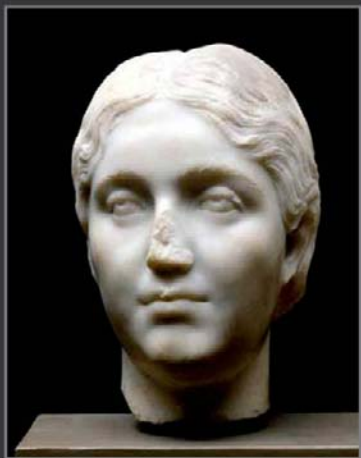


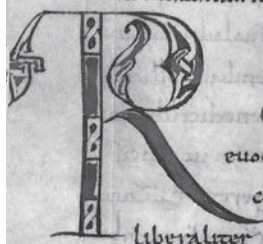
THE PASSION *of*
PERPETUA
and FELICITY



THOMAS J. HEFFERNAN

THE PASSION OF PERPETUA AND FELICITY

hoc in luce ueris liberis que in immenso caligo tenebris excipitur. Nec enim diuinus multum innocentium sanguis esse potest. Vocante ad supplicium animus ille sine sensu & effrenata crudelitas hac in preceptione uel potius denuntiatione completa. palatium traianus ascendit & ex ipso miraculo februum calore contrictus dedit se statim in lecto. Nec enim egritudo tam pumia consistere illum. sinebat ingemitibus tercia die ueteri scdli seruus pre dixerat exspirauit. Hanc focal passione gloriosus & martyri corona laudabilis merito habetur. primus in porto que p omne illius patrie tractum iuste nominis meruit principatu Celeberrime ubiq; gte p pontum p a flagomiam & p totam habent armeniam uir apostolicus & omni do merito deuotus nominandus semp in sceta scolorum. A M E T



INCIPIT PASSIO SCAE FELICITATIS ET PERPETVAE

euocatus & felicitas conseruatus saturninus & secundulus in quos & uirgilia p p & uia honeste nata liberaliter instituta matronaliter nupta. Habens patre & matrem. & fratres duos. alterum neq; catum in unum. & filium infantem ad uberam. & erit ipsa annorum. circiter uiginti & duo. Hanc ordinem totum martyr usus. lam hinc

THE
PASSION
OF
PERPETUA
AND
FELICITY



THOMAS J. HEFFERNAN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Inc., publishes works that further
Oxford University's objective of excellence
in research, scholarship, and education.

Oxford New York
Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Copyright © 2012 by Oxford University Press, Inc.

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

www.oup.com

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of Oxford University Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Heffernan, Thomas J., 1944–
The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity / Thomas J. Heffernan.
p. cm.

“The English translation”—P.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and indexes.
ISBN 978-0-19-977757-0

1. Perpetua, Saint, d. 203. 2. Felicity, Saint, d. 203.
3. Martyrdom—Christianity. 4. Christian martyrs—Italy.
I. Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis. English. II. Title.
BR1720.P42H44 2012
270.1092'52093973—dc23 2011030628

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

*For Anne, Judy and Anne
Mother, wife and daughter
with love.*

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	/	ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	/	xv
<i>Map</i>	/	xxvii

I.	THE PERSONAE IN THE <i>PASSIO</i>	/	3
II.	THE DATE OF THE <i>PASSIO</i>	/	60
III.	THE LANGUAGE OF COMPOSITION	/	79
IV.	THE LATIN TEXT	/	100
V.	THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION	/	125
VI.	THE COMMENTARY	/	136
APPENDIX I:	MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS	/	369
APPENDIX II:	THE GREEK TEXT	/	445

<i>Select Bibliography</i>	/	457
<i>Index Verborum</i>	/	471
<i>Index Nominum</i>	/	525
<i>Index Biblicus et Patristicus</i>	/	527
<i>General Index</i>	/	531

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

I first came across the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* as a PhD student at Cambridge University working one afternoon in the University Library. I was not working on martyrdom in the early Church at the time, but rather I was reading fifth- and sixth-century Latin texts of saints' lives which had incorporated non-Christian motifs. I will never forget my astonishment as I came upon the story of Perpetua and her fellow martyrs. At first I did not know what to make of it. Such a rhetorically powerful and layered narrative, I thought, must be a fiction, since we had no evidence of other first-person narratives by women from this period. I assumed therefore that this early composition was a skilled effort of a rhetorically sophisticated hagiographer and that its appeal to later Christian audiences was a foundational one. That is, these heroic figures were meant to function as the principal, albeit sacral, figures of a tradition's beginning—perhaps like Washington and Jefferson—and thus, at some level, they exist outside of time as paradigms of a noble but irretrievable past. I concluded that the rhetorical sophistication present in some passages was evidence of its “literariness.” I remember being puzzled as to how later medieval Christians might use these individuals as models of imitation, particularly since the period of persecutions had long passed.

I remember pondering these matters and a host of other questions, but with the quick conviction of a young graduate student, I dismissed the autobiographical claims as a rhetorical device, and I settled comfortably on the presumption that yes, the *Passion* was a fiction, likely composed sometime during the eighth or

ninth century by a pious Christian biographer, as it surely did not represent what I had come to understand as a “typical” hagiography. While I put it aside, I could never quite put the *Passion* out of my mind. It continued to inhabit a part of my consciousness, where it remained as a trace memory of a behavior only barely possible within a human frame. Yet I could not escape the intuition that the behavior being celebrated could represent the very quintessence of human agency—integrity held so dearly that life itself is worth sacrificing for it. Fifteen years were to pass before I decided to return to this unique representation of late antique Christian martyrdom.

I began my serious study of the text as a skeptic, believing the authenticity of the narrative a traditional pious fiction. Yet the more time I spent reading and pondering a host of issues concerning the narrative—for example, Tertullian’s possible role in its composition, women’s education in third century Roman North Africa, the role of the *paterfamilias* in the Empire, the actuality that people were being executed in the most barbarous manner for their belief, the manuscript tradition, the presence of historical figures in the narrative, the myriad details correctly identifying what we know of Roman prisons—the more my skepticism waned. I began to consider that perhaps the historical record could include a unique record that violates what we have come to read as normative and received. The idea of a young Roman matron composing so skillful a document was unheard-of. Illiteracy was customary for non-elite men and most women. Yet simply the fact that literacy rates for women were almost nonexistent cannot mean that all women were illiterate. Thankfully, modern scholarship is beginning to recover those lost voices. I became increasingly persuaded that the *Passion* was indeed a document that preserved a memory of an actual event, an event which had surely changed through transmission but at whose core was a historically verifiable reality.

I grant that there is much in the *Passion* and, indeed, in the depiction of Perpetua herself, particularly in her depiction at the hands of the redactor, that is “literary” and indebted to earlier texts, and that there are very obvious and deliberate borrowings sprinkled throughout the text. But these borrowings were a traditional part of the rhetoric of such composition. They were not meant to deceive but to enhance the narrative, and they were meant to be recognized by the audience. For example, the redactor’s deliberate echo of the heroic figure of Polyxena from Euripides’s *Hecuba* (2.568–70) in the *Passion* (XX.4) is purposely intended to parallel the heroism of Perpetua with that of Polyxena. Such a textual echo is a palpable indicator of how significant the imagined figures of the classical past remained to their newly converted Christian audience. In short, like other literary compositions from the period, it moves easily and with non-contradiction between the worlds of fact and fiction, if it understands such a distinction at all.

I did not decide to embark on an edition of the *Passion* at first, but rather I was interested in situating this text in the tradition of the literature of martyrdom, which begins in earnest with the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*. While there are some few notable female figures in the Gospels—Mary Magdalene, Mary mother of James and Joses, and Salome—and in Paul’s letters, where we discover leaders such as Lunia, Phoebe, Euodia, and Syntyche, the late second century provides few names of genuinely historical figures. Prisca, Maximilla, and Blandina are among the few females to emerge from the historical record. Yet none of these emerge into the historical light with such vividness and such individuality as does Perpetua. My early plan was to investigate different aspects of Perpetua’s life in the context of what we could know of women in Roman African society and then to account for the surprising lack of her cult’s popularity in the Middle Ages. Here, I thought, we have someone whose historical presence was so much more verifiable than her putative contemporaries, like her fellow martyrs Balbina, Sophia, and Sophia’s three youthful daughters, Pistis, Elpis, and Agape, and yet the hagiographers of the later Middle Ages appear to have ignored her story and seized on more apocryphal ones. I have since decided that the relative silence on the part of later hagiographers concerning the *Passion* has to do with their belief in the text’s historicity, and hence their judgment that it was less malleable to normative hagiographic embellishment. I suspect this understanding of the *Passion* was the rationale which led to the creation of the *Acta Perpetuae*.

There is an ever-growing body of work on the *Passion*. Indeed, there has been an avalanche of studies in the past half century, and many of them are very good. As I read the various editions and translations of the text available to me and compared them to those of Robinson (1890), Shewring (1931), and van Beek (1936), it soon became evident that English lacked a good modern rendering of the text, nor was there a satisfactory historical commentary in English. Indeed, until the editions of Bastiaensen and Amat, there was little in the way of a satisfactory commentary in any modern language. My survey of the editions and English translations revealed their enormous differences. For example, the Bindley translation (1900) is not complete; Wallis (1925) has no notes; Muncey and Owen (both 1927) produced a reader’s edition with no notes, based on Robinson’s text; Shewring (1931), though accurate in many details, is outdated despite Halsall’s revisions (1996) and has few notes; Musurillo (1968) tends to theologize unnecessarily and has virtually no commentary; Rader (1981) simply translated Robinson, with few notes; Dronke (1984) took his text from van Beek, and his commentary, while interesting, is abbreviated; Sebeste’s is not complete; and Tilley’s (2000) has virtually no notes. Furthermore, none of the English translations mentioned above are based on a study of the extant manuscripts. My translation is based on a reading of the manuscripts and, while attempting to preserve

the nuances of the Latin, is ever mindful of the inescapable truth of the Italian proverb *traduttore traditore*.

I decided to translate the text but to base my translation on a fresh reading of the manuscripts and to provide a new Latin text and a detailed historical commentary. Van Beek's text (1936) is laudable, but it is based only on the manuscripts available to him, and Amat's does not provide detailed manuscript descriptions or complete lemmata. I have tried to provide the English reader with as authoritative an edition as that of van Beek, while also providing the first complete description of all the known extant manuscripts. This has meant traveling to some of the world's most interesting places and finding myself having unexpected adventures: studying in the library of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and living in East Jerusalem during Israel's bombing of Syria, or seeing the beauty and the splendid isolation wrought by a March blizzard while working in the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln. The *Passion* has increased my appreciation for life's unexpected surprises and contradictions, and for that I am thankful.

The present study contains three introductory chapters on subjects which have concerned and vexed readers and editors of the *Passion* for centuries: the individuals named in the *Passion*, the probable composition date of the narrative, and the language of the original composition. I then provide a critical edition of the Latin text using manuscript Monte Cassino 204 as my base text, with variant readings drawn from the additional eight Latin manuscripts. I make reference to the Greek text in the lemmata only when there is a significant variant. I next provide a translation of my Latin text, seeking to represent the text faithfully while not sacrificing readability for the modern audience. This is followed by a detailed commentary on the *Passion* which explains pertinent historical, theological, and philological issues. I follow the commentary with the only extended discussion of the Latin and Greek manuscripts of the *Passion*. My study of the manuscripts was in every instance made in situ. I also make available in an appendix my transcription of the Greek manuscript. I provide it as a courtesy to the reader, since I cite the Greek frequently in the commentary and its presence will allow for ease of comparison. I also make available an extensive index verborum which gives a full morphological accounting of all the major words in the *Passion*. This is not only useful in its own right, but it provides the reader with a tool for assessing the myriad silent choices which went into making the translation. Lastly, the indices provide a quick way to navigate throughout the volume. It is my hope that this plan for the edition offers the reader what the world of commerce has come to call "one-stop shopping."

I have presented many papers on the subject of the *Passion* and have benefited enormously from generous readers who have provided me with their invaluable comments. Among them I would be remiss if I did not thank my colleagues

Jan M. Bremmer, Michael Kulikowski, Alan Bernstein, Christine Shepardson, Maura Lafferty, Gregor Kalas, Richard Emmerson, Laura Howes, Mary Dzon, David Linge, James Fitzgerald, Barbara Gold, and many of my overworked and talented graduate students, particularly those in our Late Antiquity seminar. I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to lead a National Endowment for the Humanities Seminar on Perpetua and Augustine in Tunisia in the summer of 2010. We used my Latin text, translation, and commentary of the *Passion*. It is difficult to imagine the *Passion* being discussed with more intellectual rigor, insight, and sensitivity, and we were in the very city of its composition. I am indebted to these wonderful scholars and friends and wish to acknowledge Charlotte Allen, Sarah Byers, Stephanie Cobb, Kate Cooper, Jennifer Ebber, Kevin Gustafson, George Heffernan, Cindy Ho, David Hunter, Amalia Jiva, Candida Moss, Katie Peters, Josephine Shaya, Ken Steinhauser, and John Whitmier. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Will Fontanez of the University of Tennessee Cartographic Services for the map and Ashley Combest of the University of Tennessee. Lastly, I would also like to thank my editor at Oxford University Press, Cynthia Read, for her enthusiasm for the project, as well as my copy editor Stephen Dodson.

My work could not have taken place without the graciousness of so many libraries and their staff, who provided me with their hospitality and their gracious permission to print from their manuscripts. I would like to thank his eminence the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophilus III, for his kindness and generosity to me, and particularly the Archbishop of the Office of the Greek Patriarch in Jerusalem; the Reverend Dom Pietro Vittorelli OSB, Archabbot of Monte Cassino, and the librarian Reverend Don Faustino of Monte Cassino; Reverend Abbot Martin Werlen of Einsiedeln; the staff of the reading room of the Bibliothèque nationale de France; the staff and the librarian of the Ambrosiana Library, Milan; the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford and the Cambridge University libraries, as well as the college libraries of those two great universities; Catherine Armett of Salisbury Cathedral Library; and the librarian of Canterbury Cathedral Library, as well as the staff of the Hodges Library of the University of Tennessee. I have been fortunate to have received support for this project from the Hodges Better English Fund from the University of Tennessee, from the University of Tennessee Graduate School, and from a fellowship awarded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

My work on the *Passion* took me to Tunisia where it would have been impossible to do research without the support of the Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis, and its director Dr. Lawrence Michalak. I owe a special debt to its knowledgeable associate director Mr. Riadh Sadaoui for his unfailing kindness and patience and to Mr. Habib Messoud. Drs. Abdelmagid and Liliane Ennabli of the

Carthage Museum were generous with their time. Ms. Christina Hila showed me the ropes early on and introduced me a number of helpful Tunisians. I owe the greatest debt for the years I worked in Tunisia to my dear friend and gifted archaeologist Dr. Nejib Ben Lazreg of the Institut du patrimoine Tunisie. Nejib was a source of support, unfailing good advice, good humor and knows the archaeology of Roman Tunisia as only someone who has spent his entire life digging it could. It remains for me to thank a most singular colleague. Professor James E. Shelton has worked by my side for the last six years, listening to my ideas, rereading and editing my drafts with his skilled pen and making his deep knowledge of Greek and Latin available to me. I think it fair to state that this would not be the same without Jim's extraordinary effort. Lastly, I doubt if this project could have continued if it were not for the support of my daughter Anne and my wife Judy and their patient forbearance and good humor. Conversations around our dinner table for far too long, I suspect, have ranged from persecution in Roman Africa to the role of elite women in Roman African Christianity. I know they are delighted to see Perpetua and her companions on my library shelf and absent from the evening meal. I want to remember my mother Anne Heffernan; she did not live to see publication, but I am certain she is smiling on us as this book finally sees the light of day.

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

LXX Septuagint

Vet. Vetus

Vulg. Vulgate

PRIMARY SOURCES

Books of the Bible

Old Testament

Gn Genesis

Ex Exodus

Lv Leviticus

Nm Numbers

Dt Deuteronomy

Jo Joshua

Jgs Judges

Ru Ruth

1–2 Sm 1–2 Samuel

1–2 Kgs 1–2 Kings

Na Nahum

Hb Habakkuk

1–2 Chr 1–2 Chronicles

Ezr Ezra

Neh Nehemiah

Est Esther

Jb Job

Pss Psalms

Prv Proverbs

Eccl Ecclesiastes

Sg Song of Solomon
Is Isaiah
Zep Zephaniah
Hg Haggai
Jer Jeremiah
Lam Lamentations
Ez Ezekiel
Dn Daniel

Hos Hosea
Jl Joel
Am Amos
Ob Obadiah
Jon Jonah
Mi Micah
Zec Zechariah
Mal Malachi

Deuterocanonical books cited

Add Esth Additions to Esther
1–4 Mc 1–4 Maccabees
Tb Tobit
Ws Wisdom of Solomon

New Testament

Mt Matthew
Mk Mark
Lk Luke
Jn John
Acts Acts of the Apostles
Rom Romans
1–2 Cor 1–2 Corinthians
Gal Galatians
Eph Ephesians
Phil Philippians
Col Colossians

1–2 Thes 1–2 Thessalonians
1–2 Tm 1–2 Timothy
Ti Titus
Phlm Philemon
Heb Hebrews
Jas James
1–2 Pt 1–2 Peter
1–3 Jn 1–3 John
Jude Jude
Rv Revelation

Apostolic Fathers

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*
1–2 Clem. *1–2 Clement*
Did. *Didache*
Herm. Man. *Shepherd of Hermas, Mandates*
Herm. Sim. *Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes*

Herm. Vis. *Shepherd of Hermas, Visions*
Ign. Eph. *Ignatius, To the Ephesians*
Ign. Magn. *Ignatius, To the Magnesians*
Ign. Philad. *Ignatius, To the Philadelphians*

Ign. Pol. Ignatius, *To Polycarp* **Ign. Trall.** Ignatius, *To the Trallians*
Ign. Rom. Ignatius, *To the Romans* **Mart. Pol.** *Martyrdom of Polycarp*
Ign. Smyr. Ignatius, *To the Smyrneans*

Ambrose

Expo. Luc. *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*

Apuleius (Apul.)

Apol. *Apologia*

Met. *Metamorphoses*

Arnobius (Arn.)

Adv. Nat. *Adversus Nationes*

Artemidorus (Artem.)

Oneir. *Oneirocritica*

Augustine (August.)

Conf. *Confessiones*

Faust. *Contra Faustum*

De Civ. D. *De Civitate Dei*

Orig. An. *De Anima et eius Origine*

Enn. Ps. *Ennarationes in Psalmos*

Serm. *Sermones*

Ep. *Epistulae*

Cassius Dio (Cass. Dio)

Catullus (Catull.)

Celsus (Cels.)

Med. *De Medicina*

Chrysostom, John (Chrys.)

Hom. 1–88 in Jo. *Homiliae 1–88 in Johannem*

Cicero (Cic.)

Att. *Epistulae ad Atticum*
Brut. *Brutus*
Div. *De Divinatione*
Invent. *De Inventione*
Mil. *Pro Milone*

Off. *De Officiis*
Rep. *De Re Publica*
Sen. *De Senectute*
Sest. *Pro Sestio*
Verr. *In Verrem*

Claudian (Claud.)

In Ruf. *In Rufinum*

Clement of Alexandria (Clem. Al.)

Paed. *Paedagogus*
Strom. *Stromateis*

Columella

Rust. *De Re Rustica*

Commodianus (Commod.)

Carmen Apol. *Carmen Apologeticum*

Cyprian (Cypr.)

Adv. Jud. *Adversus Judaeos*
Ep. *Epistulae*
Laps. *De Lapsis*

Mort. *De Mortalitate*
Op. *De Opere et Eleemosynis*

Dio Cassius (Dio Cass.)

Eusebius (Euseb.)

Hist. Eccl. *Historia Ecclesiastica*
Praep. Evang. *Praeparatio Evangelica*

Festus (Festus)

Frontinus (Frontin.)

Str. *Strategemata*

Gospel of Mary (Gosp Mary)

Heliodorus (Heliod.)

Aeth. *Aethiopica*

Hilary of Poitiers (Hil. Poit.)

In Matt. *Commentarium in Matthaeum*

Hippolytus (Hipp.)

Dan. *Commentarium in Daniele*

Trad. Ap. *Traditio Apostolica*

Homer (Hom.)

Il. *Iliad*

Od. *Odyssey*

Horace (Hor.)

Carm. *Carmina* or *Odes*

Epod. *Epodi*

Irenaeus (Iren.)

Haer. *Adversus Haereses*

Jerome

Adv. *Adversus Iovinianum*

Adv. Ruf. *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*

In Ier. *In Ieremiam*

Justin Martyr (Justin)

1 Apol. 1 Apologia

2 Apol. 2 Apologia

Dial. *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*

Res. *De Resurrectione*

Juvenal (Juv.)

Sat. *Saturae*

Lactantius (Lactant.)

De Mort. Pers *De Mortibus Persecutorum*

Livy (Liv.)

Lucan (Luc.)

Ltr Chr Lyons & Vienn *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*

Martial (Mart.)

Epig. *Epigrammata*

Minucius Felix (Min. Fel.)

Oct. *Octavius*

Musonius Rufus

Dis. *Homiliai*

Origen (Or.)

Comm. Jo. *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis*

Cont. Cel. *Contra Celsum*

Exh. Mart. *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*

Hom. Ex. *Homiliae in Exodum*

Princ. *De Principiis*

Ovid (Ov.)

Met. *Metamorphoses*

Petronius (Petron.)

Sat. *Satyrical*

Plato (Pl.)

Cra. *Cratylus*

Leg. *Leges*

Phdr. *Phaedrus*

Plautus (Plaut.)

Cist. *Cistellaria*

Pliny the Elder (Plin.)

HN *Naturalis Historia*

Pliny the Younger (Plin.)

Ep. *Epistulae*

Plutarch (Plut.)

Lys. *Lysander*

Mor. *Moralia*

Procopius (Procop.)

Vand. *De Bello Vandalico*

Prudentius (Prudent.)

Perist. *Peristephanon*

Quintilian (Quint.)

Inst. *Institutio oratoria*

Sallust (Sall.)

Cat. *Bellum Catilinae* or *De Catilinae Coniuratione*

Seneca the Younger (Sen.)

Ep. *Epistulae*

Q. Nat. *Quaestiones Naturales*

Sophocles (Soph.)

Ant. *Antigone*

Statius (Stat.)

Theb. *Thebais*

Suetonius (Suet.)

Aug. *Divus Augustus*

Calig. *Gaius Caligula*

Iul. *Divus Iulius*

Ner. *Nero*

Otho *Otho*

Tib. *Tiberius*

Vesp. *Divus Vespasianus*

Tacitus (Tac.)

Ann. *Annales*

Hist. *Historiae*

Terence (Ter.)

An. *Andria*

Phorm. *Phormio*

Tertullian (Tert.)

Ad Nat. *Ad Nationes*

Ad Ux. *Ad Uxorem*

Apol. *Apologeticum*

Carn. Chr. *De Carne Christi*

Cor. *De Corona Militis*

De Anim. *De Testimonio Animae*

<i>De Bapt.</i>	<i>De Baptismo</i>	<i>Mart.</i>	<i>Ad Martyras</i>
<i>De Cultu Fem.</i>	<i>De Cultu Feminarum</i>	<i>Or.</i>	<i>De Oratione</i>
<i>De Fuga</i>	<i>De Fuga</i>	<i>Paen.</i>	<i>De Paenitentia</i>
<i>De Monog.</i>	<i>De Monogamia</i>	<i>Praescr.</i>	<i>De Praescriptione</i>
<i>De Pal.</i>	<i>De Pallio</i>		<i>Haereticorum</i>
<i>De Pat.</i>	<i>De Patientia</i>	<i>Prax.</i>	<i>Adversus Praxean</i>
<i>De Spect.</i>	<i>De Spectaculis</i>	<i>Pud.</i>	<i>De Pudicitia</i>
<i>Exh. Cast.</i>	<i>De Exhortatione Castitatis</i>	<i>Res.</i>	<i>De Resurrectione Carnis</i>
<i>Idol.</i>	<i>De Idololatria</i>	<i>Scap.</i>	<i>Ad Scapulam</i>
<i>Iei.</i>	<i>De Ieiunio</i>	<i>Scorp.</i>	<i>Scorpiace</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem</i>		

Theophilus (Theoph.)

Ad Autol. *Ad Autolyicum*

Tibullus (Tib.)

Eleg. *Elegiae*

Ulpian (Ulp.)

Dig. *Digesta*

Valerius Maximus (Val. Max.)

Virgil (Verg.)

Aen. *Aeneis*

Ecl. *Eclogae*

Xenophon (Xen.)

Symp. *Symposium*

SECONDARY SOURCES

BDAG Danker, F. W., ed. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

- Bennett** Bennett, C. E. *New Latin Grammar*. Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2000.
- Blaise** Blaise, A. *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.
- Blass** Blass, F., and A. Debrunner. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Translated and revised by R. W. Funk. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1961.
- CCCM** *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*.
- CCSL** *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*.
- CIL** *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- Cross and Livingstone** Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford UP, 1997.
- CSCL** *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Latinorum*.
- CSEL** *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.
- DNP** *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996–2003.
- Dickey (Latin)** Dickey, E. *Latin Forms of Address: From Plautus to Apuleius*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.
- Dickey (Greek)** *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Du Cange** Du Cange, C. du F. *Glossarium ad [Scriptores] Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, edited by L. Favre. 5th ed. 10 vols. Niort, 1883–87.
- Ferguson** Ferguson, E., ed. *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*. 2nd ed. New York: Garland, 1997.
- Friedrich** Friedrich, G., ed. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Vol. 5. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1967.
- Gildersleeve and Lodge** Gildersleeve, B. L., and G. Lodge. *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar*. Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1997.
- JAAR** Charles Mathewes, ed. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- JECS** David Brakke, ed. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kittel et al.** Kittel, G., G. Friedrich, and G. W. Bromiley, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964.
- Lamberz** Lamberz, M. *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*. Vienna, 1907.
- Lampe** Lampe, G. W. H. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
- LSJ** Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised by Sir H. S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon, 1940.

- Moulton and Milligan** Moulton, J. H., and G. Milligan, eds. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1963.
- Mommsen (Dig.)** *The Digest of Justinian*. Latin text edited by T. Mommsen with the aid of P. Krueger. English translation edited by A. Watson. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1985.
- Musurillo** Musurillo, H. *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. Early Christian Texts. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
- Niermeyer** Niermeyer, J. F., and C. van de Kieft, eds. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- NTA** W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, Translated and edited by R. McL. Wilson. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- OLD** *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968–82.
- PL** *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, edited by J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1857–66.
- PIR** *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I, II, III*, edited by E. Groag and A. Stein. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1958.
- RAC** *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*.
- Schmoller** Schmoller, A., ed. *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1994.
- Seyffert, et al.** Seyffert, O., H. Nettleship, and J. E. Sandys. *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art*. New York: Random House, 1995.
- Souter** Souter, A. *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1949.
- TLL** *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.
- Werblowsky and Wigoder** Werblowsky, R. J. Z., and G. Wigoder, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Vetus** *Vetus Latina*, edited by P. Sabatier. Freiburg: Herder, 1953.

This page intentionally left blank



Africa Proconsularis

This page intentionally left blank

THE PASSION OF PERPETUA AND FELICITY

This page intentionally left blank

I



THE PERSONAE IN THE *PASSIO*

The *Passio*'s claim to be an autobiography has elevated it to iconic status for some and has made it a stumbling block for others. Let me first briefly discuss this perplexing issue of genre. What precisely are we to call this narrative? I discuss the complex tripartite structure (possibly quadripartite) of the *Passio* at length below, and so will limit my remarks here to some reflections on the “autobiographical” sections of the narrative (Chapters III–XIV), composed by Perpetua and Saturus. Most discussions of the genre of the *Passio* attempt to define it by stating what it is not. This is understandable, as the *Passio* resists easy generic categories. It claims to represent at least two first-person narrative accounts of certain carefully selected events. While there are certainly intimate details presented in Perpetua's narrative account of herself, it does not advance our understanding to label these as constituent of an autobiography. The modern term has no ancient analogue. First-person narratives typically seduce the reader into being a co-creator of a narrative, projecting into the text's dynamic silences our unwitting assumptions in order to resolve its aporias. Such assumptions then become part of our understanding of the text, and eventually they become indistinguishable from the historic ancient voices. The skeptical reader must seek to excise these unconscious additions. It is partly because of this dual nature of first-person narrative—that is, being neither history nor fiction—that the ancients avoided it. Even biography was felt to belong neither to history nor to encomium and held a less exalted place in the rhetorical arts of the classical world.

Perpetua provides no authorial decision, stated or implicit, that she intends to provide an accounting of her life, unlike Augustine in his *Confessions*. Her narrative begins in medias res with her discussion of her father's visit to her while she is detained under house arrest. She never reveals explicitly the reason for her arrest and says virtually nothing about her life before her arrest. Saturus's visionary narrative is explicitly a post-mortem eschatological revelation set in heaven, with no interest in self-analysis or description of life events. His narrative is a visionary journey of the soul's journey to God, hardly an autobiographical anecdote.

Both of the first-person sections of the *Passio*, we are told, are composed in prison, likely in snatches. Perpetua's account has the feel of a diary, but even this term does not adequately describe it, since, unlike a diary, which is typically composed diurnally and concerned with the moment, the *Passio* exhibits a more deliberate reflective and occasionally allusive style.¹ Further, unlike a diary, it has a deliberate thematic teleology, and it was intended for an audience. Moreover, it is not a memoir, since the events being described are largely set in the present or the future, and they are not the avowed product of memory but rather have an exemplary intention. I have argued earlier that the *Passio* more resembles the *ὑπόμνημα*, but this form, while it was intended to be read by others, was not typically used to record such intimate details as the condition of one's breasts, the fear of the dark, the personal conflict with a parent or the prison wardens, or scenes before God's throne.² The *Passio* combines features of the *ὑπόμνημα* with other genres, e.g., influences from the peripatetic tradition, from the literature of consolation referred to as the *exitus illustrium virorum*, and from the epistolary tradition. For example, it shares characteristics with Paul's *Epistle to the Philippians*, with the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*, and with more modern works like Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison* or King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." However, in contrast to these works, its "pastoral" intention is subordinated to a celebration of prophetic leadership. It is not merely the fact that some of the texts I have cited are penned from prison. Yes, that is the common thread that unites them, and though that is important, these narratives also embody the expression of intimate details by a respected community leader, addressed to a community, and intended—in the case of Perpetua—to offer words of consolation and instruction, and further as a model to be emulated by her audience. While all these characteristics do exist in the *Passio*, they are not programmatically present. Rather,

1. M. Corti, *Un ponte tra latino e italiano*, Bibliotheca di Autografo 9 (Novara: Interlinea, 2002), 39: "Perpetua, donna colta, geniale, di ventidue anni, sponsata con un bimbo, che scrive personalmente il suo diario in prigione."

2. "Philology and Authorship"; and LSJ, s.v. *ὑπόμνημα*.

they are embedded organically in the imagination of the author, expressed in narratives of dreams and out-of-body visions, and they frequently coalesce only as a product of the text's reception. Our attempt to locate it in genre is further complicated by the oral texture of the narrative. The conversational tone and almost idiomatic quality of the syntax lend to it the quality we are used to hearing in an oral report provided by respondents at the end of a series of events.

The authenticity of the *Passio* is a perennial subject for scholarly debate, and one that cannot be settled in any definitive manner. The issue of its genuineness can even turn on sectarian lines: pious readers defend the historicity of the text against those of a more skeptical nature, who read the martyr narratives as exemplary texts created by a beleaguered community. The most frequently contested issue concerns the historicity of Perpetua's claim to having authored the narratives and the depiction of her persona. We cannot claim with apodictic certainty that either she or Saturus "authored" their respective narratives, but the weight of the cumulative historical evidence in the text persuades me that they did, and that this is a text authored in the early third century and edited by a close contemporary.

Those readers who argue against the claim of first-person authorship often employ a recursive methodology in their argument. They frequently select textual anecdotes from the *Passio* and compare them against what is known of lives of third-century Roman females. The latter anecdotes, it should be emphasized, are also derived from texts, though not from the styluses of women. If the textual anecdote in the *Passio* differs too widely from the traditional historical record, the *Passio* is suspect. While such skepticism is absolutely crucial to genuine historical research, the figure of Perpetua qua author attracts an almost knee-jerk a priori skepticism. This response is largely due to two assumptions concerning gender and one concerning artistry: first, the normative "domestic" role of late antique women and their limited literacy still exist as a monolithic given; second, since the overwhelming evidence of the records we have of late antique women does not represent women behaving as Perpetua does, this depiction, because it deviates from the norm, is likely a forgery written by a male; and third, the text is so artfully written—rich in metaphor and description, with allusions to Scripture, Greek literary figures, and contemporary practices—that it surely must have been composed in someone's study and not in a dark, threatening prison by someone awaiting execution.

While the voice of skepticism is crucial methodologically, these arguments are founded largely on negative evidence alone or silence: if the historical record does not provide for this narrative as a credible likelihood, then it is likely improbable. Yet the opposite of this argument can also be made, and made plausibly—that is, it is precisely the anomalous nature of the depicted behavior in the *Passio* that speaks eloquently to its authenticity. People in all ages violate normative standards.

Indeed, standards exist because they seek to circumscribe deviant behaviors. The reason the *Passio* exists is that it represents the desire by contemporary Christian audiences to give voice to a behavior that challenged standards, a voice they all knew from their struggle of managing the chaos of daily life to be well within the realm of possibility, and one that serves as a testimony of their community's triumph over secular Rome. And as a record of that time, the *Passio* necessarily employs rhetoric, which in its recreation of the past is as indebted to fiction as much as to fact. A gifted writer need write (or dictate) no less well in prison than in her study.

Readers since Augustine have asked important questions of the narrative, questions which often have such unexpressed assumptions as the basis of their skepticism. Augustine, who embodies the normative allegiance to gender roles of a male of his time, is concerned with subordinating the feminine power explicit in the *Passio*, praising Perpetua for having a male spirit in a female body, and noting that her heroism is a process of Christ's immanence in her soul (*Serm.* 281). He reads her behavior and that of her slave Felicity as pious models of Christian virtue and does not dwell on their historicity. Most inquiries concerning Perpetua typically fix on the degree to which her behavior violates what we expect of a Roman matron of the early third century. Such skepticism invariably argues for male authorship of the *Passio* and is buttressed by analogous questions: Can one trust her claim to have written the narrative in her own hand, given what we know about the literacy of elite women in the Empire? Does the sophistication of the narrative not suggest a carefully designed text, possibly intended for catechesis? Does her public interaction with her father reflect traditional Roman values? What was the jurisdictional basis which allowed her father to take possession of her son? If she was married, why is her husband not mentioned, and why did he or his family not claim the infant? Why, if she was a citizen of some wealth, was she executed as if she were a criminal? How was she able to write such compelling prose, and in a military prison of all places? Such questions, and a host of others which focus exclusively on Perpetua, abound. While such inquiries are necessary and significant, and need to be addressed, it is important to note that the skepticism, as I proposed above, frequently proceeds from a circular argument. Furthermore, there are an additional twenty-six men and women mentioned in this brief narrative. These figures are rarely, if ever, discussed. Yet they, too, are important, and an investigation of their histories can add much to our understanding of the narrative; indeed, they add much to our understanding of the representation of Perpetua herself.

While it is obvious that Perpetua is the most significant figure in the text, to focus on Perpetua to the exclusion of the others restricts a fuller understanding of the text. There is of course a salient reason why such an investigation has not been

undertaken: there is an absence of historic details concerning these other men and women. In most instances we have just their names. Granting that as a grave limitation, it does not follow that an investigation, even of the most meager details, might not bring light where there is dark. While we cannot “know” them as “individuals,” as agents seeking their way in the complex society of early third-century Carthage, we can—if we seek to understand these men and women as representative of contemporary social types—nonetheless deepen our understanding of the text and the situation of the Christian community in Carthage. In the ensuing discussion I have sought to broaden this exclusivity of focus on Perpetua, and I will present what we can establish about the identities of all the figures, including Perpetua, mentioned in the narrative. I will discuss these figures as they appear in the narrative.

As I indicated above, the *Passio* is best considered a hybrid of different narrative forms—prison narrative, *hypomnema*, oral reportage, and the epistolary tradition—and the identities of the characters in the narrative cannot be known in any substantial way. That is, I do not believe that the texts can provide a nuanced understanding of their interior lives or of the complex personal histories which underlie their actions. The narrative depicts men and women acting and being acted upon. It provides us with behaviors but does not illuminate the complex internal forces which gave birth to such actions. It may seem paradoxical, even downright contradictory given my position that their internal lives are in a sense, a priori, beyond our grasp, that I have chosen to begin my introduction with a discussion of the people in the narrative, particularly as we have so little information about them. However, this lack of any corroborative historical information limits but does not close the door on what we can say about them as individuals acting within assigned social roles.

Ancient texts—even creedal narratives like the Gospels, despite their diverse depictions of the figure of Jesus—allow, by virtue of their differences, the close reader to discern through textual comparison common characteristics. From these depictions, historians can establish some baseline characteristics. Although it is far more difficult to do such analysis when the testimony is limited to a single text, it is nonetheless possible to construct the textual identities of the individuals if they are read against the public roles assigned in the text. Such a method should allow us to reconstruct how close to the historical reality these brief biographical vignettes prove to be. In other words, we can construct what I would call a social typology of an individual—a composite portrait based on *what* the textual rhetoric tells us they were, and not on the ontology of *who* they were. Such a study can provide a richer understanding of the types of individuals who were participants in the drama. Such information should also prove useful in adjudicating the *Passio*’s claims to authenticity, since the degree of correspondence or the lack

thereof that exists between the textual representations and the historical record—as I suggested above—provides another way of weighing the authenticity of its claim to be genuine, drawn from a unique life.

The *Passio* provides historical clues concerning twenty-seven individuals. From this limited information, I hope to reconstruct something of their social personae as they are depicted in the narrative. Sometimes the details are entirely inferential and as scant as a single name. Yet even here I hope I have been able to elicit some important details about those members of Perpetua's circle and her persecutors which will contribute to our understanding of this zealously eschatological Christian community of early third-century Carthage.

THE *EXORDIUM* AND THE REDACTOR

Unlike all the martyr narratives that preceded it—a genre which encompasses such rhetorically diverse texts as the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the *Martyrdom of Saints Ptolemaeus and Lucius*, the *Acts of Justin and Companions*, the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*, and the *Scillitan Martyrs*³—the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* opens with a wonderfully constructed introduction, an *exordium*,⁴ which, while it does not strictly follow the classical rhetorical norms, is nonetheless important, as it presents a sophisticated argument that allows us to reconstruct in part the biography of the redactor of the *Passio* (hereafter R) and provides significant insight into the classes of individuals who belonged to this small Christian community. Our discussion of the young converts who were martyred will provide a depiction of *what* they were, with the single exception of Perpetua, whose remarks allow us some insight into *who* she was.

Let us turn to R, the author of the introduction. R was well educated in rhetoric and appears to have known well the classical models of composition. His *exordium*, if it had followed the classical norms slavishly, would explicitly have sought to accomplish at least three specific goals: to instruct his audience on the nature of the ensuing narrative; to convince them that the subject is an important one worthy of their interest, and thus engage their attention; and lastly, if the

3. While there is something arbitrary about all categories, it is important to establish some simple generic criteria. Martyr narratives are those expository narratives which describe a martyrdom. Therefore, texts like the Ignatian epistles, which celebrate the ideal of martyrdom, while they might be categorized as sacrificial narratives, are not martyr narratives because they do not describe a martyrdom.

4. None of the extant manuscripts number the text nor break it into chapters. T. Ruinart is the first to designate the opening *exordium* as Chapter 1. See Ruinart, *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta* (Paris, 1689).

exordium were also elegantly composed, the author would have then established his authority, his *ethos*, with his audience, having achieved what the Latin tradition referred to as having completed the *insinuatio*. The author thus having gained the confidence of his audience, having insinuated himself into their horizon of expectations, would then proceed to his main subject, the presentation of the *narratio*—the tale of the heroism of the young martyrs—with a now receptive and sympathetic audience. R, however, has a different goal and manipulates the classical form to suit his different end, as we shall see.

The *exordium* was the rhetorical threshold of a narrative in which the author sought to ensure that one's audience would be in agreement with the ensuing discourse. While the *exordium* was a standard feature of much classical epideictic discourse, the emerging genre of the martyr's story—despite almost a century of related Christian narratives—does not employ this rhetorical device before its appearance here in the *Passio*. Its absence in those earlier Christian martyrologies, those composed before the third century, may help to account for the rhetorically heterogeneous *exordium* that confronts the audience of the *Passio*. There was no Christian use of the *exordium* in the composition of the earlier *acta* or *passiones*, and hence no appropriate model to imitate. Those earlier texts—for example, the *Scillitan Martyrs* or, more particularly, the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*—were composed by authors who were either not sufficiently trained in classical rhetoric or chose not to employ it.⁵

As I indicated above, this *exordium* is the work of R, who is also responsible for Chapters I, II, and XV through XXI. Although a carefully constructed introduction, it follows the classical model only in part. While R appears to understand the tradition of the *exordium*, he nonetheless rough-shapes it to his own creedal end, and he often moves it outside its classical home to make a disputatious religious point, clearly not paying heed to Aristotle's statement that the author should use the *exordium* to ingratiate himself with his readers. Furthermore, his Latinity is not elegant; his syntax is often crabbed and difficult; and his argument is polemical, divisive, and designed, in part, to inflame some of his audience. And yet—and this is most important for our discussion of the prosopography of the *Passio*—R's *exordium*, in addition to providing an introduction to the *Passio*, does provide some hints to his biography and to a partial prosopography of his audience, as will be explained in what follows.

5. G. A. Kennedy, "Judeo-Christian Rhetoric," in *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 137–82.

R begins his *exordium* with a question, an *erotema* that will eventually argue for the truth of his eschatological position, which is that the six young Christians who went to their deaths in the arena died volitionally, praising their Lord for the opportunity to die to this world in order to secure eternal life. There is nothing particularly nuanced about his eschatology or the theology underlying it. The few educated members of his audience would have recognized the opening form of the *exordium*. R would hardly have followed the *exordium* model if he did not expect some in his audience to appreciate his sophistication. The contemporary audience for the composition of the *Passio*—that is, for the entire twenty-one chapters of the *Passio*—would not have been more than the half dozen or so house churches in Carthage.

The *erotema* can represent any thesis and is a commonly employed trope in the *exordium*. Frequently, as the *Ad Herennium* notes, such an introductory question functions rhetorically as a signal that anticipates an audience's awareness of and agreement with the authorial interrogative.⁶ Ideally, the *erotema* should also indicate that the subject is an important one, worth the attention of his audience. Such a rhetorical question was usually studied under the figure of *anacoenosis*, a situation in which both the author and audience were known to share a common interest and agreement. Mark Antony's speech in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*—where he seeks to exploit common cause with his audience against the actions of Brutus—is an apt example of the use of the *erotema* under *anacoenosis*. R's question, like Mark Antony's, is rhetorical, and it was an effective way of introducing a discourse to arouse the sympathies of his audience. Like his Roman counterpart in Shakespeare's drama, R addressed an audience with divided sympathies, but all could agree that the six who died were brave, inspired by God, and, for those with the courage, worthy of emulation.

R raises a question that will become an ecclesial argument of great importance in the house churches of Carthage: the emergence and legitimacy of the New Prophecy's position concerning canonical Scriptures versus revelation. In sum, do we as a community acknowledge only the authority of the canonical Scriptures or do we subscribe to the idea of maintaining an open canon that can be supplemented by contemporary revelation? This question was being debated in the small Christian community at Carthage, and the *Passio* is the earliest extant evidence for any New Prophecy sentiment in Christian North Africa. Although the role of charismatic prophecy is an early important part of Christian thinking (evident in Romans 12.6, Ignatius's *Letter to the Philadelphians* 7, and Shepherd

6. *Ad Herennium*, 1.7.11.

of Hermas, *Mandates* 11.7–8), the New Prophecy ideology had recently been attacked by the Roman Church through the priest Hippolytus and the Roman Bishop Zephyrinus (c.199–217).⁷ It is likely that these senior clerics objected to the elevated role provided to women in this movement, notably Priscilla and Maximilla, and also to the fact that the movement's ecclesiology was not supportive of the authority of the monarchical bishop.

R was undoubtedly aware that his efforts for these aspects of the New Prophecy ecclesiology, notably its advocacy of the ongoing revelation of the Paraclete, would require a struggle. His opening gambit, therefore, is a shrewdly modest one and effects a tone of reasonableness. R asks—skillfully employing chiasmus to increase the antithesis—whether, if the old deeds of the faith (I.1: *vetera fidei exempla*) written in the Scriptures still have mimetic value for us, new examples (I.2: *nova documenta*) ought not now be written down to serve the same end, that is, become ancient (I.3: *haec vetera futura*). Although he expects some of his audience, perhaps a majority, to nod readily in agreement, R, as I will show, also is well aware of the negative reception the movement has received outside Carthage, and that some in his creedal community will on hearing this react against it, and react passionately, notably those church figures in authority.

The crux of the incipient conflict which R is broaching—a conflict that was to split this ecclesial community within two decades, drawing the ire of Bishop Zephyrinus—turns on issue of authority and who will govern the Church.⁸ R proposes that his community accept an early form of the New Prophecy position and embrace its surrender to the grace of charismatic revelation. His *erotema*, however, is evidence of a dividing community, dividing between those who favor the more orthodox response to tradition and the canonical Scriptures—the position of Zephyrinus—and those who favor New Prophecy's openness to contemporary revelation. There is as yet no public rift separating the two groups at this early stage in the New Prophecy's appearance in Africa. This is its first textual expression. And the creedal chasm which we see two decades later had not yet emerged. The first hint of a moderate New Prophecy position in Tertullian's works is not until late 207 (*De Anim.*), and it is slightly later than the composition of the *exordium*.

R presents his arguments for the value of ecstatic prophecy over scripture, using the rhetorical figure of *anthyphophora*, in which an interlocutor asks and

7. R. E. Heine, *The Gospel of John and the Montanist Debate at Rome*, E. A. Livingstone, ed., *Studia Patristica*, 95–100, vol. 21, *Second Century: Tertullian to Nicaea in the West*, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, Athanasius (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

8. C. B. Daly, *Tertullian the Puritan and His Influence* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1993), 110.

immediately answers his own question. Thus he adopts a dialectic that employs dialogue to entice his audience into the conversation. R's question commends the merits of prophecy and the ongoing revelation of the Holy Spirit against an earlier, entrenched position which confers authority in the fixed tradition of canonical Scriptures under the supervision of the growing authority of the role of the monarchical bishop and the presbyters. The argument, drawn sharply by R, pits the authority of Scriptural canonicity against that of charismatic revelation. He seeks a church where openness to the promptings of the Paraclete is ongoing, open to all believers and not a relic of a past revelation. The theological and political implications are at once obvious: such an ecclesiology would allow a variety of interpretative and exegetical positions whose authority would not be fixed on canonical texts but open to revision. Politically, his ecclesiology would create a leveling of authority in the Church. The clerical overseers of the canon and tradition—bishops, presbyters, and deacons—although retaining important ministerial roles, would have less authority in such a church if R's argument were to carry the day. R imagines a church that would inevitably pit the individual against the growing ecclesial hierarchy of the African church. In addition to his belief in the efficacy of New Prophecy, R may be reacting against the growth of the episcopacy in Carthage, particularly that of the powerful figure of Bishop Agrippinus (ca. 195?–217?); an even more tempting supposition is that he is contesting the authority of Bishop Optatus, who is known to us only from his depiction in the eschatological dream of Saturus in the *Passio*—and who may have been the first bishop of Carthage—quarreling with his priest Aspasius. Both seek forgiveness at the feet of charismatics like Perpetua and Saturus. R's question, therefore, raises ancillary issues, which, since they threaten those invested with the authority to control the exegesis and therefore subsequent doctrinal matters—all of which are dependent on the ancient authority of Scriptural texts—were of great concern to the hierarchy of the nascent Carthaginian church. Augustine's concern with the popularity of the *Passio* two centuries later surely reflects a long-standing concern of the hierarchy's discomfort with the arguments of the *Passio*.

