

Rhetoric of Martyrs:
Transmission and Reception History of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*

by

Erin Ann Ronsse
B.A., Sterling College, 1999
M.A., University of Victoria, 2001

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

This work represents an interdisciplinary consideration of the ongoing significance of an early Christian martyr narrative from Roman North Africa, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, which remains extant only in medieval hagiographic manuscripts. By emphasizing the genre and material basis for interpreting this historical work of religious literature, I work to elucidate the several catechetical, liturgical, devotional, and academic contexts in which Perpetua, Felicitas, and their companions initially achieved prominence and have maintained a measure of influence.

Though other scholars have tended to focus immediately on the person of Perpetua, I discuss the text holistically as highlighting Christian visionary and rhetorical successes. This reading respects the *Passion's* original narrative functions while challenging ideas about the relationship between classical education and Christian prayer practices. My own methodological approach also combines critical, experiential knowledge with thorough

codicological, artifactual, and original language research to encourage an informed discourse with the past.

To test and develop ideas, I particularly examine the *Passion*'s reception history in medieval England. Important justifications for this geographic focus include the fact that the bulk of extant manuscripts relating to what is now regarded as the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, a single Latin text, are from medieval England and not all English manuscript sources are yet recognized in existing critical editions. In addition to Anglo-Latin legendaries, the narrative was recalled in the *Old English Martyrology* and Peter of Cornwall's *Liber reuelationum* (now Lambeth Palace MS 51). Recognizing the liturgical history of textual transmission nuances and, simultaneously, enlarges an understanding of the nature of this martyr narrative. Also, that there are no known long versions of the work in Middle English is meaningful given the relative popularity of other courtly lives of women saints, and I discuss how and why the appeal of the hagiographic account changes.

By explaining—for the first time—medieval English responses to the Africans Perpetua and Felicitas, I also recognize the dynamic cultural interactions shaping literary canons: in historical contexts, it is the educational model of Perpetua and Felicitas that has kept their memories alive and versions of their martyrdom in circulation.

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NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS ET CETERA

References to the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* are given with indication of pertinent chapter and verse as recorded in the 1996 critical edition and French translation by Jacqueline Amat. To reference the most widely used English translation of the *Passion*, readers should use Herbert Musurillo's 1972 version in his *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, which I reference throughout my discussions, and yet be aware that the most recent English translation with critical edition of the text remains an 1891 work by J. Armitage Robinson. I analyze the history of editions and translations in Chapter 1 and provide full citation information on all these texts there. I also offer some paraphrases and excerpts from my own edition and translation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, which is not included here because of its length and intricacy.

Additionally, due to the diachronic, multicultural nature of the textual transmission history presented here, when I have provided a biblical quotation, it seemed best to quote from the standard North American scholarly English translation of the Bible, the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV), though I occasionally prefer the New International Version (NIV) for stylistic reasons. Related micro-studies may use historical biblical editions (such as the *Vetus Latina*, *Vulgate*, or *Douay-Rheims*) to profit, but none of these works perfectly fit the *whole of this study*. Where I cite a historical version of the Bible, however, I reference it appropriately. In any case, references to Biblical books are abbreviated according to standards set out in volume 117 of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*. Examples of these abbreviations that are used here include: Ps for Psalms and Rev for Revelations.

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And, Luke, my husband, your fierceness and good humor are matched only by your brilliance and kindness, and you make our life possible in countless ways. I cannot thank you enough, but will gladly continue to try.

*SCRIBATUR HOC
IN GENERATIONE NOVISSIMA...*

PSALM 101.19

INTRODUCTION

He was standing behind my leather chair in the Manuscripts Reading Room of the British Library, peering over the edge of his glasses as one might imagine only a head librarian could. Yes, without a doubt, he confirmed, this erasure on the surface of the manuscript page—carefully executed, and apparently due to precise and delicate effort—was certainly medieval and likely the responsibility of the same scribe who had initially written a present tense word. He left me to my musings, and I rearranged snake weights across the margins of the manuscript to look at the text more closely. Discreetly penciling notes in my diary, I was reading what had been in the Middle Ages the Worcester Cathedral *passionale*, though it is often now designated by scholars as the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*. I certainly jotted down the discovery of a scribal tense change in my notes. Such an observation was unavailable in any print or microfilm version of this particular narrative in the *passionale*, and helped confirm some of my suspicions. I had traveled across oceans and continents to see this word modified, to discern medieval interest in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. This was only the beginning.

Two irreconcilable ideas helped initiate my research, or so they seemed initially irreconcilable to me. On one side was Thomas Heffernan's claim in his 1988 book *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* that the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* was the "primal document in the development of the conventions which were to shape female sacred biography for a millennium."¹ On the other side was Brent Shaw's disavowal of attempts to claim Perpetua for any time other than the "height of 'classical'

Roman power in the Mediterranean,” a conviction based on his idea that “[u]nless we are willing completely to ignore the normal meanings of historical periodization, [alternative characterizations do] violence to her experience. She cannot properly be understood as ‘late antique’, and even less as ‘medieval’ [. . .].”²

When I read Shaw’s comments, which he provides in an elaborate internal footnote in his 1993 *Past and Present* article, “The Passion of Perpetua,” I was already familiar with several recent English-language works that included either a partial or full account of the translation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*: Peter Dronke’s 1984 *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff’s 1986 *Medieval Women’s Visionary Literature*, Marcelle Thiébaux’s 1994 *Writings of Medieval Women*, and Mary-Ann Stouck’s 1999 *Medieval Saints: A Reader*.³ The justifications for including Perpetua in these works by medieval scholars almost always involved positing her as the original figure of a type (a “foremother” in Petroff’s characterization) or at least as somehow inspirational and influential. Yet proof for such claims was more often associative than causal: seeming similarities between Perpetua’s experiences and those of other later medieval women, including Elisabeth of Schönau, Marie of Oignies, Catherine of Siena, and Margery Kempe, among others. Heffernan and Petroff took great care to elaborate the types of similarities they saw across these generations of women. They noted that these women often were concerned (or were portrayed as being concerned) about their gendered status and physical inviolability, that they also often had life-altering visions or “dreams,” and that they bothered to write down their experiences. Still, it seemed to me that Shaw’s criticism stood and ought to be heeded. If it were possible to demonstrate clear and direct forms of influence, that would

be useful and interesting—and perhaps necessary. Associative similarities did not *prove* Perpetua's influence or unproblematically justify including her among medieval figures. To paraphrase and borrow a critique from T. S. Eliot, between the idea and the reality falls a shadow, and life is very long. Even if the periodic boundaries that help define the Middle Ages are generally regarded as somewhat flexible, Perpetua lived in North Africa mainly in the late second century, and the Middle Ages are not quite so elastic as that.

So I not only took to heart Shaw's comment about historical context but also determined to be scrupulously thorough in my efforts and seek out the textual, linguistic, and manuscript basis for understanding St. Perpetua and her early Christian companions in martyrdom. For, truth be told, very little material evidence for St. Perpetua exists before and beyond the surviving literary accounts of the passion narrative (what does exist, however, I will mention later), and since the passion narrative is nearly always the basis for scholarly discussions, it was a logical place to ground my study.

As astute readers might anticipate, focusing my research on the passion narrative of St. Perpetua and her companions, I immediately faced the realization that I was working with an opaque *literary* text that somehow intriguingly belongs to the past, or at least has an ancient origin and impressively long transmission history. The work is so much more than mere historical record, if such in fact ever exists, and yet it offers something equally if not more valuable: layers of interpretive history—with classical Antiquity, the Middle Ages, modern interests, and contemporary scholarly concerns all represented in the edited and translated forms of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* that come to readers today. However, these modern works on the passion narrative derive without exception, even if

sometimes obliquely, from medieval material sources, which are the earliest physical witness to the ancient narrative. In particular, medieval liturgical manuscripts are largely the means to this past and the basis for present discussions, and this crucial layer of interpretive history for the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is itself rarely recognized as a relevant subject of discussion.

As I adjusted my perspective to account for this medieval material basis of the passion narrative, I realized that if there were a responsible way to assess the significance and influence of the narrative of Perpetua, it would entail considering the function and use of these medieval hagiographic compendiums designed for liturgical settings. With this recognition in mind, I began to glimpse that St. Perpetua and her early Christian companions *did* have an unmistakably medieval presence, though in quite a different way than scholars had been keen to claim or reject. In the Middle Ages, the Christian “liturgy” (originally a Greek word meaning “public work”) was the daily worship of the Church performed especially by monks and nuns, and it regularly included commemorative readings from works of hagiography on the acts or passions of martyrs as well as the lives of other saints.

A manuscript basis for my research, then, has necessitated that I focus on the reception and transmission of the memory of St. Perpetua and her companion martyrs. While such focus has compelled my interest in the language and compilation of the early Christian narrative, my investigations would be incomplete without a circumspect and methodical discussion of the medieval literary context for the passion narrative’s ongoing dissemination and adaptation. Given my emphasis on reception and transmission of the

Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, I will especially discuss medieval English contexts.

Medieval England is not generally considered to have had the earliest (or “most reliable”) of the many surviving Latin hagiographic compendiums, and recognition of this fact benefits a study where reception history is expressly emphasized. Where differences exist between early Christian and medieval contexts in Anglo-Latin manuscripts, these differences are more pronounced, more elaborate, and therefore more interesting than those of previous transmission stages. Additionally, the bulk of surviving manuscripts that offer the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* are from medieval England, and the weight of this bulk has yet to be assessed. I spent a year looking at these relevant medieval English manuscripts, and the months in England taught me, among other things, that the past is not behind us, it is beneath us—holding us up even as we dig or sink into it. Watch yourself.

* * *

Let me begin again. This work is ostensibly about the remembrance of St. Perpetua, an early Christian martyr from North Africa whose dramatic passion narrative helped make her a standard figure in medieval hagiographic compendiums. As such, she is a figure both influenced by and embodied in religious texts. But this study is not necessarily *about* St. Perpetua in the sense that the topical focus is entirely on *her* or that the goal is to understand her as a subject, either as an individual person or historical personage. Perpetua’s status as a figure in a text—especially a religious text—is always kept clearly in view, and embracing a psychological approach to personality seems less relevant than a literary approach to narrative. In this way, the figure of Perpetua is regarded as a phenomenological object as much as, say, a book: both are profoundly representative and meaningful beyond the

superficial fact of their physical existence. Rather than dwell on or think about the person of Perpetua—as so many have already done so well and thoroughly—the task here is to think *with* and *through* Perpetua, to try to understand what she embodied for her early Christian and medieval interpreters. Let me be clear: it is not my own interpretation of Perpetua offered here so much as a sustained contextual discussion of the histories of narrative interpretation that have helped keep the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* in circulation for centuries.

While it is true that Perpetua's individuality—her visionary prowess, her educational achievements, her elevated social status, her familial roles as both mother and daughter, her death in a Roman arena in Carthage—help make her a memorable figure, her memory was preserved and cultivated not so much because it was unique but because she and her companions fit and helped establish a recognized pattern of holiness, because they were martyrs and thus saints. This study, then, is in part inspired by the fact of Perpetua's historical status as a saint, an individual deemed to embody and represent “sanctity” or “holiness” for particular religious communities. Early Christian martyrs such as Perpetua were both historical persons and spiritual figures, and such figures could be seen not only as believable and sympathetic human beings, they also were—and could remain—heroes and exempla. Larger than life, St. Perpetua and her companions nevertheless were seen to embody the meaning of life itself for those Christians who regularly celebrated their memory.

But why and how does a saint remain necessary to remember as years and generations pass? Woven into the various threads of inquiry that are gathered together here

is an attempt to answer such questions. Given my topic, the discussion provided is historically situated, episodic, and arranged in a loosely chronological fashion. However, it is also always inextricably bound to the medieval materials that are the earliest extant narrative witness to St. Perpetua and her companions in martyrdom. Though my own research discoveries seemed to devolve roughly backward in time, this movement continually propelled my engagement with issues of transmission and interpretive transformation, and so I present the discussion here in a forward-moving fashion. This is not to say, however, that what I provide is a grand and sweeping narrative that spans generations of human history. What I offer instead are intimate investigations of significant moments in the history of remembering St. Perpetua and her companions.

In the first chapter, I stake out the relatively recent history of scholarly interpretations of St. Perpetua that has tended to focus on her as a genuine historical and impressively individual woman. This information will constitute a review of the expansive and extensive literature on the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. I hope that providing this academic context enables readers to see what textual studies on St. Perpetua have already accomplished that will bring into sharp focus my own discussions. This context helps emphasize the fact that a more nuanced understanding of early Christian educational practices and rhetorical sophistication begs for a new understanding and fresh translation of the passion narrative, but it also particularly invites recognition of the earliest redactive contexts for the passion narrative, which chronologically encompass not only the time of Perpetua herself but also the time when the stories about her and her companions would have been gathered together, edited, and circulated. Precisely this type of discussion can

begin to explain how it has been possible in the past to think *with* and *through* St. Perpetua rather than simply about her.

Next, chapters two and three reconsider the circumstances and context for Perpetua's early Christian witness in Latin antiquity. While others have given useful historical overviews of her life in North Africa (as I will briefly discuss in chapter two), I especially consider the educational environment in early Christianity that transformed, converted, and re-imagined classical rhetorical training as religious "catechesis."⁴ Such recognition then allows for a reinterpretation in chapter three of the visionary, prophetic, and pastoral activities presented in the hagiographic narrative itself. Perpetua and her fellow martyrs can effectively be seen as active and persuasive figures in their own context: no longer passive recipients of "dreams," the martyrs are instead creative visionaries and publicly influential witnesses to their Christian ideas, their religious education. Once again, though, discursive emphases are on thinking *through* this saint: what she and her fellow martyrs meant to the communities who celebrated their memory and thus what their examples were designed to teach.

In chapters four and five, I shift focus to consider the meanings of St. Perpetua and her passion narrative in medieval liturgical contexts. In part these chapters are a culmination of my previous discussions, but at the same time they create an internal dialog of critique by recognizing that nearly all (eight of ten) surviving accounts of the long version of the passion narrative of Perpetua are found in medieval hagiographic compendiums, or "legendaries," from around the turn of the first millennium. This manuscript context is, I argue, absolutely critical for the interpretation of hagiographic meaning. Other than brief acknowledgment

by textual editors, it has previously generated almost no discussion by scholars who study Perpetua and her companions. These figures tend rather to be abstracted from not only text but context and held up as venerable and special individuals, “authentic” and “original” spiritual champions. My goal here is to calm the occasional frenzy surrounding these historical figures by re-placing their literary narrative in its medieval liturgical context—a context that offers its own kinds of intrigue.

Illuminating studies have previously examined other figures in medieval hagiographic compendiums (and will be mentioned later), but St. Perpetua is not yet among the persons of interest.⁵ By contrast, studies on the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* have often tended to elide discrete, multiple medieval manuscript incarnations of the narrative by asserting their essential sameness. Such a move is unnecessary, and I propose to unravel meaningful episodes in the medieval transmission of this hagiographic text. As previously mentioned, my final chapters take as a focus the surviving medieval English interpretations of the narrative of St. Perpetua and her companions. Almost never are these English liturgical compendiums given priority in critical editions of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, though such focus is ideal for a discussion of the reception and ongoing interpretation of the story. The aspects of medieval English manuscripts that have often caused other scholars relatively to disregard them are the same ones that invite my attention. It has also been necessary in my study of medieval English memorial transmission to consider not only texts such as *passionales* (or “legendaries”) but also the broader liturgical context for the celebration of saints that coupled the use of *passionales* with *martyrologies* (among other works) to encourage formal narrative reflection in monastic and other

ecclesiastical settings. As a complement to these larger circumstantial aspects of transmission history, in chapter four I offer a case study the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* portrayal of St. Perpetua to tease out the ways that the narrative in this manuscript helps elucidate the emphases of celebrations at medieval Salisbury Cathedral around the late eleventh-century.

Chapter five follows by offering a reflective, complementary interpretation of the ways in which knowledge of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas spread beyond formal ecclesiastical settings in late-medieval England by considering the Anglo-Latin legendary and its influence. Discussion of the transmission of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* throughout this chapter will invite comparisons with relevant works, including a range of Anglo-Latin legendaries and Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.⁶ Other relevant works that will be mentioned include the *Ancrene Wisse*,⁷ Geoffrey Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*⁸ and Osbern Bokenham's similarly titled *Legends of Holy Women*,⁹ Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*,¹⁰ and the *Book of Margery Kempe*.¹¹ The evidence for remembrance of St. Perpetua and her companions in this context becomes much more diffuse and complex than in earlier times, but it also helps set the stage for modern reinterpretations and ongoing scholarly interest in the work. Forgetting can sometimes be as useful as remembering, and though certain trails go cold, others remain inviting. In any case, it is useful to gain perspective on the influence of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* by considering the social function of hagiography in late medieval England.

Throughout this work, an interested and careful reading of a hagiographic text leads continuously from reinterpretation of early Christian historical contexts to reconsideration

of narrative language and textual translation to reexamination of actual manuscript transmission and memorial reception in medieval liturgical and paraliturgical settings. The evidence helps demonstrate how St. Perpetua meant something different to medieval Salisbury canons than she did to Carthaginian Christians who heard her speak to them from the arena. Furthermore, Perpetua and her companions meant something different to the twelfth-century anchoress Christina of Markyate, whose calendar of saints in her personal psalter included Perpetua and Felicitas as honored “virgins,” than these same saints meant to seventeenth-century Oxford Bishop John Fell, who neglected to return the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* to the appropriate library before he died. These saints also mean something different to contemporary readers, depending on perceived needs for sociocultural, religious, and literary history.

But if the figure of St. Perpetua has meant different things to various people at specific points in time, she and her companions have not ceased to be compelling, provocative, and inspirational figures: rhetorical figures, if you will. I regularly use the word “rhetoric” here, much as George Alexander Kennedy does, to evoke sophisticated and persuasive interpretive practices, and especially where the goal of a piece of literature seems to be not only to “please” but to “teach,” as classical thinkers such as Horace describe “rhetorical” works.¹² By continuing to claim this broad and diachronic meaning of rhetoric, I am best able to develop throughout this work the significance of the transmission and reception history of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*.

As need arises in upcoming chapters, I will fully explain how my ideas relate to, diverge from, or develop ideas of other scholars. Topics of study that seem to prove perennially interesting, though, include determining the original language and authorship of

the narrative, issues of orthodoxy (whether the martyrs or those who wrote about them were influenced by Montanism), gendered aspects of the work, “dream” interpretations, and comparisons with other earlier, contemporaneous, or later literature.¹³ Reasons for Perpetua’s ongoing significance should emerge throughout my discussions in this work, but these efforts are ultimately most concerned with interpretive histories and the specific practices that make them possible. Such interpretive practices can be as interesting as the biographical facts about Perpetua herself. While there are many ways to read the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*—one could focus on gender and physicality, power and violence, implicit roles of class and race, socio-historical contexts, issues of religious orthodoxy, or language—what is provided here concerns interpretation itself as the issue: not *what* we know, but *how* we know, *how* certain forms of knowledge have emerged, developed, and traveled, and why.

* * *

This type of study is best situated among those studies by scholars who are keen to understand methods of knowledge as well as subject matter. In this regard, I much indebted to the recent work of medievalists Mary Carruthers (*Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*), Jeffrey Hamburger (*The Visual and the Visionary*), and Nicholas Watson (“Desire for the Past”).¹⁴ However, my emphasis on reception studies has been largely inspired by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (*Iconography and the Professional Reader and Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*), and I have also been much influenced by other scholars working in such areas as art history, religion, literature, and history proper—Hans Belting (*Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*), Caroline Walker Bynum (*Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*), W.

G. Sebald (essays in *Campo Santo*), and R. W. Southern (especially his lectures as president of the Royal Historical Society)—whose studies strongly encourage the idea that there has been and can still be a real, important, necessary, and ethical “participation in the past.”¹⁵

I

**Past and Present: Rethinking the
*Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis***

Among the papers, books, and writing tools strewn across my desk, there has long been a photocopy of the standard English language translation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, that of Herbert Musurillo, which was published in 1972 by Oxford University Press as part of *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. As far as photocopies go, this one is a fairly thin specimen. Its humble black-and-white aspect barely distinguishes the University of Victoria *ex libris*, conscientiously centered under printed text, from the titular serif font of the original. Photocopied leaves are now held together by three staples in the upper-left corner, yet two of these no longer secure the final page due to its ragged limpidity, because its corner is especially tattered and furred, hard straight edges curled and rounding like a burdened shoulder—and other pages are as yet faring only a little better. I usually pack light when I travel, but I've often carried this photocopy with me since the familiarity of Musurillo's printed edition and translation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* more than made up for its physical fragility. I would have hated to leave it behind, and yet these same research travels have demanded that I come to understand its place in history and its limitations.

This chapter is about that journey. It especially discusses the history of scholarship on the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* that has resulted in the creation of editions and translations of the text, reconsidering what coalescence of factors often seems to necessitate such new renditions. The time is apparently ripe for a new English language translation, and

its necessity emerges despite the fact that Musurillo's translation has been repeatedly reprinted in anthologies by other scholars for over 30 years. In 1995, however, G. W. Bowersock expressed hope for a replacement soon to be made available by A. Birley, calling Musurillo's work "unreliable" and giving voice to a not uncommon opinion that had been asserted as early as 1973 by Fergus Millar in his review of the work.¹⁶ Millar's driving concerns include Musurillo's "lack of familiarity with the historical background of the events concerned," which leads to "misleading" translations and translation "errors" throughout the work that signal an "opportunity has been lost, not to solve all the problems [of understanding Christian martyr acts] (which one could not ask), but to present these perplexing and important documents in immediate conjunction with both a fully reliable translation and a clear statement of evidence available for determining their nature."¹⁷ Musurillo's *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* was, however, reprinted at Oxford in 2000, and such a replacement work as Bowersock desired is still awaited. While rumors of other pending efforts circulate, the most recent critical edition and translation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* by a scholar working in English remains the 1891 resource by J. Armitage Robinson, which is based on only four of the ten relevant medieval manuscripts known today.

SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP

The breadth and depth of academic interest in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is its own study, a microcosm of scholarly history, and aspects of this microhistory will work their way into my discussions. Those who study the text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas often share a recognition of not only the venerable age of the source but also the

long history of related scholarship. Emanuela Prinzivalli, for one, has recently admitted the vastness of the available critical bibliography and simultaneously asserts that “all the best-known scholars in the field of hagiography (to name one: Pio Franchi de’ Cavalieri) have written about the *Passio Perpetuae*, as have many important scholars of comparative literature, such as E. Auerbach.”¹⁸ In her guide to some of the most notable recent criticism, Prinzivalli cites several dozen other influential scholars, including Timothy Barnes,¹⁹ E. R. Dodds,²⁰ Peter Dronke,²¹ W. H. C. Frend,²² and Jacques Le Goff,²³ to name just a few. Had she provided a full history of related scholarship on Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, she could also have named eminent figures such as Lucas Holste (1596-1661), the German philologist and early Vatican librarian;²⁴ John Fell (1625-1686), English Divine and Dean of Christ Church College, Oxford, who promoted the development of Oxford University Press;²⁵ Hippolyte Delehaye (1859-1941), the Belgian scholar and respected Bollandist who emphasized biographical Church history;²⁶ and Peter Brown (1935-present), who revolutionized the modern study of hagiography by recognizing its important social scientific implications in his 1971 article, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity.”²⁷

Given the many scholars who have studied the hagiographic text, it is unsurprising that approaches to the work have been varied and dynamic. For each emerging school of critical thought, there have been discoveries, recoveries, and “un-coveries” to be made from this one historical source—which has not always been, and often still is not, readily accepted as a unified narrative or straightforward history. Among the many questions scholars have previously asked are: Can the actual events, or at least an autographic text, be

established from manuscript sources? What was the original language of the *Passion*, and who were its authors? Where do the martyrs' visions come from—are they dreams welling up, influences creeping in, or something else? How are the *Passio* and *Acta* versions of the work distinguished and related? What are the individual martyrs and their redactor saying about themselves, their world, and their horizon of expectations? How does the narrative help illuminate socio-historical situations in late Roman /early Christian North Africa, and vice versa? And, not least, in what ways does the work speak to modern concerns about persecution and liberation?

Where my questions relate to those of others, I have benefited from knowing how past efforts shape and inform present work. Though I see my work as the direct result of a unique entanglement with the message of the narrative, it is also a response to generations of scholarship. Change and development in available resources and research interests have also continually shaped the way this early Christian and medieval past has been understood. Most significantly, the persistent feature of studies on the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is the repeated tendency of scholars to edit and translate the text. Analysis has often been secondary to editorial and philological interests. To provide an indication of the immense and intriguing range of such scholarship, I include here an overview of modern editions and translations of the narrative. The following survey benefits from the bibliographic work of Cornelius J. M. J. van Beek,²⁸ Henri Leclercq,²⁹ Jacqueline Amat,³⁰ and Prinzivalli,³¹ among others. However, I have also modified, focused, and expanded their research to provide an especially thorough record of English scholarship and English translations of the passion narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas.

Please note that modern printed editions and translations are comprehensively mapped here according to publication date to demonstrate graphically the nuances and specificities of the transmission history of the *Passion* as well as lines of intellectual influence. Full comparative citations of each represented work are also listed subsequently, and discursive explanation follows. *This descriptive citations list is included here because it is expressly intended to be read rather than merely referenced in the bibliography.* Additionally here I indicate, whenever possible, exactly which form and how much of the work a given editor or translator presents. No comparably thorough list exists anywhere else, even though such a survey speaks volumes about the history of scholarship on the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. Indeed, such perspective is useful for understanding the current state of knowledge about the text itself as well as future directions for research. The general bibliography at the end of this work also provides a wealth of examples of relevant analytical studies that supplement the following record of editions and translations.

Figure 1. Visual Map of Printed Editions and Translations, 1650-1900.

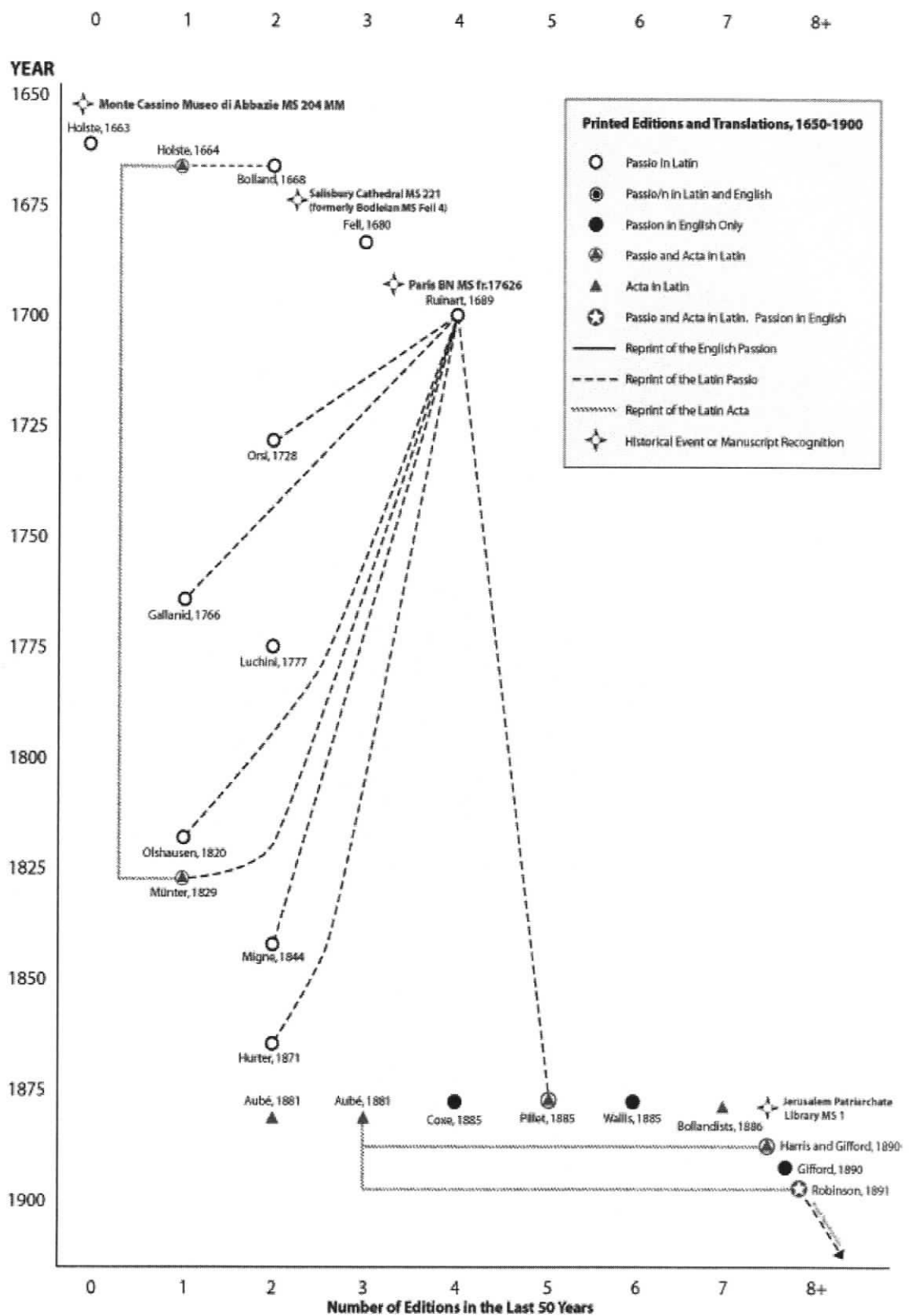


Figure 2. Visual Map of Printed Editions and Translations, 1890-1980.

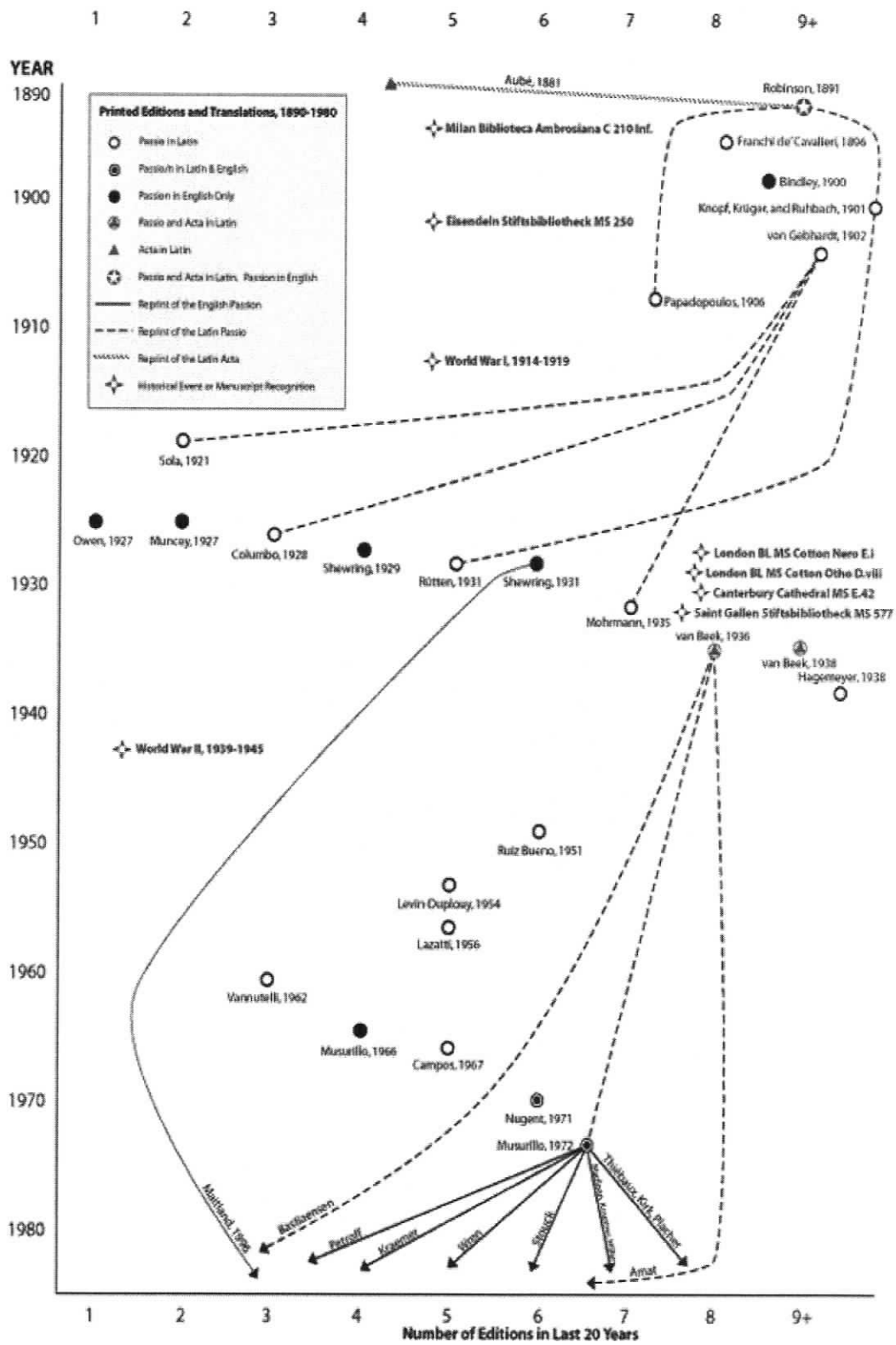
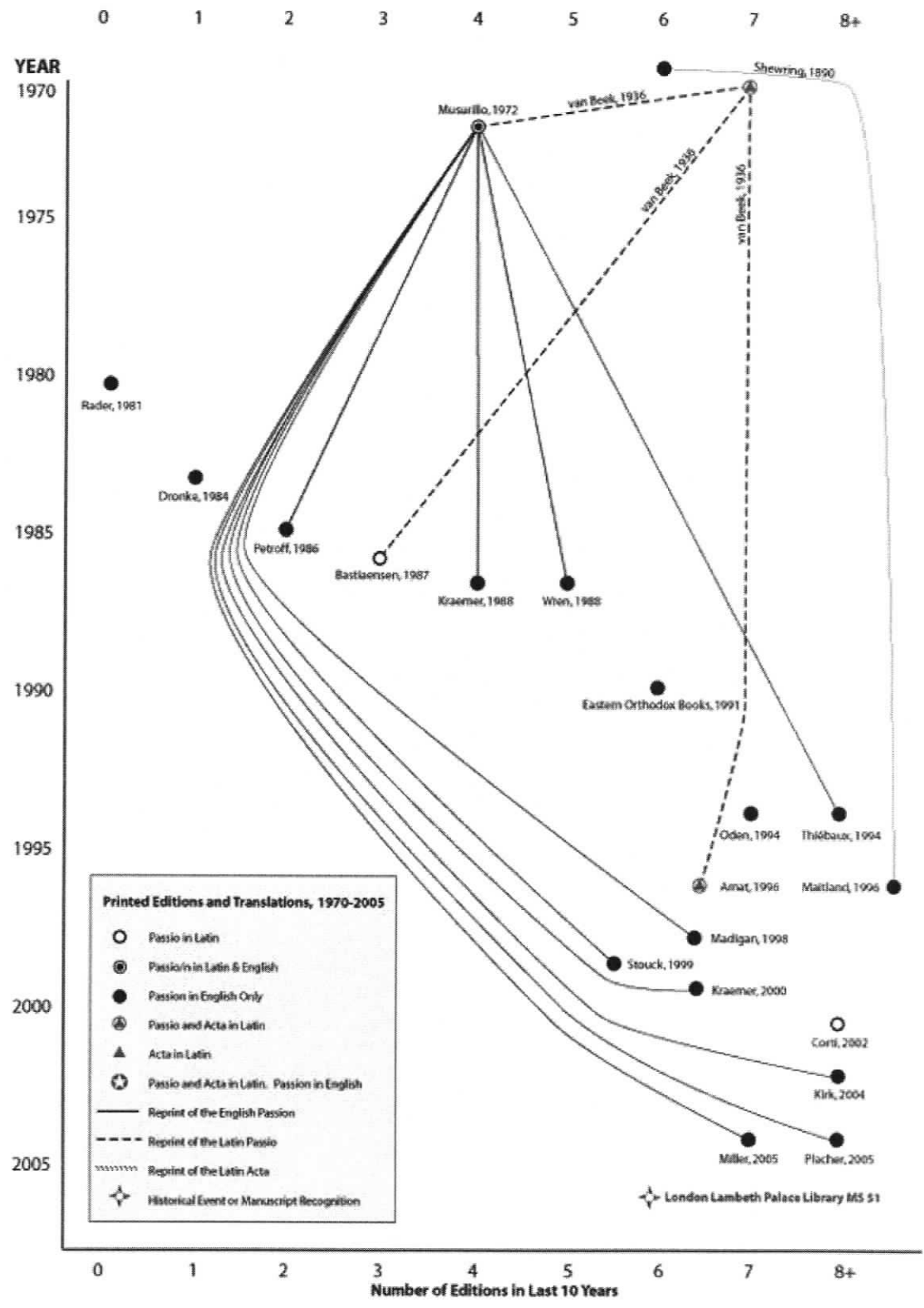


Figure 3. Visual Map of Printed Editions and Translations, 1970-2005.



Editions and Translations
of the Hagiographic Text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, 1650-2006
(Listed according to original publication date)

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- Holste, Lucas. "*Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. Cum notis Lucae Holstenii, Vaticanae Bibliothecae Praefecti." In *Passio Bonifacii Romani Martyris. Ejusdem Lucae Holstenii Animadversa ad Martyrologium Romanum Baronij. His accedunt Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Tarachi, Probi, et Andronici. Ex codice MS. S. Victoris Parisiensis*, edited by Henri de Valois, 1-37. Paris: Carolum Savreux, 1664. [Latin edition of *Passio* and *Acta*.]
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- Migne, J. P. “[*Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*].” In *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, 13-58; 2nd edition, 13-60ff. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844. Reprint, 1958. [Latin edition of *Passio* from Ruinart.]
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* * *

Regarding the preceding list, some historical understanding helps explain the reasons for ongoing efforts to compile editions and make translations of the hagiographic narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas. Namely, scholars in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, especially hagiographers and Church historians who were members of religious orders, often had valid reasons for continuing to provide evidence for the venerability of the text: there was a need to defend the authenticity of Christian traditions. This is not to say their work is unreliable. To the contrary, many of these scholars shared precisely the goal of achieving a measure of reliability and historical respectability for well-known legends of saints, proving validity by working according to scientific and reasonable editorial principles. However, this shared emphasis on textual authenticity came at the expense of alternative interests, which become evident in later social scientific or feminist scholarship. Interest in the hagiographic narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas for early scholars, though, is understandable.

Where other saints could not be proven to have actually lived and died as stories about them suggested, the story concerning the group of martyrs that included Perpetua and Felicitas would not readily dissolve into simple encomium or break apart as an elaborate pastiche. Instead, the evidence for the physical, historical existence of these individuals seemed only strengthened by scholarly research. Each new discovery of a relevant medieval

manuscript elicited a new edition of the narrative, and each subsequent edition, therefore, helped establish a firmer foundation for an ancient text, a fuller and more accurate picture of early Christian experiences. Holste's original scholarly edition of the *Passio*, published posthumously in 1663, was based solely on his discovery of the hagiographic text in a manuscript containing the works of Saint Cyprian at the Italian abbey of Monte Casino. Twenty years later, John Fell helped improve and correct Holste's work by his collation of the work from a *Passio* account in a manuscript then in Oxford, which had been used as a *passionale* at medieval Salisbury Cathedral. Similarly, a justification for Thomas Ruinart's 1689 edition of the narrative is his correction and improvement of previous work by another manuscript containing the *Passio* that was discovered at the monastery of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne (now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*). No new manuscript sources for the hagiographic text were found for the next two hundred years, and Ruinart's edition was repeatedly reprinted as the basis for work by successive scholars, including in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.

Though the editions of Holste, Fell, and Ruinart may not be described as critical editions using the current technical understanding of the designation, lacking as they do the conventions and apparatus that have come to be standard for such editions, their works are nonetheless based on manuscript sources and attempt to provide accurate and authentic renderings of an early Christian text. In striving to achieve this goal, they signal their participation in modern scientific scholarship and distinguish their work from those memorial efforts of medieval thinkers, including monastic practitioners, whose work still provides the manuscript basis for modern research. So beside the ongoing scholarly

predilection for establishing an authentic text, albeit with critical apparatus, there continued to be the tendency to hierarchically value sources according to their similarity to an established scholarly text. In this way, although there remains an awareness that the hagiographic text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas comes in two distinct versions, a *Passio* and “less authentic” *Acta*, and that the *Acta* has two different forms and an extremely widespread late medieval dispersion especially in the modified rendering of the *Legenda Aurea* or *Golden Legend*, most scholars continue to base their discussion and analysis of the work on a composite edition and corollary translation of the *Passio*, which are not identical to any single surviving historical source, and place it in an early Christian context rather than a medieval one, even if all surviving manuscript sources are datable to later times.

In the decade leading to the twentieth century, the emphasis on establishing the *Passio* based on medieval manuscript discoveries remained unaltered. Notably, Harris and Gifford published their discovery of a Greek manuscript version of the *Passio* in 1890, ushering in a flurry of discussion on whether the original language of the early Christian work had been Greek rather than Latin as scholars previously assumed, and in 1891 Robinson presented the first genuine critical edition of the *Passio* with scholarly apparatus from its Latin and Greek sources.³² Then, until Cornelius J. M. J. van Beek published his Latin dissertation in 1936 on the *Passio* and *Acta*, there were just two additional manuscript finds to encourage new textual criticism: Franchi de' Cavalieri provided a reading of the *Passio* that included a version from a manuscript in Milan and von Gebhardt that from an additional Swiss manuscript. Van Beek's critical edition also included collation of newly recognized manuscripts from England, Italy, and Switzerland, and his work has been the

standard critical edition on the hagiographic text for well over half a century. Scholars also began to publish translations of the text around the beginning of the 20th century, and the English translation trend continues, most often basing translations directly on van Beek's critical edition or indirectly using Musurillo's 1972 edition of van Beek that is without critical apparatus and Greek text. Another increasingly common late twentieth century, early twenty-first century approach to disseminating the narrative in English, however, has been simply to reprint the translation of Musurillo.

It is interesting to note that since the hagiographic text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas has been established as a genuinely historical source, scholarship again has turned toward including the work in anthologies or compendiums of material grouped according to a particular emphasis. Since the 1970s, the *Passio* has been included not only among other early Christian martyr acts but also, and repeatedly, with other writings by or about women from the past.

As the standard critical of edition by van Beek becomes less accessible to contemporary scholars, by virtue of its age or language, there is also an occasional need to provide updated critical editions that include vernacular translations, such as the Spanish work by Daniel Ruiz Bueno, the Italian work by A. A. R. Bastiaensen, and the older French edition by A. Levin-Duploux and more recent *Sources Chrétiennes* edition by Jacqueline Amat. With these exceptions, and Joyce Salisbury's 1997 historical study, *Perpetua's Passion: The Death and Memory of a Young Roman Woman*, the narrative of Perpetua and Felicitas has recently been the subject of only a few book-length studies and seems almost to have resumed its medieval position as an exemplar, and only one exemplar among many, even if

it retains a certain pride of place by virtue of its authenticity, age, gendered associations, or visionary aspects.

Recognition of literary sophistication in the *Passio*, however, is often missing in translations as well as the commentaries in editions and helps make the necessity of a new English translation so keenly felt, but there are additional conventional and compelling reasons for a fresh English translation of the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. Namely, in recent archival work in the UK, I had the opportunity to read a manuscript that contains medieval excerpts from the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* and has not received mention in any previous critical edition of the text. This manuscript, now known as Lambeth Palace MS 51, was recommended to me by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, and its discovery or, better yet, “recognition” by one studying the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* may be reason enough to justify a new edition and translation. The complete list of known manuscripts that offer the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* should now include all of the following, which are denoted by the sigla Amat uses to indicate family relationships:

- A Monte Cassino Museo di Abbazie MS 204 MM., 11th century
- B Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr.17626, 10th century
- C¹ London British Library MS Cotton Nero E.i, ca. 1060
- C² Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 221, late 11th century
- C³ London British Library MS Cotton Otho D.viii, late 12th century
- C⁴ Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS E.42, 12th century
- C⁵ London Lambeth Palace Library MS 51, early 13th century
- D Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS C 210 Inf, 11th-12th century

- E¹ Saint Gallen Stiftsbibliothek MS 577, 9th-10th century
- E² Eisendeln Stiftsbibliothek MS 250, 12th century
- H Jerusalem Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Library MS 1, 10th-11th century.

Timing itself, though, also suggests the need for an updated edition and English translation. The *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* is too important a historical text not to be readily accessible in a current scholarly edition in English.

PRESENT INTERVENTIONS AND INTERPRETIVE PRINCIPLES

However, as great a need as may now exist for a new critical edition and English translation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, that is not the task of this work. There is a prior need already described by Fergus Millar, and this task is the one at hand. Recall Millar's concern with Musurillo's "lack of familiarity with the historical background of the events concerned" and his desire that the "nature" of narratives regarded as Christian martyr acts be understood.³³ Juxtaposing these related statements helps one see that Millar's problem with Musurillo's translation may well hint at its own solution, that his desire itself can help indicate the means of satisfaction. What I mean is that the nature of a narrative such as the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is best understood by recognizing its dynamic embedding in Christian history. The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* exists in a dyadic relationship with the religious institutional structures that helped shape and perpetuate the work. Interpreting this historical Christian text, therefore, demands familiarity with antique and medieval educational practices, as well as relevant social and political situations that affected textual transmission—or so these are my suggestions that

remain to be worked out in the course of this study. Before moving on, though, let me elucidate a few key, interrelated ideas that will guide my efforts.

First, the propensity of scholars to edit and translate the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* highlights the idea that adequately engaging with the work requires an ongoing recognition of its status as a text, and more than that, of its existence as a narrative piece of literature. The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* relays a story, and there is an intentional effort to interpret reality rather than simply record it. While socio-historical data may well be gleaned from the work, the work's primary purpose in Christian history was to persuade or edify. In this way, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is profitably viewed as having the integrity of a single narrative arc rather than just being a disjointed collection of facts or voices. There is a sense of logic and purpose driving the text and connecting events with one another.

Second, recognizing the literary status of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is, however, not meant to imply that the work is the type of literature most familiar to modern sensibilities. The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* was not designed to be escapist pleasure reading and is not a modern novel. Rather it is a historical work of literature that, as I will explain later, employs a strong plot structure and an emphasis on characterization for the functional purpose of educating its antique and medieval audiences. This sort of didactic role for historical narrative is even heightened by the inclusion of memorable details meant to shock, titillate, or otherwise inspire empathy and sympathy in those who read or hear it. So, while the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* was not primarily an exercise in documenting the social history of martyrdom, neither was it pure

entertainment. As a historical work of literature, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* teaches by means of narrative, and its readers learned by interpreting the examples they were presented.

How such teaching occurred, and for what purpose, leads us directly to the third key interpretive idea guiding this study. This third notion cannot be stressed enough: throughout most of its long history the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* has been a narrative inspired, shared, and preserved by Christian religious communities. Recognizing the work's 1800-year history of ties to religious institutions is crucial for understanding its meaning and significance as well as the strictures of form, content, and purpose continually placed on it. While the last half-century or so has seen the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* emerge as a text for study in the academic classroom, this situation is relatively new. The contemporary reader's sense of immediate access to an ancient woman author, Perpetua, ought to be tempered by recognition that the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* has been edited and reformed multiple times throughout generations by religious communities who now must be recognized as our mediators. For it is not enough to view the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* as a historical document or as a literary narrative or even as a historical literature. The ongoing associations of the work with religious institutions, which I have called the "embedding" of the text and emphasized as a functional dyad, shapes important themes that structure the narrative and so must guide interpretive efforts. The consistent and pervasive logic in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is, foremost, a narrative structuring that accords with spiritual ideas historically common to Christian religious communities.

As an example of the triune nature of this text—simultaneously literary, historical, and religious—it is worth briefly elaborating how a spiritual logic plays out in the narrator’s introduction. In the opening chapter of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, and direct quotations in this section are from Musurillo’s translation, the narrator polemicizes against those who discriminate between the ages, venerating the past at the expense of the present (1.2, “For indeed these too will one day become ancient and needful for the ages to come, even though in our own day they may enjoy less prestige because of the prior claim of antiquity [*si in praesenti suo tempore minori deputantur auctoritati, propter praesumptam venerationem antiquitatis*]”). However, rather than wholeheartedly endorse an opposite tendency to idolize youth, beauty, or physical prowess, the narrator reminds the audience that the present itself “will one day become ancient and needful for the ages to come [*vetera futura quandoque sunt et necessaria posteris*].” With this realization in mind, the narrator suggests that there ought to be a willing cultivation of present examples of spiritual heroism.

Rather than perpetuate a temporal binary of past and present, or any sort of hierarchical ranking system, the narrator goes on to argue that whatever is admirable in any hero—a certain strength of character, miraculous display of power, commendable persuasive force—all derives from the same spirit, a “Holy Spirit” (*Spiritus Sanctus*), for the determined purpose of reinvigorating something, or perhaps someone, similar (1.3, “Let those then who would restrict the power of the one Spirit to times and seasons look to this: the more recent events should be considered the greater, being later than those of old, and this is a consequence of the extraordinary graces promised for the last stage time [*sed viderint*

qui unam virtutem Spiritus unius Sancti pro aetatibus iudicent temporum, cum maiora reputanda sunt novitiora quaeque, ut novissimiora, secundum exuperationem gratiae in ultima saeculi spatia decretam]”). In this regard the narrator ultimately eyes the future most keenly and encourages ongoing imitative efforts by the local Christian community (1.5-6, “And so, my brethren and little children, that which we have heard and have touched with our hands we proclaim also to you, so that those of you that were witnesses may recall the glory of the Lord and those that now learn of it through hearing may have fellowship with the holy martyrs and, through them, with the Lord Christ Jesus. . . [et nos itaque quod audivimus et contrectavimus, annuntiamus et vobis, fratres et filioli, uti et vos qui interfuistis rememoremini gloriae domini, et qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum communionem habeatis cum sanctis martyribus, et per illos cum domino nostro Iesu Christo. . .]”). As the martyrs will be shown to have imitated Christ, so Christians and catechumens should learn from the martyrs’ examples.

Pressing the need to compile and disseminate stories regarding contemporary heroes, the narrator assumes that commemorating these new examples encourages ongoing identification and imitation. The Holy Spirit is continually manifested by such educational training and teaching. As a commemorative work in an educational medium, then, the story of the martyrs, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, itself also becomes heroic, and the act of writing or reading it a worshipful form of devotion, commendable for its own sake (21.11, “And any man who exalts, honours, and worships his glory should read for the consolation of the Church these new deeds of heroism which are no less significant than the tales of old. For these new manifestations of virtue will bear witness to one and the same Spirit who still operates. . . [quam qui magnificat et honorificat et adorat, utique et haec nomina

veteribus exempla in aedificationem Ecclesiae legere debet, ut novae quoque virtutes unum et eundem semper Spiritum Sanctum usque adhuc operari testificentur. . .]). While others sometimes construe the narrator's theological prolegomenon for the hagiographic work as pretentious, redundant, or uninteresting, I have throughout my discussions tried to display the narrator's dialectic and progressive ideological structures that emphasize the work's triune status as a historical work of religious literature.

So when I here offer in successive chapter discussions to develop new ideas about the literary sophistication of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, these discussions will be supplemented by complementary explanations of pertinent early Christian contexts and medieval source materials. By this effort, I hope to encourage a reconsideration of the past on its own terms. This kind of effort should begin to address Millar's concern that the nature of Christian martyr acts has not yet been well understood.

Finally, let me mention here that the second area of research on the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* that benefits from reconsideration in light of the work's status as historical religious literature is the way that the text's linguistic dimensions have been handled. There has been strong and continuing interest in the grammar, vocabulary, and style of the narrative, but I go further than most in emphasizing the work's literary nature. In part I am able to explore this literary aspect because I am not focusing on comparing the work with classical or biblical texts but rather maintain its significance in early Christian educational contexts and medieval liturgical settings. This contextual maintenance recognizes the important oral experience of the work in Christian history. It was read aloud

to catechumens and religious communities alike, and its performance value in these settings enables me to work through some otherwise thorny literary questions.

In later chapters I will present a case for the rhetorical sophistication of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, elucidating the text's narrative qualities and its emphatic, repeated presentations of oratorical success in acts of divine and human persuasion. Additionally, by recognizing the pastoral or catechetical—didactic and educational—context for the martyrs' own experiences as well as their commemorative work's initial reception in a local Christian community, I sketch the beginning of a transmission history. Note that this transmission history does not consider the martyrs alone to be properly basic to such a history. Rather the martyrs themselves receive and shape a certain type of knowledge, the oratorical practice of prayer, which is transformed and transmitted by them. This narrative history presented here, then, is not biographical commemoration but the history of the memory of a *practice* that is embodied by individuals who figure in religious texts designed for educational purposes. Saints Perpetua and Felicitas are not the only figures who could be studied to learn such lessons, but they are useful examples—important and representative at the same time that they are unique and interesting.

I have endeavored to make reasonable attempts to render the occasional English translation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* perceptibly sensible and vivid, and cite the comparative example of Musurillo's translation throughout. Early and medieval Christian rhetorical emphases, and narrative's logical connections between events, are there right alongside familiar emotions conveyed in idiomatic English. Where previous English translations often resort to paraphrasing difficult passages to smooth out supposed

difficulties, I have hesitated to compromise in this way, preferring rather to rethink passages literally if at all possible. Many times I have been pleasantly surprised by an astonishingly fresh and tenable interpretation of difficult passages in the work. Certain passages demand clarification or elaboration for contemporary readers.

Scholars have opined that the narrator can often seem to be verbose and pedantic, “tendentious” in the characterization of James Halporn.³⁴ This tendency I read as largely attributable to the oral context for the work’s originally intended presentation: certain ideas must often be emphasized to a listening audience so that they may comprehend the logical progression of an oral argument and be persuaded to agree with a speaker. I have endeavored to render this sense of the work’s progression just as plain to a modern reading audience as it once would have been to medieval listeners. Certain aspects of style naturally change between oral and written presentations, but I hope to have retained what might reasonably have been the intent of the historical work. Without overburdening readers, these contrasts, parallels, consequences, and caveats of the narrator should clearly emerge, especially in the highly wrought and extraordinarily allusive prologue to narrative events.

Alternatively, other portions of the work tend so strongly towards the spare that connections can seem to disappear in English translations. Usually these connections initiate or conclude what scholars have demarcated as chapters in the work, and these transitions often involve notoriously hard little Latin words, such as *aliud*, *ibi*, *ideoque*, *quam*, and *tunc*, among others, that are easy to read too quickly or to render as unnecessarily ambiguous.³⁵

Recognizing the continued emphasis on divine and human persuasion that pervades the work, though, enables connections between otherwise disparate events. Questions that

I am persuaded *can* be answered *according to clues given in the text* include: What initiates Perpetua's first and fourth recorded visionary experiences (3.9-4.1 and 10.1, 10.14)? Why are the martyrs in chains (7.9-8.4)? How do the women's experiences in the arena relate to the men's (19.1 and 20.1)? There are answers to such questions because the narrative endeavors to make sense of the martyrs' experiences, and I am careful to recognize the work's insistent progression in my interpretation of it. Opening or closing chapter statements, then, often clarify a connection or selectively elaborate the instinctive logic of events.

While translators are sometimes criticized for making better sense of an original work than is justifiable, I hope to ward off such criticism for three reasons. First, though my translation excerpts occasionally differ from some previous English renditions, the reading I provide is always either immediately evident or strongly suggested, given surrounding context, by careful reading of the Latin manuscripts themselves. Second, the Latin manuscripts that comprise source materials for the *Passio* can hardly be thought to have the inconsistency of an autographic work. Surviving manuscripts date from around eight hundred to a thousand years *following* the events of the *Passio* itself. If there were obvious editorial corrections and elaborations to be made, enough time had passed for these, as well as textual corruptions, to be incorporated. Finally, I have been careful to maintain ambiguity where it appears to be intentional, allowing the *Passio* to retain its valence and interpretive resonance for successive generations of readers. Especially, Perpetua's wit is often seen as a result of her ability to communicate different registers of meaning in a single argument. Whether in discussion with her guards, her father, or her fellow Christians, she

simultaneously responds to multiple perspectives, and it is this very richness in her thought that makes her such a persuasive figure (see, for example, instances of her public speaking and debates in 3.9, 5.6, 16.3, and 20.10). I have tried to preserve her fusion techniques even while elaborating multivalent aspects of her arguments that have tended to be overlooked or obscured. Any translation necessarily involves negotiations between source and resulting resource. I have tried to be both fair and delightfully engaged in the interpretation of relationships between past and present.

The word “translation” derives from Latin words that mean “to bear across.” In recent decades there have been trenchant criticisms by Lawrence Venuti, among other scholars who derive ideas from Friedrich Schleiermacher, of the tendency among translators to emphasize the fidelity and transparency of their efforts.³⁶ There is, they posit, both risk and danger in “domesticating” a foreign work or “modernizing” a historical source, especially if marketability of the finished product becomes a preeminent concern. Rather than feigning fidelity and transparency, then, these scholars would have translators employ techniques to emphasize what is “defamiliar” and “foreign” about a work, thereby moving the “reader toward [the source]” rather than the translation toward the reader.³⁷

Though I initially came to my approach to the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* by other means, I continually found myself encouraging a reconsideration of the Latin text as presented in medieval manuscripts. It is impossible to tear my interpretation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* from historical sources. In this way, my reading of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is designed to be “defamiliar” and “foreign,” challenging conventional readings when necessary. This study thereby develops the understanding of

early Christian literary sophistication and medieval hagiographic practices. I welcome readers to a new interpretation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. I am not the first reader to rethink this historical work of religious literature, nor will I be the last.

II

Shaping Memories: An Early Christian Instructional Narrative

In a nineteenth-century oil painting by Félix Louis Leullier, an incomprehensibly vast crowd of spectators—perfect blue sky above them—is mostly obscured by billowing clouds of fine, brownish-gold dust that rises from a scene of carnage and desperation. An open-air arena is the apparent staging grounds for combat between a handful of unfortunate individuals and a ferocious, teeming mess of beasts. The frozen moment is a crucial one in *Combats dans l'arène*, and it is almost difficult to watch so much writhing, so much implied noise. In the upper left a snarling, sprawling cheetah is flung skyward, soft belly exposed to sky, while in the lower right a man crumples under the weight of a leopard that has latched onto his neck. Centrally, the gaping maw of a lion is pierced by a rampaging elephant's ivory tusk, and beneath them huddle two figures trapped in the maelstrom. Both these women wear white. The one with outstretched arms is on her knees, cradling the head of the bleeding other in her lap. The museum at Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina, that currently owns this French Romantic painting displays a miniature image of it on their website, calling the work *The Martyrdom of St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas*.³⁸ Freely accessible by a quick internet search, it is one depiction of only a handful of online resources that refers to these saints.

