratu; sed propter compendium ista sufficiant. Nam fidelis quidem animus nihil ultra desiderat, infidelis autem nec plura reciperet. Nunc ad ejus transitum properemus.

19. When this prelate was passing by next to the gate of the city, the prisoners who were held in the jail adjoining the gate, knowing that he was passing by, called out to him with tearful voices. Moved by anguish toward them, [Licinius] decided not to leave that place until he liberated those wretched ones, clearly imagining himself to be bound among them, whose chains he transferred to himself out of compassion. So, with messengers having been sent, he objected to the guard, offering the price of redemption for the captives. But when obstinacy of the guard was able to be bent neither by entreaties nor for a price, the faith of the protector transformed itself in its customary manner,<sup>19</sup> so that what he was not able to procure from the iniquity of the man, he managed to obtain miraculously from inanimate matter. He cast the sign of the cross into the door of the cell and immediately—wonderful to relate!—the iron framework of the bars dissolved; nature was not able to preserve the usual hardness of the chains, where more powerful faith lay. With the chains having been released, all the prisoners went forth; comforted by the holy priest by his words and his expenditures, they returned home with joy. There are many other miracles of his that are no less worthy of being remembered; but for the sake of keeping this short, let these suffice. For indeed a faithful soul desires nothing further [in the way of miraculous indications], while an unfaithful one can expect to receive no more. Now let us hasten to his passing.

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<sup>19</sup> The meaning of this phrase is not clear to me.

20. Jam Dei servus bonum certamen certaverat, cursum consummaverat, fidemque servaverat; restabat illi a justo iudice merces, victoriae corona, vel bravium. Debebatur militi jam emerito bonus ager, terra viventium; debebatur operario, qui pondus diei et aestus portaverat, aeternae quietis denarius. Correptus ergo mense Augusto vehementibus acutae febris ardoribus, in spem adductus quasi jam dissolveretur, exitum suum laetissimus expectabat. Sed cum post tempus refrixisset incendium, intelligens chronicam passionem, dilatatum se et velut a vicino jam portu repulsum moestus ingemuit; quippe qui praesentem vitam naufragium iudicans, futuram patriam totus viribus inquirebat. Crevit ex dilatione desiderium, nec quidquam sibi propter recurrentis saepe febris molestiam de prioris abstinentiae consuetudine relaxavit. Non idcirco mollioribus stratis incubuit, nec cibi aut potus qualitatem mutavit in melius. Imo vero multo nunc magis sollicitus ad Domini jam pulsantis ingressum, quantum temporis supervixit, mentem semper reduxit a corpore, sola cogitans ad quae ibat, oblitus omnium quae linquebat.

20. This servant of God had already fought a good fight and finished his race; recompense from the just Judge in the form of a crown or reward of victory remained for him. Now in the land of the living, a good farm may be due to the retired soldier; but for him who had “borne the burden of the day and the heats,”<sup>20</sup> the “coin” of eternal peace. Seized in the month of August by the severe burnings of an acute fever, encouraged in the hope that he was already being released [from this life], he, most joyful, awaited his departure. But when, after a time, that fire had cooled, he realized that his passion would be a lingering one; unhappy, he lamented the fact that he was delayed, as if he were now being pushed back from a threshold that was so near. Judging his present life to be a shipwreck, he sought his future homeland with all<sup>21</sup> his strength. As a result of this delay, he multiplied his desire and, despite the challenge of the oft-recurring fevers, he did not lighten anything with regard to his practice of prior abstinence. He did not, for this reason, sleep on softer beds, or change for the better the quality of his food and drink. On the contrary, he was now even more apprehensive with regard to the coming of the Lord—who was already knocking; for as long as he continued to live, he continually brought his mind back from his body, thinking only about those things to which he was headed, forgetting everything that he was leaving behind.