R's query also identifies a segment of believers who are not in sympathy with his position on the efficacy of charismatic prophecy. In short, he introduces the reader to another audience in the text of the *exordium*, a notably non-classical maneuver. R and those sympathetic to his message—let us, following Tertullian, and at the risk of anachronism,⁹ liken the opponents to Catholics on the one hand, and New Prophecy supporters on the other—knew, and were likely still in communion with (indeed, they were likely members of the same house church),

9. Tertullian, *Praescr.* 26.9.

those opposed individuals, as he addresses both communities as sharers of a common tradition. Yet his intent is not one of conciliation. While he seeks to persuade the opposition of the correctness of his point of view, he reveals himself as something of a rigorist. His argument loses some of its dialogic suppleness when he establishes a divisive fault line between the two groups, arguing that those who oppose the power of prophecy would restrict the power of the Spirit to certain times (*Spiritus unius Sancti pro aetatibus iudicent temporum*, *Passio* I.3). The judgment is explicit, unambiguous, and grave for a tranquil ecclesial polity, since it implies that those who oppose this position are opponents of almighty God. It is impossible to imagine the early bishops of Carthage, strong backers of Roman praxis—in light of Rome’s hostility to the New Prophecy movement—being persuaded.¹⁰ Moreover, R’s chiding indicates that he expects his audience—that is, those in sympathy with the ideals of prophecy—to share his repudiation of this second group, who value the authority and canonicity of Scripture *above all*.

Such an explicit critique in the *exordium* is a move away from the rhetorical rules governing the introduction, that is, the idea that the author should maintain the focus on his audience and encourage their sympathetic interest for his ensuing discourse. However, while R addresses and identifies a related community, it is a divided one, some of whose members are not in sympathy with his point of view, and who are not partisans of volitional martyrdom, his crucial subject. Yet, despite his having compromised the idea of addressing the single sympathetic audience, R employs the rhetorical figure of *apostrophe*, which allows him to address the opposition. Although he has identified parallel creedal communities, he argues as if he knew that both sets of believers were still part of his larger audience of believers, despite their disagreement on this serious matter. For R, both groups, although they might differ in such matters as the issue of ecstatic prophecy, remained a single community, and they likely would have identified themselves as such. The Roman authorities saw them as a single group. In sum, there is no evidence of any major rift in the church at Carthage in the early years of the first decade of the third century.

His next move is a bold stratagem as he buttresses the authority for his point on the efficacy of prophecy by quoting (perhaps deliberately incorrectly) the paraphrase of Joel in Acts (Acts 2.17–18; Joel 2.28)—a favorite proof text of the New Prophecy movement.¹¹ This is at once a shrewd and an ironic appropriation of the Scriptural arguments of the opposition, who support the primary authority

10. Tertullian, *Prax.* 1.7; and D. Powell, “Tertullianists and Cataphrygians,” *VC* 29 (1975): 33–54.

11. Atkinson, “Montanist Interpretation”; see Amat, I.4.

of canonical Scripture. This expropriation of the other camp's argument—he deliberately employs the trope of authority under *inventio*—to show that the canonical Scriptures legitimate his own argument empowers his discourse and underscores that his audience, that is, those who favor ecstatic prophecy, have a deeper and suppler understanding of their creed because they are able to cite Scripture as an authority for their claim. Lastly, by means of this argument he has diminished the authority of the canonical camp in their position as defenders of the canonicity of tradition and Scripture, and he now shows them as ignorant of the very thing they defend, and consequently in potentially grave error, that is, as opponents of divine revelation and the power of the Holy Spirit.

Thus his *exordium* has subtly changed from an introduction to the tale of the heroic martyrdom of five young catechumens—a subject he has never broached—into an ecclesial argument and polemical sanction with a distinct, albeit early, New Prophecy agenda against those who do not share his belief in the primacy of ecstatic prophecy. The ecclesial rent in the fabric is apparent, but the cloth of the community will remain seamless for another twenty years. At the time of the writing of this *exordium* (ca. 203–09), we still have not had the break between “Catholics” and the New Prophecy movement, which we find becoming more evident after 212.

R's argument next moves from the theological to the moral, since the logical implication of his accusation of the opposition's ignorance of the “original” intent of Acts's paraphrase of Joel is now palpably one of ignorance, a misreading or an effort to avoid the *ipsissima verba* of the Scriptures. Such ignorance, he implies, must lead inevitably to a misguided understanding of the historical Church's contemporary mission. Accordingly, R identifies and indicts the misguided faith of these men and women in a particular arena of the greatest moment for the survival of the community: their refusal to trust and understand the powerful presence of the divine in their midst in the persons of the martyrs. This makes them unable to stand against the onslaught of persecution (I.5: *ut ne qua aut imbecillitas aut desperatio fidei*). His implication is clear: their terrible fear of persecution derives from their inability to welcome the presence of the Paraclete into their souls and into their communities. Intent on his evangelism, on demonstrating the truth of his argument which privileges revelation and charismatic prophecy over Scripture, R oddly never explicitly mentions the actual subject of the larger *narratio*, the martyrdom. The introduction of the principal subject, in this case the martyrdom, is one of the fundamental functions of the *exordium*. He abruptly concludes his *exordium* with an affectionate embrace and reassurance to his listeners (I.6: *fratres et filioli*) that those who today only hear these stories (I.6: *nunc cognoscitis per auditum*) will nonetheless yet find fellowship with them and the Lord Jesus Christ. His final efforts are, however, intended to

heal the rift emerging in his community, and so he ends on an upbeat tone, celebrating the heroes who suffered and died heroically for the faith and whose past actions are protective for the present. His *exordium* is by any account a subtly shaped argument that is critical, while at the same time seeking to bring individuals into community in order to strengthen them from the predations of the state.

R's "Biography"

What does this remarkable *exordium* tell us about the author and perhaps about his audience? Clearly he was well educated and sufficiently advanced in his studies to retain a reasonable facility in and understanding of the employment of classical rhetoric. His work in the *exordium* and elsewhere throughout the *Passio* suggests that he would likely have had an education roughly equivalent to that of Apuleius, or Augustine's as described in the *Confessions*. His education would have begun with a study of grammar, and then, if deemed talented, he would have moved to the more advanced course of study of rhetoric, what Libanius called the "long road to rhetoric." Once he completed his training in one of the local African schools, and if he was recognized as able and was from one of the literate provincial towns outside Carthage like Hippo, Utina, Thuburbo Maius, or Dougga, he would have transferred to one of the distinguished schools of literature and rhetoric available in Carthage. The best students, particularly those intended for a career in the imperial civil service, frequently sought to study with distinguished teachers, even if that meant the hardship of leaving their homes and traveling some distance. Augustine went from provincial Madauros to Carthage, while Libanius went as far as Athens. R's combined course in grammar and rhetoric would have taken him ten years, from age fourteen to twenty-four. Augustine would have been about fourteen when he left Tagaste for Madauros. Such an education was profoundly parochial in scope: Cicero, Virgil, Sallust, and perhaps a few others were exclusively studied in the most painstaking detail, and other works were committed to memory. Yet, while narrow, it provided the apt student with a phenomenal memory and an ability to construct an argument extempore and to display such erudition in a variety of written documents. The goal of such an education still centered on Quintilian's precept that it should produce the "perfect orator," that is, the man who speaks eloquently. Typically, only the sons of good families were provided with such costly educations. Augustine's father, Patricius, a man of limited means, was able at some cost to secure financial assistance from his patron Romanianus. The purpose of such an education was to provide the elite student with a good position in the imperial civil administration. Since his education suggests a background of some wealth, R may have held such a position in the provincial bureaucracy before his conversion.

R tells us nothing about his personal domestic situation: whether he was married, the composition of his family, his age, or his occupation. This is not surprising, as an *exordium* was not intended for such discussion. R is, however, a zealous Christian. In addition to his classical studies, R knew the Scriptures, as he quotes and paraphrases books of the Bible (see Commentary) and does so from memory, a legacy of his education. He has a good grasp of Paul, and is particularly fond of Romans and Corinthians. He does not appear to have been a member of the clergy, since his argument in favor of New Prophecy would place him in conflict with the hierarchy. He was likely a lay leader, able to influence by the force of his rhetoric. We do not know his age, but his obvious authority in the small Christian community suggests that he would likely have been in later middle age at the time he edited the *Passio*, ca. 203–09.¹² As there is no evidence for Christianity in Roman North Africa before 180, if he were at least forty at the time of the writing R would have been born decades before the earliest evidence for the Church. It seems likely that he would have been a convert, with all the zeal of the converted. He seems to have been fearless, as he indicates that he personally knew the martyrs, and he was possibly present at their execution. And hence he, too, since he belonged to an unapproved *hetairia*, would have been technically in violation of the Roman law, which remained a legal precedent since Trajan's rescript to Pliny.¹³ His celebration of the martyrdom of a powerful female leader like Perpetua and his reverence for ecstatic prophecy show unambiguously that he was an advocate of New Prophecy and a supporter of women in positions of authority in the Church. His advocacy of Perpetua's single-minded commitment—even at the expense of her son's future, her father's public shame, and her family's ultimate welfare—placed R in complete opposition to the hoary values of the Roman state.

R reveals no consistent allegiance to a particular philosophical school, nor does he ever enter into serious philosophical argument. His work is not seriously indebted to Stoicism, Gnosticism, or any of the varieties of middle Platonism current in the city of Carthage. He is an advocate for the importance of prophetic revelation in his Christian community. Since the *Passio* is the first document from Christian Roman North Africa to acknowledge the New Prophecy movement, R is the first advocate of that movement that we know of, writing before any schism alienated it from the more Catholic leaning in the community. His sympathy for the presentation of powerful depictions of Roman women (a depiction at odds with most portrayals of Roman matrons), notably Perpetua's rebuke of Hilarianus

12. See Chapter II, "The Date of the *Passio*."

13. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96–97.

and her father, suggests that he was strongly eschatological in outlook, believing that the present norms of behavior have condemned humanity and that personal salvation can only be won through the rejection of the greater *mos maiorum* and the acceptance of Christ. Lastly, we can assume that within his community he would have had the respected status of a wise elder. Although what I have said about R seems to identify an individual like Tertullian as the editor, there is no compelling evidence that R and Tertullian are one and the same. Tertullian is often credited with authorship because his is the first extant contemporary voice of authority from this Christian community. The absence of other voices in the historical record should not force us to arbitrary selections. Tertullian may have been one of a number of articulate and bold leaders who left no record of the role they played in this community. Furthermore, compelling studies of R's Latinity and that of Tertullian's show that they differ.¹⁴

The Martyrs

R prefaces the story of the persecution and death of Perpetua and her companions with the bald statement that the young catechumens were arrested. Nothing more. We are not told why they were arrested, where they were arrested, where they were at the time of their arrest, why they were transferred to prison, or who it was that arrested them. The lack of detail provokes the reader to raise many questions. Did the authorities break in upon them during their study of the Scriptures? What was the infraction charged against them? Were they, like their Scillitan ancestors, found with incriminating books? Was their arrest violent? Were they roughed up? Were they being watched prior to their seizure? Did a member of the community betray them to the authorities? Did they even know that they were acting outside the accepted social norms?

Perhaps their behavior drew the stares and gossip of the local population, and scurrilous rumor—despite Trajan's warnings to Pliny about anonymous rumors—found sympathetic ears in the local magistrates. What was the actual crime which prompted their incarceration? Were they formally charged, and were witnesses brought against them at the initial hearing, as we would expect in a Roman investigation? The absence of context provides a field of speculation—but one that must be trodden with care and historical circumspection.

Surely they must have been terrified, as the author does note that they were quite young and thus likely unfamiliar with such harsh treatment from the state. Perpetua confesses her terror at prison life, and Felicity cries out in pain from her squalid dungeon. Their families, too, share an exquisite sense of alienation, shame,

14. Fridh, *Le problème de la passion*.

and pain. Perpetua's father is struck and publicly humiliated by the procurator Hilarianus. Yet, despite these few instances of personal response, we are only given a tantalizing, fleeting glimpse of the rich textures of their daily lives. A looming silence fills the biographical void—a silence that refuses to speak of the rich mosaic of their lives before their imprisonment and punishment. Is something being hidden? Is R trying to protect contemporary Christians from further persecution? Or perhaps such silence reflects the zeal of the convert determined to efface the memory of the past, to be reborn in the present, and to enter into a new life. Yet despite this historical void, despite the obvious efforts to represent the catechumens as men and women reborn in Christ, their personal history intrudes ever so slightly and can be salvaged.

We meet them first as committed Christians. Their past lives as Roman Carthaginians, almost the entirety of their young lives—with all the attendant joys, enthusiasms, and sorrows of the young—are sealed and beyond recovery, perhaps designedly so. Nor do we know what prompted their seizure. While I have argued above the impossibility of recovering their “personal” identities, I nonetheless believe we can recover a public identity. Early Christian martyrdom is a public witness (μαρτύριον) of a private belief in opposition to that of the majority. It is a bold statement about who controls one's fate, the state or the individual, and who has the ultimate power to decide the outcome of that fate. The martyr embodies an alternative to the status quo and as such is a palpable threat to social stability. Such witness in the third century was not merely an expression of bravery or cultic solidarity but a manifestly harsh critique of traditional Roman religion and the *mos maiorum*. Thus martyrdom is also political in the broadest sense of that word. It identifies itself as a fundamental alternative to the ideology of the governing elite and all they represent. The five young catechumens arrested on that fateful day were seen by some in the Roman administration as a threat to the social order. An examination of their public identities as exemplified by their depictions in the *Passio* will contextualize the narrative.

What's in A Name? Revocatus, Felicity, Saturninus, and Secundulus

What do we know with some certainty? We must begin at the beginning. There are twenty-seven individuals mentioned in the *Passio*—four women and twenty-three men. Some of them are part of the historical record, and understanding who they are provides a richer context for reading and understanding this text. Others exist purely as a gathering of syllables. We are told some names and statuses: Revocatus and his fellow slave Felicity, Saturninus, and Secundulus. R then mentions one named Vibia Perpetua, but saves her identification for the second sentence and thus singles her out. He does not say another word at this juncture about her four companions. If we look carefully, however, more than a little has been revealed. What do these names reveal?

The first four are three men and a woman. The first two, Revocatus and Felicity, are paired. They are also identified as slaves (*conserua*). Their names also provide a confirmation of their bondage, since they are single names only, reflective of either slave or freedman status. They only have *cognomina*, a sure sign of their status as *humiliores*, unlike their compatriot, Vibia Perpetua, who has both a *nomen* (Vibia) and a *cognomen* (Perpetua). Slave names in Roman Africa were often derived from participles ending in *-atus*.¹⁵ Thus the single name ending in *-atus* confirms R's identification.

Felicity and Revocatus, since they are explicitly identified as slaves and paired in the text, may have been members of the same *domus*. Felicity is in the final trimester of pregnancy. Their pairing in the text might also suggest intimacy. Could Revocatus be her conjugal partner? If so, they would not have had a legal marriage, as slaves could not contract marriage. However, they could live in the same *domus*, where the birth of a slave child was typically welcomed, as it represented an economic gain to the master of the house. Furthermore, Felicity, an unmarried slave woman—in the eighth month of her pregnancy—would not likely have ventured far from the *domus* on her own. She would have been brought to the meeting or attended with a familiar group—individuals apparently known to one another, who even lived together—as we find suggested in the *Passio*. Indeed, since the young people who are arrested are identified as catechumens (II.1, *catechumeni*) and all were taught by the same teacher, Saturus, it is reasonable to surmise that their instruction in Christianity would have been within a cohesive group where all the participants were known to one another. It is also very probable that such instruction took place in a house church sponsored by someone whose household had sufficient resources to provide such a meeting. The Roman *familia* could vary widely in size, and slave populations for these households also varied. The *Lex Fufia Caninia* speaks of numbers ranging from less than ten to more than five hundred.¹⁶ Indeed, all four individuals named here could easily have been members of the same elite *familia*, perhaps that of Perpetua herself. Strictly speaking, the word *familia* designates a socioeconomic gathering of individuals under the *potestas* of the *paterfamilias*. As a term it is less reflective of the modern family than is *domus*, but for the sake of this discussion I will use *familia* when discussing Perpetua's kin.

This community seems responsible even for negotiating Felicity's child's surrogate mother, since after the birth of her daughter her fellow Christians

15. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*; and R. Syme, "Donatus and the Like," *Historia* 27, no. 4 (1978): 588–603.

16. Bradley, *Roman Family*.

provide a Christian home for her newborn. This is a curious matter, because it suggests that this condemned group, at least two of whom were slaves, were able to do this of their own volition. We would expect that the child of such a union belonged to the master. It was his or hers—if the slave were under the jurisdiction of a woman—to dispose of. For the imprisoned to have arranged it, they would have had to have gained the permission of Felicity's patron to give the child away to a fellow Christian, here identified as a sister. We know nothing of the social status of this anonymous sister. However, we do know that Perpetua was still alive. If Felicity was Perpetua's slave, Perpetua, acting as mistress, could legally have had the infant's care arranged. Perpetua's mother, also a Christian, would have had sufficient standing to have received the child. Furthermore, if the state was still hostile to Christians at the time of R's composition, it would have been prudent in such a situation for R not to name the woman who received the child.

The disposal of the child represented the loss of an economic asset. It is true that a female child was a somewhat less valuable asset; nevertheless, the mother and child remained under their patron's jurisdiction. If the master was a *paterfamilias* he was under no obligation to respect the familial relationships slaves might have formed, nor were slaves allowed to control the destiny of any offspring. If it was already an economic blow to the owner to lose Felicity and Revocatus, at least the child could be saved. It is possible of course that Felicity's unidentified patron was a Christian or someone sympathetic to her plight, perhaps even a friend or, as I suggested above, a relative of Perpetua. Christians accepted the normative status of slavery just as did their non-Christian brethren. Thus Felicity's child, while given away to a Christian, may still have been raised as a slave, but as a Christian. It is interesting that Felicity's premature birth takes place while Perpetua is nursing her son. If Felicity were a slave of Perpetua's household, one wonders whether it was intended that she was to function as a *nutrix* for her mistress once her milk came in.

Saturninus and Secundulus are not identified as being members of any social group. They may also have been slaves, although it seems unlikely, since the author explicitly identified the status of Felicity and Revocatus as enslaved. If they, too, were slaves we would expect the same specific attention to their status. Hence his representation of them with a simple *cognomen* suggests that they were freedmen and not slaves. It is difficult to speculate further about their status. They could either have been born free (*ingenui*) or they could have been manumitted (*libertini*).¹⁷ As freedmen they could own and bequeath property and contract legal marriages. They may have been unmarried, since no spouses are mentioned.

17. Lacus Curtius, see *Libertus*.

They are also described as *adolescentes*, indicating that they were about sixteen years old. They may also have been members of the same household, and, as I suggested above, all four may have been members of Perpetua's extended *familia*. There is ample evidence of freedmen living under the same roof as part of an extended family.¹⁸ Such a suggestion of their residency in Perpetua's *domus*, or in a similarly sympathetic household, while obviously not open to proof, does also have the advantage of accounting for their being arrested together. Furthermore, given the hostile public environment that must have existed prior to the persecution of 203—Tertullian composed *Ad Martyras* six years earlier—it seems commonsensical that proselytizing was begun within the relative safety of the *domus*, where some privacy could be assured. The *domus* in Roman North Africa seems to be the likeliest place to look for early evangelizing. The spread of the cult began in the *familia* and spread from the authority figures in the family to the less important individuals, like freedmen and slaves. This reflects the social order of those arrested.

Let us now consider Perpetua and what R reveals about her. She is the only one of those arrested who has both a *nomen* and *cognomen*. Polyonymy among elite females seems to have become fashionable under the Severans.¹⁹ If Vibia is her *nomen*, it is well attested in Roman North Africa, and she would have been a member of the same prominent gens. The gens Vibia is present in Africa from the middle of the first century and is associated with military matters. Lucius Iunius Quintus Vibius Crispus served as proconsul of Africa in 71. There was a large presence of veterans in the countryside surrounding Carthage, suggesting the gens still had a presence there under the Severans. Kajava, however, also produces evidence of Vibia being used as a female *praenomen*. Her class associations are not in doubt. She is a member of the elite. The text states unambiguously that she is well born (II.2: *honeste nata*). Thus of the five catechumens arrested, two are slaves; two, Secundulus and Saturninus, are freedmen; and one, Perpetua, is a member of the *honestiores*. This grouping likely reflects the relative percentages of the social classes who were joining the Christian Church at this time. It would have been overwhelmingly subscribed to by the lower classes, because it was to them that the message of the Gospel would have had greater appeal, since it actually offered them more than they had as members of the Roman polity.

Although there is no tradition in classical rhetoric of names as indicators of virtues, some of their names suggest a nascent Christian rhetorical technique—that is, they identify a personal characteristic. “Revocatus”—the one called

18. Bradley 55; and Nathan, *Family in Late Antiquity*, 159.

19. See Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina*, 242.

back—may have been a name selected as a catechumen, to underline his belief that he was now called to the true path. Felicity—the faithful one (literally “fertility” and secondarily “happiness”)—never vacillated in her faith, even at the prospect that she would have to die alone without her colleagues because of her pregnancy. Their prayers ensured that she would die in the faith with them. Thus, these names also function as rhetorical markers, suggesting that this Christian community was employing them as identifiers in opposition to the Roman tradition.

Father

Perpetua introduces her father shortly after his arrest. All we know about him is from her report of their interaction, which was fraught with difficulty. Hence our observations about his background are based on limited information reported under duress and trying circumstances, and our remarks must be conjectural. We know that Perpetua was twenty-two at the time of her arrest, which suggests that her father would have been a man of middle age, likely in his early forties, since Roman men typically married by the age of twenty.²⁰ He makes reference to his gray hairs (*canis patris tui*, VI.3), which would have been normal for a man of middle age. The omnipresence of early death for members of the family—with an average life span in the mid-forties—created a complex tapestry of half-siblings, different mothers, and extended family members, like Perpetua’s mother’s sister, who seems to live in the father’s *domus*. It is likely that when family members did have longer relationships—as between Perpetua and her father—that the bonds were even closer. However tempting it is to view their relationship in contemporary terms, we must not assume that the emotional bonds between father and daughter were identical to those of modern parents.²¹ Her father is married and has two additional sons, and one son long dead, her brother Dinocrates. He would have married a woman from a similar class, and his wife, Perpetua’s mother, is mentioned, though not by name (II.2).

Curiously, the father and mother are never spoken of as being together, nor does Perpetua ever associate them in any way. Her father is never mentioned in the company of any of the family members, but the mother is mentioned as being in the company of the brother. This may reflect the actual state of their marriage, or it might be a literary device illustrating the antagonism of the pagan members of the family and the support from the Christian side, or simply the exigencies of the father’s more public role in getting her to renounce Christianity. The father

20. Dixon, ed., *Childhood, Class and Kin*, 51.

21. Bradley, 61.

was a pagan, while the mother and the brother were Christians (III.3). This might have been a cause of friction in the family, if not for the father then perhaps for the mother, for Tertullian notes that such mixed marriages are not conducive to creating the Christian family and are an unholy union in God's sight (*Ad Ux.* 2.8.4). One can imagine the marital tensions Tertullian's pronouncements would have caused as husband and wife tried to negotiate each other's cultic practices.

Her father must have been a man of some education and cultivation. He named his deceased son Dinocrates. Greek names were not uncommon in Roman households, particularly Roman households of the elite, who valued Greek culture and learning. Her father appears to have loved Greek letters (see section "Perpetua"). We know that Perpetua herself was fluent in Greek; she spoke Greek to the bishop Aspasius and the priest Optatus (XIII.4) and occasionally transliterates Greek words, like τέκνον, into Latin (*tegnon*, IV.9). She could only have come by this learning within the *domus* with a tutor arranged by her father, as the evidence for women attending schools outside the home for late adolescent females in Roman Africa is nonexistent. The father would likely have arranged for a Greek teacher to come to the home. Such practices were not rare—less common for girls, of course—provided one had the means to pay the teacher. Lucian, for example, notes that while in Rome, he taught native Latin speakers in Greek.²² Even if we grant the likelihood that her father would have provided such education, the question is why he would have gone to such trouble to educate his daughter, whom he would be seeking to marry off by the age of sixteen or seventeen at the latest. The simple answer, and the text bears this out, is that he loved her deeply and perhaps saw in her an intellectual ability not apparent in his sons.

The relationship between this father and daughter is an anomaly from the point of view of a "typical" elite Roman family. Her father actually tells her at one point that he values her more than her brothers (V.2). Heads of households rarely, if ever, publicly esteemed daughters over sons. If the narrative can be believed—and there is no compelling reason to doubt it on this point—it would seem that Perpetua and her father had a particularly close and long-term relationship. Child mortality was a fact of daily life, and likely half of all children born died before their fifth birthday.²³ Surviving children were precious. As we have seen, his son, her brother Dinocrates, died at seven. The text is ambiguous on the age distribution of the remaining siblings. It is possible that Dinocrates was the eldest

22. N. Hopkinson, ed. *Lucian: A Selection*, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 4ff.

23. T. Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 11.

son and that on his death the father transferred his love to his surviving daughter. We should not let the received and somewhat stereotypical understanding of *paterfamilias* as the authoritarian provider for his family obscure the fact that Roman fathers were also often deeply attached to their children. The abundance of poignant funeral *stelae* and funeral depictions in mosaics from Roman Africa makes it perfectly clear that their attachments were very strong.²⁴

Perpetua's father was a member of the *honestiores* (likely from the *curiales*), and as such was able to provide a good, and expensive, education for his daughter. With his permission she made a good marriage. Since Perpetua was a Roman citizen with *civitas sine suffragio* and a member of the *honestiores* at her death, the phrase *ad bestias* still presents an historical conundrum. Why was she not beheaded as the law prescribed for Roman citizens? Did the provincial ruler have some latitude regarding the nature of execution for capital crimes? If so, perhaps he wished to make an example of Christians. Perhaps he hoped that by making an example of these five young people the state could squelch this pernicious cult before too many other young people fell under its spell. We know that Hilarianus, serving as procurator, was a pious upholder of the traditional pantheon. The latitude of his jurisdiction, although broad—particularly once the accused were sentenced to death—was always within the bounds of what the law permitted. For example, Felicity's death was postponed until such time as she gave birth, as Roman law held the fetus guiltless of any crime of the mother. Given that Hilarianus upheld the law in that instance, it would appear that he did have local legal jurisdiction to condemn a Roman citizen *ad bestias*.

The text notes that Perpetua was well married (*nupta matronaliter*). The Greek text of the *Passio* uses the adverb ἐξόχως, suggesting that the marriage was possibly an aristocratic one. While Roman children had to consent to the marriages arranged for them, a marriage could not take place unless both *paterfamilias* sanctioned the wedding (*Dig.* 23.2.2 and 23.2.9). Her father would have taken care to ensure that his beloved daughter would have married into an elite household of which he approved. However, her father's authority, while it did extend to the daughter's dowry even in her marriage, did not by this period (following a ruling by the emperor Marcus Aurelius) permit him to dissolve his daughter's marriage, even if it was an unhappy one (CJ 5.17.5).²⁵ Although her husband is never mentioned in the *Passio*—and many have speculated on her current marital situation—it is not likely that her father would have tried to contest the marriage, a marriage he agreed to, even if he wished to do so, since he

24. Note the funeral mosaics in the Bardo Museum.

25. Nathan, *Family*, 27, cites *Dig.* 23.3.2 unconvincingly.

had no legal grounds for proceeding. If her marriage was over at the time of the conversion to Christianity—and we do not know what her marital status was: separated, divorced, or widowed—it would have been an issue entirely between herself and her husband. (See section “Perpetua.”)

The source of most Roman wealth was agriculture, and for someone of Perpetua’s father’s class in Carthage, it is more than likely that the head of the household would have gotten his income from the production of cereal crops.²⁶ Carthage was the major provider of cereals and oil to Rome.²⁷ The area immediately around Carthage is not best suited for cereals and less well for oil. If we imagine an area where such a family lived and would have derived its income, it would likely be that they were resident in the city of Carthage with farms in the suburbs, particularly those areas adjacent to the Medjerda river valley, which was among the most productive for cereals in Africa. It is more likely that Perpetua’s agnatic family made their money from cereal crops. The family would have had field and household slaves, and it is tempting to speculate whether Felicity and Revocatus, both referred to as slaves (II.1: *conserua eius*), were slaves associated with Perpetua’s immediate family, from her husband’s household, or from her father’s house. The further inland and southwest one travels, the better the conditions for olive production, and the *Passio* implies that they were residents of Carthage or the immediately surrounding suburbs.

Perpetua first mentions her father virtually in medias res. She notes that she and her companions were still under arrest, presumably in a detention center, but it is not the prison to which they were later transferred. We do not know the length of time implied by the adverb *adhuc* in her remark, *Cum adhuc, inquit, cum prosecutoribus essemus et me pater . . .* (III.1). It must not have been more than a few days, as there is no mention of her being charged with a specific crime, and she was not yet sentenced. There is no mention of any other relative, save her father, being present at this first meeting. It is her father who is present at virtually every public hearing his daughter received. Unlike her mother, who would have had restricted access because she was a female, he appears to have had access to public officials. Her mother is present at selected times during her imprisonment but is

26. R. P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.

27. Carthage, as Rickman and Peña have pointed out, was the major exporter of cereals and oil to Italy. See G. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 110; and J. T. Peña, “The Mobilization of State Olive Oil in Roman Africa: The Evidence of Late 4th-c. *Ostraca* from Carthage,” *JRA Supplemental Series* 28 (1998): 116–238, particularly on page 118.

never represented as having much of a role other than that of a sympathetic supporter. The father's more public role is not surprising, particularly if he was a landowner and a member of the *curiales* class. We do not know how he found out she had been arrested, but it is significant that he appears at the place where they were being held early in the proceedings, where his pleading might have gotten her released, and not after she is imprisoned and formally charged, sentenced, and condemned.

The reader enters into the narrative as the father and daughter have already begun a conversation. Their colloquy has a distinctly philosophical cast—admittedly curious at such a time—a conversation reminiscent of Socrates's and Hermogenes's dialogue in the *Cratylus* concerning the nature of names (see section "Perpetua"). The narrative underscores that both father and daughter are well educated and are possibly used to having such conversations. Literacy in Greek for a female native Latin speaker was uncommon, yet Perpetua had such fluency.²⁸ If Perpetua did read Plato, as I suspect, and hence knew the *Cratylus*, she would have received a singular education for a female at this time and would have been indebted to her father for it.

This Roman father, however, does not behave like an elite Roman male. He overturns all our stereotypical understanding of the *paterfamilias*. In fact, his behavior is so un-Roman that it embarrasses the procurator Hilarianus, who, rebuking him, strikes him with a rod (VI.5: *et virga percussus est*).²⁹ Such a public beating is among the most grievous humiliations an elite Roman could suffer. Cato likened such a public beating to being turned into a slave.³⁰ Hilarianus's violent outburst is triggered by his shame that an educated male would stoop publicly to beg his daughter to renounce her allegiance to this cult, rather than simply ordering her to abandon her foolishness. Perpetua instantly realizes what a humiliation her father has suffered for her at the hands of the procurator. Such scenes between Perpetua and her father—those which depict him playing a subordinate role to her—do not reflect what we know about the ways fathers and daughters interacted in the public arena. They are the only records which depict such interactions, and should be read with some skepticism. The Roman son or daughter owed his or her father *pietas*, and it was expected that a child naturally owed a kind of respectful compliance, an *obsequium* to the parent's wishes.³¹ Such bold volitional choice was

28. G. D. Woolf, "Afterword: How the Latin West Was Won," in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?: Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. A. Cooley, JRA Supplementary Series 48 (Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 2002), 181.

29. K. Cooper, "Closely Watched Households: Visibility, Exposure and Private Power in the Roman *Domus*," *Past & Present* 197, no. 1 (2007): 3–33.

30. Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 10.3.17.

31. Nathan, *Family*, 144; and see also H. S. Nielsen, "The Value of Epithets in Pagan and Christian Epitaphs from Rome," in *Childhood*, ed. Dixon, 171. *Pius* is the most important epithet.

even less tolerated in a female child, in whom subservience to the father was considered a natural endowment. Artemidorus notes that daughters diminish a man's estate, since he is required to provide a dowry, and he goes on to say that a female child often brings bad luck, while a son brings good fortune (*Interpretation of Dreams* 1.4; 5.47). Indeed, even early Christianity, although information about the nature of the interaction of children in the early Christian household is sketchy at best, expected children to obey unquestioningly the Fifth Commandment. The narrative here insists that Perpetua's behavior is so extreme because the moral issue which separates father and daughter is so great and is so much a part of their sense of themselves that even expected reciprocal relationships do not apply.³² Perpetua's decision is one made at the deepest level of conscience and binds her irrevocably. She is willing to risk a personal violation of an elite woman's maintenance of *pudor*, thus publicly exposing her father and the household to the judgmental gaze of others. She finds herself unable to turn away from her Christian faith—though she is torn by her father's painful plight—in order to affirm the *mos maiorum* of the Roman *familia* and save face for her father and her *domus*. Her assertion of *conscientia* over the *mos maiorum* and over the requirements of feminine *pudor*, even at the expense of the dissolution of the family, is an indication of the tenacious reach that Christianity achieved in some segments of the population as it privileged conscience over custom.

Her father's control of Perpetua's son presents yet another historical conundrum. Perpetua would have entered her marriage either *in manu* or—almost certainly at this time—as a *sine manu* bride. Her children were the property of the husband or, if he were to predecease his wife, his surviving male heirs. The situation represented in the *Passio* is not easy to reconcile with the historical record. Neither divorce, remarriage, nor the death of her spouse would have legally allowed her father to claim her son. It is possible to understand this anomalous depiction if her husband had earlier rejected her and his son as a result of her conversion to Christianity. In short, her father's custody can be explained if her husband voluntarily gave the child up because he felt the same public shame her father expressed and, therefore, wished to disassociate himself from her and its taint. Admittedly, this explanation leaves many questions unanswered. If the husband divorced her and formally rejected her and his child, we might expect that his family would claim the son. However, it is possible that his rejection of the child would have precluded any male members of his family from claiming the child. Thus Perpetua is still left with the child. But as she is

32. Bradley, *Roman Family*, 117.

under the *potestas* of her father—as she would be in a *sine manu* marriage—she would have to relinquish her son to her father, since the rejected child released from the direct agnatic line of her husband would likely come under the jurisdiction of his maternal *paterfamilias* before any competing claims from the son’s paternal uncles. Her father makes one last appearance in the *Passio* after she has been condemned to death and after her prayers have rescued her brother Dinocrates from his Hades-like state. She tells us that the day of her execution is drawing near. Her father visited her and again threw himself on the ground before her, tore out the hair from his beard, and uttered imprecations that might move creation. His behavior reminds one more of an ancient Jew than a Roman male (see “Commentary,” IX). He had failed in his efforts to free her from her attachment to her cult and, presumably, now had to await the death *ad bestias* in the arena of his beloved and favored child.

Perpetua

We know a great deal more about Perpetua than about anyone else in the narrative, since she writes in her own voice, and this makes reconstructing aspects of her identity complex. However, it is difficult and may prove impossible to define in satisfactory terms an understanding of identity that illuminates the interior lives of those ancient men and women, particularly Perpetua, depicted in the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*. Moreover, there are serious methodological problems inherent in extrapolating “identity” from a Christian text of the third century written in provincial Roman Carthage in order to determine how individuals depicted there embody the quality of “Romanitas,” or even what it meant to refer to oneself as “Christian” in that milieu. Perpetua’s own understanding of where she belonged ethnically and religiously was likely fairly fluid—indeed more than for most, as she was a convert—and involved multiple categories of shifting allegiances at different stages in her life, some of which were overlapping and contradictory. She was an educated elite Roman matron. Since she was a native speaker of Latin, she would have identified herself with the Roman polity and would have seen that as what we might label her “ethnicity.” Her emphatic statement, *Sum Christiana*, to her father when they discuss identity—leaving aside for the moment the phrase’s almost formulaic place in *passiones*—was not intended to deny her ethnicity so much as it was intended to identify a different level of identity, her spirit’s identity, her *pietas* or *religio*.

Our grasp of the interior lives of these antique men and women is made even more problematic because the *Passio* was compiled by a Christian editor as an *encomium*, perhaps as many as five years after the events narrated. He may not have known any of them as individuals and has intruded himself into the narrative. Furthermore, the figure of Perpetua, unlike that of her father, does oblige us

to discuss issues which concern her self-understanding, her understanding of her own agency, and her struggle toward her understanding of the Christian life.

Moreover, since the act of martyrdom is a public act, one which reflects the approbation of one community and the condemnation of another, the persona of the martyr must have a political identity. Martyrdom is a public action and, therefore, inescapably a political act. For the imperial administration of Carthage, the games in the amphitheatre were a reminder to the population of their power and potential largess. Killing the Christians was also an expedient and socially reinforcing way to rid themselves of a rabble and a potentially destabilizing sect, a *religio illicita*, to extend Tertullian's remark (*Apol.* 21). For the people of the city, it represented a chance to indulge themselves in the Roman passion for blood sports and to participate, if only vicariously, in faux warfare. For the Christians, however, the volitional spilling of innocent blood was a sacrificial and consecratory ritual. It was the fulfillment of Christ's eschatological promise of resurrection, and their deaths were a ritualized repetition of his salvific death. For the spectators it was a contest leading to death, but for the Christian it was a means to eternal life. While both constituencies paradoxically claimed victory through death, the Romans saw the Christians as rejecters of the *mos maiorum* and the gods, whereas the Christians saw their deaths as witness to a cosmic struggle against a demon-possessed state. It would be difficult to imagine greater polarity.

Perpetua's individuality, if I may use this anachronistic label, also exists amidst the contested psychological space of "sacrificial victim" on the one hand and "seditious suicide" on the other. Her action, since it is public, is also exemplary. She serves as a model of triumphant righteousness to her persecuted brethren and as a dire warning to the mainstream dominant population about the dangers of such rebellious thinking. She is simultaneously hero and villain. Although the dominant community condemns her actions, her creedal brethren are strengthened by her example. While the persecutors see her as a death-seeker, she seeks a transcendent life beyond death. The identity of Perpetua is bound inextricably to her choice to seek martyrdom.

The narrative of the *Passio* is also a conversion story, a tale about the cost of forsaking one set of beliefs for the rewards of another. In the lines of the *Passio* devoted to Perpetua, there is a deliberate effort to chart a change in her status from that of a respected Roman *matrona* to that of a Christian *matrona Dei*, to move from a position of authority in the Roman *domus*, answerable only to the *paterfamilias*, to that of ecstatic prophetess, answerable to an almighty God. Such a change involves a radical shift not only in her former embrace of her public duties but also in every aspect of her psychic life. Perpetua abandoned all the trappings of an elite Roman female head of household: her child, her family and her wealth; she even abandoned her life in order to embrace a charismatic role of

ecstatic prophethood. The motivation for her embrace of Christian *thanatos* is enormously complex, involving issues that are hidden from our view. But surely they involved, at some level, her desire for intimacy with a transcendent God combined with her concomitant search for greater authority—an authority she believed was the gift of the Holy Spirit—within this nascent creedal community. Her desire for agency is not at the expense of the promptings of the Spirit but a result of those promptings.³³ Her goal of martyrdom is not a triumph of narcissism, although it does confer power and authority, but, paradoxically, it was viewed as an envelopment of the ego into the fathomless love of the Holy Spirit.

There do remain, however, methodological obstacles which confront us as we try to construct the Roman identity of Perpetua of Carthage, and these chiefly involve issues of class and gender. Elite women of the Empire constructed their identity from traditionally approved social models. They were defined and defined themselves principally by the dictates of the public sphere they inhabited, the *domus*, and not by psychological constructs. The Roman state's jurisprudential understanding of female responsibility, particularly with reference to those women in the upper classes, was wholly gendered: females were daughters, wives, and mothers, the latter being their principal adult role.³⁴ Women were obliged to be chaste (*pudicitia*), since chastity insured the legitimacy of their offspring, and to bear children (*fertilitas*) as a part of their duty to the maintenance of the state, and they were celebrated for having done so (*Lex Iulia* BCE 18 and *Lex Papia-Poppaea* CE 18).³⁵ Conversely, female infertility was grounds for divorce and the imposition of inheritance penalties (CIL 6.1527; 3.1670). A woman's children—if she had been given in marriage *sine manu*—were the property of her husband, or of his family if he predeceased her. This is true for the elite as well as the poor. It is certainly true that the elite had more visible public respect by virtue of their class and its associations. If a woman was a *matrona*, for example, as was Perpetua, she was accorded certain privileges, and her status was apparent even in her dress. In the Republic, and there is some evidence of this in the Empire, a *matrona* wore an undyed white wool *stola*, publicly acknowledging such honorific

33. A. Jensen, *Gottes selbstbewusste Töchter: Frauenemanzipation im frühen Christentum?* (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 201 and 254; but see in the same work, Chapter 2, "Frauen im Martyrium," 178–253.

34. Pliny, *Ep.* 1.14; 6.26; 6.32; and see M. Harlow and R. Laurence, *Growing Up and Growing Old in Ancient Rome: A Life Course Approach* (London: Routledge, 2002), 58.

35. Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete, *Age of Marriage*, 68–9. These laws were not universally respected, and Tertullian believed the laws ineffective, referring to them as *vanissimas Papias leges* (see *Apol.* 4.8).

status.³⁶ Furthermore, elite women in the Empire—as the jurists make abundantly clear—could own (*sui iuris*), inherit, and bequeath property (*Dig.* 5.4.5.1 and 5.4.6.1); sue for divorce; and transact business ventures without seeking a tutor or sponsor. They were citizens but could not exercise the franchise, and they were in charge of the *domus*—the arena of their greatest power.³⁷

However, as a member of the household she was, like all members of the extended *familia*, subject to the *paterfamilias* and his *potestas*. Although it is important that we not exaggerate the actual lived practice of the *paterfamilias*—Perpetua and her father give the lie to such monolithic historical constructions—it is clear that where his daughter was concerned he had considerable legal authority over her, even concerning her choice in marriage. For example, neither she nor her betrothed could consummate a marriage if either *paterfamilias* did not approve, and either father could compel a divorce.³⁸ We should assume that such rules governed Perpetua's marriage. By the time of the composition of the *Passio* (ca. 203–207), elite women were given in marriage to their husbands *sine manu*.³⁹ Thus, their fathers could in theory exercise legal claims to a daughter's dowry; although they lived in the *domus* of their husband, they remained under their father's *potestas*. They took their dowry with them into the marriage, and in the event of a divorce or their death, the inheritance returned to the parental home if the *paterfamilias* still lived.⁴⁰ A dowry could be as much as one-quarter of an intestate inheritance. The *sine manu* marriage thus protected the wealth of the agnatic line of descent. All agnatic *familiae* were kin from the same *domus* (related by blood through the male line). Although the nature of Perpetua's marriage in the *Passio* is not explicitly stated, it is almost a certainty that she would have been given to her husband *sine manu*.⁴¹ Although some elite women enjoyed real freedoms, they were as a group both *de jure* and *de facto* subordinate to men.

36. Livy, 34.5; and see M. George, "A Roman Funerary Monument with a Mother and Daughter," in *Childhood*, ed., Dixon, 180.

37. Saller, *Patriarchy*, 129–32. For the status of lower-class women in the workplace, see N. Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin: Mann, 1981), 133.

38. K.-J. Hölkeskamp, "Under Roman Roofs," 115–16.

39. *Ibid.*, 127. *Cum manu* marriage did not long outlive the Republic.

40. Saller, *Patriarchy*, 224; and note *Dig.* 24.3.66.2: *Filia familias divortio facto dotem patri reddi iusserat* ("A daughter of the family after having concluded a divorce had directed the dowry to be given back to her father"); and see Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 446.

41. There are nonetheless problems in the text concerning inheritance. Notice that the father has control of her son. Even in a *sine manu* marriage, the husband, or if he was deceased, his family, would take possession of all children. It is difficult to know how Perpetua's father has usurped such legal responsibility.

Their behavior was always at risk of being publicly censured; the charge was typically one of transgressing approved gender lines.

Education was an arena where they were particularly open to such censure. Women were intended to be *illiteratae*, and it was believed—even if the belief was a stereotype which existed more for the sake of social control—that nature had so designed them. Women who sought higher education or who displayed erudition were thought to be not behaving like women and were viewed as threats to the social order. While there are some notable examples of independent women, typically among the most powerful elite who could afford to flout the tradition—women like Antonia Augusta, or the empress Julia Domna, who read and was on friendly terms with philosophers and who sponsored the sophist philosopher Lucius Flavius Philostratus’s authorship of the *Life of Apollonius*—most women who sought or displayed advanced education were vulnerable to public ridicule.⁴² Perpetua appears to have been a very well-educated matron. The text refers to her as *liberaliter instituta*.⁴³ In their homes, since the Roman household was not segregated according to gender, wives also came into contact with friends and patrons of their husbands and could and did participate in the husband’s domestic social life.⁴⁴ And even in their homes they could be subject to scathing attacks. Juvenal in his ironically misogynist Sixth Satire mocks the woman who, dining in her *domus* with her husband and his guests, wishes to discuss Virgil and Homer. She is lampooned as a stereotypical *matrona* whose presumption to be educated has turned her into her mirror opposite, the *meretrix*:

*illa tamen grauior, quae cum discumbere coepit / laudat Vergilium, periturae
ignoscit Elissae, / committit uates et comparat, inde Maronem / atque alia
parte in trutina suspendit Homerum*

(But most intolerable of all is the woman who as soon as she has sat down to dinner praises Virgil, forgives the dying Dido and sets the poets against one another, putting Virgil in the one scale and Homer in the other, 6.434–37/456).

Even if we read Juvenal’s verses as a fictive nostalgic evocation of an idealized masculine past of the “good old days,” his sentiment, which depicts such female

42. Levick, *Julia Domna*, 107, 117–23.

43. P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l’Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu’à l’invasion arabe* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901), 74: Perpetua had “une éducation très soignée.” See also McKechnie, “Saint Perpetua.”

44. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 414.

behavior as unnatural, likely still had coercive power, since educated literary discourse remained the provenance of men. Thus, even within her *domus* an elite woman, despite her moral authority, had to be circumspect in certain areas, and a display of advanced education seems to have been one of them.