It is challenging today to understand early Christian martyrs. We bring assumptions to our interpretations. Recognizing possible discrepancies between modern ideas and past events begins to help recover some understanding. Yet time distances us from these

historical figures, and meaning of the word “martyr” continues to evolve, pacing itself alongside cultural developments. In her 2004 book, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making, Gender, Theory, and Religion*, Elizabeth Castelli spends over two hundred pages comparing early Christian figures, including Perpetua, with such individuals as Cassie Bernall, who died in the 1999 shootings at Colorado’s Columbine High School, before concluding that it is an ethical responsibility today to “retrieve an older resonance of the term ‘martyr’.”³⁹ Reclaiming an increasingly full understanding of such language is, I argue, as much historical necessity as contemporary exigency, and so my chapter here begins where Castelli’s book ends. Early Christian martyrs cannot be best understood any other way, and narratives about them are our primary sources.

“Martyr” is originally a Greek word meaning “witness.”⁴⁰ Such a statement will likely surprise no one who studies antiquity or early Christianity, and neither will recognition that martyrs sometimes died for their ideas. However, note that death did *not* make one a martyr. Witnessing, testifying, publicly arguing for and defending the validity of ideas (*μαρτυρία*) made one a martyr. Before they were anything else, martyrs were public speakers, and this meaning of the word was fairly stable well into the second century.⁴¹ When around the year 200 C.E. Tertullian described the blood of martyrs as the seed of the church, he was not being gratuitous; it was not axiomatic that martyrs die.⁴² There was no contradiction in being a living martyr—in fact, it would have been almost impossible to be recognized as dying for one’s beliefs if such ideas were not first known: *μαρτυρία* necessarily preceded death even if it sometimes cost one’s life. It was not the downtrodden members of society miming their dissent who became early Christian “martyrs,” rather martyrs were

individual figures who were allowed to speak publicly because they were generally considered to be capable, eloquent, and authoritative—or so those who recorded their experiences would assert.⁴³

Related words such as *μαρτυρέω* and *μαρτύρομαι* further nuance and elucidate legal aspects of historical witnessing by indicating official acts, respectively, of bearing testimony or providing corroborative evidence as well as subpoenaing or even formally protesting—acts which could be accompanied by a written deposition or “*μαρτύρογράφειον*.” Ancient martyrs could even be legal advocates with rhetorical educations—that is, they were trained to master the social art of verbal persuasion.⁴⁴ In J. A. Crook’s discussion in *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* he notes that to be a witness one had to be socially respectable and authoritative and that, furthermore, Attic Greek legal advocates, who had sophisticated rhetorical training, often served as witnesses. Using “martyr” terminology, then, in a “legal sense” seems to have been normative rather than exceptional in classical Antiquity. The early apostolic writers of the New Testament also adopt this legal language of “advocacy” when describing the role of the Holy Spirit “pleading” (Rom 8.26) on behalf of Christians who are similarly described as “ambassadors” through whom God makes his “appeal” (2 Cor 5.20). Understanding early Christian martyrs today benefits from recognizing the rhetorical contexts of these literary figures. The nature and program of early Christian education then also assumes paramount significance.⁴⁵

In this chapter I propose to tease out the coherent narrative structure and related rhetorical significance of major figures in what became known as the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, the text that is among the earliest and most developed of witnesses to early

Christian martyrs, in the hope of invigorating discussions about the literary sophistication of this work and others like it. Here I will discuss not only the focal message of the work but also its organization, the characteristics of important figures, and notable linguistic features. This discussion can serve to emphasize the literary nature of this martyr narrative as well as its insistent sense of logical coherence despite episodic presentations in several narrative voices. Such an effort is in surprisingly stark contrast to not only the presentation of Perpetua and Felicitas in the painting at Bob Jones University but also much previous scholarship on the hagiographic text.

Because of modern scholarly emphases, throughout this chapter I refer to events in the story deriving from the longer rather than the shorter version of the *Passion*. However, the shorter version will be discussed in chapter five, and these two related accounts are both recorded in the 1936 Latin critical edition by Cornelius van Beek and distinguished as the longer *Passio*, for which van Beek cites nine Latin and one Greek medieval manuscripts, and the shorter Latin *Acta* in two versions, for which he cites at least forty-one medieval manuscripts.⁴⁶ Though the most recent critical edition of the text is by Jacqueline Amat (1996), van Beek's Latin edition of the *Passion* is still the basis for the vast majority of editions and English translations, including works by James W. Halporn, Herbert Musurillo, and Rosemary Rader. Furthermore, Musurillo's translation (1972), in which he praises the narrative as the archetype of all early Christian passions, has become the standard English version and is often revised and reprinted in anthologies. This relatively recent English transmission of the *Passion* tends to promote certain scholarly interpretations of the narrative that my research findings suggest ought to be given careful reconsideration.

INTERPRETIVE TENSIONS

The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is generally construed as an account of North African Christian martyrs who died in Roman Carthage on 7 March 203 C.E., during what some refer to as the Severan persecutions.⁴⁷ While other locals had already died in these persecutions, the small, mixed group of Christian adherents whose story forms the basis for the *Passion* are listed by name as Revocatus and Felicitas, Saturninus and Secundulus, and Perpetua (2.1). They are later joined in prison by Saturus, who introduced them to Christianity and served as their catechist (4.5). Sixth-century *images clipeatae*, or mosaic medallions, of the two women from the Archiepiscopal Chapel in Ravenna, Italy, have been interpreted, whether rightly or wrongly, as underscoring the historicity of these North African martyrs: Perpetua (Figure 4) is shown wearing the colorful, jewel-encrusted couture of a wealthy Roman matron, while Felicitas (Figure 5) is in plain garb much like that of a slave—disparate class impressions of the saints thought to derive from the text itself.⁴⁸ In the narrative the women directly interact only in the amphitheater, and Carolyn Osiek notes that they do not necessarily share a mistress-slave relationship despite popular tradition.⁴⁹ However, as far back as Augustine there are sermons that emphasize these two figures together as constituting a single, etymological emblem: “For Perpetua and Felicitas are the names of two, but the reward of all [. . .] so that we glory in perpetual felicity [*ut perpetua felicitate gloriantur*],” making the conventional title of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* an ideal mnemonic.⁵⁰

Perpetua and Felicitas are often seen today as personable relics from early Christianity and their example as having a marked influence on Christian history. Perpetua

is genuinely thought to have written a portion of the work, and actual conditions of life in a Roman prison are said to imbue her narrative descriptions.⁵¹ Furthermore, bodily experiences of motherhood—both parturition and lactation—pervade the *Passion*, and towards the end of the work a type of blood reliquary is even said to serve as ongoing witness to the Christian martyrs' physical existence when Saturus presents a ring dipped in his own blood to the soldier Pudens (21.5).⁵² What I mean to do here, though, is not deny

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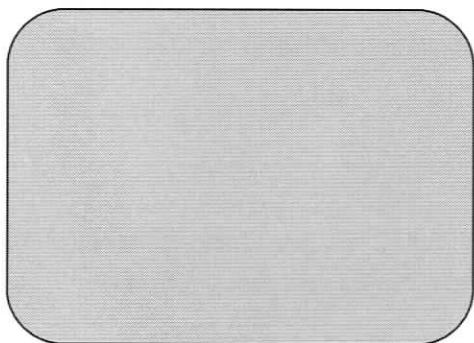


Figure 4. Mosaic of Perpetua. Oratory of S. Andrea, Archiepiscopal Chapel, Ravenna, Italy (494-95 C.E.). Courtesy of Foto Archivio Comune di Ravenna - Servizio Turismo e Attività Culturali <www.turismo.ravenna.it>.

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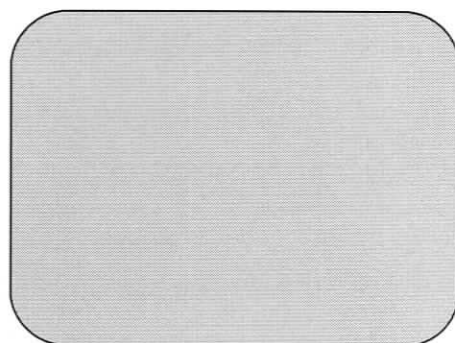


Figure 5. Mosaic of Felicitas. Oratory of S. Andrea, Archiepiscopal Chapel, Ravenna, Italy (494-95 C.E.). Courtesy of Foto Archivio Comune di Ravenna - Servizio Turismo e Attività Culturali <www.turismo.ravenna.it>.

the authenticity or originality of this martyr narrative, but to open up additional interpretive possibilities. My argument is not that the work is ahistorical or somehow false, but that it is meaningful beyond the “data” about the past that it may provide and offers more ruminative opportunities than has often been recognized, suggesting that all legitimate interpretive possibilities for early Christian martyr narratives have not been exhausted.

However, I honestly see this exercise as more akin to close reading than resistant reading. Beyond that, it is also perhaps best characterized as an effort in what could be called *attentive* reading: that is, not merely squinting harder and flipping more furiously between pages to find—or make—meaning, but recognizing and, when possible, embracing historical approaches for reading historical narrative, using tools that match the model and measuring in familiar units. In this way I offer a rhetorical reading of a literary narrative, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, and my findings should ultimately be the most persuasive argument for this approach.

The cascading narrative structure of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* contains multiple voices. Perpetua is said to have written eight chapters (3-10), including four visionary experiences, “in her hand [*manu sua*]” (2.3), while fellow martyr Saturus’ visionary record immediately follows, confirming and in some ways paralleling aspects of Perpetua’s account in his three central chapters (11-13).⁵³ These chapters by the martyrs are framed by the writing and commentary of an anonymous compiler/narrator who provides interpretations of events and some interjections (1-2, 3.1, 11.1-2, 14-21). Though current thinking rejects Tertullian as the anonymous narrator of the *Passion*, his background helps indicate possibilities within the early North African church. Before his conversion Tertullian was a teacher of rhetoric, and he later provided Christian catechetical training.⁵⁴ His general influence on the North African church is also well established, and he lived in Carthage as a contemporary of Perpetua and Felicitas.⁵⁵ Fergus Millar calls Tertullian “the finest writer of rhetorical Latin from the imperial period” as well as “the most acute and observant satirist of imperial society and government.”⁵⁶ The passion narrative has itself been called a “vivid

witness to the youth and vigor of the growing African church of the late second century,” and Herbert Musurillo emphasizes it is “the archetype” for all later martyr Acts.⁵⁷ The following table is a chapter summary of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*:

Table 1. Major Events in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*

1	Scriptural Prolegomena
2	Introduction of Arrested Catechumens
3	Perpetua's 1 st Argument with Father, Baptism and Imprisonment
4	Perpetua's 1 st Vision: Ladder, Dragon, Satorus, and Shepherd
5	Perpetua's 2 nd Argument with Father
6	Trial before Hilarianus, Perpetua's 3 rd Argument with Father
7	Perpetua's 2 nd Vision: Her brother Dinocrates' Suffering
8	Perpetua's 3 rd Vision: Dinocrates' Refreshment
9	Prison Guard Honors Christians, Perpetua's 4 th Argument with Father
10	Perpetua's 4 th Vision: An Amphitheater Triumph
11	Satorus' Vision: Leaving the Flesh, Carried by Angels with Perpetua
12	Satorus' Vision (cont'd): Transformation before the Divine Throne
13	Satorus' Vision (cont'd): New Bodies and New Powers
14	Authenticity of Visions
15	Felicitas' Delivery
16	Conversion of Guard, Perpetua's 1 st Persuasion of Tribune
17	Lovefeast, Prophesying to the Masses
18	Parade to Amphitheater, Perpetua's 2 nd Persuasion of Tribune, Prophesying
19	Male Contests with Beasts
20	Female Contests with Beast, Perpetua's 5 th Vision
21	Guard Honored by Satorus, Death of the Christians, Final Exhortations

The portions of the passion narrative attributed to Perpetua, chapters 3-10, have elicited strong interest from modern scholars because of the presumably justifiable claim that they are one of precious few survivals of writing by a Roman woman and the earliest available writing by a Christian woman. The boldness of claims for Perpetua's achievements and personal influence is impressive. "At last a woman capable of writing about herself, of giving a personal interpretation of the facts," effuses historian Emanuela Prinzivalli, asserting that "[w]e know more about this woman as a person, more about her real character and her social background than we know about all the other female martyrs of ancient times."⁵⁸ According to theologian Rosemary Rader, Perpetua's work is "a veritable *rara avis* among the male depictions of women in past history."⁵⁹ Literary scholar Peter Dronke also writes that "heroines in Greek tragedy have moments of comparable intensity, but the intimate and unselfconscious quality of Perpetua's utterance stands alone." Sustaining his exuberance, Dronke continues by emphasizing that Perpetua is "recording her outer and inner world, harrowing and untarnished, with shining immediacy" and so "we can still marvel at the magnitude of what Perpetua can communicate to us—and that is, apart from all else, a matter of high art."⁶⁰ Citing Dronke, Thomas Heffernan concurs that the "language of Perpetua's diary in the *Passio* is unadorned and direct. [. . .] The lack of rhetorical conventions gives Perpetua's voice greater realism and tends to confirm our reception of it as autobiographical."⁶¹

Often these claims for authenticity and influence justify including Perpetua as background for understanding medieval women who experienced visions. Dronke and Heffernan stand as representatives for a number of medieval scholars who assert that

Perpetua is, among other things, “the foremother of all later women mystics.”⁶² Heffernan projects the influence of Perpetua furthest into the historical future, calling the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* the “primal document in the development of the conventions which were to shape female sacred biography for a millennium,” providing “medieval female sacred biography exquisite models for the portrayal of female heroism along with the complex philosophical matrix from which these biographies of saintly women were to be cast.” Moreover, he asserts that the *Passion* “exercises an inestimable influence [. . .] through the liturgy, popular preaching, and ecclesiastical art; and contains as powerful an exemplification of these three categories as we have in all of the medieval *vitae sanctorum*.”⁶³ Interestingly, in these individual assessments just cited, and certainly as they are juxtaposed against one another, conflation—perhaps even confusion—between the historical person and literary figure of Perpetua, the individual and “her” text, often occurs. The seemingly autobiographical aspects of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* arouse intense interest at the same time that they create profound interpretive complexities. While Ross Shephard Kraemer has recently suggested in her *Women’s Religions in the Greco-Roman World* that no part of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* was actually written by Perpetua, preferring to emphasize instead that the work is a “literary production,” the choice need not necessarily be between absolute historical truth and fanciful fiction.⁶⁴ An overly narrow focus on actual historical experiences can tend to obscure recognition that history itself is often story, that texts are crafted.⁶⁵

Additionally, the subject matter of Perpetua’s chapters—that is, the extended focus on four distinct “dreams” or “visions” that she relays—excites scholars to elaborate religious

influences for her imagery, unearth historical simulacra for visionary activities, and offer colorful and somewhat astonishing psychohistorical interpretations of supposed Freudian elements in the passages.⁶⁶ What these interpretations often have in common, though, is the assumption that Perpetua's visions are most properly viewed as semi-conscious and passive experiences had while sleeping. Several scholars include extended discussions of ancient Greek and Roman theories on dreams and dreaming in their examinations of Perpetua's visions without acknowledging how ancient philosophies also differentiated, and sometimes scrupulously systematized, visionary experiences—with types of sleeping dreams being regarded as less authoritative than types of waking visions.⁶⁷ In a discussion titled "The doubleness and middleness of dreams" in *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Steven Kruger cites late antique philosophical systematizers Macrobius and Calcidius who distinguish between higher and lower, true and false types of visionary experience on the basis of earlier classical thinkers. Kruger notes that waking visions were thought to be divine and of a higher order of experience than any of various types of sleeping dreams.⁶⁸ So if Perpetua's visions are portrayed as being actively sought and consciously received, they can be considered a result of her Christian catechetical training, a learned skill that demonstrates and fulfills her religious identity. What one reads in the passion narrative is a literary portrayal of these carefully cultivated visionary experiences. Such visionary experiences serve as part of the strategic modeling of the narrative and are much more than dreams or even feelings simply, spontaneously recorded in a "prison diary."⁶⁹ Understanding the logic and emphases of the work as a whole also encourages a revision of common characterizations of the *Passion*. In the next section, then, I will shift focus to consider literary aspects of the passion narrative.

READING INSTRUCTIONS AND NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

Discussing the narrative structure of the *Passion* helps elucidate its meaningful design. The anonymous narrator/compiler provides internal interpretive guidance, and throughout the narrative the Christian martyrs themselves are persistent and direct witnesses to their faith, constantly arguing to persuade others of their just cause and noble ideas. While others have pointed out the harmony between Perpetua's four commonly-recognized visionary experiences, calling these "dream records" that are "for the dreamer a whole cloth" and noting image parallels (1 and 4, 2 and 4), thematic oppositions (1 and 3, 2 and 3), and struggles leading either to death (1 and 2) or triumph (3 and 4), I suggest that interpreters can—*must*—go further.⁷⁰ Not only are Perpetua's visions, in Heffernan's characterization, "deliberately connected, possess a symmetry of image, and mirror events outside their immediate contexts," they are presented in neat alternation (see Table 1) with her public arguments, the narrative continually balancing episodic presentations of divine and human persuasion.⁷¹ Prayer, vision, and prophecy continually complement debate, trial, and rhetorical success—and vice versa. Furthermore, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is itself wholly designed around oratorical events.

The "audience" for the work is imagined as listening to it read aloud (1.5), even obliged to read together such new examples of *uirtutes*, which Musurillo translates as "manifestations of virtue" (21.11).⁷² In the introductory chapter of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* the narrator affectionately addresses this imagined audience as "my brethren and little children [*fratres et filioli*]," a common type of catechetical address, and this address indicates anticipation that the work will serve didactic purposes for "those that

now learn of it through hearing [*qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum*]” (1.6).⁷³ This form of oral education is in keeping with tradition: Like ancient examples of faith [*uetera fidei exempla*], the narrator, in Musurillo’s translation, writes that this work achieves “spiritual strengthening [*aedificationem*]” or “comfort [from *confortetur*]” and is for the good of the Church (1.1).⁷⁴ The narrator also personally identifies with the martyrs, or “witnesses,” by claiming in biblical language to be their witness to future generations. Audiences who would hear the work read aloud could also apply its message in such a way as to identify and experience bonds of “fellowship” with the “holy martyrs, and, through them, with the Lord Jesus Christ [*communione[m] habeatis cum sanctis martyribus, et per illos cum domino nostro Iesu Christo*]” (1.6).⁷⁵ Here in the passion narrative—the story of martyrdom—is an interpretive emphasis on mutual identification and Christian education, on learning from witnesses in order to be a witness, a learning that occurs in the context of a community and always within earshot of God. The narrator concludes both opening and closing frames of the *Passion* with common liturgical phrasing and a resounding, final “Amen” (1.6; 21.11), an echo of the early Christian practice of declaring “Amen” vigorously, even shouting it, as a gathering of believers came to a close.⁷⁶

Christian education in the time of Perpetua was a specific, elaborate, and lengthy process in which the aspiring believer, known as a catechumen, underwent *catechesis* or instruction in Christian practices.⁷⁷ This *catechesis* demanded a level of general education, and Paul McKechnie describes contemporary Christian education in North Africa as working in conjunction with classical knowledge and skills, building upon and perfecting them. He further offers the comparative example of Origen, who became a catechist in

Alexandria the very year of Perpetua's recorded experiences, putting his pupils through a "rigorous program of secular teaching before they even began on the Bible."⁷⁸ Apparently Christians in Carthage themselves had such an intellectual reputation that Tertullian had to argue *against* notions that Christianity was simply a new philosophy; however, rather than deny intellectual sophistication, he insisted Christianity was the superior philosophy because it was divinely instituted and exceptionally moral.⁷⁹ Tertullian's is not the Pauline opposition between Athens and Jerusalem, but rather Christianity was acknowledged to have as its central figure Christ the philosopher, supreme *rabbi*, or teacher, an exalted interpreter and prophet of prophets. Thus, the catechumen's whole lifestyle throughout this training period was carefully considered as conforming, or failing to conform, to Christ's practices and thereby arguing for or against baptism as a Christian. Correct actions were as important as correct beliefs during the catechumenate, which could last three years.⁸⁰ It is acknowledged at the beginning of the *Passion* that all five martyrs, including Perpetua and Felicitas, are catechumens who are baptized only just before being imprisoned (2.1; 3.5).⁸¹ The narrator explicitly challenges those who read the *Passion* in the future to do so by vivid re-creation (or, representation) of the events [*repraesentatione rerum*] so that the experiences of these recent catechumens may continue to be known (1.1, Musurillo, however, emphasizes writing rather than reading in this passage: "by the recollection of the past through the written word," [*lectione eorum quasi repraesentatione rerum*]). Less than one hundred years later the ongoing popularity of the narrative would generate some hostility to its catechumenate emphases, and Pontius, the hagiographer of Saint Cyprian of Carthage (d. ca. 258), would subtly disparage the work to advocate, alternatively, praise for a bishop.⁸²

In its own time, however, catechumenal aspects may be interpreted as complementing other oratorical emphases: the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* was, in large part, about and for catechetical training—that is, the work was about and for martyrs, those prepared to defend Christianity publicly.

Instances of Christian oratorical success structure the narrative itself, and the final eight chapters of the work written by the narrator/compiler carry this oratorical emphasis to completion. The relentless constancy of the martyrs is interpreted as the most persuasive aspect of their witness. In chapter 14, Secundulus' death in prison is portrayed in Musurillo's translation as "by a special grace [*non sine gratia*]" because "his flesh, if not his spirit, knew the sword [*gladium tamen etsi non anima certe caro eius agnouit*]" (14.2-3). Felicitas' maternal labor and delivery in chapter 15 is, similarly, a witness to divine grace because her fellow martyrs' prayerful groanings bring on premature, but successful, childbirth, allowing her to fulfill her witness with the group of Christian martyrs as anticipated. Chapters 16 and 18 showcase Perpetua's persistently keen wit, time and again persuading Roman officials of the nobility of Christian ideas—even according to their Roman legal standards. In chapter 16 the gathering storm of conversions begins, only to be felt full force after Saturus' prophetic speech to the masses in chapter 17. Chapters 19 and 20 are twin episodes epitomizing how the respective groups of male and female martyrs die according to their prayers, all of them living up to (or exemplifying) their names. The final chapter, 21, balances and completes *both* chapter 14, by relaying the dénouement of the group of martyrs, and chapter 1, by anticipating future generations of Christian witnesses. Throughout these closing sections, the narrator/compiler claims to be fulfilling the

mandate [*mandatum*], Musurillo has “commission,” of Perpetua to write the record of the actual contest because she will be otherwise occupied (16.1 *cf.* 10.15). Like Perpetua, the narrator has viewed the contest as not only the martyrs’ experiences in the amphitheater but also their ongoing oratorical engagements: they pray successfully to the Lord, argue effectively with officials, preach persuasively to the masses, fight according to their own will, convert their jailers and others, and they comfort and exhort their fellow Christians.⁸³ While narrator/compiler portions of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* have occasionally been viewed as pretentious, this evaluation overlooks the logical progression of these sections that helps link events and ideas, building individual experiences into a coherent whole. By reconsidering here the significance of the whole work, which was warmly received and celebrated in its early Christian context, I hope to move scholarly discussion of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* beyond the tendency to see the introductory narrator as somehow blocking access to Perpetua.

While previous readers have been quick to recognize the obvious life-and-death struggle embodied in the work, the rhetorical contest has not yet been so easily identified. The multivalent narrative contest occurs between four representative forces: Roman government officials who sentence and compel Christians to fight in the amphitheater but are capable of religious conversion; the North African population, including Perpetua’s father, who signify traditional bonds and embody paternalistic reverence for old gods and skills; the nascent Christian “family” who is out to prove that its ideas inspire a radically different and superior way of being; and the special threat symbolized by Perpetua’s nursing infant that new Christians are, like him, as yet incapable of persuasive public

communication and, falling prey to infantilism, may be coddled or defeated, silenced and insignificant.

Throughout the narrative is ongoing double-entendre. There is personal struggle at the same time that there is also an ideological contest. Seeming dissonance between secular and religious rhetorical practice is harmonized as visceral, physical elements memorably also function as signs and symbols. While Perpetua's arguments with her father concern—from his viewpoint—her failure to respect traditional family piety (*paterfamilia*), trials before Roman authorities have a similar religious undertone: the Christian martyrs' failure to worship, or pay homage to, the emperor is the mark of treason. Conversely, Perpetua's visionary revelations are inspired by a Christianized intellect, and her prophetic foreknowledge concerns an impending Roman judgment that in the arena she will fight beasts (read: irrational, violent creatures of nature intended by Roman authorities to be compared derogatively with the martyrs themselves). However, this impending contest itself is empowering and enables Perpetua—when interpreting her third visionary experience—to rescue her previously deceased brother from a filthy “pagan” afterlife.

Furthermore, rhetorical debates are not merely intellectual, and physical contests are not without moral and philosophical significance. Catechists “build up” (4.5) new Christian converts just as the narrative account of the martyrs is itself for the purpose of “edification” (1.1; 21.11). However, Perpetua's father tries to “pull her down” by his arguments because she is “up above him” in prison and on the witness stand (3.1; 5.1; 6.2).⁸⁴ The crowd even demands to observe the decapitation of the Christians because they can only fully, intellectually participate by physical experience, sensory observation (21.6-

7, “But the mob asked that their bodies be brought out into the open that their eyes might be the guilty witnesses of the sword that pierced their flesh” [*cum populus illos in medio postularet, ut gladio penetranti in eorum corpore oculos suos comites homicidii adiungerent, ultro surrexerunt et se quo volebat populus transtulerunt*]). In a 1957 article “History and Symbol: A Study of Form in Early Christian Literature,” Herbert Musurillo is keen to point out that patristic writers were often intent to employ and recognize “event-symbols” in their writings, explaining that the

event-symbol is an actual historical event which, apart from its concrete historical relationships, is felt to have a further, spiritual significance. Such event-symbols the Fathers of the Church detected in many of the details of Scripture: the crossing of the Red Sea, the fast of Jesus in the desert, the raising of Lazarus, the flow of blood and water from the side of Christ, the ascension, and so on. It is clear that the gestural symbol is at the heart of Judaeo-Christian worship.⁸⁵

Though Musurillo does not discuss the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* when analyzing these “event-symbols” that he characterizes as central to patristic literature, the representative complexity of figures in the narrative contributes to the sophistication of the work as a whole. Less record than narrative, and more literature than transcript, the *Passion* is not only about rhetorical contests but is itself a subtle and intriguing rhetorical work—sequential, progressive, and beautifully argued. If the narrative has too often persuaded readers that it is historical record then that may be a measure of the success (as I will soon discuss) of its careful crafting. While the narrator acknowledges that some “non-believers

[*non credentibus*]” may hear in the work only, as Musurillo puts it, the martyrs’ “witness [*testimonium*],” “believers [*credentibus*]” will recognize a “blessing [*beneficium*]” in these “visions [*reuelationum*]” (1.5). Perhaps, though, the narrator’s recognition of the persuasive skills of early Christian martyrs has itself not been recognized for a long time, much less relationships between rhetoric and prophecy in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*.

FIGURATIVE DESIGNATIONS

As a further example of the conscientious crafting in the work, one can turn to names of figures in the passion narrative. I have already mentioned Augustine’s ready allegorical interpretation of the title figures, but such interpretive resonance is consistent throughout the entire cast of characters. Furthermore, not only are proper names exemplary, but common names and pronouns often have suggestive ambiguity. Translators and interpreters of the work have often stumbled on exactly the problem of names, as I will discuss, sometimes being overly rigid in reading biographical pronouns when other, more fluid social relations may be indicated. The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* must be especially interpreted in light of its Christian context where one was born not simply biologically (“of flesh”) but divinely (“of spirit”), and Christian baptism by water was echoed in a martyr’s baptism by blood at his or her death (18.3; 21.2). Such notions of birth, death, and rebirth (alternative “blood relations”) challenged and reformed conventional Roman and North African social ties. Believers were “brothers” and “sisters” in Christ, new converts “little children” in the faith, the spiritual leader a “father” (or “*papa*,” from which “pope” derives), married Christians “fellow servants” in the Lord—with the whole community of faith belonging to “him,” that is Christ, and collectively considered one

“body” of faith. Further, their scriptures told them they represented a new “race” of people, that Christians were “a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God’s own people, in order that [they] may proclaim the mighty acts of him who called [them] out of darkness into his marvelous light.”⁸⁶

The narrator of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* sees Christians as the new “Hebrews”—indeed the theology of the introductory prolegomenon is much indebted to the New Testament book of Hebrews—assuming promises that Jews had been given: they were living “in the last days [*in ultima saeculi*],” which would certainly not cease to exist before Christ returned (1.3; 1.6). Repeatedly Christians are referred to as the Lord’s family or friends—God’s children—creating problems for interpreters who wish to see the narrative and its figures as emphatically “hers,” belonging to Perpetua. It is not as if competing ownership is here at issue, but rather there are simultaneous, interrelated aspects of participation and belonging. Not always has the interpretive context for pastoral concerns and Christian familial bonds been recognized, yet certain nouns and pronouns remain complex signifiers of meaning, exemplifying new social relationships as well as distinct perceptions of time and being. The following important passage is a telling example where, for the first time, attention is paid to such details.

This passage is usually cited as the most direct statement in the passion narrative about the work’s authenticity, but I argue, alternatively, that it functions to emphasize oratorical practices of this early Christian community. Immediately before Perpetua’s portion of the work begins, the compiler/narrator insists: “This very woman has already thus recounted the entire sequence of her testimony in the same way she diligently

recorded in her hand and left it behind as a memento from her experience [*haec ordinem totum martyrii sui iam hinc ipsa narrauit sicut conscriptum manu sua et suo sensu reliquit*]” (2.3).

However, Musurillo’s English translation runs: “(Now from this point on the entire account of her ordeal is her own, according to her own ideas and in the way that she herself wrote it down.)”⁸⁷ There are striking contrasts between these two versions. The standard rendering attempts to harmonize itself with preceding statements by employing parenthetical notation, becoming a sort of introductory aside with a repetitive subordinate clause: the account not only belongs to Perpetua, it seems, but her ownership is somehow secured by emphasis on autographic originality. Furthermore, the sentence is forced to begin with an existential exactitude that is incongruous with the Latin. While Latin word order is more flexible than English, such an introduction necessitates that the translator entirely abandon the main verb of the paratactic clause (*narrauit*: tell, relate, narrate, recount, describe) and replace it with the blandly benign verb: “is.”⁸⁸ The reader completely loses any sense of action or perfect tense in the statement for a redundant emphasis on authenticity: the work is supposedly, emphatically “her own.” Note also that the final verb of the hypotactic clause, *reliquit* (“left behind” or “abandoned”), also extraordinarily disappears from Musurillo’s English translation, and there is no recognition of audience or anticipated ongoing influence, the responsibility of the surviving Christian family who will eventually be commissioned to complete the work Perpetua has left to them (10.15).

I am keen to recognize these meaningful verbs and their important accompanying adverbs: this woman, Perpetua, (*haec*) has already (*iam*) herself (*ipsa*) thus (*hinc*) recounted (*narrauit*) her testimony, just as she diligently recorded it for the benefit of her Christian

family and left it to them as a memento, literally, “from her own feeling, idea, or experience (*suo sensu reliquit*)” or, as Musurillo puts it, “according to her own ideas.” The emphasis is, rather strikingly, on the *previous experience* of having heard Perpetua’s testimony as well as the faithfulness of the present textual record that is available to Christians. Is it significant whether Perpetua physically wrote the text? Rather the faithful relationship between experience and record—oral narrative of an experience and literary text related to the event—is the focus of this statement, and *sensu* suggests an ongoing responsibility to such a testimony. It may be not only a matter of an individual Christian or the Christian community’s “understanding” the testimony (1.6), but perhaps there is a necessity to experience, realize, and complete the work, taking up the opportunity with which, as Musurillo translates, Perpetua later concludes her narrative: “So much for what I did up until the eve of the contest. About what happened at the contest itself, let him write of it who will [*hoc usque in pridie muneris egi; ipsius autem muneris actum, si quis uoluerit, scribat*]” (10.15). Careful attention to linguistic and grammatical details in such a key sentence significantly alters the interpretation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* and encourages general revisions that improve overall intelligibility, helping to argue for a fresh consideration of the work.

Attention to proper names also encourages recognition of rhetorical aspects of the passion narrative. Names of figures in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* seem notably to indicate the nature of persons or their experiences. In the New Testament prominent individuals are also intentionally, meaningfully named, and changes in status or social responsibility often necessitate taking up a new name. Before conception, John the Baptist

and Jesus are both said to be named by angels as beings “of God.”⁸⁹ Jesus himself later renames several disciples, most notably he designates Simon son of John as the “rock,” which is “Cephas” in Aramaic or, in Greek, “Petra” (Peter).⁹⁰ Similarly, after Saul’s conversion to Christianity he becomes known as Paul.⁹¹ Even today baptismal naming customs continue, and those taking religious vows or assuming certain ecclesiastical offices often adopt appropriate new names.⁹² There may even be an instructive contemporaneous indication of correlation between baptism and naming in the *Apostolic Tradition* when it advises that believers are to receive at baptism the “white stone of which John said that there is a new name written under it which no man knows except him who received the stone,” which is an allusion is to Rev 2.17.⁹³ Although such a practice is not clearly stated in the *Passion*, it may have been that upon the admission to the catechumenate, or at their baptisms, these early believers were likewise given or adopted new names. This speculative notion can help explain the uncanny fit in the *Passion* of the Christian figures’ proper names, but it may also be that these individuals simply lived up to their original names or, in hindsight, were figuratively designated by the literary compiler. Whatever the situation, though, apt proper names add a layer of interpretive richness to the story.

Perpetua (“continuous, invariable, perpetual, everlasting”) is shown as extraordinarily steadfast in her faith.⁹⁴ At her baptism she is told repeatedly by the Spirit to ask for nothing except “perseverance of the flesh” (3.5, *sufferentiam carnis*). Though she experiences an early bout of nerves in prison, she successfully overcomes her stupor—a major turning point in her narrative—to argue successfully for her will against Roman officials and achieve the first of her public rhetorical victories (3.8, *cf.* 5.6 and 6.1). The

narrator claims to supplement Perpetua's own account only to emphasize her resolution and sublimity of Spirit (16.1, from Musurillo, "perseverance and nobility of soul [*constantia et animi sublimitate*]"), noting additional incidents when she persuades the tribune to allow the martyrs better treatment in prison (16.3-4) and uncompromising self-presentation at the amphitheater (18.4-7). Furthermore, unflappable and prepossessed, decorously maintaining herself as *matrona* of Christ, the darling of God (18.2, *ut matrona Christi, ut Dei delicata*), she resists falling apart in the arena when gored by a deranged cow, and restores her clothing and hair to appear at all times a reliable witness (*martyram*, notably a *female* witness, here the word's first appearance in ancient literature, 20.5).⁹⁵ Such collectedness also distinguishes her from the offending cow, which had been especially selected by Roman officials as a punishingly ironic gesture but to the narrator appears as a sign of the devil's ultimate weakness and humiliation (20.1). Perpetua in her calm determination graciously rekindles Felicitas' spirit after she is mauled, so that both stand resolutely together to the end, exemplifying her message to believers that day: they must stand firm in the faith and love each other [*in fide state et inuicem omnes diligite*] (20.6, 10). To the last breath, she is more committed to her testimony than even her executioner, and she herself guides the quaking gladiator's sword to her throat (21.9-10). Throughout the work she is as resolute in making prayers as persuasive public statements, and even her visionary images of ever-flowing fountain and bottomless cup mirror her character (7.8; 8.2-3). Perpetua's inexorable determination means she consistently lives up to her name as a persistent Christian witness.

Felicitas (“success, good fortune, blessedness”), likewise, exemplifies her name.⁹⁶ Felicitas is introduced in the narrative as Revocatus’ fellow servant [*conserua eius*], which may mean his wife if Christian metaphors are kept in mind. In the New Testament joy is also one of the most notable attributes of Christian service. However, whether or not Felicitas is a genuine socioeconomic slave, she is portrayed throughout the work as embodying happiness. As a figure whose character, then, is seemingly incongruous with death and suffering, Felicitas is also the ideal figure to represent birth: happiness, whether it be the birth of a child or attainment of heavenly bliss, can follow suffering. Felicitas experienced the grace of the Lord by successfully—even miraculously, fortunately—delivering her premature child in prison, as her name might suggest she would. When a military aide scoffs at her seemingly inordinate personal difficulty with labor, she is shown to have presence of mind to put the situation in perspective, take full-hearted responsibility, and to resolve tensions with a pithy reminder that the martyrs’ witness in the arena will be different: “Now I suffer what I suffer; but there another will suffer for me, because I too am about to suffer for him” (15.6, from Musurillo, “‘What I am suffering now’, she replied, ‘I suffer by myself. But then another will be inside me who will suffer for me, just as I shall be suffering for him.’ [*Modo ego patior quod patior; illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum*]).⁹⁷ As predicted, she proceeds to the arena rejoicing (18.3, *gaudens*) and comparisons between the birth and her death are notable as she moves from “blood to blood, midwife to gladiator, about to be washed after childbirth by a second baptism” (18.3, *a sanguine ad sanguinem, ab obstetrice ad retiarium, lotura post partum baptismo*

secundo). The last clear sight of Felicitas is of her standing fast alongside Perpetua in the arena (20.6).

Male figures in the *Passion* also have suggestive names. “Saturus,” the original inspiration for the Christian faith of the martyrs (4.5), literally means “sower, cultivator, or begetter.”⁹⁸ “Pudens,” the Roman soldier whom Saturus converts to Christianity, can mean either “shameful” or “honorable,” with these seemingly contradictory aspects related by notions of chaste and humble modesty.⁹⁹ (Furthermore, medieval scribes such as an 11th c. canon at Salisbury tamed such ambiguity by correcting his name to “Prudens.”)¹⁰⁰ The other male martyrs Revocatus (“recall, revival”), Saturninus (“bright planet” or “mythical king”), and Secundulus (“secondary status”) have names that correspond to their trials.¹⁰¹ In the amphitheater Revocatus experiences multiple contests with beasts alongside Saturninus who desires that his “crown would surely be all the more glorious” (19.2, *scilicet gloriosorem gestaret coronam*), and Secundulus dies in prison rather than the arena, although the redactor emphasizes that, despite this secondary status, he remains a martyr in spirit (14.2-3). Even the Christian deacons ministering in prison have names that literally indicate their function as ceremonial aides to the martyrs: “Pomponius” is assisted by “Tertius” (3.7).¹⁰² Even “Dinocrates,” Perpetua’s predeceased younger brother, may have a name that indicates the distinctiveness of his former facially disfiguring disease or that he is envisioned as specially selected for spiritual refreshment and physical rehabilitation by his sister’s prayers.¹⁰³ Though these named figures may have incidentally appropriate experiences, such consistent reoccurrence of meaningful coincidences is difficult to overlook. Individual figures either lived up to their names, adopted appropriate names, were designated in hindsight, or are

colorful and creative conventions. The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is not necessarily less than historical record, but is also much more.¹⁰⁴

* * *

Would the work's original audience have shared such interpretive awareness? The narrator of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* emphasizes that the Christian community must read aloud these "new examples of virtues"—Musurillo translates the phrase as, "new deeds of heroism"—in order to have fellowship with the martyrs and, through them, with Christ (21.11, *novae . . . virtutes*). The narrative itself, therefore, becomes a martyr or witness to the witnesses, and so contemporary practices of scriptural exegesis are instructive. In her recent work on early Church Fathers, Elizabeth Clark elucidates sophisticated early Christian interpretive strategies applied to the Bible that help nuance and elucidate what is often now generally considered to be allegorical interpretation, including close reading, textual implosion, and contextual reapplication whereby problematic, mundane, or historical passages were mined for symbolic, formulaic, and practical information.¹⁰⁵ While it is not necessary here to discuss all of Clark's fascinating categories, my point in listing some of them is to acknowledge that multiple, sophisticated interpretive strategies were available to early readers of the passion narrative.

Ideas of imitation and interpretive representation were endemic to the genre of early Christian passion literature, which remodels earlier literary types. The etymological history of the word *passio* itself is charged with dynamic and complex meanings. Early Christian usage of the term *passio* was dialectically imbued with both the ethically neutral sensibility of *pathos*, or passive suffering, and the pejorative Stoic sensibility of violent,

emotional activity and, then, transformed by the model of Christ. Erich Auerbach explains that “to the flesh, to the evil *passiones* of this world, the Christians oppose neither the apathy of the Stoics nor good emotions (*bonae passiones*) with a view to attaining the Aristotelian mean of rational compromise, but something hitherto unheard of: the *gloriosa passio* [glorious passion] that springs from ardent love of God.”¹⁰⁶ Early Christians considered both Christ’s life and death to exemplify his passion.¹⁰⁷ Christ was himself a persuasive witness and could be represented by future martyrs. Imitation created mutual identification between Christ and martyr, effectively the re-presentation of the Divine in human form. The story begun in the gospels continued in early Christian passion narratives and in those who interpreted and reincarnated these “examples of power.” The narrator/compiler’s admonitions and exhortations to read “by vivid re-creation (or, representation)” the experiences of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* apparently were well received by their intended audience. Nearly 200 years after the passion events Augustine was sternly warning North Africans against giving the passion narrative the authority of Scripture itself, and re-creative interpretive practices continued to occur.¹⁰⁸ Such practices necessitated and underpinned Christian education.

That Christians martyrs do not die in vain is the tacit argument of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, and the work does not leave readers with the impression that its heroic figures were victimized by their deaths. On the contrary, the martyrs were persistent and persuasive public figures whose death was merely a fulfillment of their ideas about life and, thus, triumph and reward. To make such a case successfully requires particular skill because it is at odds with human instincts, but all people die and so the

narrative recognizes that it is *how* one lives or dies that matters—and questions of “how” are matters of interpretation.

To summarize and reiterate, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is a rhetorical narrative in part because oratorical contests provide content and structure for the work. Oratorical episodes include both public testimonials of the martyrs and prophetic utterances, and any one figure in the work is capable of participating in each activity and sometimes both simultaneously, depending on one’s perspective. Additionally, martyrs are rhetorical figures in the sense that they not only participate in oratorical events but are also themselves exemplary embodiments of their names. This embodiment helps demonstrate how the use of allegory and allusion contribute to the work’s literary sophistication, and the *Passion* specifically emphasizes the catechetical training of the martyrs at the same time that it claims to be, and in fact was, useful for ongoing practices of Christian education and public witness.

III

Learning by Example: Listening to Perpetua and Felicitas

The literary interpretation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* that I have presented in the previous chapter, which reveals the work's carefully crafted narrative structure and emphatic, figurative use of names, is as yet not generally acknowledged in contemporary scholarship. Perpetua's section of the narrative still tends to be considered the focus of the work and is construed as unliterary memoir with self-revelation as its goal. Dronke would have Perpetua's narrative be "artless" and a "climax of radiant directness," asserting that there "are no rhetorical flourishes, no attempts at didacticism or edification."¹⁰⁹ Studying Perpetua's personality and motivations also continues to be popular, and scholars often resort to psychological terminology and personal appropriation to understand such an "intimate and unselfconscious" account.¹¹⁰ For example, Heffernan abstracts each of Perpetua's four "dream" experiences and challenges readers to see them "from her vantage point [. . .], to try to imaginatively reconstruct the process she was undergoing and to understand what she believed was happening to herself in the greatest crisis she was ever to face."¹¹¹ This challenge can be valuable, but it serves other purposes than the discussion here at hand.

Interestingly enough, though, such an approach is not entirely dissimilar to following the previously discussed reading instructions provided by the narrator/compiler: readers are directed to re-create the experience of the martyrs if they are to benefit from the narrative. But such a devoted reading of the work rather unexpectedly begins to adjust

the focus from an objective consideration of the martyrs to an interactive interpretation of the work. Heffernan (like Ross Shephard Kraemer) has most recently also been willing to revise previous assessments of the *Passion* and now claims not to believe Perpetua “actually wrote these very words,” suggesting that perhaps her “dream” sequences may instead have been reconstructed from a “verbal report,” though still “very possibly provided by Perpetua herself.”¹¹² Dronke’s valid and useful analysis similarly begs to be expanded and developed beyond the limitations of considering *only* Perpetua’s portion of the work and then comparing it against writings of later medieval women such as Hildegard and Heloise that are not hagiographic and understandably employ a more common range of medieval rhetorical techniques. Recent works such as Clark’s *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* and Mary Carruthers’ *Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, however, provide new tools for reconsidering early Christian and medieval intellectual practices.¹¹³ Reviewing the whole of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* with its elaborate internal framing and explanation of Perpetua, her companions, and the story of their experiences helps develop the idea that Perpetua herself serves as an embodiment of rhetorical skill and a profoundly meaningful literary figure.

Having discussed oratorical emphases of the passion narrative as a whole, I want now to revisit Perpetua’s own sections of the work. Like others, I too have found Perpetua’s narrative important and arresting. In fact, it was only in attentively reading Perpetua’s visions that I started to glimpse oratorical emphases in the passion itself. I began to wonder whether this figure who is so roundly portrayed as a person of dreamy happenstance—if colorful and pitiable—was actually herself intended to be read as capable,

skilled, and exemplary *especially because of her visionary experiences*. Carruthers, I knew, had recently argued for the rhetorical sophistication of visionary Hebrew prophets such as Daniel and Ezekiel and later Christian figures, including Augustine and his mother Monica, Boethius, Hildegard of Bingen, and Thomas Aquinas.¹¹⁴ Would reconsideration of the figure of Perpetua similarly suggest that her four commonly-recognized visions are likely not sleeping dreams, not the result of unconscious psychological activity, but rather that Perpetua's visions, like her public arguments and the work as a whole, are portrayed as being shaped by a Christianized form of rhetorical sophistication? Paying close attention to the language of the narrative significantly aids the consideration of such a question, and so the progression of this discussion will move through Perpetua's visionary narrative before returning to statements by the compiler/narrator.

THE LANGUAGE OF VISIONS

The mistaken assumption that Perpetua relays sleeping dreams is often encouraged by the fact that following each of her four visionary experiences is a formulaic announcement most often translated into English as "I awoke."¹¹⁵ But in the ten medieval manuscripts of the *Passion*, only two consistently employ Latin words that may unequivocally mean "I awoke" (*experrecta* or *expergefacta sum*), while seven use the Latin possibly to suggest "I am experienced, tried or authoritatively proven; I have understood" (*experta sum*), and one manuscript alternates between *experta* and *experrecta sum*.¹¹⁶ Such terminology is sprinkled throughout the passion narrative following visions in 4.10, 7.9, 8.4, 10.4 and 20.8. *Experta* may be an abbreviation for *experrecta* if it is not derived from *experior* as, in fact, it is elsewhere in the text, namely 3.5 and, most notably, 4.2. Amat

favors the abbreviation notion and, therefore, sleeping dreams, while Prinzivalli recognizes ambiguity in the expressions.¹¹⁷ For example, Vulgate usage of derivatives of *experior* (as in Judg 2.22 or Heb 11.29) are often employed much like *experimento* (to try, prove, discern or divine, as in, for example, Gen 30.27 or Esth 3.5) and are clearly not abbreviations for *experrecta* and *expergefata*, which are themselves occasionally used to indicate an awakening other than from physical sleeping (Isa 26.19, Joel 1.5, or Hab 2.19).

In this regard, there is also no reason in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* to limit the word that is chosen in translation to “awoke.” “Come to,” “rouse,” and “keep vigil” are acceptable alternatives even for *experrecta*. Moreover, there is no reason that waking itself needs only be interpreted as an activity that follows physical sleep: a figurative understanding may be implied—an awakening of the soul, mind, heart, emotions or sympathies, for example. Also nowhere in the narrative does Perpetua or the narrator say she fell asleep. Perpetua’s only visionary experience that seems to have occurred at night is her first one, and even then, when she promises her Christian brother: “*Crastina die* (tomorrow) *tibi renuntiabo* (I will report, announce to you),” this statement may be interpreted as “I will report to you tomorrow” and indicates her intent to prophesy (4.2). When discussing the medieval monastic work known as the *Vision of Wetti*, Carruthers notes that Wetti is explicitly described as “resting on his bed not asleep but with his eyes closed” and when he “wakes up’ (*expergefactus*) from his vision,” he immediately records his experience.¹¹⁸ So even a nighttime vision should not automatically be interpreted as a sleeping dream, and limited nighttime sensory perceptions were thought to focus rhetorical powers and meditative practices, encouraging visionary experiences.

In Perpetua's narrative, her visionary experiences also sometimes notably occur midday and in social settings. On one occasion she is actually in the arena in the midst of being attacked by the deranged cow and is notably said to be awakening from an experience that is only *like* sleep "though in fact she had been in the spirit and in ecstasy" (20.8, from Musurillo, "She awoke from a kind of sleep (so absorbed had she been in ecstasy in the Spirit) [*quasi a somno expergita adeo in spiritu et in extasi fuerat*]"). Here the narrator of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* has provided a direct clue to the nature of the visions that Perpetua herself relays. The narrator explains spiritual ecstasy as similar to but different from sleeping, yet it is a state from which one "awakens."¹¹⁹ The parenthetical explanation of the visionary experience is also especially fitting in that it recognizes the spiritual dimension of Perpetua's activities in an early Christian narrative. While sleeping is at best neutral, to sleep when one should be vigilantly awake may have even been considered tantamount to succumbing to the same temptation as Christ's disciples on the night he was arrested, an ultimate failure in religious practice.¹²⁰ Presumably, though, for Perpetua to focus on a reality demanding her attention more than a vicious cow in a public arena is something other than narcoleptic spectacle. While the reader or listening audience is not directly informed of Perpetua's vision in the arena, the narrator explains her actions and visionary state.¹²¹ Especially in light of this intratextual explanation and other information given above, I strongly suggest that the currently prevailing interpretation—whether implied or asserted—of Perpetua's narrative as being a record of her sleeping dreams is doubtful.¹²²

Keeping these observations in mind, it is additionally interesting to note a conspicuous, active verb that reoccurs throughout the passion narrative: *video*, which means—in its present tense form—“I see.” English translations never use the present tense form even though it persistently occurs in Latin manuscripts to initiate the telling of the visions (4.3, 7.4, 8.1 and 10.1, and Saturus’ visions can use the plural present tense *videmus* 11.4 in Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS C 210 Inf.). Additionally, in one manuscript the ending of *video* has in one place been deliberately erased so as to appear to be *vidi* (“I saw”), and this variability goes unrecorded by critical editions of the *Passion*, notably standard ones by van Beek and Amat.¹²³ Even van Beek’s own *phototypicae* implicate his omission in this regard. I suggest that the past tense reading tends to lend itself to modern historical emphases while sacrificing interpretive resonance and hermeneutic depth.¹²⁴

English translators consistently render “I see” as “I saw” in Perpetua’s visions despite the fact that they elsewhere translate *video* as present tense (3.1, from Musurillo, “‘Father,’ said I, ‘do you see this vase here, for example, or waterpot or whatever?’ ‘Yes, I do’, said he. . . [Pater, inquam, vides verbi gratia vas hoc iacens, urceolum sive aliud? Et dixit: Video]”) and that the Latin of the *Passion* continually distinguishes several types of visual experiences using specific variations of past (*videram*, 8.1-2), present (*vides*, 3.1) and future tenses (*videbunt*, 1.4). Every once in a very long while, though, that brilliant present tense *video* of Perpetua’s visions slips through a fissure, shining and blinding, recognized in a footnote here, a seemingly conscientious scribal erasure there. However, in Perpetua’s first visionary record, the standard English translation of the initiation of her experience reads: “Then I made request and this was the vision I had. I saw a ladder [*Et postulavi, et ostensum est mihi*

hoc. Video scalam . . .]” (4.2-3). The Latin tenses rendered literally could be rendered into Musurillo’s translation as: “Then I made request and this was the vision I had. I *see* a ladder of tremendous height [*changed word italicized*].”

The present tense introduction to the vision is distinctly different, but why does this tense shift matter? I suggest that it matters because it contributes to the misreading of the visionary experiences as dream events occurring at a particular moment in time that can be located and then fade into history. However, by refusing to smooth over the strangeness of present tense action, Perpetua’s visions become less historical and more literary, more prophetic, performative even, and more participatory. It is as if her vision is something she beseechingly claims, yes, but also something she possesses, something she makes and sees and *continues* to see. By keeping a present tense focus on what she sees, she also creates an image that her audience sees with her, and in this way her voice remains relevant: her vision and its interpretation are about something that exists both then and now, becoming a history for the present.¹²⁵ Such an emphasis is an example of the historic or “dramatic” present tense in Latin, which can shade into the oracular (as does the famous Sybil’s speech in Virgil’s *Aeneid*), and allows no obvious justification for the common past tense translation of *video*.¹²⁶ In contemporary English, colloquial (and often oral) relay of narrative events still sometimes employs the historical present tense: “So then I go to the breakwater. . .” or “Afterward he says to me. . .” The effect of the historical present tense in these contexts is to create experiential camaraderie between the audience and the speaker who relays the memory. They achieve intimate and personal, yet somehow shared, knowledge of an experience. Because this present tense alters or plays with the sense of time, it challenges

notions of presence and absence, creating a seemingly impossible experience for listeners. The dramatic, or oracular, present tense thus challenges interpretations of historical events: they are not wholly of the past and cannot be understood without their continual re-creation in the present, our remembering.

The demarcation between history and literature blurs in the use of the historical present tense not because the past is unknowable but because here it is interactive, dynamic, and continual. While historicist and new historicist literary theorists have recognized that much is gained by knowledge of historical contexts, much is also gained by recognition of the complexity of sources, literary or otherwise, that are generally regarded as historical. The historical present tense and present historical tensions point to similar questions about the nature of knowing and the value and function of history, of remembering. Responding with sensitivity and sophistication to one word can begin to provide a model and tools to respond to larger questions about interpretive practices. Perpetua regularly initiates the telling of her visions by using this present tense, and the narrator also continually addresses, encourages, and interprets the *Passion* for a present “audience.” To understand early Christian intellectual practices, it is important to notice and respect the prophetic and educational roles the martyrs adopt as they relate their visions.

Furthermore, the Latin words used to describe Perpetua’s visionary experiences (*visionem*, *ostensum*, and *horomate*: 4.1-2; 8.1; 10.1; 11.1; 14.1; 20.8) are never the language of dreams and dreaming: *somnium*. Early and medieval interpreters of the *Passion* do not cite the work in their other discussions on the judgment and evaluations of dream experiences,

and such an omission is telling.¹²⁷ Theologians including Tertullian, Augustine, and John Cassian, among others, advised about discerning between the good and evil spirits that inspire dreams, and they never once bring up the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitatis* as a pertinent text while readily discuss the same work in other contexts. Unambiguously divine revelations, such as oracles and certain visions, were in their own category, separate from not only sleeping dreams but also mental apparitions, agitations, and indigestions. Discretion was thought absolutely necessary to judge ambiguous dream or spiritual experiences, but when a revelation is divine—and especially if it is received upon request from a fully conscious being—it is not discretion that was required, but testimony: a prophecy has been given so the prophet must speak. The language of Perpetua's visions is consistently the language of revelation and prophecy, and the visionary experiences she relays are intimately related to rhetorical contests with officials and her father in which she engages throughout the *Passion*.

PRAYER, CATECHETICAL TRAINING, AND INTERPRETIVE MODELS

I have not discussed the content of each of Perpetua's commonly recognized visionary experiences because others have previously done so, and their interesting discussions of ladders, white-haired old men, and golden apples afford many comparisons between Perpetua's imagery and that of classical, mythological, and folk cultures.¹²⁸ However, such comparisons are not the focus here since it is not the *content* of Perpetua's visions but the *methods* that she has learned to create and structure her thoughts—how Perpetua's wit and argumentative skills are consistently portrayed throughout the entire hagiographic text—that are most significant for this current discussion.

In several instances Perpetua's visions are not only present tense and immediately relevant to a listening audience, they are also actively sought by means that scholars tend to translate into English or interpret simply by the word "prayer." However prayer is a word that lacks the specificity necessary to describe the variety of actions being indicated in the Latin. At least three different Latin terms used in the *Passion* are often translated into English by the word "prayer," and these include: *peto*, *postulo* and *oro*. While *peto* has the sense of asking or petitioning, *postulo* can be a somewhat more urgent and elaborate requesting, suggesting the petitioner's confidence in the justice his or her cause.¹²⁹ Furthermore, *oro* (and, relatedly, *oratio*) is especially distinct from the other two terms in that it indicates a learned technique of persuasion, even a creative activity of skilled discourse and artistry performed aloud.¹³⁰ Additionally, actions such as weeping, moaning, sighing, and singing are often clarified or reinterpreted by translators of the *Passion* as activities that must be related to "prayer." The willing depiction of physically demonstrative and conscious actions on the part of the martyrs in the *Passion* indicates an engagement with the Divine that seems muted, grayed, anesthetized by the lack of precision in modern English translations.

Similarly, a contemporaneous image of an *orant*, "one who prays," from the Priscilla Catacomb in Rome confounds typical modern notions of prayer practices that involve humbly bowing the head and folding the hands, given this central figure's standing posture, raised arms, splayed fingers and open, watching eyes.¹³¹ At its most general, prayer involves the notion of conversation with God, but to neglect the specificity, variety and physicality of such practices expressed in the *Passion* is to miss the emphases of the narrative. Prayer

here is a form of “inventive memory work,” and its successful execution often involved intense emotions and typical gestures and postures to enable higher and more profound states of visionary ecstasy (*raptus*).¹³²

In her visionary prayer practices, Perpetua exhibits a familiarity with the same emphasis on prayer as occurs in contemporary catechetical training. Tertullian spends a third of his entire catechetical discussion on Christian prayer ruminatively dwelling on and elaborating each of the seven phrases of the Lord’s Prayer as containing together the whole of divine wisdom and human experience. This prayer, attributed to Christ, was also commonly known as the *euchē pistōn* [prayer of the “faithful,” the “competent” believers].¹³³ It is the prayer that Jesus taught his disciples in response to their request: “Teach us to pray.”¹³⁴ Tertullian directs that all personal requests to God—which he deems necessary and encourages—be preceded by the Lord’s Prayer “as a foundation” for the other extrinsic “superstructure of petitions.”¹³⁵ Tertullian emphasizes that Christian prayer is innovative and distinct from all previous ways of prayer and explicitly states that Christ’s “Rule of Prayer” is the “epitome of the entire Gospel” and “rests upon the foundation of a great and fruitful interpretation, [. . .and despite its brevity is] copious in meaning,” embracing every record of the “Discipline” of Christ.¹³⁶ And while, on the one hand, Tertullian characterizes prayer as the “oblation,” or proper and acceptable victim and sacrifice, which it “is our duty to bring to the altar of God, along with a procession of good works, to the accompaniment of psalms and hymns,” only prayer, on the other hand, vanquishes or “conquers God” and enables believers to obtain “from God all [good things].”¹³⁷ Language like this, with its seemingly brazen confidence, is not only reminiscent of Perpetua’s own

boldness to request a vision from God, asserting that her claim to favor was bolstered by her recent baptism and impending trials, but also harmonizes well with the contemporary conceptions of rhetorical skill in public persuasion.