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<sup>20</sup> Based on Matthew 20:12: *Hi novissimi una hora fecerunt, et pares illos nobis fecisti, qui portavimus pondus diei, et aestus.* “These last have

worked but one hour, and thou hast made them equal to us, that have borne the burden of the day and the heats.”

<sup>21</sup> Reading *totus* as *totiis*.

21. Aderat mensis jam quartus, et aurum Christi purissimum tribulationis caminus satis probaverat. Dignus ergo per omnia in aeternos Domini thesauros reponi, Kalendis Novembris praesul sanctissimus migravit a corpore, sepultusque est magnifice, cum multa ordinum frequentia, in monasterio S. Joannis Baptistae, quod ipse a fundamentis construxerat, ibique ad Deo serviendum assidue collegium instituerat monachorum. In cujus exsequiis angelos astitisse quicumque aderant persenserunt, tam insueta repente perfusi fragrantia, ut ei nullam prorsus terrenam gratiam compararent. Sed et ibidem signorum ostensa consolatio, cunctorum qui de Pastoris sui dolebant absentia, tersit moerorem. Nam sanati sunt ipsa die ad ejus tumulum caeci duo, aegri complures. Nec sequentibus quidem usque ad aetatem nostram temporibus in ipso loco divina munera cessavere, ad animarum et corporum pertinentia sanitatem. Datur hic fideliter petentibus remissio peccatorum, datur languentibus optatum remedium, datur egentibus praesentis vitae subsidium.

21. The fourth [day] of the month was already approaching<sup>22</sup> and his furnace of tribulation had proved [him to be] the purist gold of Christ. Therefore, being worthy as a result of all these things to be restored to the eternal treasures of the Lord, that most holy prelate migrated from his body on the calends of November,<sup>23</sup> and he was magnificently buried, with great crowds of all the orders, in the monastery of St. John the Baptist, which he himself had constructed from its very foundations, and where he had established a body of monks for the sake of assiduously serving God. In his funeral procession, certain ones who were present sensed that angels had stood by and that they were suddenly permeated by such an unusual fragrance, that it was by no means to be compared to any earthly grace. But at that same time the revealed consolation of signs<sup>24</sup> washed away the sadness of all who lamented in the absence of their shepherd. For there were healed at his tomb on that very day two blind men and many other sick people. Indeed the divine gifts have not ceased [occurring] in that same place in subsequent times up to our [own] age, pertaining to the well-being of souls and bodies. The remission of sins is faithfully given here to those asking, the desired remedy is given to those languishing, and support in the present life is given to the needy.

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<sup>22</sup> That is, the fourth day before the new month.

<sup>23</sup> November 1.

<sup>24</sup> That is, miracles.

22. Hic ostensum est per praesentis patroni merita tam grande miraculum, ut merito plus quam miraculum nominetur. Nam, si est miraculum extinctum lumen oculorum reparari, plus esse patet miraculo, ubi nunquam fuerunt, oculos ipsos creari; et si est caecus qui habens oculos caret visu, qui ipsis caret oculis, plus est quam caecus. Homo igitur plus quam caecus, sed fide illuminatus praeclara, ut rei exitus approbavit, ad sancti sepulcrum multo tempore, precibus assiduis et devotis supplicationibus incumbibat, in quo tanta naturae novitas apparebat, ut nec orbis haberet, nec locum, sed quod monstro simile videatur, a superciliis facies plana descenderet. Undique multi ad hoc spectaculum confluebant, ut tanto latius manaret postmodum inauditae fama virtutis, quanto prius ubique tanti monstri novitas neminem latuisset. Hic ergo dum incessanter precibus pulsat sanctum, ante ipsius corpus repente oculos invenit et visum; et quod illi abstulerat naturae defectus, divinae gratiae, per sancti merita, reparavit effectus.