Women had somewhat more freedom for individual expression in their participation in and maintenance of the religious cults. Religion allowed them greater latitude for public expression without the attendant risk of public scorn for having overstepped the bounds of gender roles, as it had been a prerogative of women since the establishment of the *Aedes Vestae*. The Vestals, although they were virgins dedicated to the state for thirty years, were not subordinate to men: they had property, they had free access to households, they were able to commute the sentences of prisoners they happened to meet on the street, and they served as peace emissaries for the state. The six Vestals, however, were not representative of Roman women, and their order—it is worth noting—is the creation of a patriarchal mentality and, therefore, could in theory be abolished by that same ideology.

Women had greater association with those cults where the deity was female.⁴⁵ The goddess Ceres was particularly popular in Carthage during the Severan period. The empress Julia Domna was frequently represented on denarii with Ceres on the reverse side. There is an early third-century marble statue of Julia Domna in Ostia which depicts her holding corn and flowers. Forcing Perpetua and Felicity to dress in Ceres's robes on their initial entrance into the amphitheatre was a way of reminding them and the spectators of the appropriate cult for female worship and of using the robes of the goddess of fertility to mock their abdication of the procreative role of Roman wives as professed Christians.⁴⁶

To return to our subject of identity, for the overwhelming majority of Roman elite women, identity was a product of internalizing socially defined roles. How did such roles effect, complement, and possibly create the interior lives of these women, and what can we say with any certainty about this private world? It is

45. P. Culham, "Women in the Roman Republic," in *Roman Republic*, ed. Flower, 144. There is a marked increase in the introduction of eastern cults from the middle of the second century, and these seem to have attracted women. See M. le Glay, *La religion romaine* (Paris: A. Colin, 1971), 88; and R. Turcan, *Rome et ses dieux* (Paris: Hachette, 1998), 157–99, and 179–87. Another facet of traditional Roman religion and Christianity in North Africa is the likely persistence of earlier Punic cults and the rigorism associated with them. See H. Hurst, *The Sanctuary of Tanit at Carthage in the Roman Period: A Reinterpretation*, JRA Supplement Series 30 (Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 1999), 9. One wonders whether the African Christians' willingness to seek martyrdom may not owe something to traditional practices of self-sacrifice associated with the cults of Baal/Saturn and Tanit/Juno Caelestis. Apuleius suspected as much (*Met.* 11.5).

46. B. S. Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 103.

difficult to discern even modern psychological identity—to know how an individual woman might view her character, or how she understands her internal strengths and weaknesses, as distinct from her social obligations. Yet despite the difficulty of the recovery of such antique identity, we do have in the figure of Perpetua in the *Passio* some idea of how a third-century Roman Christian convert understood the constituents of what comprised her inner life or what today we might refer to as her “self”—an idea which is noticeably absent from the records of women in this period.⁴⁷ Higher education would have provided women a forum for such reflection; it would have necessitated more literacy, and consequently, it could offer a window into the intellectual and psychic world of women. The fear of the dissolution of the social order as a by-product of female literacy seems to be one reason that women were typically denied access to advanced education and the reason that universal illiteracy was virtually normative among women of all social classes.⁴⁸ Perpetua, however, is a singular example of a Roman elite *matrona*—though her singularity must make us cautious in extending her point of view to her sisters—who not only received a very fine education but also went the next step and wrote about her interior life.⁴⁹

Public identity is brought into sharpened focus as we respond to the social roles that society holds for each of us. Constituent social roles, such as marriage and parenthood, were crucial measurements of the “good wife” in the Empire. If a woman managed these conventions according to the *mos maiorum*, she was a model wife. If, however, she transgressed such social roles, she was considered dangerous, an unnatural woman, and suspected of being seditious and possibly deranged. Her behavior was subject to penalties, stigmatized and to be shunned. For example, even for a benign, possibly nonvolitional, departure from tradition, like the misfortune of a miscarriage, the *Lex Papia-Poppaea* penalized those who were married but childless by causing them to forfeit half of their inheritance and

47. G. Vidén, “The Twofold View of Women—Gender Construction in Early Christianity.” In *Aspects of Women in Antiquity: Proceedings of the First Nordic Symposium on Women’s Lives in Antiquity*, ed. L. L. Lovén and A. Strömberg (Jonsered: Paul Åströms, 1998), 142–53, in particular pages 146–51.

48. B. Rawson, “Children in the Roman *Familia*,” in *Ancient Rome*, ed. Rawson, 170–200.

49. Sebesta, “Vibia Perpetua,” 1:103–30; A. Giardina, “Melania the Saint,” in *Roman Women*, ed. A. Fraschetti and translated by L. Lappin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 190–208, who suggests (203) that elite Christian women were expected to be multilingual. In the same volume see A. Fraschetti, “Introduction: Women and Silence,” 1–22; see page 4, where he notes that some women might have received a liberal education. See also E. J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 13.

their bequests.⁵⁰ These constituent social roles are threshold experiences, and our response to their invitation to enter and cross them, and thus embody them, forms part of our public personality. Perpetua's management of such crucial roles is at odds with the social expectations of her Roman peers. She consistently rejects the expectations of *Romanitas*, beginning with her repudiation of feminine *pudor*, her refusal to follow her father's wishes and her disdain for the jeering crowd in the amphitheatre. There the angry mob mocks Perpetua and her companions. They mock because they simultaneously hate and fear her. The crowd's fear is complex; it is a fear that Perpetua's behavior might spread and destroy the social system they represent. Their fear also represents something deeper, something inchoate, and its expression likely embodies issues they are unaware of—that is, it may also reflect an unconscious expression that Perpetua represents, in her willingness to accept death, an autonomy denied them, something powerful that is good and that they are afraid to embrace. The mob understands at a subliminal level that her behavior, which they condemn as subversive, also represents the degree to which their embrace of *Romanitas* has subordinated their agency to that of the *mos maiorum*.

Matrona Dei

This shift in identity from Roman *matrona* to a Christian *matrona Dei* is evident in two early passages:⁵¹

A. II.2. And among these was also Vibia Perpetua, a woman well born, *liberally educated, honorably married*, who had a father, mother, and two brothers, one of whom was also a catechumen.

B. III.1. . . . we were still with the prosecutors, my father, because of his love for me, wanted to change my mind and shake my resolve. “Father,” I said, “do you see this vase lying here, for example, this small water pitcher or whatever?” “I see it,” he said. 2. And I said to him: “Can it be called by another name other than what it is?” And he said: “No.” “In the same way, I am unable to call myself other than what I am, a Christian.”

These lines are an account of the catechumens' house arrest. Chapter II states that Perpetua is a member of the elite, the *honestiores*, and her father likely a *curialis*; she is well born (*honeste nata*) and admirably educated (*liberaliter*

50. *Regulae Ulpiani*, 15.16.18; Gaius 2.286; and J. E. Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity: The Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 94ff.

51. The translations are mine throughout, based on a reading of the nine extant Latin manuscripts, along with the Latin text of van Beek, Bastiaensen, and Amat, and informed by the Greek of manuscript H.

instituta) and has made a successful marriage (*matronaliter nupta*). Chapter III, written in her own voice, opens with the report of the background of an immediately prior conversation with her father, which is not given. Chapter III therefore uses aspects of verbal flashback to bridge past events with the present conversation. She notes that in that earlier discussion with her father, while they were still with the prosecutors, her father wanted “to change my mind and shake my resolve”—presumably, at this moment they are in the midst of a discussion concerning the reason for her arrest. She provides no more details of this prior conversation but simply says that her father was speaking to her “out of his love for me.” She provides little context for the conversation. It is not clear, for example, whether the father and daughter were now “still with the prosecutors” or speaking alone at this point. If the prosecutors were present, their presence certainly would have affected the behavior and rhetoric of the father, who, given his status, would not wish to be humiliated in front of officials by his daughter. While Chapter III amplifies their relationship, its chief intention is to foreground her conversion to Christianity, to showcase Perpetua’s education, to secure her role as leader of the group, to illustrate the philosophical basis of her conversion, to depict her father’s role in her education, and lastly, to demonstrate the risks to a woman if she is able to reason like a man. All of these issues are a consequence of her education.

The ensuing colloquy between father and daughter is in dialogue, employing short declarative sentences. Perpetua reports it omnisciently. Their conversation, flirting with semiotics, concerns the philosophical nature of names. Such a discussion between father and daughter is not what we expect in a scene where both parent and child were under duress. She is under house arrest, and the authorities have summoned him. Yet her narrative curiously ignores the reason for his presence. Her rhetoric does not reflect the latent tension resulting from her arrest or her potential persecution, but rather it depicts an atmosphere more characteristic of two philosophers debating in the Stoa. The father, however, is troubled and, it seems, must have been pleading with her, since she refers to his behavior as one which, “out of his love,” tried to get her to give up what he considers a destructive commitment. She, however, is focused on other issues, particularly her membership in the new cult of Christianity. Accordingly, she shifts dramatically the discussion from his immediate practical concerns for her safety to an inquiry into the relationship of names to things. Imitating a philosophical dialogue, she asks her father whether names are a mere convention (arbitrary) or distinctive signifiers (natural), and if the latter, whether they point to something innate and unique in the object signified. She then illustrates her argument by pointing to a nearby small water jug and asks whether its name, *urceolus*, is arbitrary or natural; can it be called by another name and still be a water jug? Does *urceolus* define the intrinsic property of the thing named? The

father follows her argument; he agrees with his daughter's prompting that the name of the jug signifies its distinctive properties, and that it cannot be labeled something else and still retain its natural property as a water jug. Perpetua at once seizes the initiative and turns the question about the jug to herself, arguing by analogy that if its name defines its unique property, then similarly her name would define her unique character. She turns and asks her father, following the logic of her argument, whether he would agree then that the name by which she identifies herself ("Christian") must also signify a distinctive property. Her father, surprised by the turn of events, becomes apoplectic. He is unable to answer, and he responds violently. Condemned by his own logic, defeated by his daughter's superior reason, and with his role as teacher and *paterfamilias* now usurped by Perpetua, he turns against reason, the traditional manly virtue, behaves unreasonably like an "emotional woman" and tries unsuccessfully to attack her. The struggle is also reminiscent of the authority of naming given to Adam and his subsequent role in naming living things (Gn 2.20). In identifying herself, naming herself as "Christian," she rejects the traditional male prerogative to name.

The dialectic has caused the two to change roles: the father ceases to use reason, ceases to follow the logical imperatives of his beloved master Plato, and succumbs to threats of violence, ceasing to be the *paterfamilias*. He regresses to a physical prelinguistic state—a state in which language, argumentation, and the demands of civilized dialogue do not exist. He has become a barbarian, someone outside of culture, a child or an *infans*, one without speech. The daughter has become the adult, the parent to the child-father. Perpetua's identity has begun to shift as she begins her pilgrimage toward Christian autonomy. This new dynamic relationship between father and daughter is played out in all their subsequent interactions in the *Passio*. This initial meeting ends when she says he only "alarmed her and left defeated"—he is unable to hurt her. This remark reminds the audience that previously this parent as *paterfamilias* had the authority to abuse her with physical violence. But now she says he left defeated "along with the arguments of the devil."⁵² She has begun to assume her new identity: one of power and authority conferred by membership in this religious cult. Furthermore, in the creation of her new identity she will employ language which embodies tropes of masculinity, another potential gift conferred by membership in the Christian community (*Passio* X.7). Yet seeking such authority is not her goal; it is an ephemeral one at best. Her conversion and all her subsequent actions result in her imminent death,

52. Tertullian believed unreason and irrationality came from the devil and reason from God (*De Anim.* 16.2; and *Marc.* 1.13.1; 1.18.2).

which is her real goal, and that goal requires the sacrifice of her present life in order to attain an eternal one.

This brief discussion between father and daughter marks a number of major turning points in the *Passio* and illustrates the depth of the studied sophistication of this text. First, it has a distinguished antecedent: the passage is a deliberate invocation of a related discussion on the nature of names in Plato's *Cratylus*, the most significant of the dialogues on the significance of names. Plato considers whether names are conventional and change as needed or natural signifiers identifying unique and unchanging properties of things. The *Cratylus*, like the *Passio*, employs a similar short declarative question-and-answer structure and also makes use of homely utilitarian examples. Socrates asks Cratylus whether the names we use for an "awl," a "knife," or a weaver's "shuttle" are mere convention or natural signifiers. Perpetua's water jug serves the same end. That is, even base objects reveal the existence of some permanent attribute conferred by nature. Their names are not arbitrary. Plato's investigation of the property of names in the *Cratylus* is an effort to further demonstrate the existence of his forms, his immutable ideas, showing how they exist in the onomastics of language. The character Cratylus argues the point against Socrates that if you refer to an object without using its actual name you fail to refer to it at all; it does not exist. Perpetua and her father accept this "realist" position. Although there are no precise linguistic echoes—the use of a borrowed word or phrase—from the *Cratylus* in the *Passio*, the thematic similarity and intention of the two texts are parallel, and I am confident that the author of this passage intended the reader to catch the allusion to the *Cratylus*. These lines in the *Passio* suggest the protagonist had read Plato, or some epitome of his work; this was an exceptional accomplishment for an elite Roman woman living in a provincial imperial city. Moreover, she read it with her father in his *domus*, because he (as we learn later) loved her more than her brothers and saw to her education. This father-daughter relationship at the expense of the male heirs is also an anomaly in imperial society, as is the father supervising the education of the daughter. It contradicts much of what we can discern from the normative historical record of such relationships. Although such a learned allusion is uncommon in the literature of martyrdom, particularly one that claims an autobiographical status, the thematic similarity of the two texts is difficult to ignore. We do know that Perpetua was fluent in Greek (*Passio* XIII) and that Greek was spoken in Roman Carthage and may have been the principal language of the local Christian hierarchy (XIII.1).⁵³

53. Giardina, "Melania the Saint," 203.

The discussion with her father also confirms characteristics of her upbringing briefly mentioned in Chapter II (see the section “Father”). She had an uncommon education (*liberaliter instituta*), which gave her the ability to paraphrase philosophical dialogues. Her identity is no longer merely contained under the rubric of *matrona*, since she now appears to have usurped the privileges of masculinity, which Juvenal so disapproved of in a woman.

But the most difficult question remains unanswered: What precise sort of identity has she chosen with the ringing phrase, *sum Christiana*? What can she possibly have hoped to gain by joining a small, outlawed minority cult despised by the general population and one at least nominally not supportive of female authority? Did being a member of that cult provide an alternative oppositional identity? Women had been a signal presence in the membership of the Christian Church since the earliest times. For example, those passages in the Pauline Epistles which discuss the role of women reflect a tension which illustrates Paul’s inherited cultural misogyny against his emerging understanding of women as integral and equal partners in the Christian body. The Epistle to the Romans suggests that there was an abundance of women playing a role in the active ministry of the Church (16.1–16). Paul’s language—notably words such as *συνεργός*, *διάκονος*, and *ἀπόστολος*—underscores this. However, as Meeks and Witherton have shown, the overwhelming majority of these women were from the lower classes—though there is evidence of some women of wealth and from the artisan class—and their choice to join the Church was likely dictated by the fact that they gained more than they lost.⁵⁴ Celsus’s well known barb that the Church appealed only to “slaves, women, and children” is likely not far from the mark (Origen, *Con. Cel.* 3.44). And it is these women—as I will show below (see the section “Mother, Aunt, Siblings”)—who may have been the principal teachers who spread Christianity.⁵⁵

The church of North Africa and the choice confronting Vibia Perpetua, however, were very different from the first century church of the apostles, and Perpetua’s decision as a woman was far more fraught with grave consequences. She is a member of the elite; she leaves a world of defined status, albeit one socially restrictive, to join a *superseditio*, a cult whose status was *religio illicita*. She abandons

54. B. Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 59 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 125–27; W. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: the Social World of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 57.

55. M. Y. MacDonald, “Was Celsus Right?: The Role of Women in the Expansion of Early Christianity,” in *Early Christian Families*, ed. Balch and Osiek, 157–84; see 168ff.

her only son, her paternal family, and her husband's family; accepts the indictment of criminal; and becomes a social pariah who will die the most humiliating death (*ad bestias*), reserved for the lowest classes, in the arena within a short time after her conversion. Surely her expectations of what she would gain from her new Christian identity must have been extraordinary, or we must conclude with the Roman populace that she was unbalanced, an unnatural woman.

Was there a role in the church in Carthage that would provide such elite women sufficient reward to sacrifice everything? If they received leadership positions, were they such as to provide autonomy and the authority to lead and minister to this small and persecuted Christian Church? At first glance, there appears to have been little opportunity in this small gathering of house churches. The local church in Carthage—possibly under the loose tutelage of its most outspoken intellectual, Tertullian—does not appear to be a community which provided such opportunity for women. The community was entirely Roman in its orientation and had already appointed its first bishop, Agrippinus, a supporter of Roman praxis and a cleric who was also convinced of the justification for a monarchical bishop.⁵⁶ Tertullian, himself, as is well known, was not sympathetic to females who wished to leave their traditional roles, as seen in his famous diatribe: “And do you not know that you are each an Eve? The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age: the guilt must of necessity live too. You are the devil’s gateway” (*De Cultu Fem.* 4.14: *tu es diaboli ianua*). Such sentiments are hardly the sort that would welcome a literate, powerful female with a view to her own authority. However, such quotations, which are frequently cited as proof of Tertullian’s irredeemable misogyny and used to condemn him, function more like modern sound bites, and they may obscure the full spectrum of his thought on the role of women in the Church.⁵⁷

Tertullian’s attitude toward women is complex. He was married and wrote beautiful prose in praise of marriage, referring to his wife as “my best beloved fellow-servant in the Lord” (*Ad Ux.* 1.1; 2.1), and yet he also penned prose as damning as the citation above accusing women of being the “devil’s gateway.” But

56. We know little with certainty about the earliest bishops of Carthage. Hippolytus in his list of the “seventy” successors of the apostles lists in nineteenth place one Epaenetus, bishop of Carthage. We know nothing about Epaenetus, though some have identified him with the individual of the same name mentioned by Paul (Rom 16.5). Agrippinus is known to have presided over the first Council of Carthage and is called by Cyprian *bonae memoriae vir* (*Ep.* 70.4; 73.3).

57. For a modern reading with which I disagree that insists on his misogyny, see B. Windon, “The Seduction of Weak Men: Tertullian’s Rhetorical Construction of Gender and Ancient Christian ‘Heresy,’” in *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses*, ed. T. Penner and C. V. Stichele (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 457–78.

if we pose the question differently and ask what Tertullian believed about the status of women within the context of his theology, we find his thought altogether more nuanced. In the same treatise, in a discussion of the ontology of the human soul, he argues that men and women have the same natures and that they will possess the same angelic bodies once they are freed from their earthly flesh: “You realize of course, that the same angelic nature is promised to you, women, the selfsame sex is promised to you as to men, and the selfsame dignity of being a judge” (*De Cultu Fem.* 1.2.5). Tertullian’s theology—as distinct from his belief and praxis as an educated male—reflects a more complex, albeit occasionally contradictory, understanding of the role of women, particularly as they play a part in the Church.⁵⁸ Tertullian the Christian believed that men and women are equal in God’s sight from creation and are created out of divine love *ex nihilo*. The human soul has no gender (*De Anim.* 36). Eve and Adam share the same identical soul and flesh. At creation, Adam’s soul suffused his entire body. When his rib was taken and made into Eve, she therefore received the same soul as Adam. Adam shares equally with Eve in the first sin, and indeed Tertullian argues that Adam was principally responsible for the first sin (*Marc.* 2.8). Women’s subordinate role in the present, he asserts, is a result of the first sin confirmed by the curse in Genesis 3.16. If Eve’s gender caused the fall, Mary, the mother of God, repaired it (*Carn. Chr.* 17.5), and as men and women did share this radical primal equality, they also remain able to receive equally the gifts of the Paraclete. Women, particularly the martyrs, are as strong as men (*Mart.* 4.2.3) and may even forgive sin (*Scorp.* 6.10).⁵⁹ Men and women will both be raised from the dead on the last day, alike in every regard, physical and spiritual, and with the same freedom for eternal bliss or damnation (*De Cultu Fem.* 1. 2.5). Both can receive equally the gift of ecstatic prophecy. However, women seem to have greater access to the gift of prophecy than men (*Marc.* 5.8.11).

Tertullian believed that women, perhaps because he saw them principally as nurturers, were more open to the voice of the Spirit, and more suited to the visionary prophetic ministry. He states this even before we see the pronounced effect of the New Prophecy in his work, that is, after ca. 207. He addresses the women in his congregation in the most endearing terms, calling them “my blessed ones,” “very dear sisters,” and “partners in service”—hardly terms of opprobrium (*De Cultu Fem.*; *Ad Ux.*). He even notes and approves that some women were deaconesses (*Exh. Cast.* 13). He writes as early as (*De Anim.*) c. 207 that a certain

58. See D. Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 175–85, particularly on the roles Tertullian allotted to women in the Church.

59. Rankin, *Tertullian*, 181–83.

sister during the Sunday service “speaks with angels, sometimes with the Lord . . . and gives remedies for those that wish it and shares her revelations with those who remain in the congregation” (9.4). This woman received the gift of the Paraclete and was a healer—two extremely important roles in the African church. Notice that Tertullian has no objection to her healing ministry, and he does not restrict it to females. We should note that at the beginning of Chapter IV in the *Passio* the unidentified brother says to Perpetua that he knows she can speak with God. Like the woman Tertullian mentions in *De Anima*, Perpetua, too, speaks with God and agrees to tell her brother the fruits of her vision.

For Tertullian, women and men alike should seek only the things of God. Hence allurements—jewelry, makeup, unguents, elaborate clothing—are all divisive distractions and to be avoided. He goes further, however, and suggests that even those things that we hold dear and that appear to be necessities—our children, a spouse, the round of our daily moral responsibilities—are, to use Turcan’s most apt word—*retinacula*. Tertullian argues that if we would move more toward the spiritual and away from the corporeal we must put away even these attachments (*De Cultu Fem.* 2.13.5). Such matters become even more pressing when Christians are facing persecution and hold a passionate belief that they are living in the end times. The church in Carthage in the early years of the third century was decidedly eschatological. Tertullian urges women in vivid language to “seek not to die on bridal beds, nor in miscarriages, nor in soft fevers, but to die the martyr’s death” (*De Fuga* 9). This is the language of revolution, of rallying the troops. Such language understands the role of women in the Church as a public one, ready to stand against the tyranny of the state when required. Some three years after Perpetua’s death, Tertullian refers most approvingly to her public role as a martyr-heroine of the Church.

Tertullian was accepting of powerful women in the Church, particularly if they were prophets who communed with the Paraclete. Although the date of the *Passio* antedates his own New Prophecy point of view, knowledge of the powerful female prophets Priscilla and Maximilla would likely have reached the Christian house churches in Carthage by the early third century. Perpetua understands herself as a part of that ecstatic female prophetic ministry—as one who is destined for martyrdom, a ministry to which she fully believed she was providentially called. She combines two of the most highly respected roles in the Carthaginian church, prophet and martyr. As she began to shift her self-understanding from Roman *matrona* to Christian *matrona Dei*, she became increasingly aware of the gift of charisma bestowed on her by the Holy Spirit and the obligation which that entailed—an obligation to offer herself as a sacrificial oblation. The Christian community, which held her in enormous respect, reinforced this growing sense of her own privilege. Both the Bishop Optatus and the presbyter Aspasius fell at

her feet and begged her to reconcile them. Tertullian notes that martyrs could absolve from sin, and, while there is no suggestion that Perpetua is absolving sin in this meeting with the clergy, she is certainly reconciling these two men. Her status as a figure of authority and power must have been well established in the community before her arrest. The highest-ranking members of the church, all male, recognize her elevated spiritual rank from the beginning. The Christian house church, or, if you will, this new *domus* of Christian fellowship, provides her with the opportunity to construct an identity that privileges her as an intimate of Almighty God. She has willingly given up her conventional identity as wife, daughter, and mother and sought an analogous identity as the wife and daughter of the Paraclete, who gives birth in her to the revelation necessary for the salvation of humankind, and, to paraphrase Felicity's remarks to the prison guard: *alius erit in me*, "there will be another inside me" (XV.6). Soon Perpetua will be able to sacrifice her body in order to join her spirit to the everlasting Spirit of her Christian God. Her identity as a Christian prophetess and *matrona Dei* will then be consummated.

Mother, Aunt, and Siblings

Perpetua says little about these close family members, but her silences are revealing. In my ensuing discussion of these family members, I shall consider those brothers (*fratres*) whom I believe to be members of her natal family and disregard those to whom the title "brother" is applied honorifically and not as a reference to a blood relative (e.g., IV.1: *Tunc dixit mihi frater meus*). Although her mother and brothers exist more as ghostly shades, as sketchy rhetorical asides, they nonetheless play a role in the drama. Her mother and her siblings, like most visitors to Roman prisons, had easy access to the imprisoned. Unlike the practice in modern prisons, the accused were not kept in the jail for long periods—sentences were carried out swiftly—and prisoners depended on their families for their meals during incarceration.⁶⁰ We can assume that the mother and the brothers were frequent visitors to the prison. Yet despite her acknowledgement that she speaks with her mother during her imprisonment, we are not told the nature of these conversations.

While we cannot know what they discussed, the contrast between her conversations with her mother and father is deliberate and dramatic. Her father is garrulous, takes the initiative, frightens and depresses her and simultaneously arouses her sympathy. He engages her in public to demonstrate that he is not a

60. Rapske, *Acts and Paul*, 12.

Christian and to save the family's reputation by getting his daughter to renounce her allegiance to the cult of Christianity. The mother and brother are, by contrast, Christians. They are silent, not public figures; their presence lacks all drama, but Perpetua seeks them out rather than her father when in need. There is no evidence that she sought her pagan father's support. Indeed, it appears that the majority of her immediate family are Christian. The mother and brother may even support her behavior. Moreover, as Christians they can hardly have a public presence under such circumstances. Thus, from a legal and literary standpoint it may have been prudent for Perpetua to have limited their role in the narrative, as it kept them from harm's way. Yet she does turn to them in crisis. Perpetua had enormous regard for her mother and her brother, as she gives her precious son into their hands for safekeeping (III.8). She gives her son to the mother when she is emotionally drained. She has not been in prison very long; it is dark, chokingly hot. The guards are hostile, and they try to shake down the prisoners. She is frightened; the child is faint from hunger despite being nursed, and so she turns to her mother. Her description of this moment has the ring of truth. It is what the reader expects, and it is a response that would come naturally to most individuals. The genuine horror of imprisonment, her alienation from all who nurtured her and perhaps the reality of her impending death have temporarily penetrated her piety.

After talking with her mother she immediately turns to her brother to offer him strength and comfort (III.8: *et confortabam fratrem*). The Latin *conforto* is nuanced—suggesting a shaping of ideas, a bringing into harmony, a training of the will, educating and causing to agree (OLD, s.v. *conforto*). Her mother must have provided the frightened daughter with reassurance and praised her conviction, as Perpetua changed after the conversation. And such change is manifest in her remark about comforting the brother. Perhaps her brother was despairing, frightened that things had gone too far, that the state was going to kill his sister and perhaps other members of the family, including himself. Perhaps he urged her to reconsider, or he may simply have been concerned for her welfare. He was likely younger than she, since he was still at home and had not yet secured a suitable marriage. Therefore, he would have been less than twenty and under the jurisdiction of the *paterfamilias*.⁶¹ If he had been married, he would have left the natal home and would not be associated in such a subordinate way with his mother. Cicero takes it for granted that brothers, after reaching adulthood, would live apart outside the natal home.⁶²

61. R. P. Saller, "Men's Age at Marriage and Its Consequences in the Roman Family," *Classical Philology* 82 (1987): 21–34. The marital age of men could vary from sixteen to thirty.

62. J. Gardner, "Nearest and Dearest: Liability to Inheritance Tax in Roman Families," in *Childhood*, ed. Dixon, 205–20; see 210, in particular; and see Cic. *Off.* 1.54.

Perpetua's conversation with her mother strengthened her and may have been the inspiration she needed to embolden her brother. Somewhat later in the account of her imprisonment, one of Perpetua's blood brothers, perhaps this very one, is granted access to the new section of the prison where the prisoners are now housed. That the tribune specifically indicated that her brother, along with the unnamed others, could visit the imprisoned is an indication of this sibling's obvious and persistent presence in the prison as a visitor (XVI.4: *ut fratribus eius et ceteris facultas fuerit introeundi et refrigerandi cum eis*). Perpetua's *conforto* has passed on the strength her mother provided her.

The mother must have been a powerful figure in her daughter's conversion, since she is able to stiffen Perpetua's resolve. Indeed, this conversation suggests that the mother may have been the source of introducing Christianity into the household. Perpetua turns to her at her lowest moment, seeking reassurance that her desperate path will prove the true one. It is a poignant moment: the child has embodied the parent's teaching and now faces death. The mother must have been torn in her care for her child and in her allegiance to her new religion. However, if she was made of the stuff of Augustine's Monica, we can expect that she would have preferred her daughter a martyr rather than an apostate. Women were frequently proselytizers of Christianity. The *Shepherd of Hermas* mentions a female teacher named Grapte who taught Christianity to widows and orphans who dwelled in her *domus* (Herm. *Vis.* 2.4.3: "Grapte shall exhort the widows and orphans"). Additionally, we have the more recent case of the New Prophecy figures of Prisca and Maximilla and Tertullian's remarks on the prophetess teacher in Carthage. Moreover, five of the Scillitan martyrs were women. My suggestion that it is Perpetua's mother who is the source of Christianity in this household helps explain why so many of the members of this household were also Christian. The composition of the Church at this time had a large female component. The churches were located in the home. Tertullian mentions such house churches. Rousseau views the family as an apt vehicle for the spread of the religion at this period.⁶³ An older woman in an elite household would have had the authority that comes with maturity and would have had easy access to her sons, daughters, freedmen, and slaves. Augustine's mother played a similar role a century and a half later.

It is curious that neither of her surviving brothers seems to have alienated their father, despite their Christian convictions, since the father makes the argument to Perpetua that even if she has no concern for her own safety she should consider

63. P. Rousseau, *The Early Christian Centuries* (London: Longman, 2002), 130.

that of her brothers, her mother, and her mother's sister (V.3: *Aspice fratres tuos, aspice matrem tuam et materteram*). Aside from the father's heartfelt appeal, it also reflects the correct internal hierarchy in the Roman family. First he acknowledges the male heirs and then the females. Furthermore, the fact that her father uses the plural *fratres* in beseeching her to consider the welfare of her brothers suggests that she is his eldest surviving child and these two brothers are still at home and not married with families of their own. The father's appeal pits a traditional Roman insistence on the maintenance of the family against the Christian idea that the family may be an impediment to salvation. Christ said to his disciples, "I did not come to bring peace, but a sword," and the apocryphal Gospels and acts of the second century are filled with such anecdotes about how conversion challenged family relationships.⁶⁴ Although only one brother has been specifically identified as a Christian, it is entirely possible that both were. Perpetua's maternal aunt is mentioned only this once, and only by the father. She may have been a widow who lived in his *familia*. Such arrangements were typical of the nature of the extended Roman *familia*. The aunt's religious affiliation is unknown. However, the father clearly recognizes her as an intimate family member whom he knows Perpetua cared about. Otherwise, he would not have used her in his appeal. Perpetua seems to be the product of a Christian family and likely got her first taste of this *religio illicita* from her mother.

Saturus

Saturus is the catechist (*quia ipse nos aedificauerat, IV.5*) of this small group of catechumens. He may have had Greek ancestry, as his name is the Latin form of the Greek name "Satyros," which, as Lamberz has shown, was a popular slave name in Roman Africa.⁶⁵ However, Saturus was more likely a freedman than a slave. Much less is known about the status of the *libertini* and the *libertinae* than any other member of the *familia*. Saturus is literate. He controls his coming and going. He voluntarily gives himself up to the authorities. He is never referred to as a slave, as the narrator does with Felicity and Revocatus. Like his fellow believers and his students, Saturninus and Secundulus, he may have been either born free (*ingenuus*) or manumitted (*libertinus*). A catechist was a teacher. Freedmen typically retained their former occupations. It is possible that Saturus was a *paedagogus* for an elite household before converting to Christianity, where he performs an analogous role. For example, Hermas was a former slave manumitted by his

64. Mt 10.34. For more on the Gospels' ambivalence about the natal family, see also Mk 3.21, 31–35, 6.1–6a; and Mt 12.46–50.

65. Lamberz, *Die Griechischen Sklavennamen*.

Christian mistress. It is likely that Saturus was also a convert, as must have been true of the overwhelming majority of Christians in Carthage. We conclude this because the very earliest mention we have of Christianity in Roman Africa is that of the Scillitan Martyrs (180 BCE), just two decades earlier. Fridh suggests that Saturus's narrative was originally composed in Greek.⁶⁶ His facility in Greek would have been particularly helpful as a pedagogue in reading and interpreting the Christian Scriptures, which were likely more easily gotten in Greek than in Latin. There was still a native Greek-speaking population in Carthage, and they seem particularly well represented in the church hierarchy. Neither his marital status nor his age is given. While the relationship between Perpetua and Saturus is described as being close, there is no evidence that allows us to construct any deeper relationship between them—certainly not that they are married (*pace* Osiek).⁶⁷ While an elite woman could marry a freedman, it was seldom done and was looked down upon, since freedmen technically had no cognates (no official kin). An elite woman who married a man with no cognates—and thus with no standing in Roman society—would bring her own agnatic line into disrepute. Moreover, it is most unlikely that Perpetua's father, opposed as he was to her embrace of Christianity, would have sanctioned a marriage between his daughter and a Christian catechist. Perpetua does acknowledge that it is Saturus who gave the small group their strength, but there is no hint in this remark of any relationship more intimate than that of teacher and pupil. Drake points out that the spread of early Christianity was likely through very small groups—like the one depicted in the *Passio*—and I would suggest it had its origins in the family unit.⁶⁸ Saturus was not arrested with the group, but at some later time he voluntarily gave himself up to the authorities. This is another indicator of his status as a freedman. He acts volitionally. He was subsequently imprisoned with the catechumens and assumed his role as leader. He is the first to mount the ladder to heaven in Perpetua's first dream, and encourages her to join him. Saturus also has a series of dreams. They make use of common eschatological tropes used in the Jewish-Christian literature of this period. Unlike Perpetua's dreams, they reveal little about Saturus other than his attraction to the idea of dying for Christ and the attendant rewards martyrdom will provide. He was the first to die in the arena; first he was bitten by a leopard and then had his throat cut.

66. Fridh, 33.

67. Osiek, "Perpetua's Husband."

68. H. A. Drake, "Models of Christian Expansion," in *The Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries: Essays in Explanation*, ed. W. V. Harris, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 27 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1–14; see page 10.

Tertius and Pomponius

Perpetua remarks that these two men are deacons who took care of the prisoners (*benedicti diaconi qui nobis ministrabant*, III.7). Their names do not reveal much: “Tertius” was both a *praenomen* and a *cognomen*, and “Pomponius” may derive from the family name “Pompeius”. Although her remark tells us precious little about them personally, it nonetheless allows us to speculate on the deacons’ role in the prison and their relationship with the prison guards in early third-century Carthage. They had access to the prisoners, and they were able to bribe the guards (*constituerunt praemio*) in order to bring refreshment to the imprisoned. Perpetua not only refers to them by their ministerial title, deacon (*diaconi*), but she also calls them blessed (*benedicti*). This latter term may have been a polite and respectful epithet acknowledging their formal role in the community, or it may signal her deep gratitude to them personally for making her situation better in prison. She seems to have had greater regard for Pomponius, as he appears twice more in two dreams (see VI.7 and X.1). The deacon, an ancient office in the Church (Phil. 1.1), was at this time a lay surrogate for the bishop, assisting him in a variety of details, ministering to the poor, assisting the sick and the hungry, and serving as a general dogsbody for the bishop. The monarchical bishop was recently established in Carthage, and the deacons became invaluable in extending the authority and the ministry of the bishop. As early as Ignatius of Antioch, we learn that the deacon could even serve as the bishop’s secretary, managing his correspondence. The deacon frequently served as the bishop’s legate. The deacons were likely appointed by the bishop, but with the approval of this small community. Given such an appointment procedure in these small Christian communities, it is probable that the nominees to the posts were known personally to most converts (Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* 10.12.52). In the *Passio*, Perpetua represents them as interceding for the arrested catechumens inside prison. Davies argues that the deacon not only ministered to confessors in prisons but even supervised the burial of the martyrs.⁶⁹ Perhaps Perpetua’s epithet *benedicti* is more than honorific, designed to show respect to the clerical hierarchy, but is heartfelt, based on her personal knowledge of these two men and their assistance to her and her fellow prisoners. Their role in the prisons—ministering to the poor and the sick, among their myriad other duties—indicates that the Church, small as it may have been, nonetheless had an effective administrative structure. It strains credulity to imagine that the prison officials did not know they were Christians. That Tertius and Pomponius, officials in the Christian Church, could enter and

69. J. G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1965), 131.

leave the prison freely without fear of arrest suggests that the catechumens were arrested precisely because they were new converts and not because they were practicing baptized members of an existing church. Trajan's rescript to Pliny still had the force of law if any official chose to enforce it. Some scholars persist in claiming that Septimius Severus issued an imperial edict forbidding conversion to Christianity, but assiduous research has turned up no such document.⁷⁰ It is far more likely that anecdotes like this concerning the deacons' easy access to imprisoned recent converts suggests a persecution sanctioned by local governmental officials, designed to stop conversions.⁷¹

Hilarius

P. Aelius Hilarius is one of three individuals mentioned in the *Passio* for whom we have additional corroborating material from non-Christian sources. His family was probably of Greek origin (a family *cognomen* "Apollonianus" is from the Greek "Apollonios"): they likely received Roman citizenship under Hadrian and may have had humble origins, possibly even that of freedmen. The family was probably from Aphrodisias in Caria. Hilarius had a successful career and rose to senatorial rank at the end of his life through the graces of Severus or Caracalla. He may have risen through the military ranks. He is likely to be identified with the Hilarius who served in the role of *procurator ducenarius* in Spain in the early 190s. Rives speculates that of the six procurators in early third-century Carthage, Hilarius was serving as the senior procurator for Carthage, the *procurator IV publicorum Africae*.⁷² He is shown in the *Passio* exercising his authority to preside over capital punishment cases (VI.3: *qui tunc loco proconsulis Minuci Timiniani defuncti ius gladii acceperat*). At first glance, this seems to confuse the role of the procurator with that of the governor or proconsul and may suggest that the *Passio* is historically inaccurate in this instance. However, the *Passio* is historically correct, and, while such procuratorial authority had only recently been made part of the law of the land, Rives has shown that there had been instances of procurators

70. Tilley, "North Africa," 388: "A generation later, Septimius Severus made conversion to Christianity illegal." See also *Sermons: (273–305A) on the Saints*, translated and annotated by E. Hill, O.P., vol. 3/8 of *The Works of Saint Augustine*, ed. J. E. Rotelle, O. S. A. (Hyde Park, NY: New York City Press, 1994), 76, no. 1: "They suffered in 203 during a persecution instituted by the African Emperor Septimius Severus, on 7 March."

71. A. J. B. Sirks, "Making a Request to the Emperor: Rescripts in the Roman Empire," in *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire*, 121–35, ed. L. de Blois (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2001), 122.

72. Rives, "Piety."

serving in such capacities in emergencies since Domitian.⁷³ Notice that the *Passio* is careful to identify correctly the legitimacy of his assumption of such powers. Although capital cases were normally under the jurisdiction of the provincial governor, Ulpian does note that the principal duty of the procurator is to maintain the peace and punish criminals and those who were found to harbor them, and that if the procurator was serving in the capacity of the governor of a province he could adjudicate such cases (*Dig.* 1.18.13). Hilarianus is serving in this position temporarily, due to the recent death of the proconsul Minucius Opimianus, and he has assumed the *ius gladii* (see “Commentary”). There is the parallel case of one Gaius Minucius Italius, the procurator for the province of Asia (c. 105 CE), who was “entrusted to govern in place of the deceased proconsul.”⁷⁴ Italius’s situation is like that of Hilarianus, who was serving temporarily and had probably been appointed by Severus or Caracalla in place of the recently deceased Minucius Opimianus. While the role of the procurator was not one normally with jurisdictional authority over capital cases, the jurisdictional role of this office was clearly being rethought, and there is evidence of change. Ulpian points out Caracalla’s ruling permitting a procurator to take cognizance of capital cases under the Fabian Laws (*Dig.* 14.3.1).⁷⁵ The *Passio* further shows its fidelity to established practice in its depiction of Hilarianus, who follows the abbreviated court procedure of the *cognitio extra ordinem* designed to expedite the backlog of cases that were plaguing the jurists and creating enormous delays in the judicial system.⁷⁶

Minucius Opimianus

Opimianus is the recently deceased governor of Africa. The Greek version gives us a more correct version of his name, Μινουκίου Ὀπιμιανού. The Latin “Timinianus” is likely a corruption for “Opimianus” (See PIR⁵ M 622 (1983), where he is identified as proconsul for Africa in 202/203 and consul ca. 186). He was a descendant of an earlier proconsul for Africa, one T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus ca. 123, PIR⁵ M 623 (see VI.3). I assume that his death was recent, probably just a few weeks before the trial of Perpetua. If the persecution took place in March of 203, Minucius surely must have recently died, perhaps immediately before, hence the appropriateness of the aside *defuncti*. It would hardly be necessary to qualify his situation as *defunctus* if some time had passed after his death and before the present persecution, since knowledge of the new provincial

73. Rives, “Piety,” 2.

74. Levick, *Government*, 61.

75. Levick, *Government*, 61.

76. Kaser, “Roman Jurisdiction.”

governor would have been well established. Such a qualification lends more support to the text's historical accuracy. Ulpian also notes that the procurator acts in this capacity in times of emergency, which suggests that Hilarianus's appointment to replace Opimianus was likely recent. The *Passio* notes that Hilarianus had received the "right of the sword" (*ius gladii*, VI.3). This phrase denotes one's legal right to levy the death sentence.⁷⁷ Thus, Hilarianus had received the consular responsibility formerly wielded by Opimianus (see *procurator* in *Passio* VI.3) for exercising his discretion concerning the implementation of capital punishment against all provincials other than aristocrats (see *Dig.* 1.18.6–8 and 2.1.3).⁷⁸

The adjudication of capital punishment cases was one of the most serious duties of the proconsul. The proconsul had authority to impose the death penalty without restriction on all non-Romans and on citizens after consultation with Rome. When Roman citizens were involved, the governor would usually pass the initial judgment, but the actual sentence had to be authorized by the emperor. In the early years of the first century, the defendant was often dispatched to Rome. By the second century, however, all that seems to have been required was written permission to execute. If this procedure was still in place at the time of the *Passio*, as seems likely, there would have been a necessary delay in her execution because Perpetua was a citizen, albeit holding the lesser rank of *civitas sine suffragio*.⁷⁹ Might the delay in the execution of Perpetua and her comrades support some presumption that the decision was being ratified by Rome? The provincial governor of Lyons wrote to the emperor concerning his disposition of the citizen Christians in 177: *περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλε τῷ Καίσαρι* (1.44, *Martyrs of Lyons*). Ulpian, writing after Caracalla's edict of 212, even remarks that women who have been sentenced to the salt mines for criminal acts may retain their citizenship: *si uero ad tempus damnantur, retinent ciuitatem* (*Dig.* 48.19.8). At least two questions present themselves that do not have easy answers: Why was Perpetua not permitted an execution consistent with her status as a Roman citizen, a beheading? And why was Perpetua's father not liable in his position as *paterfamilias* for "harboring" knowledge of his daughter's recent conversion to an outlawed sect? It seems unlikely, given that his wife and at least one son were also Christians, that he had not known of her conversion, which she emphasized to him in the *Passio* (III.2). Ulpian's remarks on the procurator's duty to punish malefactors and those who harbor them seems perilously close to an indictment of her father's behavior of "withholding" such information.

77. Garnsey, "Criminal Jurisdiction," 52, 55.

78. See also J. Ermann, "Ius gladii—Gedanken zu seiner rechtshistorischen Entwicklung," *ZRG RA* 118 (2001): 365–77. See, in particular, 365–66.

79. Peppe, *Posizione giuridica*, 14–16; and Bauman, *Women and Politics*, 2.

While the delay in their martyrdom may have reflected the exigencies of sending a message to Rome requesting an opinion concerning her sentence, their decision to sentence her *ad bestias* seems to have been a local judgment and one intended to make an example of her and her fellow Christians. The father was likely spared because he so publicly distanced himself from her Christianity. There was little need to kill him, as it was now perfectly clear what happens to those who deny the gods.

Pudens

“Pudens” is the *cognomen* of the prison guard. He is identified as an *optio* (see “Commentary” IX.1). This rank is typically that of a junior staff officer (*principalis*) subordinate to and often chosen by the centurion and someone who could function as the centurion’s deputy.⁸⁰ There are also instances of an *optio* carrying out a permanent administrative duty. Pudens, however, is specifically referred to as an *optio carceris*. This is a well-recognized junior military position and one frequently associated with the urban cohort. These troops functioned principally as an urban national guard and often served as riot control police at the games. There is an analogous rank of *optio custodiarum*; the officer holding this post was in charge of the guardhouse (the “brig”) in a legionary outpost.⁸¹ The distinction between these two roles is an important one and worth making, since it unequivocally identifies and physically locates this prison camp as a military one inside the city of Carthage. There has been much scholarly confusion concerning the location and type of prison depicted in the *Passio*. It seems indisputable that they are being held at this point in a military prison under the jurisdiction of the urban cohort located not in the forum but perhaps northeast of Byrsa Hill near the site of the present presidential palace.

As a junior officer Pudens would have received approximately double the salary of the simple *miles*, and in the urban prison camp he would have been in charge of a rather small number of soldiers, perhaps no more than a dozen. Petronius Fortunatus, also an African, was made *optio* after four years of service—a fact which underscores the junior nature of the position and the speed to get to rank.⁸² The junior nature of the position implies that Pudens is a young soldier, likely from a humble background, and impressionable, as he appears to have converted

80. For a concise definition of the *optio* see Webster, *Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries*, 120.

81. See D. J. Breeze, “Note”; and also his “The Organization of the Career Structure of the *immunes* and *principales* of the Roman Army,” 11–57, both in *Roman Officers*, ed. Breeze and Dobson.