Even Perpetua's dramatically physical and expressive prayer practices are harmonious with the emphatic encouragement given to catechumens to perform imitative Biblical practices with discretion. Besides describing proper mental and emotional states, Tertullian elaborates proper times, postures, and activities for early Christian prayer. He undergirds his remarks with the New Testament injunction to pray continually, and proceeds to judge actions not against whether they follow biblical practices—he assumes that they do—but against whether they follow correct biblical models, whether the imitation is suitable.¹³⁸ For example, he rejects the practice of washing hands before prayer as being an imitation of Pontius Pilate who washed his hands after surrendering Jesus to be crucified.¹³⁹ Alternatively, Tertullian approves and encourages the posture of praying with hands raised and arms expanded because it is a way of “taking the model from the Lord's passion,” meaning a physical imitation in prayer of Christ crucified.¹⁴⁰ In both cases, I emphasize, whether the prayer practice is rejected or accepted, it was a commemorative act where models were interpreted with a view to abstraction for the purpose of imitation. From positive scriptural examples Tertullian justifies kneeling, fasting, psalmody, the temperate elevation of hands, the kiss of peace that sealed acts of prayer, practice of stations and always dismissing houseguests with prayer as if one had been visited by angels or the Lord himself.¹⁴¹ He also admonishes prayer at daybreak and sunset; prayer three times during the day like Daniel and in remembrance of important apostolic events at the third,

sixth and ninth daytime hours; prayer before food and before bathing in recognition of the prior nourishment and cleansing of the spirit; and nightly vigil in recollection of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, the parable of the waiting virgins and the anticipation of “the angels’ trumpet.”¹⁴² The interesting point of these multiple examples is that early North African Christians practiced prayer in many and various ways meant to consecrate and sanctify daily life by the commemoration—the marking and making memory—of exemplary Christian and biblical actions. Responsively appropriate Christianity was learned imitation, readily extracting, abstracting the *actions* of religious models and remaking these into their own forms and disciplines.

Tertullian especially taught Christians to view prison as an ideal location for visionary experiences. He challenges imprisoned martyrs as “spiritual athletes” to use their physical situation intentionally to aid prayer practices, saying:

The prison now offers to the Christian what the desert once gave to the Prophets. Our Lord himself quite often spent time in solitude to pray there more freely, to be away from the world. In fact, it was in a secluded place that he manifested his glory to his disciples. Let us drop the name ‘prison’ and call it a place of seclusion. Though the body is confined, though the flesh is detained, there is nothing that is not open to the spirit. In spirit wander about, in spirit take a walk, setting before yourselves not shady promenades and long porticoes but that path which leads to God. As often as you walk the path, you will not be in prison. The leg does not feel the fetter when the spirit is in heaven. The spirit carries about the whole man and brings him

wherever he wishes. And where your heart is, there will your treasure be also. There, then, let our heart be where we would have our treasure.¹⁴³

This advice is perhaps best read as an embrace of reality rather than escapism. Physical discipline is seen as especially enabling mental discipline and visionary practices. Perpetua and fellow martyrs who were scheduled to fight as mock gladiators in Carthaginian games had, therefore, spiritual opportunities. The New Testament recommends Christians be like “those who compete in the games” and “go into strict training”: Christians were considered spiritual athletes and had to discipline their bodies.¹⁴⁴

Perpetua and her fellow martyrs would likely have known such ideas from their catechetical training, and Tertullian, citing the words of Christ, also reminded martyrs that while the “spirit is willing, the flesh is weak,” and so he exhorts them, especially women, to perseverance while imprisoned. Recall, by way of comparison, that Perpetua says she is told by the spirit at her baptism to request nothing but “perseverance of the flesh” (3.5). After baptism, she and her fellow martyrs are imprisoned, and this imprisonment can perhaps be considered a direct response to her request. Most modern interpreters of the *Passion* overlook the significance of these connected events, assuming that the martyrs had been previously under “house arrest” rather than, more literally, “with prosecutors [*cum prosecutoribus*]” (3.1). It is simpler, and more sensible, not to imagine what is not there: the martyrs were baptized and then, only then, were they imprisoned. Given the logic of the narrative, such events are meaningfully associated as one of many instances where Christ explicitly is their model (cf. 3.6, 18.9, 21.8-9), or so the narrator emphasizes.

Immediately before Jesus was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane he also told his closest disciples to stay awake: they must watch and pray, and though their spirits might be willing, the flesh is weak. Becoming their model for perseverance in prayer, Jesus then prostrates himself to “incarnate” a text.¹⁴⁵ With his soul “overwhelmed to the point of death,” he prays three times that a “cup” will be taken from him, hoping to embody the figure in Isaiah who listens to God say

Therefore hear this, you who are wounded, who are drunk, but not with wine: Thus says your Sovereign, the LORD, your God who pleads the cause of his people: See, I have taken from your hand the cup of staggering; you shall drink no more from the bowl of my wrath. And I will put it into the hand of your tormentors, who have said to you, “Bow down, that we may walk on you”; and you have made your back like the ground and like the street for them to walk on.¹⁴⁶

Whether the congruence between Jesus’ prayer and the lines from Isaiah are the result of an actual event or gospel writers’ literary skills, the point I wish to make is that such sophisticated and physically demonstrative interpretive practices were woven into the very fabric of Christianity and emphasized in catechetical training. It should be unsurprising that the language and practices of later Christians such as Perpetua exemplify this distinctive form of rhetorical practice.

To summarize, among the most prominent actions of Perpetua are her efforts to perform various “oratorical” activities, alone and with others, which in visionary episodes are generally indicated by the English word “prayer,” and those prayer practices frequently

elicit visions from which she eventually rouses (or, by which she proves her authority) before witnessing and prophesying to others (e.g. 7.1). Why, then, does the assumption of sleep and the interpretation of dreams prevail? Perhaps linguistic specificities and discrepancies in the manuscripts have gone unnoticed. Perhaps many have not realized the significance of the distinction between vigilance and sleep in the narrative. Perhaps too often there is the expectation that visionary or prophetic knowledge is entirely mysterious, unknown and unknowable rather than secret, neglected, or misunderstood.

Similarly, Sarah Beckwith radically contextualizes the invention of the modern “discourse of mysticism” initiated by such scholars as William James, Ernst Troeltsch, and Evelyn Underhill, recognizing their investment in creating “transcendent” spiritual experiences apart from institutional religious groups and historical contexts.¹⁴⁷ To her recognitions I add the idea that “mystical” knowledge has historically been acquired through disciplined practices that preceded numinous experiences and, far from being primarily intellectual activities limited to the elite, were the result of exercising a basic Christian education. Christian education and rhetorical practices of the time ought to be connected to the interpretation of the passion narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas to gain the fullest understanding of visionary experiences. The practices that precede and shape visions are part of the educational message of the *Passion*, part of the imitation of Christ.

Rather than a psychological interpretation of Perpetua’s experiences as “dream” events with “latent” content, I am re-reading the rhetorical sophistication of Perpetua’s various recorded experiences, noting that her writing is organized by these related events. In this portrayal, Christianity developed not in opposition to philosophy but as its true

fulfillment. Because Perpetua claims to be a “Christian” (in the sense of being Christ like and therefore also a Christ-figure), she claims the ability to be not only persuasive but also prophetic—and it may be the suggestion of claims to divinization that so anger her father. Perpetua not only serves and honors God, she is God’s mouthpiece and representative as Christ was before her, and like Christ she will die a martyr.

Finally, I want to revisit assertions by scholars that Perpetua’s narrative seems to be “in note form,” has a distinctly unliterary language, and yet retains intriguing figures.¹⁴⁸ These ideas can be valid simultaneously. Within her Christian community, Perpetua was regarded as both martyr and prophet, and she would have delivered most of her messages orally. I suggest that what we have in the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* now attributed to Perpetua more nearly resembles revised early Christian lecture notes than polished literary narrative. If Perpetua’s portion was once intimately related to an oral presentation setting that would also help account for its sense of gripping immediacy. Other ancient lecture notes that have survived include papyri of advocacy documents meant to be read or elaborated as speeches in juridical settings.¹⁴⁹ J. A. Crook notes that such documents often still retain the marginal prompts meant to remind the ancient orator of which ideas were necessary to emphasize to persuade an audience.

If Perpetua’s portion of the work is viewed as surviving notes or a basic speech transcript, the narrator/compiler’s insistence on the faithfulness of the literary work as well as its unique linguistic tendencies begin to make sense. Translators hardly ever render Perpetua’s narrative, where over half the statements in her visionary episodes beginning with “and (*et*, in transcriptions and often the symbol ‘&’ in manuscripts),” verbatim.

Perhaps, though, such linguistic tendencies in the original work are more like punctuation or are in keeping with oral presentation styles or bulleted points in a presentation outline.¹⁵⁰ In any case, such a suggestion helps acknowledge the earliest oral contexts for the work and invites consideration. As a further comparative example, Musurillo presents the fact that Gregory of Nyssa sent to the widow Olympias a collection of his homilies that originated from notes taken by “members of the congregation.”¹⁵¹ Musurillo posits that these early Christians in Gregory’s congregation were “most probably *notarii* trained in Greek shorthand.” In any case, Perpetua had numerous public speaking opportunities in prison: Christian guests and many others were allowed to visit the imprisoned martyrs on several occasions, and the narrative also records the martyrs as preaching both to mass crowds and individuals (9.1; 16.4; 17.1-3; 18.7-8; 21.1ff). Even after being wounded in the arena, Perpetua is cared for by fellow Christians and catechumens while delivering a message to the group (20.10). Perpetua and fellow martyrs continually speak their message. Recognizing this original oral context for the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* can help interpret the surviving written documents.

EDUCATING THE FAITHFUL: REMEMBERING PERPETUA AND FELICITAS

The last speaker whose voice can help conclude this discussion of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is, fittingly, Felicitas. She is the second half of the work’s emblematic title figures, and her voice is heard but once in the passion narrative. She is portrayed as offering an intensely personal witness to what it means to imitate Christ. She also serves as a figure who best embodies and anticipates future generations of Christian witnesses. In the closing narrative frame of the *Passion*, Felicitas compares and contrasts her relationship with

Christ—that is, her imitation and anticipated incarnation of Christ the martyr—with her intimate experience and knowledge of her unborn daughter (15.6).¹⁵² This nameless child has herself never before been a topic of scholarly discussion, but the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* records, among other things, the birth of the daughter of Felicitas. However, beyond providing a straightforward record, the narrative explains and interprets the circumstances of her birth. In this regard the incident serves as an example of historical interpretation as it is practiced throughout the work. It is history with explicit value for the present, and the skill is not mere physical endurance or simply reporting an important event but *interpreting it meaningfully*. Imitation of Christ is explained and encouraged by the birth narrative, and the figure of the child has educational value in an early Christian context. Built into the narrative is the expectation that the *Passion* enables Christian practices, that the cycle of interpretation and imitation will continue. The nameless daughter is the hermeneutic figure her mother uses to explain her faith and the promise that future generations will continue to embody, and thereby model and teach, Christian practices.

Notice the portrayal of Felicitas comparing Christ *both* to her daughter and herself: “Now I suffer what I suffer; but there another will suffer for me, because I too am about to suffer for him [*Modo ego patior quod patior; illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum*]” (15.6). This comparison extends and inverts what is commonly referred to as the *imitatio Christi*, the Christian goal of the imitation of Christ deriving from New Testament writings such as Matt 16.24-25 where Jesus says to his disciples: “If any want to become my followers, let them deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me.” In 1 Cor 11.1, Paul himself reapplies this same idea for believers, saying: “Be imitators

of me, as I am of Christ,” and in Gal 2.19b-20, the statement of identification with Christ is even more complete: “I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.”¹⁵³ But whereas these biblical writings emphasize imitation and, then, identification with Christ, Felicitas’ statement emphasizes her imminent incarnation of Christ and, therefore, the mutual identification of Christ and martyr. It is not just that Felicitas identifies with Christ, but that Christ identifies with her: she becomes a contemporary figure of authority because Christ is both her model and legacy, past and future. Hers is a radical claim to divinization, though not necessarily biblically incongruent, and the opportunity for such a revelatory statement is created by her impending martyrdom and the labor of a prayer-induced childbirth.¹⁵⁴ As the narrator relays this mother’s explanation, the presence of Christ will have enough similarities to the presence of the unborn child, her daughter, to justify comparative insights.

In the final sentence of the selection, the nameless daughter has been born and a second interesting statement occurs: one of the sisters, the narrator mentions, brought her up as her own daughter (*quam sibi quaedam soror in filiam educauit*). Notice this final part of the sentence, in sharp contrast to the preceding dialogue, has switched entirely to past tense. The narrative reflection compresses time and employs the knowledge of hindsight to make the statement in the *Passion* that reaches furthest into the historical future. The familial nature of the early North African Christian community is emphasized, as is its kindness: “One of the sisters [that is, one of the Christian sisters] brought her up as her own daughter” (15.7). Beyond these observations, though, one can wonder what it would have meant to

raise the girl—the word being translated here as “brought up” is “*educauit*” in Latin, which may be rendered into English as the more generic “raised” or “brought up” or the more specific, and more direct derivative, “educated.” The term is also notably used in the Vulgate, in 1 Tim 5.9-10, in reference to appropriate occupations necessary for women to qualify to be added “to the list of widows.” Citing this same New Testament passage, Susanna Elm discusses the roles and official responsibilities of early Christian widows, virgins, and deaconesses, providing examples of women’s educational leadership for the moral, intellectual and, even, ascetic training of children.¹⁵⁵ Could it be that Felicitas’ daughter was not just raised but, indeed, educated by a Christian sister? Given the emphases on Christian practices and catechetical training throughout the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, it seems fair to admit this interpretive possibility. If so, she would have heard the annual repetition of her birth narrative when the martyrs were commemorated in the community. By this experience and other training she would have been educated in Christian practices, particularly she would have learned oratorical practices that inspired Perpetua and her fellow martyrs to prayer, Tertullian’s “epitome of the Gospel.”

Historical speculation aside, no record on the life of Felicitas’ daughter survives, and the nameless girl in the narrative may be best viewed as a rhetorical figure—this would be in agreement with her own mother’s perspective or at least that of the narrator of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* who encourages an engaged and favorable response to the message of the narrative. I would especially suggest that the nameless daughter can be considered representative of the model student audience listening to the narrative. Her ties to the martyrs are intimate and specific, and she is their inheritance and lifeline. She

embodies the hope and possibility that their message will continue in future generations. As a representative individual, though, she is less generic “everyman,” but potentially *each* person who follows her example as she learns from the passion narrative of the martyrs who imitate Christ who is God. While the historical authenticity of the *Passion* has often generated academic interest, reconsidering the martyrs’ actions provides the opportunity to view them once again as exemplary.¹⁵⁶ The work is not so much about Christian education—basic Sunday school scenarios—as it is about the rhetorically sophisticated education of Christians.

The figure of Felicitas’ nameless daughter can be an invitation to new readers and new listeners actively to engage with the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, and scholars who have studied the hagiographic narrative are inclined to assert just such a historical response. Late antique and early medieval material evidence for their remembrance includes not only nominal evocation but brief liturgical and narrative elaboration such as the following remains: incised monumental fragments from the late-antique Carthaginian Basilica Major; the very earliest Christian calendars and martyrologies; homiletic reflections by Augustine, pseudo-Augustine, and Quodvultdeus; and other scattered factual gestures, memorial allusions to events, and limited summaries (see Table 2 on next page and Appendix A).¹⁵⁷ Studying these related artifacts would be a valuable research project on its own, and I gather them here only for suggestive purposes since elsewhere in recent scholarship they have not been recognized as a group.

Some of these forms of medieval remembrance will be discussed later, but in conclusion here I want to draw attention once more to mosaic images of Perpetua and

Felicitas (Figures 6 and 7). This second set of *images clipeatae* of the two women are now from the apse of the mid-sixth-century Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč, Croatia.¹⁵⁸ In these mosaics the devotional emphases on imitation and sanctification subjugates the “facts” of history thought to be so prominently displayed in the earlier pair from Ravenna. Notice that Perpetua and Felicitas here are nearly indistinguishable, except for their names. The brilliantly spangled medallions, along with others, grace an archway that reaches its apex with an image of the *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God. Together the program of the Poreč mosaics signifies both a constellation in the heavens and a canopy covering the earth like a



Figure 6. Mosaic of Perpetua. Cathedral of Eufrasius, Poreč, Croatia (6th c. C. E.). Courtesy of Ann Terry and Henry Maguire.

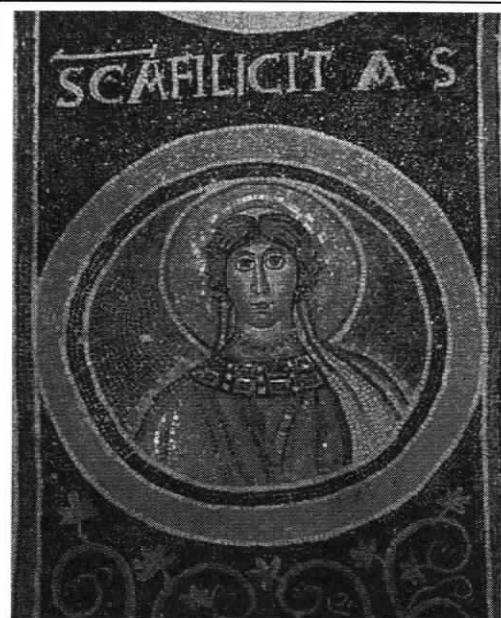


Figure 7. Mosaic of Felicitas. Cathedral of Eufrasius, Poreč, Croatia (6th c. C. E.). Courtesy of Ann Terry and Henry Maguire.

Table 2. Timeline of Remembrance before *Passio* Manuscripts

203+	Historical Events and Oral Transmission of Knowledge
203+	Written Autographs and Original Literary Compilations (lost)
ca. 208-212	Tertullian, <i>On the Soul</i> 55.4
ca. 250	Pontius, <i>The Life of Cyprian</i> 1.1 (negative allusion to Perpetua)
by 4 th c.	Monumental Inscriptions from Carthage, including Basilica Major
354	<i>Philocalian Calendar with Depositions of Martyrs</i> (earliest Roman calendar)
late 4 th c.	<i>Old Syrian Martyrology</i>
ca. 400	Augustine, <i>Sermons</i> 280-82, <i>On the Soul and Its Origin, Exposition on Psalm 48</i> [47]
after 400	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermon</i> 394
(d. ca. 454)	Quodvultdeus / Pseudo-Quodvultdeus?, <i>A Sermon on a Barbarous Time; A Sermon on the Fourth Day; or, on the Cultivation of the Field of the Lord; A Tract on the Commemoration of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas</i>
ca. 455	Tiro Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 390-465), <i>Chronicles</i>
5 th c.	Victor Vitensis (b. ca. 430), <i>History of Persecutions in the African Province</i>
5 th c.	Pseudo-Fulgentius, <i>Sermon</i> 70: <i>On Job and Blessed Perpetua</i>
5 th c.	Sarcophagus of Quintana de Bureba, Briviesca (Museo de Burgos)
5 th -6 th c.	<i>Verona or Leonine Sacramentary</i> , though missing January through April
ca. 576	<i>Annals of Ravenna</i>
6 th c.	Ravenna Archbishop's Chapel and the Basilica S. Apollinare Nuovo
mid 6 th c.	Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč, Croatia
592-600	Pseudo-Jerome, <i>Martyrology of Jerome</i>
late 6 th c.	<i>Calendar of the Carthaginian Church</i> , though missing the relevant months
ca. 650-750	<i>Old Gelasian Sacramentary</i> (?)
ca. 702-706	Willibrord (657-738), <i>Calendar of Echternach</i>
early 8 th c.	Bede (673-735), <i>Martyrology</i> and <i>Chronica Minora</i>
8 th c. (?)	Oengus the Culdee (d. ca. 830), <i>Martyrology</i>
8 th c.	Oengus with Maolruain of Tallaght (d. 792), <i>Martyrology of Tallaght</i>
ca. 840-912	Notker of St. Gall (ca. 840-ca. 912), liturgical poetry and <i>Martyrology</i>
9 th c. (?)	<i>Anonymous Martyrology of Lyon</i>
earlier 9 th c.	Florus of Lyon (ca. 790-ca. 860), <i>Martyrology</i> (additions to Bede)
ca. 848	Florus with Wandelbert of Prüm (813-after 850), verse <i>Martyrology</i>
9 th c.	<i>Parvum Romanum</i> (?), made known by Ado
858	Ado of Vienne (ca. 800-875), <i>Martyrology</i>
9 th c.	Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 776-856), <i>Martyrology</i>
later 9 th c.	Usuard of St. Germain (d. ca. 875), <i>Martyrology</i>
9 th c.	<i>Old English Martyrology</i>
ca. 896	(?) Wolfhard, <i>Martyrology</i>
late 10 th c.	Symeon Metaphrastes, Greek <i>Menologium</i> (<i>Passio St. Polyucti</i> reference)
976-1025	Illuminated manuscript, <i>Menologium of Basil II</i> (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, gr.1613)
1082	Goscelin of St. Bertin (1035-1107), <i>Liber Confortatorius</i>
11 th c.	<i>Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch</i> (Welch)

tree, even a type of family tree. While saving an extended art historical discussion of these and other relevant images for another context, I mean to cite them here to help represent the interpretive point I have been arguing throughout this chapter. Mosaic art, as Mary Carruthers points out, is an exemplary form of visual imagery that was often historically intended to provide a pattern for memory and invention, to be made and remade by successive generations, with descendants, disciples, and others piecing together the story, an exercise in making and being made.¹⁵⁹ Since the *Passion* itself can be understood as an educational narrative exhibiting and demanding interpretive skill, the Poreč devotional mosaics are fitting representations: they also provide a form for thought, a shape for prayer.

The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* has often been read as a factual account of early Christian martyrs. Without denying its authenticity, I have alternatively probed the importance of this narrative in light of its own emphasis on rhetorical sophistication. Reviewing the literary work as a whole, rather than focusing exclusively on the “prison diary” attributed to Perpetua, one can discover an inherent sense of logic inspired by contemporary educational practices. Sequential, progressive, beautifully argued, the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is not only about verbal contests but is itself a subtle and intriguing literary work. If the narrative has too often persuaded readers that it is historical record then that may be a measure of the success of its careful crafting.

IV

**Perpetua and Felicitas in the *Old English*
*Martyrology and Salisbury Cathedral Legendary***

In germinal form, my ideas on the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* presented in the previous chapters traveled with me to England when I was researching there over a year ago. The narrative itself traveled with me both in hard copy and electronically, but I also somehow carried it with me in my mind and my heart, if you will, as I would continually recall narrative events, disassembling the work into bits for reflection before thoughtfully reconstructing the whole again. I say that I took the narrative with me, but in truth it often seemed that the *Passion* took me with it, that the organic nature of this historical narrative made it a living force to be recognized, reckoned with, wrestled down. If the past could be fingered, here I thought was an opportunity.

I was traveling to England to work with—to touch and to see—the medieval manuscripts that present some of the earliest extant copies of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. This was my chance to tease out whether the examples of these saints did have historical influence, whether ideas on the narrative's portrayal of rhetorical sophistication would have resonated with medieval readers. No longer was I to rely on photocopies and neatly shelved printed books from modern North American libraries, but now I would look for clues in the European historical sources themselves: vellum leaves with their legible English Caroline minuscule, Norman cathedral stones, Gothic glazed and stained glass windows, tapestries, wall paintings, and jewelry would be finally able to tell their own story of the remembrance of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in the Middle Ages. My research

itinerary was carefully arranged so that maximal time could be spent at the several libraries scattered throughout the UK where relevant manuscripts were known to be held. Also I had been assured by reputable individuals that more pertinent manuscript finds were very possible, that the story of Perpetua and her fellow martyrs was certainly more diffusely available in the Middle Ages than scholars now knew, that I should keep my ears and eyes peeled because treasures can inadvertently get buried by librarians. Such a charge baffled me. It is one thing to seek that which is lost, but it is another challenge altogether to seek that which is not necessarily known to have ever existed. Serendipitous discovery seemed an unreliable research strategy, yet I checked my doubts with my luggage and determined to arrive in England with an open mind. I decided that if I must fish for some of my research, I would leap into the stream and use both hands to grasp the silvery prize.

But my actual research experiences were both more and less dramatic than I imagined they would be. There were research finds but not at the places or of the kinds that I anticipated, and yet my work was not inordinately disconcerting or haphazard. Legitimate strategies could be employed to enable systematic evaluations of source materials, and the results of these evaluations will be the subject of the following chapter. This chapter, though, is the place to begin detailing the range and specificity of the forms of remembrance of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* that remain extant from medieval England. It is worth reiterating at this point that the *Passion* of Saint Perpetua and her fellow martyrs—despite its Antique setting in Roman North Africa—now remains available only in ten *medieval* manuscripts, five of which (as you will recall from the list provided in chapter one) have distinctly English provenance if not also English origins. These factors help explain my

focus here on the medieval English reception and transmission of the memory of Saints Perpetua, Felicitas, and their companions, but beyond these factors is the recognition shared by other medievalists such as Michael Lapidge that there are lacunae in scholarship regarding English hagiography, both at the macrocosmic level that would consider the creation, diffusion, and relation of Latin hagiographic compendiums used in medieval England as well as at the microcosmic level that would consider how a specific saint's story developed and traveled.¹⁶⁰

This discussion is a humble attempt to fill some of those gaps as they relate to the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. While those who have studied the narrative of Perpetua have not often discursively considered the text's medieval English manuscript context, never have those who study medieval English hagiography taken the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* as their focus (in casual conversation British paleographer David Ganz memorably characterized these saints to me as "small fry" in medieval England). Yet the fact that Saint Perpetua and her companions were remembered at all in medieval England has significance if one carefully considers the history and interpretive context for such celebrations, if one can understand how such medieval celebrations *used* the memory of these individuals to think *through* important ideas. Moreover, I have keenly felt the need to be conversant with medieval liturgical contexts to understand intelligently the use of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* in England. Among the interpretive necessities that I have come to recognize through my research is the interrelationship between the use of Latin martyrologies and hagiographic compendiums in medieval liturgical contexts. This

chapter takes compelling examples from both genres as twinned sources for understanding hagiographic reception and transmission in medieval England.

PERPETUA AND FELICITAS IN THE *OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY*

Among the earliest surviving material evidence of a narrative account of Saints Perpetua, Felicitas, and their companions is the ninth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript text now known as the *Old English Martyrology*. Here I am borrowing from the language of Günter Kotzer to distinguish this narrative source from other surviving late antique and early medieval works that are generally regarded as “enumerative” or “historical” martyrologies and tend to provide nominal references, basic liturgical information, and some additional factual summaries.¹⁶¹ Thus from medieval England comes the earliest physical survival of a *narrative* account of Perpetua and Felicitas, and in England these saints were certainly not unknown prior to the time that the *Old English Martyrology* was disseminated. In fact because the *Old English Martyrology* exists one can infer pre-existing knowledge.

From the time that the Christian liturgy had been celebrated in Roman Britain, the names of Perpetua and Felicitas would have been invoked in the Canon of the Mass in the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* prayer, and Richard Sharpe surveys a wide variety of source materials and scholarship to make an effective argument for continuity between Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon Christianity.¹⁶² Roman Britain, according to the medieval prophet-historian Gildas, had its own indigenous early Christian martyrs “of both sexes”—among whom Saint Alban was the most celebrated figure. Furthermore, in one of the earliest medieval sources for Alban’s life, he is said to have suffered under the Roman

emperor Septimus Severus at the same time as Perpetua.¹⁶³ In this regard, Christians in Roman and post-Roman Britain had numerous and complex reasons for remembering martyrs: such individuals were part of their own history at the same time that the theology of martyrdom was becoming a rallying cry for the notion of a universal catholic church. As Lucy Grig points out in *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*, aligning itself with persecuted and martyred Christians helped balance the Church's powerful role as cultural heir of the Roman Empire.¹⁶⁴ At the same time, the celebration of martyrdom allowed for disparate claims to power and influence in places far from the heart of the former Roman Empire. In this regard, Gildas remains very familiar in the sixth century with the early Christian literature of martyrdom, mentioning not only Saint Alban but also Saints Stephen, Ignatius, Polycarp, and others as comparative examples for his description of British history, and in the late seventh century Augustine's sermons on Saints Perpetua and Felicitas were themselves known to have been available in medieval England, being cited by no less a figure than Bede.¹⁶⁵

Throughout late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, martyrs and other saints commemorated in sermons, litanies, calendars, and other liturgical texts came to signal the ongoing presence of holiness and served to distinguish both places and time. While early texts such as the *Philocalian Calendar* (354) tended to list by name (and sometimes by date) small numbers of martyrs commemorated locally, these lists grew over time—and especially as they were shared among various Christian groups—and came to be known as “martyrologies.” Saints Perpetua and Felicitas are standard figures for inclusion in all the earliest calendars and martyrologies, and as Lapidge points out they also regularly “headed

the list of virgin martyrs in most Anglo-Saxon litanies of the saints.”¹⁶⁶ Of the enumerative martyrologies, the famous one attributed to Jerome (late sixth century) was eventually eclipsed by Bede’s influential eighth-century *Martyrology*, which Kotzer distinguishes as being “historical” because it goes beyond mere naming to include details of each martyr’s date, place, political transgression, and posthumous influence.¹⁶⁷ Bede’s work was thereafter repeatedly updated and expanded by such notable Carolingian Benedictines as Notker of St. Gall, Florus of Lyon, Wandelbert of Prüm, Ado of Vienne, and Hrabanus Maurus until Usuard of St. Germain’s ninth-century rendition became standardized by its official adoption as the martyrology of choice for reformed monasteries in Carolingian circles.¹⁶⁸ However, Bede’s *Martyrology*—along with up to two hundred other sources—likely provided comparative material for the *Old English Martyrology*. Both Bede and the *Old English Martyrology* offer an account of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, but Bede’s brief entry provides the lesser narrative detail of the two sources:

*NON.MAR. Apud Carthaginem, Perpetuae et Felicitatis, quae bestiis sunt deputatae, sub Severo principe: et cum Felicitas parturiret in carcere, omnium militum qui simul patiebantur precibus impetratum est ut octavo mense pareret. Iamvero Perpetuae inter alia concessum est ut eius mens quodammodo averteretur a corpore, in quo vaccae impetum pertulit: nesciret.*¹⁶⁹

March 7, at Carthage. [We remember] Perpetua and Felicitas, who were condemned to beasts during the reign of Severus: Felicitas was pregnant when imprisoned, but by the prayers of all her fellow [Christian] soldiers it

was possible to induce her successful delivery while only eight months along. Truly also for Perpetua it was granted, among other things, that her mind was freed somewhat from her body so that she unflinchingly endured attack by a cow as if she had no idea it was happening.

By contrast, the *Old English Martyrology* innovatively highlights the personal force of Perpetua and Felicitas in achieving visionary and prophetic knowledge that enabled their public triumphs.¹⁷⁰

The *Old English Martyrology* remains extant in six imperfect manuscript copies. The oldest copy (British Library MS Additional 23211), which is itself among the very earliest extant manuscripts containing Old English prose, is thought to have been preceded by an even earlier exemplar of the vernacular text.¹⁷¹ This two-leaf octavo vellum survival from the late ninth century (850-900) offers remnants from the *Old English Martyrology* along with fragments of a Latin lunar calendar and two Old English genealogies, one for the kings of Wessex that traces the lineage to Alfred and a second genealogy for the kings of East Saxony that posits Noah as the seminal figure.¹⁷² Though in its fragmentary form MS Additional 23211 offers no narrative description of Perpetua and Felicitas, the part of the *Old English Martyrology* that remains is comparable to other copies of the work that are more complete, including another ninth- or tenth-century British Library manuscript, Additional 40165 A.2 and tenth- and eleventh-centuries copies now in Cambridge University's Corpus Christi College, Parker Library (respectively MSS 196 and 41).¹⁷³ While in these manuscripts the part that would or could have included the abbreviated narrative of Perpetua and Felicitas is not extant, the most complete surviving manuscript of the *Old English Martyrology*, British

Library MS Cotton Julius A.x, does provide a full reading of the story as it was recalled in Anglo-Saxon England. Thought to be from monastic circles around the late tenth century (950-1000), this quarto vellum manuscript offers 175 leaves, and in addition to the abbreviated narrative entries of the *Old English Martyrology* the manuscript provides the complete *Life and Martyrdom of Saint Oswin, King of Deira*.¹⁷⁴ It is this manuscript that will serve as the basis for my discussion of the earliest surviving vernacular presentation of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas from the Middle Ages. That this work is from Anglo-Saxon England and is in Old English also helps provide a foundation for later discussions of the longer Anglo-Latin hagiographic text and other multiple forms of remembering these saints in later medieval England. In order to understand the historical value and purpose of the *Old English Martyrology*, it is useful to present a holistic view of the martyrologist's narrative techniques and thematic emphases.¹⁷⁵

For the October 19th entry in the *Old English Martyrology*, the martyrologist relates that at the Jerusalem burial of a Christian recluse the bishop who prepared the body for internment prayed in astonishment when he discovered that the hermit was a woman, namely Pelagia, who had once been a harlot, exclaiming: "Praise to Thee, O Lord! Thou hast hidden many a saint on earth."¹⁷⁶ Or, in the language of the *Martyrology* itself, which perhaps gives a more visceral sense of the bishop's emotions: "God, þe sy wuldor: þu hafast monigne haligne ofer eorðan ahyded."¹⁷⁷ The *Old English Martyrology*, likewise, itself repeatedly displays wonders and pretends to universal inclusivity of exempla, yet there remains a fineness and subtlety to the work. It is allusive as well as suggestive, erudite and still accessible. Like Jerome's *Martyrology* (and in contrast to Bede's), the *Old English*

Martyrology begins on December 25th, and it traces the miracles surrounding Christ's birth: there is loud singing, there are three suns and moons, wheat grows on trees, bread bleeds.¹⁷⁸ Elsewhere, at March 23rd, the first man Adam is buried, one reads, "not far to the east of the town called Hebron" and his grave covered with "dark and hurtful stones."¹⁷⁹ Further on, and at another time, the Virgin Mary, who is described at September 18th as a melodious singer and accomplished weaver, is said to be with child—literally pollinated like a tree blossoming "under the breeze of the wind."¹⁸⁰ The compiler himself metaphorically wanders over a tremendous geographic landscape finding saints from Africa to India, from Ireland to Assyria, and from Alexandria to Jerusalem to Antioch to Rome to Barking, London, and Wearmouth, and yet manages to continue to say that there is still "many a saint" hidden on earth and many a saint's body—like Matthew's in the Parthian Mountains—that now rests hidden *in* the earth "await[ing] the coming resurrection."¹⁸¹

With so much verve, then, so much color, it is unsurprising that scholars such as Kotzer and Christine Rauer have taken to characterizing the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology* as a "narrative martyrology," following in the tradition if not the exact type of Bede's and yet remarkably, surprisingly distinct.¹⁸² Kotzer describes the work as "exceptional" and "comparatively independent," and Lapidge notes it exhibits an impressive "range of learning" and offers "one of the most original contributions to Anglo-Saxon hagiography."¹⁸³ In its own context the *Old English Martyrology* was both an elaboration and an abbreviation of other similar works—that is, it was more detailed and telling than a typical liturgical calendar or other earlier martyrologies that provided dates, names, and the place of a saint's death or burial, but it significantly shortened stand-alone *vitas* or legends.

For the entry for Perpetua and Felicitas, J. E. Cross even goes so far as to conjecture that the martyrologist, if not using now lost texts for inspiration, may have “read a number of accounts and composed freely from memory.”¹⁸⁴ Cross has suggested Bede’s *Greater Chronicle* as a source for this entry, but this source alone is not enough.¹⁸⁵ Aspects of the entry are only found in versions of the longer Latin passion narrative. In any case, the *Old English Martyrology* does not provide an excerpt for the entry for Saints Perpetua and Felicitas but a compression and memorable elucidation, an evaluation that fits well with Cross’s general assessment that the composer of the *Old English Martyrology* was a “good précis-writer, abstracting and translating” as well as “fus[ing] and collat[ing]” lengthy hagiographic sources as well as other homiletic, liturgical, and literary materials for his own text.¹⁸⁶ Given the overall image presented of these two saints, Cross’s suggestion seems entirely plausible to me: perhaps the work was created not only for remembrance but from memory.¹⁸⁷

The modern text of the *Old English Martyrology* was most recently edited by Kotzer in 1981, though the current English translation is by George Herzfeld and dates from 1900. Altogether, as far as can be recovered, the *Old English Martyrology* offers more than 200 commemorative entries that follow the liturgical year and range in length from just a few lines to several pages. In the words of Rauer, who is currently working on a new critical edition and English translation of the *Old English Martyrology*, the medieval writer of the text demonstrates a “very tightly controlled, conservative and economical handling of a large amount of source material.”¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, the martyrologist hardly ever slavishly copies earlier patristic and medieval sources but makes “unusually careful and faithful use of them,”

and in the places where verbatim translations are offered, these seem to be intentionally incorporated for “dramatic effect.”¹⁸⁹

Current scholarly debates about the *Old English Martyrology* concern, among other things, the purpose of the work as well as its actual use. Since other enumerative or historical martyrologies were designated for use in daily monastic chapter readings, the *Old English Martyrology* was previously presumed by scholars to have also been a liturgical work.¹⁹⁰ But given its content and emphases, as well as its relatively small manuscript size, recent scholars such as Mary Clayton have alternatively proposed that the *Old English Martyrology* had been intended, in her words, as a “book for private readers”—perhaps even for personal meditation and devotional reflection.¹⁹¹ Most recently Rauer has suggested that the compilation would have provided busy scholar-monks with a “tool for research.”¹⁹² Rauer also emphasizes—not unlike other current scholars—the skill and the care of the martyrologist, and in doing so she demonstrates that academic assessment of the work has now turned a corner.

An earlier generation of scholars, best represented by EETS editor Herzfeld, was much more eager to characterize the *Martyrology* as suffused with errors.¹⁹³ In the “addenda and corrigenda” to his edition of the text, Herzfeld repeatedly notes a “mistake by the compiler,”¹⁹⁴ and his strongest condemnation for any single entry is reserved for the portrayal of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas at March 7: “Here we have a case of the confused and unsatisfactory presentment of the legends.”¹⁹⁵ Supposedly this entry (despite its Latin source, which is praised as “in the main historical”) erroneously describes Perpetua’s

prescient “dreams” and death, and Herzfeld points out that the *Martyrology* has got the date of this martyrdom wrong, asserting that the date should be February 2.

In the intervening century since Herzfeld’s text was published, archaeologists and early Christian historians have re-established that the date for the martyrdom of the North Africans Perpetua and Felicitas provided in the *Old English Martyrology*, March 7, is indeed accurate.¹⁹⁶ It may also be possible here to rehabilitate those portions of this narrative entry that have been labeled “confused” and “unsatisfactory.” By not insisting that the *Old English Martyrology* be limited to presenting the barest historical facts—by reconsidering the meditative, visual imagination of the Old English martyrologist as meaningfully mnemonic—one can gain a sense not only of the working methods of the martyrologist but also perhaps the purpose and function of the *Old English Martyrology*. While Herzfeld may be correct that the martyrology does not offer straightforward excerpts or an itemized summary in the case of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, the creative memorial is not necessarily inept and can be instructive, possibly even confirming certain subtleties in their Latin narrative. Given Herzfeld’s assessment, this entry is the one from the work that is most in need of academic reconsideration, and yet its length and presentation are not uncommon among entries in the *Old English Martyrology*. As a representative example, then, the full entry will be provided here as it uniquely appears in British Library MS Cotton Julius A.x, ff. 62v-63r—along with Herzfeld’s English translation:

March 7 Saint Perpetua and Saint Felicitas:

On þone seofodan dæg þæs monðes bið þara haligra wifa gemynd sancta

Perpetuan ond sancta Felicitatis, þara lichoma rested on Cartagine þære

miclan ceastre on Affrica mægðe. þære Perpetuan mætte þa heo wæs on mædenhade þæt heo wære on wæres hiwe ond þæt hæfde sweord on handa ond þæt heo stranglice fuhte mid þy. þæt wæs eall eft on hire martyrdome gefylled, þa heo mid werlice geþohte deofol oferswiðde ond þa hæðnan ehteras. þonne wæs seo Felicitas cristen wif, ond heo wæs mid bearne þa heo wæs for Criste on carcern onsæded. þa woldan þa ehteras hi forðon forlætan; þa weop heo ond bæd god þæt he hire þæt bearn fram adyde, ond þa acende heo hit on þære ylcan niht on þone seofodan monað þæs beorðres; ond heo geþrowade martyrdom for Criste.

On the seventh day of the month is the commemoration of the holy women Saint Perpetua and Saint Felicitas, whose bodies rest in the large town of Carthage in Africa. Perpetua dreamt when she was in her girlhood that she had the appearance of a man and that she had a sword in her hand and that she fought with it valiantly. All this was afterwards fulfilled at her martyrdom, when she overcame the devil and the heathen persecutors with manly determination. Then there was Felicitas, a Christian woman, and she was with child as she was sent to prison for Christ's sake. When therefore the persecutors were about to dismiss her, she wept and prayed to God to rid her of the child, and then she brought it forth on the same night in the seventh month of her pregnancy, and she suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake.¹⁹⁷

The first thing to be noted for comparison here is that the entry for Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in the *Old English Martyrology* neglects any mention of their companion martyrs but is in this way faithful to the memorial tradition deriving from Augustine of Hippo. While their Latin hagiographic text does not limit the presentation of the event to these two saints, in sermons about the original group of six martyrs, which were given more than 200 years after their martyrdom in 203, Augustine (as was noted in chapter two) is keen to emphasize to his congregation that the names of the two women are a fitting etymological emblem for the whole group, making the conventional medieval title of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* an ideal mnemonic. In the *Old English Martyrology*, as in Augustine, the multiple stories of the narrative have been essentialized to the two most memorable figures. Perpetua and Felicitas must stand for all the others, and a few haunting notes from their lives reverberate the whole of their lived experiences. Even Perpetua's name as it is abbreviated in the *Old English Martyrology* (pp&uan) seems to encourage an emblematic reading of narrative: knowledge about this figure is evoked as much as presented.

Next, like their early Christian text, the story about Perpetua and Felicitas in the *Old English Martyrology* emphasizes prophetic foresight. While Felicitas miraculously delivers a premature baby in prison, it is revealed to precocious Perpetua that she will be victorious in martyrdom through what Herzfeld translates as a "dream" ("mætte" in Old English). As has been discussed, Perpetua's "dreams" in an early Christian context were most likely waking visions that demonstrate her prophetic talents, so whether choosing the modern English word "dream" here is an adequate translation from an Anglo-Saxon context deserves further exploration, especially given the significance of "dream-visions" in other

contemporaneous medieval literature.¹⁹⁸ In any case, the Latin text is, as I have suggested, explicit that Perpetua demands and receives divine foreknowledge through visions that certainly do not always occur while she is asleep, if in fact they ever do.

However, none of these aspects of the *Old English Martyrology* entry that distinguish it from its Latin hagiographic source—the emblematic figures or the emphasis on “dreaming”—forms the basis for Herzfeld’s objection to the entry. Nor does Herzfeld mention how careful the martyrologist is to explain Perpetua’s supposed gender transformation, though the martyrologist rightly notes that she only “had the appearance of a man” and eventually overcomes her enemies with appropriately correlative “manly determination.”¹⁹⁹ No, what disturbs Herzfeld is that Perpetua is said to fight “with a sword in her hand.” This sword fight, he emphasizes, never occurred. It is “wrong,” Herzfeld asserts, “to say that Perpetua had a sword in her hand.”²⁰⁰ Such an assessment perhaps mistakes either the martyrologist’s methods or the meaning of the Latin hagiographic text or both.

What I mean is that the martyrologist cites Perpetua’s supposedly visionary sword-handling in light of her eventual martyrdom and to emphasize her prophetic foresight. The fact is that her Latin narrative *does* reveal that Perpetua must take a sword in her own hands toward the end of her fight in the Carthaginian arena because a quaking trainee gladiator is unable to kill her himself. The early Christian narrator writes that perhaps “it was impossible to kill such a woman unless she herself willed it” (21.10, *Fortasse tanta femina aliter non potuisset occidi, quae ab immundo spiritu timebatur, nisi ipsa voluisset*). In this regard, the Anglo-Saxon martyrologist may be mixing—or, better yet, *compressing*—chronological

events to harmonize them. Furthermore, though Perpetua does not in the Latin narrative have a vision of fighting with a sword, she continually presents her experiences of divine visions in neat alternation with her successful verbal contests that put her squarely in ancient rhetorical traditions. In this regard, it is interesting to note that other medieval representations of the divine female figure Rhetorica also portray her with a sword in hand, divining truth from falsehood, sharpening wits, and slashing through weak arguments of lesser foes. In echoes of such argumentative prowess, virgin martyrs such as Saint Catherine of Alexandria were often iconographically represented in the later Middle Ages with a sword. So because the rhetorical sophistication of Perpetua is continuously marked out in her Latin text in acts of divine and human persuasion, I suggest here that such mental skills may also be alluded to and perhaps confirmed by the conspicuous, incongruous mention of a visionary sword in the *Old English Martyrology*. The martyrologist not only deftly abbreviates historical events, but he also meaningfully compresses time and leaves a suggestion of Perpetua's rhetorical sophistication in his work.

Where Herzfeld sees confusion, I suggest that we may see interpretive sensitivity and skill, complexity and commemorative sophistication. The memory of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in the *Old English Martyrology* has long gone unrecognized by scholars who work on these saints, but this Anglo-Saxon transmission is interesting in its own right and demonstrates both the continuity and transformation of Christian intellectual ideas. There was a dynamic quality to Christian sanctity: in medieval England the emphasis was not on one "authentic" form of the hagiographic text, but interpretive relevance of Perpetua and Felicitas helped keep their memory alive and versions of their death in circulation. The *Old*

English Martyrology acknowledges, even emphasizes, the sophistication and success of early Christian prayer practices by portraying visionary experiences as resulting in prophetic foresight.

Throughout the work, figures in the *Martyrology* are vividly presented and fulfill medieval mnemonic necessities: one can readily imagine a youthful Perpetua transformed into a brave and strapping figure who fights to defeat her enemies with a sword. She is young yet strong, metaphorically both female and male, intellectually engaged as well as physically capable, challenged and impressively triumphant—all this the martyrologist packs into his single image of Saint Perpetua.²⁰¹ This composite picture of Perpetua is, of course, inaccurate when compared to any single incident of the Latin text. But if each provocative visual element can become a discrete place to focus attention, then one's mental rumination can expand to comprehend the hagiographic narrative in its entirety.²⁰² The *Old English Martyrology* compresses and presents all those elements that the early Christian narrative itself tends to highlight: Perpetua's conquering foresight and Felicitas' childbirth experiences—the former being victorious in situations where most men are defeated, the other successful where any woman naturally struggles. In these ways Perpetua and Felicitas symbolize not only the meaning of heavenly reward, as in Augustine's sermons, but also the apex of human life and achievement. Their significance transcends the historical facts of their individual existence and "for Crist's sake" their death embodies the meaning of life. Where the narrative vignette in the *Old English Martyrology* differs from the early Christian narrative, such differences are mostly a matter of scope rather than kind. Memorial compression creates images in the *Old English Martyrology* that do not match any one

individual image in the early Christian text, but they match the narrative as a whole very well, marking each portrayal as a sophisticated text in its own right. The vivid, imagistic portrayal of Perpetua and Felicitas in the *Old English Martyrology*, then, is distinctive but not incompatible with their more fully developed early Christian narrative as I have discussed it. The *Old English Martyrology* exhibits similar suggestive literary qualities and invites interpretive engagement. Both portrayals also maintain a determined focus on visionary experiences and miraculous events. If, as Rauer suggests, the *Old English Martyrology* was intended to serve as a sort of “reference work,” it is a demanding resource that would have required diligent and meditative comprehension rather than casual consultation. Such a resource can seem unfamiliar and odd today if read in contextual isolation or abstracted from its original function and purpose. Later medieval readers of the martyrology in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, however, seem to confirm the work’s referential and imagistic nature by inserting marginal line-drawings into the work to serve as inspirational finding aids and perhaps also suitable meditative diversions from hagiographic narratives.²⁰³ British Library MS Cotton Julius A.x is filled with simple sketches of cathedrals and monastic houses, bishop’s mitres and croziers, tiny pointing hands (“manicules”), and personal names (Figures 8 and 9). For if the *Old English Martyrology* works to know the past by demanding that one literally remember, refigure, or even reinvent it, successive medieval readers seem to have been keen enough to take up the challenge and add to it—to visualize and to empathize.

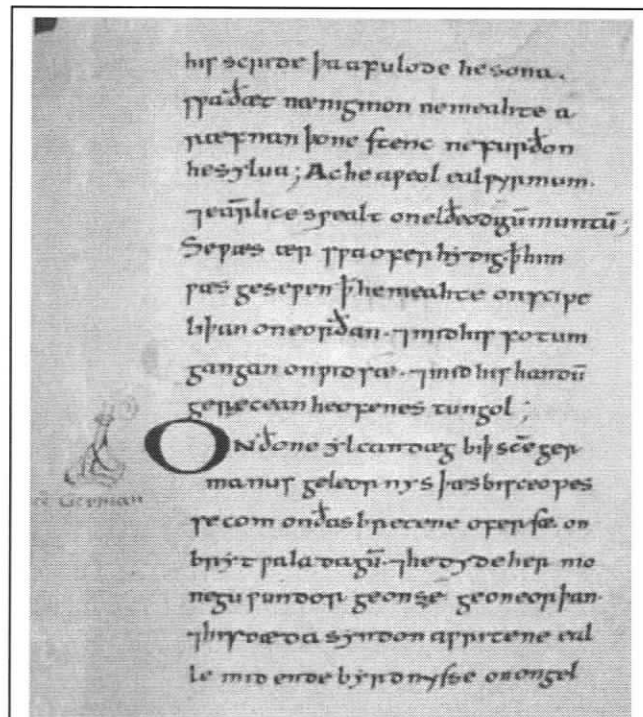


Figure 8. Bishop's mitre and crozier sketched in the left margin of St. Germanus' entry in the *Old English Martyrology*, British Library MS Cotton Julius A.x, f. 131v. Courtesy of the British Library.



Figure 9. Comparable "manicule" as those in *Old English Martyrology*. Here the image is from the Aldgate Cartulary, Glasgow University Library Special Collections MS Hunter 215 (U.2.6), f. 129r. Courtesy of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.

TEXTUAL RECEPTION IN THE *SALISBURY CATHEDRAL LEGENDARY*

Following Carolingian Benedictine Reforms, tenth-century English Benedictine reformers also promoted, among other things, the formal adoption by ecclesiastical and monastic bodies of protocols for the regular remembrance of Christian saints with the help of certain liturgical texts.²⁰⁴ Especially, the day preceding a designated feast, an abbreviated entry for the saint or saints was to be read aloud from the martyrology during the morning gathering at Chapter, and during the upcoming night, the longer passion or vita for the saint would then be read in segments interspersed among other aspects of divine worship, psalmic recitation, and liturgical celebrations (see Appendix B).²⁰⁵ In general, the more important the saint or events being celebrated, the more elaborate the relevant readings and songs and the greater the time spent in preparation for (or in remembrance of) the holiday. Not all saints had dedicated masses for their individual remembrance, and the memory of Perpetua and Felicitas in medieval England seems most likely to have been celebrated according to the common mass for virgins.²⁰⁶

What was particular to their memory in medieval England, however, was their martyrology entry and its complementary reading from the official “legendary” or “passionale” that belonged to the local religious house or cathedral. Examples of their remembrance in various martyrologies have now been discussed, and replacing the medieval celebration of Saints Perpetua, Felicitas, and companions in a liturgical framework begins to challenge and nuance the understanding of their passion narrative. For in previous chapters, you may recall, that I mentioned the passion narrative as it is cited in modern scholarship primarily derives from these medieval legendaries. It is not possible to handle

one of these medieval legendaries without being impressed by the size of such a codex or the range of its contents. The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is usually written on a few leaves in a slender interior folio of the codex near the beginning of a section for the month of March.

Looking at each of the several surviving medieval English legendaries, I always perused the entire volume before reading the specific hagiographic narrative of interest. Every couple pages, fresh rubrication designates the beginning of another narrative, and saint follows saint without much break or deviation. How would it be to have lived in the annual recall of such memories—so many names, so many lives, so often, so much? Over time a realization has crept over me of the intimacy and specificity of the manuscript renditions of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. It is one thing to try to compile an edition of their passion narrative from all its manuscript occurrences—harmonizing dissonance and eliding medieval particularity—it is another experience entirely to read an individual medieval account to focus attention on historical reception, interpretation, and transmission of the hagiographic text. With this task in mind, I wish to look carefully now at the narrative portrayal of these saints in Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 221 and offer a specific, comparative study of what it meant to read the narrative in early medieval England, noting the physical realities of this Anglo-Latin Legendary as well as its distinctive textual emphases.

The *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* (SCL MSS 221-222) dates from the latter part of the eleventh century and is a two-volume hagiographic compendium. If the claim is correct that the better-known *Cotton-Corpus Legendary* from medieval Worcester Cathedral has

never been properly studied, then such a comment is even more true for the related Anglo-Latin legendary from Salisbury, and its convoluted postmedieval travels have tended to obscure its significance as a primary source.²⁰⁷ From around the year 1652, when the English Civil War was dying down and the Anglo-Dutch Wars were just beginning, the work was “temporarily” loaned to Oxford’s Bodleian Library for safekeeping. Though its return to Salisbury was requested in 1679, the Library bargained for it to remain in Oxford until the bishop-scholar John Fell (the same “Dr. Fell” who lives in nursery rhyme infamy as an inexplicably dislikeable figure) was finished using it.²⁰⁸ Fell’s fateful relationship with the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* almost consigned the work to oblivion: after his death in 1686 the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* was “donated” to the University with his other books, and it languished in Bodleian Library storage until eventually becoming wholly disassociated from its medieval Salisbury home. Not until the twentieth century was the work reassociated with Salisbury, and it was returned to Salisbury Cathedral Library only in 1985.²⁰⁹ With its historical associations finally resecured, the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*—a rare and mostly complete, well-preserved hagiographic compendium—deserves to be reconsidered in its own medieval context.

The codex is of a substantial size, with uncut pages measuring 14 5/8 by 10 1/2 inches, and its script is uniformly legible in clear black ink and three different hands.²¹⁰ While rubrication is applied at each narrative’s incipit, explicit, and opening initials—and understated crimson shading carefully adorns introductory or closing words—there is otherwise no program of illustration in the codex, and in fact no ornate decoration anywhere. Occasional marginal doodles, often in the form of musical notes (as on folios 78

and 184), may have been made in reference to the original liturgical context for reading this legendary. In this regard, a comment by Hugh Magennis helps make sense of the relative plainness of the manuscript: lavish types of visual decoration and illustration, which constitute an essential experience of intimacy with a manuscript, “would not have been available to a group of listeners.”²¹¹ The *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* is thus observably a work intended for reading aloud in a largely communal setting.

Furthermore, the work was designed to be sizeable enough to be read at Matins during the night office in remembrance of the designated saint’s feast day, and so care was taken that the codex be not only neat but accurate.²¹² Corrections, both in the form of superscript interlinear additions and delicate, nigh imperceptible erasures are apparent to the careful observer on each page of the hagiographic text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, and in this regard their narrative is not markedly exceptional from any other in the entire work. Additionally, though care was taken to ensure accuracy, the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* does not seem to have been an extraordinarily precious manuscript.²¹³ Sheets could be imperfectly shaped, and it seems not to have been considered necessary to have entirely unblemished leaves. Several folios (including ff. 78, 145, and 211) even have holes or tears, but most of this damage has been mended with small, neat stitches or discreetly placed ties. While the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* appears not to have been an immaculate or prized manuscript, it was certainly used and conscientiously maintained.²¹⁴ Undoubtedly, the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* was a manuscript copied for an ecclesiastical community that diligently and systematically celebrated the lives of over 150 different

saints. The textual details of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* in this codex further develop such a characterization.

The *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* introduces the hagiographic text of Perpetua and Felicitas with rubricated, capitalized text, stating: “INCIPIT PASS. S. FELICITATIS ET PERPETUE QUOD EST NON. MART. INCIVITATE TURBITANA : - .” This brief designation echoes the abbreviated entries for these two saints in the standard martyrologies: Felicitas and Perpetua are recognized as martyrs by direct reference to their “passion,” the date of their remembrance is clearly stated as the “nonnes” of “March,” and they are located to the North African city of “Turbitana” (or “Thuburbo”), which in the Middle Ages was thought to have been the origin of the group of martyrs.²¹⁵ Following this brief incipit, the text launches immediately into narrative action without providing the ancient theological prolegomenon, which is now generally included as chapter one of the work. Perhaps the theological prolegomenon for the hagiographic text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas was thought to be out of place in the legendary genre and so was omitted; alternatively, an original cover sheet for the narrative may have become detached at some point and so was lost to all future transcriptions.²¹⁶ In any case the narrative does not appear incomplete without the theological prolegomenon, though its absence does affect the interpretation of the work’s closing benediction, as will be considered shortly. The new introduction and narrative structure, though, serve particularly to place the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* account of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in religious, especially monastic, traditions of hagiographic remembrance. Legendaries such as the two-volume Salisbury Cathedral compendium were liturgical service books that provided appropriate readings

during the night office related to the saint or saints whose remembrance happened to fall on the feast day. Several liturgical calendars from medieval England indicate that Saints Perpetua and Felicitas were designated as having three readings, while other saints have up to a full dozen.²¹⁷ In this way, readings in the large Anglo-Latin compendia were designed to fit a particular liturgical setting and time, thereby playing a part in broader memorial celebrations.