22. So great a miracle was revealed here as a result of the merits of the present patron that it may be rightly considered to be more than a miracle. For if it is a miracle to repair the extinguished sight of eyes [that are blind], obviously it is more than a miracle for eyes themselves to be created where they did not exist before; and if he who, having eyes, lacks vision is considered to be blind, he who is without the eyes themselves, is more than blind. Accordingly one such "more-than-blind" man—who was nevertheless illuminated by outstanding faith (as the outcome of the matter subsequently proved)—lay down at the sepulchre of the saint for a long time with assiduous prayers and devout supplications. Such a novelty of nature was evident in him, that he had no eyeballs, nor even a place for them, but instead looked like a monster, his face descending unbroken from his eyebrows. Many rushed to this spectacle from all over, such that word of this amazing miracle ultimately spread to the same degree that the novelty of such a monster had become apparent everywhere to everyone before. While he was assailing the saint incessantly with his prayers, there in the presence of the body of [St. Licinius], he suddenly found his eyes and his vision! What a defect of nature had taken from him, the effect of divine grace, through the merits of the saint, repaired.

23. Hoc potissimum in fine operis velut epilogum idcirco posuimus, ut quia ultimum recitatur, primum occurrat memoriae, cum nulla superjectae narrationis mole sit obrutum. Ex quo utique vel solo constat id, ad quod scilicet tota hujus laboris nostri spectat intentio, quam bene summo Domino serviatur, et quam nihil sit desperandum fideli, quandoquidem divinae gratiae etiam naturae impossibilitas non obsistit, per Christum Dominum nostrum; qui cum, etc.

23. We have put this miracle at the end of this work as an epilogue, so that it may come to mind first—it being recited at the very end—and not be buried, with a pile of verbiage being thrown on top of it. Indeed from this one alone, it is obvious that, with regard to that which all of the intention of this labor of ours reveals, how well he is served by the highest Lord, and how there is nothing to be despaired of with regard to this man of faith, given that the “impossibility” of nature cannot stand up to divine grace, through Christ our Lord, who with, etc.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> This seems to be an abbreviated version of formulaic language found in the missal. The words after *qui cum* could be *Apostolis suis...*

24. Ego Marbodus indignus archidiaconus Andegavensis Ecclesiae, Vitam B. Licinii episcopi descripsi et recognovi, rogatu canonicorum ejusdem Ecclesiae. Unde mihi illi pro laboris mei mercede promiserunt et dederunt partem, et communionem orationum et benefactorum, quaecunque in ipsa Ecclesia fient omni tempore et singulis diebus, dum vixero, unam Collectam in missa matutinali, *Deus qui justificas impium*; post obitum vero meum, totum servitium quod fit pro uno canonicorum in orationibus et missis, et per singulos annos commemorationem anniversarii mei facere, sicut unius canonici. **Insuper omnibus et singulis diebus, praeter festos dies, usque ad finem saeculi, cantare mihi post Primam, dum vadent in capitulum, psalmum *De profundis*, cum capitulo, *Requiem aeternam*, et Collecta, *Absolve, Domine*.** Hujus conventionis inter me et canonicos, sit dominus meus S. Licinius mediator et testis, et sponsor. Amen.

24. I, Marbod, the unworthy archdeacon of the church of Angers, have described and reviewed the life of Blessed Licinius at the request of the canons of the same church. As a result, in recompense for my labor, they have promised and given me a portion and communion of prayers and benefactors that will take place in this very church every day for as long as I shall live, [to wit]: one collect in the matinal mass, *Deus qui justificas impium*; and, after my death, all the service that occurs on behalf of one of the canons in prayers and masses, and every year to make commemoration of my anniversary, just as in the case of a single canon. **Moreover on each and every day, except feast days, up to the end of the world, to sing to me after Prime, while they are going into the chapter, the psalm *De profundis*, with the chapter *Requiem aeternam*, and the Collect *Absolve, Domine*.** May my Lord St. Licinius be the mediator, witness, and sponsor of this agreement between me and the canons.