82. Webster, *Roman Imperial Army*, 119.

to Christianity after having observed the heroism of the martyrs (*Passio XXI.3*). Pudens as *optio carceris* could well have been in charge of the camp prison. However, I am still unable to account fully for why these individuals, in light of their indictment as Christians, were held in a military prison and not in the civil prison near the forum on Byrsa Hill. The choice of the military prison may have something to do with the senior authority's concern that the Christians could have been freed from the less well-guarded municipal prison. The *Passio* states that the tribune (*tribunus*, XVI.3) was concerned that there was a plot to free them, and thus he had them placed under even more restrictive conditions. The *Passio* is again accurate in citing the tribune as the one with the necessary authority to effect this change. The jurisdiction of the prison is simply one part of the military camp that would have contained the urban cohort, the prison, and every other part of the camp, all under the overall jurisdiction of a *tribunus militum* (XVI.3 and XVIII). The officer with the rank *tribunus militum* normally served as prefect of the camp.⁸³

Dinocrates

The name is well testified in Africa at least since Deinokrates of Rhodes, who designed the city of Alexandria (ca. 332 BCE). Dinocrates's name reinforces what I believe was his father's love of things Greek. It was not uncommon for Latin families to give a child a Greek name. Green has ably illustrated Rome's complex and sometimes ambivalent adoption of things Greek and the influence of such adoption on daily life.⁸⁴ The story of Dinocrates comes to Perpetua suddenly, as if a divine inspiration. She notes that she has not heard his name for many years, and his name came unbidden out of her mouth. Dinocrates died from a disfiguring disease of the face which must have led to a type of septicemia which would have killed him (see "Commentary"). Perpetua notes that he was a child of seven when he died. She sees him in a type of Hades or proto-purgatory. His death cannot be construed as retribution, as a result of sin or some action he committed, since neither Roman nor Christian religion held a child of that age culpable. Artemidorus makes the wise point that children are innocents since they have not yet learned to lie (*Oneir.* 2.69). The dream of Dinocrates is not only artfully done, but it is situated most deliberately at this precise point in the narrative. Immediately before the Dinocrates episode, the *Passio* described how Perpetua was condemned to death and how her father had taken her son away from her and refused to allow her to have him for the remainder of her time in prison. Her dream of

83. See Dobson, "Legionary Centurion."

84. Green, *From Alexander to Actium*, 501, 507–8.

Dinocrates, situated as it is right after the loss of her son, is not a coincidence. As a mother, she longs for her child, now taken from her.⁸⁵ Dinocrates was also cruelly taken from his mother and family. Thus, Dinocrates also serves here as a surrogate *figura* for her recently lost son. In the dream of Dinocrates Perpetua is able to illustrate how her power—mediated through the Paraclete—can save him for eternity. Additionally, the Dinocrates episode is intended as an *exemplum* to her fellow Christians to illustrate that the power of the martyr can triumph over everything that the state can do, and that such power can overcome the laws of nature itself. Perpetua can change the fortune of the dead. She is able to free Dinocrates from his unpleasant dwelling—a kind of Hades/purgatory where he cannot play as a child and cannot drink from the font of living water. Her prayers remove the disfiguring disease from his face; his clothes are made fresh and clean, and the hot, dirty cave where he has been placed has been changed into a place where he now receives refreshment from the font and where he can play as a child should (Artem. *Oneir.* 1.55). If we also read Dinocrates as a *figura* for her precious son taken from her by her father, her dream reinforces the idea that her baby, like his long-deceased uncle Dinocrates, will be nurtured by his mother's love, kept safe and able to play.

Jocundus, Saturninus, Artaxius, and Quintus

These Christian martyrs are mentioned by Saturus shortly after he and Perpetua arrive in heaven. Saturus and Perpetua recognize these four as fellow martyrs, and Saturus says that they died in the same persecution (*qui eadem persecutione uiui arserunt, et Quintum, qui et ipse martyr in carcere exierat, XI.9*). He does not specifically indicate which persecution but does state that Jocundus, Saturninus, and Artaxius were burnt alive in the same persecution (*eadem persecutione*) and that Quintus died in prison awaiting martyrdom. Saturus's use of *eadem* does not refer to the persecution which he and Perpetua suffered, but rather it indicates that these four died together in the same persecution at an unspecified time. Furthermore, it seems most unlikely that if these four died in this very persecution of 203, as some have suggested, that they would have had such an oblique reference to their persecution in the *Passio* (*pace* Graham Clarke).⁸⁶ All the others who were arrested are mentioned, and even Secundulus, who died like Quintus—with no narrative description of his final hours—in prison, is mentioned. I am unable to date or

85. See H. Sigismund-Nielsen for a different view of the feelings of Romans toward their children: "Children for Profit and Pleasure," in *Age and Ageing in the Roman Empire*, 37–65, ed. M. Harlow and R. Laurence, *JRA Supplemental Series 65* (Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 2007), 53. The *Passio* contradicts Sigismund-Nielsen.

86. G. Clarke, *Christians and the Roman State*.

locate the place of their execution or provide any specific details about them. As persecutions had been ongoing since the deaths of the Scillitan martyrs in 180, these four men could have been killed anytime between that date and the martyrdom of Perpetua and her companions in 203, if Saturus's remarks are credible. Their names provide little unique information, as all had currency in North Africa in this period. Indeed, one Saturninus, in one of history's ironies, was the proconsul who presided over the trial of the Scillitan martyrs. Another Saturninus was killed in the Diocletian purge and was celebrated in mosaics.⁸⁷ Cyprian corresponded with Quintus, the Bishop of Mauretania (*Ep.* 70), and, save for one Jucundus, an early fifth-century bishop of Sufetula (c. 411), I have found nothing specific on Jucundus from the early third century and no contemporary Christians having the name Artaxius. Indeed, it may be that there were unrecorded persecutions in Africa before that of the Scillitan Martyrs, as the pagan author Maximus of Madaura ridicules the Punic name of one Numidian martyr, Namphamo, in his correspondence with Augustine. Augustine chastises Maximus for belittling the Punic language and, after providing an etymology for the Punic name Namphamo, refers to Namphamo as *archimartyr*, suggesting—depending on whether one construes *archimartyr* as “protomartyr” or “chief martyr”—that Namphamo was the first martyr of Africa (see *Ep.* 16.2 and 17.2). Barnes, however, disputes this finding.⁸⁸

Optatus

We meet Optatus in Saturus's eschatological dream (*Passio* XIII). Saturus depicts himself and Perpetua after their martyrdom as having been received into heaven. There Saturus and Perpetua are confronted by Optatus and the priest and teacher Aspasius (see below) who are described as being separated from one another and sorrowful. The two men are at odds with one another, and they throw themselves at the feet of the martyrs and ask them to make peace between them. The martyrs respond by politely reminding them of their leadership roles in the Church. The martyrs embrace them, and Perpetua speaks to them in Greek. We know nothing of this Optatus save what is narrated here.

The earliest bishop of whom we have any mention is that of Bishop Agrippinus, who Cyprian says ruled the Church at the beginning of the third century (Cyprian, *Ep.* 71.4.1; 73.3.1). There are no lists of the bishops of Carthage for this early period. There likely were a good many bishops even at such an early date, as the first Council of Carthage (c. 198–220?) was said to have attracted seventy

87. D. Raynal, *Archéologie et histoire de L'Église d'Afrique: Uppenna II Mosaïques funéraires et mémoire des martyrs*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005), 36.

88. See Barnes, *Tertullian*, 262, who disputes this and suggests alternatively that Namphamo was a Donatist martyr of the fourth century and might have died in a persecution before July 380.

bishops. The role of the bishop with its roots in the New Testament is not depicted there as having exclusive authority for the community. Despite the efforts of Ignatius in advocating a more authoritarian bishop, as late as the end of the second century in Carthage the responsibility of the bishop does not seem to have extended beyond the house church to which he was attached. The monarchical episcopacy with its elaborate administrative structure and host of subordinate officials does not really exist in Africa before Cyprian, who believed it was the bishop's singular authority to maintain harmony and doctrinal discipline (see his *De Unitate Ecclesiae*).⁸⁹ Cyprian's assumptions about Agrippinus's leadership are an anachronistic projection of his idea of the role of the bishop onto this early third-century Church.

We do not know the nature of the dispute between bishop and priest in the *Passio*; it may have been theological, since the office of bishop was entrusted with maintaining doctrinal coherence. There were likely a number of house churches in Carthage, and it is possible that each of them might have had a bishop and a priest with competing theologies. Optatus and Aspasius clearly recognize Perpetua and Saturus and know of their martyrdom. They may have belonged to the same house church as the martyrs. It is easy to imagine how differences in understanding could emerge from such a loose administrative structure, hence the need to continually monitor belief and practice. Notice that at the end of Saturus's narrative the angels single out Optatus and upbraid him for not correcting his people who "wrangle" over issues as if they were discussing competing sides in the games. The dispute between Optatus and Aspasius, however, may have been political as well as theological—that is, a dispute which combined theological, jurisdictional, and ministerial functions. The jurisdictions of the bishop and the priest were not yet clear-cut, and lines of authority were ambivalent and often overlapping. Hermas, in the *Shepherd*, discusses the bishop's role in language virtually indistinguishable from that which he uses for the presbyter. Irenaeus sometimes actually refers to the bishop as "presbyter" or leader (προεστώς), suggesting a mutuality of functions between the two offices (*Haer.* 4.26.2). We know nothing of the status of the bishop Optatus or what his socioeconomic class was. His name, a participial form derived from *opto* (OLD, s.v. *opto*, pray), may reflect his status as a freedman, ending as it does in *-atus*.

While we will never know the exact nature of the conflict, what is of greater interest to students of the *Passio* is that both bishop and presbyter ask the martyrs to make peace between them. This reinforces the point that neither the authority

89. S. G. Hall, "Institutions in the Pre-Constantinian *ecclesia*," in *Origins to Constantine*, ed. Mitchell and Young, 415–33.

of the bishop nor the priest is yet paramount and that the figure of the charismatic martyr was more esteemed. The important role of the ecstatic, the prophet, in a liturgical setting and in the Church has Pauline authority (1 Cor 12.10–30) and must have been well respected in this house church in Carthage. Optatus and Aspasius clearly recognize Saturus and Perpetua and the authority due them as martyrs and beg for forgiveness and reconciliation. Tertullian reminds us in *Ad Martyras* that the martyrs were able to reconcile and absolve sin and were sought out by the faithful for precisely that ministry. This appeal to the charism of the ecstatic is an appeal to an older, pre-bureaucratic ministerial role (Acts 20.17–38 and 1 Clement 42.4–5) and may also reflect the North African penchant for such prophetic ministry, which we will see develop in the New Prophecy movement. Perpetua's use of Greek, despite the essentially Latin nature of the Carthaginian church, reflects the persistence in Christianity of the importance of Greek in the liturgy and in its administrative hierarchy. Lastly, the angels single out the bishop Optatus for a special rebuke, indicating that he needs to exercise his authority concerning issues of belief and that he has failed to do so.

Aspasius

Saturus mentions Aspasius as a presbyter and teacher (XIII.1: *Aspasium presbyterum doctorem*) in the same passage in which he refers to Optatus. The name is a Latinized form of the Greek Ἀσπάσιος and testifies again to the considerable Greek influence in the church at Carthage—both in clerical personnel and in its communicants. The name Aspasius was a popular one from the late second century, and there are people of prominence named Aspasius, like Aspasius of Biblus, who wrote widely about rhetoric and composed an *encomium* on Hadrian, and the distinguished rhetorician Aspasius of Ravenna, secretary to Alexander Severus. Furthermore, in identifying Aspasius as *presbyterum doctorem* Saturus uses terms current in the Latin church of Carthage that suggest Aspasius was an officially recognized minister (*presbyter*) attached to a house church and, further, that as *doctor* he was specifically involved in the instruction of the catechumens (Tertullian, *Praescr.* 3.5). Furthermore, in this capacity as the teacher of those preparing to enter the Church, he would have developed close relationships with his students, as the time required for preparation as a catechumen was three years (Hipp. *Trad. Ap.* 17.21; and Tertullian, *De Bapt.*). This supports their mutual recognition. Aspasius therefore would have been a man of learning and certainly would have been literate and would have had access to the Greek Scriptures. The role of Aspasius raises the question of what precisely was Saturus's role. Was he, too, a presbyter, and if so, why is he not so identified?

The Carthaginian Christians, when compared with their pagan neighbors, possessed very little of public cultic munificence: they had no temples, shrines, or statues of their gods, nor did they have public festivals which they could celebrate

openly. They had Scriptures and a simple liturgy which praised a transcendent God, who promised, if they turned from the ways of the present world, life everlasting. They were only obliged to be baptized, to celebrate the Eucharist, and to live according to the teaching of the Bible as interpreted by their bishop and priest. Both priest and bishop officiated in these liturgies. The absence of cultic artifacts and the inability to express their religion openly in the public sphere gave pride of place to belief based on the interpretation of the Scriptures. Hence, there was a genuine need for these liturgical officials to be vigilant concerning the opinions of their communicants.

Rusticus

Rusticus first appears in the narrative shortly before the two women are to be killed. The name “Rusticus” suggests a peasant, a man of the country (OLD, 3) and hence someone from a low social status. It does not appear to have been a popular name in North Africa at this time. The text states that as Perpetua left the arena after the first mauling by the cow, Rusticus was there and kept very close to her (*illic Perpetua a quodam tunc catechumeno Rustico nomine qui ei adhaerebat*, XX.3). Does this mean that he was the first to reach her as she stumbled back from her mauling? If so, such a crucial position in the narrative suggests an individual of some importance in this small Christian community. However, we are provided no details about Rusticus save that he was a catechumen and apparently an intimate of Perpetua and a dear friend of her brother. It is not likely that a catechumen would have such status or influence in the community, particularly as he was not a martyr. Nonetheless, having recovered her wits after the mauling from the cow, Perpetua called her brother and Rusticus to her and urged them to be firm in the faith and not to be shamed or offended by the martyrs’ deaths (*exinde accersitum fratrem suum et illum catechumenum, adlocuta est dicens: In fide state et inuicem omnes diligite, et passionibus nostris ne scandalizemini. . . . XX.10*). The emphasis on shame is never far from R’s concern for his small band of Christians. That Rusticus was a special friend of hers and her brother’s is obvious from her intimacy with him at this final hour. She trusted him, and appointed him and her brother as her personal witnesses to her martyrdom. The text suggests that Rusticus was brave in venturing so close to the place of death and was himself vulnerable as a Christian. Perhaps he had influential friends who made it possible for him to have been so close to the action. He was in the midst of the melee of the actual persecution and yet is identified as a catechumen, the same status which brought Perpetua and her companions to their untimely end (see XX.7). His presence raises some difficult questions: Why was he, too, not arrested and executed? Does his apparent immunity from prosecution imply that only certain catechumens were arrested?

Did the state single out certain men and women for persecution for other reasons in addition to their Christianity? Was access to the victims so porous in the amphitheatre during the games that anyone could approach the floor of the arena and reach the condemned? The *Passio* provides no answers for these questions, but Rusticus's presence makes them pertinent and suggests that certain individuals were indeed singled out for prosecution.

II



THE DATE OF THE *PASSIO*

The *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (hereafter *Passio*) is extant in nine Latin manuscripts and one Greek manuscript.¹ The earliest of these, St. Gall 577, can be dated no earlier than the first quarter of the tenth century (c.ix/x¹). Although the St. Gall manuscript is a beautifully written copy by a professional scribe, the text is unfortunately defective and incomplete.² Even leaving aside its textual shortcomings, the St. Gall text is at least seven centuries after the putative date of the execution of Perpetua and her comrades in March of 203. None of the nine Latin manuscripts can be reliably traced back to an authentic exemplar, and the Greek manuscript (c.xi²) is derivative and almost certainly a translation of a non-extant Latin version.³ The question of the original language of the *Passio*,

1. See the section “Manuscripts and Editions” for a complete codicological discussion.

2. Aside from a number of corrupt readings, it ends defectively in Chapter XVIII, folio 73va in Chapter XIX.3 of the current *Passio*. For a description of the manuscript, see B. M. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Band 1, Abt. IV: Codices 547–669* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 90–96.

3. As I treat this in greater length in “The Language of the *Passio*,” I shall only provide a single instance of one class of problems which leads me to conclude that the Jerusalem 1 codex is a later translation of a Latin exemplar. The Greek author consistently does not appear to know specific Latin terms and also frequently misunderstands ranks in the Roman military. For example, when the Christians are placed in the stocks the Latin text reads: *Die quo in neruo mansimus* (VIII.1, emphasis mine), whereas the Greek text not only does not supply an appropriate Greek translation for

debated since Harris's Greek text appeared, is now decided in favor of Latin.⁴ However, the situation as concerns the date for the composition of the *Passio* is far from resolved. All efforts at providing an accurate date for the time of the persecution and for the date of the earliest complete version of the *Passio* must be viewed through a paucity of datable allusions and a knotty historical prism of the nearly seven centuries which separate the earliest manuscript from the putative date of the persecution.

The *Passio* text as it exists today is a composite one, comprised of three separately composed narratives: the redactor (Chapters I–II; XIV–XXI); Perpetua (III–X); and Saturus (XI–XIII). The redactor at some short interval after the martyrdom received the two *hypomnemata* of Perpetua and Saturus and to them he joined his preface and his account of their final days.⁵ The date of their execution has traditionally been established as being in March of 203 on the basis of internal evidence of a local persecution, aimed specifically at new converts to Judaism and Christianity, under the aegis of the new procurator Hilarianus (VI.1: *Et Hilarianus procurator . . .*).⁶ However, establishing the precise date, if this is

the stocks, like ποδοκάκη, or the more common ξύλον (see Acts 16.24; Lampe, s.v. ξύλον, and LSJ, s.v. ξύλον), but rather simply transliterates the Latin: Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ ἐν ἧ ἐν νέρβῳ ἐμείναμεν (emphasis mine). This is the earliest instance of νέρβος in Greek to mean the restraint or “stock.” The Greek νεῦρον was not used to indicate a restraining device for the feet (cf. LSJ, sv. νεῦρον). The Latin *Passio* refers to one Pudens as the *miles optio* (a junior-level officer rank usually subordinate to a centurion) who is in charge of the prison: *Deinde post dies paucos Pudens, miles optio praepositus carceris* (IX.1, emphasis mine). The Greek version, however, treats the same individual as a simple soldier: Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας Πούδης τις στρατιώτης, ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προϊστάμενος (emphasis mine). Historically, the individual in charge of a Roman military prison would at least have had the rank of a *miles optio*. For a discussion of *optio* see Breeze, “Note”; see also Speidel, *Framework*, 103; and Watson, *Roman Soldier*, 126 and 205. See also OLD, s.v. *optio*.

4. J. R. Harris and S. K. Gifford, *The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas: The Original Greek Text* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1890); J. A. Robinson, *The Passion of S. Perpetua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891); P. F. de’ Cavalieri, *Scritti Agiografici*, “La Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis,” in *Studi e Testi* 221 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), 41–154; J. Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des Actes*, Sources Chrétienues, no. 417 (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1996). There is an irony in the fact that Harris, who discovered the Greek version and initially argued for its primacy, subsequently changed his mind in favor of the primacy of the Latin, but he never acknowledged this in print. B. Shaw, working in Harris’s papers, made this discovery in the marginalia that Harris left in his transcription of manuscript Jerusalem 1; see the reprint of Shaw’s 1993 essay “The Passion of Perpetua,” in *Studies in Greek and Roman Society*, ed. Robin Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 203.

5. Heffernan, “Philology and Authorship.”

6. VI.1. Hilarianus (*Hilarianus*). This individual has been identified as one P. Aelius Hilarianus, a member of the *equites* class from Aphrodisias in Caria. His family was likely of Greek origin—a family *cognomen* of Apollonianus is from the Greek Apollonios—and they likely received Roman

indeed possible, depends on limited evidence, some of which is often open to conflicting interpretations. In this chapter, I will provide a systematic review of the evidence and show that March 203 is the likeliest date of the actual games in which the Christians were killed. I will then provide a *terminus ante quem* of 206–9 for the completion of the *Passio*. The year of the persecution is not provided in the contemporary historical record. However, there is important inferential evidence, as I will show, which points to the year 203 as the most likely date for this persecution. The importance of determining the latest date for the composition is crucial. In order to resolve the correct *terminus ante quem* I have used three corpora of varying importance which, I believe, when examined with care, will show that the *Passio* was most likely completed by the redactor before 209; these, in the order in which they will be discussed, are: (1) the date of Tertullian's *De Anima*, (2) the redactor's comments to his audience in the preface (I.6), and (3) the mention of the anniversary of the Emperor Geta's birth (VII.8).

THE YEAR OF THE MARTYRDOM

Let us begin with the date for the onset of the persecution and the evidence for the date of 203.⁷ Actually, we confront three different dating problems: the identification of the year, the month, and the day. Unfortunately, the quality of the evidence for determining each of these differs. Let us begin with the year for the games. The *Passio* notes that one Hilarianus had recently assumed his procuratorial position on the recent death of the proconsul Minucius Timinianus (VI.3: *qui tunc loco proconsulis Minuci Timiniani defuncti ius gladii acceperat*).⁸ Timinianus, or more

citizenship under Hadrian. The Hilarianus of the *Passio* may have risen through the military ranks. He is likely to be identified with the Hilarianus who served in the role of *procurator ducenarius* in Spain in the early 190s. Of the six procurators in early third-century Carthage, Rives speculates that Hilarianus was serving as the senior procurator for Carthage, the *procurator IV publicorum Africae*. See Rives, "Piety," 5 and 9. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I, II, III*, eds. E. Groag and A. Stein (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1958), 89, no. 175 (hereafter PIR): it locates him in Africa between 198 and 208 (PIR⁴ H 175); Birley conjectured that he may also have supervised his fellow Aphrodisians who were at work constructing Lepcis Magna. (See Birley, "Persecutors and Martyrs," 46; and also Bremmer, "Perpetua and Her Diary," 92.) Tertullian mentions some of the abuses that were visited on the Christian community during this Hilarianus's administration, which points to his piety for the Roman deities. (See *Scap.* 3.1: *quod nulla ciuitas impune latura sit sanguinis nostri effusionem; sicut et sub Hilariano praeside*.)

7. Leclercq, "Perpétue et Félicité," col. 420; P. Monceaux, *Tertullian et les origines*, 71–2, vol. 1 of *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*. 7 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901–23).

8. VI.3. Minucius Timinianus (*Minuci Timiniani*) was the recently deceased governor of Africa. If the persecution took place in March of 203, Minucius surely must have recently died, hence the appropriateness of the aside *defuncti*. It would be hardly necessary to qualify his situation as

correctly Opimianus, is known to have served as proconsul for Africa in 202–3. Note that the *Passio* remarks that Opimianus was succeeded on his death (*defuncti*) by one Hilarianus (P. Aelius Hilarianus). We know that this Hilarianus was in Africa from 198 through 208. Opimianus must have died very recently—that is, early in 203—because the writer would hardly have used the qualifier *defuncti* if his death had not been a recent one. Moreover, Hilarianus’s recent assumption of that administrative post may also help account for the presence of the important legitimating statement that he had at that time received the *ius gladii* (“who at that time” / *qui tunc* had received the “right of the sword” / *ius gladii*).⁹ This remark was an acknowledgment on the writer’s part that Hilarianus now possessed the legal basis for his authority and the power to sentence an individual to death. Such concern for establishing Hilarianus’s authority would hardly have been necessary if he had been in

defuncti if some time had passed after his death and before the present persecution, since knowledge of the new provincial governor would have been well established. Such a qualification gives more credence to the text’s historical accuracy. The Greek version gives us a more correct version of his name, Μινουκίου Ὀππιανοῦ. The Latin *Timinianus* is likely a corruption for *Opimianus*. (See PIR⁵ M 622 [1983], where he is identified as proconsul for Africa in 202/3 and consul ca. 186.) He was a descendant of an earlier proconsul for Africa, one T. Salvius Rufinus Minucius Opimianus, ca. 123, PIR⁵ M 623. (See DNP, 8:218, “allerdings mit dem Cogn. Timinianus bzw. Oppianus, das zu Opimianus zu verändern ist”; Musurillo, *Acts*, 113; Barnes, *Tertullian*, 267; Thomasson, *Fasti Africani*, 79; Eck, “Erganzungen,” 326–28; and Bremmer, “Perpetua,” 92.)

9. VI.3. (*ius gladii* / “right of the sword”). This phrase denotes one’s legal right to levy the death sentence. (See Garney, “Criminal Jurisdiction,” 52, 55.) Thus, Hilarianus had received the consular responsibility (see *procurator* in *Passio* VI.3) for exercising his discretion concerning the implementation of capital punishment against all provincials other than aristocrats (see *Dig.* 1.18.6–8 and 2.1.3); see also J. Ermann, “*Ius gladii*—Gedanken zu seiner rechtshistorischen Entwicklung,” *ZRG RA* 118 (2001): 365–66. The adjudication of capital punishment cases was one of the most serious duties of the proconsul. The proconsul had authority to impose the death penalty without restriction on all non-Romans, and on citizens after consultation with Rome. When Roman citizens were involved, it was usually the case that the governor would pass the initial judgment, but the actual sentence had to be authorized by the emperor. In the early years of the first century, the defendant was often dispatched to Rome. By the second century, however, all that seems to have been required was written permission to execute. If this procedure was still in place at the time of the *Passio*, as seems likely, there would have been a necessary delay in her execution because Perpetua was likely a citizen, albeit holding the lesser rank of *civitas sine suffragio*. (See Peppe, *Posizione giuridica*, 14–16; and Bauman, *Women and Politics*, 2.) Might the delay in the execution of Perpetua and her comrades support some presumption that the decision was being ratified by Rome? The provincial governor of Lugdunensis wrote to the emperor concerning his disposition of the citizen Christians in 177: *περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλε τῷ Καίσαρι* (1.44). Ulpian, writing after Caracalla’s edict of 212, even remarks that women who have been sentenced to the salt mines for criminal acts may retain their citizenship: *si uero ad tempus damnantur, retinent ciuitatem* (*Dig.* 48.19.8).

this office for some time and had been performing the routine duties of that office. Hence, it is most likely that this sentencing of Perpetua and her companions, which took place in Hilarianus's presence, occurred shortly after the death of Opimianus and thus was at the beginning of Hilarianus's term as procurator, sometime early in 203.

Eusebius states that a persecution broke out in Egypt and parts of Africa in the tenth year of the reign of Septimius Severus (Δέκτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπέϊχε Σευῆρος τῆς βασιλείας ἔππος δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἰαίτος in *EH*, VI.II.2), a persecution which led to the martyrdom of Origen's father Leonidas. Eusebius is at least partly right. Septimius was declared emperor in Carnuntum on 9 April 193, and Leonidas, if he did indeed die a martyr in a pogrom of 203, would have died in the tenth year of the reign of Septimius.¹⁰ Eusebius's knowledge of the western Church was limited, and this is likely the reason that he makes no mention of the *Passio* and the persecution in Carthage which took place in the same year as that in Alexandria, that is, 203. Although there is no evidence for assuming that the persecution in Alexandria was related to that in Carthage, or that Septimius Severus issued an edict forbidding conversion to Judaism and Christianity, the simultaneity of these persecutions and the relative proximity of Carthage and Alexandria do suggest a shared climate of hostility towards these two groups on the Mediterranean's southern shore. Thus it would not be surprising that these provincial administrations should try to limit their growth through legally sanctioned proscriptions.

The *Passio* contains certain passages which echo contemporary Roman legal practice and thus support the historical basis for the persecution as having the approbation of the provincial authorities. Chapter VI, for example, contains fragments from the *commentarius* resulting from Hilarianus's actual examination of the catechumens as he exercised his prosecutorial role under the procedures guaranteed him by the *cognitio extra ordinem*.¹¹ A comparison of this passage with the examination provided in the earliest Christian Latin text of Africa, the *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum* (ca. 180),¹² illustrates that the procurator's question—designed to discover the truth of whether the accused belonged to a *religio illicita* and thus was guilty of *superstitio*—was becoming something of a formula, and

10. Early calendars record the feast of Leonidas's death as 22 April, and the year varies from 202 to 203.

11. The traditional constitutional principles of the Republic—specifically, procedures like *legis actio*, *formula*, and *quaestio*—gave way with the emergence of the Empire to what might be viewed as a more expeditious method of adjudicating cases, the *cognitio extra ordinem* (see Kaser, "Roman Jurisdiction").

12. Musurillo, 86: *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum*, 9.

thus buttresses the idea that these persecutions were becoming more frequent even in the provincial cities of the Empire. Notice also the language of the Christian response to such interrogation, a response which itself was fast becoming a conventional trope:

Passio Scillitanorum (I.7):

*Saturninus Proconsul Sperato dixit: "Perseueras Christianus?"
Speratus dixit: "Christianus sum"*

Passio (VI.4):

*Hilarius: "Christiana est? inquit
Perpetua: et ego respondi: Christiana sum."*

THE DAY OF THE PERSECUTION

The earliest Christian calendar which provides evidence for the actual day of the martyrs' deaths dates from the mid-fourth century; it is the *Depositio Martyrum* in the *Philocalian Calendar* of 354. The brief entry reads *mense Martio. Non. Martias. Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Africae*. It notes that they died on 7 March, but unfortunately it gives no year.¹³ The next earliest text to provide a reference to the day and, in addition, to tell how they died and where the place of the execution was—and which agrees with the *Depositio*—is Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epitoma Chronicon* (ca. 445). Prosper, reflecting an earlier tradition but not necessarily that of the *Philocalian*, states that the martyrs died on the nones of March in the city of Carthage: *Perpetua et Felicitas pro Christo passae sunt non. Mart. apud Carthaginem Africae*. Prosper also refers to the death of Leonidas as having taken place the year before. Thus the earliest calendrical witnesses—albeit a century and a half after the events—agree on the day of the actual martyrdom as the nones of March and place the persecution in the year 203 or 204.¹⁴ Furthermore, there is inscriptional evidence from Carthage which dates from the fourth century and gives the day of the martyrs' deaths as the nones of March.¹⁵ Hence, the preponderance of all available textual and inscriptional evidence points to 7 March 203 as the actual date of their deaths.

13. Theodore Mommsen, ed., *Depositio Martyrum*, in *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi* 9, *Chronica Minora*, I (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 71.

14. *Ibid.*, *Epitoma Chronicon*, 434, gives the year as 204, but note that Mommsen's *lemmata* show that all the variant MSS he cites record the day of their deaths as the nones of March.

15. CIL 7.4 25038a, but see the possible date of 7 March provided by 25273 and 25037; see also nos. 25038, 25272, and 25273. All are Christian inscriptions from Carthage.

THE LATEST DATE FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THE PASSIO

Having decided on a likely *terminus a quo* we can now investigate a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the *Passio*. As I indicated above, although the evidence is by no means conclusive, it does seem to suggest a composition date between the end of 206 and late 209. We begin with Tertullian's *De Anima*, which contains the earliest allusion to the *Passio*. In his discussion of the necessity for maintaining a belief in Hades, Tertullian rebuts those who would deny that the faithful must descend to Hades before the Resurrection. He concludes in his typically rigorist fashion that all the faithful, save the martyrs alone, will have to wait until the consummation of the earth (LV.3: *Cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna caelorum*)¹⁶ before they may attain heaven. He notes that martyrs are particularly blessed, as they die in Christ and not in Adam. He cites, as an unimpeachable proof for this point, the example of Perpetua, who on the day of her martyrdom saw only martyrs in Paradise.¹⁷ Tertullian would not have cited this example as a proof if he did not expect his audience to have been familiar with the events surrounding her death. Therefore, the *Passio* must already have achieved some iconicity in the local church, suggesting that *De Anima* with its brief mention of Perpetua and her companions was written not too long after the actual martyrdom. It is impossible to determine from the extant manuscripts what the exact nature of the Urtext of the *Passio*, which Tertullian cites, was like, as he actually misattributes this dream to Perpetua. All extant manuscripts attribute this remark to Saturus in the eponymous dream attributed to him. Furthermore, while the *De Anima* bears evidence of New Prophecy sympathies, it does not share the spleen directed against Catholic Christians or illustrate the departure from Catholic thought that is increasingly evident in such later treatises as *Adversus Praxeam*, *De Ieiunio*, *De Monogamia*, and *De Pudicitia*, all written about 210/11.¹⁸ Accordingly, the *De Anima* must have been composed after the *Passio* in 203 and before 210/11, the date when his Montanism was more explicit and systematic in his works. Notice that he does not single out Perpetua or Felicity as examples of prophetic female voices, as some in the emerging New Prophecy movement would have done, but as faithful Christian martyrs.

16. Souter, s.v. *transactio*.

17. *De Anim.* 40.4: *Quomodo Perpetua, fortissima martyr, sub die passionis in reuelatione paradisi solos illic martyras uidit, nisi quia nullis romphaea paradisi ianitrix cedit nisi qui in Christo decesserint, non in Adam?* Tertullian's remarks differ from the placement of the events as we have it in all the extant manuscripts.

18. Osborn would date the first hint of Montanism in Tertullian's work to 207; see Osborn, *Tertullian*, 212.

Therefore, with Osborne, I would place *De Anima* in a somewhat early period of Tertullian's emerging Montanist sympathies and, while I would agree with Barnes in the main—placing it ca. 206/7—it may date as late as 208.¹⁹

THE REDACTOR

Let us now turn to consider certain of the remarks of the redactor in our efforts to determine whether they might provide evidence for the date of the persecution. The redactor concludes his preface to the *Passio* with a direct address to his audience, referring to them as “brothers and little sons” (I.6, *fratres et filoli*). *Filoli* has a particularly nuanced meaning here. In addition to its obviously affectionate overtones for the younger members of the congregation, it also indicates in this context people not fully mature in the faith (cf. II.1: *Apprehensi sunt adolescentes catechumeni*), who were studying Christianity at the time and who are still young some years after the persecution took place.²⁰ The redactor continues, and he is very specific in acknowledging his audience's actual witness to the events of the persecution. He employs the second person plural of the pronoun, acknowledging those eyewitnesses to the persecution of the martyrs as those of *you who were present* (I.6, *vos qui interfuitis*).²¹ The intimacy of his address and his acknowledgment of their joint witness suggest that those present at the persecution, the *fratres et filoli*, were still alive, still strong in the faith despite the persecution, perhaps were even known to the redactor, and possibly were members of the same house church. Language employing metaphors of kinship was used in these house churches among coreligionists.²² Yet as important as his direct address is, it does not allow us to be precise in our dating. It does, however, tangibly connect the redactor and his audience with the events of the actual persecution as a significant past moment in their salvation history, and one having taken place within their recent collective memory. Furthermore, it suggests, albeit through silence, that at the time of this writing there was no active persecution taking place, as there is no hint of current persecution in the redactor's remarks.

19. See Barnes, *Tertullian*, 55; but see W. H. C. Frend's review of Barnes in *The Classical Review*, n.s., 24, 1 (1974): 72–76.

20. Souter, s.v. *filiolus*; Blaise, s.v. *filius*. Note that Chapter II.1 refers to the martyrs as *adolescentes catechumeni*. Hippolytus states that three years is the length of time spent as a catechumen (*Trad. Ap.* 17). If three years had passed from March 203, the date of 206 would be most attractive, since Tertullian may have finished *De Anim.* by 206.

21. The Latin reads *fratres et filoli, uti et uos qui interfuitis rememoremini gloriae Domini*, where the Greek employs the less personal form of the substantive οἱ συμπαρόντες with ἀναμνηθῶσιν in the third person.

22. J. Hellerman, *The Ancient Church as Family* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), explores the metaphor of kinship, which existed in these house churches.

GETA CAESAR

There are few precisely datable historical allusions in the *Passio*. However, there is one allusion, and it is a significant one, which further corroborates my dating of 206–9. It is the allusion to the Roman Caesar Geta (VII.8). Perpetua's allusion to Geta is crucial to our dating, and it is the only contemporary historical allusion to the birthday of this Caesar. The allusion is found only in manuscript Monte Casino 210 (s.xi²), the most complete text of the *Passio* (VII.8: *quousque transivimus in carcerem castrensem; munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi; natale tunc Getae Caesaris*). The celebration of the games on Geta's birthday means Geta was still alive, and thus this must have been written before his murder in late December 211, and certainly before Caracalla issued the *damnatio memoriae* of 212. Perpetua mentions the name "Caesar Geta" immediately after she awakens from her first dream of Dinocrates. She provides two dreams of Dinocrates. Her first dream depicts her long deceased younger brother, who died from a hideously disfiguring cancer at the age of seven. Dinocrates appears as a phantasm with a disfiguring gangrenous wound of the face—a wound so horrible that she says his death horrified all men (VII.5: *ut mors eius odio fuerit omnibus hominibus*). She continues her oneiric narrative and says that she saw her brother, along with many others, in a crowded, fetid, and dark place. She remarks that Dinocrates is hot, he has an unquenchable thirst, his clothes are foul and his color pale. He is in a Hades-like underworld, and her description of it is somewhat reminiscent of lines in the *Aeneid*.²³ Perpetua notes that she prayed daily for him until they were transferred to the military prison.²⁴ Dinocrates's repellent situation and his subsequent painful death must have reminded her of her own impending death, since she abruptly shifts (immediately on awakening from her dream) from her description of Dinocrates to her own situation and her transfer to the military prison where she will die. It is at this point in the dream when she states that she and her colleagues are to fight in the military games on the birthday of Geta Caesar (VII.8: *quousque transivimus in carcerem castrensem . . . natale tunc Getae Caesaris*). It is

23. Compare particularly *Aeneid*, 6.237–38: *Spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu, scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris* (emphasis added), and for a somewhat more oblique echo see lines 427, 679–81, 713–14, 739, and 750–51.

24. Neither this camp prison nor the amphitheatre has ever been discovered. The first reference to it outside of the *Passio* is from Prosper Tiro Aquitanus (ca. 390–ca. 463) who states, *Qua tempestate Perpetua et Felicitas pro Christo passae sunt non. Mart. apud Carthaginem Africae in castris bestiis deputatae*. See Theodore Mommsen, ed., *Depositio Martirum*, in *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi* 9, *Chronica Minora*, I. p. 434. D. L. Bomgardner speculated (private correspondence) that if the camp prison and amphitheatre did exist, they might have been located at Bordj Djedid, the present location of the Tunisian presidential palace.

important to ask why she makes this remark at this point in her narrative. While it is not possible to answer that question with certainty, her oneiric depiction of the child Dinocrates (her younger brother) suffering in a fetid, Hades-like prison may have provided a subconscious prompting for her own allusion to her imminent transfer to the military prison and her impending death on the anniversary of Geta, coincidentally the younger son of Septimius Severus. Blood sports, including gladiatorial combat, were a common way to honor the emperor's birthday.²⁵ Some time must have passed from the time of her dream, the interval of prayer, and the transfer to the prison, as she very carefully underscores this with *quousque*.

Publius Septimius Geta was the younger son of Septimius Severus. He was likely born in Rome—Milan has also been proposed—in March of 189.²⁶ The actual day of his birth is harder to fix with certainty, and dates range from the nones of March to the kalends of June. The games of March 203 in Carthage would have been in celebration of his fourteenth birthday. These games were likely significant for the imperial family and for the inhabitants of Carthage. Geta may have assumed the *toga virilis* (Pliny, *Ep.* 1.7 and *HA*, *SS* 14.8) that year, and thus these games were possibly in celebration of his *tirocinium fori*.²⁷ Although the *toga virilis* was typically donned at sixteen on the *Liberalia* (17 March), the sons of emperors were not held to a set age or time for its reception.²⁸ Furthermore,

25. The tradition of games to celebrate the birthday of the emperor had been well established and practiced at least since Claudius, who instituted games on the birthday of his mother, father, and son. Cassius Dio remarks that Claudius did nothing on the anniversary of the day on which he became emperor, but that some of the praetors celebrated that day and the birthday of Messalina. The games celebrated on his son's birthday included gladiatorial games (see Cass. Dio 50.17). See also J. Colin, *Les jours de supplices des martyrs chrétiens et les fêtes impériales in Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Andre Piganiol* 3 (Paris, 1966), pp.1565–80, and *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 9, cols. 242–43.

26. The *HA* VG 3.1 notes that he was born in Milan on the kalends of June, but the veracity of the Geta is in doubt. See R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 26, 64, 183. The *HA*, *SS* 4.2 states that Geta was born in Rome, likely in the year of Septimius's consulship in 189. Geta's full name is on an inscription found in Cirta in Africa, an indication that Caracalla's *damnatio memoriae* was not entirely successful; see CIL 8.2:19493.

27. The chronology of events in the *HA* is often garbled and must be used with caution. For example, in *SS* 14.8 it notes that Septimius killed Plautianus for perceived treachery, but immediately following in 14.9 it states that Septimius wedded his eldest son to Plautianus's daughter Fulvia Plautilla and that he conferred the *toga virilis* on Geta. Actually Caracalla married Plautilla ca. 202; he killed her father Plautianus approximately three years after their wedding in ca. 205, and early in 203 the imperial family was not in Rome but in Africa. Cassius Dio (77.2) is more nearly accurate, noting that Caracalla married Plautilla in the tenth year of Septimius Severus's reign.

28. Nero and Commodus both donned it at fourteen, and Alexander Severus on 26 June 221 at the age of twelve and a half (see Suet. *October* 26; *Ner.* 7; *Calig.* 16; and Tert. *Idol.* 16.1, who mentions the ceremony of the assumption of the *toga pura*).

Septimius and both his sons were in Africa from the late autumn of 202 until early June in 203.²⁹ They likely spent the winter in Lepcis, Septimius's native city, in 202–03. Inscriptions indicate that they visited Lambaesis (the headquarters of Legio III *Augusta*) sometime in the spring of 203, that they were involved in a campaign against the Garamantes in April of 203, and that they returned to Italy in early June of that year.³⁰ If we consider that March was the typical time for the *Liberalia*, that the imperial family was in Africa, and that they had likely visited Carthage—Septimius granted Carthage and Utica the prestigious and financially advantageous *ius Italicum*³¹—on their arrival in Africa, it makes the games of 203 assume an importance they otherwise might not have had, particularly for the local officials. It is almost predictable that the citizens of the largest and most prosperous city in Africa would wish to honor the ruling family and the birthday of the youngest son of the first African imperial dynasty with a dedicatory celebration, particularly since the emperor and his entourage were then in Africa.³² The imperial family need not have been present at the games for the honorific dedication to have retained its significance.

Some have argued that the persecution of 203 was a response to an imperial decree of Septimius Severus. The *HA* is our sole evidence for this decree, and it notes in an incidental and abbreviated fashion that “conversion to Judaism” (*Iudaeos fieri . . .*) and Christianity (*HA* 17.1) will be forbidden.³³ Cassius Dio never mentions any persecutions directed at the Christian population by the emperor. If indeed Septimius did issue such a decree, for which the evidence is scant and the rationale provided to justify it unconvincing, it would have to have been issued sometime before Septimius left Palestine and traveled into Egypt in the late autumn of 199.³⁴ Dio provides few details of Septimius's stay in Palestine, other

29. R. M. Haywood, “African Policy of Septimius Severus,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 71 (1940): 177, suggests that they remained there as late as through part of 204.

30. See Southern, *Roman Empire*, 45; *pace* Platnauer, *Severus*, 1970, 127.

31. *Dig.* 50.15.8.11: *In Africa Carthago, Utica, Lepcis magna a diuis Seuero et Antonino [Caracalla] iuris Italici [ius Italicum] factae sunt.*

32. See Birley, *Septimius Severus*, 1971, 217–21. Haywood's argument (185) in “African Policy of Septimius Severus” against special feelings for Septimius among Africans is eccentric and unconvincing.

33. *HA* 17.1: *Iudaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit; idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.*

34. See Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 6.1; and Carrié and Rousselle, *L'Empire romain*, 192–337; S. Perowne, *Caesars and Saints*, 94; but see Birley, 154, and A. Linder's classic study, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 101–6, who cites no rescript from 202. Septimius Severus and Caracalla did issue a rescript (*Dig.* 50.2.3.3) about the Jews which specifically allowed them to hold office and only imposed on them obligations which would not jeopardize their Judaism (*Eis, qui Iudaicam superstitionem sequuntur, diui Severus et Antoninus*

than his sacrifice to the spirit of Pompey (SS 76.13). The *HA* is somewhat more detailed in its narrative and notes that while in Palestine, Septimius removed the punishments he had formerly placed on the city of Neapolis (current Nablus) because of that city's earlier support of Niger (*HA* 17.1). Yet the account in the *HA* of the emperor's stay in Palestine is so garbled as to be quite unreliable.³⁵ Placing Jews and Christians on the same level, particularly in light of favorable remarks made in contemporary Talmudic literature about Septimius Severus and the lack of any official legislation from Rome proscribing either Christian or Jewish practice, should make one skeptical about the account in the *HA*.³⁶ Conversely, there is good evidence which supports Septimius's friendship with Christians—evidence from his traditional enemies, the Christian apologists. Tertullian for one acknowledges Septimius Severus as a friend of Christians (*Ad Scap.* IV.5–6: *Ipse etiam Seuerus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit*). However, even if one were to grant that there may be some historical basis to the anecdote in the *HA*, the date for that edict would have to be 199, while the emperor was still in Palestine.

It would appear that the hostility against the Christians of Carthage was long-standing, if episodic, and occasionally erupted into moments of crisis, which led to public persecution. The *Scillitan Martyrs* suggests that there was persecution as early as 180, and Tertullian is rather specific about violence directed against Christians in his *Ad Martyras*, written ca. 197.³⁷ The imperial directive in the *HA* then is likely a later interpolation intended to blame Septimius Severus for the outbreak of hostility. There is no record of persecutions in either Alexandria or Carthage until 202 at the earliest. Hence, the persecutions of the early third century were likely a continuation of local responses to local issues and were not a direct response to the imperial decree noted in the *HA*.

Although Eusebius places the blame for the persecutions squarely on Septimius Severus and notes that it took place in the tenth year of his reign in Egypt

[Caracalla] *honores adipisci permiserunt, sed et necessitates eis imposuerunt, qui superstitionem eorum non laederent*). There is no mention of anti-Christian legislation. Despite Linder's work showing the genuine lack of evidence of any imperial legislation against the Jews, some scholars continue to cling to the idea that Septimius did promulgate an edict against conversion and that Spartianus's account in *SS* is accurate despite its late date and obvious fourth-century interpolations. See Tilley, "North Africa," 388; and W. H. C. Frend, "Persecutions: Genesis and Legacy," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity 1: Origins to Constantine*, p. 511.

35. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, 135.

36. Barnes, "Legislation against the Christians," *JRS* 58, no. 1/2 (1968): 40. Barnes calls the remark in *HA* an "indubitable fiction." See also J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1921), 116–20, and his most useful chronology on 192–93.

37. Heffernan and Shelton, "Paradisus in carcere."

and in Africa (*HE* IV.2.2), his knowledge of events in the west was limited, and he was likely looking to make Severus a scapegoat, a type of Antichrist, who ushered in the persecutions.³⁸ It appears more likely that proscriptions against Christian conversion in 203 may—like the earlier African persecution of 197—have been largely a local matter. And this seems to be confirmed by the evidence in Tertullian’s *Ad Martyras* that the persecutions had begun already in Africa by 197.³⁹

The precise cause of such persecutions, particularly that of 203, is difficult to know with any certainty. It may have resulted from resentment at a recent growth of the Christian community, from pious officials like Hilarianus resentful of a new and potentially hostile cult, from Christians’ membership in an unapproved *hetaeria*, from the perception of asocial behavior on the part of Christians, or it may have had a politico-economic basis, as did that which may have provoked Pliny’s censure of Christians or indeed all of the above converging in a genuine intolerance for this upstart cult.⁴⁰ Indeed, our evidence is so slight that we cannot even be certain that Spartianus himself knew what was being forbidden: Was it study as a catechumen? Was it Christian baptism? Was it the name “Christian” itself which was forbidden, or was it referring to oneself publicly as a Christian which was proscribed?⁴¹

Returning to our discussion of Perpetua’s allusion, if we examine closely the phrase Perpetua used to refer to Geta, it is worth noting that she says they were to fight “on the birthday of Geta Caesar” (VII.9: *natale tunc Getae Caesaris*). Geta received the rank and name of Caesar from his father in 198 and was made consul in 205 and again in 208.⁴² The earliest coins bearing his image and name do not appear before 198. Although there are a few coins which bear his title as Caesar as early as 198 (late in the year), the majority of the coins bearing his image and his title as Caesar date from 203. The legend of the coins typically

38. P. Keresztes, “The Emperor Septimius Severus: A Precursor of Decius.” *Historia* 19, no. 5 (1970): 570; and see Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 6.7.1.