Verbal particularities further mark this hagiographic text as part of a liturgical book from around the time of late Anglo-Saxon England, and early Christian rhetorical sophistication is carefully modified according to contemporary religious interests. Liberties are regularly taken to emphasize, or perhaps correct, the name of the divine being from “God” to “Lord/lord,” and vice versa. While English manuscripts generally, and the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* in particular, invoke the name of the “Lord/lord” (*dominus*) to suggest an unequal relationship of immediacy and familiarity (4.2, 4.6, 5.6, 11.4, 11.10, and 21.11), they conscientiously and systematically limit reference to “God” (*deus*) to situations where there is the need for an outstanding, supernatural, and unrelenting divine will (5.6, 6.8, 7.2, 14.2, 15.4, 17.1, 18.2, 18.8, and 21.11).²¹⁸ Such an observation is clearly illustrated in the final sentence of the narrative when God is exclusively described as all-powerful (*omnipotentis*), but Jesus is identified in emphatic, relational terms: as God’s “son” (*filius eius*) and “our” lord (*domini nostri*), Jesus is both above and like “us” (21.11). Indemnity to such a “lord” further suggests the existence of other lords and is in fact modeled on human relations between lords and servants that involve both promises (11.4) and homage (11.10). Throughout the Salisbury narrative, a “lord” is portrayed as someone

who interacts with “vassals” regularly (5.6) and is someone with whom to speak familiarly (4.2) and to thank (3.4). Twice Perpetua herself is called a female “lord” (*domina*, 4.1 and 5.5), and elsewhere in the narrative the invocation of a “lord” may not necessarily be limited to a reference to Jesus (5.6). Usage of the word “lord” in the narrative often, therefore, allows for interpretive multivalence and resonance.

For example, Satorus seems to have achieved a level of respect among his local early Christian community that was at least as great as Perpetua’s (21.8). He may well be a suitable candidate for designation as “lord” in the conversation that precedes Perpetua’s vision of a ladder that is inspired by a conversation with her “brother” (4.2). Furthermore, a complex invocation of the word “lord” also occurs when Perpetua rejects her father’s pleas to renounce her faith. The *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* has her assert that whatever the “lord’s” will is (*quod dominus uoluerit*), it is “God’s” power that is absolute (5.6, *in dei non in nostra potestate futuros*). Such a statement allows Perpetua superficially to respect local governmental authority (and perhaps even nod to the imperial cult!) while simultaneously, diplomatically asserting the absolute supremacy of her Christian ideas. Only half of the *Passio* manuscripts adopt such a nuanced distinction in this passage between the “lord” and “God,” and the *Salisbury* manuscript is the most consistently attentive throughout to issues of divine naming. Only in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* is prayer always exclusively addressed to God (7.2, 15.4) whose will is undeniable (6.8, 21.11) and whose judgment is supreme (17.1, 18.8). Altogether such attention to addressing the divine being may point to scribal recognitions regarding the nature and division of responsibilities within the Christian Trinity, and particularly in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* there are thorough,

consistent attempts to standardize and clarify the roles and responsibilities of “God” and the “lord” who is, most often, Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, the adaptation that the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* makes to the closing benediction of the narrative underlines the manuscript’s anticipated usage in communal environs. After praising and commending the martyrs (21.11, “Oh bravest and most blessed martyrs!” [*o fortissimi et beatissimi martires*]), all the French-English manuscripts (designated respectively as “B” and “C” in Amat’s critical edition) then address “*o uiri uocati & electi in gloriam domini nostri Iesu Christi.*” But who are these *uiri uocati & electi*, the “called and chosen men,” being addressed in this passage? Van Beek rejects this wording in favor of a singular reading from the Monte Casino manuscript (A) that replaces the male audience with a repetitive gesture to the martyrs themselves, who are presumably the ones “truly” (*vere*) called and chosen.²¹⁹ Such a choice also necessitates his further occlusion of the French-English manuscripts’ main verb in the following sentence that quite strikingly emphasizes that those responsible for reading this hagiographic story are the very same group (plural and personal) gathered for the service: “we” (*debemus*)—rather than “he” or “they” as in other manuscripts (*debet* in A or *debeunt* in D)—must remember and celebrate these saints. This “we” would naturally have been interpreted by the assembled Salisbury canons listening to the hagiographic reading in the early March morning darkness as a charge directed to them. As each individual in the local community fulfills such a responsibility, he is also promised eternal life (21.11, *vitam aeternam*). Given such responsibilities and rewards for remembering the narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, perhaps it is unsurprising that communal emphases are elsewhere evident in the work: Perpetua not only envisions

herself stepping on the dragon's head by invoking the name of "Jesus Christ," but rather she invokes the emphatically honored communal figure "Jesus Christ our Lord" (4.6, *domini nostri Iesu Christi* in C¹ C² C³ D). The Salisbury and other manuscripts further hint at familiar medieval religious practices when they highlight the calmness (*placido vultu*) of early Christian Perpetua's approach to the amphitheater by seeming to describe her as part of a decorous procession (18.2, *pedum incessu*).

But if the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* can highlight the fact that the narrative belonged to a religious community, it was also a literate and educated group of individuals. The hagiographic text is a witness to this fact in its physical and verbal presentation, and the scribe of this passion narrative in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* has made careful efforts to embellish, alter, tame, or correct the narrative in places where such changes were deemed necessary. Greek words are almost wholly expunged or entirely changed, and multilingual early Christian North Africa seems very far away indeed. In the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*, we lose the fact that the shepherd affectionately welcomes Perpetua in her vision as his "tecon" (4.9, a Greek term of endearment that suggests that one is a "dear little child").²²⁰ What was once an "agape" feast (Greek for "divine love") becomes instead an "adipem" feast (17.1, "rich, celebratory, fatty") in French-English manuscripts. Greek, however, remains the exalted language of doctrine and visionary experience: Perpetua still advises the churchmen in Saturus' vision using Greek (13.4, "Graece") and visions are correctly defined in Latinized Greek terminology as "oroma" (7.2, English manuscripts even differ from the French codex on this passage). For English manuscripts to prefer a Greek term here in this passage can help suggest the nature of their educational training and spiritual interests.

The *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* is also without sloppy mistakes. To the contrary, neat superscripts supply an occasional missing word, and in places the repetitive “et” that is often used to begin sentences has been eliminated. Deliberate attempts are also made to clarify and improve the Latin hagiographic text. In some cases, one can feel the alliterative sensibility of an ancient oral narrative dissolve in the transformation into a fully literary medieval manuscript text, and consonance, assonance, and staccato rhythms are often muted in favor of descriptive clarity.²²¹ For example, the sandals that are presented in Perpetua’s vision of the devilish Egyptian wrestler are noted in the French-English recension as being made of gold and silver. Heavenly trees in Saturus’ vision do not shed their leaves but seem to be on fire, flashing and sparkling (11.6). Where Perpetua is eventually said to be mistakenly pierced “between the bones” by a trainee gladiator, the French-English manuscript recension is quick to clarify these bones as her ribs (21.9, “*inter costas*” rather than “*inter ossa*”), making her death increasingly appear to be in direct imitation of Christ, who was himself pierced between the ribs. And there are attempts throughout the entire narrative to improve or omit words that seem erroneous and confusing. In Perpetua’s vision of a ladder, the list of weapons attached to the ladder is significantly abbreviated (4.3). And certain aspects of the wrestling tournament in late Roman North Africa must have eluded the Salisbury manuscript’s scribe: no longer is there rolling in sand (10.7), and Perpetua does not become airborne while fighting or viciously crush her opponent’s head (10.11). Additionally the feminine *hapax legomenon* “*martyram*”(20.5) is strange enough to the scribe of the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* that the writer mistakenly changes the unusual word to the incorrect but grammatically sound “*martyrem*,” a careful

erasure and slightly awkward replacement -e- (Figure 10) are the only signs of a mental tug-of-war here about whether it is possible to denote a female, rather than male, “witness.”

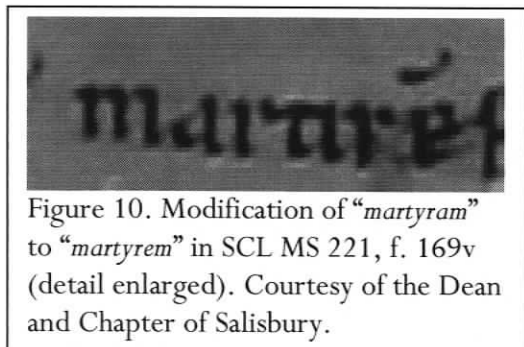


Figure 10. Modification of “*martyram*” to “*martyrem*” in SCL MS 221, f. 169v (detail enlarged). Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.

Right or wrong in such “correction” efforts, though, the scribe of this narrative in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* was conscientious and attentive.

A final example is the way the scribe characteristically names individuals in the text. Figurative or allegorical names pepper this hagiographic text in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*. For not only is Perpetua designated in the French-English manuscripts as “Vivia Perpetua” (2.1, “eternal life” rather than the more straightforward Roman cognomen “Vibia” as her name is given elsewhere), uniquely in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* the soldier “Pudens” (21.1, “timid or shameful”) has become “Prudens” in three of the four references (9.1, 19.6, and 21.1, “prudent or wise,” see Figure 11). A gloss regarding Prudens from the French manuscript also becomes a narrative fixture in the *Salisbury* and *Worcester Legendaries* (19.6, “*Prudens miles, de cum industria efferatorum adfirmasset portas patris carnibus magis ne mitteretur affugit*”). In this way “Prudens” the soldier is himself “wisely” converted to Christianity and begins to support his Christian prisoners, exemplifying thereby the penitent saint developed in the Middle

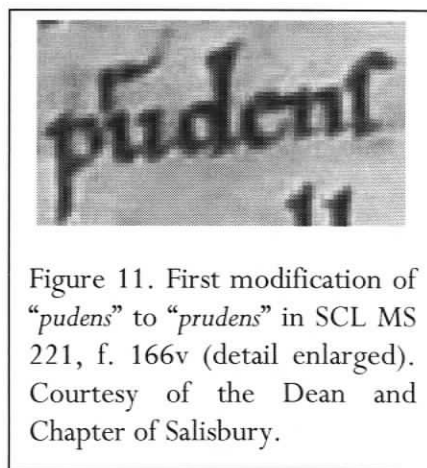


Figure 11. First modification of “*pudens*” to “*prudens*” in SCL MS 221, f. 166v (detail enlarged). Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.

Ages from the apocryphal embellishment of religious narrative (Pontius Pilate being another

figure in this same category).²²² Incorporating this gloss into the text, furthermore, may help create intertextual links among hagiographic narratives in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*, and a hagiographic text for “Saint Pudens” occurs later in the manuscript.²²³ Altogether the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* can be appreciated for the care and attention given to textual transmission, which evinces a scribal effort where an individual refused to copy a text slavishly for a medieval ecclesiastical community but rather intentionally, delicately “corrected” and adapted a narrative as it was being written. Even apart from clear knowledge of its direct antecedent, the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* itself demonstrates the care with which it was put together by its own interlinear additions and corrections.

In this regard, the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* further distinguishes its portrayal of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas by its attentiveness to issues of physicality and prophecy in the narrative. While notably graphic or violent episodes are modified, tempered, or perhaps even censored, prophetic and visionary episodes are also regularly taken in hand—so to speak—and carefully reformed for the sake of emphasis. Whether curtailed or highlighted, though, there is a distinct sense of orthodox responsibility and pastoral care that guides the manuscript rendition of the narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas for the cathedral community of medieval Salisbury. These observations can be illustrated by discussing select textual episodes.

While the curtailing of physicality is most notable for female figures in the narrative, there are also hints that the presentations of male martyrs have themselves been gingerly modified. For example, when Secundulus dies in prison before he can offer his public testimony in the arena with the rest of the martyrs, the narrator of the text is quick to

defend his death as still a valid witness to Christian beliefs. In the narrator's concluding assessment of the episode, the English recension makes sense of Secundulus' death in prison in terms of "joy" rather than violence: where other manuscripts of the work would emphasize only that Secundulus' body and not his spirit experienced the sword (14.3), the French-English manuscripts replace the word for "sword" (*gladium*) with *gaudium* ("joy"), and the English manuscripts alone consequently also modify *etsi non* ("if not") to *non solum* ("not only"), thereby taking care to align rather than distance the experience of soul and body because Secundulus' death has become an occasion of joy rather than pain (14.2-3). Admittedly, this change is slight, but I mean to emphasize the attention characteristic of this textual transcription. Small changes matter, especially when they demonstrate consistent interpretive modifications that multiply throughout the narrative.

In a similar way the depiction of Perpetua's diseased brother Dinocrates, an account which is originally among the most gruesome aspects of the narrative, is slightly modified and constrained in the medieval English recension of the text. Whereas all other manuscript forms of the *Passio* directly depict the young boy's grisly and disfiguring wound as a cancerous ulcer (7.5, *cancerata*), the English manuscripts instead describe the effects of the wound: Dinocrates' face has become "soft" (*macerata*) and so his expression is of someone who is "worn down" or "exhausted."²²⁴ From the English manuscripts, then, one can imagine the young boy bathed in sweat, and use of the term "*macerata*," which connects a state of emotion with physical experiences, tends to promote a sympathetic reading—the situation appears less gruesome, perhaps, but it is nonetheless strongly affecting. Dinocrates' wound is especially something to be concerned about, even as the boy himself

appears concerned. By employing the multivalent term “*macerata*,” the English manuscripts are also better able than others to pick up on a figurative interpretation of Dinocrates’ name: the structure (“-*crates*”) of his face is melting (“-*no*”) away or apart (“*di-*”). While the subtleties of such a reading may not have been immediately apparent to the Salisbury canons listening to the hagiographic text, it nonetheless seems likely that whoever chose the reading of “*macerata*” for “*cancerata*” was able by this change to shift the narrative to help elicit an affective response that enables the reader to identify with Perpetua’s own earlier experiences of grief and suffering in which she was similarly “worn down” or “exhausted” (3.6 and 6.8).

If such an edifying or devotional function for the narrative had been envisioned, then, this recognition helps further explain why striking changes occur in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* manuscript portrayals of the narrative’s important female figures. The local canons hearing the reading of this narrative were not encouraged to imagine the female martyrs as led into the arena “naked” and sheathed in “nets” (20.2, “*dispoliatae et reticulis indutae producebantur*”). In the French-English manuscripts, the attention is not directed to the women’s clothing—or lack thereof—because they are not here “led out in nets.” The phrase has been entirely expunged, and the women are only generally regarded as somehow “finally prepared” or “finished” (“*expoliatae*”) for their presentation and not particularly specified as being despoiled of their clothes.²²⁵ On the other hand, the narrative previously does describe Perpetua as “*expoliata*” when she envisions herself preparing to fight with an Egyptian, and this verb seems to denote a standard preparatory procedure—like a fighter disrobing for a contest, getting rid of anything that might “hinder” or “entangle” a

competitive athlete, an action that is markedly different than being exposed as naked. Furthermore, the French-English manuscripts entirely eliminate the emphatic clause, “*et facta sum*” that follows and link that resulting effect directly to the preceding clause, changing sentence structures in the effort. No longer is the sentence neatly balanced between two parallel clauses: “*et expoliata sum, et facta sum masculus*” (10.7, “and I was stripped down, and I became masculine”—which Musurillo translates as “[m]y clothes were stripped off, and suddenly I was a man”), but the resulting construction, wholly unique to the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*, emphasizes that the second clause is the direct result of the first: “*et expoliata sum maculis*” (“and I was stripped down or plundered with marks, spots, or stains,” see Figure 12). So far as can be surmised, the scribe here may have wished to indicate—by the careful rubbing out and altering of select letters in the word *masculus* to make the word *maculis*—that Perpetua was thoroughly prepped for a fight by disrobing and being given some form of decorative (or functional?) body paint. Alternatively, perhaps the scribe wished to indicate that Perpetua was somehow disgraced by such preparations (metaphorically “stained”), or that the preparation itself was disgraceful. In any case, the remade (confused?) passage no longer hints at a gender shift or switch, and a potential focus on nakedness is altered. Additionally, the comparison with the latter “historical” event in

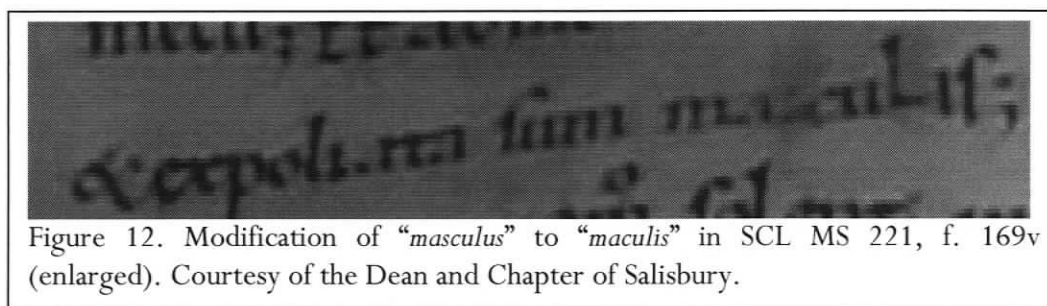


Figure 12. Modification of “*masculus*” to “*maculis*” in SCL MS 221, f. 169v (enlarged). Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.

the arena is made more explicit by the French-English manuscripts' repetition of the word "*expoliata*." Even if these aspects of the passion in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* might be regarded as scribal error, the medieval changes are intentional, sensible, and worth considering.

Returning to the culminating scene with the women in the arena, then, it is interesting to note that the English manuscripts uniquely also refrain from emphasizing the women's gender or sexuality as the motivation for the devil to adopt the form of a wild cow (20.1). In English manuscripts, rather, the women martyrs are not mockingly pitted against a *female* creature because of their gender ("*sexui*"), but they face an adversary who supposedly mimics their unusually aggressive and boisterous character ("*rixui*," in the Salisbury and Worcester Cathedral manuscripts—respectively C² and C¹—and "*rixam*" in the Canterbury Cathedral version, C³). This word "*rixui*" is unusual (invented here, possibly from *rixam*), and its strangely masculine form accommodates the gender of the masculine "*sexui*," which may be why the Canterbury scribe feels compelled to provide a feminine form that derives directly from its root word. By this word choice, though, the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* and its English counterparts show once again a careful and subtle curtailment of blatant physicality in the narrative to promote a reading that is more about affect than essence. Blood and sexuality are muted in favor of values and emotions, and gratuitous violence in the story is minimized in an English manuscript context.

However, not only are violent, dramatically physical aspects of the narrative curtailed in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*, other narrative elements are highlighted and celebrated, particularly those portions of the work that relate to prophetic activities,

visionary experiences, and prayer. If such alterations are viewed in isolation from one another, individual instances may seem insignificant or even appear to be minor errors of transcription (for example, in 3.9 the word *revelata*, “revealed,” is substituted in only the French and Salisbury manuscript for the word *relevata*, “relieved”), but since these types of small changes repeatedly appear during episodes of prophetic or visionary experiences, they ought not to be quickly overlooked and may perhaps signal the transformation of rhetorical and judicial language in an early Christian context to medieval visionary and contemplative vocabulary. Perpetua, for example, is not merely confident (*fidebam*) that her prayers for her brother Dinocrates will be of benefit to him (7.9), but uniquely in English manuscripts Perpetua reflects upon and ruminatively weighs her spiritual powers (*considerabam*).

Likewise, when each male martyr is portrayed as requesting in prayer (and subsequently receiving) the exact scenario in the arena that he desired, Saturus not only boldly declares (19.2, “*profitebatur*”) his wish to experience all the beasts, but in the Salisbury and Worcester manuscripts he expressly “prophesies” (“*prophetabatur*”) what will happen to him. Indeed the narrator, as conscientiously presented only in English manuscripts, enthusiastically celebrates that Saturus’ prediction (21.1, *promisi*)—which is more than mere hope or assumption (*praesumpsi*)—is eventually, fully realized.²²⁶ It is difficult to argue that all the examples above, say, can be construed as simple transcription errors, and in any case it is interesting to note the types of reasonable substitutions that are so naturally, effortlessly provided. Just such an emphasis on visionary experiences is corroborated elsewhere in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* by substitutions that do not easily lend themselves to being explained away as minor or insignificant.

Attention to visionary experiences can also encourage correction or elaboration in important theological passages in the narrative. In particular, attentiveness to Perpetua's visionary significance mean that the French-English manuscripts choose to keep Perpetua as the dominant speaking voice even when Saturus narrates his own vision in chapters eleven through thirteen. For whereas other manuscripts have Saturus give the opening narrative assessment of visionary events (11.4), the evaluation in these manuscripts is given by Perpetua. Later on in these manuscripts Perpetua also prompts Saturus to evaluate his afterlife experience rather than having Saturus prompt Perpetua (12.7). In this way the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* keeps Perpetua as the dominant visionary figure throughout the entire work.

Saturus' role in the narrative, though, remains distinctive, consistent, and theologically important in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*, and discussing it helps provide the concluding example of visionary attentiveness in this medieval manuscript tradition of the passion narrative. Saturus is seen to embody and exemplify physical prowess, and the French-English manuscripts place in his mouth the statement that just as he was "happy in the flesh," he is "even happier" in his new heavenly form (12.7, "*Deo gratias, ut quomodo in carne hilaris fui, hilarior sum et hic modo*"). Such exuberance accords well with Saturus' eagerness to be "thrown to all the beasts" rather than one only (19.2). Likewise, Saturus was described as voluntarily turning himself over to persecuting authorities (4.5), he succeeds at being the first to scale the ladder to heaven in Perpetua's vision (4.5), and he eventually is the first among the martyrs to offer himself willingly to the gladiator's sword (21.8). Of all the martyrs, Saturus most exhibits an irrepressible sense of vitality and

determination. His zest for life is indomitable, and in this regard the elaborated fact of his physicality in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* is most natural. The preference in the French-English manuscripts to attribute to Saturus delight in both his mortal body and future spiritual form seems sensible. An emphasis throughout Saturus' visionary episode on the transformation from an earthly to a heavenly body—and in particular on the moment of transformation itself (12.5)—is not yet one that has been explored by scholars, but it is the one theme that carries through from the first moment in Saturus' vision when he and Perpetua left the flesh (11.1, *exivimus de carne*) to the central moment of Saturus' vision, which is also the central episode in the entire work, when he and Perpetua are raised up to kiss the Lord. In that instant, Saturus and Perpetua are transformed by the touch of the Lord's hand (12.5). Then they are told to rest before they began enjoying their new bodies at the command to go and play (12.6, *Ite et ludite!*). It is just after this climax that Saturus and Perpetua converse about the joy they have in their new physical forms (12.7).

Such a recognized emphasis on physical transformation can result from the French-English scribes' attentiveness to visionary elements throughout hagiographic text, even down to the characterization of who is best able to interpret visionary experiences and who seems most likely to celebrate various states of physical existence. Perpetua's strength is a visionary strength, and her physical experience is often marked by hardship. Often it is her physical struggle that makes her such an admirable and sympathetic figure: prison for her is hot and dark, her breasts are sore from being unable to nurse her child, she is pitiably gored in the arena, and the trainee gladiator fails initially to kill her and thereby causes her much pain. But Saturus is a counterpoint and coequal figure to Perpetua, and as he tends to

represent bravery, physical strength, and unmitigated competitive aggression. That it should be emphasized in his vision that there is not only a physical but also a spiritual body, as in the biblical characterization of the apostle Paul, seems entirely appropriate (1 Cor. 15.35-58). Saturus eventually awakens from his own vision “rejoicing” (13.8, “*gaudens*”).

Altogether, then, the careful textual presentation in the French-English manuscripts exhibits a sense of responsibility to Saturus, Perpetua, and their companion martyrs (21.11). Though they treat these martyrs as comparatively less significant than other figures depicted in the hagiographic compendium (these martyrs are characterized as “*minora*” in the French-English manuscripts rather than “*non minora*” as editors of the work typically choose from the surviving manuscript witness of D), the narrative will be communally celebrated and remembered. In this regard, the work remains valuable for the present, the medieval monastic and ecclesiastical present, and medieval modifications are worth noticing. These modifications help indicate how the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* in the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* is a religious text used in a communal setting for liturgical celebrations and devotional reflection. Because of its intended use, literary aspects of this written work have been polished, harmonized, corrected, and occasionally modified. Physical elements have been tempered, and visionary aspects highlighted so that the responsibility medieval scribes felt towards the text is notable.

However, no medieval English cathedral, church, or chapel can be shown to have had relics or special dedicated altars to Perpetua and Felicitas, and they were not recent or local figures. In no medieval English calendars were they given first-class or even second-class status, and it is understandable that they were classified as minor figures even if they

were centrally remembered in the Canon of the Mass. To remember them was an exercise in intellect as much as in piety, and in this way the celebration of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in medieval England stands as representatives for a whole host of other similar celebrations where knowledge of foreign and ancient figures was an achievement. Nonetheless, as I suggest above, care was taken with the transcription and transmission of their text in medieval England. Again and again the effort of neat and legible copying is supplemented by the few and conscientious superscript additions and even more delicate erasures. The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, considered as part of an important collection of religious knowledge, was still valuable to monks and canons in medieval



Figure 13. Remains of the Salisbury Cathedral Library at Old Sarum, with hilltop fortress in the background. Old Sarum served as the site of the English ecclesiastical see from 1078 until 1220 C.E. when the town and cathedral relocated to Salisbury Plain below.

England. Perpetua's final words in the narrative, which are emphatically highlighted, provide a clear directive to her listening audience and embody notions of progress and development. As the medieval hagiographic reading drew to a close during an early March morning, the individuals gathered at Salisbury Cathedral would have heard her say to them that if they would keep standing firmly in faith and loving each other they will certainly not be scandalized by her suffering (20.10, *ut in fide starent et inuicem se diligere et in passionibus nostris ne scandalizabimini*). This emphatic future tense reading here is only found in English manuscripts and can be imagined as a fitting way to summarize the message of this hagiographic text for the medieval faithful listening to the story by candlelight.

But while Perpetua and Felicitas were known in medieval England, and even in English, this fact does not necessarily make them popular or influential historical figures beyond the monastic circles in which the *Old English Martyrology* and the Anglo-Latin legends traveled. A "full" historical knowledge of these saints was much more elusive than might be expected. To say that Perpetua and Felicitas were known in Anglo-Saxon England is not to be able to define precisely how pervasive such knowledge was—a measure of quantity—or how thorough—a measure of quality, and such knowledge is best understood in relation to liturgical history. If a local townsman in early medieval Canterbury was familiar with Perpetua and Felicitas from having heard their names during Mass or from a litany chanted at her church's dedication or said at an ill family member's bedside, then the circumstances for such familiarity are important to appreciate.²²⁷ The knowledge of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in the Middle Ages was not limited to a single hagiographic text, and so statements on influence must take account of liturgical and

devotional contexts for their remembrance, evaluating knowledge of their passion narrative while also being willing to work before, around, and beyond a singular narrative account.

Various levels of familiarity with these saints and their hagiographic narrative in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England were possible, and texts in medieval England offering an account of Perpetua and Felicitas were judged by standards other than those enforced by modern editorial procedures and literary analyses. When the narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas is anthologized today—and presented in all its narrative length and detail—this story is not necessarily what would have been “common” knowledge for any particular individual in medieval England. For some individuals knowledge was limited to the names, while for others a mere name could evoke much more. The surviving evidence of calendars, litanies, and religious service books becomes interesting precisely because public gatherings and private devotional practices were often nominally referential. In this regard knowledge of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in medieval England is an indication of educational status: Perpetua and Felicitas were neither local nor recent figures so to name these saints at all was to demonstrate some familiarity with ecclesiastical practices or Christian history, and recording any version of their hagiographic narrative would have been an indication of educational achievement. So the differences between their presentation in the *Old English Martyrology* from the critical edition of the Latin *Passion* that is most often cited by scholars are important but not because one presentation is accurate and another is inaccurate: differences challenge the ways knowledge can be understood, interpreted, made, and remade.

That medieval English works offering their hagiographic narrative are from times of religious or educational reform seems appropriate. In the case of the *Old English Martyrology*, the work either immediately precedes or accompanies impressive reform efforts of King Alfred the Great, and the work also serves as a testament to the survival and willing cultivation of Latinate knowledge in England. Such cultivation seems to have necessitated translation efforts at the same time as it desired transmission and helped prepare a place for successive revivals of Latin learning in England. Later liturgical books such as the so-called *Cotton-Corpus Legendary* and the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* that provide the Latin *Passio* account of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas are likewise the result of not only ecclesiastical projects and Benedictine Reforms in England but, before that, educational reform movements begun on the continent as far back as Charlemagne.

What, then, is the significance of medieval English texts that contain the hagiographic narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas? It is especially that these works tend to signal a broader culture of educational reform and sustained intellectual effort. If one gets to the place of needing new and extensive resources that contain such venerable and distant saints as Perpetua and Felicitas would have seemed to medieval English Christians, other knowledge—more foundational, more general, more important—can often be assumed. Recognition of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas can in this way stand as a marker of cultural achievement and educational status. For if the Psalms have often been described as Hebrew reworkings of law and history into prayer and poetry, hagiography fulfills a parallel, though perhaps opposite, function in Christianity, reworking prayer and poetry—divinity and discipline—back into human life and history.

V

**“Alle yowr holy seyntyts”:
The Anglo-Latin Legendary and Its Influence**

I began this work by recognizing the tendency among medieval scholars to anthologize the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* along with writings by medieval women, thereby suggesting a continuum of authorial practice and religious experience that spanned more than 1300 years. While Perpetua supposedly marks a very early developmental stage, at the other end of the timeframe such figures as Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe are often prominently profiled. Throughout my discussions I have been reconsidering such grand and universalizing assessments by examining the discrete instances of remembrance of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. Studying physical materials that are extant from the Middle Ages better illustrates actual historical transmission practices by providing contextual reader responses.

This chapter works once more to expand and nuance such investigations, pressing again for the need to use medieval material sources to test and evaluate claims for the influence of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. While recognizing the extremities of influence between individual women that have been posited by others, I will also alternatively discuss the continuity, variety, and transmission patterns of the genre of hagiography in medieval England. This complementary effort serves as its own form of critique by encouraging physical maintenance of this religious narrative in its actual historical contexts, particularly those institutional contexts that fostered the regular use and

ongoing care of books—as well as enabling the creation of new literature and developments in religious practices.

For example, the *Book of Margery Kempe* was only a rough draft when an English priest began revising in 1436, and the *Book* concludes with an extended example of Margery's customary prayers at church. While many modern (and supposedly also medieval) readers have found it difficult to determine the organizational method and logical structure of the preceding autobiographical narrative, Margery's habit of prayer is, by contrast, orderly and progressive, respectably formulaic and even theologically astute. Hope Emily Allen is among the few scholars to offer any comment on these concluding prayers in the *Book of Margery Kempe*, and she notes insightfully that internal allusions to personal experiences show that their literary composition is "dominated" by Margery and "long antedat[es] the composition of her book in any version."²²⁸ Moreover, while Allen says these prayers "reiterate Margery's faith in her mission as an agent of intercession," Margery herself calls on the "lady Seynt Mary [...] wyth alle yowr holy seyntys" to be her personal witnesses and intercessors.²²⁹

Margery's view of her own role as an intercessor is in this way predicated on her knowledge of other intercessors, and these intercessors are, first and foremost, regarded as saints. Though elsewhere in the *Book*, Margery is said to model herself on recent or contemporary devout figures such as Bridget of Sweden and Marie of Oignies, in her own prayers Margery claims to imitate only venerable and traditional persons, paralleling and identifying with holy penitents who had a standard presence in liturgical hagiography, saying "specyaly I blisse the, Lord, for Mary Mawdelyn, for Mary Egipcyan, for Seynt Powle, and

for Seynt Awstyn. And, as thu hast schewyd ther mercy to hem, so schewe thi mercy to me and to alle that askyn the mercy of hert.”²³⁰

Margery’s intercessory activities, though, have not often been the most remarkable aspect of her life to her peers and later readers. According to her *Book*, Margery Kempe—a mayor’s daughter, wife of a “worschepful burgeys” of Lynn in Norfolk, and eventually the mother of fourteen children—also appreciated fashion, tried her hand at brewing, made pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem (and elsewhere), successfully defended herself against charges of heresy, and acquired a local reputation for her fits of tears. The *Book* further relays that Margery was especially proud of her bargain with her husband to adopt a vow of chastity and that she labored for years to see her spiritual testimony or “tretys” properly recorded, in the process working with two scribes who seem to have been either discouragingly inept or at least often less than cooperative. Recognizing all this, scholars have tended to characterize Margery Kempe in various and colorful ways: as the first English female autobiographer, social critic, religious enthusiast, mystic or failed mystic, hysteric, eccentric, and also as a normative example of late medieval devotional piety.²³¹

However, it is not so much the range of opinions about Margery that I wish to explore here, but the fact that the *Book of Margery Kempe* is often anthologized with the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. By this association, a relationship between these works has been established by modern editors of the texts, and since events of the *Passion* are dated to the early third century and Margery Kempe lived in the fifteenth century, the association of the respective narratives has seemed to justify suggestions that the earlier figure influenced the later. As I mentioned in the introduction to this work, Perpetua has been

described as the foremother of all later medieval women visionaries, a group that regularly includes Margery Kempe regardless of how one evaluates her spiritual experiences.²³²

In this chapter, I hope to test such claims for influence by exploring what survives of medieval liturgical hagiography in England to understand its contents, diffusion, and function. If possible, I want to see if the “ends” meet, if Perpetua touches Margery or—perhaps more accurately—if Margery knew the story of Perpetua. Let me say from the outset that such a study must be about contextual and circumstantial knowledge because the *Book of Margery Kempe* nowhere mentions the name of Perpetua or her fellow martyrs, and the search is put on solid ground only if one begins by understanding the emergence, development, transmission, and dispersion of the Anglo-Latin legendary. Especially, a thorough (if not altogether linear and perfect) understanding of liturgical developments in medieval England can help improve the assessment of the roles of hagiography in general and Perpetua’s influence in particular.

Recognition of the significance of liturgical history for this study arose as I contemplated a strategic approach to finding extant primary sources from medieval England, especially manuscripts, that offer the hagiographic narrative of Perpetua and her companions. In the editions of the *Passion* by other scholars, I began to recognize that this narrative was most often part of a larger hagiographic compendium, and such a situation was always true for the manuscripts they listed as being from medieval England. If I could understand how and why these liturgical compendiums, known as *passionales* or *legendaries* in the Middle Ages, came to be used, then it might be possible to locate other relevant compendiums or at least speculate about their existence and follow their aftereffects

throughout the genres of medieval literature. In particular, understanding the Anglo-Latin legendary helps contextualize late medieval hagiographic literature collections and other similar anthologies. There is a specific connection to be made between the type of work that a liturgical legendary is and tendencies in later Middle English literature to create, value, and prefer devotional compilations and “anthologized” narratives. Among the outstanding examples of these types of Middle English literature one could include manuscripts like the Vernon (Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet. A.1) and BL MS Add. 37790 as well as narratives by celebrated authors such as Langland, Chaucer, and Bokenham.²³³ In this regard, adequately understanding the presence and influence of Anglo-Latin liturgical hagiography in medieval England is crucial for interpreting whole varieties of Middle English literature. Such comparisons at the level of genre and typology also help provide clear indications of the significance for the detailed contextual analysis in this chapter.

It was only by first recognizing the most prominent genre of literature in which the narrative of Perpetua and Felicitas traveled that it became increasingly possible to search for source materials systematically. At the same time, I began to recognize the value of socio-historical knowledge for my study of medieval English reception. Key reform movements, political events, and ideological shifts helped shape the necessity for the literary genre of hagiography, even as these movements, events, and shifts were also, in turn, informed by ideas of holiness and heroism embodied by saintly figures recorded in hagiography. Understanding the development and transmission of the Anglo-Latin legendary is thus benefited by an interwoven explanation of liturgical and sociocultural circumstances. It will

be necessary to pick up the threads of memories from early medieval England to see how these are reworked into the fabric of later medieval devotional practices.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE ANGLO-LATIN LEGENDARY

Before 1066 and the Norman Conquest, Benedictine Reforms in England during the tenth and early eleventh centuries—largely initiated by Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald and continued by Ælfric and Byrhtferth—set in motion an ongoing process of cultural transformation through education.²³⁴ These Benedictine Reforms culminated in a central document, the *Regularis Concordia*, which was crafted at the Synod of Winchester around 970 to help standardize monastic liturgical practices throughout England by specifying the activities that would be generally and regularly adopted.²³⁵ No less a scholar than Thomas Symons, modern editor of the *Regularis Concordia*, is comfortable directly linking the tenth-century Benedictine Reforms in England to the earlier reform efforts of King Alfred the Great, the explicitly educational and pastoral reforms that helped form the immediate context for understanding the transmission, if not the creation, of the *Old English Martyrology*.²³⁶ Furthermore, the English Benedictine reformers were keen to parallel their reforms with earlier efforts by acknowledging (or finding) royal inspiration for their efforts. So, like Alfred before him, King Edgar was credited with being a monastic reformer and the synodical agreement at Winchester, the *Regularis Concordia*, which was composed by the bishop-monk Æthelwold and agreed to by representatives from the various monastic houses in England, was attributed to him. After his death, King Edgar would go on to be recognized as a martyr and saint.

With so much emphasis on legitimating monastic reform by royal authority, a perceptive analyst might also suspect the possibility of monastic influence in royal and political affairs in England. In this regard Henry Mayr-Harting characterizes early medieval monasticism generally as “vital to the impact of the Christian church on society,” with the “communal worship, their liturgy,” as “affect[ing] the public order itself.”²³⁷ Mary Clayton further emphasizes that nowhere in early medieval culture was the integration of monasticism into society more complete than in England, and she describes the Benedictine Reformers as immersed in a “uniquely English type of pastoral monasticism” where even secular cathedrals were often placed under monastic auspices, a situation that was extremely rare in the rest of Europe: “[I]n England the Benedictine Reform cathedrals meant that monks were much more involved with laity [than were their Continental counterparts]” and they “cannot have lived lives of cloistered contemplation and prayer.”²³⁸ The Ælfrician ideal seems rather to have been reformed monks as “teachers and preachers.”²³⁹

Among the outcomes of the *Regularis Concordia*, then, it should not be surprising that English monastic houses and cathedrals began energetically to acquire liturgical books: teaching responsibilities necessitated prior learning and personal practice. The acquisition of service books seems to have begun well before the Norman Conquest and continued through the twelfth century, undeterred and even in some ways encouraged by momentous, concomitant political events in England. Such a recognition helps complicate the standard view that the English Benedictine Reforms were entirely “played out” by the first quarter of the eleventh century.²⁴⁰ Rather it was in an established environment of

reform that the new Norman government asserted its claim to be a restorative influence—or so said William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, who obtained a papal benediction for his English “expedition” by assuming the attitude of a crusader against schism and corruption. As conqueror, William was also influenced by Lanfranc of Bec to adopt the Cluniac program of ecclesiastical reform in England.²⁴¹

Recent scholars have also made similar arguments for a period of change around the date of 1066 rather than a single a day of victory or era of battles.²⁴² Here, though, I simply wish to acknowledge that ongoing effects of the Benedictine Reforms on the Continent and in England complicate the interpretation of the Norman Conquest, and at the same time the Conquest forms an important part of the historical context in which new monastic liturgical books were made and used.²⁴³ R. W. Southern states that among monks, following the Norman Conquest: “All hope of revival, all hope of resistance to further deprecation, depended on reanimating the pre-Conquest past and showing that the Conquest was no more than a tremor in a long development.”²⁴⁴ Southern further classifies these monastic efforts as the beginning of an English “historical revival” that not only drew inspiration from the “necessities of corporate survival” but also reclaimed “an ancient monastic culture, a religious and intellectual tradition, and a position in the world.” It is precisely from this time that we have surviving manuscript evidence for the Latin *Passio* version of the hagiographic text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, which is included in large compendiums of saints lives. Analyzing these contemporaneous manuscripts of *vitae sanctorum* (or, in English, “legendaries” that served as official “passionales” for readings for the monastic Divine Office) can help illustrate the historical situation from a telling perspective.

THE ANGLO-LATIN LEGENDARY

When modern editors of the Latin *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* have compiled their critical works on the narrative, they list four manuscripts of the *Passion* from England that relate to one another and have been labeled as belonging to a single group of manuscripts. In this regard I have discussed the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary* in the previous chapter as well as alluded to the *Worcester Cathedral Legendary* (which is also now known as the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*). Together these provide two of the four liturgical accounts of Perpetua from medieval England. Jackson and Lapidge note that the exemplar for the English *Cotton-Corpus Legendary* is thought to have a French origin and date from around the time of the very late ninth or the earlier tenth centuries.²⁴⁵ Other surviving Anglo-Latin legends of distinctly English usage may also have been written in France before being brought or sent to English monasteries. However, these English manuscripts that contain the hagiographic narrative have never been regarded as among the earliest or most “authentic” portrayals, so there has been a tendency not to prefer these accounts as a basis for discussion, despite notable features that distinguish the English manuscripts from slightly earlier Continental accounts. It will be helpful to map out the place for these manuscripts in textual history.

The four manuscripts of English provenance that offer the longer *Passio* version of the narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas (excepting only the first chapter with its theological prolegomenon) include London, British Library MS Cotton Nero E.i (part of the *Worcester Cathedral Legendary*); Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 221 (part of the *Salisbury Cathedral Legendary*, formerly Oxford, Bodleian MS Fell 4); Canterbury Cathedral

Chapter Library MS E.42 (the fragmentary remains from several volumes of the *Canterbury Cathedral Legendary*); and London British Library MS Cotton Otho D.viii (the second copy of a volume from a *Canterbury Cathedral Legendary*). To these four manuscripts I also add the London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 51, which has already been mentioned and will be discussed again later, that provides excerpts on Perpetua and her companions from a volume very similar to the *Canterbury Cathedral Legendary*.

Drawing on the prior work of Levison, van Beek mentions that the two earliest of these manuscripts, London, British Library MS Cotton Nero E.i and Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 221, bear an especially close verbal relationship to one another and are considered to be of the same recension, or family, of manuscripts.²⁴⁶ Guy Philippart also elaborates relevant textual relationships in his 1978 study of medieval hagiographic compendiums, *Les légendiers Latins: et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*.²⁴⁷ Despite the fact that Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 221 and its companion volume, Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 222 both have a single-column layout (which Neil R. Ker posits as a fairly clear indication that an English manuscript was written at a time before the Norman Conquest), both Ker and Patrick Zettel consider London British Library MS Cotton Nero E.i, with its bicolomnar layout, to be the earlier of the two hagiographic collections on other paleographical grounds.²⁴⁸ Because the London, British Library MS Cotton Nero E.i is thought to be older than the Salisbury manuscript, it has received more scholarly attention than other English legends, especially since the 1990s when English literary historians began to take note of Zettel's dissertation work on what he dubbed the "*Cotton-Corpus Legendary*" in view of the fact that the two volumes of the original manuscript compendium

are now held in the British Library Cotton collection and Cambridge's Corpus Christi College Library (as MS 9).²⁴⁹ In his analysis of the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary* Zettel argues that an earlier version of the same legendary had been a major source for Ælfric as he selectively translated Latin hagiographic narratives into English for his *Lives of the Saints*, a work commissioned by and designed for devout laypeople (whom Ælfric characterized as “simple folk” in the preface to his first series of *Catholic Homilies*), such as the ealdorman Æthelweard, Ælfric's longtime patron and friend.²⁵⁰

Because the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary* has been linked to Ælfric, the most prolific Anglo-Saxon vernacular writer, and because it represents the earliest surviving English example of the Latin legendary, this manuscript has attracted some recent notice by scholars but much work remains to be done. There is still debate on exactly when the first Continental legendary was brought to England, but Jackson and Lapidge describe the impetus for the original compilation as having been Carolingian reforms in the eighth century, which were specified in the *Admonitio Generalis*.²⁵¹ Before that time, narrative hagiographies mainly traveled as works grouped in small “authorial” collections of related texts (*libelli*), such as the *libellus* of works at the medieval Benedictine monastery of Monte Casino that relates to St. Cyprian and includes the earliest surviving *Passio* account of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas (now Monte Cassino Museo di Abbazie MS 204 MM).

Whenever it was that the large Continental legendary made its way to Anglo-Saxon England, the timing coincides roughly with English Benedictine Reforms that were also influenced by the recent Cluniac and Lotharingian Reforms on the Continent, a time when there were numerous cross-channel monastic relations: English monks had often traveled or

been educated abroad and would also invite monks to England from the Continent. For example, Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald all had Continental affiliations, and they not only reformed their own monastic houses (sometimes moving them from rural retreats to civic centers in a manner similar to current Continental practices) but also founded offshoot religious communities. The pastoral efforts of Alfred, Ælfric, and their fellow spiritual leaders further encouraged monks and other religious to themselves take up pastoral responsibilities, and so continued spiritual migrations toward urban centers of human activity. Towns and cities—rather than the desert wastelands of early Christian fathers and mothers—came to be seen as in need of reclamation and evangelization, and new cathedrals were built to accommodate these religious goals. While some cathedrals were begun well before the Norman Conquest and exhibit Romanesque styling, nearly all were finished decades and sometimes generations later, and these structures can present eclectic combinations of various architectural styles. Additionally, the creation of new liturgical books almost always accompanied these larger architectural projects: the inner soul of the church was being reformed along with its outer appearance. In such a context the formidable Anglo-Latin legendary became the preferred hagiographic compendium to serve these new and newly reformed cathedrals, providing them with the wealth of Christian history to convert cities to Christ. Relics were often also imported or translated to positions of prominence in these new English foundations, and so legends additionally provided essential educational material. Change was underway, and if possible “all things” would be “made new.”²⁵² In this way relics, liturgical books, and other ecclesiastical resources were simultaneously acquired or created for reformed English settings. Jackson and Lapidge

confidently assert that the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary* “provides a comprehensive index to the hagiography with which the late Anglo-Saxon reading public will have been familiar,” making it “a pity that it has never been satisfactorily studied.”²⁵³

If such a statement on the hagiographic compendium’s representative nature is valid—and for present purposes the assumption is not overly controversial—then an interesting corollary issue is the question of how common were legendaries themselves in England by the end of the twelfth century. In a footnote, Jackson and Lapidge cite Levinson as indicating that there were at least two other manuscript recensions of the Anglo-Latin legendary besides the Cotton-Corpus example—with Oxford Bodleian Library MS 354 comprising a second type and Hereford Cathedral Library MS P.7.6 comprising the third.²⁵⁴ The entire legendary group can also be profitably compared with groups of slightly later Anglo-Latin legendaries that were available in three-volume, four-volume, and seven-volume collections. Two of these seven-volume legendaries (those from Canterbury Cathedral listed below) have already been mentioned as known to Perpetua scholars, and the group (some of which are extremely fragmentary) has been very briefly mentioned by Ker in his *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries (MMBL)*.²⁵⁵ Given the dates assigned to these surviving manuscripts and manuscript fragments, as well as the logic of their provenance, it is also possible to speculate about places where other Anglo-Latin legendaries may exist or once have existed. Namely, the surviving legendaries are often from newly formed Benedictine cathedrals, the recently reformed secular cathedrals under relatively flexible Augustinian rule, and from large monastic houses that were recognized as centers of education by their extensive library holdings. Acquiring the Anglo-Latin

legendary at these manuscript centers in medieval England seems to have been an accomplishment that spans late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman times. Differing numbers of volumes in Latin hagiographic collections, however, may help indicate the original impetus for a respective collection. While the two-volume type seems linked to Anglo-Saxon Benedictine reforms and Wessex cathedrals such as Worcester and Salisbury, the seven-volume compendiums may be the result of post-Conquest reforms most closely associated with Canterbury in Kent, and the four-volume hagiographic collections seem mainly to have been used later in Cistercian houses in northern England. Any of these types of collections could also invite accretions of later hagiographic material so that following the end of the Middle Ages, for example, the Salisbury collection of liturgical hagiography was considered to have four total volumes that included, but was not limited to, the original two-volume compendium covering the annual commemoration of saints.²⁵⁶

In the interest of providing as full information as possible regarding the presence of the Anglo-Latin legendary in medieval England, then, I provide references below that span traditional periodic divisions of English history. Such inclusiveness is justified given the topic under discussion, and the Anglo-Latin legendary seems to have been written and acquired well into the thirteenth century and was only then gradually phased out in the fourteenth century as the single volume breviary began to simplify and alter the canon of required liturgical texts.²⁵⁷ While Ker generalizes regarding service books and scholastic resources that “by the time of the early thirteenth century most collections seem to have been complete,” the specific evidence for the Anglo-Latin legendary seems to indicate that relevant cathedral and monastic library collections often remained fluid and in a continual

state of development. In part, the situation seems to mirror the fact that hagiographic resources tended to absorb the currents of reform movements and new intellectual ideas at the same time that they were adapted to serve pastoral and educational efforts. Ker himself enumerates in his *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* the following locations as important medieval manuscript libraries:²⁵⁸

Most of the existing English manuscripts written in the century after 1066 of which the medieval provenance is known come from a small number of places. They are from the five cathedrals [of] Durham, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Worcester, where books remain for the most part *in situ*, three other cathedrals, Canterbury, Exeter, and Rochester, the Benedictine Abbeys of Bury, St. Augustine's Canterbury, Reading, and St. Albans, and the Augustinian houses of Cirencester and Lantham. As a result of this distribution we have adequate material for the study of 12 out of the 40 or so Benedictine and Cathedral libraries which are likely to have been well supplied with books by the end of the third quarter of the twelfth century.²⁵⁹

To begin to attempt to provide a comprehensive list of the Anglo-Latin legendary from medieval England, I survey these locations named by Ker as well as other places where it might have been possible to find such a work, including all cathedrals and large monastic libraries and other locations regarded as having had relevant resource in Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (Table 3). For each location I provide corresponding information on surviving manuscripts and medieval library catalog citations where available. In this compilation I depend principally on the work of Ker but also have referenced resources

made available by Michael Lapidge, Helmut Gneuss, and Richard Sharpe and the several other editors of the volumes of the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.²⁶⁰

Namely, my research strategy can be described as follows. Starting with modern editions of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, I noted all manuscripts that had an English origin or provenance and carefully read the available discussions on relations between these manuscripts. Not only did modern editors of the *Passion*, such as van Beek and Amat provide such information, but other medieval European hagiographic studies (such as the several volumes of Wilhelm Levinson's and Bruno Krusch's formidable Victorian work of scholarship, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and Guy Philippart's *Les légendiers Latins: et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*) provided relevant discussions.²⁶¹ However, survey work on the genre of liturgical hagiography in medieval England has been best initiated by the work on manuscripts by Helmut Gneuss (especially his 1985 "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology" in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*) and Michael Lapidge's several studies on the cult of saints in medieval England, including his and Peter Jackson's 1996 article on "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary" in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*.²⁶² These several discussions have proven useful to my study as they mention, at least in passing, the medieval English manuscripts known by earlier editors of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* to provide this particular hagiographic narrative. Digesting and interrelating this sometimes older and sometimes partial knowledge on the genre of medieval English liturgical hagiography has helped expand and nuance my understanding of the breadth and depth of the possible influence of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*.

From this handful of lists or discussions of known manuscripts that offer the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, it has been possible to ascertain other similar hagiographic compendiums, or the remains or incomplete examples of such, that for whatever reason do not provide the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*.

This freshly developed group of recognized liturgical hagiographic compendiums from medieval England I then cross-checked in N. R. Ker's fundamental and comprehensive reference work, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books (MLGB)*, whose second edition from 1964 was revised and supplemented by Andrew G. Watson in 1987. In *MLGB*, I verified the medieval provenance for each of the manuscripts as well as the categorical description by which Ker had listed the work. While Ker often designates a relevant manuscript as a *passionale* (as is the case with the Canterbury manuscripts known to offer the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*), in other cases a manuscript (such as the hagiographic compendiums from Salisbury Cathedral and Worcester Cathedral) is more generally designated as *vitae sanctorum*. However, once I grasped the range of designations for relevant works, and since useful indices were lacking, I thoroughly scanned the entire reference work for other manuscripts similarly categorized. All told, the medieval works of interest could be listed as *passionales* or as *acta*, *legenda*, or *vitae* (or *vite*) *sanctorum*, though I also kept my eyes open for works categorized as *breviarium*, *legenda aurea*, *martyrologium*, and *kalendaria* and tended to note works called *passio*, *revelatio*, *visio*, and *vita*. Initially I hoped to cast a large net, so as not to miss something that might be relevant in *MLGB*. Eventually all these references would also be looked up in the appropriate modern manuscript library catalog to judge whether the contents were of specific interest to my work on the

transmission of the memory of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas in medieval England. While not all catalog descriptions were as thorough or standardized as one might wish (the several volumes of the yet to be revised Bodleian Library Quarto catalogues come to mind), this research did often help confirm whether a particular manuscript was basically relevant to this study. Particularly, the recent manuscript catalogues of cathedral library collections by Rodney M. Thomson were thorough and well-structured, and all comparative suggestions in those catalogues and in Ker's *MML* were dutifully noted and explored.²⁶³

Furthermore, I supplemented this research on surviving materials by reference to the medieval booklists in the published volumes of the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, whose general editor is Richard Sharpe. In some cases, these medieval booklists confirmed the provenance and categorization of surviving works, but in other cases these lists referred to relevant sources no longer extant or helped suggest the limits of collections that might have been otherwise assumed to be more complete than they were. According to Richard Sharpe's own web site, several volumes of the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues remain to be published, and when they are they will usefully complement and complete information presented here. All told, this research is especially valuable in that it points out where productive work remains to be done. A study of the manuscripts themselves will naturally develop many of the ideas on literary relationships that have been suggested by comments in library catalogues and recent academic discussions, yet this study is the most complete effort to date on Anglo-Latin hagiographic collections in medieval England: much is here, much is underway, and much remains to be done that is here

suggested for the first time. If there are corrections or additions to be made, I would welcome any such notice.

The full list of known remains of Anglo-Latin legends includes the highlighted items in Table 3 that are organized by provenance, or the location of their early use, in medieval England. Important supplementary information in Table 3 also includes dates indicating the foundation, reform, or other significant events in the history of the place, as well as a column devoted to information on the extent of library holdings. Since it has been my goal here to survey Anglo-Latin liturgical hagiography, I have not often included citations of vernacular hagiography or single-saint hagiographic manuscripts most likely not intended for use in liturgical celebrations. Also, because manuscript catalogues rarely detail contents of martyrologies, breviaries, or Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (in English, the *Golden Legend*), I have not included citations to such works unless there was some special interest in mentioning them or if a particular work was initially indistinguishable by title from what could have been an Anglo-Latin legend. For similar reasons, and following distinctions also in medieval literary genres, miracle collections and homilies on saints thought not to be a part of liturgical hagiographic compendiums are usually excluded. A thorough survey of Anglo-Latin collections on the lives and passions of saints is included, and those rows of entries that appear colored seem to have been places that have surviving manuscripts or references to the medieval presence of liturgical hagiographic compendiums. While most page numbers are self-explanatory, page numbers for the supplementary edition of the *MLGB* are given in parentheses following page numbers for the revised edition, and page numbers for Ker's *MMBL* are always preceded by reference to the

appropriate volume number of the work. The far right column in the table also helps indicate from available evidence the presence or absence in a given collection of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, or the possibility that this narrative may have been included in the medieval hagiographic collections at a given place. Names of places are according to those given in the *MLGB* and *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*.

Please see Table 3 and Table 4 at Appendix C and Appendix D.

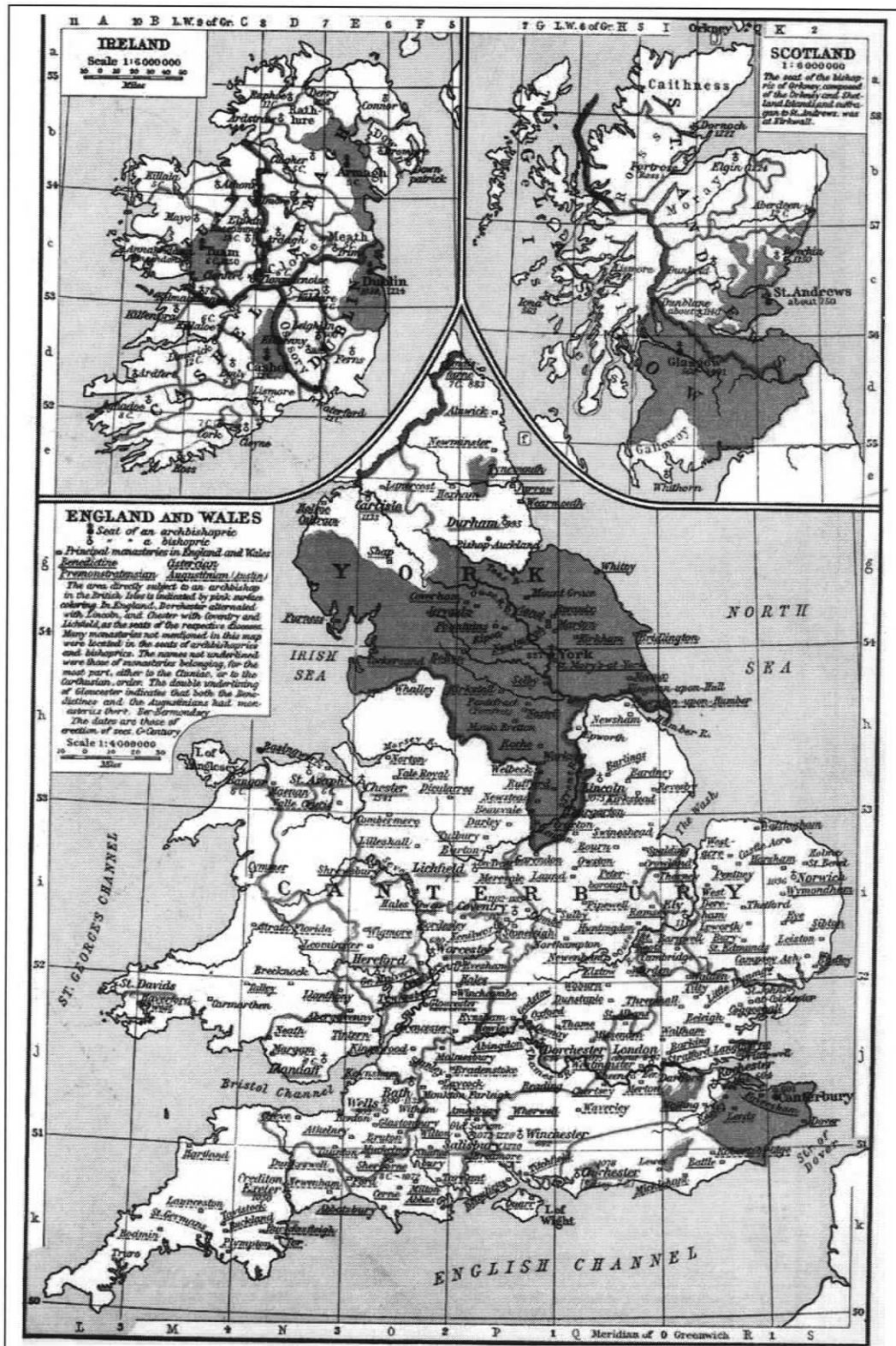


Figure 14. "Ecclesiastical Map of the British Isles in the Middle Ages." From William R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1929), 97.

What information can be derived from the previous survey? Of earlier medieval English cathedral sees and large monastic houses (Figure 11), several—including York and Canterbury as well as Bury St. Edmund's, Exeter, Glastonbury, Ramsey, Reading, and Rochester—are known to have acquired a legendary, as was expected of them by directives expressed in monastic consuetudinaries. Some relatively modest or small houses such as Bradsole, Bermondsey, Leominster, and Whitby also seem to have had their own legendary or parts of one. Though it is impossible to assess the hagiographic collections of locations that mostly or completely lost their medieval libraries and have no surviving library catalog, the Benedictine and later reforms by the Anglo-Norman Archbishop Lanfranc seem to have been complete in that, among other things, participating locations usually acquired an Anglo-Latin legendary. In this regard, Alan Coates explains the small number of individual saints' lives that seem to have been available at Reading Abbey in the Middle Ages as being a result of the fact that, like Durham and Rochester, it was a community that possessed a *passionale* or collections of saints' lives that corralled and supplied almost all necessary hagiographic materials.²⁶⁴ However, there were several different types of Anglo-Latin legends in medieval England that provided readings for feasts throughout the liturgical year: there was the two-volume legendary, three-volume legendary, and seven-volume legendary. York also seems to have had two copies of a single volume legendary, though one copy was abbreviated and the other was incomplete, and the contents of both copies share many similarities with that of the two-volume legends. Cistercian houses also were distinctive with their four-volume legends. While these hagiographic collections

seem to have been incomplete in some cases, voluminous collections also often attracted later hagiographic material.

Of these several types of legendaries, though, only the two-volume, four-volume, and seven-volume collections most typical of reformed ecclesiastical and monastic locations seem usually to have included the passion narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas. In two-volume and seven-volume legendaries that still offer the portion of the text that should contain the narrative of these standard and universal saints, it is always in fact there, and the seven-volume legendary also offers both the longer and shorter hagiographic narratives of these two saints, respectively known today as the *Passio* and *Acta* versions. The four-volume legendary associated with Cistercian houses also seems to have offered the passion narrative of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, but it is only the shorter *Acta* narrative. In the cases where a library catalog but no manuscripts survive, there is evidence that some legendary was available that would likely have been comparable to other surviving legendaries from other locations that do offer the hagiographic text of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas. Of those manuscripts that still exist, the surviving legendaries may be categorized as follows:

Two-volume legendary: Leicester, Ramsey, Salisbury, West Country (?), Worcester, likely Lincoln, and possibly York

(1) January through June

(2) July through December

Three-volume legendary: Bradsole, Bury St. Edmund's, Chester (listed first below), Exeter (listed second below, according to catalog entries for volumes), Lanthony, and Leominster/Reading (listed third below)

(1) 9 February - 29 June, 76 vitae

25 February—Walberga (?, beginning with “Quam Deo...”)

29 June - 16 September

(2) 30 June - 23 November, 54 vitae

1 August (?, or 29 January or 11 November?)—Suplicius Severus

September - November

(3) 24 November - 6 February, 46 vitae

31 December—Silvester

30 November - 21 June / (Other) October - December, 11 vitae

Four-volume legendary: Buildwas, Jervaulx, Meaux, Rievaulx, and Stoneleigh

Seven-volume legendary: Bermondsey, Bridlington, Canterbury Christ Church (catalogued before around 1331 according to the names given below, including two copies of volume two), Canterbury St. Augustine's, Durham, Glastonbury (according to the names below in their medieval catalog), Hereford, Rochester, Winchester, and possibly Burton-on-Trent, Dover, and Whitby

(1) 31 December—Silvester

(2) 1 February—Ignatius

(3) 2 April—Mary of Egypt (19 April—Elphegus at Glastonbury)

(4) 29 June—Peter and Paul (Peter at Glastonbury)

(5) 3 August—Stephen

(6) 21 September—Matthew

(7) 11 November—Martin

Such a categorization of Anglo-Latin legendaries should be viewed circumspectly, though, and always with deference to the specific information provided by Table 3. The lack of surviving medieval catalogues or complete manuscripts must make all generalizations about Anglo-Latin legendaries provisional and tentative. While it is possible, given medieval monastic directives and the diverse places from where at least parts of legendaries have survived, that *all* medieval monastic houses and cathedral sees in England would have had some textual resource for annually commemorating the saints, it is sometimes impossible even to know exactly what is meant, for example, by the medieval catalog note that York Cathedral had “ij legenda.”²⁶⁵ Surviving evidence also demonstrates that some collections were incomplete or at least in development: the medieval library catalog for Burton-on-Trent indicates two volumes of a legendary, namely those volumes for the months of October and November (“Passionale Octobris et Decembris mensis”), while an entry for Bury St. Edmunds describing a single legendary volume has been crossed out and replaced with a note that they had three legendary volumes (*Passional[e] \[ia] [unum] \[tria]*) and the same is true of Exeter. Additionally, reference to a legendary in medieval catalog lists can be cryptic or undefined, such as when the nunnery at Easebourne is remarked as possessing a “*legenda grossa*” as well as a martyrology, or when Evesham is said to have had a “*legenda sanctorum*.”²⁶⁶

Despite difficulties with generalizations or perfect understanding, Table 3 helps “lay the material foundations” for this study by linking “learning to the harsh realities of physical objects and available resources.”²⁶⁷ It was an effort even for large libraries to acquire a compendious legendary that covered the entire liturgical year, but many cathedral sees can

be proven to have accomplished such a feat. While not every individual would necessarily have been familiar with a wide array of saints' legends, much less a particular saint such as Perpetua, understanding the presence and development of Latin legendary helps indicate that hagiographic knowledge in late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman England was widespread. After characterizing the Benedictine Reforms in England as incomplete and "played out" by the first quarter of the year 1000, Joyce Hill also admits that they left a "rich legacy" of artifacts, including manuscripts, in their wake.²⁶⁸ However, Latinate learning, which did not necessarily permeate even the monastic milieu or other dedicated types of religious lifestyles, was not customary or common at this time among laity, and where it can be shown that selections from the Anglo-Latin legendary were made directly available to devout laypeople in an English translation, such as in Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, the work on Saints Perpetua and Felicitas was not included.²⁶⁹ Lapidge finds Ælfric's omission of their narrative inexplicable, given that the hagiographic narrative of almost all saints who were universally celebrated throughout Christendom were translated, but Zettel's explanation is that Ælfric seems to have translated only those universal saints who claimed sufficiently high status in contemporary calendars. He writes:

Saints Perpetua and Felicity, for example, though rarely overlooked completely in early English calendars, are not accorded second (or first) class dignity a single time in any of the 30 calendars printed in *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* and in volume one of *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*. Thus, unlike their companions in the Roman Canon—Saints

Agnes, Agatha, Cecelia, and Lucy, who are almost invariably given second class dignity—they are omitted from Ælfric's third series.²⁷⁰

So although Christian saints were widely regarded in medieval England—whether Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, or later times—and a variety of local, regional, and universal figures were celebrated, remembrance of the narrative elaboration of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas seems primarily limited to educated ecclesiastical settings. In this way it is not most accurate to describe them as popular figures in medieval England. Rather knowledge of these saints was hard-won and meaningful, literary and demanding. It is also particularly significant to the status of their memory that there were no local relics, no important presence in Rome or on pilgrimage routes along the way to Rome or Jerusalem, and no recent relevant events inspired by their narrative or relics. Notable characteristics of these saints also seem to have been subsumed by other hagiographic figures who were more representative of their “virgin (martyr)” category or who were more dramatically caricatured (such as Katherine of Alexandria with her sword or Margaret of Antioch who became known as the patron saint of childbearing and was regularly pictured with a dragon).²⁷¹ For a comparison of the surviving literature on other saints from all the extant Anglo-Latin legendaries, see Table 4, which also helps illustrate relationships and distinctions among various legendaries. Relative neglect of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, however, does not mean that they were entirely unknown but that one must always be specific about assertions regarding influence and popularity, continually tying assessments to evidence and keeping in mind the range and dimensions of knowledge that were possible in a given set of historical circumstances. For even if their personal influence and individual

remembrance waned, their significance may have remained in other forms. What follows is a survey of examples that illustrate the afterglow of Anglo-Latin legendary accounts of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*.

ADAPTATIONS OF LITURGICAL HAGIOGRAPHY: THE LIBER *REVELATIONUM*,
LEGENDA AUREA, AND MIDDLE ENGLISH LEGENDS OF SAINTS

While the Anglo-Latin legendary was a magnetic work of compilation—continually attracting new hagiographic narratives to itself—there were several successful efforts to rework and streamline it as it expanded, to redirect and redistribute its wealth. The eventual devolution of the Anglo-Latin legendary is, in many ways, the result of its success. The work became such a standard, enviable resource because it helped celebrate not only the distant past but also a vividly remembered local history. As the accumulated treasures of generations of Christian communities, the legendary was in a constant state of adaptation and had a natural tendency to become a large and unwieldy collection of material. Moving towards the later Middle Ages, it becomes necessary to reconsider changes to the legendary in light of developments in pastoral responsibilities and devotional practices, and developments from the Anglo-Latin legendary may be distinguished that relate to the transmission of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*.

In London around the year 1200, the Augustinian prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, determined to compile a book of visions.²⁷² Prior Peter, as he was then known to his fellow canons regular, had grown up in Cornwall, and his interest in visionary experiences was not purely theoretical. His Cornish grandfather, Aisli of Trecarrel, had himself been a visionary, and Peter freely recounted Aisli's experiences along with those of other earlier saints that

he excerpted for his mammoth Latin compendium, sometimes now called the *De uisionibus*, which he dubbed the *Liber reuelationum*.²⁷³ While not without contemporaries or compatriots who had an interest in visionary experiences and the afterlife—new and notable visions also being recounted in works by Orderic Vitalis (the “Vision of Walchelin”), Sigar of Newbald (the “Vision of Orm”), Thomas of Monmouth (in his *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*), and Ralph of Coggeshall (the likely writer of the “Vision of Thurkill”), among others—Prior Peter seems to have taken an especially theological, apologetic, and historical approach to his work, one might even say a determinedly *educational* approach.²⁷⁴ For his labors, though, Peter of Cornwall, as he is known to modern scholars, is not today regarded as a brilliant or original medieval thinker.²⁷⁵ Robert Easting and Richard Sharpe claim that all his writings “are distinguished more by the effort and diligence with which they were compiled than by any penetrating thought or originality. Peter of Cornwall was not an intellectual high-flier [. . .].”²⁷⁶ In fact his reputation among academics has long suffered, even languished, by virtue of his emphasis on collecting rather than inventing his material, on compilation rather than creation of texts. But what Peter of Cornwall intended to accomplish with his *Liber reuelationum* was dissemination of a certain type of knowledge beyond ecclesiastical circles.²⁷⁷ In his own time it may be that this intention was his achievement, and one worth noting today.

For in addition to validating his grandfather’s visions by giving them a place in history and a visionary context, Peter asserts in the prologue to his collection that the work is intended as a testament to God’s existence as well as to the reality of God’s presence in and care for the world: “Since,” he writes, “there are still some who believe that there is no

God and the world is ruled by chance, and many who believe only what they see...*ego Petrus ecclesie S. Trinitatis Lundonie minister*, have collected, out of the lives and acts of the saints, the revelations and visions vouchsafed to them into this book which I call *Liber reuelationum*.”²⁷⁸

Prior Peter’s effort to persuade his nonbelieving contemporaries, it seems, entails both his emphasis on visionary or spiritual experience and his decision to select materials exclusively from “the lives and acts of the saints,” asserting that when using this source material “I have confined myself to those [revelations and visions] which have occurred since Christ’s passion, excluding from my view the Old and New Testaments, to which all have access.”²⁷⁹ Notice here how the intended audience for the *Liber reuelationum* is distinguished: they “all have access,” according to Prior Peter, to the Christian Old and New Testaments, but they are ignorant of *the knowledge provided by hagiography*, the writings on the saints. Since legends of saints had long been in use in England for monastic and ecclesiastical purposes, Peter’s intended audience must be construed as those who were formally outside professed religious circles.²⁸⁰ His target audience, then, is those whose denial of God’s existence may be attributed to their paltry knowledge of Christian history—those not fully educated, the less-than-Christian, who remain unconvinced about spiritual matters.²⁸¹ If these nonbelievers had already known and rejected (or adapted) orthodox Christianity, they might have been classified as apostates or heretics, but Peter of Cornwall seems certain that by knowing the long history and ongoing witness of God’s intervention in human life these individuals could not fail to acknowledge God’s existence, presence, and care.²⁸² Lacking full knowledge of Christian history, however, undereducated nonbelievers are limited to their own experiences, by their reliance on what they can see.

Prior Peter, then, does something clever in compiling his book of “visions.” He attempts to persuade his nonbelieving contemporaries by using exactly the sort of evidence that they find compelling: he provides them with visions of God.²⁸³ By showing these undereducated individuals what others have seen, Peter of Cornwall demonstrates that God has been seen and, therefore, cares to be seen and perhaps can still be seen. God, according to Prior Peter, exists.²⁸⁴ And God especially exists in the visions of saints, the apparently untapped source of divine knowledge for Peter of Cornwall’s intended audience.²⁸⁵

Among the revelations of God experienced by saints, Peter includes episodes from the hagiographic text of Saint Perpetua and her fellow martyr, Saturus. Specifically, Peter extracts visionary material from *Passio* 7-8 and 11-14 (see edition at Appendix F) as well as from *Acta* 1, 3, 7, and 9.²⁸⁶ Peter’s excerpts from the narrative are the same ones that I earlier mentioned as not having been previously been recognized in critical editions of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. Peter’s purpose in including their stories, though, is not so dissimilar from that of the early Christian compiler of the work: both “authors” wish to provide their audiences or readers with the prophetic witness of martyrs to encourage identification with saints who experienced the Divine. But with this evangelistic, apologetic goal in mind, Prior Peter’s work stands apart from the other extant English manuscripts that provide the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, and such distinctiveness may help account for its need to be emphasized today as part of the scholarly record for Perpetua and her fellow martyrs.²⁸⁷ The significance of Peter’s work, now the *Liber reuelationum* (Lambeth Palace MS 51), is well worth considering, especially given the disproportionately high number of medieval English manuscripts in the Latin *Passion* tradition.

In a moment, the discussion of distinctive aspects of Peter of Cornwall's excerpts from the hagiographic narratives of Perpetua and Saturus can resume. First, though, it is useful to relate the *Liber reuelationum* to the tradition of Anglo-Latin legendaries. The date of Peter of Cornwall's compilation is the beginning of the thirteenth century. While Cistercians were beginning to make their presence felt in northern England, the influence of their four-volume legendary on Prior Peter's work would be unlikely, and the revolutionary changes in monasticism that would be brought about in England by preaching friars were still decades away. However, Anglo-Latin legendaries of the seven-volume type from Anglo-Norman reformed locations would certainly have been the most current and comprehensive resource on hagiographic knowledge available for those in religious and ecclesiastical circles. It also may have been readily accessible to someone living in London, given the places from where copies are known to have survived. Referring to Peter's *Liber reuelationum*, Easting and Sharpe assert that the "individual stories are not unlike many one finds in the Lives of saints," and M. R. James is even more specific when he points out that though the general "order of the work is not very strict" there are portions where excerpts from saints' lives "roughly [follow] the Calendar."²⁸⁸ In this regard, excerpts from the longer and shorter hagiographic narratives of Perpetua and her companions are available and most closely follow readings still extant in the full versions of the works in the Canterbury Cathedral Legendary. Moreover, Prior Peter's book surrounds these excerpts, which are usually dated in legendaries to March 7, with others from saints whose narratives also usually surround them in the seven-volume Anglo-Latin legendary. Examples include

Winwaloe at March 3, Euphrasia at March 13, and Theodosia at April 2, and Euphrasia is known to be in only the seven-volume legendary and none of the other original types.

If Peter of Cornwall did use a seven-volume legendary much like the one available at Canterbury Cathedral to derive some excerpts for his *Liber reuelationum*, such an assessment fits well with Easting's and Sharpe's assertion that Peter, like many English scholars of his day, was engaged in efforts to consolidate rather than to advance learning.²⁸⁹ Even so, the final form of the *Liber reuelationum* was still of a size comparable with the formidable Latin legendaries. As M. R. James notes, Peter's vellum manuscript of over 450 folios written in double columns of 39 lines was, at 14 x 9 3/8 inches, an "immense compilation."²⁹⁰

However, it is still fair to say that Peter of Cornwall's topical focus on visionary experiences makes his work interesting, even if it did not achieve "any degree of circulation" in its own time.²⁹¹ Particularly, the few variations that the *Liber reuelationum* offers in its excerpts from the hagiographic narratives of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas suggest an attempt to bring the language of the narrative up-to-date while at the same time sharpening selected images.

Altogether there are only around 30 places where the *Liber reuelationum* excerpts differ from all other surviving manuscripts of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. While these instances could be comprehensively noted in a new variorum edition of the work, some are interesting to discuss here. A type of change observable in the excerpts from the *Liber reuelationum* is, however, remarkable and consistent. Though few in number, these changes are consequential to the interpretation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* in its new context, and the guiding principle for them seems to be, as one might expect, an emphasis on visionary experiences. The compiler not only fishes out all the extended

visionary episodes from the hagiographic narrative, but he also expressly identifies them as such, polishes their images, and makes a somewhat inconsistent attempt to have the narrative be relayed in past tense, and so uniquely in this manuscript “video” is twice changed to “vidi” at 8.1 (though it had been left alone earlier at 7.2).

For example, at 7.3 he emphasizes that the response to Perpetua’s prayers occurs as a revelation in a vision (“ostensum est hoc in visione”), and this Latin evocation of a “vision” is unique among all manuscripts, including English ones. Likewise, at 7.2 where other English manuscripts emphasize either the quantity or quality of Perpetua’s prayer (“orationem facere multam”), the compiler of the *Liber reuelationum* sees Perpetua praying and emphasizes the action itself (“multum orare”). He is also emphatic (7.4, “quinplures”) about his knowledge that Perpetua sees many people suffering with Dinocrates, who is not only very (“valde”) thirsty but also very (“valde”) dirty. When such an extraordinarily troubling situation is revealed as overcome in another vision, the compiler enthuses that seeing this resolution (“hoc”) is cause for Perpetua’s rejoicing (“gaudens” at 8.4). Similarly, in Saturus’ vision, the compiler emphasizes focused visualization. He submits Perpetua as the first vocal observer of paradise because he sees her in a more promising viewing position than Saturus (“quae adexterius nobis erat”) where other scribes merely indicate the two as traveling together (11.4, “erat enim haec in latere meo”). Then, he has the angels who welcome the martyrs to paradise not only command others to pay attention but specifically “look at this,” (11.7, “ecce huius sunt”), gesturing toward those newly arrived. Also the compiler seems at liberty to employ what he uniquely regards as appropriate imagery for climactic moments: by his touch Jesus transforms Saturus and Perpetua (12.5, “transciicit

nos”), and crossed purposes (13.5, “decusationes”) rather than simple disagreements or physical violence cause the angels to advise the bickering churchmen to defer to one another. In both these cases, the compiler of the *Liber reuelationum* chooses language not available in other manuscripts because these words tend to offer especially *vivid images* to help explain the situation he has in mind. In this way the effort of compilation itself becomes a type of visionary experience. Because the late medieval presentation of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* will change so dramatically from that of the *Liber reuelationum*, it is worth emphasizing that Peter of Cornwall’s reading of the story not only focuses on visionary episodes but also, in a few places, suggests that visualization may well have aided his interpretation of difficult parts of the narrative.

But this discussion is one of details. Prior Peter’s *Liber reuelationum* was for the most part a work that relied on traditional and standard source materials and used them without significant alteration. The final result (if, indeed, the *Liber reuelationum* can be considered finished, given its several empty chapters) was also in a form not dissimilar from Anglo-Latin legendaries: it was a large, unwieldy, neat, and relatively plain multivolume work that was expansive in the scope of hagiographic materials it provided. So despite its unusual focus on visionary experiences, the form and content of the *Liber reuelationum* was not altogether aberrant. If it was a product of (and for) its time, it must be in the fact that Prior Peter, like contemporary scholastic thinkers, intended to provide proof for God’s existence and, like the preaching friars, he hoped to speak to the masses who were unfamiliar with religious knowledge such as is available in hagiographic narrative. Among what may be several reasons why the *Liber reuelationum* never seems to have had much of a public

audience, I suggest that its form was not a good match for its function: the *Liber reuelationum* was too large and too heavy a book to lug around to read.

For such a compact resource that helped make monastic knowledge portable, one is better served by looking to the preaching friars themselves. Among their intellectual tools can be found the *Legenda Aurea*, which was compiled by the Italian Dominican Jacobus de Voragine in the late thirteenth century to help celebrate the liturgical year according to the lives of saints. Like the extensive seven-volume legendary, the *Legenda Aurea* begins the liturgical year in the season of Advent and provides readings sequentially throughout the year. However, unlike its recent predecessors the *Legenda Aurea* is a succinct single volume, and Jacobus champions this formal achievement when, speaking of himself, he claims the work, saying: "While he was in his order, and after he had been made archbishop, he wrote many works. For he compiled the legends of the saints (*Legendae sanctorum*) in one volume, adding many things from the *Historia tripartita et scholastica*, and from the chronicles of many writers."²⁹² It is only possible to recognize the significance of such an achievement if one realizes the background and developmental history of liturgical hagiographic compendiums. While some today describe the *Legenda Aurea* as the late medieval "bestseller," the desire for such a resource was largely a result of the general respect for earlier and more comprehensive multivolume hagiographic collections. The *Legenda Aurea* should be seen as part of a continuum, and its success is as much a matter of form as content. Because of its compact nature, many legends of saints are necessarily omitted from the *Legenda Aurea* so that only the most outstanding figures remain, each usually represented by one relatively brief narrative. Such concision helped keep the *Legenda Aurea* a manageable size that could

be efficiently and affordably reproduced and transported. Ker's *MLGB* indicates dozens of surviving copies of the *Legenda Aurea* from medieval England, and extant library lists corroborate and enhance the picture. While many large and well endowed monastic houses and cathedrals often acquired one or more copies of the *Legenda Aurea* to supplement their larger liturgical hagiographic compendium, the smaller work is often recorded in medieval library lists as being in the care of an individual or donated by them to the community after death (such a donation, for example, was made in 1369 by John de Grandisson to Exeter Cathedral). However, smaller and less well endowed communities may alternatively have used the *Legenda Aurea* for their liturgical celebration of saints, and many of these groups are recorded as having owned a copy. In this way the *Legenda Aurea* became not only the Dominican legendary or the legendary of friars generally, but also the legendary of choice for all those who desired their own personal copy or for those groups that had no easy access to any other copy. In England in the later Middle Ages, the *Legenda Aurea* helped complete many liturgical hagiographic collections, corporate and individual.

Despite its selective and abbreviated nature, the *Legenda Aurea* does offer a narrative for Perpetua and Felicitas. It is the shorter Latin version of the story, the *Acta*, that tends to caricature family interactions, making the martyrs appear unappealingly coldhearted. ("Then [Perpetua's] father laid her son upon her shoulder, and he and her mother and husband held her hands and wept, kissing her and saying: 'Have mercy on us, daughter, and stay alive with us!' But she threw the infant from her and repulsed her parents, saying: 'Get away for me, you enemies of God, because I do not know you!'"²⁹³) However, you may remember that this version of the narrative is not new with the *Legenda Aurea*. Besides being

included as a secondary account for these saints in the earlier seven-volume legendary, Peter of Cornwall uses excerpts from its two visionary episodes (Perpetua's vision of a shepherd in a garden and another of her fighting the devil in the form of an Egyptian) for his *Liber reuelationum*. The four-volume Cistercian legendary also offers the *Acta* for the remembrance of Saints Perpetua, Felicitas, and companions, and there for the first time it occurs in a legendary without the longer *Passio* account. The *Legenda Aurea* then follows in the tradition of Latin legendaries, with the Cistercian legendary being its immediate predecessor, but it differs from all these others in at least one important aspect.

In the *Legenda Aurea* the remembrance of Saints Perpetua, Felicitas, and companions is for the first time—so far as can be known—removed from its usual date in medieval English hagiographic compendiums (March 7) and displaced to the end of the liturgical year. Hanging onto this unglamorous place in the legendary by the slimmest associative thread, their narrative is used to fill out an underdeveloped reading for the Toulousian Saturninus at November 29. Without fanfare the group of early Christian martyrs from Carthage is unapologetically introduced at this unusual date:

There was still another Saturninus, in Africa, the brother of Saint Satyrus, who suffered martyrdom with his brother, Revocatus, the latter's sister Felicity, and Perpetua, a woman of noble birth: their passion is commemorated at another time. Here we can say that when the proconsul told them to sacrifice to the idols and they refused, they were put in jail.²⁹⁴

This temporal displacement was at least a complication in remembering Perpetua, Felicitas and their companions; however, it also could lead to confusion, forgetfulness, and oblivion.

English archival sources for medieval abbey court rolls, deeds, charters, grants, and other documents show a marked and precipitous decline after the middle of the fourteenth century in using the feast of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas for dating purposes.²⁹⁵ Sherry L. Reames in her 2003 *Middle English Legends of Women Saints* surveys a range of later medieval literature that developed from liturgical hagiography: while the *South English Legendary* and “romance-like verse legends” she describes as “unassuming popularizations,” there were also works about saints (often women saints) with “considerable literary ambition,” such as those by Osbern Bokenham, John Lydgate, John Capgrave, and Geoffrey Chaucer that were designed for an “elite readership.”²⁹⁶ A narrative for Perpetua and Felicitas is in none of these works. Between these two types, though, Reames describes “rather utilitarian-looking collections of legends” that were often designed for use in conjunction with church services, and here she categorizes the “so-called Vernon Golden Legend,” the *Scottish Legendary*, the *Northern Homily Cycle*, John Mirk’s *Festial*, the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, the 1438 *Gilte Legende* (sometimes attributed to Bokenham), and Caxton’s 1483 English translation of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea (Golden Legend)*. Again, excepting the translation of the *Golden Legend*, a narrative for Perpetua and Felicitas is nowhere to be found.

Reames’s assessment of the general influence of hagiography, though, is that such literature was not only produced in an “enormous number and variety of vernacular versions [...] in the later Middle Ages (thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries)” but also that “the legends eventually reached most segments of the lay public as well [monastic and clerical culture].” Moreover, she asserts that

a great deal of evidence [artistic, artifactual, architectural, and literary] suggests that the fabric of most people's lives was densely interwoven with beliefs and practices fostered by the legends—not just participation in the annual festivals of important saints, but also visits to shrines to seek healing or forgiveness, the knowledge of proverbs and folk customs that preserved bits of lore about the saints, the practice of giving children names that linked them with particular patron saints, the use of charms and talismans that supposedly conferred a given saint's protection, and so on.²⁹⁷

In such a culture, Perpetua and Felicitas were not necessarily household names, and yet as saints they remained part of a venerable and influential social group in late medieval England. Knowledge of their story was possible, perhaps even commendable, though it was likely not common. By virtue of their very unpopularity, to have more than nominal familiarity with them required some degree of education and dedicated effort.

READERS AND FRIENDS: HAGIOGRAPHIC DEVOTEES AND THEIR BOOKS

So, to revisit the question that began this chapter: is it reasonable that Margery Kempe should be considered as having known the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*? Other medieval English women demonstrably participated in the regular, liturgical celebration of saints. For example, besides nuns, anchoresses were instructed to venerate and commemorate holy figures while they lived as solitaries attached to a church.²⁹⁸ The *Ancrene Wisse*, a dozen copies of which survive beginning from about 1225, provides a guide for the life of anchoresses, and the writer of the work assumes their familiar and ongoing interaction with saints, among whom will be “ower leoveste freond [your dearest

friends].”²⁹⁹ Moreover, anchoresses are to begin their days, having saluted God, Christ, and the Cross, by kneeling first “to ure Leafdi onlicnesse [to the image of our Lady]” and then devotedly bowing or kneeling “aleast to the othre ymagnes, ant to ower relikes luteth other cneolith, nomeliche to the halhen the ye habbeth to thurh luvē i-turnd ower weofdes, swa mucche the reathere yef ei is i-halhet [to the other images, and to your relics, especially to the saints to whom you have dedicated your altars out of love—so much the more if any of them has been consecrated].”³⁰⁰ Throughout the day and night, these same anchoresses are expected to “toward te preostes tiden hercnith se forth as ye mahen [listen so far as you can to the priest’s Hours]” and follow along using service books that they have copied for themselves—however it conjures up a precious image when they are also admonished not to be obtrusive in their participation or to “singen thet he [the priest] hit mahe i-heren [sing so that he can hear you].”³⁰¹ In any case, the author of the *Ancrene Wisse* compassionately assures even those anchoresses who may be incapacitated by illness from performing their liturgical duties that “all is hers that Holy Church reads or sings [al is hiren thet Hali Chirche ret other singeth].”³⁰²

Among the best-known anchoresses who can be named today, Christina of Markyate (c. 1097-1161) lived for a time in a cell adjoining St. Albans and was herself the subject of a hagiographic narrative, a *vita* known as the *Life of Christina of Markyate*, while Julian of Norwich (c. 1342-after 1416) occupied the anchorhold at St. Julian’s Church in Norwich, from which she presumably took her name, and there wrote two versions of her well-known theological work, the *Shewings* (or *Revelations of Divine Love*).³⁰³ Both anchoresses seem to draw personal inspiration from saints: Christina is said sometimes to model herself

directly on St. Juliana, who resisted marriage for the sake of Christ, and Christina's only miracle occurs by intervention of St. Margaret.³⁰⁴ Julian, for her part, mentions (like Margery) not only Mary Magdalene and other saints as examples of holy penitents who achieve "there in fulhede [perfection in heaven]" to "comfort" us, but she also relays having heard "a man of Holy Church tell the story of St. Cecilia," and this same Cecilia becomes the major influence for imagery Julian uses in her initial prayers regarding her most important spiritual desires.³⁰⁵ Perhaps most pertinent for the current discussion, though, are the facts that the calendar in Christina of Markyate's extant personal psalter notes that she commemorated the virgins Perpetua and Felicitas annually on 7 March and that Julian served as a personal adviser to Margery Kempe. So, if Margery was guided by Julian *and* if Julian was an anchoress much the same way as Christina *and* if Christina knowledgeably commemorated Perpetua and Felicitas on their March feast date, then Margery knew the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*.

Or did she? Such associative connections are too tenuous to be fully reliable. In making such a case, so many questions remain unanswered, so many details go unaddressed. In what way was Julian a guide to Margery? What did Julian teach her, and what did Margery learn? Were saints a part of the discussion? Did Julian follow a guide for her anchoritic lifestyle? Did she own any liturgical books? Was being an anchoress in fifteenth century England much like being an anchoress in the twelfth century? How do calendar references in a personal psalter correspond to liturgical celebrations in ecclesiastical communities? Could Christina read Latin? Could she have understood a Latin hagiographic

narrative read to her? Could Julian? Could Margery? Would they have understood devotional literature English? Or were pertinent images available? Or relics?

The list of questions one could address to shore up associations between various pairings of Perpetua, Christina, Julian, and Margery might be very lengthy. I have always regarded with interest others' efforts to accomplish such a feat. So beautiful! So tenuous! So hopeful—the perpetual reaching, one for another, nearly but not quite ever holding hands. Margery Kempe may have been familiar with the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, but associative explanations cannot assure us of that knowledge.

In this chapter, I have alternatively sketched a history of textual transmission of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* that takes careful account of relevant developments in liturgical practices as well as changes in sociocultural circumstances that affected ecclesiastical, pastoral, and devotional efforts in medieval England. With this transmission history, the most sound statement one can make about Margery Kempe's knowledge of Perpetua and Felicitas is that the influence of the breviary (which, in her time and place was the *Sarum Breviary*) would have meant that these saints still had a role to play in liturgical practices: their names were part of the most intimate prayers of the Mass, and their story was mentioned every year in accordance with the Common of the Virgin Martyrs as part of the Proper of the Saints. Also, Margery's home church in Bishop's Lynn (now, King's Lynn) was dedicated to St. Margaret and All Virgins, and this dedication would have encouraged local appreciation for virgin martyrs.

As I mentioned at the outset of this work, my purpose is not to study the biographical significance of Perpetua and Felicitas, and, for that matter, neither have I

intended to explain fully the biographical significance of Margery Kempe or specific importance of Perpetua and Felicitas to Margery Kempe. What this study does emphasize, rather, is that the knowledge of the practice of prayer in medieval Christianity was continually embodied in narrative figures so that one might learn such a practice from these “teachers” and then reinscribe it for posterity by presenting one’s own new example in an updated narrative. Margery, for her part, spent much of her devotional life watching the virgin martyrs and listening as

thei spokyn to the undirstondyng of hir sowle, and enformyd hir how sche schulde lovyn God and how sche schulde best plesyn hym, and answeyrd to what that sche wolde askyn of hem, and sche cowde undirstond be her maner of dalyawns which of hem it was that spak unto hir and comforyd hir.³⁰⁶

While Margery’s regard for Perpetua, Felicitas, and companions was probably nominal, Margery generally esteemed the saints of the Church. Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa explains Margery’s affinities, particularly for Mary Magdalene and St. Katherine of Alexandria, saying that Margery tended to think of her favorite saints in groups (virgin martyrs, repentant sinners, evangelists) and seems to have “intentionally chosen [her distinctive saints] to elaborate some fundamental issue in her own religious life.”³⁰⁷

In these ways, Margery shows her knowledge of religious history and tradition. At the same time, she demonstrates a willingness to interact with such knowledge, transforming herself and tradition in the process. This recognition is perhaps a fitting way to end this chapter, for it helps illustrate an important point about the ongoing transmission of

the memory of Perpetua, Felicitas, and their companions: that if they were to be remembered at all, it was because their story had significance beyond its own time, because influence is not unidirectional, because there is a dialogue between past and present, elsewhere and here, institution and individual, words and action, you and me, us and them.

CONCLUSION

On a cool day in late October, parchment colored leaves crackling underfoot, I myself stepped into the hallowed hollows of St. Margaret's Church in King's Lynn. Researching in the UK, I never could quite shake the palpable sense of entering other times and worlds when crossing a threshold. Anything could happen inside any door, just as sure as most times nothing unusual would. St. Margaret's existence seems a miracle to me even now, what with its gargantuan medieval retaining pillars sunk dangerously askew and the quietly efficient administrator using her hands to gesture how neat lines of headstones in the churchyard had been moved several times over the centuries because of frequent low-level flooding in the area.³⁰⁸ The timing of my visit coincided with the driest parts of the year, yet even then damp climbed the walls in early afternoon and a netting of darkness veils all my pictures. The latter effect, however, was primarily induced by bars on the stained-glass windows, which were externally imposed to prevent further damage by jobs and vandals.

Still, Margery Kempe's influence on the place was not difficult to locate. She had obviously displaced St. Margaret herself as the local celebrity, and information about Kempe dominated the pamphlets-by-donation rack.³⁰⁹ I was fingering my own Margery pamphlet as I climbed steps to the choir where medieval memorial (or, "monumental") brasses had once been centrally laid.³¹⁰ In Margery's day, bustling Lynn had been a commercial powerhouse for trade with the Continent through the Hanseatic League, and the size and detail of the Flemish brasses is a testament to the wealth of the town at the time.³¹¹ The largest of their kind in England, the stylized brasses depict not only lifesized

husbands and wives but also their pets and trinkets, mottoes and maxims, along with pictures of apostles and stories of saints.³¹² Worn almost smooth from generations of traffic in worshipers, the brasses are now roped off along the south aisle of St. Margaret's for preservation and display. In Margery's day, though, she may well have lain full-force against them during her private prayers and devotions in the choir—their cold, hard constancy (palms together, eyes wide) brought to life by her warmth and weeping.

I looked, as was my habit, for anything related to Saint Perpetua at the church. If nothing else, such modern Anglican places usually have a treasured and dusty copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* stashed somewhere, and Perpetua and friends made the leap after the Reformation to Anglo-Protestant respectability.³¹³ But for security purposes at St. Margaret's many doors were locked, and I did not feel inclined to request special assistance. As on the day we had tramped the Oxfordshire countryside, stopping in parish churches and chapels along the way, I had hoped for a chance discovery: miniature recumbent effigy of a crusader-knight at Long Wittenham, partially whitewashed reredos of grieving Mary and John at Dorchester, carved angelic bosses and sacred monograms on the ceiling at Ewelme.³¹⁴ But such a discovery was not to be made today.

If Perpetua's influence had once been felt in Lynn at the Priory Church of St. Margaret with St. Mary Magdalene and All the Virgin Saints, I was not to witness it now. I was becoming familiar with this sense of the modesty of the past and a few weeks later would be only mildly stirred to find an open-stack book at Duke Humphrey's in the Bodleian Library where David Hugh Farmer claimed there had been a medieval English church dedicated to Perpetua.³¹⁵ Following a circuitous research trail to locate the

inspiration for this notion, I could go back no further than Francis Bond's 1914 *Dedications & Patron Saints of English Churches* where contradictory information says there was and was not such a church.³¹⁶ Bond herself claims to be updating Frances Arnold-Forster's 1899 *Studies in Church Dedications; or, England's Patron Saints*, and Arnold-Forster writes:

one asks one's self with amazement how it is that so little honour has been paid to such a martyr as S. Perpetua, while there are churches by the score to such semi-mythical sufferers as S. Margaret and S. Catherine. It was not that the name of S. Perpetua was unknown to the English Church, for it held its place in our pre-Reformation Kalendars (that of Salisbury, for example), just as it holds its place in our existing Prayer-book Kalendar. The probable explanation is to be found in the branch of the Church to which S. Perpetua belonged. She was a member of the North African or Mauritanian Church, and we shall elsewhere have occasion (CH. XIX) to observe how little count our English dedications take of this branch of the Church. If S. Perpetua had been a Roman martyr—still more, if she had been a virgin rather than a matron—we should probably have many dedications in her honour; but the omission is one that is almost certain to be made good before long, if indeed there be not already some modern church in her honour that has not fallen under our notice.³¹⁷

So Farmer's mistaken assertion regarding Perpetua may be the innocent result of believing a typo in Bond's charts or was an expression of unwarranted positivity. In the current edition of his *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, the claim is removed.³¹⁸ At the time of this writing, the

only English architectural evidence for remembrance of Saint Perpetua that I know is a pseudo-medieval window at Chester Cathedral, which Christine Trevett mentioned to me in an e-mail, saying that she used an image of the “Perpetua Window” for her recent article in Philip Francis Esler’s reference work, *The Early Christian World*.³¹⁹ For my part, I have not suggested early Christian or medieval memories where I could not find any. Knowledge of the past is hard-won, and honesty about such matters can be an admirable form of humility. It is a long time to be dead, 1800 years, and Perpetua lived a very long time ago. But these recognitions are not nearly so remarkable as the fact that she has also been remembered by name for so long, and nearly all I have learned of Perpetua has been found in books or at least I have used books as my primary source of inspiration.

The very bookishness of the memory of Perpetua and her companions cannot be taken too lightly, and this idea I have found to be a driving force throughout my study. By bookishness, however, I intend to refer not only to the material objects that have transmitted and transformed the *Passion of Saint Perpetua and Felicitas* throughout time, but also to the fact that figures in the narrative (Perpetua especially) have served to embody rhetorical and intellectual sophistication for the work’s earliest Christian audience and later medieval readers. In this way, the “book” itself becomes a symbol just as Perpetua and her fellow martyrs can be read as figures with interpretive resonance for those who vividly reimagine their experiences.

Beyond simply being a documentary record, the *Passion of Saint Perpetua and Felicitas* is about meaning: how we come to make meaning and to understand our lives. Each generation to rethink the narrative (and most, though not all, of them bother) has had to

wrestle out its significance, given their available tools and circumstances. The challenges of language, time, place, and personhood have remained significant because Perpetua herself was the inheritor of traditions as much as she was the beginning of a new one: her life and death serve as a witness to her education and skills. That the work about her was used for early Christian education seems fitting, and yet this reception history can enliven our understanding of verbal contests and visionary experiences throughout the text.

As scholars have continually taken up the challenge to read, edit, and translate the passion narrative, it is crucial to recognize the significance of its early Christian, medieval, and modern influences. Particularly, this study has examined multifaceted and discrete forms of remembrance of Perpetua, Felicitas, and their companions in medieval England, the place with the bulk of surviving *Passio* manuscripts. Such specificity about reception history has, I hope, legitimately reclaimed a medieval presence for this hagiographic text. To serve these discussions, I have also provided new manuscript recognitions and other forms of remembrance, attending to the liturgical context for the ongoing transmission of the narrative and finding in such situations that remembrance tended to occur in environments where intellectual effort was championed, where religious and educational institutions were valued, and where attention was paid to the tools and methods of knowledge.

A parting thought: When I first moved to my Berkshire research accommodations, I could not help seeing the neoclassical *Venus Italica* in the neighbor's garden in Pangborne as an image of Saint Perpetua: gracious, womanly, always preparing for her fate, not quite yet undone. As I finish writing this work from my university home in Canada, I see this statue

as much too lifeless to represent the rich, ongoing history of studying and teaching the *Passion of Saints in Perpetua and Felicitas*, which is its own ever-changing kaleidoscope of life, love, loss, and longing—and that is enough, more than enough.

Appendix A

A Gathering of References
to the Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas
before 1100

English translations or, alternatively, Latin editions of texts
are provided from previously published materials.

1. **203+, Events of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* and Oral Transmission of Knowledge**
2. **203+, Written Autographs and Original Literary Compilations (lost)**
3. **ca. 208-212, Tertullian, *On the Soul* 55.4**

Shall we then have to sleep high up in ether, with the boy-loving worthies of Plato; or in the air with Arius; or around the moon with the Endymions of the Stoics? No, but in Paradise, you tell me, whither already the patriarchs and prophets have removed from Hades in the retinue of the Lord's resurrection. How is it, then, that the region of Paradise, which as revealed to John in the Spirit lay under the altar, displays no other souls as in it besides the souls of the martyrs? How is it that the most heroic martyr Perpetua on the day of her passion saw only her fellow-martyrs there, in the revelation which she received of Paradise, if it were not that the sword which guarded the entrance permitted none to go in thereat, except those who had died in Christ and not in Adam?

- Peter Holmes, tr., *The Writings of Tertullianus*, The Writings of Quintus Sept. Flor. Tertullianus 2, Ante-Nicene Christian Library (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1870). Also available online at <http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-22.htm>.

4. **ca. 250, Pontius, *The Life of Cyprian* (negative allusion to Perpetua)**

Although Cyprian, the devout priest and glorious witness of God, composed many writings whereby the memory of his worthy name survives; and although the profuse fertility of his eloquence and of God's grace so expands itself in the exuberance and richness of his discourse, that he will probably never cease to speak even to the end of the world; yet, since to his works and deserts it is justly due that his example should be recorded in writing, I have thought it well to prepare this brief and compendious narrative. Not that the life of so great a man can be unknown to any even of the heathen nations, but that to our posterity also this incomparable and lofty pattern may be prolonged into immortal remembrance. It would assuredly be hard that, when our fathers have given such honour even to lay-people and catechumens who have obtained martyrdom, for reverence of their very martyrdom, as to record many, or I had nearly said, well nigh all, of the circumstances of their sufferings, so that they might be brought to our knowledge also who as yet were not born, the passion of such a priest and such a martyr as Cyprian should be passed over, who, independently of his martyrdom, had much to teach, and that what he did while he lived should

be hidden from the world. And, indeed, these doings of his were such, and so great, and so admirable, that I am deterred by the contemplation of their greatness, and confess myself incompetent to discourse in a way that shall be worthy of the honour of his deserts, and unable to relate such noble deeds in such a way that they may appear as great as in fact they are, except that the multitude of his glories is itself sufficient for itself, and needs no other heraldry. It enhances my difficulty, that you also are anxious to hear very much, or if it be possible every thing, about him, longing with eager warmth at least to become acquainted with his deeds, although now his living words are silent. And in this behalf, if I should say that the powers of eloquence fail me, I should say too little. For eloquence itself fails of suitable powers fully to satisfy your desire. And thus I am sorely pressed on both sides, since he burdens me with his virtues, and you press me hard with your entreaties.

-Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, A. Cleveland Coxe, and Allan Menzies, eds., *Fathers of the Third Century: Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian. Appendix*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870). Also available online at <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-05/anf05-24.htm>.

5. **by 4th c., Monumental Inscriptions from Carthaginian Basilica Major**

[+ hic] sunt marty[res]
 + Saturus Saturn[inus]
 + Rebocatus Secu[ndulus]
 + Felicit." Per[pet]. pas[cha] [o non. Mart. ?].
 [+] Maiulus [. . .].

[sanct.] | [Perpe] | [tua] [sanct.] | [Felici] | tas sancs |
 Spera | tus sancs | Istefa | nus sanct. | Siri | ca sancs | Satu | rus
 sancs | Satur | ninus *below are two peacocks (infra duo pavones).*

- Ernest Diehl, "Nos. 2040a-2041, and 3138," In *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925; repr., Berlin: Druckerei Hildebrand, 1961).

5. **354, Philocalian Calendar Depositions of Martyrs (old Roman calendar)**

Depositio martyrum:
 non. Martias. Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Africae.

- Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica minora saec. IV., V., VI., VII.*, 3 vols., Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Auctorum Antiquissimorum 9 (Berlin:

1892; repr., Berlin: Weidman, 1961), 71. Also available online at <http://www.dmgh.de/>.

6. late 4th c., Old Syrian Martyrology

Και ζ' του 'Αδάρ. – 'Εν τη 'Αφρική εκ των αρχαίων Περπετούα και Σατορνίλος και έτεροι μάρτυρες δέκα. (Not all accents correct.)

- Quoted by van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 166*, from the *Acta Sanctorum* November II 1 (Brussels: 1894), 54.

Seghers (Special Collections)/ SC Storage: BX4655 A2 1643 / 1863 (also 18, 36)

7. ca. 400, Augustine

Excerpt from Sermon 280

I. – 1. Today with its anniversary and return calls into our mind, and in a manner sets anew before us, that day whereon the blessed servants of God, Perpetua and Felicitas, being adorned with the crowns of martyrdom, did achieve the flower of perpetual felicity; bearing in the battle the name of Christ, and in the prize of battle finding their own. Their exhortations in the heavenly visions, and the triumphs of their passion, we heard when they were read to us; and all these, set out and made clear with the light of words, we have received with our ears, pondered with our minds, honored with ceremonies of religion, praised with charity. Yet unto so holy a celebration we are bound to give also a solemn homily; and if I that speak it may not set forth their worthiness as I would, yet I bring a ready of affection to the joys of so great a feast. For what thing might there be more glorious than these women, whom men may wonder at sooner than they may imitate? But this is chiefly the glory of Him, in whom they that believe, and they that with holy zeal in his name and do contend one with another, are indeed “according to the inward man neither male nor female;” so that even in them that are women in body the manliness of their soul hides the sex of their flesh, and we may scarce think of that in their bodily condition which they suffered not appearing in their deeds. The dragon therefore was trodden down by the chaste foot and victorious tread of the blessed Perpetua, when that upward ladder was shown her whereby she should go to God; and head of the ancient serpent, which to her that fell was a stone of stumbling, was made a step to her that rose....

- Walter H. Shewring, *The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicity, MM: A New Edition and Translation of the Latin Text, Together with the Sermons of S. Augustine Upon These Saints, Now First Translated into English* (London: Sheed and Ward,

1931). A reprint of Shewring's translation of Augustine's sermons is available in Mary-Ann Stouck, ed., *Medieval Saints: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 4 (Peterborough and Orchard Park: Broadview Press, 1999). The Patrologia Latina edition of Augustine's works is available online at "S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia: Patrologiae Latinae Elenchus," Sant'Agostino, <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm>.

Sermon 281

1. These martyrs, brethren, were companions together; but above them all shines out the name and merit of Perpetua and Felicitas, the blessed handmaids of God; for where the sex was more frail, there is the crown more glorious. Truly towards these women a manly courage did work a marvel, when beneath so great a burden their womanly weakness failed not. Well was it for them that they clove unto one husband, even Him unto whom the Church, being one, is "presented as a chaste virgin." Well, I say, that they clove to that husband from whom they drew strength to resist the devil; that women should make to fall that enemy who by a woman did make a man to fall. He [Christ] appeared in them unconquered, who for their sakes became weak. He filled them with fortitude that He might reap them, who did empty himself so that He might sow them. He led them unto this glory and honor who for their sakes did listen to contumely and rebuke. He made these women to die in manly and faithful fashion who for their sakes did mercifully vouchsafe to be born of a woman.

2. And it rejoices a godly soul to look upon such a sight as the blessed Perpetua has told was revealed to her of herself, how she became a man and strove with the devil. Truly in that strife she also did run "towards the perfect man, to the measure of the age of fullness of Christ." And that ancient and subtle enemy that would leave no device untried, who once by a woman seduced a man and now felt a woman to play the man against him, did strive by a man to vanquish this woman; not without cause. For he set not her husband before her, lest she that by heavenly thoughts already dwelt in the skies, by disdainful suspicion of fleshly love should remain the stronger; but he gave to her father the words of deceit, that the godly soul which might not be softened by the urging of pleasure, might nevertheless be broken by the assault of filial love. In which matter St. Perpetua answered her father with such temperance that neither did she transgress the commandment which bids honor be paid to parents nor yielded to those deceits wherewith that so subtle enemy tried her. And he, being on all sides overcome, caused the same father to be struck with a rod; that whereas she had condemned his words, she might at least have compassion upon his stripes. And she grieved indeed at that insult upon her aged father, loving him yet to whom she consented not. For she detested the folly in him and

not his nature; his infidelity, and not her own birth. Therefore with the greater glory she resisted so beloved a father when he counseled ill, whom she could not see smitten without lamentation; and therefore that sorrow to nothing away from the strength of her constancy, but rather it added somewhat to the glory of her passion. For “unto them that love God all things work together for good.”

3. As for Felicitas, she was with child in her very dungeon; and in her labor did witness unto her woman’s lot with a woman’s cry. She suffered the pain of Eve, but she tasted the grace of Mary. A woman’s debt was required of her, but He succored whom a Virgin bore. Lastly her child was brought forth, timely in an untimely month. For God so willed it that the burden of her womb should not be eased in its rightful time, lest in its rightful time the glory of martyrdom should be delayed. God, I say, so willed it, that the babe should be born out of due season, yet so that to all that company should be given their due Felicitas; lest had she been lacking, there should seem to have lacked not a companion only to the martyrs, but the prize of those same martyrs. For that was the name of these two which is the reward of all. For wherefore do martyrs endure all things if not for this, that they may rejoice in perpetual felicity? The women therefore were called that unto which all were called. And therefore although there was in the contest a goodly company, with the names of these two the entirety of all is signified, the solemnity of all is sealed.

- Walter H. Shewring, *The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicity, MM: A New Edition and Translation of the Latin Text, Together with the Sermons of S. Augustine Upon These Saints, Now First Translated into English* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931). A reprint of Shewring’s translation of Augustine’s sermons is available in Mary-Ann Stouck, ed., *Medieval Saints: A Reader, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 4* (Peterborough and Orchard Park: Broadview Press, 1999). The Patrologia Latina edition of Augustine’s works is available online at “S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia: Patrologiae Latinae Elenchus,” Sant’Agostino, <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm>.

Sermon 282

1. We keep today the feast of those two most holy martyrs who not only in their passion shown out with surprising virtue but also because that great labor of their piety did seal with their names the reward of themselves and of their comrades likewise. For Perpetua and Felicitas are the names of two, but the reward of all. Truly all martyrs would not toil for a while in that strife of passion and confession save that they might rejoice in perpetual felicity. Wherefore by the government of the divine providence it was needful that they should be not martyrs only, but likewise most close

companions—as also they were—that they might seal a single day to their glory, and give to them that came after a common solemnity to be kept. For as by the example of their most glorious trial they exhort us to their imitation, so they testify by their names that we shall receive an inseparable reward. Let both in turn hold it, both weave it together. We hope not for the one without the other. For the perpetual without felicity avails not, and felicity fails unless it be perpetual. No concerning the names of those martyrs to whom this day is dedicated, let these few words suffice.

2. And for those women whose names these are—even as we heard when their passion was read, and as tradition hath delivered to us and we know, these holy and valiant ones were not only of female kind but were very women. And the one was a mother likewise, so that to their frailty of that sex might be added a more importunate love; so that the Enemy assailing them at all points and hoping they should not bear the bitter and heavy burden of persecution, might think they should straightway yield themselves up to him and be soon his own. But they with the prudent and valiant strength of the inward man did blunt his devices every one and break his assault.

3. In this company of surpassing glory, men also were martyrs; on that selfsame day most valiant man did suffer and overcome; yet did not they with their names commend this day unto us. And this was so, not because women were preferred before men for the worthiness wherewith they bore themselves, but because the weakness of women more marvelously did vanquish the ancient Enemy, and also the strength of men contended to win a perpetual felicity.

- Walter H. Shewring, *The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicity, MM: A New Edition and Translation of the Latin Text, Together with the Sermons of S. Augustine Upon These Saints, Now First Translated into English* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931). A reprint of Shewring's translation of Augustine's sermons is available in Mary-Ann Stouck, ed., *Medieval Saints: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 4 (Peterborough and Orchard Park: Broadview Press, 1999). The Patrologia Latina edition of Augustine's works is available online at "S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia: Patrologiae Latinae Elenchus," Sant'Agostino, <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm>.

On the Soul and Its Origin

1.10.12

DINOCRATES, BROTHER OF THE MARTYR ST. PERPETUA, IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN DELIVERED FROM THE STATE OF CONDEMNATION BY THE PRAYERS OF THE SAINT.

Concerning Dinocrates, however, the brother of St. Perpetua, there is no record in the canonical Scripture; nor does the saint herself, or whoever it was that wrote the account, say that the boy, who had died at the age of seven years, died without baptism; in his behalf she is believed to have had, when her martyrdom was imminent, her prayers effectually heard that he should be removed from the penalties of the lost to rest. Now, boys at that time of life are able both to lie, and, saying the truth, both to confess and deny. Therefore, when they are baptized they say the Creed, and answer in their behalf to such questions as are proposed to them in examination. Who can tell, then, whether that boy, after baptism, in a time of persecution was estranged from Christ to idolatry by an impious father, and on that account incurred mortal condemnation, from which he was only delivered for Christ's sake, given to the prayers of his sister when she was at the point of death?

2.10.14

From the case, however, of the thief who, when crucified at the Lord's side, put his hope in the Lord who was crucified with him, and from the case of Dinocrates, the brother of St. Perpetua, he argues that even to the unbaptized may be given the remission of sins and an abode with the blessed; as if any one unbelief in whom would be a sin, had shown him that the thief and Dinocrates had not been baptized. Concerning these cases, however, I have more fully explained my views in the book which I wrote to our brother Renatus. This your loving self will be able to ascertain if you will condescend to read the book; for I am sure our brother will not find it in his heart to refuse you, if you ask him the loan of it.

3.9.12

If you wish to be a catholic, refrain from believing, or saying, or teaching that "infants which are forestalled by death before they are baptized may yet attain to forgiveness of their original sins." For the examples by which you are misled--that of the thief who confessed the Lord upon the cross, or that of Dinocrates the brother of St. Perpetua--contribute no help to you in defence of this erroneous opinion. As for the thief, although in God's judgment he might be reckoned among those who are purified by the confession of martyrdom, yet you cannot tell whether he was not baptized. For, to say nothing of the opinion that he might have been sprinkled with the water which gushed at the same time with the blood out of the Lord's side, as he hung on the cross next to Him, and thus have been washed with a baptism of the most sacred kind, what if he had been baptized in prison, as in after times some under persecution were enabled privately to obtain? or what if he had been baptized previous to his imprisonment? If, indeed, he had been, the remission of his sins which he would have received in that case

from God would not have protected him from the sentence of public law, so far as appertained to the death of the body. What if, being already baptized, he had committed the crime and incurred the punishment of robbery and lawlessness, but yet received, by virtue of repentance added to his baptism, forgiveness of the sins which, though baptized, he had committed? For beyond doubt his faith and piety appeared to the Lord clearly in his heart, as they do to us in his words. If, indeed, we were to conclude that all those who have quitted life without a record of their baptism died unbaptized, we should calumniate the very apostles themselves; for we are ignorant when they were, any of them, baptized, except the Apostle Paul. If, however, we could regard as an evidence that they were really baptized the circumstance of the Lord's saying to St. Peter, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet," what are we to think of the others, of whom we do not read even so much as this,--Barnabas, Timothy, Titus, Silas, Philemon, the very evangelists Mark and Luke, and innumerable others, about whose baptism God forbid that we should entertain any doubt, although we read no record of it? As for Dinocrates, he was a child of seven years of age; and as children who are baptized so old as that can now recite the creed and answer for themselves in the usual examination, I know not why he may not be supposed after his baptism to have been recalled by his unbelieving father to the sacrilege and profanity of heathen worship, and for this reason to have been condemned to the pains from which he was liberated at his sister's intercession. For in the account of him you have never read, either that he was never a Christian, or died a catechumen. But for the matter of that, the account itself that we have of him does not occur in that canon of Holy Scripture whence in all questions of this kind our proofs ought always to be drawn.

3.13.19

You say, "Should any one perhaps be reluctant to allow that paradise was temporarily bestowed in the meantime on the souls of the dying thief and of Dinocrates, while there still remains to them the reversion of the kingdom of heaven at the resurrection, seeing that the principal passage stands in the way of the opinion, 'Except a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,' he may still hold my ungrudging assent on this point; only let him do full honour to both the effect and the aim of the divine mercy and foreknowledge." These are your own words, and in them you express your agreement with the man who says that paradise is conferred on certain unbaptized for a time, in such a sense that at the resurrection there is in store for them the reward of the kingdom of heaven, in opposition to "that principal passage" which has determined that none shall enter into that kingdom who has not been born again of water and the Holy Ghost. Pelagius was afraid to oppose himself to this

“principal passage” of the Gospel, and he did not believe that any (whom he still did not suppose to be sinners) would enter into the kingdom of heaven unbaptized. You, on the contrary, acknowledge that infants have original sin, and yet you absolve them from it without the layer of regeneration, and send them for a temporary residence in paradise, and subsequently permit them to enter even into the kingdom of heaven.