39. *Ad Martyras*, 4.2.

40. R. L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 15. Wilken suggests that the famous letter (*Ep.* 10.96) hints that these anonymous complaints against the Christians were from the purveyors of sacrificial animals intended for slaughter in the temple sacrifices. It is well to note that Pliny uses this very word *hetaeria* in his letter to Trajan, a word with unmistakable political overtones. See R. Wilken, “Towards a Social Interpretation of Early Christian Apologetics.” *ChH* 39, no.4 (1970): 452 on Pliny’s use of the word *hetaeria*.

41. Heffernan, *Nomen Sacrum*.

42. Neither the Greek manuscript nor any of the other Latin manuscripts identify Geta by name. The Latin manuscripts simply state a variant of *natale tunc Caesaris*, while the Greek reads γενέθλιον γὰρ ἡμελλεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι Καίσαρος.

reads *L. Septimius Geta Caes, P. Sept Geta Pont, or P Septimius Geta Caes*.⁴³ Those coins, which bear his image after 198 and before 209, frequently refer to him with his rank of *Caes*. The *Passio*'s reference to Geta as Caesar must date after 198 and before 209, the certain year of his elevation to Augustus. Having established above the likelihood of March 203 as the date of the actual games, we can further restrict our scope to the six-year period between March 203 and the end of 209.

Geta received the ultimate tribute when his father elevated him to the rank of Augustus sometime in the year 209 (possibly in the late autumn), when he was in Britain with his father and brother on campaign against the Caledonians. Septimius likely gave him this new rank about the time he appointed him governor of Britain. Herodian states that Septimius brought his sons on the British campaign to restore civility between the two brothers (*Her.* 3.13.2 and 3.14.1). Septimius was undoubtedly also thinking of the future of his dynasty, as he was sixty-three and suffering from a painful condition of arthritic gout (*Her.* 3.14.3). The late bestowal of the rank of Augustus—Caracalla, though only a year older, had received the rank ten years before—may reflect the aged emperor's reassessment of Geta, or more likely his conviction that unless he gave both sons equal rank the more senior Caracalla would surely destroy his brother. Unfortunately, Septimius was prescient but powerless to change the course of history.

The imperial administration lost little time in representing Geta's elevation to Augustus, and we have numismatic evidence for his elevation. There are denarii minted in Rome and dated as early as 209 which show the traditional iconographic portrait of the emperor, now depicted as a mature and bearded Geta, and they refer to him as Augustus. Geta and Caracalla appear together in a coin from the Roman mint dated 209 (late in the year) with the legend *CONCORDIAE AVGG S C*, and Geta's image carries his new title of *P Septimius Geta Pivs Avg*.⁴⁴ A number of coins, typically with a mint date after 210 and referring to Geta as Augustus, show on the obverse side the statue of a seated Geta and read *VICTORIAE BRIT*, celebrating his earlier achievement in Britain. Thus numismatic and inscriptional evidence amply illustrates that Geta was raised to the rank of Augustus late in 209. Such a change in his status would have traveled quickly throughout the Empire. Certainly the population in Africa, the homeland of the Severi, would have been

43. H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Pertinax to Geta*, vol. 4, pt.1 (London: Spink & Sons, 1936), 330, no. 109; and D. R. Sear, *Roman Coins and their Values*, 2 vols. (London: Spink & Sons, 2002), 2: 560, no. 7152, a gold aureus (BMCRE 196). His *praenomen* on the earliest coins is usually given as L[ucilius] but after 198 changes to Publius. This may have been an attempt to avoid confusing him with his father's brother P. Septimius Geta.

44. Sear, *Roman Coins*, 572, no. 7258; and see Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 4, pt.1, 336, no. 151.

keenly aware of any changes affecting the first Roman African dynasty, particularly a change which placed the younger brother, who was not thought to be his father's successor, on the same level as Caracalla.

Let us now return to consider in more detail the reference in the *Passio* to Geta as Caesar in VII.8. I wish to make two points concerning the language of the *Passio* and the redactor's narrative voice. Although the redactor is singly responsible for sections XIV through XXI, he did not hesitate in his construction of the *Passio* to make changes in the *hypomnemeta* of Perpetua and Saturus. I have argued this more extensively elsewhere and will provide a single instance of his editorializing here.⁴⁵ Immediately after the redactor announces that the narrative is in Perpetua's own hand (*conscriptum manu sua*), in the very next line—which is the first chapter wholly attributed to Perpetua—there is a transition which begins by employing the defective verb *inquam* in the perfect, a usage which can only be by the redactor, as it refers to Perpetua: *Cum adhuc, inquit. . .*⁴⁶ In other words, although the diaries of Perpetua and Saturus may largely be attributed to them, the redactor has not refrained from adding to them when he deemed it necessary. My second point concerns Perpetua's distinctive language, called *sermo humilis* by Auerbach because of its natural idiomatic style. She concludes each of her four dreams, arguably the most significant part of her narrative, with the phrase "I awakened"—*Et experrecta sum* or *Et experta sum* (IV.10, VII.9, VIII.4, X.14). She always follows this phrase with a concise interpretation of the future significance of the dream just completed. In every instance of this interpretative coda, save that which concludes her first dream of Dinocrates (VII.1), she ends it with a terse prediction and a reading of the dream's portent. While she does provide such an ending and a prediction in the dream of her brother, that chapter (VII) also contains two additional sentences, which on first reading seem simply to provide information. The first of these is a traditional transitional device designed to account for the setting of her second dream, that of Dinocrates (VII.8: *et orabam pro eo omnibus diebus quousque transiuimus in carcerem castrensem*). This is the only time such a transitional bridge is employed following one of her dreams. She states unambiguously that she was being transferred to the military prison (*transiuimus in carcerem castrensem*), which, it is well to point out, has never been identified, archaeologically or from any contemporary historical document. Aside from its rhetorical difference in

45. See Heffernan, "Philology and Authorship."

46. The tense of the Latin verb is inherently ambiguous, but the perfect makes the change from the redactor to this new speaker smoother (see E. J. Kenney, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2004.02.45: "clearly indicates that the Roman ear accepted it [*inquit*] indifferently as present or preterite according to context." The Greek uses the present tense φησὶν).

concluding the dream narrative, her remark raises a number of related questions: Why would she add the information concerning her place and day of death in a dream about her brother? Would a young Roman matron or her fellow Christians have had knowledge of a military prison? Likely not. The meaning of *castrensis* (s.v. *castrensis*, OLD) is restricted to military matters, and it is only used twice in the *Passio*. It is a curious word for a young elite woman to use, as it is not a word with wide application. Were the martyrs actually told that they would be executed in games to be held in the military prison? If so, why would they have been told the exact venue? Why would these young converts to Christianity be executed in the military camp? Their expectation—as surely it must have been the expectation of the general populace—must have been that such games were to be held where they were normally held for such executions—in the municipal amphitheatre. If they were found guilty of disregarding the precedent going back to Trajan’s rescript to Pliny—as seems to be the likely legal precedent which Hilarianus followed—then the normal place for such public punishment was the municipal amphitheatre, where public humiliation could be expected, and such degradation was an important part of the spectacle for those individuals found guilty of *superstitio*. Although it is impossible to answer such questions with certainty, they should at the very least be raised, since they point the researcher towards additional avenues of exploration. For example, might the redactor have added this line after the conclusion of the games, after it was clear which amphitheatre was actually used?

The clause which follows *in carcerem castrensem* is suggestive of editorial redaction, as it exists principally to provide a specific historical context and does not amplify her dream vision narrative. The line reads: “For we were to fight in the military games; then it was the birthday of Geta Caesar” (VII.9: *munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi; natale tunc Getae Caesaris*). The allusion is superfluous in this immediate context, as it adds little to our understanding of her dream of Dinocrates, the signal event she wishes to communicate at this point. And, as it is an allusion to an historical event yet to happen, it serves to distract the audience’s attention away from the moment and focus it on the future. Moreover, the clause is intriguingly well informed. Where did she learn that this would be the day of her death? Who would have had such knowledge? As this is the only contemporary record which records Geta’s birthday, it does not appear that the date of his birth was well known to contemporaries. Neither her fellow prisoners nor her guards appear likely informants. Furthermore, why would Perpetua imbed in her scrutiny of her agonizing dream of her tragically deceased younger brother what is rhetorically more like an aside for an appointment? The effect of the clause shatters the heightened mood she has created. The dream has returned the dreamer and her audience to a time past where the intimate details of her private life as an

adolescent are revealed. The dreams of Dinocrates are the only revelations the audience is permitted of her life before her conversion to Christianity. Accordingly, they are dense with allusions to Virgil and to her life as a non-Christian. Notice also that immediately following this historicizing allusion the rhetoric returns to the language of heightened emotion, and to what I believe to be the genuine voice of Perpetua: “And I prayed day and night for my brother with groans and tears so that this gift might be given to me” (VII.10: *Et feci pro illo orationem die et nocte gemens et lacrimans, ut mihi donaretur*).

The dream of Dinocrates comes to her unbidden, as if she were in a rapturous state, and is a restatement of her prophetic powers. The announcement of the location and date of their persecution is rhetorically of a different order of semantic valence from the language in the rest of the dream. Furthermore, although this is a narrative intended for dissemination to the public, and hence not simply a private, diary-like entry, it is important to probe the psychological authenticity of this portrayal. Would an individual imprisoned and sentenced to death—one whose singular narratives to this point reveal a heightened awareness of her internal world, and who reveals herself in frequent dream-like states, often expressed in richly symbolic language—focus on the precise location and time of her impending death in such rhetorically neutral language? Perhaps, but it does not seem likely for Perpetua. Indeed, in situations of such severe emotional distress, individuals often avoid the representation of such verifiable details and, rather than represent them literally, if they do represent them at all, depict them symbolically in dreams and by analogy, precisely as Perpetua typically does. Thus this allusion to her being transferred to a military prison arena and dying on Geta’s birthday has, in this precise context, a hollow ring. It does not sound like the language Perpetua typically employs.

If Perpetua did not write this clause (and I propose this hypothesis cautiously) the likely author must be the redactor, whose voice finds expression throughout the text. If we consider for a moment that the line *munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi: natale tunc Getae Caesaris* may have been from the pen of the redactor, we must provide some plausible reasons for his having added it, other than that it does not appear to be in language similar to Perpetua’s. Since the reactor compiled the *Passio* after the martyrs’ deaths, he would have known the precise day and place of their deaths, particularly if they took place on a significant day and in a unique venue. Furthermore, as a literate Roman male, he is more likely than Perpetua to have had knowledge of the geography of the military amphitheatre under the aegis of the urban cohort, particularly if the games did take place there.

In addition, the redactor is at pains throughout the narrative to provide historical veracity for such “new acts” as Perpetua’s (cf. I.1, *nova documenta*), so as to promote their value as being equal to the “old examples of the faith” (cf. I.1,

vetera fidei exempla). The allusion to Geta thus complements the redactor's historicizing intent, which is to legitimate the New Prophecy among his fellow communicants. Perpetua herself makes few unambiguous comments which explicitly advocate the New Prophecy point of view. And while this larger African Christian church looks principally to the Scriptural books of the past, "old examples," for their spiritual guidance, the redactor, likely speaking more to those gravitating towards the New Prophecy—a group at this time still within the broad theological umbrella of "orthodox" North African Christianity—insists that that same revelation, canonized in "old accounts," is ongoing and present in the *Passio*. Therefore the redactor's allusion to Geta and the military amphitheatre provide exactly such necessary historical verisimilitude with which to buttress this claim for the new movement. Moreover, it is reasonably clear, using Tertullian as a touchstone, that the New Prophecy movement only begins to distinguish itself against the larger church after 207. The redactor's is the only one of the three narrative voices in the *Passio* that can be said to embody distinctive and systematic New Prophecy ideologies.

It is noteworthy that the only other mention of the birthday of Geta as the occasion for their martyrdom is unequivocally by the redactor (cf. XVI.3). In that instance, the redactor depicts Perpetua upbraiding the tribune for not providing them quarters equivalent to their status: *Quid utique non permittis nobis refrigerare noxiis nobilissimis, Caesaris scilicet, et natali eiusdem pugnaturis*. Yet here the name "Geta" is not cited, simply the title. While this omission may seem curious, if one considers that the redactor may have been the one to have cited it earlier in Chapter VII, there was little need to use it again, since his audience would likely remember the name from its prior mention. Hence, in Chapter XVI he need only refer to the Caesar in an abbreviated manner.

Lastly, if the phrase *natale tunc Getae Caesaris* was added by the redactor in Chapter VII, it was necessarily added before 209 at the very latest, as after that date, as I have shown, Geta was made Augustus, became joint ruler with his father and brother Caracalla, and bore the title (which is ubiquitous in inscriptions and on coins) of P. Septimius Geta Augustus. The redactor was an intelligent, rhetorically sophisticated African Christian, zealous to demonstrate the historicity of his community's heroism. If Perpetua was not responsible for the allusion to Geta and the identification of the place of her impending death, as now seems likely, the redactor certainly would have recognized the opportunity to promote historical verisimilitude for his theological persuasion by providing the place and the precise time of the martyrs' deaths and therefore added *natale tunc Getae Caesaris* to the *Passio* before the autumn of 209, the date of Geta's ascension to Augustus.

While there is little chance of reaching complete certainty on the date of the martyrdoms and the final date of the composition, given the present state of the

evidence, the evidence which we do have does suggest to this reader that the most probable date of the games was on or close to the birthday of Geta, that is, on or around the nones of March in the year 203. And finally, from the present evidence, the most probable *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the redactor's copy of the *Passio* is the fall of the year 209.

III



THE LANGUAGE OF COMPOSITION

The debate over whether Latin or Greek was the original language of composition of the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* began in 1890 with J. Rendell Harris's assertion that the Greek variant he had recently discovered in the Library of the Patriarchs in Jerusalem was the original composition.¹ Harris further concluded that the longer Latin version was a translation of this Greek version, now known as Codex Hierosolymitanus 1 (MS H), which has been variously dated from the tenth through the early twelfth century. In addition to the *Passio*, the manuscript contains a *menologium* of the saints for February. Prior to Harris's discovery, the linguistic tradition of the *Passio* was believed to be exclusively a Latin one. Within a year of Harris's publication, J. A. Robinson challenged his thesis and argued for the primacy of Latin.² Neither scholar had access to all the manuscripts available today. Indeed, even van Beek's critical edition was not based on all the known extant manuscripts.³ Since Harris's discovery and subsequent publication of his text, the discussion of whether Greek or Latin was the original language of composition has continued unabated, with neither position having achieved complete unanimity in the scholarly community. Much of the

1. Harris and Gifford, *Perpetua*, 1. Years later, Harris noted in his unpublished papers the primacy of the Latin text.

2. Robinson, *The Passion*, 3.

3. Van Beek, *Passio*.

commentary is, however, more opinion than analysis. For example, R. Lane Fox averred with little argument that Greek was the original language of composition, while J. Amat has recently argued more cogently the case for Latin. I am providing below a sample listing of the more significant positions, beginning with Harris, whose discovery of the Greek manuscript prompted him initially to argue for Greek as the language of composition, a position he later reversed, adopting Latin instead.⁴ I am unable to address every author's position, since, if I did, the

4. See also G. Rauschen, "Die Akten der hl. Perpetua u. Felicitas," in *Frühchristliche Apologeten und Märtyrerakten*, ed. O. Bardenhewer, Th. Schermann, K. Weyman, 2 vols. (Kempten: Jos. Kösel'schen, 1913), 1:40–56, who argues that the Latin is original and the Greek a translation: "Ausser dem lateinischen Originale ist auch eine alte griechische Übersetzung erhalten." Muncey, *Passion*, 9–10, argues for the primacy of Latin; Shewring, *Passion*, believes the Latin original and the Greek a translation. See his more closely argued essay based on a close reading of clausulae, "En marge de la *Passion des saintes Perpétue et Félicité*," *Revue Bénédictine* 43 (1931): 15–22. G. Lazzati, "Note critiche e testo della Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis," *Aevum* 30 (1956): 30–35, refers to the Greek as a translation of the Latin (30). De' Cavalieri, "Perpetuae et Felicitatis," supports the primacy of Latin. Musurillo, *Christian Martyrs*, xxv–xxvii, believes Latin the original. See also Fridh, *Le problème de la passion*, who also argues for the primacy of Latin. Hamman, "Félicité et Perpétue," 70–85, 157–58, who accepts the primacy of Latin. V. Saxer, "Passion de Pérpétue, Félicité et Compagnons," in *Saints anciens d'Afrique du nord* (Vatican: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1979), 39–57, argues that Perpetua and R wrote in Latin but Saturus in Greek. Halporn, *Passio*, 3, states, "both the Acta and the Greek version are derived from the longer Latin version." R. L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 210, believes the original was Greek. Bastiaensen, "Atti e Passioni dei Martiri," accepts Latin as original based on the uniqueness of Perpetua's Latin style. Robert, "Une vision," argues that Greek is the original language of composition because Perpetua speaks Greek to Optatus and Aspasius (in Saturus's dream actually, c. XIII.4), but argues for Greek principally due to the depth of athletic knowledge in the arena fight scene: "s'agissent en ce chapitre x d'un combat, d'une performance agonistique, le grec est plus apte à en traiter exactement que le latin." The idea that someone would have to have an intimate knowledge of the types of combat in the *pankration* in order to describe such an event takes literalism a tad too far. Indeed, it could as easily be argued that as a woman Perpetua would have had less access to the Pythian games, and thus her Latin reflection, as vague as Robert finds it, represents a more accurate representation of a twenty-two-year-old female. Bastiaensen makes a careful study of the two linguistic traditions in "Heeft Perpetua haar dagboek in het Latijn of in het Grieks geschreven?" in *De heiligenverering in de eerste eeuwen van het christendom*, ed. A. Hilhorst (Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1988), 130–35, and concludes that "la traduction grecque est quelque peu postérieure à la Passion latine." Shaw, "Passion," 302: "My position is that the Latin version is manifestly the original. The Greek version is a 'translation' of this ('translation', that is, in the sense current at the time the version was made: not a word-for-word translation, but rather what we might call a 'close version' with additions and glosses made by the translator)." Amat, *Passion*, 50–66. Osiek, "Perpetua's Husband," fn. 1: "and a Greek translation . . . derivative of the Latin text." Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome*, 34, who bases much of his position that Perpetua wrote in Greek and not in Latin on the use of φιλοτιμία versus the Latin use of *munus*, seems slight in light of the considerable evidence for Latin presented below.

argument would more resemble a rugby scrum—or what Jan Bremmer has rightly called a “mine field”—than an exposition of my point of view.⁵

I believe that Latin was the language of the original composition, certainly of those chapters attributed to Perpetua and R. While I am less sure of the chapters assigned to Saturus, even here I feel there is a better argument to be made that he, too, wrote first in Latin and that R, within a few years of their execution, knitted the two memoirs together with his preface and Chapters II and XIV–XXI. However, though I believe the case for Latin is far stronger than that for Greek, the manuscript tradition of both is so late as to make our assertions provisional. Complete codicological descriptions of the manuscripts have hitherto been wanting. I provide these below (see Appendix I, “Manuscripts and Editions”). My observations in these pages are based on a close study of all the manuscripts in situ. Determining the readings of the original exemplar is a difficult task, particularly when the textual tradition is so attenuated. The earliest extant manuscript version of the *Passio* is that of Saint Gall (MS G 577). It is a beautifully copied late ninth- or early tenth-century MS, but unfortunately ends incomplete in Chapter XIX. However, as a provisional conclusion, I believe that Latin is the language of original composition and that it is best represented by the Monte Cassino variant (MS M 204, late eleventh century). Furthermore, I do not think that the Greek text, as we have it in H, is a translation of this extant Latin tradition, represented most authoritatively by M. The discrepancies between the Latin and Greek texts are too many and too significant to suggest a common exemplar. The evidence at this stage suggests that MS M likely derives from a Latin exemplar different from that for MS H.

To further complicate an already complex textual situation, there are two distinct Latin versions: the Latin longer version, traditionally called the *Passio*, and the shorter *Acta*. The *Passio* survives in nine Latin texts and the *Acta* in some forty-one manuscripts. The *Passio* represents an older tradition, is more complete, contains more historically accurate details, and is less given to panegyric. The two versions of the *Acta* appear to have been written as epitomes in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, and their idealizing tendencies suggest they may have been used in a liturgical setting, possibly in the Matins *lectiones*. The story

See J. Halporn's sensible critique of Bowersock in *Bryn Mawr Review* 96.04.28. W. Tabbernee, *Perpetua, Optatus, and Friends: Christian Ministry in Carthage c.203 C.E* in <http://people.vanderbilt.edu/~james.p.burns/chroma/clergy/Tabborders.html>, fn. 18: “The sole extant manuscript (*Codex Hierosolymitanus 1* = Amat H) of a Greek translation attests to this edition.” M. Formisano ed., *La Passione di Perpetua e Felicità: Classici Greci e Latini* (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 2008), believes the Latin is primary and the Greek a not heavily revised copy.

5. Bremmer, “Perpetua and Her Diary,” who argues the case for Latin and sensibly shows the errors in Robert's analysis of attribution based on her fight with the Egyptian.

of Perpetua and Felicity and their comrades had become so popular that Augustine was concerned that their narrative would rival the popularity of the Gospels in African churches.

Turning to the text of the *Passio* itself, we find that there are three distinct authorial voices present (four if we were to view Chapter I as by another hand): that of R and the two distinct autobiographical accounts by Perpetua and Saturus. R is responsible for Chapters I–II and XIV–XXI, and his hand can occasionally be found elsewhere, for example in XI.1. Perpetua wrote Chapters III–X and Saturus Chapters XI–XIV, and some have argued that Saturus wrote originally in Greek.⁶ R assembled the *Passio* in its present state sometime after the spring of 203 and certainly before 211. These narratives differ in their outlook, emphases, syntax, and their lexical choices. The Latin of R (particularly Chapter I) is learned, theologically sophisticated, replete with Biblical allusions, indebted to the New Prophecy movement, and frequently argumentative. His syntax is complex, frequently favoring long sentences with multiple subordinating clauses. There are also occasions when R's voice can be found intruding into the autobiographical narrative. For example, he introduces Saturus's memoir with a prefatory remark attesting to its authenticity, insisting that it is from the martyr's own hand. Perpetua's Latin, on the other hand, is comparatively unadorned. Her sentences are short and frequently begin with a coordinating conjunction, and her word choices are often colloquial and concrete. Her concern is chiefly with domestic matters—the care of her child, her health, her father's distress, and the nature of the food one will receive in paradise. Saturus's prose is more literary, often derivative; allusions to the Bible—particularly to Isaiah, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Revelation—and to works like the *Shepherd of Hermas* are intentionally transparent. His aim is to construct an apocalyptic memoir, not to provide a diurnal account of their prison experiences as Perpetua does.

The Greek text, on the other hand, is stylistically more homogeneous. The distinctions among the three voices are less obvious. The Greek variant is the most indebted to the New Testament, with more allusions to scripture, and it appears to have been reworked by a single author. Its lexicon is more learned, more theologically nuanced, and almost clerical. For example, immediately after her baptism, the Latin has Perpetua state that from “the water”—referring figuratively and concretely to the sacrament—“she should seek nothing other than suffering” / *non aliud petendum ab aqua nisi sufferentiam carnis* (III.5). The Greek author, however, always refers to the sacrament by its liturgical name (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος). Lastly, the Greek text has a penchant for idealizing incidents, and

6. Frith, *Le problème de la passion*, 82; and Petraglio, *Lingua latina*, 86.

in a number of important instances it illustrates an ignorance of features of Roman African life and Roman military matters (see “Commentary,” VII.9).

Since the manuscript tradition of the Latin text is earlier, more complex, and more problematic than that of the Greek, which is limited to the one manuscript, I will begin my discussion with that manuscript tradition. There are nine extant Latin manuscripts, which date from the late ninth/early tenth century (MS Saint Gall 577) through the late twelfth century (BL MS Cotton Otho D VIII). The Saint Gall manuscript, the oldest copy extant but not the best exemplar, is still some seven centuries removed from the events described in the *Passio*. Such a temporal distance from the period of composition, particularly when we are treating hagiographic texts, calls for a healthy skepticism. Of the various genres that survive from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, hagiographic texts, although a crucial part of the historic record, have, from their inception, been subject to the zeal of excess piety, bowdlerizing, forgery, and misinformation. Furthermore, it is entirely possible, R’s phrase *conscriptum manu sua et suo sensu reliquit* notwithstanding, that the original composition, particularly in the case of the two dream sequences of Perpetua and Saturus, may have been first dictated, copied by a scribe, and then conflated by the Christian redactor with additional material some time after the events of March 203. For a detailed discussion of the codicology of the manuscripts, see “Manuscripts and Editions.”

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LATIN AND GREEK TEXTS

The differences between the Latin and Greek texts are sufficiently numerous, and in a few instances they are of such significance as to allow one to make a reasoned judgment, mindful of the above caveat, about the original language of composition. Differences alone would not allow us to argue for the primacy of the Latin or the Greek, but significant differences do provide such evidence. What constitutes a significant difference? This is not a trivial question, nor is it easily answered. A significant difference, let us call it a variant reading, is one that alters or adds to the text’s meaning and our understanding in a substantive way that can be shown to support the historical claims of the text and, depending on the nature of the anecdote, may not be subject to contradiction when compared against other authentic contemporary records. The Latin and Greek versions of the *Passio* contain different types of variants, which require a different heuristic weight depending on their value as evidence. For example, the Greek and Latin texts provide instances of lacunae, additions, misunderstandings, variants which mention historical personages, variants which provide richer rhetorical nuance, and even variants that appear to be mistakes. This is a spectrum of variant readings which clearly are not all equal in importance. Each difference must be assessed and not only assigned a

unique value, but also given a value depending on the category of variant to which it belongs. For example, the citation of an historical personage in one text and its lack in the other (as I show below) would be more significant, and assigned a higher order heuristically, than a variant which concerned the particular order in which a sequence of events is represented in the Latin and Greek variants.

I have selected just a few instances of various sorts of differences, comparing the Latin and Greek, and treated them in some detail, to illustrate my belief that the Latin is primary.

(A) *Lacunae and Historical Figures: Caesar's Name*

Let us look at a single instance where we might apply such an assessment. The *Passio* indicates that it is a record of the events which were celebrated in Carthage in the opening years of the third century. Among the internal evidence which supports this dating is the statement that the magistrate who heard the case of the martyrs was one Hilarianus *procurator*, serving as acting proconsul due to the recent death of proconsul Minucius Timinianus (d. 202).⁷ Both these individuals are attested in the historical record, aside from their mention by Christian apologists, like Tertullian, who refers to Hilarianus in *Ad Scapulam*. Both the Latin and the Greek texts agree that the games in which the Christian prisoners are to be executed will take place on the emperor's birthday. The Latin text, however, is more historically precise, stating unambiguously that the games will take place on the birthday of the emperor Geta.

munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi: natale tunc Getae Caesaris (VII.9).

we were to fight in the military games; then it [was] the birthday of Geta Caesar

7. This individual has been identified as one P. Aelius Hilarianus, a member of the *equites* class from Aphrodisias in Caria. His family was likely of Greek origin—a family *cognomen* of “Apollonianus” is from the Greek “Apollonios”—and they likely received Roman citizenship under Hadrian. The Hilarianus of the *Passio* may have risen through the military ranks. He is likely to be identified with the Hilarianus who served in the role of *procurator ducenarius* in Spain in the early 190s. Of the six procurators in early third-century Carthage, Rives speculates that Hilarianus was serving as the senior procurator for Carthage, the *procurator IV publicorum Africae* (see Rives, “Piety,” 5, 9; see also PIR, 89, no. 175: it locates him in Africa between 198 and 208 [PIR4 H 175]); Birley conjectured that he may also have supervised his fellow Aphrodisians who were at work constructing Lepcis Magna (see “Persecutors and Martyrs,” 46; also Bremmer, “Perpetua and Her Diary,” 92). Tertullian mentions some of the abuses that were visited on the Christian community during this Hilarianus's administration. This points to his piety for the Roman deities. (See *Scap.* 3.1: *quod nulla ciuitas impune latura sit sanguinis nostri effusionem; sicut et sub Hilariano praeside.*)

τῆς παρεμβολῆς οὗ ἡμέλλομεν θηριομαχεῖν· γενέθλιον γὰρ ἡμέλλεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι Καίσαρος (VII.9)

the camp where we were going to fight the beasts, because the birthday of Caesar was going to be celebrated

While the Greek text also acknowledges that the games will take place on the birthday of the emperor, it does not specify on which emperor's birthday. Why is the mention of the name more significant than its lack? After all, it could be argued that the lacuna in the Greek may actually be more apparent than real and that Geta's name in the Latin is an addition (seeking to insinuate historical authenticity) that was not in the original composition. I believe, however, that the presence of such a variant is more significant than its lack for two reasons: first, the additive historical detail, in this case the name of the emperor, complements what we know of the historical record at precisely this time; second, the nascent genre of autobiography sought to justify itself as part of the historical record and often cited contemporary detail to that end.⁸ The citation of the procurator Hilarianus's participation at this trial (in all appearances a *cognitio extra ordinem*) was likely because there were local outbreaks of persecution requiring adjudication in Africa Proconsularis at least from 180, the date of the Scillitan Martyrs. The renewed violence of 202–3 appears centered in Carthage—though there were some trials in Alexandria—and seems to have been principally directed against new converts.⁹

A guilty verdict for professing membership in the cult of Christianity, following the precedent established in Trajan's rescript to Pliny (112), was punishable by death. Christians had not been particularly in favor with the Roman intelligentsia since Tacitus had penned his attack, where he noted that they were hated because they believed in *superstitio* and were guilty of *odium humani generis* (*Ann.* 15.44). Additional charges—such as Thyestian banquets, incest, and cannibalism—were likely a cover for purely political antagonisms and used when expedient. Some provincial governors who persecuted Christians were no doubt pious and concerned about the emergence of yet another eastern sect. Others were likely secular utopians believing in the “good old days,” who viewed the Christians as individuals with no sympathy for this *mos maiorum*. The Christian crime was to practice a *religio illicita*, and the charge was likely to be sedition,

8. To call the *Passio* an autobiography raises a host of questions, some of which are not trivial but are not pertinent at this stage in the discussion. I use the term here to refer to an ego-driven narrative which seeks to record personal experience at some remove from the event being described.

9. See Platnauer, *Severus*, 1970, 153; dal Covolo, “I Severi e il cristianesimo,” 189.

since Christians refused to sacrifice to the genius of the emperor or to the ancestral gods. Executions were regularly scheduled as part of the games put on in the Carthage amphitheatre and in Alexandria.¹⁰ Leonides, Origen's father, was killed under the prefect Quintus Maecius Laetus (202) in Alexandria, and Origen was himself thwarted in his efforts to become a martyr. There is no convincing evidence, however, that Septimius Severus had anything to do with these persecutions or was necessarily even aware of the martyrdom of Perpetua and her colleagues.¹¹ Indeed, a number of Severus's favorites were Christian.

But let us return to the reason for the use of the imperial name. Septimius Severus, the emperor at the time, appointed his eldest son Caracalla as Caesar in 195 and his younger son Geta as Caesar in 198. It was assumed that the eldest son Caracalla would succeed his father. Thus he received the purple first. Severus hoped that by settling so much authority on both sons he could build a bond of trust between them. He was concerned that Caracalla, by all accounts the abler but more tempestuous of the two, would kill his younger brother. Severus made Geta Augustus in 209. This last action has puzzled historians, since Severus waited years to effect it, more than ten years after having done the same for Caracalla (January 198). This delay may have allowed the notion to get about that Caracalla was next in line. However, when Septimius raised Geta to Augustus, he knew that this would allow for an imperially ratified distribution of powers, something he believed Caracalla would never permit independent of his father's imperial will. At this point in his life, Septimius believed that he had not long to live and that if he did not make provision for the joint rule of the Empire it would never happen after his death. Herodian notes that for much of the war against the Caledonians (begun in 208) he was carried in a litter. Septimius died in York, England, on 4 February 211 during his campaign against the Caledonians. On his deathbed, he made what has become an oft-quoted remark that his sons needed to get on with each other and pay the soldiers well. The brothers had been rivals for years (hence Severus's dying wish), and in December of 211 Caracalla, feigning an interest in reconciliation, had Geta murdered as he visited their mother Julia Domna.

In order to drive home the public lie that Geta was an enemy of Rome, Caracalla issued a *damnatio memoriae* about his younger brother in the spring of 212. Seeking to legitimate his usurpation of sole rule, he wished to taint his brother's reputation by banishing his brother's name and deeds from contemporary records. Efforts to this end were made throughout the Empire, and they were particularly successful in Africa, the ancestral home of the Severi. Inscriptions,

10. Garnsey, *Social Status*; and Arjava, *Women and Law*, 201–02.

11. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, 1999, 154.

both epigraphic and numismatic, as well as textual references to Geta were effaced. Statues were toppled and destroyed. Cassius Dio mentions that Caracalla also banned (and this is germane to our discussion) the observance of Geta's birthday and forbade on pain of death the very mention of his name and its appearance in any written materials (78.5–6).

How precisely is this *damnatio memoriae* pertinent to our discussion of the presence of the name of Geta in the Latin text above, and how does it suggest that the Latin is closer to the original than is the Greek? By identifying the games as honoring Geta, the Latin text more fully imbeds itself in contemporary events. The Severi and their court likely spent the winter of 202/3 in Lepcis and were visiting Africa Proconsularis in 203–4. They may have been in Carthage in 203. Indeed, it is possible that these games were held in honor of Geta's birthday because of the imperial family's presence in Africa and in hopes that the family might attend. Despite Septimius's lavish affection for Lepcis Magna, Carthage remained the cultural and economic metropolis of Africa, and a visit there may have been politically expedient, particularly since it was on the route from Lepcis to the headquarters of Legio III *Augusta* in Lambaesis, Numidia. Troops from the Legio III along with conscripts from Numidia assisted Septimius in his war against rebellious tribes possibly as far south as the region of the Garamantes (southern Libya) in the late winter and early spring of 203.

The identification of the games with Geta's birthday celebration in the Latin version suggests that this line was likely written before the *damnatio* was issued in 212—there is further evidence in the text to this effect, which I take up below—and thereby did not run afoul of Caracalla's ire and the force of the edict, as it would have if it were written after 212. Tertullian completed *De Anima* as early as the end of 203 but before 211, and it is there that he cites a passage from the Latin *Passio*. His citation provides further evidence for the existence of a Latin text after 203 and before 211. The Greek text, on the other hand, since it lacks the emperor's name, is more likely to have been written after the *damnatio* was in effect, since its absence allowed the text to remain in compliance with Caracalla's edict until his death in 217 and the lifting of the curse by Elagabalus in 219. The Greek text thereby avoided any prosecution for thwarting the imperial will. In fact, this variant may provide a *terminus ante quem* for the Latin and Greek texts. In conclusion, the Latin reading in this instance is more likely to be original than is the Greek.

(B) *Lexical Misunderstandings and Technical Terms.*

(i) Roman Military Nomenclature:

Variants which suggest a misunderstanding or ignorance of their opposite textual tradition in either the Latin or Greek texts would also be significant. Let me give two examples of this type of variant. First, I would like to provide an instance

which suggests that the Greek author was ignorant of the nuances of Roman military rank. The scene in the *Passio* concerns the prisoners' recent transfer to what appears to be a smaller urban military prison. There they are met by a member of the prison staff who holds a supervisory position. The Latin text gives his name and precise rank, while the Greek generalizes his rank. During the Christians' stay in this new prison, one of the officers of the watch is specifically referred to in the Latin by his *nomen* and his exact military title, as *Pudens miles optio*. The Greek records the same *nomen*, but does not provide an analogous word to indicate his rank, referring to him simply as a member of the military, a soldier, Πούδης τις στρατιώτης.

Deinde post dies paucos Pudens miles optio, praepositus carceris . . . (IX.1)

Then after a few days, Pudens, the military adjutant, who was in charge of the prison,

Και μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας Πούδης τις στρατιώτης, ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προιστάμενος (IX.1).

And after a few days, Pudens a certain soldier, the one being in charge of the guard

How might this anecdote help us in determining the language of the original composition? It appears that the Greek author does not know the precise rank of *optio* nor what it refers to and so generalizes the phrase to the not incorrect, but less historically accurate, "soldier." Such a generalization provides as much information as someone averring that Dwight Eisenhower was a soldier. Pudens is a soldier and holds the rank of *optio*, which, if he were a field officer serving in the army, would make him a junior officer usually subordinate to a centurion.¹² The decurion or centurion had the right "to nominate" his *optio*, hence the name. These junior officers belonged to the order *optiones*, ranked as *principales*, and received approximately from one and one-half to double the wages of the ordinary soldier. Their duties would vary according to what they were required to do. There are a number of references to different functions performed by the *optio*, e.g., those who supervised hospitals were *optiones convalescentium*, and those in charge of a military guardhouse within a military camp were called *optiones custodiarum* (OLD, s.v. *optio*, 2: Festus, *in re militari optio appellatur is, quem decurio aut centurio optat sibi rerum priuatarum ministrum, quo facilius obeat publica officia*; and Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* 2.7: *Optiones ab adoptando appellati, quod antecedentibus aegritudine praepeditis hi tamquam adoptati eorum atque vicarii solent universa curare*).

12. For a discussion of *optio* see Breeze, "Note"; see also Speidel, *Framework*, and Watson, *Roman Soldier*, 126, 205.

The Latin text is quite specific about the rank of this Pudens, but the Greek is silent on his rank, while it does correctly translate his duties as being in charge of the prison. Either the Greek author did not understand such specific Roman military information, or possibly such specificity would have had little relevance for his Greek audience and therefore could be ignored.

Further, the Greek and Latin texts disagree concerning whose ultimate jurisdiction Perpetua is under. The Greek suggests she was under the jurisdiction of a χιλίαρχος, literally someone who commanded a thousand men (LSJ, s.v. χιλίαρχος). Χιλίαρχος is typically a translation of the Roman office of *tribunus militum*, a term which the Latin has not mentioned up to this point. Thus far the Latin simply says that they were transferred to a military camp, whereas here the Greek is more specific and identifies the camp as being under the jurisdiction of a χιλίαρχος. Thus far the only official we have had identified in the prison is Pudens *miles optio*, a junior officer.

transiimus in carcerem castrensem (VII.9)

We were moved to the military prison

κατήχθημεν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην φυλακὴν τὴν τοῦ χιλιάρχου (VII.9)

we were brought into the other prison, the one of the chiliarch

The *tribunus militum* was an officer senior in rank. Someone holding this rank would be the second in command of the legion. *Tribunus* was often a rank that young aristocrats assumed before they took their positions in the Roman provincial administration. Birley has shown nine provincial governors of England who, prior to their appointment as governor, served as *tribuni militum* in that very province.¹³ The probability that a young man likely to end up in the senate would be assigned to supervise a small urban military prison, like our Pudens, is not great. The Latin text's choice of *miles optio* is more accurate, and historically more likely than χιλίαρχος, if it is Pudens to whom the Greek refers. This difference between the Latin and Greek terms is important, and it suggests that the Greek scribe understood neither the jurisdictional distinctions in the Roman military nor the physical layout of the city of Carthage. There is a distinction in rank made between the *tribunus* and the *optio* in Chapter XVI which illustrates clearly that the *optio* is subordinate to the *tribunus*.

While the Latin author could have rendered the Greek στρατιώτης as *miles optio*, such a rendering is not a truncation of meaning like the Greek, but rather

13. Birley, *Fasti*, 30.

an additive level of interpretation not provided for in the Greek. In short, the Latin scribe, if he were working from the Greek text, would have had to make up this rank or have had access to a different exemplar which is no longer extant. The Latin author correctly understood the rank and its relationship to this individual's supervisory role in the military prison. The Latin and Greek employ two different interpretative systems. Let us assume the Greek author had the phrase *miles optio* in front of him: his method was simply to select an appropriate Greek variant for the word he apparently knew, *miles*, leaving aside the unknown *optio*. The Latin text, on the other hand, assuming for the moment it was translated from the Greek, not only would have had to extend the meaning of the Greek but also add to the text information not present in the Greek. To turn Πούδης τις στρατιώτης into *Pudens optio miles* requires knowledge of the Roman military penal system that is not provided for, or indeed deemed necessary, in the Greek text.

(ii) Technical Terms:

Toward the end of their imprisonment, just days before the games were to begin, the *Passio* notes that immediately before her third dream Perpetua was placed in what we would call the “stocks”:

Die quo in nervo mansimus, ostensum est mihi hoc (VIII.1)

On the day we remained in the stocks, this was shown to me

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρα ἐν ἣ ἐν νέρβῳ ἐμείναμεν, ἐδείχθη μοι τοῦτο (VIII.1)

And immediately in the evening in which we remained in the stocks this was shown to me

The Latin is quite specific about how the prisoners were punished and what specific devices were used. The Greek scribe does not appear to understand the word *nervus* and simply transliterates the Latin, as I will show. This remark provides information on how the Christians were imprisoned and possibly the location of their cell in the prison. Some commentators have translated *nervo* as “chains” (Musurillo, 117; Amat, 131), but this hardly captures Perpetua’s exact meaning. In short, how specifically were they restrained? If it were a simple matter of being “chained,” why does Perpetua employ the word more commonly used for “sinew,” “cord,” or “string” (See OLD, s.v. *nervus* 1, 4; and see Isaiah 48.4) and not the expected term *vincula*, a word particularly used to indicate a prisoner’s fetters or chains, or indeed as a synonym for the prison itself? (See OLD, s.v. *vinculum*; and Cic. *Rep.* 6.14.14: *qui ex corporum vinculis tanquam*; and *Verr.* 2.3.24: *Mitto vincla, mitto carcerem, mitto verbera, mitto securas.*) Livy uses both terms to

refer to different types of restraints: *sed neruo ac uinculis corpus liberum territent* (Livy 6.2.8). The older meaning of the word as “sinew” or “strap,” which identified a means of tying an animal or someone to a post or a ring, was apparently adapted to a new context (Columella, *Rust.* 12.14).

A more precise translation of *in nervo* in the present instance would be “in the stocks.” MS A (Milan) supports this reading with its use of *constricto*. If the prisoners were chained to the stocks, we might ask what part of their bodies was constrained and where in the prison they were bound, since not all cells would have contained such devices. Clearly her remark refers to some device—it may even have been a chain or a bar—that constrained prisoners either by their feet, arms, neck, or all the above (see Festus, 162.1–2: *ferreum vinculum, quo pedes impediuntur*). Tertullian uses the term *nervus* to suggest a binding used on the legs of the martyrs while they were being held in prison (*Mart.* 2: *Nihil cruc sentit in nervo cum animus in coelo est*). At least one manuscript of the *Vetus* has Job complain to God that his feet have been placed in the stocks, *in nervo* (Jb 13.27), and the apostles’ feet were fastened in stocks but specifically by wood (*et pedes eorum strinxit ligno*, Acts 16.24). However, the term *in nervo* may suggest that they were actually bound by the feet and some part of the upper body, since if they were only bound by the feet, we might have expected her to use the more common expression *compes* (See *Vet.* Jb 13.27, *in compede pedem meum*; and OLD, s.v. *compes*), or if only by the neck, *furca*.

Roman stocks seem to have been fastened to the floor. Some of these consisted of horizontal pairs of iron bars into which the prisoners’ ankles were fastened. The skeletons of four prisoners were found still bound in the stocks in the excavation of Pompeii’s *Ludus Gladiatorius*.¹⁴ It seems likely that Perpetua and her companions were locked into something like these stocks. They would have had to sit and sleep on the floor, or perhaps on some low bench. Their movement would be very restricted. Any movement would cause chafing as the skin rubbed against the metal or wood of the stocks. The stocks were often used as a severe punishment. Some Christians even had their legs spread far apart and locked in place in the stocks in order to cause additional pain (τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν, in *The Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*, 27, in Musurillo, 70). The cells with the stocks seem to have been among the most miserable ones, located

14. See Richardson, Jr., *Pompeii*, 85, who notes the skeletons of gladiators; and see also the drawings of these same stocks in Gusman, *Pompeii*, 153. Raspke, *Acts and Paul*, 445, fig. 13 and 14, provides illustrations of horizontal and circular stocks. Note that κλωφός and κλοιός are spelling variants of the same word.

deep (and perhaps underground) in the prisons (*Martyrdom of Pionius and His Companions*, 11.4). The officials of the military prison where Perpetua and her fellows are incarcerated appear to be treating them with the utmost contempt, hence the torture of confining them to the stocks in the darkest section.

The Greek νέρβος simply transliterates the Latin, suggesting that the author may have been unsure about the exact nature of the device being used. There were good Greek equivalents to *nervus* in ξύλον and κλωός (LSJ, s.v. ξύλον; and compare the citation from *Ltr Chr Lyons & Vienn* above), as well as words to designate a pillory for the neck, κλοιός (less commonly κύφων), and restraints for the feet, ποδοκάκη. Liddell and Scott do not record an entry for νέρβος, nor does BDAG. Lampe cites νέρβω in the *Passio* as the first attestation of the use of the word in Greek. While none of these sources should be considered exhaustive, the likelihood of its use before the *Passio* is small. Hence this transliteration suggests that the Greek text was copied from the Latin exemplar, since it is hardly likely that the Greek text, if the original, would use an unattested word (a transliteration borrowed from a Latin original), particularly when, as I have indicated above, there were perfectly appropriate Greek terms for such stocks.

Notice also that the Latin and Greek disagree on whether this lockup took place during the day or the night. Since the line introduces the onset of a prophetic dream vision, the Greek text's choice of "nightfall" may be an attempt to harmonize Perpetua's vision with the broader literary tradition that dreams and visions frequently took place with onset of night and sleep, since it was at that time that God "opens the ears of men and instructs them in what they are to learn" (Jb 33.14 and Gn 31.24; Acts 5.9, 16.9, 18.9). Most of the visions in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, a text the Greek author knew, appear to the dreamer at night.¹⁵ The choice of "nightfall" illustrates the Greek author's literary sensitivity to this tradition. But it is for precisely this reason that I believe the Latin, with its lack of literary self-consciousness, provides the harder reading—Perpetua's dreams are less the product of sleep than trance-like states—and is therefore more likely the original reading.