4.18.26

ST. PERPETUA SEEMED TO HERSELF, IN SOME DREAMS, TO HAVE BEEN TURNED INTO A MAN, AND THEN HAVE WRESTLED WITH A CERTAIN EGYPTIAN.

Some notice must be taken of sundry accounts of martyrs' visions, because you have thought proper to derive some of your evidence therefrom. St. Perpetua, for instance, seemed to herself in dreams to be wrestling with an Egyptian, after being changed into a man. Now, who can doubt that it was her soul in that apparent bodily form, not her body, which, of course, remained in her own sex as a woman, and lay on the bed with her senses steeped in sleep, whilst her soul was struggling in the similitude of a man's body? What have you to say to this? Was that male likeness a veritable body, or was it no body at all, although possessing the appearance of a body? Choose your alternative. If it was a body, why did it not maintain its sexual integrity? For in that woman's flesh were found no virile functions of generation, whence by any such process as that which you call congelation could be moulded this similitude of a man's body. We will conclude then, if you please, that, as her body was still alive while she slept, notwithstanding the wrestling of her soul, she remained in her own natural sex, enclosed, of course, in all her proper limbs which belong to her in her living state, and was still in possession of that bodily shape and the lineaments of which she had been originally formed. She had not resigned, as she would by death, her joints and limbs; nor had she withdrawn from the transposing power, which arises from the operation of the power of death, any of her members which had already received their fixed form. Whence, then, did her soul get that virile body in which she seemed to wrestle with her adversary? If, however, this [male likeness] was not a body, although such a semblance of one as admitted the sensation in it of a real struggle or a real joy, do you not by this time see, as far as may be, that there can be in the soul a certain resemblance of a bodily substance, while the soul is not itself a body?

4.18.27

IS THE SOUL WOUNDED WHEN THE BODY IS WOUNDED?

What, then, if some such thing is exhibited among the departed; and souls recognise themselves among them, not, indeed, by bodies, but by the semblances of bodies? Now, when we suffer pain, if only in our dreams,

although it is only the similitude of bodily limbs which is in action, and not the bodily limbs themselves, still the pain is not merely in semblance, but in reality; as is also the case in the instance of joyous sensations. Inasmuch, however, as St. Perpetua was not yet dead, you probably are unwilling to lay down a precise rule for yourself from that circumstance (although it bears strongly on the question), as to what nature you will suppose those semblances of bodies to partake of, which we have in our dreams. If you allow them to be like bodies, but not bodies actually, then the entire question would be settled. But her brother Dinocrates was dead; she saw him with the wound which he received while alive, and which caused his death. Where is the ground for the earnest contention to which you devoted your efforts, when you laboured to show, that when a limb is cut off, the soul must not be supposed as suffering a like amount of loss by amputation? Observe, the wound was inflicted on the soul of Dinocrates, expelling it by its force from his body, when it was inhabiting that body. How, then, can your opinion be correct, that "when the limbs of the body are cut off, the soul withdraws itself from the stroke, and after condensation retires to other parts, so that no portion of it is amputated with the wound inflicted on the body," even if the person be asleep and unconscious when the loss of limb is suffered? So great is the vigilance which you have ascribed to the soul, that even should the stroke fall on any part of the flesh without its knowledge, when it is absorbed in the visions of dreams, it would instantly, and by a providential instinct, withdraw itself, and so render it impossible for any blow, or injury, or mutilation to be inflicted upon it. However, you may, as much as you will, ransack your ingenuity for an answer to the natural question, how the soul withdraws the portions of its own existence, and retreats within itself, so that, whenever a limb of the body is cut off or broken, it does not suffer any amputation or fracture in itself; but I cannot help asking you to look at the case of Dinocrates, and to explain to me why his soul did not withdraw from that part of his body which received the mortal wound, and so escape from suffering in itself what was plainly enough seen in his face, even after his body was dead? Is it, perchance, your good pleasure that we should suppose the phenomena in question to be rather the semblances of bodies than the reality; so that as that which is really no wound seems to be a wound, so that which is no body at all wears the appearance of corporeity? If, indeed, the soul can be wounded by those who wound the body, should we not have good reason to fear that it can be killed also by those who kill the body? This, however, is a fate which the Lord Himself most plainly declares it to be impossible to happen. And the soul of Dinocrates could not at any rate have died of the blow which killed his body: its wound, too, was only an apparent one; for not being corporeal, it was not really wounded, as the body had been; possessing the likeness of the body, it shared also the resemblance of its wound. Still it may be further

said, that in its unreal body the soul felt a real misery, which was signified by the shadow of the body's wound. It was from this real misery that he earned deliverance by the prayers of his holy sister.

Expositions on the Psalms (Psalm 48.12)

Of this it is said, "Love is strong as death." For as when death cometh, it cannot be resisted; by whatever arts, whatever medicines, you meet it; the violence of death can none avoid who is born mortal; so against the violence of love can the world do nothing. For from the contrary the similitude is made of death; for as death is most violent to take away, so love is most violent to save. Through love many have died to the world, to live to God; by this love inflamed, the martyrs, not pretenders, not puffed up by vain-glory, not such as they of whom it is written, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing," but men whom truly a love of Christ and of the truth led on to this passion; what to them were the temptations of the tormentors? Greater violence had the eyes of their weeping friends, than the persecutions of enemies. For how many were held by their children, that they might not suffer? to how many did their wives fall upon their knees, that they might not be left widows? How many have their parents forbidden to die; as we know and read in the Passion of the Blessed Perpetua! All this was done; but tears, however great, and with whatever force flowing, when did they extinguish the ardour of love? This is the might of Sion, to whom elsewhere it is said, "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces."

- English translation of Augustine's works from the New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia Online, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/>. The *Patrologia Latina* edition of Augustine's works is also available online at "S. Aurelii Augustini Opera omnia: Patrologiae Latinae elenchus," Sant'Agostino, <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm>.

8. after 400, Pseudo-Augustine, Sermon 394

**DE NATALI SS. PERPETUAE ET FELICITATIS
Perpetua et Felicitas una sollemnitas.**

1. Duae gemmae hodie in Ecclesia refulserunt et una claritas: quia Perpetua et Felicitas una solemnitatis; nec potest dubitari de felicitate, quae perpetuam possidet dignitatem. Iunxit illas carceris custodia, iunxit et gratia: quia non est in eis ulla discordia. Simul cantant in carcere, simul Christo obviam veniunt in aere; simul pugnant ad vaccam, simul intrabunt in patriam sempiternam; simul martyrium gerebant; una lactabat, altera pariebat. Perpetua dicebat, cum traderet infantem et amoveret lactentem: Quis nos

separabit a caritate Christi? 1 Felicitas de partu gemitus dabat, et post comites suos intrepida festinabat; et gemendo liberata, quid Christo dicebat? Dirupisti vincula mea; tibi sacrificabo sacrificium laudis 2. Et beatus David ad eius gemitum consolandum dicebat: Det tibi Dominus secundum cor tuum, et omne consilium tuum confirmet 3. O fragilitas! Tenebrae fugiebant, et humana conditio non transibat. Sed qui mortem vicit, et illam a partus periculo liberavit, et Perpetuam a lactis pondere sublevavit. Cum enim scalae illius gradus ascenderent, et draconis insidiosa colla calcarent, venerunt ad viridarium caelestium pratorum, et invenerunt illic Pastorem bonum animam suam ponentem pro ovibus suis 4, et lactis succum quaerentem a gregibus suis. Nam sedebat, inquit, pastor iuvenis et senex, viridis aetate, canus capite, qui non novit senectutem. Iuvenis in illo vultus micabat, quia idem ipse est, et anni eius non deficient 5. Capite canescebat, quia iustus Dominus iustitiam diligebat, aequitatem agnoscebat in Martyribus. In circuitu eius oves inclinatae cubabant, ipse eas digito pastorali mulgebat, in quibus inveniebat lactis copiam et fecundam pietatis conscientiam. Mulgebat digitis et alloquebatur paternis solatiis, promissis caelestibus praeparatis dicens: Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis praeparatum est ab origine mundi 6. Et ostendit illis lactis alvea puro corde spumantia per lucidam eleemosynam, et dicit: Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi, et potastis me 7. Accipit Perpetua a dulci pastore lac novum, antequam funderet sanguinem pretiosum. Responderunt: Amen, et coeperunt petere pietatem. Orabant in carcere, securae iam de pastore. Domine, inquiunt, non sit arida confessio nostra, ut et nos mereamur tuis pretiosis gregibus sociari, et a tuis martyribus non separari. Proponitur eis in visione palaestra, in amphitheatro arena pomposa. Adest ille Aegyptius, qui fuit in caelo Lucifer speciosus: ipse pugnaturus volutatur in pulvere, et Perpetua triumphatura Domino Salvatore, adiunxit manus in crucem, habens ante se dominicum iuvenem defensorem. Accipit triumphum de victoria, et ramum consequitur de corona. Offeramus illi et nos munera nostra: alii eis in tempore offerebant visitationes carceris; nos offeramus illis votum solemnitatis, ut regnum mereamur cum omnibus sanctis.

- Quoted by van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 160*-61*, from Pseudo-Augustinus, "Sermo 394," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina* 39, ed. J. P. Migne, 1715-16 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844). Also available online at "S. Aurelii Augustini Opera omnia: Patrologiae Latinae elenchus," Sant'Agostino, <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm>.

9. d. ca. 454, *Quodvultdeus* / *Pseudo-Quodvultdeus*?**from the *Sermo de tempore barbarico***

v. – 6. Habetis virorum fortium magna exempla. Vicerunt martyres mundum: inter quos martyres maribus etiam feminae repertae sunt fortiores. Ante paucos dies natalitia celebravimus martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis, et comitum. Et cum tot ibi sint viri, quare istae duae prae omnibus nominantur, nisi quia infirmior sexus aut aequavit, aut superavit virorum fortitudinem? Una earum erat praegnans, alia lactans. Felicitas parturiebat, Perpetua lactabat. Sed tamdiu haec Perpetua lactavit, quamdiu acciperet ab illo pastore simul et patre buccellam lactis: qua accerta dulcedo felicitatis perpetuae eam fecit contemnere filium, spernere patrem, non haerere mundo, perdere animam pro Christo. Felicitas vero, quae sociam habebat Perpetuam, parturiebat et dolebat, obiecta bestiis gaudebat potius quam timebat. Quae virtus in feminis! Qualis est gratia, quae cum se infundit, nullum indignum iudicat sexum! Gratias gratiae: reparavit enim sexum muliebrem. In opprobrium magnum mulier remanserat; quia ab initio per mulierem peccatum, et propter hanc omnes morimur. Diabolus unam Evam deiecit: sed Christus natus ex virgine multas feminas exaltavit. Perpetua et Felicitas caput calcaverunt serpentis, quod Eva ad cor suum intus admisit. Illam seduxit falsa promittendo; illas non valuit superare saeviendo: illam decepit in paradisi felicitate; has non potuit adire, nec sub tantorum positas potestate. Illius inter paradisi delicias ruinam gavisus est; harum inter poenas fortitudinis constantiam ipse quodam modo diabolus expavit. Merito sic sunt exaltatae, merito viris vel coaequatae vel praelatae. Quamvis enim in Christo Iesu non sit servus neque liber, non sit masculus neque femina, sed omnes sint unum occurrentes in virum perfectum; descendit tamen hoc donum ex magna gratia. Perpetua enim et Felicitas nomina istarum sanctarum feminarum, merces est sanctorum omnium martyrum.

- Quoted by van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 156*-57*, from *Quodvultdeus*, “*Sermo de tempore barbarico* V 6,” in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina* 40, ed. J. P. Migne, 703 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844). Now see *Quodvultdeus of Carthage*, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi episcopo tributa*, ed. René Braun, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

from the *Sermo de quarta feria sive de cultura agri dominici*

IV. – 5. Responde sicut respondit beatus Stephanus, qui in isto agro dominico ut bonus colonus plurimum laborando genu fixit, atque de terra petrosa vulneratus, ex ea lapides in suo corpore tanquam in sinu suo collegit, et sudando in opere, terram sancto sanguine rigando centenum fructum ex martyrio Domino praesentavit. Responde sicut respondit Cyprianus,

Laurentius, ceterique sancti pueri et puellae, aetas omnis et uterque sexus, qui percipientes sanguinem Christi, testimonium dicentes, et non negantes nomen Christi, pro sanguine quem biberunt, sanguinem suum fundere non dubitaverunt, simulque cum Perpetua et Felicitate in aeternum regnare meruerunt.

- Quoted by van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 157*-58*, from Quodvultdeus, "Sermo de quarta feria sive de cultura agri dominici IV 5," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina* 40, ed. J. P. Migne, 689 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844). Now see Quodvultdeus of Carthage, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi episcopo tributa*, ed. René Braun, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

from the *Tractatus De natale sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*

2. Accessit sanctae Perpetuae etiam paterna temptatio. Quotiens aggressus est filiam, modo minis, modo blanditiis, aliquid utile persuadere se existimans, inhumane benivulus, et crudeli misericordia violentus! Cui tamen illa numquam contumaciter superbeque respondit: nam et pro Christo passa, et pro Christo compassa est. Huic inhaerebat, illum dolebat; nec agnoscendi sanguinis humanum negabat affectum, nec fundendo sanguinem divinum perdebat effectum. Et tamen in ipso tribulationis exordio magis se ab aestu anxietudinis refrigerasse dixit patris absentia. Non erat ille aerumnae consolator, sed coronae dissuasor. Aut vero illa non intellegebat, per cuius carnalem amorem secum spiritualis adversarius dimicabat, insidiosius agens, qui patrem opponebat, in qua latebat? Et ideo iste dolebatur, ille cavebatur; quoniam casto corde Christus amabatur et timebatur. Inerant etiam in adolescentula, quanto viridiores anni, tanto ad amorem saeculi fluxiores. Nam viginti duos agebat annos, ubi posset putari maior fervor carnis quam divinae caritatis. Et hos Christi gratia superavit. Erat enim illa dei famula, nondum legitima aetate, sed perfecta pietate: proinde contempsit novellum corpus novella virtus, exercens vires iuvenis hominis, cui vetustas non minuitur senectutis. Pendebat etiam iuenculae mammis parvulus filius: grave sane onus maternae cura e pectori haerebat, sed cor a Christo non deponebat.

3. Felicitas autem etiam gravida comprehensa, gravida inclusa est: in octavo mense uterus fuit; maior labor ad sarcinam sustinendam, maius periculum ad exponendam.

Et tamen sic adiuta est suis sociorumque orationibus, ut partum cum salute tunc ederet, quando abortum sine morte non posset. Quamvisque se noluit ad nonum vel decimum mensem Christum negando differre, etiam si immature enixa moreretur, mature tamen confessa coronaretur, servata est tamen post recentem partum femina pugnatura; ut et in ferocibus bestiis ac

ferocioribus turbis etiam languido corpore diabolum superaret, et hostem carne fracta sed fide freta prosterneret.

4. Ecce comprehensae sunt ad passionis tribulationem, una lactans, alia praegnans, Perpetua et Felicitas.

5. Non defuit denique homo, vas diaboli, qui Felicitati parturienti, et dolores quos Eva meruit ex propaginis debito persolventi, ad dissuadendum martyrium diceret: "Quae modo doles, quid factura es obiecta bestiis, quas contempsisti cum sacrificare noluisti?" Sed illa respondit: "Modo ego patior, quod patior: illic autem alius erit in me, qui patietur pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum." O responsum habitantis dei in templo suo, et oracula divina fundentis! Quomodo implebatur quod praedictum erat: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri fortitudinem suam! "Modo", inquit, "ego patior quod patior." Agnosco supplicium quod dictum est, Cum gemitu paries filios; "illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum." Haec voto, ille adiutorio: haec volendo, ille subveniendo: haec obediendo, ille roborando. Quid est enim "Alius patietur pro me", nisi, donabit mihi pati pro se? Et quid est "Pro illo passura sum"? Vobis enim, ait apostolus, datum est pro Christo, non solum ut credatis in eum, verum etiam patiamini pro eo.

6. Celebremus itaque sanctorum martyrum diem festum, commendatum etiam passionibus virorum, sed illustrius nominibus feminarum; quae inflammatae Christi caritate vicerunt non solum sicut illi praesentis vitae suavitatem, omnesque voluptates mundi atque terrores, quibus communiter vel utitur vel premitur natura mortalium, sed insuper patris affectum, pignora filiorum, fragilem sexum, gravem uterum, periculosissimum partum. Et omnes in his omnibus diabolum vicerunt.

- Quoted by van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 158*-60*, from Germain Morin, ed., *Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus, sive, Sermones inediti: ex codice Guelferbyitano 4096: accedunt SS. Optati Mileyitani, Quodvultdei Carthaginensis episcoporum, aliorumque ex Augustini schola tractatus novem*. Kösel, 1917. Now see Quodvultdeus of Carthage, *Opera Quodvultdeus Carthaginensi episcopo tributa*, ed. René Braun, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 60* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

10. ca. 455, Tiro Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 390-465), *Chronicles*

(735) Severus . . . (757) Qua tempestate Perpetua et Felicitas pro Christo passae sunt non. Mart. apud Carthaginem, in castris bestiis deputatae.

- Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica minora saec. IV., V., VI., VII.*, 3 vols., Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Auctorum Antiquissimorum 9 (Berlin: 1892; repr., Berlin: Weidman, 1961), 433.735-34.757. Also available online at <http://www.dmgh.de/>.

11. **b. ca. 430, Victor Vitensis, *History of Persecutions in the African Province***

I.3: Et ut de necessariis loquar, basi li caro maiorem, ubi corpora sanctorum martyrum Perpetuae atque Felicitatis sepulta sunt, Celerinae vel Scilitanorum, et alias quas non destruxerunt suae religioni licentia tyrannica mancipaverunt

- Quoted by van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 160*, from Michael Petschenig, ed., *Victoris Episcopi Vitensis, Historia Persecutionis Africanae Provinciae*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 7 (Vienna: C. Geroldi filium, 1881), 5.19-6.1. Now see John Moorhead, ed., *Victor of Vita: History of the Vandal Persecution*, Translated Texts for Historians 10 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992).

12. **5th c., Pseudo-Fulgentius, Sermon 70: *On Job and Blessed Perpetua***

Beata Perpetua in carcerem missa, tenebris angustata, a lumine dilatata, quia praesumpsit, carcerem mutavit, tenebras effugavit, et ut innocens, non in carcere, sed in aula regia triumphavit.

- Quoted by van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 162*, from Pseudo-Fulgentius, "Sermo 70," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina* 65, ed. J. P. Migne, 942 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844).

13. **5th c., Sarcophagus of [Quintana de Bureba,] Briviesca, Museo de Burgos**

- Helmut Schlunk, "Zu den frühchristlichen Sarkophagen aus der Bureba (Provo Burgos)," *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 6 (1965), 139-66; Helmut Schlunk, "Sarcófagos paleocristianos labrados en Hispania: Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Mosaik kuppel von Centcelles," in *Actas del 8 Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana, Barcelona, octubre 1969* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1972), 187-218.

14. **5th-6th c., [Verona or Leonine Sacramentary (missing January-April)]**

- Charles Lett Feltoe, ed., *Sacramentarium Leonianum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896).

15. **ca. 576, *Annals of Ravenna***

priores: His cons. [Plautiano et Geta (203)] passae sunt Perpetua et Felicitas nonas Martias.

posteriores: His consulibus passae sunt Perpetua et Felicitas Carthagine nonas Martias sub Severo imperatore.

- Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica minora saec. IV., V., VI., VII.*, 3 vols., Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Auctorum Antiquissimorum 9 (Berlin: 1892; repr., Berlin: Weidman, 1961), 287. Also available online at <http://www.dmgh.de/>.

16. **6th c., Ravenna Archbishop's Chapel and Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo**

- Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, Franz X. Bartl, and Julie Boehringer, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 2nd rev. ed. (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1995).

17. **mid 6th c., Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč, Croatia**

- Ann Raybin Terry, "The Architecture and Architectural Sculpture of the Sixth-Century Eufrasius Cathedral Complex at Poreč" (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984).

18. **592-600, The *Martyrology of "Jerome"***

NON.MART. In Africa Satiri Revocati Iocundi Saturnini. alibi Silvani Rogati Eroii et Victorinae. Antiochia Leocis taxi Nistoris Equini Satiri Saturnini Revocati Secundoli Italici. in Mauritania civitate Turbitanorum passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis. in Tracia Dandae Lenucae Secundi Artaxi Quinti Nistoris item Secundi Serri Occatis item Dandae. in Africa Satiri Silvani Rogati Manili.

- Quoted by Günter Kotzor, ed., *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 2 vols. (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Beck [in Kommission], 1981), 281*, from the *Acta Sanctorum* November II 2 (Brussels: 1894), 123.

Seghers (Special Collections)/ SC Storage: BX4655 A2 1643 / 1863

19. **late 6th c., [*Calendar of the Carthaginian Church (months missing)*]**

- Jean Mabillon, ed., *Vetera analecta: sive Collectio veterum aliquot operum & opusculorum onmis generis, carminum, epistolarum, diplomatum, epitaphiorum, &c: cum itinere germanico*, New ed., vol. 3 (Paris: Apud Montalant, 1723; repr., Farnborough: Gregg, 1967), 398-401. Also available in Henri Leclercq, "Kalendaria," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1928), 644-45.

20. **ca. 650-750, *Old Gelasian Sacramentary***

- H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Gelasian Sacramentary [Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae]* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894).

21. **ca. 702-706, *Willibrord's Calendar***

MARCH
7 Perpetua and Felicitas

- H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Calendar of St. Willibrord. From MS. Paris Lat. 10837. A Facsimile with Transcription, Introduction, and Notes* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1918. Reprint, 1998). Also available online at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03158a.htm>.

22. **early 8th c., *Bede (ca. 673-735)***

Martyrology (later additions by Florus)

March/7 At Carthage, [the commemorative festival] of Perpetua and Felicitas, who were condemned to the beasts, under Prince Severus: and since Felicitas was pregnant in prison, it was procured by the prayers of all the soldiers [of Christ] who were likewise suffering that she would give birth in the eighth month. Truly, among other things it was granted to Perpetua that her mind would somehow be turned away from her body, in which she endured the attack of a cow: in this way, in order that she might look forward to what was to come, she did not know what was then happening while she was still in herself.

- Felice Lifshitz, tr., "Bede, Martyrology," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 182. Latin edition available in Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud, eds., *Edition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus*, Bibliographies, Colloques, Travaux Préparatoires (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976).

(?)703 *Chronica Minora*

(341) Severus . . . (346) Perpetua et Felicitas apud Kartaginem Africae in castris bestiis deputatae pro Christo nonis Martiis.

- Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica minora saec. IV., V., VI., VII.*, 3 vols., Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Auctorum Antiquissimorum 13 (Berlin: 1898), 288-89. Also available online at <http://www.dmgh.de/>.

23. 8th c. (?), Oengus the Culdee (d. ca. 830), *Martyrology*

- Whitley Stokes, ed., *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus, the Culdee*, Henry Bradshaw Society 29 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1905).

24. 8th c., Oengus with Maolruain of Tallaght (d. 792), *Martyrology of Tallaght*

- R. I. Best and Hugh Jackson Lawlor, eds., *The Martyrology of Tallaght; from the Book of Leinster and MS. 5100-4 in the Royal Library, Brussels*, Henry Bradshaw Society 68 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1931).

25. ca. 840-912, Notker of St. Gall (ca. 840-ca. 912), liturgical poetry (*In Natale Sanctarum Feminarum: Puella Turbata*) and *Martyrology* (?)

1. A ladder stretching up to heaven,
circled by torments—
2. At whose foot an attentive dragon
stands on guard, forever awake,
3. So that no one can climb even
to the first rung and not be torn—
4. The ascent of the ladder barred
by an Ethiop, brandishing
a drawn sword, threatening death,
5. While over the topmost rung
leans a young man, radiant,
a golden bough in his hand—
6. This is the ladder the love of Christ
made so free for women
that, treading down the dragon

and striding past the Ethiop's sword,

7. By way of torments of every kind
 they can reach heaven's summit
 and take the golden laurel
 from the hand of the strength-giving king.

8. What good did it do you,
 impious serpent,
 once to have deceived a woman,

9. Since a virgin brought forth
 God incarnate,
 only-begotten of the Father:

10. He who took your spoils away
 and pierces your jaw with a hook

11. To make of it an open gate
 for Eve's race, whom you long to hold.

12. So now you can see girls
 defeating you, envious one,

13. And married women now
 bearing sons who please God.

14. Now you groan at the loyalty
 of widows to their dead husbands,

15. You who once seduced a girl
 to disloyalty towards her creator.

16. Now you can see women made captains
 in the war that is waged against you,

17. Women who spur on their sons
 bravely to conquer all your tortures.

18. Even courtesans, your vessels,
 are purified by God,

19. Transmuted into a burnished

temple for him alone.

20. For these graces Jet us now
glorify him together,
both the sinners and those who are just,

21. Him who strengthens those who stand
and gives his right hand to the fallen,
that at least after crimes we may rise.

- Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, Modern Languages and Literature (London: Hutchinson, 1968). Latin edition in Wolfram von den Steinen, ed., *Notkeri Poetae - Balbuli [Notker Balbulus], Liber Ymnorum*. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1960. Notker, *Notkeri Balbuli martyrologium in Beati Notkeri Balbuli opera omnia*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina 131, ed. J. P. Migne, 1025-164 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1884).

26. 9th c. (?), Anonymous Martyrology of Lyon

(This work repeats the entry provided in Bede's *Martyrology*.)

- Latin edition available in Latin edition available in Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud, eds., *Edition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus*, Bibliographies, Colloques, Travaux Préparatoires (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976). See also Henri Quentin, ed., *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age: étude sur la formation du Martyrologe romain*, Etudes d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre J. Gabalda, 1908), 138.

27. earlier 9th c., Florus of Lyon (ca. 790-ca. 860), *Martyrology* (additions to Bede)

Non. Mar. In Mauritania, civitate Tuburbitanorum, passio sanctarum martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis, et cum eis Revocati, Saturnini et Secunduli; quorum ultimus in carcere quievit, reliqui omnes ad bestias traditi sub Severo principe die Natalis eius. Quique dum adhuc servarentur in carcere et Felicitas parturiret, omnium sanctorum commilitonum precibus impetratum est ut octavo mense pareret. Iamvero Perpetuae inter alia concessum est ut eius mens quodammodo averteretur a corpore, in quo vaccae impetum pertulit: ita ut adhuc futurum exspectaret quod in se iam

gestum esse nesciret.

- Latin edition available in Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud, eds., *Edition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus*, Bibliographies, Colloques, Travaux Préparatoires (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976). See also Henri Quentin, ed., *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age: étude sur la formation du Martyrologe romain*, Etudes d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre J. Gabalda, 1908), 274.

28. **ca. 848, Florus with Wandelbert of Prüm (813-after 850), verse
*Martyrology***

125 (7) Nonis Felicitas micat et Perpetua, castam
Quae Christo vitam felici morte dicarunt.

- Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), 581. Also available online at <http://www.dmgh.de/> (accessed November 22, 2006).

29. **9th c., *Parvum Romanum* (?), made known by Ado**

-Ado of Vienne, *Parvum Romanum in Usuardi, Martyrologium praemittuntur Sancti Adonis opera*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina 123, ed. J. P. Migne, 145-78 (Paris: Garnier, 1879). See also Henri Quentin, ed., *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age: étude sur la formation du Martyrologe romain*, Etudes d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre J. Gabalda, 1908), 414-51.

30. **858, Ado of Vienne (ca. 800-875), *Martyrology***

Ado's *Martyrologium* repeats the Florus entry at 28.

-Ado of Vienne, *Parvum Romanum in Usuardi, Martyrologium praemittuntur Sancti Adonis opera*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina 123, ed. J. P. Migne, 236 (Paris: Garnier, 1879).

31. **9th c., Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 776-856), *Martyrology***

This work repeats the entry in Bede's *Martyrology*.

- McCulloh, John, ed., *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. Continuatio Mediaevalis 44 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 26.

32. **later 9th c., Usuard of St. Germain (d. ca. 875), *Martyrology***

NON.MAR. In Mauritania, civitate Tuburbitanarum, natalis sanctarum martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis, et cum ice Revocati, Saturnini et Secundoli; quorum ultimus into carcere quievit, reliqui omnes ad bestias sunt traditi, sub Severo principe.

- Jacques Dubois, ed., *Martyrologes: d'usuard au Martyrologe romain* (Abbeville: F. Paillart, 1990).

33. **9th c., *Old English Martyrology***

On the seventh day of the month is the commemoration of the holy women St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas, whose bodies rest in the large town of Carthage in Africa. Perpetua dreamt when she was in her girlhood that she had the appearance of a man and that she had a sword in her hand and that she fought with it valiantly. All this was afterwards fulfilled at her martyrdom, when she overcame the devil and the heathen persecutors with manly determination. Then there was Felicitas, a Christian woman, and she was with child as she was sent to prison for Christ's sake. When therefore the persecutors were about to dismiss her, she wept and prayed to God to rid her of the child, and then she brought it forth on the same night in the seventh month of her pregnancy, and she suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake.

- George Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, Early English Text Society. Original Series 116 (London: K. Paul Trench Trübner & Co., 1900), 34-7.

34. **(?) Wolfhard (c. 896), *Martyrology***

- (?) *Analecta bollandiana* xvii.11.

35. **late 10th c. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Greek Menologium* (Passio S. Polyucti reference)**

- Hippolyte Delehaye, ed., *Novembris propylaeum. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi* (Brussels: Apud Socios Bollandianos, 1902; repr. 1985).

36. 976-1025, **Illuminated manuscript, *Menologium of Basil II* (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, gr.1613)**

- Orthodox Eastern Church, *Il menologio di Basilio II* (cod. vaticano greco 1613) (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1907), II 366.

37. 1082, **Goscelin of St. Bertin (1035-1107), *Liber Comfortatorius* Book 2**

The Heavenly Palm

Likewise the Lord stands on high leaning on a ladder leading up to heaven. From there he sees all the sons of men, looks upon all who inhabit the earth; he knows all their works for he fashioned all their hearts. He receives those who climb up with humility and constancy, and throws down those who slip for pride and negligence.

Exemplum

When St. Perpetua was thrown into a dungeon for her faith in Christ, together with her most fortunate sister Felicitas, she first abhorred the darkness she was unaccustomed to; but soon, once she became used to it, she considered her dungeon, in her own words, her palace. A little one hung from her breast - a tiny martyr himself, since he sucked in the martyrdom from his martyr mother. Her fellow prisoners and martyrs, knowing that she had God's ear, begged her to ask him to reveal whether they would be vouchsafed the trial of suffering. In response to her prayers, she was shown in her dreams a golden ladder culminating in heaven, so narrow that only one person at a time could climb it. Both sides of it, from the ground to the stars, were studded with all sorts of torments. Crosses, racks, lances, swords, grates, fires, hooks, whips, lead weights, scorpions, wild beasts, and the terrible sights of all known tortures frightened her. Across the foot of the ladder lay an immense, sleepless dragon, perpetually lying in wait for climbers. She called out to Christ, stepped over the dragon, who, scared rigid by her faith, did not dare to move, and she climbed up, preceded by St. Satyrus, who had triumphed before her. She also saw a Moor threatening to wrestle with her, and on the other side a distinguished man wearing a conspicuous crown, who held out a leafed branch with golden apples, like a sign of victory, saying, "If this Moor vanquishes you, he will kill you; if you vanquish him, you will receive this as an honor." Thus she went ahead, conquered, and received the honor of the palm branch.

And she also saw the soul of her deceased brother, the boy Dinocrates, if I remember the name correctly. His face was covered with ulcers and he was straining anxiously to drink from the living fountain, but he could not. She awoke and prayed for him, and immediately saw him completely cured from

every strain and every ulcer, resplendent in bright light, rejoicing and playing happily. O Lord of all, who give to each his own! Cleansed of the stain of childish vanity, he was free to play in all innocence at the games holy children play. She also saw other secrets in her visions, as she describes at length in her book. Her pagan father, ruthlessly harsh and ruthlessly affectionate, almost scratched her eyes out in a fit of helpless rage, then sank to the floor to embrace her feet. His venerable white hair stained with dust, he broke out in such laments and entreaties that, as she writes herself, he could have moved the whole world. "Yet who can separate us," says the Apostle, "from the love of Christ?" No matter how much she grieved for her father's unhappiness, she was founded on firm rock and could never be moved. In spurning her father she trampled the devil, raging and pleading by turns. Her father tore her baby from her. Her mother's heart was torn up with anxiety, but God fashioned it so that the baby did not miss the breasts he was used to, and neither did she suffer a dangerous inflammation from the milk. Her sister Felicitas, on the other hand, was already eight months pregnant. Fearing that she would miss out on martyrdom, because it was against the law to execute a pregnant woman, she obtained through her prayers that she was freed from the birth. Thus they offered themselves up to the glorious spectacle, to the wild beasts, to the martyr's crown. O Lord, how glorious and magnificent you are in your saints; O suffering that gives birth to the crown of saints! For thus says Father Benedict: "Self-will has its punishment, and constraint gives birth to the crown!" It was an astonishing spectacle for the crowd around them how these two aristocratic young women vied to protect each other and take on the fury of the beasts for each other. Equally memorable is the remark with which Saint Perpetua, perpetually confident, had put to shame the throng of spectators the day before: "Note carefully what our faces look like," she said, "so you will recognize us on Judgment Day."

Here I am trying to encourage you, and I have done such a poor job of describing the passions of the martyrs to you. But what does it matter from where you derive your encouragement in words and examples of virtue? After all, we pray on the feasts of martyrs: "We celebrate his triumphs; let us be fired up by the examples." It may not be a sword-wielding executioner, but a material cause for your victory, a persecutor, will not fail to arise: all that will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution. If your battles are not physical, they are spiritual. The former are external, the latter internal and visceral. The soul must be put in persecution's way. When we enjoy times of inner peace, your troops must be given war games to combat sluggishness. Carnal desires must be tamed; as soon as vices raise their heads, they must be crushed. Your army must butt their heads against the rocks of brooding thought and the forces of temptation. You must keep

watch in the armor of prayer on the ramparts of your confinement. Against all the snares and hostile arguments, you must exert yourself on the steps of humility towards the heights of virtue.

- Monika Otter, ed., *Goscelin of St. Bertin: The Book of Encouragement and Consolation [Liber Comfortatorius]*, Library of Medieval Women (Woodbridge and Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 53-55.

38. 11th c., *Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch (Welch)*

-Hugh Jackson Lawlor, ed., *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 47 and 48 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914).

Appendix B

Psalmic Recitation Calendar according to the *Rule of St. Benedict*

150 Psalms/week	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Matins/Vigils 2 AM	20-31.	32-34. 36 ² -41. 43-44.	45-49. 51-55. 57-58.	59-61. 65. (67-68) ² -72.	73-74. 76-77 ² -84.	85-86. 88 ² . 92-93. 95-100.	101-(103-106) ² -108.
				(14): 3. 94.			
Lauds sunrise	117. 62.	5. 35.	42. 56.	63. 64.	87. 89.	75. 91.	142.
				(7): 66. 50			
				148 - 150.			
Prime 6 AM	(4): from 118 דגבא	(3): 1. 2. 6.	(3): 7. 8. 9.	(3): 9 ^b . 10. 11.	(3): 12. 13. 14.	(3): 15. 16. 17 ^a .	(3): 17 ^b . 18. 19.
Terce 9 AM	(3): from 118 זור	(3): from 118 עסר			(3): 119. 120. 121.		
Sext 12 NOON	(3): from 118 חטי	(3): from 118 קצפ			(3): 122. 123. 124.		
None 3 PM	(3): from 118 מלכ	(3): from 118 תשר			(3): 125. 126. 127.		
Vespers sunset	(4): 109 - 112.	(4): 113 - 116. 128.	(4): 129 - 132.	(4): 134 - 137.	(4): 138 ² - 140.	(4): 141. 143 ² . 144 ^a .	(4): 144 ^b - 147.
Compline bedtime				(3): 4. 90. 133.			

- () Brackets indicate the number of psalms, or psalmic sections, to be said for the hour. Long psalms that are divided into two sections are noted by a superscript ² and, with superscripts, brackets may also indicate that more than one psalm is considered as divided into sections (e.g. 67-68). A divided psalm, such as Psalm 144, may also be written across days if appropriate (e.g. 144^a and 144^b).
- Note that the *Rule* also couples the saying of psalms with biblical, patristic, and hagiographic readings as well as the regular recitation of other prayers and canticles, including the Lord's Prayer.
- Times given for liturgical hours are approximated to modern clocks, but early Christian and medieval reckoning divided a day into twelve 'hours' that varied in length according to the season. In wintertime, night hours were longer than day hours, and vice versa for summertime. Water clocks, a standard timekeeping device, could be used to measure night hours when a sundial would be useless.
- In the Latin Vulgate Bible, which the writer of the *Rule* uses, the numbering of psalms differs from that of modern English translations. Generally, all psalms after Psalm 9 in the Vulgate carry a number that is one less than that in modern translations. Specifically, Psalms 9 & 10 and 114 & 115 are single psalms while 116 and 147 are divided into two in the Vulgate. The discrepancy is based on the fact that the Vulgate derives its psalmic numbering from the Greek Septuagint while modern translations derive theirs from Hebrew Scriptures. To align the chart above with a modern translation, the adjustment is easily done by remembering that for psalms listed above as 9^b-146, increase the number by one.

Appendix C

Table 3. Latin Hagiographic Collections in Medieval English Libraries

Please refer to list at end of the table for reference works and their abbreviations. Other abbreviations used in the table include: a. abbey; c. circa; L legenda; m. moved; P passionale; PSPF? whether the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* was available; r. reformed; s. ecclesiastical see; v. volumes; and VS for vitae sanctorum.

	Location and Institutional Name	Dates	Library Status	<i>Vitae Sanctorum</i> with catalog references	PSPF?
1.	Abingdon, Berkshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M.	r. by 970	40 MSS extant	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 39, SC 1640 (late 1000s-early 1100s) [VS: Thecla, Blasius, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 4-9; <i>MLGB</i> 2-3(1); Quarto 9 36-36 (22)	No
2.	Bangor, Caernarvonshire. Cathedral Church of St. David.	f. 500s	2 MSS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 2(2)	No
3.	Barking, Essex. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Ethelburga, of nuns.	f. 666 r. c. 970	c. 15 MSS extant	Cardiff, Central Public Library 1.381 ff. 81-146 (early-mid 1100s) [VS: Ethelburga, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 13-16; <i>MLGB</i> 6(2); Bell, <i>Nuns</i> 107-20; <i>MMBL</i> 2.348	No
4.	Bath, Somerset. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St. Savior, St. Peter, and St. Paul.	r. by 970 s. 1090 s. 1245 w/ Wells	15 MSS extant	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library MS 111, pages 3-6, 9-54 (1000s-1200s) [L] References: <i>MLGB</i> 7(3); James, <i>CCCC</i> 1.236-7	No
5.	Bermondsey, Surrey. Cluniac Priory and (later) Abbey of St. Savior.	a. 1399	8 MSS extant	7 Volume Legendary Reference: <i>EBL</i> 24	Possible
6.	Bradsole, Kent. Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Radegund.		0 MS extant	Medieval library lists designate: "Item de vitis et passionibus sanctorum per annum, tria volumine," "Item quedam pars Legende Sanctorum incipiens in vigilia Iohannis baptiste [June 23] et finiens in festo sancte Katerine virginis [November 25]," and "Item in duo Legende in duobus voluminibus." References: Bell, <i>Cistercians</i>	Unlikely
7.	Bridlington, Yorkshire, East Riding. Augustinian Priory of B.V.M.		8 or 9 MSS extant	Medieval library list indicates "Passi<o>nal' .vii." References: <i>MLGB</i> 12-13; <i>LAC</i> 8-24	Possible
8.	Buildwas, Shropshire. Savigniac and (later) Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Chad.	r. 1147	41 MSS extant	Part of a Legendary (imperfect March-May), London, British Library MS Additional 11881 (late 1100s) [VS: John, Edward, Gregory, Theodosia, Nicetis, Augustine, Marculfus, Christopher, Barbara]	Possible

				References: <i>MLGB</i> (5); BL Online	
9.	Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Modwenna.	f. 1004	18 MSS extant	(1) Volumes 6 and 7 of a 7 Volume Legendary (?): "Passionale Octobris et Decembris mensis" (2) London, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra A.ii (1100s) [VS: Modwenna or Modvenna] References: <i>EBL</i> 33-42 at 39; <i>MLGB</i> 15-16(5); BL Online	(1) Possible (2) No
10.	Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. Benedictine Abbey of St. Edmund, King and Martyr.	f. 1020	+2100 v. in c. 1370 270 MSS extant	(1) ?3 Volume Legendary: "Passional[e\ia] [unum\tria]" (2) London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.ii, ff.2-85 (1000s) [VS: Edward, etc.] (3) London, British Library MS Cotton Titus A.viii (1200s) [VS: Edmund] (4) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 736 (mid 1100s) [VS: Edmund, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 43-98 at 54; <i>MLGB</i> 16-22(5-7); James, <i>Pembroke</i> ; Tite; BL Online , PM Online	(1) Unlikely (2) No (3) No (4) No
11.	Byland (de Bella Landa), Yorkshire. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.		c. 28 MSS extant	London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina B.iv, ff. 178-80 (1100s) [VS: St. Alexis, etc.?] References: <i>MLGB</i> 22-23 (7); Bell, <i>Cistercians</i> ; BL Online	No
12.	Canterbury, Kent. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church (archbishopric).	f. 601 fire in 1067	c. 1800 v. in 1331 c. 300 MSS extant	(1) By 1331 the catalogue of Prior Eastry records twelve volumes under the category of "Passionalia": one complete 7 Volume Legendary with two copies of volume two as well as a "Passionale Apostolorum uetus," two homilaries, and an "Earmmannus." 7 Volume Legendary (1100s): fragments from v. 1, 2, 5, and 6 in Canterbury, Cathedral Library MS Lit. E.42, ff. 1-68, 75-81 + Maidstone, Kent Archives Office, S/Rm. Fae. 2. (2ff). Fragments of another volume (3?) in London, British Library MS Cotton Nero C.vii, ff. 29-79; London, British Library MS Harley 315, ff. 1-391 and MS Harley 624, ff. 84-143 [P] (2) 7 Volume Legendary (copy 2 of v. 2, late 1100s): London, British Library MS Cotton Otho D.viii, ff. 8-173 + Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1155 flyleaves [P] (3) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library MS 375 (1100s-1200s) [VS: Katherine, Elphegus, Alban, Peter and Paul, etc.]	(1) Yes (2) Yes, 2 versions (3) No (4) No (5) Indeterminate

				(4) London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 159, ff. 1-271 (early 1500s) (5) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 336, SC 2336 (early 1300s) [L: <i>Golden Legend</i>] References: <i>MLGB</i> 29-40(10-12); <i>MMLB</i> 2.289-97; James, <i>AL</i> 52, 162; James, <i>Lambeth</i> ; James, <i>Trinity</i> ; Tite; Wanley; BL Online	
13.	Canterbury, Kent. Benedictine Abbey of St. Augustine (originally of St. Peter and St. Paul).	r. by 970	c. 1900 v. in the late 1400s c. 250 MSS extant	(1) 7 Volume Legendary (late 1100s): v. 6 and 7 in London, British Library MS Arundel 91 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fell 2, SC 8690 [VS] (2) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library MS 389 (900s-1000s) [VS: Paul of Thebes, Guthlac] (3) Cambridge, St. John's College Library MS 164 (900s) [VS: Benedict, etc.] (4) Cambridge, Trinity College Library MS 321 (1100s-1200s) [VS: Thomas Beckett, etc.] (5) London, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii (early 1000s) [VS: Dunstan] (6) London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian B.xx (1100s) [VS: Augustine, etc.] (7) London, British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A.ii, ff. 3-19 (1100s) [VS: <i>De Sanctis Anglie</i> , etc.] (8) London, British Library MS Harley 388 (1100s) ff. 1-100 [VS: Mildrethe, etc.] (9) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 381, SC 2202 (1000s) [VS: Gregory] References: <i>MLGB</i> 40-47(12-13); James, <i>AL</i> 300, 374-75, 533; James <i>CCCC</i> ; James, <i>Trinity</i> ; James, <i>St. John's</i> ; Tite; Wanley; Bodleian Online ; BL Online	(1) Possible (2) No (3) No (4) No (5) No (6) No (7) No (8) No (9) No
14.	Canterbury. Franciscan Convent.		15 MSS extant	Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 195 (1300s) [VS: Anthony, Francis,] References: <i>MLGB</i> 48; Thomson, <i>Lincoln</i>	No
15.	Carlisle, Cumberland. Augustinian Cathedral Priory of B.V.M.	f. 1092 r. 1122 s. 1133	3 MSS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 48(13); Webber, <i>Canons</i>	No
16.	Chertsey, Surrey. Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter.	r. by 964	10 MSS extant	Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 49(14)	No
17.	Chester. Benedictine Abbey	f. 1092	c. 20 MSS	3 Volume Legendary (early 1100s):	No

	of St. Werburg.	s. 1541	extant	v. 1 London, Gray's End MS 3 (9 Feb-29 June) References: <i>EBL</i> 104-107; <i>MLGB</i> 49-50(14); <i>MMBL</i> 1.52-55	
18.	Chichester, Sussex. Cathedral Church of Holy Trinity.	s. 1074/1108 from Selsey	22 MSS extant	Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 50-51(14)	No
19.	Cirencester, Gloucestershire. Augustinian Abbey of B.V.M.	r. 1131	40 MSS extant	Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 50-52(14); <i>LAC</i> 26-28	No
20	Coventry, Warwickshire. Ben in the end of him and his him in an him in an him in an him in edictine Cathedral Priory of B.V.M.	f. 1102 s. 1121 w/ Lichfield s. 1185	12 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 108-113; <i>MLGB</i> 54(15)	No
21.	Crediton, Devon. Collegiate Church of Holy Cross.	f. 912 s. 1050 to Exeter	8 MSS extant	?Part of a Legendary, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 793, SC 2641 (early 1100s-1200s) [VS: Germanus, Martin, Clement, Nicholas, David] (Salisbury provenance, too?) References: <i>MLGB</i> 55	No
22	Crowland, Lincolnshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M., St. Bartholomew, and St. Guthlac.	f. 716 r. 971	c. 20 MSS extant	London, British Library Harley Roll Y.6 (early 1200s?) [VS: Guthlac] References: <i>EBL</i> 113-126; <i>MLGB</i> 55-56(15); Wanley	No
23	Dorchester, Oxfordshire. Augustinian (Arrouaisian) Abbey of St. Peter.	f. 636 s. 1072/92 to Lincoln	1 MS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 58	No
24	Dover, Kent. Benedictine Priory of B.V.M. and St. Martin (cell of Canterbury).	r. 1130	25 MSS extant	(1) Part of a 7 Volume Legendary? (31 December-12 May): Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library 42 (1100s) [VS: Martin, etc.] (2) Cardiff, Central Public Library MS 1.381 ff. 1-80 [VS: Winjualei or Wingualei/Winwaloeus] (3) London, British Library MS Arundel 16 (1100s) [VS: Dunstan, etc.] (4) In the 1389 catalog (1) above is listed in a separate category from other saints' lives, then it is crossed out, and later relisted. It is not listed in the second part of the catalog where each item in every book is described. References: <i>MLGB</i> 58-59(16); Stoneman; James, <i>AL</i> 419, 421, 454, 458, 460-61; James, <i>CCCC</i> ; <i>MMBL</i> ; <i>BL Online</i>	(1) Possible (2) No (3) No
25	Durham. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St. Cuthbert.	f. 997 r. 1093	+550 MSS extant, most <i>in situ</i>	(1) Medieval library lists indicate ownership of a passionale. (2) ? Legendary remains: Durham	(1) Indetermin ate

				Cathedral Library MS B.IV.14 (early 1100s) [VS: Martin, etc.] (3) Durham Cathedral Library MS B.IV.39B (early 1200s) [VS: Oswald, etc.] (4) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 6, SC 3886 (later 1300s) [VS: Cuthbert, etc.] References: <i>MLGB</i> 60-76 (revised 16-34); Mynors, <i>Durham</i> ; Raine; Bodleian Online	(2) No (3) No (4) No
26	Easebourne, Sussex. Benedictine Priory of B.V.M., of nuns (later Augustinian).	f. 1238		Visitation record of 1450: " <i>Legenda grossa</i> " Reference: Bell, <i>Nuns</i> 136	Indeterminate
27	Ely, Cambridgeshire. Benedictine Abbey and (1109) Cathedral Priory of St. Peter and St. Ethelreda.	f. 673 r. by 970 s. 1109	c. 300 v. in 1093 c. 48 MSS extant	(1) London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.viii ff. 59-209 (1100s-early 1300s) [VS: Wilfred, Werburg, etc.] (2) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 698, SC (1400s) [Ely bishops] References: <i>EBL</i> 127-131; <i>MLGB</i> 77-79; Quarto 2; Tite; BL Online	(1) No (2) No
28	Evesham, Worcestershire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Ecgvine.	f. 700s r. c. 970 under King Edgar	c. 27 MSS extant	" <i>Legenda Sanctorum</i> " in 1236 References: <i>EBL</i> 131-150; <i>MLGB</i> 80-81(36)	Indeterminate
29	Exeter, Devon. Cathedral Church of St. Peter.	f. 1050	+ 100 MSS extant	(1) by 1072 "i passionalis" was catalogued, by 1327 there were numerous legendum as well as a 3 Volume Legendary: "Circumcisio passionarius in tribus voluminibus quorum primum Quam Deo secundum Suplicius Severus tertium Silvester." (2) Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3504-5 (mid- 1300s) [<i>Legenda Exon</i> , donated by John de Grandisson] (3) Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3505b, formerly 3548(D) (1400s) [L, donated by William Poundstoke] (4) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 389, SC 2218 (1400s) [L: <i>Golden Legend</i>] References: <i>MLGB</i> 81-5(36); Lloyd; Maxted 11-13; <i>MMBL</i> 809-811; Dalton	(1) Indeterminate (2) No (3) No (4) Indeterminate
30	Eynsham, Oxfordshire. Abbey of B.V.M., St. Benedict, and All Saints.	r. 1109?	+240 in 1300s 8 MSS extant	Loaned out " <i>Legenda Sanctorum</i> " (c. 1363)	Indeterminate
31	Faversham, Kent. Benedictine Abbey of St.	f. 1147	7 MSS extant	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library MS 161 (1200s) [VS:	No

	Savior.			English and Cluniac Saints] References: <i>EBL</i> 155-156; <i>MLGB</i> 87 (36); James, <i>CCCC</i>	
32	Flaxley, Gloucestershire. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.		1 MS extant	Medieval library catalogs list a "Passionalis liber antiquus" and a "Passionalis liber nouus et uita sancti Bernardi, in eodum." References: Bell, <i>Cistercians</i>	Indeterminate
33	Glastonbury, Somerset. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M.	r. by 970	c. 44 MSS extant	7 Volume Legendary (" <i>Passionalia mensalia</i> ") References: <i>EBL</i> 194-245; <i>MLGB</i> 90-91(38); <i>MMBL</i> 2.163	Possible
34	Gloucester. Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter.	r. by 1022	c. 40 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 245-255; <i>MLGB</i> 91-92	No
35	Hereford. Cathedral Church of St. Ethelbert	f. 600s	+ 100 MSS extant, most <i>in situ</i>	(1) Part of a 7 Volume Legendary (volume 7): Hereford Cathedral Library MS P.7.vi (c. 1150). Levison called it a 2 Volume Legendary, Recension 3, but Zettle rejects this categorization and compares it with Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fell 2. Thomson suggests it was part of a 4-5 v. Legendary. The Hereford MS is the likely exemplar for Cardiff, Central Public Library MS 5.99.i-iv (provenance unknown). [VS] (2) Hereford Cathedral Library MS O.iv.14 [VS: Thomas, etc., <i>Golden Legend</i>] References: <i>MLGB</i> 96-9(39); <i>MMBL</i> 2.366; Mynors, <i>Hereford</i>	(1) Possible (2) Indeterminate
36	Hereford. Franciscan Convent.		30 MSS extant	London, British Library MS Cotton Julius A.xi, ff. 115-52 (1100s-1300s) [VS: Thomas Beckett] References: <i>MLGB</i> 101; BL Online	No
37	Hexham, Northumberland. Augustinian Priory of St. Andrew.		7 MSS extant	Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library MS 134 (1100s) [VS: Oswin] References: <i>MLGB</i> 101; Kitchin	No
38	Holme Cultram, Cumberland. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.	f. 1150	c. 15 MSS extant	(1) Cambridge (USA), Harvard MS Lat. 27 (late 1100s) [VS: Anselm, etc.] (2) London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.v ff.135-99 (1100-1200s) [VS] (3) London, British Library Cotton Faustina B.iv ff. 3-179 (early 1200s) [VS] References: <i>MLGB</i> 102(39); Bell, <i>Cistercians</i> ; Light; Tite; BL Online , Harvard Online	(1) No (2) No (3) No
39	Jervaulx, Yorkshire. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.	f. 1156	11 MSS extant	Part of a Legendary: Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 171 (1200s) References: <i>MLGB</i> 105(40); Bell, <i>Cistercians</i> ; Colker	Yes, <i>Acta</i> only

40	Kirkstall, Yorkshire. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.	f. c. 1152	9 MSS extant	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 722, <i>SC</i> (1400s) [VS: Germanus, etc.] References: <i>MLGB</i> 107(41); Quarto 2	No
41	Knaresborough, Yorkshire. Trinitarian Convent.	f. c. 1282	3 MSS extant	London, British Library MS Egerton 3143 (1400s) [VS: Robert of Knaresborough, in Latin and English] References: <i>MLGB</i> 107; <i>BL Online</i>	No
42	Lanthony, Gloucestershire. Augustinian Priory of B.V.M. and St. John the Baptist.	1130s exodus from Monmout hshire	+ 150 MSS extant	(1) Medieval library lists indicate presence of a "Legenda sanctorum" donated by a prior who died in 1362 as well as a "Passionarij. iij. volumina magna." and another "Passionarius. magnum volumen" kept with a homiliary (2) London, British Library Cotton Julius D.x (1200s?) [VS: Robert, etc.] (3) London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 475, f.f 109-86 (1100s) [VS: Robert, etc.]? References: <i>MLGB</i> 108-112(41-43); <i>LAC</i> 34-103; James, <i>Lambeth</i> ; Tite; <i>BL Online</i>	(1) Possible (2) No (3) No
43	Leicester, Leicestershire. Augustinian Abbey of the B.V.M. de Pratis.	f. 1138 or 1139	+ 940 late 1400s c. 20 MSS extant	Medieval library lists indicate "Passionarium sanctorum in ij voluminibus / 2 ^o fo. vnus <i>Cancellario altelrius stitutum.</i> " kept in the library and another "Legenda sanctorum in asseribus cum albo coopertorio, 2 ^o fo. []." kept in the pulpit. References: <i>MLGB</i> 113; <i>CAL</i> 104- 400	Possible
44	Leominster, Herefordshire. Benedictine Priory of St. Peter (cell of Reading).	f. c. 660 r. 1123?	7 MSS extant	3 Volume Legendary, early 1100s, "Passionalis": Lincoln Cathedral Library MSS 149-150 and Gloucester Cathedral Library MS 1 (but have belonged to Reading itself) References: <i>EBL</i> 454-463 at 455; <i>MLGB</i> 114(44); <i>MMBL</i> 2.934-939; Coates; Thomson, <i>Lincoln</i>	No
45	Lichfield, Staffordshire. Cathedral Church of B.V.M. and St. Chad.	f. 669 s. 1121 w/ Coventry	8 MSS extant	Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 115 (44)	No
46	Lincoln. Cathedral Church of B.V.M.	f. 954 s. 1072/92 from Dorchester	+ 100 MSS extant, most <i>in situ</i>	?2 Volume Legendary, early 1100s- early 1200s: Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 7 (Winchester origin?) [P] References: <i>MLGB</i> 115-20(44-45); Thomson, <i>Lincoln</i> 6-9	Possible

47	London. Cathedral Church of St. Paul.	f. 604	Most MSS destroyed by fire in 1666 29 MSS extant	Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 120-21; Ker, <i>Books</i>	No
48	London. Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate	f. 1108	5 MSS extant	2 Volume Compendium, 1200: London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 51, Peter of Cornwall's <i>Liber reuelationum</i> References: <i>MLGB</i> 123 (47); James, <i>Lambeth</i>	Yes with <i>Acta</i> excerpt
49	London. Hospital of B.V.M., near Cripplegate (Elsyng Spital).		2 MSS extant	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e. Musaeo 113, SC 3584 (900s-1100s) [VS: Mary Magdalene, etc.] References: <i>MLGB</i> 125; Bodleian Online	No
50	Malmesbury, Wiltshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Aldhelm.	f. c. 676 r. c. 965	30 MSS extant	(1) London, British Library Cotton Vitellius D.xvii ff. 1-3 [VS: organized loosely according to the categories of the medieval litany, thus hagiographies of apostles first, then martyrs, next confessors, and finally virgins] (2) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 852, SC 2611 (1000s) [VS: Achardus, Philibert, B.V.M., Vulganius, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 260-66; <i>MLGB</i> 128-29(48); Tite 92-95; BL Online	(1) No (2) No
51	Meaux, Yorkshire. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.		5 MSS extant	Medieval library lists indicate "Item Legendaria iiii ^{or} , uidelicet duo temporum et alia duo sanctorum" and "Legendaria duo temporum et alia duo sanctorum." References: Bell, <i>Cistercians</i>	Possible
52	Milton, Dorset. Benedictine Abbey.	f. c. 930 r. 964	0 MS extant		No
53	Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland. Convent of Austin Friars.	f. c. 1290	1 MS extant	London, British Library Additional MS 35110 (late 1100s) [VS] References: <i>MLGB</i> 133(50); BL Online	No
54	Norwich, Norfolk. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity	f. 1096	Most MSS destroyed by fire in 1273 + 100 MSS extant	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library MS 161 (1100s-1300s) [P: <i>Passionarius Galeni</i> , etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 288-312; <i>MLGB</i> 135-39(50-51); James, <i>GC</i>	No
55	Norwich, Norfolk. Benedictine Priory of St. Leonard (cell of Norwich Cathedral Priory).	f. after 1096	1 MS extant?	Upper Chapel library books included " <i>legenda de temporalis et alia sanctorum</i> " Reference: <i>EBL</i> ; <i>MLGB</i> 139	Indeterminate
56	Oxford. Exeter College.		6 MSS extant	Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 860 (late 1100s) [VS: Thomas Beckett] References: <i>MLGB</i> 146(54);	No

				Duthilloeul; <i>Catalogue général</i>	
57	Pershore, Worcestershire. Benedictine Abbey of St. Edburga (originally of B.V.M., St. Peter, and St. Paul).	f. c. 689 r. 972	13 MSS extant	Oxford, St. John's College Library MS 96 (1100s) [VS: Oswald, Mary Magdalene, Edward, Augustine of Canterbury, Letardus] References: <i>EBL</i> 325-26; Friis-Jensen; <i>MLGB</i> 150; Coxe, <i>Catalogus</i> and <i>Oxford Colleges</i>	No
58	Peterborough, Northamptonshire. Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew.	f. c. 655 r. c. 966	45 MSS extant	Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 150-52(56)	No
59	Ramsey, Huntingdonshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Benedict.	f. 969 by Oswald under King Edgar	c. 44 MSS extant	(1) ?Part of a 2 Volume Legendary, 1200s: Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley MS 285, SC 2430 (early 1200s) [VS] ? (2) <i>Legenda Sanctorum</i> in two volumes and two single volume copies. References: <i>EBL</i> 327-418; <i>MLGB</i> 153-54(57)	(1) Possible (2) Indeterminate
60	Reading, Berkshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M.	f. 1121 r. 1210	+ 100 MSS extant	Medieval library lists indicate three sets of three volume passionalia: "Passionari .iii. in tribus voluminibus." One set began with 30 November, 29 June, and 17 September, while the other with Sylvester (31 December), Peter and Paul (29 June), and Matthew (21/22 September). See also Leominster. Reference: <i>EBL</i> 419-53; <i>MLGB</i> 154-58(57)	Indeterminate
61	Redbourne, Hertfordshire. Benedictine Priory of St. Amphibalus (cell of St. Alban's).		2 MSS extant	(1) ?Legendary: London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius E.i (1300s) [<i>Sanctilogium J. Anglici</i> : impressively large hagiographic collection focused on English saints] (2) Legendary: London, British Library MS Royal 13.D.ix (1300s) [<i>Sanctilogium Guidonis</i>] References: <i>MLGB</i> 133(50); Warner; BL Online	(1) No (2) Indeterminate
62	Rievaulx, Yorkshire. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.		21 MSS extant	Record in medieval catalogue of at least 4 volumes of "Passionalia." References: <i>MLGB</i> 159; Bell, <i>Cistercians</i>	Indeterminate
63	Rochester, Kent. Cathedral Priory of St. Andrew.	f. 604	+ 100 MSS extant	(1) ?7 Volume Legendary (early 1100s): Leaf of v. 6, Oxford, Worcester College Library MS 273. Medieval library lists indicate "Passionalia in .iiii. voluminibus." (2) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library 318 (1100s) [VS] (3) London, British Library MS	(1) Possible (2) No (3) No (4)

				Royal 6.A.i and 7.A.xi, ff 19-24 (1100s) [Ambrose and <i>Inventio sancte crucis</i>] (4) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 40 (1100s) [VS: Malchus, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 463-537; <i>MLGB</i> 160-64(58-9); Coxe, <i>Catalogus</i> and <i>Oxford Colleges</i> ; James, <i>CCCC</i> ; Quarto 2; Warner	
64	Romsey, Hampshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Ethelthaeda, of nuns.	f. c. 907 r. 967	2 MSS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 164	No
65	St. Alban's, Hertfordshire. Benedictine Abbey of St. Alban.	f. late 700s r. late 900s d. 1539	+ 100 MSS extant	(1) Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 177 (1200s) [VS: Alban, etc.] (2) London, British Library MS Additional 62777 (1300s-1400s) [VS: Alban, etc.] (3) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 926 (late 1000s-1100s) [VS: Alban, Dunstan, ect.] References: <i>EBL</i> 538-85; <i>MLGB</i> 169(60); Colker; BL Online ; PM Online	(1) No (2) No (3) No
66	St. Asaph, Flintshire. Cathedral Church.	f. 500s	0 MS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 169	No
67	St. David's, Pembrokeshire. Cathedral Church.	f. 500s	1 MS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 169	No
68	St. German's, Cornwall.	s. c. 936- 1042 r. 1184	1 MS extant	Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 170	No
69	St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall. Archpresbytery.		1 MS extant	London, British Library MS Cotton Julius A.vii ff. 124-33 (1489) [<i>Revelatio S. Michaelis in Monte Tumba</i>] Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 170	No
70	Salisbury. Cathedral Church of B.V.M. See removed from Sherborne in 1078.	f. 1078 at Old Sarum m. 1220 to Salisbury	100 MSS extant, most <i>in situ</i>	(1) 2 Volume Legendary, rescension one (1000s): Salisbury Cathedral Library MSS 221 and 222 [VS] (additions in Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 223), formerly Fell 4, 1, and 3, <i>SC</i> 8687-89 (2) Cambridge, Trinity College MS 717, ff. 44-71 (1100s) [VS] ? (3) Part of a Legendary: Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 174 (late 1000s) [April-December] References: <i>MLGB</i> 171-76(60-61); Colker; James, <i>Trinity</i> ; Webber, <i>Canons</i> ; Webber, <i>Salisbury</i> , Bodleian Online	(1) Yes (2) No (3) No
71	Shaftesbury, Dorset. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Edward, of nuns	r. by 970	7 MSS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 177(62)	No

72	Sherborne, Dorset. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. See removed to Salisbury in the 1078.	s. 1058	8 MSS extant	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auctarium F.2.14, SC 2657 (late 900s) [VS: Swithun, etc.] ? References: <i>EBL</i> ; <i>MLGB</i> 179(62); Bodleian Online	No
73	Stoneleigh, Warwickshire. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.		2 MSS extant	Medieval library list indicates: "Item ij magne Legende pro duo." References: Bell, <i>Cistercians</i>	Possible
74	Stuston, Suffolk. ?Benedictine Priory of Redlingfield, of nuns.			Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 280, SC 2246 (early 1400s) [L: Breviary] Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 223	Indetermin ate
75	Tavistock, Devon. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Rumonus.	r. 961/74	4 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 594-95; <i>MLGB</i> 188(65)	No
76	Tawton, Devon.	s. 905-12	0 MS extant		No
77	Thetford, Norfolk. Cluniac Priory of B.V.M.	f. 1070	3 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 596-97; <i>MLGB</i> 189(65)	No
78	Thorney, Cambridgeshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M and St. Botolph.	f. c. 972	13 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 608; <i>MLGB</i> 189	No
79	Thorney-Deeping, Lincolnshire. Priory of St. James (cell of Thorney).		1 MS extant	Medieval library list indicates this three-monk priory owned a martyrology as well as a "Passio sancti Iacobi cum aliis libris." References: <i>EBL</i> 606-08	Indetermin ate
80	Titchfield, Hampshire. Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist.		11 MSS extant	Medieval library list indicates "Legende .v. vade pro tempore yemali .ij." Ch References: Bell, <i>Cistercians</i>	Indetermin ate
81	Tynemouth, Northumberland. Benedictine Priory of B.V.M. and St. Oswin (cell of St. Albans).	f. 600s r. 900s	c. 15 MSS extant	(1) London, British Library MS Cotton Julius A.x, ff. 2-43(1100s- 1200s) [VS: Oswin] (2) Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134 (1100s) [VS: Oswin, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 579-605; <i>MLGB</i> 191 (66); BL Online ; Coxe, <i>Oxford Colleges</i> ; Tite	(1) Indetermin ate (2) No
82	Waltham, Essex. Augustinian Abbey of Holy Cross.	f. c. 1016, royal confirmati on in 1060 r. 1177	27 MSS extant	London, British Library MSS Harley 3776, ff. 1-62, 94-117 (1300s) [VS: Harold, etc.] and Harley 3766 (1300s) [Gregory] Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 192-93(66); <i>CAL</i> 427-44; Wanley	No
83	Welbeck, Nottinghamshire. Premonstratensian Abbey of St. James.	f. 1154	4 MSS extant	(1) Medieval library list indicates: "Liber de vita et passionibus sanctorum occurrentium in mense Ianuario, Februario, Marcio, in uno magno volumine." (2) Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 222 (1100s-1200s) [VS: Bernard, etc.] References: <i>MLGB</i> 194(67); Bell, <i>Cistercians</i> ; Thomson, <i>Lincoln</i>	(1) Indetermin ate (2) No

84	Wells, Somerset. Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.	f. 909 s. 1245 w/ Bath	9 MSS extant	References: <i>MLGB</i> 195(67)	No
85	Westminster, Middlesex. Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter.	f. c. 971	c. 50 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 608-33; <i>MLGB</i> 195-97(67)	No
86	Whitby, Yorkshire. Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Hilda.	f. 600s a. late 1000s	3 MSS extant	Medieval library list indicates "Passionalis mensis Novembris" and "Item Passionalis mensis Ianuarii." References: <i>EBL</i> 633-44; <i>MLGB</i>	No
87	Wilton, Wiltshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Edith, of nuns.	r. by 970	3 MSS extant	London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina B.iii, ff. 194-280 (1400s?) [VS: Ethelreda of Ely in OE, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 644-46; <i>MLGB</i> 198(68); Bell, <i>Nuns</i> ; Tite; BL Online	No
88	Winchcomb, Gloucestershire. Benedictine Abbey of St. Kenelm.	f. c. 798	24 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 646-48; <i>MLGB</i> 198-99	No
89	Winchester, Hampshire. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Swithun.	f. 662 r. 964	c. 80 MSS extant	(1) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library MS 328 (late 1100s-early 1200s) [VS] (2) ? Volume 4 of a 7 Volume Legendary: London, British Library MS Arundel 169 (3) ? Part of a Legendary: London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius D.iv (4) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 535, SC 2254 (late 1000) [VS: Denis, Neot, Mary Magdalene, Machutis, etc.] (5) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 112, SC 2254 (early 1100s) [VS: Swithun, Birin, etc.] (6) London, British Library MS Royal 15.C.vii (early 1000s) [VS: Swithun] (7) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1385, ff. 28- (early 1000s) [VS: Swithun, etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 648-57; <i>MLGB</i> 199-200(68); Heinzelmänn; James, <i>CCCC</i> ; Quarto 9, 125-27 (60-61); Robert; BL Online	(1) No (2) Indeterminate (3) Possible (4) No (5) No (6) No (7) No
90	Winchester, Hampshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M., of nuns (Nunaminster).	r. by 970	5 MSS extant	References: <i>EBL</i> 651; <i>MLGB</i> 201-02; Bell, <i>Nuns</i>	No
91	Winchester. College of B.V.M.		7 MSS extant	Winchester College Library MS 4 (1200s-1300s) [VS: Thomas Beckett] References: <i>MLGB</i> 202	No
92	Wintney, Hampshire. Cistercian Priory of B.V.M., of nuns.		1 MS extant	London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius D.iii (1200s) [Martyrology in English]	No

				References: <i>EBL</i> ; <i>MLGB</i> 204; Bell, <i>Nuns</i> , Tite; BL Online	
93	Witham, Somerset. Charterhouse of B.V.M.	f. c. 1180	16 MSS extant	Oxford, St. John's College Library MS 182 (1400s) [VS: Marie d'Oignes, Elizabeth of Spalbeck, Christina, Marina, Euphrosyna, Matilda, Simeon, Alexius, Methodius] References: <i>EBL</i> ; <i>MLGB</i> 204-05; Coxe, <i>Catalogus</i> and <i>Oxford Colleges</i>	No
94	Worcester. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of B.V.M.	f. 680	350 MSS extant, some dispersed	(1) 2 Volume Legendary, rescension one (c. 1060): London, British Library MS Cotton Nero E.i, ff. 1-180, 187-88 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library MS 9 (<i>Cotton-Corpus Legendary</i>) [P] (2) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library 496 pastedowns only (early 1100s) [VS: Godwaldus, etc.] (3) Worcester Cathedral Library MS Q.40 (1100s) [<i>Passionarius Galeni</i>] (4) Worcester Cathedral Library MS Q.51 (late 1100s-early 1200s) [<i>Passio secundum Nicodemum</i> , etc.] References: <i>EBL</i> 651-75; <i>MLGB</i> 205-15(69); BL Online ; Jackson; James, <i>CCCC</i> ; Thomson, <i>Worcester</i> ; Tite	(1) Yes (2) No (3) No (4) No
95	York, Yorkshire. Cathedral Church of St. Peter (archbishopric).	f. 627	22 MSS extant	"ij legenda" Reference: <i>MLGB</i> 216(70)	Possible
96	York, Yorkshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M.	f. 1088- 89	c. 34 MSS extant	Newcastle, University Library MS 1 (1200s) [VS: two series of abbreviated saints' lives, each beginning September 1. The first is for a full year, the second for four months.] References: <i>EBL</i> 677-788; <i>MLGB</i> 217(70); <i>MMBL</i> 3.494-96	No
97	Indeterminate (West Country).			Two-Volume Legendary (volume 2): West Country, 1150-1200 in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Bodley 354, SC 2432 References: Bernard; Jackson	Possible
98	Indeterminate.			Part of a 7 Volume Legendary (volume 7): Provenance unknown, 1100s-1200s in Cardiff, Central Public Library MS 5.99.i-iv [Hereford MS P.7.vi (c. 1150) is the likely exemplar, and Levison called that MS a 2 Volume Legendary, Recension 3. Zettle rejects this categorization, and Thomson calls it part of a 4-5 v.	Possible

				Legendary and compares it with Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fell 2]	
99	Indeterminate.			?Part of a Legendary: London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius D.iii References: <i>MMBL</i> 54; Tite	No

References Works and Abbreviations

Online Library Catalogs:

- BL Online London, British Library Catalog, www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/
Bodleian Online Oxford University Catalog, www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/
Harvard Online Cambridge, USA, Harvard University Catalog, <http://lms01.harvard.edu/>
PM Online New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Catalog, <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/>

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- . *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907.
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Appendix D

Table 4. Contents of the Anglo-Latin Liturgical Legendaries

Key to Locations:

1. B Buildwas. Savigniac and (later) Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Chad.
2. C1 Canterbury. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church.
3. C2 Canterbury. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church (copy two of v. 2).
4. CA Canterbury. Benedictine Abbey of St. Augustine.
5. Ch Chester. Benedictine Abbey of St. Werburg.
6. D Dover. Benedictine Priory of B.V.M. and St. Martin. (Extant contents not fully cataloged.)
7. E Exeter, Devon. Cathedral Church of St. Peter.
8. G Glastonbury. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M.
9. He Hereford. Cathedral Church of St. Ethelbert.
10. J Jervaulx. Cistercian Abbey of B.V.M.
11. Le Leominster. Benedictine Priory of St. Peter.
12. Li Lincoln. Cathedral Church of B.V.M.
13. Ra Ramsey, Huntingdonshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Benedict.
14. Ro Rochester. Cathedral Priory of St. Andrew. (Catalog not available.)
15. S Salisbury. Cathedral Church of B.V.M.
16. Wi Provenance unknown. (?) Winchester. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Swithun.
17. Ws Provenance unknown. (?) West Country.
18. Wt Worcester. Benedictine Cathedral Priory of B.V.M.
19. Y York, Yorkshire. Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M.
20. Z? Provenance unknown. Cardiff, Central Public Library MS 5.99.i-iv
21. Z?? Provenance unknown. (?) North of England/Scotland. London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius D.iii.

Abbreviations:

<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i>
<i>Brev. Sar.</i>	<i>Sarum Breviary</i>
<i>HE</i>	Bede's <i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>

<i>Cf.</i>	compare
co.	correction
er	erased
?	doubtful or unknown
n.a.	not applicable
toc	table of contents

Notes:

An "X" indicates that a hagiographic account exists, while an "X?" indicates that a hagiographic account exists but it is not certain which BHL designation, if any, is appropriate. "Cf." indicates that an account exists that is similar to, but not identical with, the one designated by a BHL number. Contents of later additions of volumes to a medieval hagiographic collection are noted by a lower-case Roman letter, with the earliest additional volume designated as "a," the next in time as "b," and so on. White (often empty) columns indicate damaged or lost materials, and dashes in darkened columns designate a listing in contemporary table of contents but no other surviving material. If a hagiographic manuscript belonging to a particular place commemorates a saint on a date other than the main date given in the table, the alternative date is listed after the saint's name. Saints' names are often anglicized to enable ready comparison with content lists in manuscript library catalogs. Some content is, however, unable to be traced using currently available manuscript library catalogs.

JN	Saints	BHL	Y?	S	Wt	Ws	Ra	Li?	Le	Ch	E	J	B	C1	C2	CA	He	Z?	D	Wi	Z??	G	Ro
1.	Florentius & Julianus	3052																			X?		
2.	Marcellinus & Peter	5230 5231	X?	X	X			X	X	X											X?		
3.	Erasmus (02/06)	2578 2580		X	X					X											X?		
4.																							
5.	Boniface (Cf. 14/5:)	1400		a						X				X							X?		
6.																							
7.																							
8.	Medard	5864	X?	Cf.	X				X	X											X?		
9.	Primus & Felicianus	6922	X?	X	X			X	X	X											X?		
10.	Getulius & Cerealis	3524 3524b		-	X					X											X?		
	Margaret, Queen of Scots	5325 5328																			X?	X?	
11.	Barnabas	0984 0985 0986		b					X	X											X?		
12.	Basilides (10/6: Wt toc)	1019		-	X																		
13.																							
14.	Basil (1/1: S, Wt)	1022 1023						X		X													
	Rufus & Valerianus	7373 7374		b						X													
15.	Vitus, Modestus, & Crescentia	8711 8712 8712a	X?	X	X				X	X											X?		
16.	Cyricus & Julitta	1809							X	X											X?		
17.	Botulph	1428						X		X											X?		
	Dioscorus	2203e		a						X											X?		
18.	Mark & Marcellianus	5302 P-787						X	X	X											X?		
19.	Gervase & Protase (28/4: Li?, S, Wt)	3514	X?					X	X	X											X?		
	Columba (Cf. 23/11)	1890																			X?		
20.	Alban (22/6: Ch, Le, Z??)	0206 0207 0210 0211 0213						X	X	X					X						X?		

JN	Saints	BHL	Y?	S	Wt	Ws	Ra	Li?	Le	Ch	E	J	B	C1	C2	CA	He	Z?	D	Wi	Z??	G	Ro
21.	Leufred	4899 4901							X X												X?		
22.	Paulinus Achatius & 10,000 Companions (<i>Cf.</i> 20/10)	6558 0020		b						X													
23.	Etheldreda	2632							X	X											X?		
24.	Nativity of John the Baptist (<i>sermo.</i>)	n.a.		a	XX																X? X?		
25.	Luceia (13/12: Wt, He error)	4980								X													
26.	Gallicanus, John, & Paul Salvius (<i>Cf.</i> 28/10)	3236 3237 3238 3238b 7472	X?	X X a	X X X			X X X	X X X	X X											X?		
27.	Symphorosa & Seven Sons (18/7: Ch)	7971		X	X					X				X?							X?		
28.																							
29.	Peter & Paul / Paul (30/6) Marcellus	6570 6574 6577 6650 6655 6657 6663 6664 6684 5242 5243	X? X? X?	<i>Cf.</i> <i>Cf.</i>	X X				X X X	X X X						X?				X X X			
30.	Martial Theobald	5552 8034							X	-											X X		
JL	Saints	BHL	Y?	S	Wt	Ws	Ra	Li?	Le	Ch	E	J	B	C1	C2	CA	He	Z?	D	Wi	Z??	G	Ro
1.	Martin (4/7: Wt co., Wi; 11/11: S, Wt) Carileffus	5623 1571		X	X																X? X?		
2.	Swithun (+26/6: Li?; <i>cf.</i> 15/7)	7943						XX	X												X		

JL	Saints	BHL	Y?	S	Wt	Ws	Ra	Li?	Le	Ch	E	J	B	C1	C2	CA	He	Z?	D	Wi	Z??	G	Ro
3.																							
4.																							
5.																							
6.	Processus & Martinianus (2/7: Ch, Le)	6947	X?	X	X				X	-											X		
6.	Goar	3565																			X?		
7.																							
8.																							
9.																							
10.	Felicitas & Seven Sons	2853		X	X				X												X?		
10.	Rufina & Secunda	7359		X	X																X?		
	Amalberga	0323		b																	X		
11.	Translation of Benedict (4/12: S, Ws, Wt; cf. 21/3: Y, Li)	1117							X												X?		
12.																							
13.	Eugenius of Carthage	2678																			X		
14.	Phocas	6838																			X		
15.	Translation of Swithun (cf. 2/7)	7948z						X													X		
16.																							
	Alexius (15/6: Ch)	0286 0287 0288		a						X											X?		
17.	Kenelm	4641 n					X?		Cf. X?														
	Gregory Thaumaturgus	3677j																			X		
18.	Arnulf of Tours	0707 0711	X?						X Cf.														
19.																							
20.	Margaret	5308	X?				X?		X	-											X?		
21.	Praxedes & Novacius	6920		X	X				X	-											X?		
	Victor	8571							Cf.												X?		
	Julia	4518	X?																				
	Wandregisil	8805		-	X	X?				-											X?		
22.	Mary Magdalene	5446 5459- 63 5465- 71 5473-	X? X?						X X X X X												X		

N	Saints	BHL	Y?	S	Wt	Ws	Ra	Li?	Le	Ch	E	J	B	C1	C2	CA	He	Z?	D	Wi	Z??	G	Ro
25.	Catherine (24/11)	1663	X?						X	-						X?	X						
26.	Peter, patriarch of Alexandria (25/11)	6692-98	a?							a?						X?							
27.	Maximus of Riez (25/10: S, Wt, Ws; also 15/12 other English calendars)	5852-57	X?																				
28.																							
29.	Saturninus & Sisinnius Chrysanthus & Daria (1/12: Ch toc, He, Le, Ws)	7493 1787	X?	-	X	X?			X	-						X?	X						
30.	Andrew (8/5: Z??)	0428 0429 0430 0431-32	X?	- b b		X?			X X	-						X?	X X				X? X?		
D	Saints	BHL	Y?	S	Wt	Ws	Ra	Li?	Le	Ch	E	J	B	C1	C2	CA	He	Z?	D	Wi	Z??	G	Ro
1.	Eligius (Eloi)	2474 2477	X?	-	X				X	-						X?	X						
2.																							
3.	Birin	1360-64 1361								-						X?	X						
4.	Benedict & Scholastica (11/7: Le, Wi; cf. 21/3: Y, Li)	1117		-	X	X																	
5.	Christina (24/7: Wi) Crispina	1756 1989 1989a		- b	X					-						X?	X X						
	Nicetius	6090	a?													X?	X						
6.	Nicholas (+ sermo.: Le, Li?)	6104-06 6108 6117 6133 6150-54 6155 6156 6160 6161 6163-	X? X?		X	X?		X X X X X	X X X X X	-						X X X X X X X	X X X X X X X						

D	Saints	BHL	Y?	S	Wt	Ws	Ra	Li?	Le	Ch	E	J	B	C1	C2	CA	He	Z?	D	Wi	Z??	G	Ro
14.	Nicasius	6078e	a?							-						X?	X						
	Folcuinus	3079	a?																				
15.																							
16.	Barbara	0913a	X?										X?			X?	X						
17.	Ignatius (1/2: C1, Le)	4253- 63								-													
18.																							
19.																							
20.																							
21.	Thomas	8136 8138c	X?	-		X?			X	-						X?	X						
22.																							
23.																							
24.																							
25.	Anastasia (24/11: S, Wt; 24/12: Ch)	0401 0401b	X?	-	X					-						X?	X						
	Eugenia, Prothus, & Hyacinthus (Cf. 11/9)	2667		-	X	X?				-						X?	X						
26.	Marinus (<i>Marine martiris</i> : Ch toc)	5538		-	X	X?				-						X?	X						
27.	John the Evangelist	4320 4321h	X?	-		X?			X +	-						X?	X						
28.																							
29.	Ebrulfus	2374b 2377- 78								-						X?	X	X X					
	Thomas of Canterbury	8180		c						-													
30.	Egwin (11/1: He)	2432- 39 2433 2436								-							X X	X					
	Sabinus (Savin, 7/12: S, Wt)	7451														X?	X						
31.	Silvester	7725- 26 7739	X?	-	X X	X?	X		X	-	-			X					X?				-
	Columba	1893		-	X	X?				-													
	Sabinianus & Potentianus	7416- 17 7419- 20														X?	X X	X?					

Appendix E

Permissions

Figures 4 and 5:

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Yours sincerely,
Sara Laghi

Dott.ssa Sara Laghi
Servizio Turismo e Attività Culturali
Comune di Ravenna
via Salara 8/12
48100 Ravenna - Italia
tel +39 0544.482680
fax +39 0544.35094
www.turismo.ravenna.it
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Figures 6 and 7:

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Danvers, MA 01923

Thanks for the interest,

Ann

p.s. there are 2 further articles on the mosaics that have been published, and a book in the works, though none deals with the personhoods of the two saints in question.

Figure 8:



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Figure 9:

Dear Erin,

Thanks you for your mail. We would be happy to grant permission for you to use an image of folio 129r from our Aldgate Cartulary (MS Hunter 215) in your PhD. dissertation. Please credit the image to 'Glasgow University Library, Dept. of Special Collections'. If you could also include the folio number, title and call number, that would be great but I realise there isn't always room for all of that!

Good luck with your thesis.

best wishes,

Niki

Niki Pollock (Mrs),
Chief Library Assistant,
Special Collections Dept.,
Glasgow University Library,
Hillhead Street,
Glasgow G12 8QE

-----Original Message-----

From: Erin Ronsse [mailto:erin@discursus.net]

Sent: 12 December 2006 19:19

To: Niki Pollock

Subject: image permissions

Dear Niki Pollock:

Greetings. In my Ph.D. dissertation on the reception history of the *Passion of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas*, I would like to reproduce a small image (appr. 1.5" x 3") from the Aldgate Cartulary, which is Glasgow University Library Special Collections MS Hunter 215 (U.2.6). Particularly, this image is the enlargement of a manicule on f. 129r that is displayed at the August 2002 Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department "Book of the Month" website: <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/aug2002.html>. So I need no image sent to me; that which is already available on your website is sufficient to my purposes. The reproduction would be identified in the dissertation with traditional credit line, citing artist, title, and source, unless you have other specifications.

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Thanks very much for attending to this request. I look forward to your prompt reply and wish you at the Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department the very best in your work.

Sincerely yours,

Erin Ronsse

Ph.D. Candidate in Medieval Studies, University of Victoria, B.C., Canada

Figures 10, 11, and 12:



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Miss Suzanne Eward, MA, FSA, FRHistS, ALA
(*Librarian and Keeper of the Muniments*)
Cathedral Library, Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, Wiltshire, SP1 2EN
Telephone: 01722 - 555160

Erin Ronsse,
University of Victoria,
105 King George Terrace,
Victoria, B.C.,
V8S 2J8,
CANADA.

8 January 2007

Dear Ms. Ronsse,

Thank you for your letter of 14 December 2006. Yes, I am pleased to be able to give you permission to publish the three images you cite from Salisbury Cathedral Library MS. 221. I see that you rightly attribute each image to this Library, but as you will realise there should also be an acknowledgement at the front of your dissertation to say they are reproduced by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.

I trust that you have enjoyed undertaking this work, and I wish you every success with your future career.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Suzanne M. Eward.

Appendix F

The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*: An Edition of Chapters 7-8 and 11-13 that includes Lambeth Palace Library MS 51

Single-letter designations for manuscripts of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*:

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| A | Monte Cassino Museo di Abbazie MS 204 MM., 11 th century |
| B | Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr.17626, 10 th century |
| C ¹ | London British Library MS Cotton Nero E.i, ca. 1060 |
| C ² | Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 221, late 11 th century |
| C ^{3/3b} | London British Library MS Cotton Otho D.viii, late 12 th century |
| C ⁴ | Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS E.42, 12 th century |
| C ⁵ | London Lambeth Palace Library MS 51, early 13 th century |
| D | Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS C 210 Inf, 11 th -12 th century |
| E ¹ | Saint Gallen Stiftsbibliothek MS 577, 9 th -10 th century |
| E ² | Eisendeln Stiftsbibliothek MS 250, 12 th century |
| H | Jerusalem Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Library MS 1, 10 th -11 th century |

Designations—always more than one letter—for important scholarly discussions or editions of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. None witness historical sources now unknown:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|------|---|
| Am | Amat (1996) | La | Lazzati (1956) |
| Ba | Bastiaensen (1987) | LaNc | Lazzati (<i>Note critiche...</i> , 1956) |
| Be | van Beek (1936) | Mu | Musurillo (1972) |
| Br | Braun (1979) | Re | Reichmann (1943) |
| Ca | Campos (1966) | Ro | Robinson (1891) |
| Fe | Fell (1680) | Ruh | Knoph, Krüger, Ruhbach (1901) |
| Fr | Franchi de' Cavalieri (1896) | Rui | Ruinart (1689) |
| Geb | von Gebhardt (1902) | Sa | Salonius (1921) |
| Gey | Geyer (1898) | So | Sola (1921) |
| Ha | Harris and Gifford (1890) | Sh | Shewring (1931) |
| Ho | Holste (1664) | | |

Sigla, Manuscript Variants, Printed Editions, and Scriptural Citations: The manuscript designations used here accord with traditional schemas for critical editions. In 1891 Robinson first adopted such a system for editing the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, and his designations continue to be used and developed even in the most recent 1996 *Sources Chrétiennes* edition by Amat. However, in 1936 van Beek established an alternative schema, and the system used here corresponds to van Beek's numbering as follows: A = 1, B = 4, C¹ = 5a, C² = 5b, C³ = 5c, C⁴ = 5d, D = 2, E¹ = 3a, E² = 3b. While H is common to both schemas, for van Beek and others until now there was no C⁵.

Also, to continue with the practice established by earlier editors of the text, modern textual emendations and important scholarship will be selectively collated in the critical apparatus. Here references to these modern editions or discussions are indicated by abbreviations of at least two letters (listed on the previous page), and such multi-letter abbreviations distinguish these modern references from references to manuscript sigla, which always have single-letter abbreviations. It is generally to be assumed that, when not indicated otherwise, a manuscript reading or printed edition matches the given lemmata stem, according to my work with English manuscripts and the editorial records of van Beek, Bastiaensen, and Amat.

The form of manuscript variants is also consistently ordered according to chapter and verse, usually with only a single lemma addressed per new entry on each line. As such, for each entry one regularly finds the lemma, followed by a bracket, then the relevant variant(s) and sigil(s). Semicolons separate variants when more than one exists for a given lemma, and sigils for manuscripts and editions/discussions are presented in alphabetical order unless there is a reasonable explanation for another presentation (such as an obvious affinity of certain variants to a given lemma). While spelling variants are not systematically recorded, particularly difficult or contested words or passages include references to important scholarly discussions and editions. Manuscript omissions (om.) of a lemma are also indicated throughout the critical apparatus. Thus, at 3.1, the lemma *verbis* is followed by a square bracket, then the statement that manuscripts B C¹ C² C³ D E¹ E² are in agreement with the lemma while manuscript A omits it and manuscript C³ adds the phrase *a christianitate*:

verbis] B C¹ C² C³ D E¹ E²; om. A; add *a christianitate* C³

Other examples could be proffered, but the reader should generally find the presentation of variants is according to the basic form given above.

7. *Post dies paucos, dum universi oramus, subito media oratione profecta est mihi vox et nominavi Dinocraten. Et obstipui quod numquam mihi in mentem venisset nisi tunc, et dolui commemorata casus eius. 2. Et cognovi me statim dignam esse et pro eo petere debere. Et coepi de ipso orationem facere multum et ingemescere ad dominum. 3. Continuo ipsa nocte ostensum est mihi hoc. 4. Video*

Chapter 7] A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; missing C⁴

7.1 *dies paucos*] *paucos dies* C¹ C² C³

oramus] *oremus* B; *oraremus* C³

subito] placed before *dum* B C¹ C² C³

profecta] A E¹ E²; *perfecta* D; *prolatum* B C¹ C² C³

est] om. C¹ C³

vox] om. B C¹ C² C³

et] om. C³

nominavi dinocraten(-m D)] C¹ C² D; *nominavit*(-t superscript E¹) *dinocraten* E¹ E²;

nomina vidicraten A; *nomina vidinograte* B; *puerum dinocratem et nomina vidi orantium* C³

obstipui] add *eo* C³; *stupui* E¹ E²

mihi] om. E¹

mentem] *mente* A

venisset] *venisse* D

nisi tunc] om. E¹ E²

et] om. B C¹ C² C³

commemorata casus] A D; *commemoratum casum* E¹ E²; *memorato casu* B C¹ C² C³

7.2 *petere*] *patere* B; *pati* C¹ C² C³

et coepi] the first excerpt from C⁵ begins with these words and introduces the text

with: *Qualiter Sancta Perpetua vidit Dimocratem fratrem suum iam mortuum esse in obscuro*

loco in penis. Postea autem orans pro illo videt eum in loco lucido et translatus a penis. xli. /

Sancta Perpetua fratrem quendam (?) huic nomine Dinocratem puerum videt .vii. annorum qui

et mortuus est. De quo ipsa ita scribit.

de] A E¹ E²; *pro* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D

ipso orationem facere multum et ingemescere ad dominum] A; *illo orationem facere ad dominum*

D; *ipso oratione facere multa et ingemiscere ad deum* E¹ E²; *ipso orationem facere multam et*

ingemiscere ad deum B C¹ C² C³; *ipso multum orare et ad deum ingemiscere* C⁵

7.3 *est mihi*] *mihi est* C³; *est* E¹

hoc] A E¹ E²; *in oromate hoc* D; *hoc in oratione* B; *hoc in oromate* C¹ C² C³; *hoc in visione*

C⁵

7.4 *Video*] *et video* E¹ E²; *video inquit* C⁵

Dinocraten exeuntem de loco tenebroso ubi et conplures erant, aestuantem valde et sitientem, sordido cultu et colore pallido; et vulnus in facie eius, quod cum moreretur habuit. 5. Hic Dinocrates fuerat frater meus carnalis, annorum septem, qui per infirmitatem facie cancerata male obiit, ita ut mors eius odio fuerit omnibus hominibus. 6. Pro hoc ergo orationem feceram; et inter me et illum grande erat diastema, ita ut uterque ad invicem accedere non possemus. 7. Erat deinde

Dinocraten] *dinocratem* C¹ C² C³ C⁵; *dignigraten* B
et] om. B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

conplures erant] B C¹ C² C³ D E¹ E²; *conplures loca erant tenebrosa* A; *quinplures erant* C⁵
aestuantem valde et sitientem] A; *valde* placed after *sitientem* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²;
aestuantes valde et sitientes So

cultu] Geb Sh Be La (*cf.* Greek text with *bene vestitum* in 8.1); *vultu* A B C¹ C² C³ D E¹
E² Ro Fr Ruh Ba Am; *valde vultu* C⁵; *vultu et cultu* conjectured by Dölger in "Antike und Christentum" D (1930) 18-38, by comparison with *vultu pariter et cultu nimis claro* in the *Passio Montani et Lucii* 21 (84.21 Fr)

facie] *faciem* A

cum] *dum* C³

moreretur] *moraretur* B

habuit] *abiit* A B

7.5 *Dinocrates]* *dinogratis* here and throughout in B
septem] .vii. C⁵

qui per infirmitatem] A B C¹ C² C³ D E¹ E²; *qui infirmitate* C⁵

facie cancerata] D E¹ E²; *faciem carceratam* A; *cancerata facie* B; *facie macerata* C¹ C² C³ C⁵
ita] A D; om. B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹ E²

ut] *et* C¹ C² C³ C⁵

fuerit] *fuerat* C¹ C² C³ C⁵

7.6 *et* (first instance)] A D; om. B C¹ C² C³ E¹ E²; *sed* C⁵

diastema] Fe (in reference to a conjecture by Ho) and other editions; *diadema* A;

idiantem B; *diantem* C¹; *dianten* C²; *spatium* C³ C⁵ D E¹ E² (but *cf.* Ba where *diantem* C¹
C² C³

ita] A C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; om. B C¹ C²

possemus] A C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D; *possimus* E¹ E²; *possumus* B

in illo loco, ubi Dinocrates erat, piscina plena aqua, altiore marginem habens quam erat statura pueri; et extendebat se Dinocrates quasi bibiturus. 8. Ego dolebam quod et piscina illa aquam habebat, et tamen propter altitudinem marginis bibiturus non esset. 9. Et experta sum, et cognovi fratrem meum laborare; sed fidebam me profuturam labori eius. Et orabam pro eo omnibus diebus

- 7.7 *in illo loco ubi*] E¹ E²; *in eo loco ubi* D; *in ipso loco ubi* B C¹ C² C³; *in loco quo* C⁵; *ubi A dinocrates erat*] A E¹ E²; *erat dinocrates* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D
plena] cum E¹ E²
aqua] add et D; *aquae* B C³; *atque* C¹ C²; *aquas* C⁵
altiore marginem habens quam erat statura pueri] *algorum* (*alcorem* B; *algide* C⁵) *habens marginem quam* (et quasi C¹ C²) *staturam* (*statuerant* C⁵) *pueri* B C¹ C² C⁵; *algas habens in margine secundum staturam pueri* C³
et] om. C¹ C²
- 7.8 *Ego*] et ego C⁵ E¹ E²
dolebam] *dolorem* C⁵
quod et piscina illa aquam habebat] *quod piscina illa aquam haberet* C³; *habuit quod licet piscina illa aquam* C⁵; *quod de piscina illa aquam bibebat* D; *quod et piscina illa aquam haberet* B C¹ C²
et] om. C⁵
altitudinem] *altitudines* C¹ C²; C³ illegible
bibiturus] *quia bibiturus* E¹ E²
esset] add ex ea D
- 7.9 *et* (first instance)] om. D
experta] B C¹ C² C⁵ E² Ba Am; *experrecta* A E¹ most editions; *expergefata* D; C³ illegible (but cf. Am where *experrecta* B C¹ C² C⁵ E² most editions)
fidebam] A D; *confidebam* B; *considerabam* C¹ C² C³ C⁵; *pro fide videbam* E¹ E²
me profuturam] *profuturam orationem meam* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵
et orabam pro eo] om. E¹ E²
omnibus diebus] B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; om. ¹

quousque transivimus in carcerem castrensem; munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi: natale tunc Getae Caesaris. 10. Et feci pro illo orationem die et nocte gemens et lacrimans ut mihi donaretur.

8. *Die quo in nervo mansimus, ostensum est mihi hoc. Video locum illum quem retro videram, et Dinocraten mundo corpore, bene vestitum, refrigerantem; et ubi erat vulnus video cicatricem, 2. et piscinam illam, quam retro videram, summisso margine usque ad umbilicum pueri; et aqua de ea*

quousque] A B C¹ C² C³ D E¹ E²; *quosque* C⁵
castrensem] om. B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi] *munere enim caesaris castrensem* (*castrensem* E²)
fuimus pugnaturi E¹ E²; *pugnaturi enim eramus munentium* C⁵
natale tunc Getae (Ma; *cetae* A) *Caesaris]* A; *natali gente tunc caesaris* D; *natalis caesaris tunc erat* E¹ E²; *natali caesaris* is part of the previous phrase in B C¹ C² C³; *die natali caesaris* C⁵

7.10 *illo]* A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; *eo* D E¹ E²
orationem] add *et* C¹ C² C³ C⁵
gemens] B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; om. A
lacrimans] *lacrimans fui* C³ C⁵

Chapter 8] A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; missing C⁴

8.1 *die]* A E¹ E²; *die autem* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D

quo] *qua* D

nervo] add *constricto* D

mansimus] *mansissemus* D

hoc] om. C⁵

video] *et ecce video* E¹ E²; *et vidi* C⁵

locum illum] *in loco illo* D

retro] om. B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

videram] add *tenebrosum esse lucidum* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

dinocraten] A E¹ E²; *dinocratem* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D

bene] om. C⁵

video] *vidi* C⁵

8.2 *piscinam illam]* *piscina illa* E¹

quam retro videram] *quam prae videram* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; om. E¹ E²

summisso] A D; *summissa* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹ E²

margine] A B C¹ C² C³ D E¹ E²; *marginem* C⁵

umbilicum] A B C¹ C² C³ D E¹ E²; *unbilicum* C⁵

aqua] C¹ C² Re LaNc Ba; *aquam* A B C³ C⁵ D E¹ E² Ro Sh Be Mu Am

trahebat sine cessatione. 3. Et super marginem: fiala aurea plena aqua. Et accessit Dinocrates et de ea bibere coepit; quae fiala non deficiebat. 4. Et satiatus accessit de aqua ludere more infantium gaudens. Et experta sum. Tunc intellexi translatum eum esse de poena.

* * *

trahebat] A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹ E² Ro Be Mu Ba Am; *trahebam* D; *cadebat* Geb; *profluebat* LaNc; *trahebat decurrentem* Sh; Fr Ruh consider passage corrupted; Ba also suggests *aquam de ea trahebant* as an alternative reading

8.3 *marginem*] B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; *marginem* A
fiala] A; *fiala(-am C¹) erat* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²
bibere] om. C⁵

quae] *et quasi* B C¹ C² C³; *sed et* C⁵

8.4 *satiatus accessit de aqua ludere (ludere de aqua E¹ E²)*] A D E¹ E²; *accessit deludere satiatus de ea aqua* B; *accessit ludere satiatus de aqua* C¹ C² C³ C⁵
infantium] A; *infantum* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²
gaudens] becomes part of the following phrase in C³ C⁵
et] om. C³; *hoc* C⁵

experta] B C¹ C² C⁵ E² Ba Am; *experrecta* A C³ E¹ most editions; *expergefata* D

tunc] A; *quae et tunc* D; *et* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹ E²

translatum eum esse] *eum translatum* C⁵

poena] add *ad requiem sanctam iustorum* D; the first excerpt from C⁵ ends with this word

* * *

11. *Sed et Saturus benedictus hanc visionem suam edidit, quam ipse conscripsit. 2. Passi, inquit, eramus, et exivimus de carne, et coepimus ferri a quattuor angelis in orientem, quorum manus nos non tangebant. 3. Ibamus autem non supini sursum versi, sed quasi mollem clivum ascendentes. 4. Et liberato primo mundo vidimus lucem immensam, et dixi Perpetuae (erat enim haec in latere meo):*

Chapter 11] A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; missing C⁴

11.1 *sed*] preceded by the subtitle *VISIO SATURI A*

saturus] *saturninus* E¹

benedictus] *benedictam* C¹ C² C³

suam] om. C¹ C² C³

quam] A E¹ E²; *quam et* B C¹ C² C³; *quam etiam* D

11.2 *passi*] the second excerpt from C⁵ begins at these words, introducing the text with:

Qualiter in sompnis sanctus Satyrus Rubrica. martir vidit se deferri ab angelis in paradysum comitante se sancta Perpetua, in quo viderunt sanctos quosdam martires qui ea tempestate passi percesserant. Viderunt et Ihesum Christum in trono cum viginti quattuor senioribus qui osculatus est eos. xlii. / Sanctus Satyrus cum iam ipse et Sancta Perpetua et multi alii comprehensi pati deberent. Vidit visionem admirandam quasi postea ipse narravit et scripsit. Ita inquiring.

inquit] om. C⁵ E¹ E²

et] om. C¹ C² C³

exivimus] *exivit* D

carne] *carcere* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

ferri] *fieri* B

nos] om. D

tangebant] B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; *tangebat* A

11.3 *ibamus*] *ibimus* E¹; *ivimus* E²

supini] add *nec* E²

versi] A C³ C⁵ E²; *versus* B C¹ C² D E¹

mollem] *molle* A

clivum] *glebam* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

11.4 *liberato primo mundo*] A; *liberato primo mundum* D; *liberati primum iam (iam) de* C³)

mundo B C³ C⁵; *liberati primam iam* C¹ C²; *liberati mundo* E¹; *liberato mundo* E²

vidimus] *videmus* D

dixi perpetuae] *dixit perpetua* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

erat enim haec (hoc) A in latere meo] A D; *quoniam in latere nostro erat* E¹ E²; *quoniam*

(quae) C³) a latere nostro erat B C¹ C² C³; *quae adexterius nobis erat* C⁵

Hoc est quod nobis Dominus promittebat: percepimus promissionem. 5. Et dum gestamur ab ipsis quattuor angelis, factum est nobis spatium grande, quod tale fuit quasi viridiarium, arbores habens rosae et omne genus flores. 6. Altitudo arborum erat in modum cypressi, quarum folia cadebant sine cessatione. 7. Ibi autem in viridiario alii quattuor angeli fuerunt clariores ceteris: qui, ubi viderunt nos, honorem nobis dederunt, et dixerunt ceteris angelis: Ecce sunt, ecce sunt, cum admiratione. Et expavescentes quattuor illi angeli, qui gestabant nos, deposuerunt nos. 8. Et pedibus nostris

nobis dominus] dominus nobis B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

11.5 *gestamur] gestabamur E²*

factum est] factus est C¹ C²; et factum D

grande] grandem A; magnum B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

quasi] quale C⁵

arbores] A C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹; arboris B D E²

habens] add et C³ C⁵; habentes E¹

rosae] A; rosa B C¹; rosas C⁵ D E¹ E²; rosam C² C³

et] om. E¹

flores] A (before correction); floris A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; florum D E¹ E²

11.6 *altitudo] A E¹ E²; altitudo vero D; altitudo autem B C¹ C² C³ C⁵*

in] ad B C¹ C² C³

cadebant] A B D E¹ E²; ardebant C¹ C² C³ C⁵; canebant Ro Am

11.7 *ibi autem] ibi etiam E¹; om. C⁵*

autem in viridiario] autem in viridario C³; in viridario autem C⁵

in viridiario alii quattuor angeli fuerunt clariores ceteris] quattuor angeli fuerunt in viridiario

clariores ceteris (add alio E¹; alii E²) E¹ E²; in viridiario fuerunt quattuor angeli alii (alii]

om. C⁵) clariores (alacriores C⁵) ceteris B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; in viridiario alii quattuor angeli D

ubi] A C³ D E¹ E²; ibi B C¹ C²; cum C⁵

nos] add et B C¹ C²

dederunt] add nos A (before correction)

et] om. D

ceteris] ceteri B

ecce sunt ecce sunt] A E¹; ecce (add huius C⁵) sunt B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; accesserunt et D; ecce

assunt ecce E² (but cf. Am where E² is not recorded as being variant)

cum admiratione. Et expavescentes] A; expavescentes cum admiratione B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; cum

admiratione expavescentes D; cum admiratione E¹ E²

illi] om. E¹ E²

gestabant nos] A D E¹ E²; gestabant C¹ C² C³; nos gestabant C⁵; stabant B

deposuerunt nos] om. D

transivimus stadium via lata. 9. Ibi invenimus Iocundum et Saturninum et Artaxium, qui eadem persecutione vivi arserunt, et Quintum, qui et ipse martyr in carcere exierat. Et quaerebamus de illis, ubi essent ceteri. 10. Angeli dixerunt nobis: Venite prius, introite, et salutate Dominum.

12. Et venimus prope locum, cuius loci parietes tales erant quasi de luce aedificati; et ante ostium loci illius angeli quattuor stabant, qui introeuntes vestierunt stolas candidas. 2. Et introivimus, et

11.8 *stadium] ad stadium E¹ E²*

via lata] B C¹ C² C³; violata A; viae latae D; om. C⁵ E¹ E²

11.9 *ibi] B C² C³ D E¹ E²; ubi A; om. C¹; et mox ibi C⁵*

et (first instance)] om. E¹ E²

iocundum et saturninum (saturum E²) et artaxium] A E¹ E² Ma; iocundum et satirum artaxium D; iucundum satyrum artaxium B; iocundum (add et C³ C⁵) artaxium C¹ C² C³ C⁵ eadem persecutione] A E¹ E²; eadem persecutione passi C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D; eandem persecutionem passi B

exierat] vitam exegit E²

de] A E¹ E²; ab B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D

illis] ipsis D

11.10 *ubi essent ceteri. Angeli dixerunt nobis] ubi essent. Ceteri angeli(-is, before correction) dixerunt nobis A; ubi essent ceteri. Et dixerunt nobis ceteri angeli D; ubi essent ceteri. Dixerunt nobis angeli E¹ E²; ubi essent ceteri. Dixerunt autem nobis angeli B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ prius introite] A; primum introite D; primum intro B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹; primum E²*

Chapter 12] A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; missing C⁴

12.1 *cuius loci] cui loco D*

de luce aedificati] de luce aedificatae B C¹; dulce aedificium E²

illius] ipsius E¹ E²

angeli quattuor stabant qui introeuntes (add nos D Ba) vestierunt stolas candidas (stola candida D) et introivimus] A D Ro Fr Be Ruh La Mu Ba Am; angeli quattuor introeuntes nos vestierunt stolis candidis et introivimus E¹ E²; erant angeli quattuor introeuntes (add admittentes C⁵) et nos vestiti stolas(-is C³ C⁵) candidas(-is C³ C⁵) introivimus B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

12.2 *introivimus] add et vidimus lucem immensam B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ (but cf. Am add et vidimus lucem immensam C¹ C² C³ D)*

*audivimus vocem unitam dicentem: agios agios agios, sine cessatione. 3. Et vidimus in eodem loco
sedentem quasi hominem canum, niveos habentem capillos et vultu iuvenili, cuius pedes non
vidimus. 4. Et in dextera et in sinistra seniores quattuor, et post illos ceteri seniores conplures
stabant. 5. Et introeuntes cum admiratione stetimus ante thronum, et quattuor angeli sublevaverunt
nos, et osculati sumus illum, et de manu sua traiecit nobis in faciem. 6. Et ceteri seniores dixerunt
nobis: Stemus; et stetimus et pacem fecimus. Et dixerunt nobis seniores: Ite et ludite. 7. Et dixi*

audivimus] *audimus* B
vocem] add *ineffabilem* C³
unitam] *mutatam* B
dicentem] *dicentium* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵
agios agios agios] *agios agios* D

12.3 *vidimus]* *vidi* E¹ E²

in eodem loco] A D; *in medio loci illius* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; *in medio* E¹; *eum* E²
iuvenili] *iuvenali* D
vidimus] *vidi* E¹ E²

12.4 *dextera]* add *eius* C¹ C²

sinistra] A; *sinistra eius* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²
quattuor] A E¹ E²; *viginti quattuor* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D
ceteri] om. D
seniores] om. B C¹ C² C³
stabant] om. E¹ E²

12.5 *et]* A D; om. B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹ E²

introeuntes] A; *introivimus* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²
cum] add *magna* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵
admiratione] A; *admiratione et* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²
nos] om. B
illum] *scabellum pedum eius* D
traiecit nobis in faciem] *traiecit nobis in facie* C¹ C² C³; *tetigit nobis faciem* D; *transiecit nos
in facie* C⁵

12.6 *nobis]* om. B

stemus. . . seniores] om. D
stemus] *state* C³ C⁵; add *ad orationem* E¹ E²
et ludite] A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵; *exultate in domino* D; *ludite* E¹ E²

12.7 *dixi perpetuae]* *dixit perpetua* B C¹ C² C³; *dixi perpetua* C⁵

Perpetuae: Habes quod vis. Et dixit mihi: Deo gratias, ut quomodo in carne hilaris fui, hilarior sim et hic modo.

13. *Et exivimus et vidimus ante fores Optatum episcopum ad dexteram et Aspasium presbyterum doctorem ad sinistram, separatos et tristes. 2. Et miserunt se ad pedes nobis et dixerunt: Componite inter nos, quia existis, et sic nos reliquistis. 3. Et diximus illis: Non tu es papa noster et tu presbyter? Ut vos ad pedes nobis mittatis? Et moti sumus et complexi illos sumus. 4. Et coepit*

*dixit mihi] dixi B C¹ C² C³; dixit C⁵
 ut] quia E¹ E²; quod C³
 sim et hic modo] sum et hic modo A; sim etiam modo D; sim et hic C³ E¹; sum et hic C¹ C² C⁵ E²; et hic B*

Chapter 13] A B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; missing C⁴

13.1 *ad dexteram] om. D*

*doctorem] doctores D; doctiorem C³
 et tristes] om. D*

13.2 *se] eos C⁵*

nobis] A E¹ E²; nostros B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D

et (first instance)] om. B C¹ C²

dixerunt] add nobis B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

componite] add pacem E²

quia] add intrastis et E¹ E²

existis] exitis C¹ C² C³ C⁵

nos] add tristes E¹ E²

reliquistis] A B E¹ E²; dereliquistis D; relinquitis C¹ C² C³ C⁵

13.3 *illis] illi C¹; add optate(-i B) B C¹ C² C³ C⁵*

non] nonne C¹ C² C⁵

papa] pater C² C⁵

noster et] noster es B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

presbyter] add noster D

ut vos ad pedes nobis (nostros B) mittatis] A B E¹ E²; ut quid vos ad pedes nostros mittatis (mittitis C³) C¹ C² C³ C⁵; ut ad pedes nostros mittatis (remittatis D, before correction) vos D

moti sumus] misimus nos B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

complexi illos sumus] A D E¹; compleximus illos B E²; complexi sumus illos C¹ C² C³ C⁵

Perpetua Graece cum illis loqui, et segregavimus eos in viridarium sub arbore rosae. 5. Et dum loquimur cum eis, dixerunt illis angeli: Sinite illos refrigerent; et si quas habetis inter vos dissensiones, dimittite vobis invicem. 6. Et conturbaverunt eos, et dixerunt Optato: Corrige plebem tuam, quia sic ad te conveniunt quasi de circo redeuntes et de factionibus certantes. 7. Et sic nobis visum est quasi vellent claudere portas. 8. Et coepimus illic multos fratres cognoscere, sed et martyras. Universi odore inenarrabili alebamus qui nos satiabat. Tunc gaudens expertus sum.

13.4 *graece*] B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; om. A

eos] *illos* D

viridarium(-darium E²)] A E¹ E²; *viridario(-dario C³ C⁵)* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D

arbore] *arborem* E¹

rosae] *rose* C⁵

13.5 *illis*] *illi* E²

sinite illos refrigerent] A; *quiescite ab illis ut refrigerent* D; *quiescite illos refrigerare* E¹;

quiescite illi refrigerent E²; *quiescite et refrigerate* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

si] A; om. B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²

inter vos] om. C⁵

dissensiones] *discussiones* C³; *decusationes* C⁵

invicem] *in invicem* A

13.6 *optato*] *obtate* B C² C³; *o beate* C¹ C⁵

tuam] *meam* C¹ C² C³ C⁵

redeuntes] *revertentes* E¹ E²

factionibus] B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D E¹ E²; *fatigationibus* A

13.7 *claudere portas*] *claudere claudere* C⁵

13.8 *illic*] *ex illis* C¹ C²

cognoscere] *recognoscere* D

sed et] A D; om. B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹ E²

martyras] A D; *martyres* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵ E¹ E²

universi] A; *ubi universi* D E¹ E²; *ubi* B C¹ C² C³ C⁵

odore inenarrabili] *odoribus inenarrabilibus* E¹; *odores inenarrabiles* E²

alebamus] *alebatur* C¹; *alabamus* E²

nos] *non*, which is a tentative conjecture by reference to the Greek text Geb Sa p. 59

satiabat] A C¹ C² C³ C⁵ D; *satiabant* E¹ E²; *sanabit* B

gaudens] add *et* B; *exaudiens* D

expertus] B C¹ C² C⁵ D E² Ba Am; *experrecta* A; *experrectus* E¹ most editions; C³ illegible

sum] the second excerpt from C⁵ ends with this word

Notes

Introduction

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⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 342; Giovanni Paolo

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CHAPTER ONE

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¹⁸ Prinzivalli, "Perpetua the Martyr," 221.

¹⁹ See Barnes' "Christianity in Africa"; "The Chronology of Montanism," *Journal of Theological Studies* 21 (1970); "Tertullian the Antiquarian," *Studia Patristica* 14, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976); "Women and Law in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1997).

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²⁵ *Lucii Caecilii Firmiani Lactantii de mortibus persecutorum liber. Accesserunt passioness. Perpetuae et Felicitatis. S. Maximiliani. S. Felicis* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theater, 1680).

²⁶ *The Legends of the Saints. With a Memoir of the Author*, trans. Donald Attwater (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962); *Les origines du culte des Martyrs*, 2nd rev. ed., Subsidia Hagiographica 20 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1933); *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, 2nd revised ed., Subsidia Hagiographica 13B (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1966); *Sanctus: Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité*, Subsidia Hagiographica 17 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1927).

²⁷ *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Haskell Lectures on History of Religions. New Series 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); "Martyrdom, Prophecy and Continence: Hermas to Tertullian," in *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, Lectures on the History of Religions. New Series (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*, Curti Lectures 1988 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A. D. 200-1000*, The Making of Europe

(Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996); *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

²⁸ *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (Noviomagi: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1936); *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis. Latine et graece.*, ed. Bernhardus Geyer and Johannes Zellinger, vol. 43, *Florilegium patristicum* (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1938).

²⁹ “Actes des martyrs,” in *Dictionnaire d’archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1907).

³⁰ “L’authenticité des songes de la *Passio de Perpétue et de Félicité*,” *Augustinianum* 29 (1989); *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des actes, Songes et visions: L’au-delà dans la littérature latine tardive* (Paris: Etudes Augustininiennes, 1985).

³¹ Prinzivalli, “Perpetua the Martyr,” 118-40, 221-25.

³² For further discussion original language, see chapters two and three.

³³ Fergus Millar, “Review of *the Acts of the Christian Martyrs* by Herbert Musurillo,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1973): 242-43.

³⁴ Halporn, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 26.

³⁵ The descriptive phrase for select Latin vocabulary as “hard little words” is from Martin Irvine. <http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/classics203/resources/latin.lex>.

³⁶ See, for example, Lawrence Venuti’s *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) and *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

³⁷ Friedrich Schleiermacher, “From ‘On the Different Methods of Translating’ [1813],” in *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*, eds. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 42.

CHAPTER TWO

³⁸ “The Martyrdom of St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas by Félix Louis Leullier,” Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, http://www.bjung.org/collections/old_masters/centuries_18_19/leullier_full.htm.

³⁹ Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making, Gender, Theory, and Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 203.

⁴⁰ Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stewart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), s.v. “μάρτυς” (1082): “witness.” See also related entries such as “μαρτυρέω,” “μαρτυρία,” and “μαρτύρομαι.”

⁴¹ Thomas J. Heffernan, e-mail message to author, February 27, 2006. See also Thomas J. Heffernan and James E. Shelton, “*Paradisus in Carcere*: The Vocabulary of Imprisonment and the Theology of Martyrdom in the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14, no. 2 (2006).

⁴² Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 50.13. Critical edition is by Carl Becker, *Tertullian: Apologeticum. Werden und Leistung* (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1961).