(iii) Legal Formula:

After their hearing was completed, Hilarianus rendered his judgment. At this time in the Empire, most provincial magistrates, particularly in such cases, were acting in compliance with the procedures outlined in *cognitio extra ordinem*.¹⁶ The presiding magistrate was required to adhere to specific language

15. Cox Miller, *Dreams*, 131.

16. On the emergence of the *cognitio* see R. A. Bauman, *Lawyers and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1989), 150–3; O. Tellegen-Couperus, *A Short History of Roman Law* (London: Routledge, 1993), 90–3, 130–1; D. Johnston, *Roman Law in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 121–22.

when issuing his judgment. Specifically, he was required to begin his judgment with the announcement that he was pronouncing judgment (Cicero, *De Finibus*, 2.46; and OLD, s.v. *pronuntio*, 3) and then to follow this with a statement of the actual punishment (Tertullian, *Apol.* 46). The Latin text follows this legal mandate carefully, but the Greek text only records the condemnatory part of the formula:

Tunc nos universos pronuntiat et damnat ad bestias (VI.6)

Then he pronounced a verdict on us all and condemned us to the beasts

Τότε ἡμᾶς πάντας πρὸς θηρία κατακρίνει (VI.6)

Then he condemns all of us to the beasts

While it may be objected that the crucial part of the magistrate's message is the pronouncement of the condemnation, the fact that the Latin follows the jurisprudential system more carefully suggests that the Latin text is based on more intimate knowledge of such proceedings, and is likely a more accurate reflection of the manner in which the actual sentence was delivered.

(iv) Contradictions:

The last dream of Perpetua is one for which it is notoriously difficult to provide an adequate interpretation (see "Commentary," X). These are the last words that she wrote or dictated. The dream is filled with rich apocalyptic and eschatological imagery and reads very much like an allegory. In brief, Perpetua has a vision of herself being led into the arena by her friend and teacher, Pomponius, who functions here as a psychopomp. I would like to focus on his dress. Pomponius wears an unbelted, white tunic and elaborately belted sandals. Perpetua assumes that this is the final contest and that she will be thrown to the beasts. Instead, she discovers to her amazement that she will fight against a large, hideously unattractive Egyptian wrestler. She sees her opponent being prepared for the fight. At this stage she is joined by some unidentified young, physically attractive males. They may be angelic figures, and they serve as her seconds. They strip her of her clothes in preparation for what appears to be a *pankraton*.¹⁷ Once naked, she announces that she has become a man: *Et expoliata sum et facta sum masculus* (X.7). She is then rubbed down with oil before the impending contest. The rubbing with oil and the Egyptian rolling in the dust (fine sand?) are historically accurate preparations for an athletic contest. The eroticism of the scene is inescapable and yet somewhat mystifying. On the simplest and most literal level, a fight between a man and a woman, even a powerful Christian

17. Robert, "Une vision."

woman, would not satisfy contemporary audiences. It would violate the crowd's sense of decorum—women, no matter how powerful, did not defeat males—and hence Perpetua is turned (turns herself) into an adequate warrior, a *miles Christi* (2 Tm 2.3).¹⁸ Her stripping is an echo of Christ's being stripped of his clothes before his *agon*. Her opponent, she notes, while an Egyptian, is in fact the devil (*contra diabolum*, X.14). My explanation does not lessen the overt eroticism of the memory of the young men rubbing her naked body, however. Gendered transformations are inherently erotic as narratives and complement the bloody savagery of the fight. The erotic moment passes and does not reappear, but it lingers in memory. At this point in the narrative she meets the *lanista*. He is so tall that he towers over the walls of the amphitheatre, and he wears a flowing, unbelted tunic with *clavi* running down from the shoulders in two purple bands and wonderful sandals.¹⁹ He holds in his hand a green staff on which are golden apples. Considerable care is taken with the description of the *lanista*. Clearly, he is an important figure in adjudicating the result of the outcome. I have argued elsewhere that he is likely a composite of her teacher Pomponius and Hermes/Mercury/Christ the Good Shepherd (see "Commentary," IV.8) grafted onto a half-remembered historical depiction of the figure of the *lanista*. The golden apples of the Hesperides underscore his authority and may be an early instance of iconic syncretism: Hercules was superseded by the figure of Christ as the Good Shepherd, and this syncretistic representation is depicted in later sarcophagi and in apsidal mosaics.

Considerable care is taken to render this scene. Clearly it is of considerable importance, as it contains her last words. It represents the apogee of her contest, the outcome of which will be predictive of the actual battle in the physical arena. More care and description are given to the figure of Pomponius and the *lanista* than to any other individuals depicted in this scene. In a real sense, these two figures are the most interesting personages present in the amphitheatre. A comparison of the Latin and Greek depictions of this crucial character reveal some significant differences. The first thing to notice is that the Latin tells us that both Pomponius and the *lanista* wore unbelted tunics. For the sake of brevity I shall only use the depiction of Pomponius in our comparison.

qui erat uestitus discinctam candidam, habens multiplices galliculas (X.2)

He was wearing a white unbelted robe, and multilaced sandals

Καὶ ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν καὶ περιεζωσμένος, εἶχεν δὲ ποικίλα ὑποδήματα.

18. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, 61–67.

19. Saggiatoro, *I sarcofagi palaeocristiani*, 74.

And he was wearing a shining garment and girdled about, and he had many-colored sandals

The Latin text states that his white robe was unbelted. The figure of Pomponius is a syncretistic character, who—since he functions as a psychopomp—coalesces these images from Greco-Roman religion and Christianity. These recent converts to Christianity lived their entire lives prior to their conversion fully immersed in a Roman world. Every frame of reference—secular, religious, or familial—was a product of the rich milieu of Roman African mores. That being said, however, we would also expect that recent converts would seek to discern in past associations and beliefs shadows of their new faith. Such reflection allows the believer to rescue those former associations from an otherwise abandoned and scorned prior life. These are psychically redemptive strategies, and they allow the converts to salvage from their past those moments which still remain important to them.

Now let us turn to consider the figure of Pomponius as psychopomp, particularly as Christian psychopomp, to see if his depiction provides greater evidence for the primacy of the Latin or the Greek. What is of particular interest is the representation of his tunic. Images from Christian iconography from the late second century frequently depict Christ as wearing a plain, unbelted, spotless tunic. The image of Christ as the Good Shepherd in the Priscilla Catacombs (ca. 225) shows him in an unbelted tunic (*exomis*) with the right sleeve cut away.²⁰ The unbelted tunic is also represented in the female figure of the *orans*, common in North African funerary mosaics. The dalmatic was an unbelted tunic with wide sleeves, which came into fashion in the second century and was usually worn over a long, wide tunic. Seeking a parallel for this image in Perpetua's Roman imagination, we note that there are images in which the unbelted tunic (*discincta*) was used in Roman rites for the dead and mourning. For example, in the description of the burial of the ashes of Augustus, there are men of the equestrian order who, barefoot and wearing unbelted tunics, collect his ashes for placement in the family tomb (Suetonius, *Aug.* 100). This image in the *Passio* influenced the *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi* (7.3: *vidi, inquit, iuvenem inenarrabili et satis ampla magnitudine, cuius vestitus discincta erat in tantum candida luce [praefulgens]*). The unbelted, white tunic then was an important artifact of clothing, as Perpetua was struggling to depict her confident belief that this idea and image of Christ would be with her in this great contest and at this time of her death. It was an image she was able to derive from both Christian and Latin traditions.

20. See Veyries, *Les figures*.

Now let us turn to the Greek variant. The Greek reads very differently: Pomponius is depicted “wearing a shining garment” (ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν) and “girdled about” (περιεζωσμένος; see also *Hermas*, *Sim.* 9.2.4 and 9.9.5). The Greek and Latin contradict one another on this last point. Clearly neither one is here copied from the other, unless the scribe was attempting to correct what he believed to be an error. I would like to pursue this idea a bit further, and to propose that the Greek text constructs a reading of the figure of the psychopomp that is more overtly theological than the Latin and that the image used in the Greek is indebted to the New Testament. The phrase ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν is exactly the one used by Luke when he describes Herod’s throwing clothes on Jesus before he sends him back to Pilate (23.11). The Gospel of Luke further employs an image of the faithful servant with belt fastened, waiting patiently, as a symbol of spiritual watchfulness—the righteous who wait patiently for the coming of the Lord (Lk 12.35, 37 and 17.8). In Ephesians 6, Paul exhorts his listeners to prepare to stand against Satan and the dark powers of the cosmos. In the middle of that chapter, he urges the faithful to gird themselves with the belt of truth (6.14). In the first chapter of Revelation, John has a vision of the Son of Man who wears a long robe bound around his waist by a golden girdle (1.13 and 15.6), and in his discussion of the angels who bear the bowls of God’s wrath he notes that they wore clean, shining linen and had gold girdles around their breast.

The passages from Luke, Paul, and Revelation all emphasize readiness, preparedness, and strength immediately before a contest. The Greek version of the *Passio* uses the same verb, περιζώννυμι, in each of these echoes from the New Testament. Might this be a coincidental use of a common verb? I believe this is less likely, particularly when one considers the pertinence of these Biblical allusions to this beleaguered minority community and the pattern of indebtedness to the Bible that the Greek version exhibits, a pattern of correspondences far greater than the Latin text evinces. In conclusion, the Latin reading seems to me less dependent on an external source, less literary and theological than the Greek. This is a fact of particular pertinence in a dream narrative, and here, where we have two texts in complete disagreement, I believe the Latin version more likely to be the original.

Another example of a complete disagreement, which I will just list:

Uniuersi odore inenarrabili alebamus, qui nos satiabat (XIII.8)

We were nourished by an indescribable scent which satisfied us

Ἐτρεφόμεθα δὲ πάντες ὁσμῇ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ, ἥτις οὐκ ἐχώρταζεν ἡμᾶς

We were being nourished by an indescribable scent which did not satisfy us²¹

21. Editors have suggested emending οὐκ with οὖν to bring the Latin and Greek texts into agreement.

(C) *Rhetorical Embellishment.*

(i) Characterization:

Variants which do not add or delete historical details but which may also contribute to a more nuanced narrative, even if they appear minor at first glance, would also be substantive, if there are a sufficient number of them and if they can be said to demonstrate a pattern found elsewhere in the text. The use of such textual variants is more dependent on literary judgment and hence does not have the same weight as variants that can be verified against the known historical record. Let me provide an example of such a variant. Perpetua's father is the single most crucial figure depicted in her dreams. Of the seven chapters that constitute her autobiography, her father is a major presence in four (III, V, VI, IX) and is at least metaphorically present in another (IV). Given her intense interest in exploring this relationship and its impact on the rest of her family, it was her intention to represent the struggle between them in as complete and nuanced a manner as possible. Their relationship was very close, indeed exceptionally close for a Roman father and daughter. At one point her father acknowledges that he favored her above her brothers. Her conversion has left him bereft, grief-stricken, angry, and publicly humiliated. Despite his position in society—he was possibly a member of the *equites*—he was the only family member to intercede publicly for her.

(ii) Father and Daughter:

Let me provide a single example of a place in which the Latin and the Greek differ, albeit subtly, in the dramatic representation of their relationship. During Perpetua's examination by the acting procurator Hilarianus, her father appealed to her familial obligations in an attempt to get her to renounce her newfound faith. He asks her to consider the fate of her child and that of her brothers, and finally acknowledges that she will have brought irremediable shame on him. Frustrated, hurt, and angry, he tries to drag her from the prisoner's *castasta*.²² Hilarianus, who

22. The term *castasta* denotes a platform in a public area. The *castasta* was used initially as a platform where slaves were displayed for sale (Tib. 2.3.63–64, *quem saepe coegit / barbara gysatos ferre castasta pedes*). Subsequently, the *castasta* was employed for public confessions of faith (Cyprian, *Ep.* 38.2, CC SL 3b:184), for the prosecution of criminal offences, and latterly for torture, particularly of Christians (Prudent. *Perist.* 1.56, *post castastas igneas*, and 2.399, *ultra e castasta iudicem*). It is used in the *Passio* as a public platform where the accused are questioned. (See also *Acta SS. martyrum Numidarum*, 6; *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi*, 6, and Augustine, *Ennarrationes in Psalmos*, 96.16 CC SL 39:1367; the latter uses the word to designate a place where the soul is tested on the scaffold of conscience: *Interroga fidem tuam, pone in castasta conscientiae animam tuam*.) I have not found an instance of its use as a platform reserved for torture before the middle of the third century. (See Cyprian, *Ep.* 33.)

has watched this colloquy between father and daughter, loses his patience and is clearly embarrassed as this Roman father behaves indecorously, and he orders her father to be thrown to the floor and beaten with a rod.

Et cum staret pater ad me deiciendam, iussus est ab Hilariano proici, et virga percussus est (VI.5).

And when my father persisted in his efforts to change my mind, Hilarianus ordered him to be thrown to the ground and beaten with a rod.

Ἰλαριανοῦ ἐξεβλήθη προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῇ ῥάβδωτων δορυφόρων τις ἐτύπησεν αὐτόν (VI.5).

[At the order] of Hilarianus he was cast out; and also too a certain one of the spear carriers struck him with a stick.

Immediately following the anecdote in which she relates how her father was beaten with a rod by one of the members of Hilarianus's retinue, she says in the Latin text that she felt sorry that her father suffered so much sorrow for her sake. The Greek does not refer to her father directly or use the repetition of *pater* as does the Latin to intensify its emotional effect, nor does the Greek address his diminished, broken situation (*casus*) in the same direct way that the Latin does.

Et doluit mihi casus patris mei, quasi ego fuissem percussa (VI.5).

And my father's suffering made me sad almost as if I had been beaten

Κἀγὼ σφόδρα ἤλγησα, ἐλεήσασα τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ (VI.5).

And I very much grieved, having pitied his old age

Perpetua's father's public reputation has received a humiliating blow, and this calamity (*casus*) causes her grief. This small detail, by itself perhaps not terribly significant, if added to the dozens of other instances when the Latin contains greater nuance, particularly as it concerns her relationship with the father, is significant since it amplifies her filial affection for her father, deepens the pathos of the moment, and heightens their tragic alienation caused by her conversion to Christianity. The Greek text's exclusive expression of concern for her father's "old age" (γῆρας αὐτοῦ) misses this change of public fortune from a hitherto respected member of the community to one whose reputation has been overthrown (*casus*).

The Latin text uses the noun *casus* in another similar instance. Her father is trying to persuade her to give up her faith and return to her senses and her family. He becomes very emotional, kisses her hands, and throws himself down and grasps her around the legs. She says:

Et ego dolebam casum patris mei (V.6)

And I was sorry for my father's misfortune

Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἤλγουν (V.6)

And I was grieving for the disposition of my father

The Greek διαθέσεως qualifies the ambiguity of the Latin *casus*. The semantic register of διάθεσις, as it is used here, hints at the possibility that her father had a medical predisposition to such unmasculine behavior (hysteria?; Aris. *GA*, 778.34 and LSJ, s.v. διάθεσις, 2). The Latin indicates that this is a calamity of the moment. There is nothing in the semantic register of the Latin noun equivalent to the Greek suggestion that the father may be a hyperemotional type of man. The suggestion that he has such a predisposition tends to diminish his actions as the product of a free will, acting solely with the intention to save his child. In sum, the Latin depicts him as a parent in a bad situation, caused by his daughter, while the Greek adds to this the possibility that the situation is not something with which he is unfamiliar. The depiction of the father in the Latin is more in keeping with his biography as it has been revealed, and hence more satisfactory.

(iii) Public Shame:

Another instance where the Latin text amplifies the alienation that is affecting her relationship with her father concerns a meeting they had when she was as yet only under house arrest (*Passio* III). Her father has rushed from the unidentified city and begs her to have pity on him, pleading and telling her that he has loved her more than her brothers: *si te praeposui omnibus fratribus tuis*. He ends by beseeching her not to expose him to the scorn of men: *ne dederis in dedecus hominum*. This is an important issue and highlights the very special relationship between this Roman father and his precious daughter. Few records indicate such a public paternal celebration of a daughter over her male siblings. The Greek lacks this final plea. We can only infer why the Greek does not have this clause. Perhaps such an idea as the shame a child would cause for her father was repugnant to the Greek author, or perhaps, and this does not seem nearly as likely, the Greek scribe did not believe that this was an issue of importance. It is unlikely that the clause was unavailable to him, since his Greek text contains almost all of the narrative on either side of this remark.

IV



THE LATIN TEXT

Although the Latin manuscripts of the *Passio* have been edited for four and a half centuries, beginning with Possinus's edition of Holstenius's posthumous text of the Monte Cassino exemplar in 1663 and continuing most recently with the edition of J. Amat (1996), the text is more frequently printed without apparatus, using one of the principal scholarly editions of Ruinart, Franchi de' Cavalieri, Robinson, van Beek, Bastiaensen, or Amat (see table of "Selected Editors" below for abbreviations). Like most past editors, I have chosen the Monte Cassino version as my copy text. Although not the oldest of the extant versions, it is the most complete, shows a genealogical relationship to an earlier, more reliable Latin version (see Manuscripts "Stemma"), and contains the least "corrupt" readings of the nine extant Latin exemplars (see my discussion under "Manuscripts").

I wish to reiterate the reason I have changed the MS sigils from those of Rob, Be, Bat, or Am. The earlier designation of the MSS by numbers is inherently ambiguous and difficult to remember, particularly since Be used a number plus a superscript to refer to the MSS. For example, his sigil 5^a is British Library Cotton Nero E¹, while MS 5^c is MS British Library Cotton Otho D VIII, and so forth. Am dropped Be's numerals and adopted an alphabetic system, assigning *A* to Monte Casino and ending with *H* for the Jerusalem Greek MS version. Her use of alphabetical sigils is a return in part to that used by nineteenth-century editors, e.g., Rob. However, even here the ambiguity remains, as her sigils for van Be's 5^a and 5^c , for example, are not distinct alphabetic identifiers but rather also employ alphanumeric identifiers plus superscripts, thus C^1 and C^3 . She designates the four English MSS as C^1 through C^4 . My designation, on the other hand, uses the simple mnemonic principle of selecting the first word of the MS's name and using that as the sigil. Thus in the two instances just

cited, Be 5^a (Am C¹) is N for Cotton Nero and Be 5^c (Am C³) is O for Cotton Otho. The Monte Cassino MS is simply M, whereas it is Be's I and Am's A. I believe that this mnemonic system provides a way to identify and remember (at a glance) which sigils stand for which MS more efficiently and hence gives rise to less confusion.

Although there are some excellent editions that antedate that of Be, notably those of Franchi de' Cavalieri and Robinson, and some that have come after, those of Bastiaensen and Amat, Be's edition remains the most comprehensive and scholarly. Accordingly, my present remarks chiefly concern the editorial work of Be. His transcription is remarkably careful and accurate. When I have a different MS reading from earlier editors, I provide all pertinent readings in the lemmata and do not explicitly cite their readings unless they are significant and might change the meaning of the text. For example, in his lemma for Chapter 10 Be transcribes *conlaborabo* in X.4 for MS P but P unambiguously (albeit incorrectly) reads *cumlaborabo* (Bas & Am follow Be), or in X.7 Be records *fautores* in P but P clearly reads *factores*. The scribe of P frequently will write a -t where a -c is normative, and Be transcribes -c (silently correcting the scribe), e.g., XII.5, in *fatiem* P (Be *faciem*) and c. XVII.1, where Be reads *quantum*, but two lines later in P, he reads *iudicium* for the exact same letterform. Be will frequently rewrite the later Latin [e] as the Classical [oe], as in P's *penas*, which Be silently transcribes as *poenas* (XV.2). Four MSS read *representari* (M, A, E, and G), but Be silently transcribes *repraesentari*.

When I print a reading that is not attested by the MS evidence, I place the emendation inside square brackets, e.g., XX.8: *adh[a]erebat*. Occasionally Be appears to conflate orthographically different vowels whose phonemic quality was viewed as nondistinct, e.g., XI.8, where MS A reads *Satirum*, MS E reads *Saturum* and MS P reads *Satyrum*. Be, however, reads all three as *Saturum*. Occasionally, Be will expand a suffix in order to correct it when there is no expansion mark provided in the text. For example, at XX.3 M clearly reads *revocate*, but Be transcribes it as *revocatae*. The scribe of M does, however, provide such expansion signs as the very same word occurs in the very same chapter at XX.7 with the unmistakable expansion sign present, thus *revocatae*. I have used established spellings of proper names, e.g., XIII.4, where all the MSS read *Grece*, but I have followed past practice and adopted *Graece* in the text.

The purpose of the apparatus that accompanies this Latin text is to alert the reader to those places in the *Passio* where what is printed here varies significantly from MS M. I have provided a listing of all variants or conjectures that may be considered significant. The textual tradition is now so well established that I believe printing only those significant readings provides the best and most efficient textual apparatus. While there are of course hundreds of variants among the Latin manuscripts of the *Passio*, many are not significant. The issue of deciding what is a "significant" variant is enormously complex. Does one weigh more heavily the earliest MS

version of a particular reading? The earliest version of the *Passio* represented by G is incomplete, ending at Chapter XIX.4. Moreover, although G is the earliest version we have, it is still some seven centuries later than the date of composition. For this edition, a significant variant is one that changes, adds to, or subtracts from the meaning of the passage or may point to some evidence of an important earlier exemplar. Such variants may be intentional or, less commonly, they are the result of unintentional scribal error where the meaning of the text is changed and that unintentional scribal emendation has been subsequently transmitted through a manuscript tradition. The use of a unique lexical item would be considered significant, whereas some obvious orthographic variants or instances of the employment of a different case would not be considered significant (e.g., MSS A & M III.5 read *michi* versus MS E *me* and MSS N P S *mihī*), nor would a syntactic change where the meaning is not changed (e.g., MS M III.5 *sumus et michi spiritus* / MS S *sumus mihi autem spiritus*), or the substitution of a word with a close meaning (M III.5 *non aliud* / MS N *nihil aliud*). Of course, even some slight variant manuscript readings may prove significant in determining manuscript genealogies; if they point to pertinent manuscript affiliation I often provide them, or if they provide some evidence of the idiosyncratic nature of the copyist (e.g., MS P XI.5 uniquely reads *iestamur* for *gestamur*). If I cannot be certain of a manuscript reading, I will state in the lemma the earlier editor's supposition (e.g., IV.9 *de caseo*] *de lacte* proposed by Be based on MS O). Thus the lemma reads *Be/O*. In many instances it is no longer possible to verify with certainty the readings of Be from MS O, and thus I do not cite MS O in those instances. MS O appears to have deteriorated from further oxidation in the eighty years since Be read it. Additionally, in some instances Be simply cites the numeral 3 (Am E) referring to the two Swiss MSS or the numeral 5 (Am C) referring to the four English manuscripts. This system gives rise to a certain ambiguity, since at other times he is more specific and will cite the specific English manuscript, e.g., VI.8, *miseros* MS 5 but VI.12, *diaconem* 5 a. b. Moreover, sometimes such a global citation misleads. For example, Be (followed by Am) records that c. XV.2 reads *aliquos* in all the English MSS (C N O S). However, of the four English MSS, S is the only one that unambiguously reads *aliquos*. Of the three remaining MSS, MS C is a fragment and does not have the passage in question, MS N clearly reads *alios*, and O is so damaged by the fire that I cannot read it with certainty. This is the reason for citing every MS sigil when I can verify a MS reading.

I have silently expanded MS abbreviations throughout; for example, in I.6, where MS M reads *Ihu Xro* I print *Iesu Christo*. MS G consistently does not provide scribal expansion marks, and one has to determine from the syntax the appropriate reading. However, in other instances where a scribe normally inserts the abbreviation mark and does not typically truncate endings and the ending is problematic, I record what is written in the MS (e.g., MS A XX.2, unambiguously reads *mammi* for *mammis*). My punctuation is independent of the manuscripts'

few diacritical marks, and I employ punctuation to clarify meaning. The lemmata are given in alphabetical order, but when M is one of the variants it will be first.

When there are significant variant readings, I begin each lemma with the reading printed from MS M followed by the variants. If, however, the word I am printing is not transcribed from MS M, I identify the MS source—the MSS sigils and/or editors used for the reading, followed by significant alternatives with the MSS sigils and editors who adopt them. In those instances when I follow and print MS M and there are significant variant readings, I begin the lemma with the MS M reading followed by the significant variants and the pertinent manuscript sigils and the abbreviated names of the editors who propose the variant reading (see “Abbreviations” below). If a MS reading agrees with M, I do not provide that manuscript sigil in the lemma, e.g., in VI.2, MSS MAEG read *infanti* but NOPS read *canos meos*, so I cite only MSS NOPS and not MSS AEG, all of which agree with MS M. Variant readings from MS O (severely damaged in the Cotton fire) are only given when I can verify the reading unambiguously or Be’s reading appears accurate. MS C (Canterbury E. 42) is defective and begins in chapter XXI.8 with the word *reddendo*.

Selected Editors

Am.	Amat	Har.	Harris
Bas.	Bastiaensen	Hol.	Holstenius
Be.	van Beek	Laz.	Lazzati
Cam.	Campos	Mus.	Musurillo
Fra.	Franchi de’ Cavalieri	Rob.	Robinson
Fel.	Fell	Rui.	Ruinart
Geb.	Gebhardt	Sal.	Salonius
Gey.	Geyer	Sol.	Sola
Hal.	Halporn	She.	Shewring

Abbreviations

abbr.	abbreviatio	illeg.	illegibile
add.	additum	om.	omissum
corr.	correctio	[]	emendatio editorialis
corr. mg.	correctio in margine	...	elisio
corr. ln.	correctio linearis	>	textus additus ante verbum
corr. sl.	correctio super linea	<	textus additus post verbum
eras.	erasum	txt. mg.	textus in margine

PASSIO SANCTARUM PERPETUAE ET FELICITATIS¹

I

I. ¹Si vetera fidei exempla, et Dei gratiam testificantia et aedificationem hominis operantia, propterea in litteris sunt digesta, ut lectione eorum quasi repensatione rerum et Deus honoretur et homo confortetur, cur non et nova documenta aequae utrique causae convenientia et digerantur? ²Vel quia proinde et haec vetera futura quandoque sunt et necessaria posteris, si in praesenti suo tempore minori deputantur auctoritati, propter praesumptam venerationem antiquitatis. ³Sed viderint qui unam virtutem Spiritus unius Sancti pro aetatibus iudicent temporum, cum maiora reputanda sunt novitiora quaeque, ut novissima, secundum exuperationem gratiae in ultima saeculi spatia decretam. ⁴*In novissimis enim diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii filiaeque eorum; et super servos et ancillas meas de meo Spiritu effundam; et iuvenes visiones videbunt, et senes somnia somniabunt.* ⁵Itaque et nos, qui sicut prophetias ita et visiones novas pariter repromissas et agnoscimus et honoramus, ceterasque virtutes Spiritus Sancti ad instrumentum Ecclesiae deputamus (cui et missus est idem omnia donativa administrans in omnibus, prout unicuique distribuit Dominus) necessario et digerimus [ea] et ad gloriam Dei lectione celebramus, ut ne qua aut imbecillitas aut desperatio fidei apud veteres tantum aestimet gratiam divinitatis conversatam, sive [in] martyrum sive in revelationum dignatione, cum semper Deus operetur quae repromisit, non credentibus in testimonium, credentibus in beneficium. ⁶Et nos itaque *quod audivimus et vidimus 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 mart[y]ribus, et per illos cum Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est claritas et honor in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

I. Titulus: *om.MC, illeg. in O sed praesens in A E G N P and S.* Incipit passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis Die Nonarum Martiarum civitate Tyburtina minore *G* Incipit Passio Sanctae Felicitatis et Perpetuae quod est non Mar in civitate Turbitana *S.* **Incipit:** *A E G N S O (sed illeg.), om.M non. mar. passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis A* Incipit Passio Sanctorum Revocati Saturnini Perpetuae et Felicitatis in civitate tuburbitana minore *E* Incipit Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis Die Nonarum Martiarum in civitate Tyburtinarum minore *G* Incipit Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis quod est nonis Martiis in civitate Turbitana *N* Incipit Passio Sanctae Felicitatis et Perpetuae *P* Incipit Passio Sanctae Felicitatis et Perpetuae quod est non Mart in civitate Turbitana *S*

II

II. ¹Apprehensi sunt adolescentes catechumeni: Revocatus et Felicitas, conserva eius, Saturninus et Secundulus; inter hos et Vibia Perpetua, honeste nata, liberaliter instituta, matronaliter nupta. ²Habens patrem et matrem et fratres duos, alterum aequae catechumenum, et filium infantem ad ubera. ³Erat autem ipsa circiter annorum viginti duorum. Haec ordinem totum martyrii sui iam hinc ipsa narravit, sicut conscriptum manu sua et suo sensu reliquit.

III

III. ¹Cum adhuc, inquit, cum persecutoribus essemus et me pater verbis evertere cupiret et deicere pro sua affectione perseveraret: "Pater," inquam "vides verbi gratia vas hoc iacens, urceolum sive aliud?" Et dixit "video." ²Et ego dixi ei: "Numquid alio nomine vocari potest quam quod est?" Et ait "non." "Sic et ego aliud me dicere non possum nisi quod sum, Christiana." ³Tunc pater motus hoc verbo mittit se in me, ut oculos mihi erueret, sed vexavit tantum, et profectus est victus cum argumentis diaboli. ⁴Tunc paucis diebus quod caruissem patrem Domino gratias egi et refrigeravi absentia illius. ⁵In ipso spatio paucorum dierum

C 1. only in *M*.

I.1. aedificationem] *Hol.* aedificatione *M.* repensatione] *M* repraesentatione *Har.* repensatione *Rui* 3. exuperationem] exuberationem *Braun* decretam] *Rob.* decreta *M* 5. administrans] *Rob.* administratus *M* administraturus *Be. Mus. Laz. Am.* administrator *Gey.* prout] *Hol.* pro *M* lectione] lectionem *M* divinitatis] *Hol.* divinitatis *M* divinitus *Geb.* [in] *add.* *Rob.* 6. audivimus] *add.* < vidimus *Cav. Rob. Be. Bas. R.* martiribus] *M add.* [y] *Rob.*

II.1. Apprehensi] Adprehensi *G N S* Apprensi *O om. A P* Saturninus et Secundulus] Satirus et Saturninus *A* et Secundulus *M* hos] eos *G* quos *E O S P* Vibia] *M V* Vibia *E O P S* honeste nata] honesta *om.* nata *M* honestate *A* matronaliter] naturaliter *E* liberaliter *O* 2. patrem et matrem] patre et matre *G* 3. Erat autem] Et erat ipsa *P S O A* et ipsa fuit *E* circiter annorum] annorum circiter *A E G O P S* duorum] *S* duo *M* et duo *P* haec ordinem] hoc ordine *A* ordine *G* sicut conscriptum] et conscriptum *E G* sicut scriptum *S* manu sua] sua manu *E G O S* suam manu *A P*

III.1. Cum... cum] Cum... sub *E G* persecutoribus] persecutoribus *E G* essemus] *A G E P N O* *S* *om.* C essem *M* et me pater verbis] et me pater *om.* verbis *M*, et pater verbis *om.* me *E*, verbis me *G* et me patrum verbis *N, P add.* a christianitate *O* evertere] auertere *A E G N P S O* cupiret] cuperet *A* sua affectione] affectione sua *E G* inquam] inquit *M* iacens] iacet siue *E, G* 2. ei] *om. E G* potest] potes *A* ait] dixit *E G N O P S add.* inquam *O* recipimur] recipimus *P* Aestus estos *A N P* aestus validi *G* estus validi *E* estus validos *O* 3. mittit] misit *A E G N P S* nisi] quam *A* erueret] everteret *N P S* sed vexavit tantum] et nimium vexavit me *N* vexavit *A* vexans me *O* vexavit me tantum *E, G* vexauero *P* profectus est] *G* profecto est *M* 4. caruissem patrem] patre *A E G N S* carui patre *O* Domino] Deo *E G N P S* refrigeravi] *A* refrigeravit *M* refrigerata sum *N P S* refrigeravi me *E G* 5. paucos] paucos vero *A Be/O*

baptizati sumus; et mihi Spiritus dictavit nihil aliud petendum ab aqua nisi sufferentiam carnis. Post paucos dies recipimur in carcerem: et expavi, quia numquam experta eram tales tenebras. ⁶O diem asperum! [A]estus validus turbarum beneficio, concussur[a]e militum. Novissime macerabar sollicitudine infantis ibi. ⁷Tunc Tertius et Pomponius, benedicti diaconi qui nobis ministrabant, constituerunt praemio, uti paucis horis emissi in meliorem locum carceris refrigeraremus. ⁸Tunc exeuntes de carcere universi sibi vacabant: ego infantem lactabam iam inedia defectum; sollicita pro eo adloquebar matrem et confortabam fratrem, commendabam filium; tabescebam ideo quod illos tabescere videram mei beneficio. ⁹Tales sollicitudines multis diebus passa sum; et usurpavi ut mecum infans in carcere maneret; et statim convalui et relevata sum a labore et sollicitudine infantis, et factus est mihi carcer subito praetorium, ut ibi mallet esse quam alicubi.

IV

IV. ¹Tunc dixit mihi frater meus: “Domina soror, iam in magna dignatione es; tanta es ut postules visionem et ostendatur tibi an passio sit an commeatus.” ²Et ego quae me sciebam fabulari cum Domino, cuius beneficia tanta experta eram, fidenter repromisi ei dicens: “crastina die tibi renuntiabo.” Et postulavi, et ostensum est mihi hoc: ³Video scalam aeream mirae longitudinis, pertingentem usque ad caelum, et angustam, per quam nonnisi singuli ascendere possent, et in lateribus scalae omne genus ferramentorum infixum. Erant ibi gladii, lanceae, [h]ami, macherae, verruta, ut si quis neglegenter aut non sursum adtendens ascenderet,

in aqua] *N O P S om E G* recipimur] recepti sumus *O* experta eram tales] tales experta eram *N Be/O P S* 6. O diem] O die *P* odium *A* concussur[ae] concussure *M* concussura *N P S* concussuras *O om.E G* novissime] novissimo *N P S* angustiae novissimae *E* angustie novissime *G* 7. Tunc] Ibi tunc *A E G N P S* Pomponius] Ponporius *A* Pompinius *O S* benedicti diaconi qui nobis ministrabant] diacones stabant *A* diacones *E G* diaconus *N* constituerunt praemio] continuerunt praemium *A N* continuerunt premium *O P* precia *E* pretio *G* uti paucis] *She.* ut hii *M* ut *A E G O N P S* refrigeraremus] refrigereremur *P* refrigeraeremur *N* refrigeremus *E* 8. inedia defectum] *om.E* mane die illucescente defectum *G* in taedio defectum *A* matrem et confortabam fratrem] *om.A* confortabam matrem *P* fratri *N S* videram] videbam *E G N P S* viderem *A* mei] meo *E G N P S* 9. relevata] revelata *P S* elevata *E G* infantis] *om.E G* subito] quasi *N P S* esse] *A* essem *M* alicubi] *M* alibi *A E G N S*

IV.1. frater] pater *P* meus *om.G* dignatione] dignitate *N S* tanta] *add. es E G om.S* tantese es *P* postules] postulem *M* 2. beneficia] beneficio *N S* benefita *P* benefacta *E* fidenter] fidens *E G P N S* repromisi ei dicens] repromissionibus eius *N S* repromissa ei *P* Crastina die] cras *A* 3. aeream] *A N* aerea *G* aerea *E* auream *P om.M* magnitudinis] *M* longitudinis *A E G* pertingentem] *M om.E G* ad] *M* in] *E G N S* ascendere] *E G N P S* ascendi] *M* possent] *M* possim] *E P* possint *G N O S* infixum] fixum *A* lanceae hami] *om.A E G O P* ami *M N S* macherae] *om.A* verruta] *Be Geb Am* verutti *E G om.M N P S* adtendens

laniaretur et carnes eius inhaerent ferramentis. ⁴Et erat sub ipsa scala draco cubans mirae magnitudinis, qui ascendentibus insidias praestabat et exterrebat ne ascenderent. ⁵Ascendit autem Saturus prior, qui postea se propter nos ultro tradiderat (quia ipse nos aedificaverat), et tunc cum adducti sumus, praesens non fuerat. ⁶Et pervenit in caput scalae, et convertit se et dixit mihi: “Perpetua, sustineo te; sed vide ne te mordeat draco ille.” Et dixi ego: “Non me nocebit, in nomine Iesu Christi.” ⁷Et desub ipsa scala, quasi timens me, lente eiecit caput; et quasi primum gradum calcarem, calcavi illi caput, et ascendi. ⁸Et vidi spatium immensum horti et in medio sedentem hominem canum, in habitu pastoris, grandem, oves mulgentem; et circumstantes candidati milia multa. ⁹Et levavit caput et aspexit me et dixit mihi: “Bene venisti, tegnon.” Et clamavit me et de caseo quod mulgebat dedit mihi quasi buccellam; et ego accepi iunctis manibus et manducavi; et universi circumstantes dixerunt: “Amen.” ¹⁰Et ad sonum vocis experta sum, commanducans adhuc dulce nescio quid. Et retuli statim fratri meo; et intelleximus passionem esse futuram, et coepimus nullam iam spem in saeculo habere.

V

V. ¹Post paucos dies rumor cucurrit ut audiremur. Supervenit autem de civitate pater meus, consumptus taedio, et ascendit ad me, ut me deiceret, dicens: ²“Miserere, filia, canis meis; miserere patri, si dignus sum a te pater vocari; si

ascenderet] ascendens adtenderet P ascendens attenderet NS om A eius] illius A E G N P S illis O inhaerent] O inhererent E G M N P haerent A 4. praestabat] parabat AN P Stendebat G 5. Saturus] M Saturninus E G quia ipse nos aedificaverat] A S G edificauerat E O P om.M adducti] adprehensi N O P S sumus] fuissemus E G 6. in] ad P S convertit] A E G evertit] M sustineo te] te sustineo E G mordeat te] te mordeat A E G N te om.P ille] om.E G P N S Non me] nemo P nomini] add. domini P add. domini nostri A N S et] add. draco N 7. S N. desub] sub A ipsa] om.A E G N P eiecit] elevavit N P S quasi] cum A N P S calcarem] calcassem N O P S om.E G calcavi illi] ei calcavi E G 8. vidi] video A E G N S P spatium] spacium E spatium G P spatium N S canum] G sanum M in habitu pastoris, grandem] grandem in habitu pastoris A circumstantes candidati] circumstantium candidatorum A circumstantes candidatos G P S circumstantes candida N 9. bene venisti tegnon] Bene venisti thecnon E G benedixisti nunc N S Benevenies tegnum P bene venias O Bene venisti Nec non A clamavit me] amavit me P S add. ad me E G quod] quem A O/Be caseo] add. lacte Be/O 10. Ad sonum vocis] a sono A om.M experta] expergefacta sum A experrecta G commanducans] M S cummanducans P manducans A E G dulce] E G S om.M dulci N P dulcedine A meo] om.E G esse futuram] futuram esse E G coepimus] cepimus A N P cepi E coepi G nulla iam] iam nullam A E G N P S saeculo] saeculum P

V.1. paucos] vero add. A cucurrit] occurrit NS ut] quod A E G N P S audiremur] audiremus N S supervenit autem et] Et supervenit N P S supervenit E G supervenit autem A superveniret O/Be meus] om.E G 2. Et] A E G N P S om.M miserere filia] filia miserere A E G N P S canis meis] carnis meae A patri N P S patri] patris M canis meis N P S

his te manibus ad hunc florem aetatis provexi, si te praeposui omnibus fratribus tuis: ne me dederis in dedecus hominum. ³Aspice fratres tuos, aspice matrem tuam et materteram, aspice filium tuum, qui post te vivere non poterit. ⁴Depone animos; ne universos nos extermines: nemo enim nostrum libere loquetur, si tu aliquid passa fueris.” ⁵Haec dicebat quasi pater pro sua pietate, basians mihi manus, et se ad pedes meos iactans et lacrimans me iam non filiam nominabat, sed dominam. ⁶Et ego dolebam casum patris mei, quod solus de passione mea gavisurus non esset de toto genere meo, et confortavi eum dicens: “Hoc fiet in illa catasta quod Deus voluerit; scito enim nos non in nostra esse potestate futuros, sed in Dei.” Et recessit a me contristatus.

VI

VI. ¹Alio die cum pranderemus, subito rapti sumus ut audiremur. Et pervenimus ad forum. Rumor statim per vicinas fori partes cucurrit, et factus est populus immensus. ²Ascendimus in catastam. Interrogati ceteri confessi sunt. Ventum est ad me. Et apparuit pater ilico cum filio meo, et extraxit me de gradu, dicens: “Supplica; misere infanti.” ³Et Hilarianus procurator, qui tunc loco proconsulis Minuci Timiniani defuncti ius gladii acceperat: “Parce,” inquit, “canis patris tui, parce infantiae pueri. Fac sacrum pro salute imperatorum.

his te] istis A ad hunc] *om.P* florem aetatis] etatis *EP S* aetatis florem A si te praeposui] proposui *P* et preposui A quia et praeposui te *EG* tuis] meis *E* in] *om.EG* dedecus] opproprium *P* obprobrium *NS* 3. aspice fratres tuos] aspice ad fratres tuos *NP S* aspice matrem tuam et materteram] *om.P* non poterit] non potest *P* 4. ne universos nos extermines] noli nos universos exterminare *NOPS* enim] *om.EGNOPS* nostrum] *add.* in s[a]eculo A loquetur] *A O* loquitur *EGNP S* fueris] feceris *P* passa fueris A 5. quasi] *ANOPS om.EGM* basians] osculans *AEG* et lacrimans] *Geb.* et lacrimis *M* et iam lacrimans *ANOP* etiam lacrimans *S* lacrimans *EG* non filiam nominabat, sed dominam] dominam me vocabat *ANOPS* vocabat sed dominam *EG* 6. casum] *A* casus *EG* causam *M* canos *NOPS* gavisurus] gavisus *AEGNOS* gavissus *P* catasta] catastam *AP* deus] *EG* dominus *ANOPS* voluerit] volet *O* esse potestate futuros] *AEGNP S* futurus *O* constitutos *M* me] *add.* pater *NOPS*

VI.1. Alio] Alia *AEG* cum] dum A fori partes] partes fori *EGNOPS* cucurrit] concurrat *NOS* cucurrisset *EG* 2. Ascendimus in catastam] *AENOPS* in catasta *G M* Interrogati] et interrogati *EG* Et apparuit] Et paruit *EG* pater ilico] ilic pater A illo pater *EG* ibi pater *NOPS* dicens supplica] *A* Supplica *M* et dixit supplicans *NOPS* et dixit supplico *EG* rogo *add.* *NOS* infanti] canos meos *NP S* canis meis *O* 3. Hilarianus] Elarianus *NOS* Helarianus *P* procurator] curator *G* (*corr. facta a scriba recentiore?*) tunc loco] *om.* tunc *NOPS* in locum] *NOPS* proconsulis Minuci Timiniani] *G* minacii teminiani *N* minutii teminiani *P* timiani *E* minarii teminiani *S* pio solus minuci timiani A acceperat] *add.* hoc ait *EG* Parce inquit canis] canes patris *N* canos patris *S* dixit parce canos *P* dixit parce canis *O* pueri] puerili *NS*

⁴Et ego respondi: “Non faciam.” Et Hilarianus: “Christianus es?” inquit. Et ego respondi: “Christiana sum.” ⁵Et cum staret pater ad me deiciendam, iussus est ab Hilariano proici, et virga percussus est. Et doluit mihi casus patris mei, quasi ego fuissem percussa: sic dolui pro senecta eius misera. ⁶Tunc nos universos pronuntiat et damnat ad bestias; et hilares descendimus ad carcerem. ⁷Tunc quia consueverat a me infans mammas accipere et mecum in carcere manere, statim mitto ad patrem Pomponium diaconum, postulans infantem. ⁸Sed pater dare noluit. Et quomodo Deus voluit, neque ille amplius mammas desideravit, neque mihi fervorem fecerunt, ne sollicitudine infantis et dolore mamarum macerarer.

VII

VII. ¹Post 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. ²Et cognovi me statim dignam esse et pro eo petere debere. Et coepi de ipso orationem facere multum et ingemescere ad Dominum. ³Continuo ipsa nocte ostensum est mihi hoc: ⁴Video

4. respondi] *add.* dicens A non facio helarius Christiana es] et hilarianus dixit A E G non faciam et helarianus ergo Christiana P (*add.* ait) N S elarianus N 5. staret] temptaret N S contempret P pater] *add.* perseverare Be/O Hilariano] elariano S clariano P proici] A E G N P S deici M percussus est] A E G N P S percussit sic dolui] doluit A doluit enim N S mihi doluit P *om.*sic N doluit mihi] dolui casus N S mei] *om.*A E G senecta] senectute N S *om.*pro A misera] miser P miseros N S *verbis quae sequuntur iungunt* 6. Tunc . . . universos] miser] tunc] universos P Be/O damnat] dampnat P dapnat A clamat S 7. Tunc] et E G mammas] mammam N P S in carcerem] M Pomponium] Pompinianum P diaconum] diaconem N S 8. Sed] *om.*A E G N P S dare noluit] dare noluit Be/O amplius] *om.*A mammas] mammam N P S desideravit] desiderat M fecerunt] effecerunt N P sollicitudine infantis] sollicitudinem A illius sollicitudine E G dolore] dolorem M P macerarer] maceraret M (*corr. ln.*)

VII.1. Post dies paucos] post paucos dies N S oramus] oremus P oraremus N O subito] *om.*M subito dum N O S subito media A E G profecta] perfecta A prolatum N O P S nominavi] A N S nomina M O P nominavit E G Dinocraten] E G N O P Dinocratem A Vidicraten M Vidinograte P obstipui] obstipui A stupui E G obstupui N O S *add.* eo O mihi] *om.*G mentem] mente M venisset nisi tunc] nisitunc P *om.*E G commemorata casus] A commemorata casus M commemoratum casum E G memorata casu N O P S 2. petere] patere P pati N O S de] pro A N O P S ipso] ipsa E G illo A multum] multam N O P S ingemescere] ingemiscere A E G N O P S Dominum] deum E G N O P S 3. continuo] *corr. sl. M om.*G est mihi hoc in oratione] P in oromate hoc A hoc in oromate N O P S *om.*in horomate E G 4. Et video] E G

Dinocratem exeuntem de loco tenebroso, ubi et conplures erant, aestuantem valde et sitientem, sordido vultu et colore pallido; et vulnus in facie eius, quod cum moreretur habuit. ⁵Hic Dinocrates fuerat frater meus carnalis, annorum septem, qui per infirmitatem facie cancerata male obiit, ita ut mors eius odio fuerit omnibus hominibus. ⁶Pro hoc ergo orationem feceram; et inter me et illum grande erat diastema, ita ut uterque ad invicem accedere non possemus. ⁷Erat deinde in illo loco, ubi Dinocrates erat, piscina plena aqua, altiolem marginem habens quam erat statura pueri; et extendebat se Dinocrates quasi bibiturus. ⁸Ego dolebam, quod et piscina illa aquam habebat, et tamen propter altitudinem marginis bibiturus non esset. ⁹Et experta sum, et cognovi fratrem meum laborare; sed fidebam me profuturam labori eius. Et orabam pro eo omnibus diebus quousque transivimus in carcerem castrensem; munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi: natale tunc Getae Caesaris. ¹⁰Et feci pro illo orationem die et nocte gemens et lacrimans, ut mihi donaretur.