⁴³ Niall Ferguson briefly discusses the logic of contemporary martyrdom in *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), 121. Regarding the ancient role of martyrs (addressed throughout as “witnesses”), see J. A. Crook’s discussion in *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 19, 30-36, 144.

⁴⁴ Crook, *Legal Advocacy*, 3. On ancient rhetorical training and practices in general, George Alexander Kennedy offers several relevant works, including *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁴⁵ Cf. the recent article by Jan N. Bremmer, "The Motivation of Martyrs: Perpetua and the Palestinians" in *Religion im kulturellen Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans G. Kippenberg zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Brigitte Luchesi and Kocku von Stuckrad (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 535-54.

⁴⁶ Van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (Noviomagi: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1936); James W. Halporn, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr Commentaries, 1984); Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Rosemary Rader, "The Martyrdom of Perpetua: A Protest of Third-Century Christianity" in *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers in the Early Church*, ed. Patricia Wilson-Kastner, et al. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981), 1-18. See also Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 70-77. Note also that the *Acta* tends to focus on trial scenes while omitting details of visionary episodes, and see chapter six for further *Acta* discussion.

⁴⁷ Though Christians, and others, died during several waves of persecution under Roman emperors, there is debate whether it is accurate to view the time when Perpetua and Felicitas died as part of an empire-wide persecution of Christians. See James Rives, "The Piety of a Persecutor," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996): 1-25. Rives suggests that

persecutions were often a local phenomenon, and their amount and severity strongly influenced by the demeanor of local government, even the temperament of a specific political figure in reference to the martyrdom recorded by the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. Brent Shaw notes that March 7 is the probable date for the actual martyrdom, citing discussions by both Leclercq and Monceaux in “The *Passion* of Perpetua,” *Past and Present* 139 (1993): 3 n. 2, revised and reprinted in *Studies in Ancient Greek and Roman Society*, ed. Robin Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 286-325.

⁴⁸ These commissioned images especially served as a testament to the efforts to define and promote orthodoxy by the local bishop, Pietro II, at a time when the Arian heresy was becoming problematic in Italy and had already gained a foothold in certain North African Christian communities. For brief discussion of the Chapel in this context, see Gillian Vallance Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 104-15. For a thorough, contextual discussion of the several Ravenna mosaics, which have been much restored throughout the years, the standard reference works are by Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, 2 in 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1969) and Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, Franz X. Bartl, and Julie Boehringer, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 2nd rev. ed. (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1995).

⁴⁹ Carolyn Osiek, “Perpetua’s Husband,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2002): 287 n. 2. Thomas Heffernan is one of few scholars to focus on Felicitas at length in his “The *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* and the *Imitatio Christi*,” 222-30. Cf. M. Poirier, “Note

sur la *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*: Félicité était-elle vraiment l'esclave de Perpétue?," in *Studia Patristica 10*, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1970), 306-09.

⁵⁰ Augustine, *Sermones* 280-82 and 394 (Patrologia Latina 38: 1280-84, 1284-85, 1285-86), here citing 281: 3.3.

⁵¹ Recent examples include Jan N. Bremmer, "Perpetua and Her Diary: Authenticity, Family and Visions," in *Martyrer und Martyrerakten*, ed. Walter Ameling (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002); Joyce E. Salisbury, *Perpetua's Passion: The Death and Memory of a Young Roman Woman* (New York: Routledge, 1997). Ross Shephard Kraemer is one scholar who has recently suggested that no part of the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* was actually written by Perpetua, preferring to emphasize instead that the work is a "literary production" in her *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World*. Rev. and expanded ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 5-6, 356-57. While Kraemer offers a necessary counterbalance to other scholarly assessments, the choice need not necessarily be between absolute historical truth and fanciful fiction.

⁵² Parenthetical references to the *Passion* throughout my work are to the most recent critical edition by Jacqueline Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des Actes*, Sources Chrétiennes 417 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1996). Unless otherwise stated, all English translations are my own on the basis of the edition provided in chapter 4.

⁵³ Regarding the vision and role of Saturus, Heidi Vierow argues that while many scholars have had little interest in this martyr compared to their interest in Perpetua, his vision

functions to “confirm Perpetua’s dreams and to reinforce her newfound authority in her transformed sense of self; and his account [. . .] is purposefully bland so that his character does not upstage Perpetua’s”: see her “Feminine and Masculine Voices in the *Passion* of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas,” *Latomus* 58 (1999): 617-18. Also, scholars such as Åke Fridh who are interested in relationships between Latin and Greek versions of the *Passion* often find Saturus’ portion interesting because his style is thought to be more theologically formulaic than the rest of the work, possibly indicating that his sections were originally in Greek: *Le problème de la passion des saintes Perpétue et Félicité*, *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 26 (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1968). See also James W. Halporn, “Literary History and Generic Expectations in the *Passio* and *Acta Perpetuae*,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991): 223-41 and Jan N. Bremmer, “The Vision of Saturus in the *Passio Perpetuae*” in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Gerard P. Luttikhuisen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 55-73.

⁵⁴ On Tertullian as rhetor, see also Barnes, *Tertullian*; Robert D. Sider, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); and George Alexander Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 154-55. Cf. respective articles by Osborn and Rankin on whether Tertullian was a philosopher or jurist in Elizabeth A. Livingstone, ed., *Preaching, Second Century, Tertullian to Arnobius, Egypt before Nicaea*, *Studia Patristica* 31 (Louvain: Peeters, 1997). In *The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church*

(Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 19-24, Robert Simpson cogently argues for the inclusion of Tertullian's *De Oratione* as a catechetical work along with others by early Church Fathers.

⁵⁵ For extended consideration of Tertullian, see Timothy Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 71, 263-65. For updated information, see also Roger Pearse, *The Tertullian Project* ([cited 16 March 2004]); available from <http://www.tertullian.org/>.

⁵⁶ Fergus Millar, "Condemnation to Hard Labour in the Roman Empire, from the Julio-Claudians to Constantine," in *Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*, 2 vols., Rome, the Greek World, and the East 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 120-50, at 121.

⁵⁷ Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, 63; Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, xxv.

⁵⁸ Emanuela Prinzivalli, "Perpetua the Martyr," in *Roman Women*, ed. Augusto Fraschetti (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 119.

⁵⁹ Rader, "Martyrdom of Perpetua," 3.

⁶⁰ Dronke, "From Perpetua to the Eighth Century," 6, 12-13, 17, 286 n. 59.

⁶¹ Heffernan, "Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas and the *Imitatio Christi*," 193-94.

⁶² Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, 63.

⁶³ Heffernan, "*Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas and the Imitatio Christi*," 186, 230.

⁶⁴ Kraemer, *Women's Religions*, 5-6, 356-57.

⁶⁵ Cf. Herbert Musurillo, "History and Symbol: A Study of Form in Early Christian Literature," *Theological Studies* 18.3 (1957): 357-86. The author is keen to point out that patristic writers were often intent to employ and recognize "event-symbols" in their writings.

⁶⁶ Among the most recent and telling examples of historical or feminist-historical approaches include works by Bremmer, "Perpetua and Her Diary"; Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*; Rader, "Martyrdom of Perpetua"; Salisbury, *Perpetua's Passion*; and Shaw, "Passion of Perpetua." Psychological—and in the first case, peculiarly idiosyncratic—approaches may be observed in Robert Roussele, "The Dreams of Vibia Perpetua: Analysis of a Female Christian Martyr," *The Journal of Psychohistory* 14, no. 3 (1987): 193-206; Marie-Louise von Franz, *The Passion of Perpetua*, Jungian Classics Series (Irving: Spring Publications, 1980).

While Paul McKechnie offers suggestions for understanding Perpetua's educational background and likely intellectual achievements in his "St. Perpetua and Roman Education in A.D. 200," *L'Antiquite Classique* 63 (1994): 279-91 and Eugenio Corsini suggests a theological interpretation of the text in "Proposte per una lettura della *Passio Perpetuae*," in *Forma futuri: Studi in onore del cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, ed. Michele Pellegrino (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1975), 481-541, I offer here a distinct, yet related, vision of the potential educational value of the *Passion* for early Christian audiences.

⁶⁷ The most recent examples of discussions about Perpetua's sleeping "dreams" are in Salisbury, *Perpetua's Passion*, 92-115; Brent D. Shaw, "Judicial Nightmares and Christian

Memory,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 4 (2003): 533-63. Very little, if any, distinction is generally made between dreams and visions, and in this regard these discussions are typical, even stereotypical, of scholarship on the topic. See also Eric Robertson Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 47-53.

⁶⁸ Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 14 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 17-34.

⁶⁹ The phrase is from both Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, 48, and Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 401. The narrative has also recently been anthologized as “prison literature” in *Wall Tappings: An International Anthology of Women’s Prison Writings, 200 to the Present*, ed. Judith A. Scheffler (New York: Feminist Press at City University of New York, 2002), 42-46. Also see Rita Copeland’s discussion of certain late medieval prison diaries, which she favorably compares with apostolic writings: “Violent Representations: Intellectuals and Prison Writing,” *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 141-50.

⁷⁰ Heffernan, “*Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas and the Imitatio Christi*,” 204.

⁷¹ Heffernan, “*Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas and the Imitatio Christi*,” 205.

⁷² Millar similarly emphasizes the necessity to think of verbal or oral pronouncements as primary and their written manifestations as secondary in Roman political life and culture, *Government, Society, and Culture*, 208.

⁷³ The reference here to “little children,” an endearing diminutive, is an echo of the New Testament: Matt 11.25, 18.3, 19.14; Rom 8.16; and 1 John 3.1. It may also specifically refer to catechumens in contrast to mature, baptized believers who were competent in their knowledge of the faith: Dujarier, *History of the Catechumenate*, 17-18, 97-106.

⁷⁴ In this passage the reference to “ancient teachings” especially refers to the Hebrew Scriptures that became known in Christianity as the “Old Testament.” See also Elizabeth A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 104-13.

⁷⁵ Heffernan applies the concept of a “Christology of martyrdom” to the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*. Thus the martyrs are seen to be Christ figures who are, therefore, able to link believers to Christ (“*Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* and the *Imitatio Christi*,” 228).

⁷⁶ Discussion and examples are in Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1979), 17-19, 29, 291, etc.

⁷⁷ From the Greek: “one who receives instructions.” Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 6-7, 74-78, 97-108. See also Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd rev. and enlarged ed. (London: S. P. C. K., 2002), 80-83; Dujarier, *History of the Catechumenate*; Finn, *From Death to Rebirth*; Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate*; and Wilken, “Christian Formation in the Early Church.”

⁷⁸ McKechnie, "St. Perpetua and Roman Education in A.D. 200," 290.

⁷⁹ Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 46-50 (Becker, *Tertullian. Apologeticum*).

⁸⁰ While Jungmann asserts a 3-year catechumenate (*Early Liturgy*, 77, 249), Bradshaw is much more circumspect and in his footnotes cites different interpretations on the historical issue by several scholars (*Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 103-04).

⁸¹ See also Bradshaw's discussion of "Christian Initiation: A Study in Diversity" where he specifically emphasizes the distinctiveness of North African Christian baptism as characterized by Tertullian and Cyprian (*Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 144-46, 156-59, 169-70).

⁸² Jaako Aronen references the allusion to the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* by Pontius, the hagiographer of Saint Cyprian of Carthage (d. ca. 258), "Indebtedness to *Passio Perpetuae* in Pontius' *Vita Cypriani*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 38, no. 1 (1984): 67-76.

⁸³ Cf. repeated (and often heated) apostolic instances of oratorical debate throughout the book of Acts (2.14-41, 3.11-26, 4.8-22, 5.21-42, 7.1-53, 13.13-52, et al.). Likewise, note the oratorical example of Thecla in Bart D. Ehrman's translation of "The Acts of Thecla" in *Lost Scriptures: Books that Did Not Make It into the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 113-21.

⁸⁴ Raised platforms were often used both for trials and other forms of public speaking. Cf. Millar, *Government, Society, and Culture*, 208.

⁸⁵ Musurillo, "History and Symbol," 359.

⁸⁶ 1 Pet 2.9 (NRSV). Cf. the second century Athenian “Apology of Aristides on Behalf of the Christians,” ed. J. Rendel Harris and J. Armitage Robinson in *Texts and Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893) in which Aristides delineates four human races: pagan, Greek, Jew, and Christian (81-83).

⁸⁷ Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 130-31.

⁸⁸ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “narro,” 1155: “1 To relate, tell, say . . . 2 To describe, tell about . . . 3 (rhet.) To state the facts of a case (cf. *narratio*).”

⁸⁹ Luke 1.13, 31.

⁹⁰ John 1.43.

⁹¹ Acts 13.9.

⁹² For example, discussions of modern Catholic initiation rituals are provided in Maxwell E. Johnson’s *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), 308-09.

⁹³ See Henry Chadwick’s edited version of Gregory Dix’s *Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr*. London: Alban Press, 1992, 42-43.

⁹⁴ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “perpetuus,” 1351.

⁹⁵ Halporn, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae Et Felicitatis*, 54.

⁹⁶ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 683.

⁹⁷ Warm thanks to Dr. Mark Vessey for help in translating this pithy passage.

⁹⁸ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1695.

⁹⁹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “pudeo,” 1513, and “prudens,” 1509.

¹⁰⁰ Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 221, ff. 145v-150r. My thanks to Librarian Suzanne Eward for her kindness when I visited Salisbury Cathedral Library for research.

¹⁰¹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, respectively 1648-50, 1695, and 1720.

¹⁰² *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, respectively 1399 and 1930.

¹⁰³ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*dinosco*,” 546, and “*cratis*” 454-55.

¹⁰⁴ Without extensively discussing the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* in this regard, Herbert Musurillo also makes a similar argument throughout “History and Symbol.” Especially, he emphasizes that just such multivalence was an explicit goal of early Christian thinkers and writers.

¹⁰⁵ Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 104-52.

¹⁰⁶ Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim, Bollingen Series 74 (New York: Princeton University Press, 1965), 69.

¹⁰⁷ As is evident in practices of *imitatio Christi* just cited in Tertullian. The Gospel of John also consistently foreshadows Christ’s death in the events of his life, thereby fusing together the meaning of his life and death.

¹⁰⁸ Augustine, *De natura et origine animae* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 60: 301-419): “[. . .] nec scriptura ipsa canonica est” (1.10.12). For extended discussions on the continuing influence of the *Passion*, see Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité*, 80-81, and Shaw, “*Passion of Perpetua*,” 37.

CHAPTER THREE

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- ¹⁰⁹ Dronke, "From Perpetua to the Eighth Century," 6.
- ¹¹⁰ Dronke, "From Perpetua to the Eighth Century," 1, 6.
- ¹¹¹ Heffernan, "Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas and the *Imitatio Christi*," 203.
- ¹¹² Thomas J. Heffernan, "Philology and Authorship in the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*," *Traditio* 50 (1995): 315-25.
- ¹¹³ Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*.
- ¹¹⁴ Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*.
- ¹¹⁵ As is almost always the case in Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*; Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*; Rader, "The Martyrdom of Perpetua"; and von Franz, *The Passion of Perpetua*.
- ¹¹⁶ The number of manuscripts is as listed by van Beek and Amat. Definitions for *expergefacta*, *experta* and *experrecta* are among those given in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, respectively on pages 648, 649 and 648 (s.v., "*expergefacio*," "*experior*," and "*expergiscor*").
- ¹¹⁷ Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité*, 207; Halporn, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*; Prinzivalli, "Perpetua the Martyr," 123-24. See also A. A. R. Bastiaensen, "Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis," in *Acti e passioni dei martiri*, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen, et al. (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1995).
- ¹¹⁸ Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 180.
- ¹¹⁹ Halporn describes ecstasy as a "trance" brought about by God; however, this state of being ought also to be recognized as often initiated by prayer, which was considered to be a

responsibility and skill of human beings: *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 55. Cf. Acts 22.17.

¹²⁰ Matt 26.36-46; Mark 14.43-50; and Luke 22.47-53.

¹²¹ My thanks to Laurel Bowman for insightful observations on this “final vision” of Perpetua, particularly a recognition of the displacement of time that is part of the episode.

¹²² A recent example of preferring the language of “dreams” to the language of “visions” when discussing the *Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* is Patricia Cox Miller’s *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹²³ BL Cotton Nero E.1, f. 162r.

¹²⁴ Though critical editions of the *Passion* persistently transcribe *video* (“I see”) to initiate Perpetua’s visions, translators interpret this wording with past tense phrasing: “I saw.” For complete indexing of variations on the term *video* in the *Passio*, consult Amat or van Beek. One translator notes the temporal discrepancy of 4.3 in a footnote and leaves it at that: von Franz, *Passion of Perpetua*, 76.

¹²⁵ In a related sense, Mary Carruthers writes of the rhetorical technique of having the speaker “present/represent” an image for its memorial value to an audience, *Craft of Thought*, 201-03.

¹²⁶ Robert D. Fulk, “The Historical Present in Medieval Irish Narrative,” *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 42 (1987): 330-43. Cf. R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil, Books 1-6*

(New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972. Reprint, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1980), 127 (Book 6.87, where the Sybil also uses the oracular, first-person singular for "I see," by saying "cerno").

¹²⁷ For interesting discussion of later issues regarding the notion of spiritual discretion, see Rosalynn Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices: The Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late-Medieval Women Visionaries* (Suffolk and Rochester: York Medieval Press, 1999).

¹²⁸ Please refer to discussions and bibliographic references in works cited in notes 6, 16, 20-21, 58.

¹²⁹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "peto," 1369-70: "1 To direct one's course to (a person, place, etc.), make for, resort to, or similar . . . 5 To go in quest of, hunt out, search for . . . 7 To seek to obtain (something desirable) aim at, strive after. b. to strive to bring about (a result) c. (w[ith] infinitive]) to seek (to), attempt (to) . . . 8 (often with ablative) To try to obtain by asking, requesting, soliciting (from)." Also s.v. "postulo," 1415: "1 To ask for (generally as something to which one is entitled), demand . . . 2 (legal, as in civil or criminal cases) To make application (to the praetor or other magistrate) for . . . 3 To prosecute, arraign . . . 4 To look for as due, expect . . . 5 (of inanim[ate] or abst[ract] things) To demand, require . . . 6 To claim, assert." Though there is much similarity between the two terms, note that *postulo*, in particular, can be used in a juridical context. See discussion of "*postulatio*" in Crook, *Legal Advocacy*, 159-60.

¹³⁰ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "oro," 1271: "1 (tr[ansitive]) To pray to, beseech, supplicate (a person, god, etc., for a favour) . . . 2 (or intr[ansitive]) To speak before a court or assembly, plead." Cf. Mary J. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 8.

¹³¹For a related discussion, consider Sharon Marie Salvadori, “*Per feminam mors, per feminam vita: Images of women in the early Christian funerary art of Rome*” (Ph. D. Dissertation, New York University, 2002). Additional catacomb images are provided in James Stevenson’s *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978).

¹³² Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 181.

¹³³ Simpson, *Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church*, 30.

¹³⁴ Luke 11.1 (NRSV).

¹³⁵ Tertullian, *De Oratione* 10.1. The critical edition and English translation cited throughout my discussion is, unless otherwise noted, by Ernest Evans, *Tertullian’s Tract on the Prayer*. London: S. P. C. K., 1953.

¹³⁶ Tertullian, *De Oratione* 1.10. Rather than Evans’ “instruction on prayer” (*orandi disciplinam*) here, I have preferred the phrasing as translated by Thelwall (“Rule of Prayer”): *On Prayer in Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian. I. Apologetic; II. Anti-Marcion; III. Ethical.*, ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, Alexander Roberts, and James Donaldson, Ante-Nicene Fathers 3 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark), 681-91.

¹³⁷ Tertullian, *De Oratione* 28.5-7, 29.8.

¹³⁸ Tertullian, *De Oratione* 24.1. See also 1 Thess 5.17 (NRSV): “[P]ray without ceasing.”

¹³⁹ Tertullian, *De Oratione* 13. Cf. Matt 27.24.

¹⁴⁰ Tertullian, *De Oratione* 14. Cf. John 8.28-29, 12.30-33; 1 Tim 2.8. Cf. Ps 141.2.

¹⁴¹ Tertullian, *De Oratione* 15-24, 26-27.

¹⁴² Tertullian, *De Oratione* 25, 29.

¹⁴³ Tertullian, *Ad martyras* 2 (CCL 1:4). Translation from *Tertullian: Disciplinary, Moral, and Ascetical Works*, ed. Rudolph Arbesmann, Sister Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin A. Quain (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1959), reprinted in Mary-Ann Stouck, ed., *Medieval Saints: A Reader* (Peterborough and Orchard Park: Broadview Press, 1999), 35.

¹⁴⁴ 1 Cor 9.25 (NIV).

¹⁴⁵ Matt 26.36-46; Mark 14.32-42; and Luke 22.40-46.

¹⁴⁶ Isa 51.21-23 (NRSV). Jesus also refers meaningfully to cups elsewhere, including Matt 26.27-29 and John 18.11.

¹⁴⁷ Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993), 7-21. Also Jeffrey F. Hamburger provides a discussion on historical interpretations of mysticism in *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland Circa 1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991).

¹⁴⁸ Dronke, "From Perpetua to the Eighth Century," 6-7.

¹⁴⁹ Crook, *Legal Advocacy*, 113-16.

¹⁵⁰ In comparable examples, use of a cross symbol initiates each brief prayer recorded in early Christian papyri: Arthur S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, Loeb Classical Library Greek Authors 1 (London: W. Heinemann, 1932), 440-41.

¹⁵¹ "History and Symbol," 367.

¹⁵² See also Heffernan, "Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas and the *Imitatio Christi*," 185-230.

¹⁵³ NRSV.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

¹⁵⁵ Susanna Elm, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 13-18, 42-43, 55-56, 166-70. Also cf. Salisbury, *Perpetua's Passion*, 7.

¹⁵⁶ See note 62.

¹⁵⁷ References to modern sources for these items are provided in Appendix A.

¹⁵⁸ For a thorough discussion of the scholarly literature on the Cathedral of Eufrasius, see the several works by Ann Raybin Terry, including "The Architecture and Architectural Sculpture of the Sixth-Century Eufrasius Cathedral Complex at Poreč" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984); Ann Raybin Terry and Henry Maguire, "Wall Mosaics at the Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč: A Preliminary Report," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 4 (1998); Ann Raybin Terry and Henry Maguire, "Wall Mosaics at the Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč: Second Preliminary Report," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 6 (2000); and Ann Raybin Terry and Henry Maguire, "Wall Mosaics at the Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč: Third Preliminary Report," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 7 (2001). Raybin Terry and Maguire on pages 161 and 169 in their "Second Preliminary Report" describe the Cathedral mosaics' restoration history and note that while the

Perpetua medallion was mainly undamaged and therefore largely untouched by 19th- and 20th century restorations, Felictas' medallion needed much repair. Careful conservation efforts, however, by Neuhauser kept her tesserae and setting beds "essentially original." Terry's and Maguire's new book on the Cathedral, not yet available to me, *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*. 2 vols. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007, should detail restoration specificities and more.

¹⁵⁹ Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 35.

CHAPTER FOUR

¹⁶⁰ Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, Suny Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 131-46 at nt. 1.

¹⁶¹ Günter Kotzor, "Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists at Work: Narrative Pattern and Prose Style in Bede and the *Old English Martyrology*," *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985); Günter Kotzor, "The Latin Tradition of Martyrologies and the *Old English Martyrology*," in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 152, 57. Kotzer distinguishes not only between enumerative and historical martyrologies but then also further differentiates between historical and narrative martyrologies. I have adopted his three categories for my discussions.

¹⁶² Vincent Lorne Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, 2nd rev. ed., *Studi di antichità cristiana* 14 (Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1963);

Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society 106 (London and Rochester: 1991), 28-29. Richard Sharpe, "Martyrs and Local Saints in Late Antique Britain," in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁶³ Michael Winterbottom, ed., *Gildas, the Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, APS 7 (Chichester: Phillimore, 2002), 2.10. However, Gildas places Saint Alban's martyrdom during the reign of Diocletian. Sharpe, "Martyrs and Local Saints in Late Antique Britain," 113-14, 20.

¹⁶⁴ Lucy Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004).

¹⁶⁵ Winterbottom, ed., *Gildas, the Ruin of Britain and Other Works*.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Lapidge, "Ælfric's Sanctorale," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, *Suny Series in Medieval Studies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 120. Of the 61 extant Anglo-Saxon litanies, Perpetua and Felicitas are named in seventy-five percent (46 and 45 times, respectively) and always among the "virgins." Between the two of them they are also listed first among the virgins roughly half the time (29 times total). See Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*.

¹⁶⁷ Kotzor, "Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists at Work: Narrative Pattern and Prose Style in Bede and the *Old English Martyrology*."

¹⁶⁸ Kotzor, "The Latin Tradition of Martyrologies and the *Old English Martyrology*."; Henri Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age: étude sur la formation du Martyrologe romain*,

Etudes d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre J. Gabalda, 1908). See also: Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 25 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 245-146, 253; Thomas Symons, ed., *Regularis Concordia Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, Medieval Classics (London and New York: Nelson, 1953), 17; Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae: consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 532.

¹⁶⁹ Critical edition provided in Kotzer. Modern English translation available from Felice Lifshitz, "Bede, Martyrology," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001).

¹⁷⁰ Editors and translators of the Old English Martyrology have frequently offered just such an observation: Christine Rauer, "The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*," *Anglo-Saxon England* (2003); Kotzor, "Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists at Work: Narrative Pattern and Prose Style in Bede and the *Old English Martyrology*."; Kotzor, "The Latin Tradition of Martyrologies and the *Old English Martyrology*."; George Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, Early English Text Society. Original Series 116 (London: K. Paul Trench Trübner and Co., 1900).

¹⁷¹ Kotzor, "The Latin Tradition of Martyrologies and the *Old English Martyrology*," 322.

¹⁷² Henry Sweet, ed., *The Oldest English Texts*, Early English Text Society. Original Series 83 (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1885), 179. Cf. Bill Cooper, "Appendix 8: The Descent of the East Saxon Kings," *After the Flood*, <http://www.ldolphin.org/cooper/appen8.html>

and Christine Rauer, "Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*," in *[Anthology of Essays]*, ed. Rolf Bremmer and Kees Dekker (forthcoming).

¹⁷³ M. R. James, Matthew Parker, and A. Rogers, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909-13).

¹⁷⁴ Rauer, "Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*."

¹⁷⁵ The designation "Old English martyrologist" was first used by James E. Cross, "The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist," in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 275.

¹⁷⁶ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 193.

¹⁷⁷ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 192.

¹⁷⁸ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 3. Rauer has recently noted that the text is able to accommodate the beginning of the year being either December 25 or January 1.

¹⁷⁹ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 47.

¹⁸⁰ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 49, 165.

¹⁸¹ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 175.

¹⁸² Kotzor, "Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists at Work: Narrative Pattern and Prose Style in Bede and the *Old English Martyrology*."

¹⁸³ Kotzor, "Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists at Work: Narrative Pattern and Prose Style in Bede and the *Old English Martyrology*," 308, 22; Michael Lapidge, "The Saintry Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 251-2.

¹⁸⁴ Cross, "The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist," 284.

¹⁸⁵ Charles Williams Jones, ed., *Bedaе venerabilis, Opera didascalica: De temporvm ratione liber*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 123b (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1977), 461-544.

¹⁸⁶ Cross, "The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist," 277, 84; Kotzor, "The Latin Tradition of Martyrologies and the *Old English Martyrology*," 310. Rauer's characterizes such a method as "conflat[ion]" Rauer, "The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*," 95.

¹⁸⁷ Note however that Rauer suggests a "close verbal correspondence between the Old English text and its identified sources" indicates a "literary method of composition" Rauer, "The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*." I mean not to pit memory work against literary composition, though, but to acknowledge that even where there is not "close verbal correspondence" there are other possibilities than mistaken and incorrect recording going on.

¹⁸⁸ Rauer, "The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*," 92.

¹⁸⁹ Rauer, "The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*," 93.

¹⁹⁰ Michael Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 35; Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 128. Legendaries, sometimes called *passionales* (which however can be a term used technically to designate a work containing only lives of martyrs rather than lives of both martyrs and confessors) or *vitae sanctorum*, were used in a complementary fashion to provide extended readings for a saint's life during the night office of prime on the day of/before a particular feast. Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology," 125.

¹⁹¹ Mary Clayton, "Review of Günter Kotzor, *Das Altenglische Martyrologium*," *Review of English Studies* n.s. 35.139 (Aug. 1984): 349.

¹⁹² Rauer, "The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*," 97.

¹⁹³ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 231. An earlier edition of the *Old English Martyrology* was also compiled in Thomas Oswald Cockayne, "King Aelfred's Book of Martyrs," in *The Shrine: A Collection of Occasional Papers on Dry Subjects* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864-70). Cockayne designated the work "King Aelfred's Book of Martyrs."

¹⁹⁴ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 231.

¹⁹⁵ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, 230.

¹⁹⁶ Henri Leclercq, "Perpétue et Felicité," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1939), 420-21.

¹⁹⁷ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*.

¹⁹⁸ Another well-known examples of Anglo-Saxon dream-visions includes the *Dream of the Rood*.

¹⁹⁹ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*. Cf. Cross, "The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist."

²⁰⁰ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*. 231

²⁰¹ Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*.

²⁰² Thomas Head, "Great Lessons from 'Bad' History," *Christian History* 20, no. 4 (2001); Thomas Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

²⁰³ Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*; Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, eds., *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise Louise Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman*, Medieval Cultures 15 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Maidie Hilmo, eds., *The Medieval Professional Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower*, ELS Monograph 85 (Victoria: University of Victoria Press, 2001).

²⁰⁴ Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*; Hallinger, ed., *Initia consuetudinis benedictinae: consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Symons, ed., *Regularis concordia Anglicae nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, 17, 28. The generally accepted prescription from late eighth century *Ordines aevi regulae mixtae* regarding the yearly cycle of nocturnal celebrations preceding the feasts of saints runs as follows:

In Uigiliis omnium apostulorum uel citerorum sanctorum ploralium omnes ieiunium faciunt et ora nona natalicia eorum preuenientes absque *Gloria in excelsis deo* et *Alleluia* missarum solempnia celebrantur et ipsa nocte ad Uigilias passione eorum uel gesta leguntur. / Quod si in dominica natalicia uenerint, tam in Aduentum Domini quam et omne tempore psalmi cum eorum passionibus uel gestas cum responsoria uel antefonas de ipsis pertinentibus canuntur. Si autem gesta eorum minor fuit quod nouem lectionibus sufficere non possit, in tribus tantum posteribus lectionibus leguntur. Et octauas eorum cum responsoriis uel antefonis suis <seu et> missarum solempniis sicut et in die primo festiuitates eorum ita celebrantur. Quod si in eorum octauas natalicia sanctorum uenerit, precidente die octauas eorum celebrantur.

Per auctoritatem sanctae regulae omni tempore diebus dominicis legitur lectio sancti euangelii secundum tempus quo fuerit et sequitur hymnum *Te deum laudamus* et uersum cum *Kirieleison* et finiuntur Uigiliae. Matutinis uero

Laudibus diebus dominicis / preter Quadragesimis omni tempore cum
Alleluia sunt canendi.

[From the *Breviarium officiorum circuli anni*, especially designated as *Breviarium ecclesiastici ordinis* by Hallinger, ed., *Initia consuetudinis benedictinae: consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, 38.]

²⁰⁶ Cf. Sherry L. Reames, "The Office for St. Cecilia," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2001).

²⁰⁷ Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary."

²⁰⁸ Falconer Madan, Richard William Hunt, and P. D. Record, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Which Have Not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series*, 7 in 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1953; reprint, Munich, 1980), 1211-14.

²⁰⁹ N. R. Ker and Andrew G. Watson, eds., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Supplement to 2nd ed. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1987); David George Vaisey, "Thomas Hyde and Manuscript Collecting at the Bodleian Library," in *The Foundations of Scholarship: Libraries & Collecting, 1650-1750: Papers Presented at a Clark Library Seminar, 9 March 1985*, ed. David George Vaisey and David McKitterick (Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles, 1992).

²¹⁰ Madan, Hunt, and Record, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Which Have Not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series*, 1211-13.

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- ²¹¹ Hugh Magennis, "Audience(s), Reception, Literacy," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture 11 (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2001), 96.
- ²¹² Aimé Georges Martimort, ed., *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, 4 vols. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 49-50. This work briefly describes liturgical changes in hagiographic memorial practices.
- ²¹³ N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors, and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1985).
- ²¹⁴ Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075 - c. 1125*, *Oxford Historical Monographs* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1992).
- ²¹⁵ So far as can be traced, the reference to Turbitana derives from the *Acts of Perpetua* and statements in Bede's *Martyrology*. Leclercq, "Perpétue Et Felicité," 422-23.
- ²¹⁶ Herbert Musurillo, "History and Symbol: A Study of Form in Early Christian Literature," *Theological Studies* 18, no. 3 (1957)."
- ²¹⁷ Francis Wormald, ed., *English Benedictine Kalendars after A. D. 1100*, 2 vols. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1939).
- ²¹⁸ Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*.
- ²¹⁹ van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 52.

²²⁰ Liddell & Scott, s.v. “τέκνον,” 1368: “*that which is borne or produced*, hence [. . .] a child, whether son or daughter, first in Hom., who only has it in vocat. sing., as a form of address from elders to their youngers, *my son, my child* [. . .].”

²²¹ Note textual instances at 16.3 and 21.2.

²²² Helen K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation*, Society for New Testament Studies 100 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

²²³ Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS 221, beginning at f. 251v (albeit, perhaps, a different “Pudens”).

²²⁴ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, *cancerata* s.v. “*cancer*,” 264: “I 3 (the name applied to various diseases now distinguished, incl. app. malignant tumours, cankers, gangrene, etc.) II A lattice or barrier . . . [app. dissim. f. CARCER].” Cf. *macerata*, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*macero*,” 1057: “To make wet, soak, steep. b to bathe, soak (the body). 2 To soften (by exposure, etc.). 3 To weaken, exhaust, wear down. 4 To torment mentally, worry, vex, annoy.” Also *Lewis and Short* online: “I. To make soft or tender, to soften by steeping, to soak, steep, macerate [. . .] II. To weaken in body or mind, to waste away, enervate.”

²²⁵ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*expolio*,” 651: “1 To smooth down, polish (a surface); to remove (by polishing) 2 To embellish, adorn (the person) b to polish the manners of. 3 To bring to perfection; give finish to (nonmaterial things).” Also *Lewis and Short* online: “II To polish, finish, accomplish, embellish, improve, refine, elaborate. B. To polish off, i. e. to ruin.” Cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*ex(s)polio*,” 657: “To plunder, despoil; (w. abl.) to deprive (of). b to strip (seed) of its sheath, hull.”

²²⁶ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, *profitebatur* s.v. “*profiteor*,” 1476: “1 To state openly, declare, avow. 3 To give an assurance of, promise. 4 To make profession of, lay claim to (a quality, etc.). 5 To make one’s business or profession, practise; (esp.) b to teach (a subject professionally, lecture and; (absol.) to be a public teacher.” Also *Lewis and Short* online: “To declare publicly, to own freely, to acknowledge, avow, confess openly, profess.” Cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, *prophetabatur* s.v. (only similar option) “*propheta*,” 1492: “A spokesman or interpreter of a god.” But at *Lewis and Short* online “*propheto*” has: “To foretell, predict, prophesy.”

Also *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, *promisi* s.v. “*promitto*,” 1485: “1 To send forth, let loose; to project (the gaze). 2 To undertake to give, perform, etc., promise, guarantee. c (in vows to the gods) 3 To promise, guarantee. 6 To guarantee (a future event) as inevitable, predict as certain. 7 (usu. of things) To cause expectation of (some future condition or event), give promise of. b (something already present but not yet disclosed).” Also *Lewis and Short* online: “II A To say beforehand, to forebode, foretell, predict, prophesy.” Cf. the much less assured *praesumpsi* in *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*praesumo*,” 1444: “2 To take upon oneself, assumed, perform, etc., beforehand. 3 To perform, enjoy, etc., before the due time, anticipate. 4 To take for granted, presuppose, assume.” Also *Lewis and Short* online: “II. B. to imagine or picture to myself beforehand.”

²²⁷ Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*.

CHAPTER FIVE

²²⁸ Sanford B. Meech and Hope Emily Allen, eds., *The Book of Margery Kempe. The Text from the Unique Ms. Owned by Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon*, *Early English Text Society. Original Series 212* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), 349.

²²⁹ Meech and Allen, eds., *The Book of Margery Kempe. The Text from the Unique Ms. Owned by Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon*, 252; Lynn Staley, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe*, *Teams Middle English Texts* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1996), II.775-76.

²³⁰ Meech and Allen, eds., *The Book of Margery Kempe. The Text from the Unique Ms. Owned by Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon*, 253; Staley, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe*, II.781-84.

²³¹ For a summary of assessments, see Jennifer C. Lane, "Explaining Margery Kempe: A Review of the Literature," <http://fac.cgu.edu/~torjese/matristics/kempereview.html> (accessed August 15, 2006).

²³² See page 2 of the Introduction.

²³³ Phillipa Hardman, ed., *Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies*, *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (Leeds: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2003); Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Seth Lerer, "Special Topic: The History of the Book and the Idea of Literature," *PMLA* 121 (2006); Seth Lerer, ed., *Reading from the Margins: Textual Studies, Chaucer, and Medieval Literature* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1996). See also A. I. Doyle, *The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. Poet. A.1* (Cambridge and Wolfeboro: D. S. Brewer, 1987); Maidie Hilmo, *Medieval Images, Icons, and*

Illustrated English Literary Texts: From Ruthwell Cross to the Ellesmere Chaucer (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); Carl Horstmann and Frederick James Furnivall, eds., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Ms.*, 2 vols., Early English Text Society. Original Series 98, 117 (London: K. Paul Trench Trübner & Co., 1892); Derek Albert Pearsall, ed., *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge and Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 1990).

²³⁴ Joyce Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture 11 (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2001).

²³⁵ Thomas Symons, ed., *Regularis concordia Anglicae nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, Medieval Classics (London and New York: Nelson, 1953).

²³⁶ Thomas Symons, "Regularis Concordia," in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), 37.

²³⁷ Henry Mayr-Harting, "The West: The Age of Conversion (700-1050)," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. John McManners (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 110-11.

²³⁸ Mary Clayton, "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, SUNY Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 166.

²³⁹ Clayton, "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England," 166.

²⁴⁰ Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond."

²⁴¹ For further details on Lanfranc's influence over William the Conqueror in Anglo-Norman England, see David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: G. Philip, 1989).

²⁴² David Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I, 1066-1087* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Anne Savage, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London: Phoebe Phillips, 1982); Bates, *William the Conqueror*.

²⁴³ See also Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe, eds., *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints, and Scholars, 1066-1109* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1995).

²⁴⁴ Robert Bartlett, ed., *History and Historians: Selected Papers of R. W. Southern* (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 71.

²⁴⁵ Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, SUNY Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 134.

²⁴⁶ van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 48*; "Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, Collections Spéciales (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1920), 545-46; Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 145, nt. 16.

²⁴⁷ Guy Philippart, *Les légendiers Latins: et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 24-25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978); Henry Sweet, ed., *The Oldest English Texts*, Early English Text Society. Original Series 83 (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1885).

²⁴⁸ Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075 - c. 1125*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1992); N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Lyell Lectures 1952-3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

²⁴⁹ Patrick H. Zettel, "Aelfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E.I + CCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts" (D. Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1979).

²⁵⁰ Roy M. Liuzza, "Religious Prose," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2001), 239-40; Patrick H. Zettel, "Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric," *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 1 (1982).

²⁵¹ See notes 45 and 46 for Chapter 4. Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 132.

²⁵² Is 65.17 and Rev 21.1

²⁵³ Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 134.

²⁵⁴ Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," 145, nt. 16.

²⁵⁵ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), II.289-97.

²⁵⁶ Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* (Aldershot and Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1991).

²⁵⁷ Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica historica. Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918); Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, University of Notre Dame Liturgical Studies 3 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956); F. H. Dickinson, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1969); Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy*, New ed. (London and New York: Longmans Green, 1937); Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Thomas J. Heffernan, "The Liturgy and the Literature of Saints' Lives," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2001); Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. Francis A.

Brunner, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger, 1951); Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*; Martimort, ed., *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*; Richard William Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography*, vol. 9, Toronto Medieval Bibliographies (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Richard William Pfaff and Alicia Corrêa, eds., *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, Old English Newsletter, Subsidia 23 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1995); Pierre Salmon, *The Breviary through the Centuries*, trans. Sister David Mary (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1962); Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William George Storey, Niels Krogh Rasmussen, and John Brooks-Leonard, NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986).

²⁵⁸ Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*.

²⁵⁹ Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, 4.

²⁶⁰ Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology."; Michael Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed., Guides and Handbooks 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964); Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*; N. R. Ker and Andrew G. Watson, eds., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Supplement to 2nd

ed. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1987); Richard Sharpe, ed., *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1996); Richard Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts, an Evidence-Based Approach*, Essays in European Culture 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

²⁶¹ Wilhelm Levison and Bruno Krusch, eds., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 7 in 8 vols., Collections Spéciales (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1884-); Philippart, *Les légendiers latins: et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*.

²⁶² Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology."; Michael Lapidge, "Roman Martyrs and Their Miracles in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Germanic and Latin Literature: Germania Latina V*, ed. K. E. Olsen, A. Harbus, and Tette Hofstra, Mediaevalia Groningana, New Series 6 (Louvain and Dudley: Peeters, 2004); Michael Lapidge, "The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society 106 (London and Rochester: 1991); Jackson and Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary."

²⁶³ Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Woodbridge and Wolfeboro: D. S. Brewer, 1989); Rodney M. Thomson and Michael

Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2001).

²⁶⁴ Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal*, *Oxford Historical Monographs* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1999), 37.

²⁶⁵ Teresa Webber and Andrew G. Watson, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6* (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1998).

²⁶⁶ David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries*, *Cistercian Studies 158* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), 136; Sharpe, ed., *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, 131-50.

²⁶⁷ Bartlett, ed., *History and Historians: Selected Papers of R. W. Southern*, 203.

²⁶⁸ Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond."

²⁶⁹ Michael Lapidge, "Ælfric's Sanctorale," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, *SUNY Series in Medieval Studies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

²⁷⁰ Zettel, "Aelfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E.I + CCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts", 81.

²⁷¹ Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c. 1150-1300: Virginity and Its Authorizations* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Glyn S. Burgess, eds., *Virgin Lives and Holy Deaths: Two Exemplary*

Biographies for Anglo-Norman Women, Everyman Library (London and Rutland: J.M. Dent, 1996); Sarah Salih, *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge and Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2001); Ruth Evans, Sarah Salih, and Anke Bernau, eds., *Medieval Virginites, Religion & Culture in the Middle Ages* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Susanna Elm, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, eds., *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570*, The Riddell Lectures 2002 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); W. W. Williamson, "Saints on Norfolk Rood-Screens and Pulpits," *Norfolk Archaeology* 31 (1955-57).

²⁷² For an overview of the Priory's history in reference to its surviving medieval cartulary, see Gerald Augustus John Hodgett, ed. *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, London Record Society 7 (Leicester: London Record Society, 1971). Select images of the Cartulary are also available online at Special Collections Department, "Book of the Month, August 2002: Aldgate Cartulary, London: 1425-1427, Sp Coll MS Hunter 215 (U.2.6)," Glasgow University Library, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/aug2002.html>.

²⁷³ A critical edition of the *Liber reuelationum* (Lambeth Palace MS 51) is in the process of being compiled by Robert Easting and Richard Sharpe.

²⁷⁴ Carl S. Watkins provides a comparative discussion of these contemporary visionary accounts in Carl S. Watkins, "Wonders in Central Medieval Chronicles of the Anglo-Norman Realm" (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998); C. S. Watkins, "Sin, Penance and Purgatory in the Anglo-Norman Realm: The Evidence of Visions and Ghost Stories," *Past and Present* 175 (2002). Watkins citations are likely based in part on references in Robert Easting and Richard Sharpe, "Peter of Cornwall. The Visions of Aisli and His Sons," *Mediaevistik* 1 (1988): 216-21. Critical editions and translations of respective primary sources are as follows: Marjorie Chibnall, ed., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); David Hugh Farmer, "Vision of Orm," *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxv (1957); Augustus Jessopp and M. R. James, eds., *Thomas of Monmouth, the Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896); Paul Gerhard Schmidt, ed., *Visio Thurkilli relatoe, ut videtur, Radulpho De Coggeshall*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana: Scriptores Romani (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1978)..

²⁷⁵ Further biographical details on Peter of Cornwall are provided by Sharpe in "Peter of Cornwall" in *Dictionary of National Biography: Missing Persons*, ed. C. S. Nicholls, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 519-20, and "Peter of Cornwall and Launceston," *Cornish Studies* 13 (1985): 5-53. Also see Easting and Sharpe, "Peter of Cornwall," 207-62.

²⁷⁶ Easting and Sharpe, "Peter of Cornwall," 213.

²⁷⁷ Easting and Sharpe, "Peter of Cornwall," 213:

If Peter taught, he left no known pupils, but it is the hallmark of his work that he tried not to advance learning but to make accessible such traditional learning as was available in his chosen subjects. In this respect he was typical of English scholars of his day: the late twelfth century in English learning was a period of consolidation, not of advance.

Still I suggest that what makes Peter distinctive among educated contemporaries is his gathering and intended sharing of *visionary* hagiographic works.

²⁷⁸ Translated excerpt provided in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Mediaeval Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 72.

²⁷⁹ James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 72.

²⁸⁰ Though there are occasional stories of an “irreligious monk” (as Easting and Sharpe characterize the monk whom Peter describes as brought to repentance through a vision, “Peter of Cornwall,” 212), it seems more likely that Peter of Cornwall did not have a professed religious audience in mind for his work because of their presumed lack of hagiographic knowledge. Furthermore, Peter of Cornwall’s order, the Augustinians, who were in the vanguard of eleventh-century monastic and cathedral chapter reform movements, were officially instituted by papal bulls of 1243 and 1256 as one of the mendicant orders—along with Franciscans, Dominicans, and later Carmelites—and assumed public social responsibilities as “preaching friars.” Peter’s apologetic *Liber reuelationum* may presage some of the pastoral responsibilities designated to the later

Augustinians. On the early and medieval history of the Augustinians, see Edward A. Foran, *The Augustinians, from St. Augustine to the Union, 1256* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1938); George Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1987); Eric Leland Saak, *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 89 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002); and Adolar Zumkeller, *Theology and History of the Augustinian School in the Middle Ages*, ed. John E. Rotelle (Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1996). On Augustinians particularly in medieval England: William G. Clark-Maxwell, "Earliest Charters of the Abbey of Lacock," *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine* 35 (1905): 191-201; Robert William Eyton, *The Cistercian Nunnery of Brewood, Now White Ladies*, 1890; J. Patrick Greene, *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); David M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*. 2 vols, BAR British Series 80 (Oxford: B. A. R., 1980), K. H. Rogers, ed. *Lacock Abbey Charters*, *Wiltshire Record Society* 34 (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1979); and H. E. Salter, ed. *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, *Canterbury and York Society* 29 (London: W. Dawson, 1969).

²⁸¹ On the late-antique and medieval ideal of "Christianization," see: Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A. D. 200-1000*, *The Making of Europe* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996); John H. Van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (June 1986); Mayr-

Harting, "The West: The Age of Conversion (700-1050)." Among important influences on Christianization were the preaching friars and pastoral role of monastics, the goals for laity established by the Lateran Council IV, and cathedral schools, among other things.

²⁸² Concerns over apostasy and heresy were much more prevalent in both the early Christian Church and the later middle ages. For the extensive scholarly literature on later medieval heresy, R. I. Moore, Peter Biller, and Anne Hudson provide useful introductions to relevant texts and events: Anne Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1988); Edward Peters, ed., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation*, The Middle Ages (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980); R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 33 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1995); R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1987); R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds., *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 23 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Kallistos Ware, "Eastern Christendom," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. John McManners (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). For current online bibliography on heresy in medieval England, and Lollardy in particular, see The Lollard Society, <http://lollardsociety.org/>

index.html. During the era under discussion, however, the more significant concern was the Christianization of society as a whole, a concern which grew from the notion that Christianity was not limited to those who were professed monastics, that the dedicated religious could be any person regardless of profession, skill, or class. Achievement of such widespread Christianization was, however, considered dependent on education and acquisition of a certain type of knowledge.

²⁸³ For scholarship on medieval understandings of visionary experience, see: Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 23 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981); Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8 (1985); Janet Martin Soskice, "Sight and Vision in Medieval Christian Thought," in *Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight*, ed. Teresa Brennan and Martin Jay (New York: Routledge, 1996); Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); George Henderson, *Vision and Image in Early Christian England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Cynthia Hahn, "Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality," in *Visuality before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson, Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," in *Visuality before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S.

Nelson, *Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²⁸⁴ This approach to proving God's existence by recourse to experiential knowledge is in distinction from the rational and logical scholastic proofs, also known as ontological arguments, offered most famously by such medieval thinkers as Anselm of Canterbury (*Proslogion*, 1077-78) and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa contra Gentiles*, 1257-1273, and *Summa Theologica*, 1266-1274).

²⁸⁵ For introductions to the contemporary roles and regard for hagiography, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, eds., *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Thomas Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Paul E. Szarmach, ed., *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c. 1150-1300: Virginity and Its Authorizations*. Ideas on local and universal saints sometimes were complementary, other times were conflicting, and did not necessarily always correspond or relate.

²⁸⁶ These passages are fully provided and discussed later in the chapter.

²⁸⁷ Please refer to materials in chapter one for a discussion of previous critical editions and their relationships to the history of earlier relevant manuscript finds.

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- ²⁸⁸ Robert Easting and Richard Sharpe, "Peter of Cornwall. The Visions of Aisli and His Sons," *Mediaevistik* 1 (1988): 248; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Mediaeval Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 83.
- ²⁸⁹ Easting and Sharpe, "Peter of Cornwall. The Visions of Aisli and His Sons," 213.
- ²⁹⁰ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Mediaeval Manuscripts*, 71.
- ²⁹¹ Easting and Sharpe, "Peter of Cornwall. The Visions of Aisli and His Sons," 213.
- ²⁹² Giovanni Monleone, ed., *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, 3 vols., *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, pubblicate dal R. Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo. Scrittori. Secolo XIII. No. 84-86 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1941); Stefania Bertini Guidetti, ed., *Cronaca della città di Genova dalle origini al 1297: testo latino in appendice*, *Collana Dimensione Europa* (Genoa: ECIG, 1995).
- ²⁹³ Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, ed., *Legenda Aurea*, 2nd rev. ed., 2 vols., *Millennio Medievale* 6 (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998); Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 343.
- ²⁹⁴ Maggioni, ed., *Legenda Aurea*; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 342.
- ²⁹⁵ Information from UK public archives online at The National Archives, "[Search for Perpetua + Felicit*]," A2A Database, <http://www.a2a.org.uk/default.asp>.

²⁹⁶ Osbern Bokenham, *Legends of Holy Women*, trans. Sheila Delany, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992); Mary S. Serjeantson, ed., *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, Early English Text Society. Original Series 206 (London: H. Milford and Oxford University Press, 1938).

²⁹⁷ Sherry L. Reames, ed., *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, Teams Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2003); Katherine L. French, "Maidens' Lights and Wives' Stores: Women's Parish Guilds in Late Medieval England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 2 (1998).

²⁹⁸ Sometimes small groups of the solitaries could band together in their religious life. See discussion of anchoritic lifestyles in Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson, eds., *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991).

²⁹⁹ Savage and Watson, eds., *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, 55-56; Robert J. Hasenfratz, ed., *Ancrene Wisse*, Teams Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2000), 1.91. Also available online at <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/awfrm1.htm>.

³⁰⁰ Savage and Watson, eds., *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, 54; Hasenfratz, ed., *Ancrene Wisse*, 1.52-55. "Th'refter wendeth ow to ure Leafdi onlicnesse ant cneolith with fif Avez, aleast to the othre ymagnes, ant to ower relies luteth other cneolith, nomeliche to the halhen the ye habbeth to thurh luvē i-turnd ower weofdes, swa muche the reathere yef ei is i-halhet."

³⁰¹ Savage and Watson, eds., *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, 64, 344-43; Hasenfratz, ed., *Ancrene Wisse*, 1.346-47. "Toward te preostes tiden hercnith se forth as ye mahen, ah with him ne schule ye nowther verseilin ne singen thet he hit mahe i-heren."

³⁰² Savage and Watson, eds., *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, 65; Hasenfratz, ed., *Ancrene Wisse*, 1.383-85. "Neome hire secnesse nawt ane tholemodliche, ah do swithe gladliche; ant al is hiren thet Hali Chirche ret other singeth."

³⁰³ C. H. Talbot, ed., *The Life of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth Century Recluse*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 39 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Anna Maria Reynolds and Julia Bolton Holloway, eds., *Julian of Norwich, Showing of Love: Extant Texts and Translation*, Biblioteche e archivia 8 (Florence: Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001).

³⁰⁴ History of Art Department and Historic Collections, "The St. Albans Psalter," King's College, University of Aberdeen, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~lib399/english/essays/calendar.shtml>.

³⁰⁵ Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, eds., *Showings*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1978); Georgia Ronan Crampton, ed., *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*, Teams Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1993); Reynolds and Holloway, eds., *Julian of Norwich, Showing of Love: Extant Texts and Translation*; Elizabeth Spearing, ed., *Revelations of Divine Love (Short Text and Long Text)*, Penguin Classics (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1998). Refer

especially to long text chapter 38 and short text chapter 1. An edition of the *Shewings* is also available online at <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/julianfr.htm>.

³⁰⁶ Staley, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe*; Meech and Allen, eds., *The Book of Margery Kempe. The Text from the Unique Ms. Owned by Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon*; B. A. Windeatt, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Lynn Staley, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe: A New Translation, Contexts, Criticism*, Norton Critical Edition (New York: Norton, 2001). Also there is an online copy of Lynn Staley's TEAMS edition, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1996) at <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/kemp2frm.htm>. See especially chapter 87, lines 5119-5123.

³⁰⁷ Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, "Veneration of Virgin Martyrs in Margery Kempe's Meditation: Influence of the Sarum Liturgy and Hagiography," in *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England*, ed. Christiania Whitehead and Denis Renevey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 178.

CONCLUSION

³⁰⁸ See St. Margaret's Church, King's Lynn, <http://www.stmargaretskinglynn.org.uk>.

³⁰⁹ Other pamphlets included Colin Shewring and Alan Glendining, *St. Margaret's, King's Lynn*, 3rd rev. ed. (King's Lynn: St. Margaret's Church, 2004); *The Priory Church of S. Margaret with S. Mary Magdalene and All the Virgin Saints, King's Lynn*.

³¹⁰ Elizabeth James, *The St. Margaret's of Margery Kempe* (King's Lynn: St. Margaret's Church); Herbert Walter Macklin, *The Brasses of England*, The Antiquary's Books (London:

Methuen and Co., 1907); Charles Boutell, *The Monumental Brasses of England: A Series of Engravings Upon Wood, from Every Variety of These Interesting and Valuable Memorials, Accompanied with Brief Descriptive Notices* (London: G. Bell, 1849); John Green Waller, L. A. B. Waller, and J. A. Goodall, *A Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th Century*, Rev. ed. (London: Phillips and Page, 1975); John Sell Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk, Tending to Illustrate the Ecclesiastical, Military, and Civil Costume as Well as to Preserve Memorials of Ancient Families in That County*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: H. G. Bohn, 1839); Henry H. Trivick, *The Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses* (London and New York: J. Baker Humanities Press, 1969); Jerome Bertram, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971); Edgar Milligen Beloe, "A List of Brasses Existing in the Churches of St. Margaret and St. Nicholas, King's Lynn, in the Year 1724, Many Minor Inscriptions without Figures Are Also Noted," *Transaction of the Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors* 2/1, no. 11 (1892).

³¹¹ H. K. Cameron, "The Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses at King's Lynn," *Archaeology Journal* 136 (1979): 151.

³¹² Editor, "Meeting Report, January 2002: The World Upside Down: The Footpanels of the Walsoken Brass (Speaker, Ronald Van Belle)," *Monumental Brass Society Bulletin* 90 (2002).

³¹³ William Byron Forbush, ed., *Fox's Book of Martyrs; a History of the Lives, Sufferings and Triumphant Deaths of the Early Christian and the Protestant Martyrs* (Philadelphia and Chicago: John C. Winston Company, 1926). St. Mary's Church in Long Wittenham, for example,

treasures their 1597 copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (as mentioned in *A Guide to St. Mary's Church, Long Wittenham*).

³¹⁴ On Long Wittenham, see P. H. Ditchfield, William Page, and John Hautenville Cope, eds., *The Victoria History of Berkshire*, 4 vols., The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: A. Constable and Co., 1906); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Berkshire*, The Buildings of England (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966). For Dorchester Abbey, see also Kate Tiller, *Dorchester Abbey: Church and People 635-2005* (Witney: Stonesfield Press for the Dorchester Abbey Preservation Trust, 2005); Herbert Francis Kirkpatrick, *Dorchester-on-Thames and the Abbey Church of St. Peter and St. Paul* (London: S. P. C. K., 1927); Harold Best, *The Abbey Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Dorchester, Oxon.: A Guide to the Ecclesiastical and Architectural History of This Ancient Centre of Christianity Founded by St. Birinus in A. D. 634*, New ed. (St. Ives: Photo Precision, 1970); Henry Addington, *Some Account of the Abbey Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Dorchester, Oxfordshire*, Rev. ed. (Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker, 1860). An image of a wall painting comparable with the painted altarpiece at Dorchester is available online at Anne Marshall, "The Crucifixion, with Mary & John: Brent Eleigh, Suffolk (‡St. Edmundsbury & Ipswich) early c. 14," *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church: A Developing Catalogue*, <http://www.paintedchurch.org/beleighc.htm>. For complete information on medieval Ewelme, the best resource is John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion, and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2001).

³¹⁵ David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed., *Oxford Paperback Reference* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³¹⁶ Francis Bond, *Dedications & Patron Saints of English Churches; Ecclesiastical Symbolism; Saints and Their Emblems* (London: H. Milford and Oxford University Press, 1914).

³¹⁷ Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications; or, England's Patron Saints* (London: Skeffington and Son, 1899), 151.

³¹⁸ Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

³¹⁹ Christine Trevett, "Montanism," in *The Early Christian World*, ed. Philip Francis Esler (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

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Douai

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MS 177

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Glasgow

University Library Special Collections
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About the Type

This work is set in Perpetua, a Roman typeface designed by English artist Eric Gill to match his engravings for Walter H. Shewring's *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*. Inspired by stonecutting techniques, Gill nonetheless created Perpetua to be a contemporary face, and the type was cast by the Monotype Corporation around 1930. Larger display sizes are extremely elegant and form a distinguished series of inscriptional letters. With the italic form known originally as Felicity, Perpetua quickly became Eric Gill's most popular Roman typeface.