VIII

VIII. ¹Die autem 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; ²et piscinam illam, quam retro videram,

Dinocratem] *A N O S* Dinocraten *M E G* Vidinograte *P* conplures erant] conplures loca erant
M aestuantem] *G P* estuantem *A E M N O S* valde et sitientem] et sitientem valde *A E G N O*
P S 5. facie] faciem *A M F* Eras. m *E* fatie *P* cancerata] carceratam *M* macerata *N O S* 6.
diastema] *Hol.* diadema *M* idiantem *P* diantem diantem *N* dianten *n corr. sl.* *S* spacium *E* spatium
A O G possemus] possumus *E G* possumus *P* 7. in illo loco] *E G om.* *M* ipso loco *N P S* eo
loco *A* Dinocrates erat] erat Dinocrates *A N P S* plena] *om.* *E G add.* cum *E G* aqua] aqua et
A aquae *P* atque *N S* altiolem] aliorum *N S* aliorum *P* algas *Be/O* marginem] in margine
Be/O quam erat statura] quam staturam *P* quasi staturam *S* secundum staturam *Be/O* 8.
Et ego] *E G* et piscina] de piscina *A* habebat] haberet *N O S P* bibeat *A* altitudinem]
altitudines *N O S* bibiturus] quia bibiturus *E G* esset] *add.* ex ea *A* Et experta sum]
E O N P S Et experrecta sum *G* Et exporrecta sum *M* Expergefata sum *A* 9. Et experta sum]
E O N P S Et experrecta sum *G* Et exporrecta sum *M* Expergefata sum *A* fidebam] confide-
bam *P* considerabam *N O S* pro fide videbam *E G* me profuturam] *om.* *me* *N O P S* profuturam
orationem meam *N O P S* Et orabam pro eo] *om.* *E G* omnibus diebus] *A E G N O P S*
om. *M* in carcerem castrensem] castrensem *om.* *N O P S* enim castrensi] enim caesaris *add.*
E G natale tunc Getae Caesaris] natale tunc cetae Caesaris *A* natalis caesaris tunc erat *E G* natali
caesaris *N O S* natali gente tunc caesaris *A* 10. pro illo] pro eo *A E G* orationem] *add.* et *N*
O S gemens] *A E G N O P S om.* *M* lacrimans] *add.* fui *O*

VIII.1. Die] die autem *A N O P S* quo] qua *A* nervo] *add.* constricto *A* mansi-
mus] mansissemus *A* video] *add.* et ecce video *E G* locum illum] loco illo *A* retro]
om. *N O P S* videram] *add.* tenebrosus esse lucidum *N O P S* Dinocraten] Dinocratem
N O S Dinocratem *P* refrigerantem] regfrigerantem *N* 2. piscinam illam] piscine illa
G quam retro videram] *om.* *E G* retro] prae *N O P S*

summisso margine usque ad umbilicum pueri; et aquam de ea trahebat sine cessatione. ³Et super margine fiala aurea plena aqua. Et accessit Dinocrates et de ea bibere coepit; quae fiala non deficiebat. ⁴Et satiatus, accessit de aqua ludere more infantium gaudens. Et experta sum. Tunc intellexi translatum eum esse de poena.

IX

IX. ¹Deinde post dies paucos Pudens miles optio, praepositus carceris, qui nos magnificare coepit intellegens magnam virtutem esse in nobis; qui multos ad nos admittebat ut et nos et illi invicem refrigeraremus. ²Ut autem proximavit dies muneris, intravit ad me pater meus Consumptus taedio, et coepit barbam suam evellere et in terram mittere et prosternere se in faciem, et inproperare annis suis et dicere tanta verba quae moverent universam creaturam. ³Ego dolebam pro infelici senecta eius.

X

X. ¹Pridie quam pugnaremus, video in horomate hoc: venisse Pomponium diaconum ad ostium carceris et pulsare vehementer. ²Et exivi ad eum et aperui ei; qui erat vestitus distincta candida, habens multiplices galliculas. ³Et dixit mihi: “Perpetua,

summisso] summissa *GNS* summissa *EP* summisso *A* umbilicum] umbilicum *P* aquam] aqua *NS* trahebat] trahebam cadebat *Geb.* profluebat *Laz.* 3. margine] marginem *AEGNOPS* fiala] filam *N* add. erat *AEGPS* Dinocrates] Dinocratis *P* quae] et quasi *NOPS* deficiebat] defitiebatur *P* 4. satiatus] *GNOPS* saciatus *MAE* de aqua ludere] ludere satiatus de aqua *NOS* ludere satiatus de ea aqua *P* infantium] infantum *AEGNOPS* experta] *ENOPS* experrecta sum *MG* expergefacta sum *A* Tunc] Et tunc *A* et *EGNOPS* de poena] *EGNOPS* de pena *AM* ad requiem sanctam iustorum *add.* *A*

IX.1. post dies paucos] *EG* Pudens] Prudens *corr.al.* *S* qui] *Cav.* & ex *Graeco Geb.* *MS.* magnificare coepit intellegens] *A* magnifice *M* intelligere *M* virtutem esse] dei virtutem esse *A* *EG* virtutem esse dei *NS* virtutem dei esse *P* in nobis] nobiscum *EG* qui] *om.* *ANOP* *S* multos] multos fratres *ANOPS* admittebat] mittebat *E* illi] ille *P* refrigeraremus] refrigeremus *P* refrigeraremur *NS* *corr. sl.* re *G* 2. Ut autem] Et *om.* ut autem *EG* Ut *om.* autem *Be/O* *P* Et ut *om.* autem *NS* intrat] intravit *NPS* Et intravit *EG* introivit *A* pater meus ad me] *NS* consumptus] finitus *EG* evellere] vellere *AN* *Be/O* *PS* inproperare] improperare *EG* inproperans se *P* imperans se *NS* moverent] moveretur *M* videbantur movere *Be/O* 3. infelici senecta] infelicitate senectutis *A*

X.1. Pridie quam] pridie ante quam *EG* video] *om.* *S* hoc] huc *EP* hunc *G* diaconum] ostium] hostium *AN* diaconem] *M* carceris] *om.* *P* pulsare] pulsantem *EG* pulsasse *ANOP* *S* vestitus] *add.* veste *A* distincta candida] *AGNOP* *S* distinctam candidam *M* distinctus candidem *E* habens] habebat *EG* galliculas] calliculas *MOP* caliculas *A* galliluculas *N* ex auro et argento *add.* *NOPS* 2. habens] habebat *EG* galliculas] calliculas *MOP* caliculas *A* galliluculas *N* ex auro et argenbto *add.* *NOPS* 3. Perpetua,

te expectamus: veni.” Et tenuit mihi manum, et coepimus ire per aspera loca et flexuosa. ⁴Et vix tandem pervenimus anhelantes ad amphitheatrum, et induxit me in media arena, et dixit mihi: “Noli expavescere: hic sum tecum et conlaboro tecum. Et abiit. ⁵Et aspicio populum ingentem adtonitum; et quia sciebam me ad bestias damnatam esse, mirabar quod non mitterentur mihi bestiae. ⁶Et exivit quidam contra me Egyptius foedus specie cum adiutoribus suis, pugnaturus mecum. Veniunt et ad me adolescentes decori, adiutores et fautores mei. ⁷Et expoliata sum, et facta sum masculus, et coeperunt me favisores mei oleo defricare, quomodo solent in agone; et illum contra Egyptium video in afa volutantem. ⁸Et exivit vir quidam mirae magnitudinis, ut etiam excederet fastigium amphit[h]eatri, discinctatus, purpuram inter duos clavos per medium pectus habens, et galliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas, et ferens virgam quasi lanista, et ramum viridem in quo erant mala aurea. ⁹Et petiit silentium et dixit: ‘Hic Aegyptius, si hanc vicerit, occidet illam gladio; haec, si hunc vicerit, accipiet ramum istum.’ Et recessit. ¹⁰Et accessimus ad invicem et coepimus mittere pugnos; ille mihi pedes apprehendere volebat, ego autem illi calcibus

te expectamus] te expectamus Perpetua *E G* et coepimus . . . vix] *om.P* aspera] asperae *N* flexuosa] *om.P* flectuosa *E* loca et flexuosa] flexuosa et loca *AN OS* **4.** Et vix] *A E G om.M* *N O P S* pervenimus anhelantes] ambulantes pervenimus *N O P S* anhelantes pervenimus *A* venimus anhelantes *E G* amphitheatrum] amfitearum *P* induxit] introduxit *E G* media arena] media herena *E G* medio arenae *N O P S* mediam harenam *A* Noli expavescere] Perpetua noli *E G* expavescere] pavere *M* conlaboro] collabora *O* collaborabo *E* conlaborabo *A G P* [*corr. ln:* o ad abo] *N S P* **5.** populum] *add.* multum *O* ingentem . . . sciebam *om.A* sciebam me *corr. sl. P* quia] quoniam *E G* me] et me *A om.me N P om.et OS* bestias] bestiam *N O P S* damnatam esse] *E G* datum esse *M* dampnatum esse *A* donatam esse *N P* esse donatam *O* mirabar] minabar-*corr.* al—*r M* mitterentur] mittebantur *E G N O P S* **6.** quidam contra me] *om.* quidam *A* contra me quidam *E G N O P S* Egiptius] Aegyptius *G P* Aegyptius *A* Egyptius *E N O* foedus specie] foedus turpis facie *E* foedus turpi *G* fedus spetiae *P* Veniunt et ad me] Et ad me veniunt *N O P S* Et ecce veniunt ad me *E G* fautores] factores *P* **7.** Et expoliata sum] Et factores expoliata *P* facta sum masculus] *om.* facta *N P S* masculus] masculos *P om.Be/O* favisores] fautores *A G N S* fautores *eras.-c E* factores *P* defricare] *E G N O* defrigere *P* defrigere *M* perungere *A* agone] *A E G N P S* agonem *M* Egyptium video] egiptium *A N O S* video egyptium *E* video Aegyptium *G* afa] aere *E* aera *G* aqua *N O P S* volutantem] voluntate *A* volentem *E G* **8.** Et exiuit] Me tenuit *A* ut] qui *A* amphitheatri] *A E G N S* anptheatri *M* anfiteatri *P* discinctatus] discinctus *A E G* discinctam habens tunicam *N O P S* purpuram] purpura *A E G* pectus habens, et *Fra. Be Bas.* pectus, habens *Rob. Geb.* et] *E G N O P S om.A M* galliculas] *E G* calliculas *M N O P S* caliculas *A* ferens virgam] *E G N O P S* efferens virgam *M* virgam ferens *A* lanista] lanistam *N O S* mala aurea] malum aureum *A* erant] erat *A N P S* era/n/t *eras.*—*n S* **9.** petiit] petit *N P S* silentium] scilentium *A* Aegyptius] *G* Egiptius *E P* occidet] occidit *E N* illam] eam *A* haec, si] *E G N O P S* et si] *M* haec autem *A* ramum istum] *A N P S* ramum istud *M* hunc ramum *E G* **10.** et coepimus mittere pugnos] *om.A* pugnos] pugnas *G N O S* apprehendere] *A E* adprehendere *G M N P S* volebat] quaerebat *O S* querebat *N P* ego autem] Et ego *om.* autem *E G N P S*

faciem caedebam. ¹¹Et sublata sum in aere, et coepi eum *sic* caedere quasi terram non calcans. At ubi vidi moram fieri, iunxi manus, ut digitos in digitos mitterem, et apprehendi illi caput, et cecidit in faciem, et calcavi illi caput. ¹²Et coepit populus clamare et fautores mei psallere. Et accessi ad lanistam et accepi. ¹³Et osculatus est me et dixit mihi: 'Filia, pax tecum.' Et coepi ire cum gloria ad portam Sanavivariam. ¹⁴Et experta sum. Et intellexi me non ad bestias sed contra diabolum esse pugnaturam; sed sciebam mihi esse victoria[m]. ¹⁵Ho[c] usque in pridie muneris egi; ipsius autem muneris actum, si quis voluerit, scribat."

XI

XI. ¹Visio Saturi: Sed et Saturus benedictus hanc visionem suam edidit, quam ipse conscripsit. ²"Passi" inquit "eram, et exivimus de carne, et coepimus ferri a quattuor angelis in orientem, quorum manus nos non tangebant. ³Ibamus autem non supini sursum versi, sed quasi mollem clivum ascendentes. ⁴Et liberat[i] primo mundo vidimus lucem immensam, et dixi Perpetuae (erat enim haec in latere meo): "Hoc est quod nobis Dominus promittebat: percepimus promissionem."

caedebam] cedebam A G N P cedebam E 11. aere] aerem A re N Be/O P S et coepi eum sic] et sic eum coepi E G om. sic O et cept eum sic A et cepi eum sic P quasi terram non calcans] N O P S terram concalcans M terram non calcans A E G At] ad P vidi] corr. sl. O iunxi] A E G O iunexi M Peras.—e Sunexi N manus] add. et E G ita N O P S digito] N P S mitterem] om. E G et cecidit...caput] om. N O P S 12. Et] om. N O S fautores] E G O P corr. ln. u S favisores M fauces oris A factores N favisores mei psallere] psallere et fautores mei E G 13. Et] om. P coepi] coepit N cepit P Sanavivariam] sanavivaria M sane vivariam A S scriptum ut unum verbum P vivariam E G N O 14. experta] experrecta G O expergefacta A ad bestias] A E G a bestiis M ad bestiam N O S a bestia P esse victoriam] om. esse add. permanere E G add. imminere A N O imminere P hoc usque] A E G N O P S hos M pridie] pridiem A muneris] om. N O P S E G egi...muneris] om. A E G egi...scribat] om. N O P S

XI.1. Visio Saturi] om. A E G N O P S Saturus] Saturninus G benedictus] benedictum P benedictam N O S suam] om. N O S quam ipse] quam et ipse N O P S quam etiam ipse A 2. inquit] om. E G inquit N P carne] carcere N O P S inquit] om. E G inquit N P carne] carcere N O P S ferri] fieri P nos] om. A corr. al. S tangebant] A E G N O P tangebant M 3. ibamus] ibimus G ivimus E versi] versus A G N P S add. nec ad sursum E mollem] A E G N O P S molle M clivum] glebam E G 4. liberat[i]] liberato M liberati G N O P S primo] primum P primam O S add. de O add. iam N P S mundo] mundum A O vidimus] videmus A immensam] immensam A G N P S dixi Perpetuae] dixit N O P S erat enim haec in latere meo] hoc M quoniam in latere nostro erat E G quoniam a latere nostro erat P S quae a latere nostro erat N O nobis Dominus] Dominus nobis N O P S

⁵Et dum gestamur ab ipsis quattuor angelis, factum est nobis spatium grande, quod tale fuit quasi viridiarium, arbores habens rosae et omne genus flores. ⁶Altitudo arborum erat in modum cipressi, quarum folia cadebant sine cessatione. ⁷Ibi 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. ⁸Et pedibus nostris transivimus stadium via lata. ⁹Ibi 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. ¹⁰Angeli dixerunt nobis: “Venite prius, introite, et salutate Dominum.”

XII

XII. ¹Et 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. ²Et introivimus, et audivimus vocem unitam dicentem: “Agius, agios, agios,” sine cessatione. ³Et vidimus in eodem loco sedentem quasi

5. gestamur] gestabamur *E* iestamur *P* quattuor] iiiiorum *N* factum] factus *NS* spatium] spacium *AE G* grande] *AE G* grandem *M* magnum *NO PS* arbores] arboris *AE P* habens] habentes *G* rosae] rosa *NP* rosas *AE G* rosam *Be/O S* flores] *corr. ln. M* floris *NO PS* florum *E G* 6. Altitudo arborum] altitudo vero *A* altitudo autem *NO PS* cipressi] cypressi *AE G P* cadebant] ardebant *NO corr. sl. S* canebant *Rob.* 7. viridiario] viridiario *Be/O* alii quattuor angeli fuerunt] *om.* fuerunt *A* quattuor angeli fuerunt in viridiario alii *E* alio *G* fuerunt quattuor angeli alii *NO PS* clariores ceteris] *om.* *A* qui ubi] ibi *N PS* nos] *add. et NP S* eras. *M* ceteris] ceteri *P* Ecce sunt, ecce sunt] Ecce sunt *N Be/O PS* Ecce assunt ecce *E* accenserunt *A* cum admiratione. Et expavescentes] *add. Et > cum A om.* *Et E GN O PS* expavescentes *om.* *G* expavescentes cum admiratione *NO PS* illi] *om.* *E G* gestabant nos] *om.* nos *N PS* stabant *P* deposuerunt nos *om.* *A* 8. stadium] *add. ad > stadium E G* via lata] violata *M* viae latae *A om.* *E G* violatum *Rob.* 9. ibi] *AE G O PS* ubi *M om.* *N* Iocundum et Saturninum et Artaxium] Saturnum et Artaxium *E* Satirum Artaxium *A* Iucundum Satyrum Artaxium *P* Iocundum Artaxium *N Be/O S* eadem persecutione] eandem persecutionem *P* passi *add. < persecutione A N Be/O Am/O PS* in carcere exierat] exierat *N* in carcere vitam exegit *E* de] ab *A N S om.* *P* illis] ipsis *A* ubi essent ceteri] ubi essent. Ceteri *MN* Angeli] *eras.* — is *M* 10. Angeli dixerunt nobis] Et dixerunt nobis ceteri angeli *A* dixerunt nobis angeli *E G* dixerunt autem nobis angeli *NO PS* Venite prius] Venite primum *AE GN O PS* introite] intro *GN O PS om.* *E* salutate] *corr. sl. ta E*

XII.1. cuius loci] cui loco *A* de luce aedificati] de luce aedificate *NS* de luce edificati *OP* dulce aedificium *E* ostium] *E GN O PS* hostium *MA* illius] ipsius *E G* angeli quattuor stabant, qui introeuntes vestierunt] *add. nos > vestierunt A* angeli quattuor intro nos vestierunt *E G* erant angeli quattuor introeuntes et nos vestiti *NO PS* quattuor] iiiiorum *N* stolas candidas] stolis candidis *E G O* stola candida *A* 2. introivimus] *add. et vidimus lucem immensam NO PS* audivimus] audimus *P add. < ineffabilem O* unitam dicentem] unitam dicentium] *N S* dicentium *om.* unitam *O* mutatam dicentium *P* agios] agius *NPS bis A* 3. vidimus] vidi *E* eodem loco] medio loci illius *NO PS om.* loci *G om.* *E add. eum > sedentem E*

hominem canum, niveos habentem capillos et vultu iuvenili, cuius pedes non vidimus. ⁴Et in dextera et in sinistra seniores quattuor, et post illos ceteri seniores complures stabant. ⁵Et introeuntes cum admiratione stetimus ante thronum, et quattuor angeli sublevaverunt nos, et osculati sumus illum, et de manu sua traiecit nobis in faciem. ⁶Et ceteri seniores dixerunt nobis: “Stemus”; et stetimus et pacem fecimus. Et dixerunt nobis seniores: “Ite et ludite.” ⁷Et dixi Perpetuae: “Habes quod vis.” Et dixit mihi: “Deo gratias, ut, quomodo in carne hilaris fui, hilarior sim et hic modo.”

XIII

XIII. ¹Et exivimus et vidimus ante fores Optatum episcopum ad dexteram et Aspasium presbyterum doctorem ad sinistram, separatos et tristes. ²Et miserunt se ad pedes nobis, et dixerunt: “Componite inter nos, quia existis, et sic nos reliquistis.” ³Et diximus illis: “Non tu es papa noster, et tu presbyter? Ut vos ad pedes nobis mittatis?” Et moti sumus et complexi illos sumus. ⁴Et coepit Perpetua Graece cum illis loqui, et segregavimus eos in viridarium sub arbore rosae. ⁵Et dum loquimur cum eis, dixerunt illis angeli: “Sinite illos refrigerent; et si quas

iuvenili] iuvenali A invenili S vidimus] vidi EG 4. eius] < dextera NS sinistra] sinistra eius A E G N O P S quattuor] viginta quattuor A N O S xxxiiiiorum P ceteri] om. A seniores] om. N O P S stabant] om. E G 5. Et] om. E G N O P S introeuntes] introivimus A E G N O P S cum] add. magna < N O P S admiratione] add. et < A E G N O P S quattuor] quatuor E G iiiii P sublevaverunt] A E G N O S sublevaverunt M nos] om. P illum] om. A add. scabellum pedum eius traiecit] traiecit N tetigit A nobis in faciem] facie N Be/O S fatiem P 6. nobis] om. P stetimus] state Be/O add. ad oratione < et stetimus E G et ludite] ludite E G om. A add. exultate in Domino A dixi Perpetuae] dixit Perpetua N Be/O P S dixit mihi] dixit E G mihi om. N P S michi A ut] quia E G quod Be/O quomodo quo N sim] sum M E N om. P et hic modo] etiam modo A om. modo N P S

XIII.1. dexteram] om. A doctorem] doctores A docioem N Be/O S sinistram] sinistraem N et tristes] om. A corr. al. et E 2. nobis] nostros A N Be/O P S et] om. N P S dixerunt] add. nobis N Be/O P S Componite] componite S add. pacem E quia] add. intrastis et add. E G existis] exitis N S reliquistis] dereliquistis A relinquistis N S 3. illis] illi N add. optati P obtate N S < non non] nonne N S papa] pater S noster] noster es N Be/O P S presybter] presbiter noster A ut vos ad pedes nobis mittatis] ut ad pedes nostros remittatis vos corr. ln. re A ut quid N S nobis] nostros A P S mittatis] mittitis Be/O moti sumus] misimus nos N Be/O P S complexi illos sumus] compleximus illos om. sumus E P complexi sumus illos N S 4. coepit] cepit A N P grece] A E G N P S om. M eos] illos A viridarium] viridarium E viridario A N P S viridario Be/O arbore] arborem (corr. sl. Be/G) rosae] rose A N P 5. illis] illi E Sinite illos refrigerent] M Quiescite ab illis ut refrigerent A Quiescite illi refrigerent E Quiescite illos refrigerare G Quiescite et refrigerate N P S si] om. A E G N O P S

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 martiras. Universi odore inerrabili alebamus, qui nos satiabat. Tunc gaudens expertus sum.

XIV

XIV. ¹Hae visiones insigniores ipsorum martirum beatissimorum Saturi et Perpetuae, quas ipsi conscripserunt. ²Secundulum vero Deus maturiore exitu de saeculo adhuc in carcere evocavit, non sine gratia, ut bestias lucraretur. ³Gladium tamen etsi non anima, certe caro eius agnovit.

XV

XV. ¹Circa Felicitatem vero, et illi gratia Domini eiusmodi contigit: ²Cum octo iam mensium ventrem haberet (nam pregnans fuerat adprehensa), instante spectacula die in magno erat luctu, ne propter ventrem differretur (quia non

dissensiones] dissentiones *N* discensiones *P* discussiones *O* 6. Optato] obtato *M* obtate *P O*
S o beate *N* tuam] meam *N Be/O S* factionibus *E G N P S* fatigationibus *M* factionibus
A 7. claudere] cludere *N S* 8. coepimus] cepimus *N P* illic] ex illis *N S* cog-
 noscere] recognoscere *A* sed et] *om. E G N P S* martiras] martyres *E G N P* martires
S sed et] *om. E G N Am./O S* universi] *om. N P S* ubi universi *A E G* Ubi] *om. A*
M universi] *om. N P S* odore] odores *E* odoribus *G* inenarrabili] inennarrabili *A* inenar-
 raebili *N* inenarrabiles *E* inenarrabilibus *G* alebamus] alebamus *E* alebatur *N* satiabat] *N*
S saciabat *M A* saciabant *E G* sanabit *P* gaudens] exaudiens *A* *add.* et < gaudens *P* exper-
 tus] experrecta *M* experrectus *G*

XIV.1. Hae] *G S* haec *A N* has *E* et *M P* insigniores] insigniorum *A* insigniores esse *E* sunt
 in signo *N P S* sunt *Be/O* ipsorum] ipse *ante. corr. sl. G om. E* martirum] martyrum *E*
G N P Saturi] Satiri *A* Satyri *N S* Saturnini *G* Perpetuae] Perpetue *N* quas] quasi
ante corr. ln. E 2. Secundulum] Secundulam *A* deus] dominus *A E om. G* matu-
 riore] martiris *A* de saeculo ad huc] *om. A* evocavit] vocavit *E G* revocavit *N P S* ut *add.*
Be/O lucraretur] lueraetur *N* 3. Gladium] gladios *A* gaudium *N P S* etsi non]
 et non *P* non solum *N S* certe] *om. A N S* tamen] < anima *A* sed] < anima *N*
S sed et *Be/O* caro] corpus *E G* eius] *om. E G*

XV.1. vero] *add.* nam *P* et illi] *om. N S* contigit] contingit *E* 2. octo iam] aethalamo
A mensium] *E G N S* mensuum *M A* meti suum *P* ventrem mensuum *A* pregnans . . . licet
om. E G nam pregnans] nam pregnatus *S* non pregnatus *P* inpraegnatum *Be/O* fuerat] erat
P S eraet *N* instante spectacula] expectans et expectaculi *N Be/O S* expectans expectaculum
P die] diem *N Be/O P S* in magno] imagno *corr. al.*—*n P* eraet] *add.* *N* ven-
 trem] *N P S* ventre *M om. A* hoc] *add.* < differretur *A* differretur] *A* differeretur *M* possit
 deferri *N* deferri *P* differri *corr. sl. S*

licit pregnantes poenae repraesentari) et ne inter alios postea sceleratos sanctum et innocentem sanguinem funderet. ³Sed et conmartyles graviter contristabantur, ne tam bonam sociam quasi comitem solam in via eiusdem spei relinquerent. ⁴Coniuncto itaque unito gemitu ad Dominum orationem fuderunt ante tertium diem muneris. ⁵Statim post orationem dolores eam invaserunt. Et cum pro naturali difficultate octavi mensis in partu laborans doleret, ait illi quidam ex ministris cataractariorum: “Quae sic modo doles, quid facies obiecta bestiis, quas contempsisti cum sacrificare noluisti?” ⁶Et illa respondit: “Modo ego patior quod patior; illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum.” ⁷Ita enixa est puellam, quam sibi quaedam soror in filiam educavit.

XVI

XVI. ¹Quoniam ergo permisit et permittendo voluit Spiritus Sanctus ordinem ipsius muneris conscribi, etsi indigni ad supplementum tantae gloriae describendae, tamen quasi mandatum sanctissimae Perpetuae, immo fideicommissum

pregnantes] pregnantibus *E G* poenae] *G S* poene *M N* penae *A E* penas *P* repraesentari] representari *MA E G* presentari *N P* ne] *om. E G* alios] aliquos *P S* funderet] fundere *E G* **3.** et] *om. E G* conmartyles] *G N Be/O P* conmartires *MA A S* commartyres *E* eius] *add. A E G N P S* sociam] *N A E S* sotiam *M G P* comitantem] *N Be/O P S* in via] in viam *M* in invia *N* (*secundum in est otiosum*) eiusdem spei relinquerent] derelinquerent *E G N P S* *om.* eiusdem spei *A* *om.* spei *E G* **4.** Coniuncto] coniuncto *corr. sl.—n M* consueto *A* itaque] *M* *add. et A E G N P S* dominum] deum *N P S* orationem] *add. omnes (corr. mg.)—E G* fuderunt] fecerunt *A G N P S* fundere *E G* tetium] tertium (*corr. mg.*) *E* funeris *M* **5.** Et statim] (*corr. mg.*)—*E A G P S* *om.* Et *M* post orationem statim *A* invaserunt] eam invaserunt *A E G N P S* naturali] naturae *N S* natura *P* difficultatem] *M* difficultam *N* octavi] *om. N* cataractariorum] *E* *eras.*—*r S* cataractariorum *M* cataractariorum *A N* caracteriorum *G* catastariorum *O* quae] *om. E G* quare *Be/O* quae sic] *add. sic N Be/O P S* quomodo ecce modo] *E* *add. hic < doles G* obiecta] abiecta *A N O P S* cum abiecta fueris *N O P S* quas] que *N* quae *S* quia *P* quas contempsisti] ad. et < contempsisti *P* cum sacrificare noluisti] *om. A* **6.** Et] *om. N O P S* respondit] respondit dicens *A N Be/O P S* Modo ego] Ego modo *A N Be/O P S* *add. hic > modo E G* illic] ille *N O P S* autem] *om. O* erit in me qui patietur pro me] est qui in me patitur pro me *A* pro me patietur *N P S* patietur in me *E* et ego] *om. E G* passura sum] passurae sum *N* *add. et haec dicens < sum E G* **7.** pullam] *A E G N O P S* puella *M* quam] quamque *E* sibi] sibi que *eras.*—que *G* quaedam soror] *om. quaedam E G N P S* soror quaedam *A* filiam] *A E G N P S* filia *M* educavit] *A E G S* edocavit *M P*

XVI.1. permisit] promisit *P* permittendo] permitendo *M* etsi] ut *M* indigni] *A E G* indigna *M* indigne *N P S* supplementum] sublimendum *P* tantae] tangere *N S* gloriae] *om. N S* *add. illorum E G Be/O P* describendae] *A* describende *P* describenti *M* discendendae *Be/O* discendendae *S* discendende *N* conscribendae *E G* Perpetuae] *om. A* immo] imo *A*

eius exequimur, unum adicientes documentum de ipsius constantia et animi sublimitate. ²Cum tribunus castigatius eos castigaret, quia ex admonitionibus hominum vanissimorum verebatur ne subtraherentur de carcere incantationibus aliquibus magicis, in faciem ei Perpetua respondit: ³“Quid utique non permittis nobis refrigerare noxiis nobilissimis, Caesaris scilicet, et natali eiusdem pugnaturis? Aut non tua gloria est, si pinguiores illo producamur?” ⁴Horruit et erubuit tribunus; et ita iussit illos humanius haberi, ut fratribus eius et ceteris facultas fieret introeundi et refrigerandi cum eis, iam et ipso optione carceris credente.

XVII

XVII. ¹Pridie quoque cum illam cenam ultimam, quam liberam vocant— quantum in ipsis erat, non cenam liberam sed agapem—, cenarent, eadem constantia ad populum verba iactabant, comminantes iudicium Dei, contestantes passionis suae felicitatem, inridentes concurrentium curiositatem, dicente Saturo:

exequimur] exsequimur *N* exequamur *P* adicientes] aditentes de ipsius] eius de *E G* de eius *Be/O* constantia] continentiae *P* et] et de *N P S* animi] *E G* anima *M A P* animae *N S* 2. Cum tribunus castigatius eos castigaret] *E* castigari *G* cum a tribuno castigatius eo tractanti *M* qua tribuno castigati eos et male tractanti *A* (castiganti *Be Bas Am*) quia tribuno castigante eos et male tractante *N* tractante *P S* cum a tribuno castigatius eo tractarentur (tractantur *Rob. Geb. Fra.*) *Hol. Fel. Rui. Har. Rob. Fra. Geb. Be. Bas. Am.* quae tribuno castigatius eos tractante *She.* quia] qui *A E G* admonitionibus] *A G N P S* admonitiobus *M* admonitionibus *E* verebatur] verberatur *P* admonebatur et verebatur *A* subtraherentur] subtrahentur *G* magicis (*corr.* to magicis) *M* ei] et *A N Be/O P* Perpetua] *om.* *M* Perpetua respondit] *A E G* et dixit *add.* *N P S* 3. permittis nobis] *A E G* permitis nobis *M* dimittis nos *N S* dimisisti nos *P* noxiis] a noxiis *G* in noxiis *E* nobilissimis] nobilis *E* nobilissimi *G P Be/O* Caesaris] *E S* Cassaris *M* Cesaris *A G N P* scilicet et natalis eiusdem pugnaturis] depugnaturis *A* scilicet natali depugnaturis *E G* scis quia natale eius sumus pugnaturi *N P S-corr.* natali *ad* natale *S-qua P* —natale *Be/O* Aut] *om.* *N P S* si] sub *A* illo] illuc *N P S* 4. Horruit] Orruit *M* tribunus] tribunos *P* et ita] *om.* *ita N P S* illos] illas *N S* humanius haberi] *A E G Be/O* humanius habere *N P S* minibus hiberi *M* ut] ut et *A E G* eius] *om.* *A* fieret] *N P S* fuerit *A E G* freret *M* iam et] *N P S* tamen *M E G* tamen et *A* ipso optione carceris credente] *N P S* ipsa opinione carceris crescente *A* obtione credentem *M om.* carceris *E G*

XVII.1. quoque] *om.* *A* cum] *Be/O* illam] *A E G N P S* illa *M* cenam] *A G N P S* caenam *E N-eras. abbr.*—*m* *E* cena *M* ultimam] *A E G N P S om.* *M* vocant] *add.* sed *Be/O* quantum] quam *G* ipsis] illis *A* agapem] agapen *G* adipen *N P S* constantia] *A E G N S* constantiam *M P* verba] verbum *N S* ista] *M om.* *A E G N P S* iactabant] dabant *E G* comminantes] percominantes *N* percomminantes *S* Dei] domini *M E G* contestantes] constantes *P* passionis] *A E G P* passiones *N S* passioni *M* suae felicitatem] suae et felicitatem *P* suas et felicitatem *N S* inridentes] *N S Be/O add.* et irridentes *A E corr. sl.-r* *G* inirritantes *M* inredantes *P* dicente] dicentes *P* dicentem *A* Saturo] Satiro *A Satyro N S Adtyro P Saturnino G*

²“Crastinus dies satis vobis non est? Quid libenter videtis quod odistis? Hodie amici, cras inimici. Notate tamen vobis facies nostras diligenter, ut recognoscatis nos in illo die. ³Ita omnes inde adtoniti discedebant, ex quibus multi crediderunt.

XVIII

XVIII. ¹Illuxit dies victoriae illorum, et processerunt de carcere in amphitheatrum, quasi in caelum, hilares, vultu decori, si forte gaudio paventes non timore. ²Sequebatur Perpetua lucido vultu et placido incessu, ut matrona Christi, ut Dei delicata, vigore oculorum deiciens omnium conspectum. ³Item Felicitas, salvam se peperisse gaudens ut ad bestias pugnaret, a sanguine ad sanguinem, ab obstetrice ad retiarium, lotura post partum baptismo secundo. ⁴Et cum ducti essent in portam et cogerebantur habitum induere, viri quidem sacerdotum Saturni, feminae vero sacratarum Cereri, generosa illa in finem usque constantia repugnavit. ⁵Dicebat enim: “Ideo ad hoc sponte pervenimus, ne libertas nostra obduceretur; ideo animam nostram addiximus, ne tale aliquid faceremus; hoc vobiscum pacti sumus.”

2. crastinus] crastina A crastinus dies E G P S craes-N satis vobis non est] nobis satis non est A E G N O P S quid] qui E G P videtis] videntis M vidistis P quod] quos E G odistis] A E G O oditis N S hodistis M amici] add. et N S notate] notante corr. ln. notate E vobis] nobis M diligenter] om. E G recognoscatis] renoscatis N illo] illa N add. iudicii N O S add. iudicii P 3. omnes] multi N O P S inde] in die N adtoniti] attoniti A E G N O S antoniti P discedebant] discesserunt A N O P S crediderunt] add. in Christum E G PASSIO UT SUPRA] M

XVIII.1. Illuxit] Inluxit G N P S illorum] eorum N O S in] ad A N O P S caelum] celum A G N P add. ituri A caelo E hilares] add. et A E G N O P S si forte] sic forte E om. N O P S quasi] N O P S timore] pavore N O P S 2. lucido vultu et placido incessu] Be Bat. Am. lucido incessu M Rob. Fra. placido incessu E G N placido vultum et pedum incessu N O P S incessu pedum A ut] et E G ut] om. N O P S dei] deo G vigore oculorum deiciens omnium conspectum] vigore oculorum suorum docens omnium conspectum A vigore suorum deiciens omnium aspectum E G vigorem oculorum suorum deiciens ab omnium conspectu N O S deiciens P 3. Item] iam O gaudens] gaudebat A ad] a M P om. N pugnaret] depugnaret A E G ad] M N P a sanguine] om. E <-carnis pergit O ad sanguinem] om. M N P S add.—salutis O ab obstetrice] N O P S ab obstetrice M ab obstetricem G ad obstetricem A E retiarium] retiarium N S retiarium luctam O lotura] M E G locutura A loturam P luturam N S partum] primum ad partum secundum add. O bapismo] baptisate A add. < sanguinis secundo E G 4. ducti] deducti A deductae E G delati N S in] ad E G N P S Et delati ad portam cum essent P cogerebantur] congerentur N habitum] habitu M Saturni] Saturnini G P Sature] feminae] femine M feminarum N Be/O P S sacratarum] sacrarium E sacraerum N sacrorum P sacrarium S sacrilegarum Be/O Cereri] cererum M cereris A G carceris E om. N P S illa] om. N P S in finem] < add. Perpetua E G constantia] contra E G constantiam P om. A add. < plenam E repugnavit] repugnabit P 5. Dicebat] dicebant M N S dicens E G enim] om. E G ergo N P S hoc] hanc E G obduceretur] adduceretur N P abduceretur Be/O S animam nostram] animum nostrum A animas nostras N P S addiximus] adduximus M P adiximus N hoc...sumus] om. A

⁶Agnovit iniustitia iustitiam: concessit tribunus, quomodo erant, simpliciter inducerentur. ⁷Perpetua psallebat, caput iam Aegyptii calcans; Revocatus et Saturninus et Satorus populo spectanti comminabantur. ⁸Dehinc ut sub conspectu Hilariani pervenerunt, gestu et nutu coeperunt Hilariano dicere: “tu nos,” inquit, “te autem Deus.” ⁹Ad hoc populus exasperatus flagellis eos vexari per ordinem venatorum postulavit; et utique gratulati sunt quod aliquid et de dominicis passionibus essent consecuti.

XIX

XIX. ¹Sed qui dixerat: “Petite et accipietis,” petentibus dederat eum exitum quem quis desideraverat. ²Nam si quando inter se de martyrii sui voto sermocinabantur, Saturninus quidem omnibus bestiis velle se obici profitebatur, ut scilicet glorioiorem gestaret coronam. ³Itaque in commissione spectaculi ipse et Revocatus leopardum experti etiam super pulpitem ab urso

6. iniustitia] iniusticia *E add.* et *N P S* tribunus] tribuno *P < add.* ut *A E N P S* simpliciter] *< add.* sic *E G* inducerentur] introducerentur *E G* 7. Perpetua] *A E G N P S om.M* Aegyptii] *N G* Egyptii] *E* Egiptii] *S* Aegyptu] *A* Egyptu] *M P* et] *om.N P S* Saturninus] *Satyrus N P S* Satirus] *A* Satorus] *Saturnus A* Saturninus] *N P S* populo] *populum P* spectanti]—*e G* expectanti] *P* expectante] *N S* comminabantur] *conminabantur A* minabantur] *E G* perminabantur] *N P S* admittebantur] *Be/O* 8. Dehinc] *De hoc M A* ut] *iam N P S om.A* sub conspectu] *usque ad conspectum A—* conspectum] *E* Hilariani] *Hilaroni N* pervenerunt] *A E G* pervenerint] *M* pervenerant] *N P S* gestu et] *et gestu Be/O* nutu] *notu A* motu] *E G* coeperunt] *Hilariano dicere] ceperunt N P add.* *-persecutori dicere E G* Hilariano] *dicere coeperunt A* inquit] *om. N P S* Deus] *add. iudicabit N S* 9. ad] *non ad. N P S* tunc] *ad O* eos] *om. A E* vexari] *vexare N O S* per ordinem] *A E G N O P S* pro ordine] *M* postulavit] *om. E G* et] *At O om. A N P S* utique] *om. O add. <-illi A E G N O P S* et de] *ex N O P S*

XIX.1. dixerat] *dixit O P* dixerunt] *N S* dederat] *N O P S* eum] *cum N O P S* quem] *quem quesivit N* quem unusquisque] *O* que inquis] *P* quem quaesivit] *S* desideraverat] *desideraevit accepit N* desideravit] *accepit O P S* desiderabat] *accipere A* si quando] *om. O add.* cum] *O* se] *om. A* sui] *om. A* voto] *votis G N O S* vocis] *P* sermocinabantur] *sermocinabatur P* sermocinarentur] *E* Saturninus] *et Saturninus G* quidem omnibus] *quidem velle se A* profitebatur] *prophetaebatur N* prophetaebatur] *S* profabatur] *O txt. add. mgn. profite A* ut scilicet] *scilicet ut A N O P S add. < felicem et N P S* feliciorem] *et O* coronam] *et curam P* vitam] *N S* 2. si quando] *om. O add. cum O* se] *om. A* sui] *om. A* voto] *votis G N O S* vocis] *P* sermocinabantur] *sermocinabatur P* sermocinarentur] *E* Saturninus] *et Saturninus G* quidem omnibus] *quidem velle se A* profitebatur] *prophetaebatur N* prophetaebatur] *S* profabatur] *O txt. add. mgn. profite A* ut scilicet] *scilicet ut A N O P S add. < felicem et N P S* feliciorem] *et O* coronam] *et curam P* vitam] *N S*. In *E hinc usque ad finem legam* “Acclamante vero turba . . . Explicit Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis” *excerptum ex Acta* 19.3–5. 3. Itaque] *add. cum N O P S* spectaculi] *expectaculi P* ipse et] *G N O P S om. M A* leopardum] *O P* leopardo] *M (-os ante corr. ln. A)* leopardus] *N S* leopardos] *G* experti] *G N O P S* expertus] *M A add. essent < O* pulpitem] *pulpitem P* pulsitum] *O S* positum] *N*

vexati sunt. ⁴Saturus autem nihil magis quam ursum abominabatur; sed uno morsu leopardi confici se iam praesumebat. ⁵Itaque cum apro subministraretur, venator potius qui illum apro subligaverat, subfossus ab eadem bestia post dies muneris obiit; Saturus solummodo tractus est. ⁶Et cum ad ursum substrictus esset in ponte, ursus de cavea prodire noluit. Itaque secundo Saturus inlaesus revocatur.

XX

XX. ¹Puellis autem ferocissimam vaccam, ideoque praeter consuetudinem comparatam, diabolus praeparavit, sexui earum etiam de bestia [a]emulatus. ²Itaque dispoliata[e] et reticulis indutae producebantur. Horruit populus alteram respiciens puellam delicatam, alteram a partu recentem stillantibus mammis. ³Ita revocatae et discinctis indutae. Prior Perpetua iactata est, et concidit in lumbos. ⁴Et ubi sedit, tunicam a latere discissam ad velamentum femoris reduxit, pudoris potius memor

vexati sunt] *G N O P S* erat vexatus *M A* *add.* EXPLICIT PASSIO SANCTARUM PERPETUAE ET FELICITATIS *G* 4. Saturus] Satirus *A O* Satyrus *N P S* nihil] *N P* nichil *M A O P* abominabatur] abominatur *N S* sed] et *N O P S* leopardi] leopardisse *P* confici] *A* conficisse *M P* conficise *N O* praesumebat] *N* presumebat *M A O S* consumebat *P* 5. cum] *add.* < iam *N O P S* apro] aper *O* subministraretur] subministratur *O* apro subligaverat] aprum subministrauerat *A O P S* subministraeuerit *N* subfossus] suffosso *P* *add.* < est *N S* bestia] *A N O P S* bestiam *M* dies] diem *N O P S* Saturus] Satirus *O* *add.* < autem *A* Satyrus *N P S* tractus] traectus *N* tractatus *A* 6. substrictus] subrectus *N Be/O S* subreptus *P* ponte] porta *O* prodire] exire *N P S* *add.* de cavea *Be/O* noluit] *add.* Pudens (Prudens *S*) miles (milis *P*) de (cum *S*) industria efferatorum (effratorum *P*) adfirmasset portras putris (patris *N S*) carnibus magis ne mitteretur (mittetur) efficit (effigit *P* affugit *N S*) *N P S* itaque] ita *N P S* Saturus] Satirus *A S* Satyrus *N P* inlaesus] illesus *A Be/O* secundo . . . revocatur] secundo Saturus revocatur illaesus *Be/O*

XX.1. vaccam] baccam *M* ideoque] *A om.* *N P S* consuetudinem] consuetudinenem *P* conparatam] paraetam *N* paratam *P S* praeparavit] preparauerat *A* sexui earum] rixui earum *N S* rixam *Be/O* sexuigeorum *P* [a]emulatus] emulatus *M N P S* emolatus *A* 2. dispoliata[e]] dispoliatae *M* despoliatae *A* expoliatae *S* expoliatae *N* spoliatae *P* et reticulis indutae] retigulis *A om.* *N P S* producebantur] promovebantur *N P S* horruit] *N P S* orruit *M* alteram] *om.* *N P S* respiciens] aspiciens *A N S* aspitiens *P* delicatam] delectam *N* dilectam *O P S* recentem] recenti *N S* mammis] mammi *A* 3. Ita] ite *P* itaque *A* revocatae] revocate *M* et] *om.* *A N P S* discinctis] discinguntur *N P S* indutae] induuntur *A* inducitur *N P S* iactata] iacta *P* est] *om.* *N S* et] *om.* *N P S* concidit] cecidit *A* incidit *P* lumbos] lumbis *N P S* 4. ubi] ibi *A* ut *N P S* sedit] consedit *A* conspexit *N P S* tunicam] *A P S* tonicam *M N* latere] lateribus *N P S* discissam] *A* discissam *M* concissam *N* conscissam *P* conscissam *S* femoris] femorum *N* *add.* eam *Be/O P S* reduxit] adduxit *N P S* pudoris potius memor] potius memor pudoris *A*

quam doloris. ⁵Dehinc, [acu] requisita, et dispersos capillos infibulavit; non enim decebat martyram sparsis capillis pati, ne in sua gloria plangere videretur. ⁶Ita surrexit, et elisam Felicitatem cum vidisset, accessit et manum ei tradidit et suscitavit illam. ⁷Et ambae pariter steterunt. Et populi duritia devicta, revocatae sunt in portam Sanavivariam. ⁸Illic Perpetua a quodam tunc cathecum[e]no, Rustico nomine, qui ei adh[a]erebat, suscepta et quasi a somno expergita (adeo in spiritu et in extasi fuerat) circumspicere coepit, et stupentibus omnibus ait: “Quando,” inquit, “producimur ad vaccam illam nescio [quam]?” ⁹Et cum audisset quod iam evenerat, non prius credidit nisi quasdam notas vexationis in corpore et habitu suo recognovisset. ¹⁰Exinde accersitum fratrem suum, et illum cathecum[e]num, adlocuta est dicens: “In fide state et invicem omnes diligite, et passionibus nostris ne scandalizemini.”

XXI

XXI. ¹Item Satorius in alia porta [Pudentem] militem exhortabatur dicens: “Ad summam,” inquit, “certe, sicut presumpsi et predixi, nullam usque adhuc bestiam sensi. Et nunc de toto corde credas; ecce prodeoque illo, et ab uno morsu leopardi

5. dehinc] *om. NS* acu] *A a quo P om. M NS* requisita] *recusata A recurrit P* et] *om. P* capillos] *capillis P* infibulavit] *infibulavit NS* martyram] *martiram A martirem S* ne in] *om. in S non NP* plangere] *placere A* 6. Ita] *Itaque A* elisam] *A NS* helisam *M (corr. sl.) elisan P* accessit et manum ei tradidit et suscitavit] *et add. > accessit NP S (eras.) accessit et ei manum et tradidit et sublevavit P accessit et manum ei porrexit et suscitavit A accessit ei manum et tradidit et sublevavit NS accessit et ei manum tradidit et sublevavit Be/O* 7. revocatae] *revocate A revocati NS* portam] *porta P sane vivariam] M sane viva A om. N O P S* 8. a] *A N O P S ad M* cathecumino] *M catecumino A cathecuminum NS caticumina P* qui ei] *quia tunc P qui et tunc NS* adh[a]erebat] *adherebat M A NP S* suscepta] *suscepit NP S suscipitur Be/O* a] *de NP S* somno] *sompno A* expergita] *expergefata A NP S* in] *om. NS* quae *add. < spiritu A* in extasi] *in exitu A* fuerat constituta] *A fuerat nam NP S fuerit M* circumspicere] *circa spicere NS* coepit] *cepit* stupentibus] *instupentibus M* ait] *dixit Be/O* inquit] *inquit NP* producimur] *proiciemur A* vaccam] *A NP S baccam M* nescio] *A NP S nescio quam om. M* 9. Et] *sed NP S* evenerat] *venerat A NP S evenisset Be/O* quasdam] *ut A* vexationes] *vexationis NS* et] *et in NP S* suo recognovisset] *NP S suo recognovisset add. et illum cathecuminum M recognovisset suo A* 10. Exinde] *et exinde NP S* accersitum] *accersito P* cathecum[e]num] *catecuminum M A caticuminum NP S* ad locuta] *allocuta A NS* est] *est eos NP S* In fide state et invicem omnes diligite] *ut in fide starent et invicem se deligerent NP S* omnes] *om. A NP S* et] *et in NS* passionibus] *add. inquit Be/O* scandalizemini] *scandalizabimini N O S*

XXI.1. Satorius] *Satyrus NP S Satirus A* aliam portam] *alis porta NP S* Pudentem] *NP S om. MA* militem] *om. A* ad summam] *sumam A ad sum NP S* inquit] *om. NP S* presumpsi] *promisi NS* predixi... sensi] *om. NP S* nullam] *add. < vim A* et] *om. P* ut] *add. A NS* nunc] *nuntiet P* corde] *credas om. NP S* ecce prodeoque illo] *ecce producitor illuc A S ecce producitor illuc N* et cum producatur illuc] *P* ab] *om. A NP S* uno] *om. NP S* morsu] *morsu P* leopardi] *add. sponte Be/O*

consumor.” ²Et statim in fine spectaculi leopardo obiectus de uno morsu tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut populus revertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamaverit: “Salvum lotum, salvum lotum.” ³Plane utique salvus erat qui hoc modo laverat. ⁴Tunc Pudenti militi inquit: “Vale,” inquit, “et memento fidei et mei; et haec te non conturbent, sed confirment.” ⁵Simulque anulam de digito eius petiit, et vulneri suo mersam reddidit ei hereditatem, pignus relinquens illi et memoriam sanguinis. ⁶Exinde iam exanimis prosternitur cum ceteris ad iugulationem solito loco. ⁷Et 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, ante iam osculati invicem ut martyrium per sollemnia pacis consummarent. ⁸Ceteri quidem immobiles et cum silentio ferrum receperunt: multo magis Saturus, qui et prior scalam ascenderat, prior

2. Et . . . spectaculi] *om.* N fine] finem A P S spectaculi] exspectaculi P S leopardo obiectus] A leopardus obiectus N S leopardi obiectus P leopardi eiecto M morsu] morsus N P *add.* < eius A N P S tanto] tantum A populus] populo *Be/O* revertenti] revertendi N P S illi] *om.* N P S secundi baptismatis] secundo baptismati A secundi baptismi N P S reclamaverit] reclamaverint dicentes A declamaverat (-aret *Be/O*) dicens N S declaraverat dicens P salvum lotum, salvum lotum] salvum locum (*semel*) N P S 3. erat] erit A modo laverat] spectaculo claruerat N S *om.* P 4. Tunc] nunc A pudenti] prudentia N S pudendi P inquit¹] *om.* A N P S clamavit (*post corr.*) N *Be/O* clamaverat S vale] vade A *om.* N S inquit²] ait P *om.* N S et] *om.* N P S memento] A N P S memor M et] A *om.* M P N S mei] meae N S haec] hec A P confirmat] confortent N P S 5. Simulque] simulque P anulam] anulum S nullum N de digito eius] eius de dictu A petiit] petit P petiit A vulneri] vulneris N P mersam] versam P ei] et A *om.* N P S *add.* < beatam A N P S hereditatem] A N P S ereditatem M pignus reliquens illi et memoriam sanguinis] reliquens illi pignus (*pugnos P*) et memoriam tanti sanguinis A N P S 6. Exinde] deinde N P S exanimis] A N S exanimis M animis P iugulationem] A N S iugulatione M solito loco] *add.* < in N P S 7. Et] sed N O P S medio] medium N P S postularet] A postolaret M postulasset N P S ut] ut et A N P S et ut O penetranti] penetrante N O P S in eorum corpore] in corpore eorum N P S *om.* in corpora eorum A O comites] committentes P homicidii] homicidia N P homicidio O (*ante corr.*) S adiungerent] adiungeret O ultro] ultror N S vulso P surrexerunt] rexerunt N S et . . . populus] *om.* O se quo] A P sequi N S quod M volebat] voluerat N P S transtulerunt] *om.* N O S ante] *add.* se A osculati] *corr.* in *sl.* M martyrium] martirum A martyrem P sollemnia] sollemnia N O P sollemnia S consummarent] P S consumarent M A N O 8. Ceteri] *add.* < et N O P S immobiles] A N P S O immobiles M et] *om.* N O P S cum silentio] consilio P Saturus] Satirus A S Satyrus N P prior] prius A scalam] A N O P S *om.* M

reddidit spiritum; nam et Perpetuam sustinebat. ⁹Perpetua autem, ut aliquid doloris gustaret, inter ossa conpuncta exululavit, et errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in iugulum suum transtulit. ¹⁰Fortasse tanta femina aliter non potuisset occidi, quae ab immundo spiritu timebatur, nisi ipsa voluisset.

¹¹O fortissimi ac beatissimi martyres! O vere vocati, et electi in gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi! Quam qui magnificat et honorificat et adorat, utique et haec non minora veteribus exempla in aedificationem Ecclesiae legere debet, ut novae quoque virtutes unum et eundem semper Spiritum Sanctum usque adhuc operari testificentur, [et] omnipotentem Deum patrem et filium eius Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, cui est claritas et immensa potestas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

reddidit] reddendo C N P S nam et] C N O P S Perpetuam] A C N O P S Perpetua
M sustinebat] expectabat C N O P S 9. ut] add. ipsa C N O P S gustaret] gustasset C
N P S inter ossa] costas C N coctos S intercissa A inter quostas P conpuncta] A conpunct
M puncta C N P S exululavit] exultavit A errantem] eter stantem A tirunculi gladiato-
ris] trunculi gladiatoris A gladiatoris trunculi C N P S iugulum] gugulum P transtulit] n
corr. s.l. M posuit C N P S 10. Fortasse] fortasse enim A C N O P S aliter] alibi C N O P
S quae] A C N S que P qui M ni Be/O immundo] immundo C O

V



THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

THE PASSION OF SAINTS PERPETUA AND FELICITY

I

I. ¹If the old examples of the faith, which testify to the grace of God and lead to the edification of men, were written down so that by reading them God should be honored and man comforted—as if through a reexamination of those deeds—should we not set down new acts that serve each purpose equally? ²For these too will some day also be venerable and compelling for future generations, even if at the present time they are judged to be of lesser importance, due to the respect naturally afforded the past. ³But let those who would restrict the singular power of the one spirit to certain times understand this: that newer events are necessarily greater because they are more recent, because of the overflow of grace promised for the end of time. ⁴In the last days, says the Lord, “I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh; and their sons and daughters shall prophesy; and I will pour out my Spirit on my servants and handmaidens; and your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams.” ⁵And we, who also acknowledge and honor the new prophecies and new visions as well, according to the promise, and regard the other virtues of the Holy Spirit as intended for the instruction of the church (to which church the same spirit was sent distributing all gifts to all, just as the Lord grants to each one); therefore, out of necessity we both proclaim and celebrate them in reading for the glory of God, lest any person who is weak or despairing in their faith should think that only the ancients received divine grace (either in the favor of martyrdom or of revelations), since God always grants what he has promised, as a proof to the

unbelievers and as a kindness to believers. ⁶And so we also announce to you, our brothers and little sons, that which we have heard and touched, so that you who were present may be reminded of the glory of the Lord, and that you who know it now through hearing may have a sharing with the holy martyrs, and through them with our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honor for ever and ever. Amen.

II

II. ¹Some young catechumens were arrested: Revocatus and Felicity, his fellow slave; Saturninus; and Secundulus. And among these was also Vibia Perpetua—a woman well born, liberally educated, and honorably married, ²who had a father, mother, and two brothers, one of whom was also a catechumen. She had an infant son still at the breast ³and was about twenty-two years of age. From this point there follows a complete account of her martyrdom, as she left it, written in her own hand and in accordance with her own understanding.

III

III. ¹“While,” she said, “we were still with the prosecutors, my father, because of his love for me, wanted to change my mind and shake my resolve. ‘Father,’ I said, ‘do you see this vase lying here, for example, this small water pitcher or whatever?’ ‘I see it,’ he said. ²And I said to him: ‘Can it be called by another name other than what it is?’ And he said: ‘No.’ ‘In the same way, I am unable to call myself other than what I am, a Christian.’ ³Then my father, angered by this name, threw himself at me, in order to gouge out my eyes. But he only alarmed me and he left defeated, along with the arguments of the devil. ⁴Then for a few days, freed from my father, I gave thanks to the Lord and was refreshed by my father’s absence. ⁵In the space of a few days we were baptized. The Spirit told me that nothing else should be sought from the water other than the endurance of the body. After a few days we were taken into the prison. I was terrified because I had never before known such darkness. ⁶Oh cruel day! The crowding of the mob made the heat stifling; and there was the extortion of the soldiers. Last of all, I was consumed with worry for my infant in that dungeon. ⁷Then Tertius and Pomponius, the blessed deacons who ministered to us, arranged by a bribe that we should be released for a few hours to revive ourselves in a better part of the prison. ⁸Then all left the prison and sought some time for themselves. I nursed my baby, who was now weak from hunger. In my worry for him, I spoke to my mother concerning the baby and comforted my brother. I entrusted my son to them. I suffered grievously when I saw how they suffered for me. ⁹I endured such worry for many days, and I arranged for my baby to stay in prison with me. Immediately I grew stronger, and I was relieved of the anxiety and worry I had for my baby. Suddenly the prison became my palace, so that I wanted to be there rather than anywhere else.

IV

IV. ¹“Then my brother said to me: ‘Lady my sister, you are now greatly esteemed, so much so that you might ask for a vision, and it may be shown to you whether there will be suffering or freedom.’ ²And I, who knew that I was able to speak with the Lord, whose great benefits I had known, confidently promised him, saying: ‘Tomorrow, I will tell you.’ And I asked, and this was shown to me. ³I see a bronze ladder of great length, reaching up to heaven, but so narrow that people could only climb up one at a time. And on the sides of the ladder, iron implements of every kind were attached. There were swords, lances, hooks, knives, and daggers, so that if anyone climbed up carelessly, or not looking upwards, he was torn to pieces and his flesh clung to the iron weapons. ⁴And there was a serpent of great size lying at the foot of the ladder, which would lie in wait for those who climbed and deterred them from climbing. ⁵And the first to go up was Satorius. (Because he had been our teacher and because he had not been present when we were seized, he later voluntarily handed himself over for our sake.) ⁶And he reached the top of the ladder and he turned back to me and said: ‘Perpetua, I am waiting for you, but be careful that the serpent does not bite you.’ And I said: ‘In the name of Jesus Christ, he will not hurt me.’ ⁷And from beneath the ladder itself, the serpent slowly stuck out its head, as if it feared me, and I stepped on its head and climbed up, as if it were the first step. ⁸And I saw an enormous garden and a white-haired man sitting in the middle of it dressed in shepherd’s clothes, a big man, milking sheep. And standing around were many thousands dressed in white. ⁹And he raised his head, looked at me, and said: ‘You are welcome here, child.’ And he called me, and from the cheese that he had milked he gave me as it were a mouthful. And I received it in my cupped hands and ate it. And all those standing around said: ‘Amen.’ ¹⁰And I woke up at the sound of their voice, still eating some unknown sweet. And at once I told this to my brother. And we knew we would suffer, and we ceased to have any hope in this world.

V

V. ¹“A few days later, a rumor circulated that we were to be given a hearing. My father arrived from the city, worn with worry; he climbed up to me, in order to change my mind, saying: ²‘My daughter, have pity on my gray hair, have pity on your father, if I am worthy to be called father by you, if with these hands I have raised you to this flower of youth, if I have preferred you to all your brothers, do not shame me among men. ³Think about your brothers, think about your mother and your mother’s sister, think about your son who will not be able to live without you. ⁴Give up your pride; do not destroy us all. For, if you are punished, none of us will be able to speak freely again.’ ⁵My father said these things to me, as a father would, out of his love for me, kissing my hands and throwing himself at my feet.

Weeping, he no longer called me daughter, but lady. ⁶And I grieved for my father's anguish, because he alone of all my family would not rejoice in my suffering. And I tried to comfort him saying: 'What God has willed shall be done in the prisoner's platform. Know that we are no longer in our own power but in God's.' And in great sadness he left me.

VI

VI. ¹On another day, while we were eating lunch, we were suddenly rushed off for a hearing. We arrived at the forum and immediately a rumor circulated throughout the neighborhood surrounding the forum, and a huge crowd had gathered. ²We climbed the platform. The others, having been questioned, confessed. Then they came to me. And my father appeared in that very place with my son and dragged me from the step saying: 'Offer the sacrifice. Have pity on your baby.' ³And Hilarianus, the procurator, who at that time had received the right of the sword on the death of proconsul Minucius Timinianus, said: 'Spare the gray hair of your father, spare your infant son. Offer the sacrifice for the health of the emperors.' ⁴'I will not,' I answered. Hilarianus then said: 'Are you a Christian?' 'I am a Christian,' I replied. ⁵And when my father persisted in his efforts to change my mind, Hilarianus ordered him to be thrown to the ground and beaten with a rod. My father's suffering made me sad, almost as if I had been beaten. I grieved for his pitiable old age. ⁶Then Hilarianus pronounced sentence on us all and condemned us to the beasts. And we descended the platform and returned cheerfully to prison. ⁷But because my baby had become accustomed to nurse at my breasts and to stay with me in prison, I immediately sent Pomponius, the deacon, to ask my father for the child. ⁸But my father would not give him back. And as God willed, the baby no longer desired my breasts, nor did they ache and become inflamed, so that I might not be tormented by worry for my child or by the pain in my breasts.

VII

VII. ¹A few days later while we were all praying, suddenly, in the midst of our prayer a voice came to me, and I cried out the name of Dinocrates. I was shocked because never before then had his name entered my mind, and I grieved as I remembered his fate. ²And I knew at once that I was worthy and that I ought to pray for him. And I began to pray intensely for him and groan before the Lord. ³Immediately, on that very night this vision was shown to me. ⁴I saw Dinocrates coming out of a dark place where there were many others; he was very hot, thirsting, and his face was covered with dirt and his skin was pale. And he had that wound on his face which was there when he died. ⁵This Dinocrates was my brother in the flesh, who died horribly at the age of seven from a cancer of the

face. All men who saw it loathed the manner of his death. ⁶Therefore I prayed for him. But between him and me there was a great gulf so that we were not able to get close to each other. ⁷Moreover, in that place where Dinocrates was, there was a pool full of water with a rim that was higher than the height of the boy. And Dinocrates stretched himself up as if to drink. ⁸I was saddened because, although the pool had water in it, he was not able to drink because of the height of the rim. ⁹And I awakened, and I knew that my brother was suffering. But I trusted that I could help him in his suffering. And I prayed for him every day until we were transferred to the military prison, for we were to fight in the military games; it was on the birthday of Geta Caesar. ¹⁰And I prayed day and night for my brother with groans and tears so that this gift might be given to me.

VIII

VIII. ¹“On the day on which we were kept in the stocks, this vision was shown to me. I saw that place which I had seen before, but now there was Dinocrates, his body clean, well dressed and refreshed, and where the wound was, I saw a scar. ²And that pool which I had seen earlier, I now saw with its rim lowered to the boy’s navel, and he drew water from it without ceasing. ³And above the rim there was a golden cup full of water. And Dinocrates began to drink from it, but the cup never emptied. ⁴And when his thirst was quenched, he began to play in the water, rejoicing in the manner of children. And I woke up. I knew then that he was freed from his suffering.

IX

IX. ¹“Then after a few days, Pudens, the military adjutant, who was in charge of the prison, began to show us considerable respect, recognizing that there was some great power in us. He allowed many to visit us so that we were able to comfort one another. ²Now when the day of the games drew near, my father, devastated with worry, came to visit me, and he began to tear out his beard and to throw it on the ground. He then threw himself on his face and, cursing his years, spoke such words to me as might move creation itself. ³I grieved for his unhappy old age.

X

X. ¹“On the day before we were to fight, I saw this in a vision: Pomponius, the deacon, had come to the door of the prison, and was knocking loudly. ²And I went out and opened the door for him. He was wearing a white unbelted robe, and multilaced sandals. ³And he said to me: ‘Perpetua, we are awaiting you: come.’ And he took me by the hand and we began to walk through places that were rugged and winding. ⁴And finally, after great difficulty, we arrived at the amphitheatre, all out of breath, and he led me into the middle of the arena, and he said to me ‘Don’t be afraid: I am here with you, and I will struggle with you.’ And he went away.

⁵And I saw many people who were astonished; and, because I knew that I had been condemned to the beasts, I was puzzled that the beasts were not being turned loose on me. ⁶And a certain Egyptian, foul in appearance and intending to fight with me, came out against me, surrounded by his helpers. Handsome young men came to me as my helpers and supporters. ⁷And I was stripped naked, and I became a man. And my supporters began to rub me with oil, as they are accustomed to do for a match. And I saw that Egyptian on the other side rolling in the dust. ⁸Next there came out a man of such great size that he exceeded the height of the amphitheatre. He was wearing an unbelted robe, a purple garment with two stripes running down the middle of his chest, and decorated shoes made of gold and silver, and carrying a rod or wand as if a gladiator trainer, and a green branch on which there were golden apples. ⁹And he asked for silence and said: ‘This Egyptian, if he defeats this woman, will kill her with the sword, but if she defeats him, she shall receive this branch.’ And he departed. ¹⁰And we drew near to each other and began to throw punches at each other. He kept trying to grab hold of my feet while I kept kicking him in his face with my heels. ¹¹And I was raised up into the air, and I began to strike him stepping on his face, as though I were unable to step on the ground. But when I saw that there was a hesitation, I joined my hands so that my fingers were knit together and I grabbed hold of his head. And he fell on his face and I stepped on his head. ¹²And the crowd began to shout and my supporters began to sing hymns. And I went to the gladiator trainer, and I took the branch. ¹³And he kissed me and he said to me: ‘Daughter, peace be with you.’ And I began to walk in triumph to the Gate of Life. ¹⁴And then I woke up. And I knew that I was going to fight with the devil and not with the beasts; but I knew that victory was to be mine. ¹⁵This is the story of what I did the day before the final conflict. But concerning the outcome of that contest, let whoever wishes to write about it, do so.”

XI

XI. ¹But blessed Saturus made known his own vision, which he himself wrote. ²“We had suffered,” he said, “and we departed from the flesh and we began to be carried towards the east by four angels, whose hands were not touching us. ³But we were moving, not on our backs facing upwards, but as if we were climbing a gentle hill. ⁴And when we were freed from this world, we saw a great light, and I said to Perpetua (for she was at my side): ‘This is what the Lord promised us: we have received the promise.’ ⁵And while we were being carried by the four angels, a great space appeared before us, which was like a formal garden, having rose trees and flowers of all sorts. ⁶The height of the trees was like that of cypress trees, and their leaves were falling without ceasing. ⁷There in the garden were four other angels more radiant than the others. When they saw us, they gave us honor, and they said with admiration to the other angels: ‘Look, they are here, they are here.’

And those four angels who were carrying us became fearful and put us down. ⁸And on foot we crossed the park by a broad path. ⁹There we found Jocundus and Saturninus and Artaxius, who were burned alive in the same persecution, and Quintus, who had died as a martyr in prison. And we asked of them where the rest were. ¹⁰And the angels said to us: 'First come, enter and greet the Lord.'

XII

XII. ¹And we came near a place whose walls seemed to be made of light; and in front of the door of that place stood four angels, who clothed those who entered in white robes. ²And we entered in, and we heard a choir of voices chanting continually: 'Holy, Holy, Holy.' ³And we saw sitting in the same place what appeared to be an aged man. He had white hair and a youthful face, but we could not see his feet. ⁴And on his right and on his left were four elders, and behind them were standing many other elders. ⁵And entering in a spirit of wonder we stood before the throne, and four angels lifted us up, and we kissed him. And he stroked our faces with his hand. ⁶And the other elders said to us: 'Let us stand'; and we stood and offered each other the sign of peace. And the elders said to us: 'Go and play.' ⁷And I said to Perpetua: 'You have what you want.' And she said to me: 'Thanks be to God, because just as I was happy in the flesh, I am even happier here now.'

XIII

XIII. ¹And we went out and we saw in front of the gates Optatus the bishop on the right-hand side and Aspasius the priest and teacher on the left, separated and sorrowful. ²And they threw themselves at our feet and said: 'Make peace between us, for you have gone away and left us in this state.' ³And we said to them: 'Are you not our father and our priest? How can you throw yourselves at our feet?' And we were greatly moved and embraced them. ⁴And Perpetua began to speak to them in Greek, and we led them into a park under a rose tree. ⁵And while we were speaking with them, the angels said to them: 'Let them rest; and if you have any disagreements among yourselves, forgive one another.' ⁶And the angels admonished them and said to Optatus: 'Rebuke your people, because they are gathering around you, just as if they were returning from the chariot races, arguing about the different teams.' ⁷And it seemed to us as if they wanted to shut the gates. ⁸And we began to recognize there many of our brothers, and martyrs also. We were all nourished by an indescribable fragrance that satisfied us. Then, rejoicing, I awoke."

XIV

XIV. ¹These were the extraordinary visions of the most blessed martyrs Saturus and Perpetua, which they themselves wrote. ²As for Secundulus, God called him from this world while still in prison, and by his earlier death, one not without

favor, so that he might escape the fight with the beasts. ³Yet his flesh, if not his soul, knew the sword.

XV

XV. ¹As for Felicity, the Lord's favor touched her in this way. ²She was now in her eighth month (for she was pregnant when she was arrested). As the day of the games drew near, she was in agony, fearing that her pregnancy would spare her (since it was not permitted to punish pregnant women in public), and that she would pour forth her holy and innocent blood afterwards, along with common criminals. ³But also her fellow martyrs were deeply saddened that they might leave behind so good a friend, their companion, to travel alone on the road to their shared hope. ⁴And so, two days before the games, they joined together in one united supplication, groaning, and poured forth their prayer to the Lord. ⁵Immediately after their prayer her labor pains came upon her. And when—because of the natural difficulty associated with an eighth-month delivery—she suffered in her labor, one of the assistant jailers said to her: “If you are suffering so much now, what will you do when you are thrown to the beasts which you scorned when you refused to sacrifice?” ⁶And she replied: “Now I alone suffer what I am suffering, but then there will be another inside me, who will suffer for me, because I am going to suffer for him.” ⁷And she gave birth to a baby girl, whom a certain sister brought up as her own daughter.

XVI

XVI. ¹Therefore, since the Holy Spirit has given permission that the narrative of this contest be written down, and by such permission has willed it, although we are unworthy to add to the description of such great glory, nevertheless we shall carry out the command of the most holy Perpetua, or rather her sacred trust, adding one further example of her resolve and sublimity of spirit. ²The tribune treated them with great cruelty because of the warnings of the most devious of men. He feared that they would be carried off from prison through magical incantations. Perpetua said directly to his face: ³“Why do you not permit us to refresh ourselves—we, the most noble of the condemned belonging to Caesar, who are to fight on his birthday? Would it not be to your credit, if we were brought forth well fed?” ⁴The Tribune was horrified and flushed; and he ordered them to be treated more humanely, so that her brothers, and the others, might be granted the chance to visit and be refreshed with the prisoners, for now even the adjutant in charge of the prison was a believer.

XVII

XVII. ¹And then on the day before the games, when at that last meal which they call “free,” they partook, as far as it was possible, not of a “free meal” but a “love-feast.” They boldly flung their words at the mob, threatening them with the

judgment of God, bearing witness to the happiness they found in their suffering and mocking the curiosity of those who jostled to see them. Saturus said: ²“Will not tomorrow be enough for you? Why do you long to see that which you hate? Today our friends, tomorrow our enemies. But take a good look at our faces, so that you will be able to recognize us on that day.” ³And so the crowd left the prison stunned, and many of them became believers.

XVIII

XVIII. ¹The day of their victory dawned, and they marched from the prison to the amphitheatre, joyously, as if going to heaven, their faces radiant; and if by chance they trembled, it was from joy and not from fear. ²Perpetua followed, with a shining face and a calm step, as a wife of Christ and darling of God, and the intensity of her stare caused the spectators to look away. ³Likewise Felicity rejoiced that she had given birth safely, so that she might fight with the beasts—advancing from blood to blood, from the midwife to a net-bearing gladiator—now to be washed after childbirth in a second baptism. ⁴And when they were led to the gate, they were forced to put on costumes; the men, those of the priests of Saturn, and the women, those of the priestesses of Ceres. But that noble-minded woman fiercely resisted this to the end. ⁵She said: “We came here freely, so that our freedom might not be violated, and we handed over our lives so that we would not be forced to do anything like this. We had this agreement with you.” ⁶Injustice recognized justice. The tribune agreed that they should be brought in dressed simply as they were. ⁷Perpetua was singing a hymn, already trampling on the head of the Egyptian. Revocatus, Saturninus, and Saturus were threatening the spectators. ⁸Then, when they passed under the gaze of Hilarianus, they began to say to him through gestures and nods: “You [judge] us but God will [judge] you.” ⁹The crowd, angered by this, demanded that they be whipped along a line of beast-hunting gladiators. And they gave thanks that they had obtained some share in the Lord’s sufferings.

XIX

XIX. ¹But he who said: “Ask and you shall receive” gave to those who asked the death that each desired. ²For whenever they spoke among themselves concerning their desire for martyrdom, Saturninus declared that he wished to be thrown to all the different kinds of beasts so that he might wear a more glorious crown. ³And so at the beginning of the spectacle, he and Revocatus were attacked by a leopard, and then while on the platform, they were charged by a bear. ⁴Saturus hated nothing more than a bear, and now he was confident that he would die from one bite of a leopard. ⁵However, he was offered to a wild boar. Yet it was the hunter who had tied him to the wild boar who was gored by the same beast, and died a

few days after the games. Saturus himself was only dragged. ⁶And when he was tied on the bridge awaiting the bear, the bear refused to leave its cage. And so Saturus, unhurt, was called back for the second time.

XX

XX. ¹For the young women, however, the devil prepared a wild cow—not a traditional practice—matching their sex with that of the beast. ²And so stripped naked and covered only with nets, they were brought out again. The crowd shuddered, seeing that one was a delicate young girl and that the other had recently given birth, as her breasts still dripping with milk. ³So they were called back and dressed in unbelted robes. Perpetua was thrown down first and fell on her loins. ⁴Then sitting up, she noticed that her tunic was ripped on the side, and so she drew it up to cover her thigh, more mindful of her modesty than her suffering. ⁵Then she requested a pin and she tied up her tousled hair; for it was not right for a martyr to suffer with disheveled hair, since it might appear that she was grieving in her moment of glory. ⁶Then she got up; and when she saw Felicity crushed to the ground, she went over to her, gave her her hand and helped her up. ⁷And the two stood side by side. The cruelty of the crowd now being sated, they were called back to the Gate of Life. ⁸There Perpetua was received by a certain Rusticus, also a catechumen, who clung to her side. She awakened, as if from a sleep—she was so deep in the spirit and in ecstasy—and looked about her, and said, to the amazement of all: “When are we to be thrown to the mad cow, or whatever it is?” ⁹And when she heard that it had already happened, she refused at first to believe it until she noticed certain marks of physical violence on her body and her clothing. ¹⁰Then after calling her brother and the catechumen, she spoke to them, saying: “Stand fast in faith and love one another, and do not lose heart because of our sufferings.”

XXI

XXI. ¹At another gate, Saturus was exhorting the soldier Pudens, saying: “It is exactly,” he said, “as I imagined and predicted. Until now no beast has touched me. And now you must believe this with all your heart: See, I will go in there and be killed by one bite from a leopard.” ²And immediately at the end of the game, a leopard rushed out and bit Saturus. He was so covered with blood from one bite that as he was returning, the crowd roared in witness to his second baptism: “A saving bath, a saving bath.” ³For truly one was saved who had bathed in such manner. ⁴Then he said to the soldier Pudens: “Farewell, remember the faith and me; and do not let these things trouble you but strengthen you.” ⁵At the same time he asked Pudens for the small ring from his finger, and dipping it into his wound, he returned it to him as a legacy, leaving it to him as a pledge and a memorial

of his blood. ⁶Then, being now unconscious, he was thrown with the others in the accustomed place to have his throat cut. ⁷But the crowd demanded that they be brought back to the middle of the arena, so that as the sword penetrated the bodies of the martyrs their eyes might be accomplices to the murder. The martyrs got up unaided and moved to where the crowd wished them to be. First they kissed each other so that the ritual of peace would seal their martyrdom. ⁸The others, in silence and without moving, received the sword's thrust, and particularly Satorius, who had first climbed up the ladder, was the first to give up his spirit. For once again he was waiting for Perpetua. ⁹Perpetua, however—so that she might taste something of the pain—screamed out in agony as she was pierced between the bones. And when the right hand of the novice gladiator wavered, she herself guided it to her throat. ¹⁰Perhaps such a woman, feared as she was by the unclean spirit, could not have been killed unless she herself had willed it.

¹¹O bravest and most blessed martyrs! O truly called and chosen for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ! Anyone who praises, honors, and adores his glory surely should read these deeds, which are no less worthy than the old ones for building up the church. For these new deeds of courage too may witness that one and the same Holy Spirit is always working among us even now, along with God, the Father almighty, and his Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, to whom is glory and endless power for ever and ever. Amen.

VI



THE COMMENTARY

CHAPTER I

The Argument: Prophecy is Superior to the Canon

The lines that comprise this section function as a preface to the *Passio*, introducing the principal theological arguments of the anonymous editor/redactor (hereafter R). The preface is contained in the Latin version of the *Passio* in MS M. The Greek, which is a translation of a no longer extant Latin exemplar, is close in all essentials, save where indicated in the notes. R was an intimate of the Carthaginian church and apparently an eyewitness to the persecutions of individuals who were themselves also eyewitnesses. R shares sympathy with the New Prophecy movement. However, while we may find in the preface a solidarity with that segment of the church in Carthage which emphasized prophesy as a manifestation of the Paraclete, there is no hint of heterodoxy in his remarks, either in this section or in the others that he composed. The principal function of this section is to outline his major argument, namely that revelation is not limited to a particular time or place but is always active through the continued ministry of the Holy Spirit. He presents the martyrdom of Perpetua and her companions as a proof of that revelation and as a validation of the legitimacy of his Scriptural position.

R begins his discussion in a modest tone, inquiring if, as all acknowledge, the virtuous actions of the past were palpably redolent with God's Spirit and written to preserve their utility for men, why would such a Spirit not be similarly

operating in the present? Indeed, if it were important to record the ancient examples in writing, is it not as important to do so for our own day, since these events too will eventually have the patina of age? Having begun with such an apparently commonsensical remark, R's next point is far bolder. The events of the present are not merely equal to the past, but they are actually superior to the past, since they are the heralds of the end time (*ultima saeculi spatia*, I.3), a time when, as Scripture has foretold, the most extraordinary graces will be manifest. The *Passio* then is the herald of such extraordinary graces, and it will serve as a clarion of the new age. It is the community's duty to spread the story of the martyrs' heroism to serve as a comfort in difficult times and as a reminder of God's salvific promise.

The writer appears to refer to a series of disagreements in the local church of Carthage between those who supported the efficacy of such present revelation and those who would restrict it to the past (*sed viderint qui unam . . . iudicent temporum*, I.3). He writes in agreement with those who endorse the continuance of revelation by prophecy and vision. Appealing to the sanction given to prophecy in J1 2.28 and Acts 2.17, he asserts that Christians must always be open to the spirit of prophecy and also of visions. The quotation from Joel and its occurrence in Acts were important cruxes for the New Prophecy adherents.

Although the date of the *Passio* cannot be decided with certainty, the preface is written by someone who claims to have been an eyewitness, and it is addressed to others who were also present. R addresses his audience with an intimacy (*fratres et filioli . . . uti et uos qui interfuistis*, I.6, emphasis added) that suggests that some were eyewitnesses to the events of the *Passio*, who themselves had felt the brunt of the persecution and may have still been suffering persecution. The written text of the *Passio* is designed to serve as a *consolatio* for the present and for posterity. Tertullian's first mention of the martyrs in *De Anim.* 55.4 (post 203 but ante 207/08) suggests that the date of their deaths may well have been on the birthday of Geta in the spring of 203 and the text written no later than the fall of 209 (*. . . natale tunc Getae Caesaris*, VII.9; for a more precise date see Chapter II, "The Date of the Passion").

Chapter I Commentary

Title. Chapter I is present only in MS M and in H. Please refer to the table of manuscript sigils, which also provides a cross-listing with the sigils of van Beek and Amat. I use alphabetic sigils derived from the first letter of the place of the manuscript's location. Hence *A* stands for Ambrosiana, *M* for Montecassino, *E* for Einsiedeln, *H* the initial letter in the Latin spelling of Jerusalem, etc. The title of the composition and the date of the martyrdom occur in four of the Latin manuscripts, E, G, N, and S, while G and S also record the date: G = *Passio Perpetuae et*

Felicitatis die Nonarum Martiarum and S = *Incipit Passio Sanctae Felicitatis et Perpetuae quod nonis Martis in civitate Turbitana*. The single extant Greek MS (HS=H) gives the date of their execution as the nones of February and states that the events described took place in Africa during the joint reign of Valerian and his son Gallienus (253–60). This is too late, as Tertullian mentions the martyrs. While it is true that Valerian did subject some Christians to persecution, these actions appear to have been limited in scope and did not approach the ferocity of Decius, nor is there any other textual support for the late date given in MS H (see Selinger, *Persecutions*, 157–70). The earliest physical evidence of the martyrs and their deaths, aside from their mention in Tertullian, Augustine, and *Quodvultdeus*, is the important inscription in a green-veined, white marble grave marker commemorating their deaths, now on deposit in the Carthage Museum. I am indebted to Dr. Lilliane Ennabli of the Carthage Museum for help with the epigraphy of this monument.

Only three Latin MSS (G, N, S) and the Greek MS H record both the title and the date and place of the martyrdom. Both place the persecution in the city of Thuburbo Minus, an unlikely attribution, as I show later. MS S reads *Passio S. Felicitatis et Perpetuae quod est Non[is] Mart[iis] in civitate Turbitana*. The Greek text is slightly more specific in giving the precise name as Ἐν πόλει θουβουρβιτανῶν τῇ μικροτέρᾳ (II.1). It is unlikely that the Greek text is reflecting a more primitive tradition that recorded the precise location of the martyrdom, for which there is no other ancient corroboration. The town of Thuburbo Minus (modern Teburbo) is on the Mjerda River (ancient Bagradas) in a rich agricultural valley and is approximately fifty-five kilometers west of Carthage. It was a wealthy place in the early third century, possessing a rich, loamy soil that made it a significant producer of grain and oil. It contained an amphitheatre, which remains unexcavated and overgrown. The modern town has used much of the ancient town fabric for its building material, and consequently, the archaeological sites are in disrepair and neglected. The amphitheatre is currently very near the cemetery.

While it might be tempting to see these six catechumens as residents of this area, in view of the fact that Perpetua says her father, in great distress, rushed from the city—from Carthage to Thuburbo seems unlikely—to see her (*superuenit autem et de ciuitate pater meus, consumptus taedio*, V.1), it is difficult to imagine a small provincial settlement capable of producing so many converts who, in turn, would be visited in prison by such numbers of Christians and at whose executions such a crowd would be present. Until we have more substantial evidence, the precise location of their martyrdom cannot be decided with certainty, and Carthage appears more likely than does Thuburbo Minus.

I.1. old examples of the faith (vetera fidei exempla). R's use of the word *exempla* is significant, as it suggests events which not merely took place but also are worthy of imitation and should be set down in writing. The text does not provide examples of

these *exempla*, but we may presume that at this relatively early date (about 200 CE), Biblical accounts are likely what the author has in mind, and that earlier martyr accounts were intended as well. An obvious possibility would be the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, particularly if it was available in North Africa in a Latin translation. Furthermore, the reference likely would suggest the inclusion of the examples of the present martyrs and their divinely inspired visions. As such, their visions would be *exempla* as powerful as the *vetera* and thus provide the listener with the opportunity to make connections with appropriate *exempla* and visions, e.g., Stephen's martyrdom in Acts 7.54–60; Gn 18.2–5, 28.12; Dn 7.9; Additions to Esther (Gk) 10.4; and Rv 7.9. The textual uncertainty (see Harris, van Beek, and Amat) of the Greek text deprives us of the help which we would like to have. The reading δειγματα would be a direct translation of *exempla*, since δειγμα can be used in the sense of “example,” as in Jude 7. On the other hand, if we follow Amat and accept the reading δόγματα, then it would be tempting to see a process of doctrinal development taking place between the time of the original composition of the Latin text and the (presumably later) Greek text. In this case the original *exempla* would have become religious doctrines. In Christian Greek, δόγμα, by the time of the *Epistle to Diognetus* (5.3) and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (1), meant “religious doctrine or dogma” (see Lampe, s.v. δόγμα). Latin *exemplum* in the sense of “an example for imitation” or “pattern” or “model” can be seen as early as Terence (*An.* 92,651).

I.1. which testify to the grace of God (Dei gratiam testificantia). This is the first reason given for the significance of the *vetera fidei exempla*. Although the theology of grace is yet in its infancy, these *exempla* are important because they bear witness to the divine grace that inspired them. *Testificor* is a strong word—stronger than the uncompounded *testor*—as it contains the roots of both *testis* and *facio*. The force of the Greek is different—δόξαν θεοῦ φανεροῦντα means that these *exempla* show forth the glory of God, whereas *gratiam* points to the favor which God gives to man. Also, φανεροῦντα does not have quite the force of *testificantia*, since it does not contain the root *testis* (“witness”).

I.1. edification of men (aedificationem hominis). R uses this noun “edification” twice, here and again in the doxology in XXI.11. The phrase is an echo of St. Paul, particularly 1 Cor 14.4 and 1 Tm 1.4. Both epistles are concerned with glossolalia (cf. Acts 2.4–6) and prophecy and their relative importance for revelation. Paul proposed that of the two charisms, prophecy was the more significant of God's gifts, because it contributed to the public “building up” the Church (ὁ δὲ προφητεῶν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομεῖ, 1 Cor 14.4) and underscored the active presence of the Holy Spirit. The primacy of prophecy is a sentiment that R shares with members of the New Prophecy movement, even at the risk of minimizing the established canon. *Aedificationem* is used here in the sense of English “edification,” but it also has a lingering echo of its root words *aedes* and *facio*, a suggestion of the

“household of faith” and of building something important. The use of *aedificatio* in XXI.11 should be noted also, where it is followed not by *hominis*, as here, but rather by *ecclesiae*. The Greek reads οἰκοδομῆν for the Latin *aedificationem*. Here the root for “house” or “building” is again used in the sense of “spiritual strengthening” or edification. (See also 1 Cor 14.26; Tert. Res. 45.10; Paen. 5.1, 5.8.)

I.1. working in (operantia). This word indicates the continued presence of the Holy Spirit. Here it modifies *exempla* and takes *aedificationem* as its direct object, indicating that the *vetera fidei exempla* perform an active role and that their completed work (*opus*) is the edification of man. The corresponding Greek term, ἀποτελοῦντα, is similar, suggesting that they are bringing this edification to a point of completion (τέλος). For Greek ἀποτελέω in the sense of “bring to completion,” see Pl. Leg. 823d. In the NT, it has this semantic register in Jas 1.15 and in the more general sense of “perform” in Lk 13.32. OLD cites classical *operari* only in the sense of “to be at work” or “to perform religious rites.”

I.1. were written down (sunt digesta). R’s use of forms of *digerere* with *exempla* at the beginning of the first sentence and with *documenta* at the end of the sentence is deliberate, underscoring the importance of this present written word with the older canonical written texts. The corresponding Greek is less effective, as it uses the standard verbs for “write,” γράφω, at the beginning, and the equivalent noun γραφή, concluding with παραδοθῆ. Although *digerere* typically means “to carry or cause to move away in all directions” (OLD, s.v.), it can mean “arrange, organize, classify” or “enumerate.” Amat (188) suggests “exposer dans l’ordre” (see Livy 2.21.3: *nec quid quoque anno actum sit in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum digere possis*; and Tert. De Anim. 9.4).

I.1. reading (lectione). Although the word commonly means “reading,” in this context it suggests a public and possibly liturgical reading. Origen reports that readings from the *Acts of the Martyrs* were taking place at their gravesites on the anniversary of their deaths (*natalis*, heavenly birth). The ἀναγνώσει in the Greek text can certainly mean this in Christian Greek, as it does in 1 Tm 4.13; *eorum* following *lectione* refers to the *vetera fidei exempla*. *Lectio* in the ablative of means emphasizes the role that such reading will play in the glorifying of God and the strengthening of man. Such use is stronger than the Greek version, which says, “so that we may use the reading of them” (see Delehay, *Sanctus*; Fontaine, “Le culte des saints,” 17–41).

I.1. reexamination (repensatione). OLD s.v. cites *repraesentatio* in the sense of “the act of bringing before the mind” from Valerius Maximus 3.8 and others. Although the OLD does not cite *repensatio*, the word has manuscript support here, while *repraesentatio* does not. Although this textual crux may never be resolved, the meaning of the passage is clear, and van Beek’s emendation of *repraesentatione* seems hypercorrective, seeking a Latin equivalent for the Greek παρουσία

(first conjectured by Harris; see also van Beek and Bastiaensen). The παρουσία, already theologically nuanced in Christian Greek (see Lampe, s.v. παρουσία, “presence”), while it best reflects *repraesentatione* as the most plausible reading, is not congruent with the lack of theological nuance typically found in the Latin exemplar (see Amat, 188, and Waldner, 49, who prefer *repensatione*).

I.2. *necessary (necessaria)*. These new dreams will become a “necessary” part of the emerging canon. The Greek adds that they will also be held in esteem, καὶ τίμια.

I.3. *power (virtutem)*. Although the word can mean the sum of all human excellence, here its meaning is to be restricted to spiritual power, since the reference is to the Holy Spirit. See Mt 26.64; Mk 14.62, ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως. The Greek *Passio* uses δύναμιν as the equivalent of the Latin *virtutem* and hence is borrowing from such passages as Mk.14.62. It is this same power that the New Prophecy advocates argue cannot be constrained.

I.3. *newer are . . . more recent (sunt novitiora quaeque, ut novissimiora)*. Formisano (78, no. 9) points out R’s use (“volgarismi”) of the non-classical forms *novitiora* and *novissimiora*.

I.3. *promised for the end of time (in ultima saeculi spatia decretam)*. This phrase has a New Prophecy millenarian tone common among some Christians of the late second century. (See Rv 22.1–10; Iren. *Haer.* 5.26; Tert. *Marc.* 3.3–4.)

I.3. *overflow of grace (exuperationem gratiae)*. MS M reads *exuperationem*. See OLD, s.v. *ex(s)upero*, 2. TLL also provides some evidence that *exsupero* can mean an abundance or excess. Bastiaensen (following Braun) emended to *exuberationem*. The Greek uses a genitive absolute ἀξαναομένης τῆς χάριτος.

I.4. *In the last days . . . your old men shall dream dreams (In nouissimis . . . somniant)*. This is a quotation of Peter’s speech from Acts 2.17–18, but cf. Jl 2.28 and also Pss 16.8–11, 110.1. The passage’s deeply felt eschatological view was congenial to the editor’s point of view, namely that Christians are now in possession of God’s Spirit and that such Spirit is accessible to all. The passage in Acts is part of the Pentecost discourse and inaugurates the missionary activity of the Church and the beginning of the messianic age. The sentiment in Joel is not new in Christianity (cf. Rom 10.13 and Ti 3.6, notably in the phrase “pour out,” ἐκχέω). The passage aptly illustrates the editor’s point that the gifts of the Spirit, notably prophecy, cannot be restricted to a particular time and place, because they are part of God’s salvific plan for the consummation of the world. It is noteworthy that the editor changes the order and consequently the emphasis of the passage as it occurs in Joel and Acts. He moves the verse beginning “I will pour out . . . on my servants and handmaidens” so that it is before the visions of the young and the dreams of the old. Since we cannot be certain of the Scriptural textual tradition available to the editor, we must be prudent in our interpretation. However, in light of the fact that at least

some of those killed in the arena were slaves/servants—Felicity is described as *conserua*, and the Greek is even more explicit with σύνδουλοι—we might expect such textual manipulation. Moreover, such a privileging of the underclass would bring to mind the community cited by Paul in Gal 3.28: in Christ Jesus “there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male or female.” While the prophecy in Joel was intended for all Jews, the prophecy now is for all nations to become members of the one *ecclesia*. Origen’s remarks on the verbal polysemy of Scripture are significant: “each word of divine Scripture is like a seed whose nature is to multiply diffusely” (*Hom. Ex.* 1.1; see also Atkinson, “Montanist Interpretation”).

I.5. new prophecies (prophetias . . . nouas). R distinguishes between prophecies and visions. Prophecies need not concern supernatural events but rather are predictions, chiefly of a religious sort, made earlier. *Prophetia* is not in the OLD, but *propheta* (prophet) is taken directly from Greek προφήτης. *Prophetia* is a Christian Latin use; see Tert. *De Anim.* 35; and Vulg. 1 Tm 1.18. *Prophetia* is taken directly into Latin from Greek προφητεία (“the interpretation of the will of the gods”), which occurs a number of times in the NT (see BDAG, s.v. προφητεία). The Greek reads προφητείας for the Latin *prophetias*. It is tempting to read this phrase as a public acknowledgment of the editor’s membership and that of his audience (note the plurals *agnoscimus* and *honoramus*) in the New Prophecy movement. If this is the case, it is significant, since such a public admission suggests that the movement had not yet become apostate and likely reflected the charismatic segment of the North African church still in full communion with their Catholic brethren. The earliest date of Tertullian’s association with the New Prophecy is 206–7. If the *Passio* were written before that (but after 203), it indicates the movement had some following before Tertullian, despite complaints made about its adherents and their condemnation by eastern synods and Hippolytus. For its early opponents see Trevett, *Montanism*, 55ff. Bastiaensen (413) points to an emphasis on prophecy over vision.

I.5. new visions (uisiones nouas). *Visio* is the act or faculty of seeing. It can be used in the sense of a visual image (equivalent to Greek φάντασμα) or a mental image. Here *visio* is used in the sense of “a supernatural vision,” translating the Greek ὄρασις. Greek ὄρασις also occurs in this sense in the NT in Acts 2.17 and Rv 9.17. R was intent on legitimating the visions of the martyrs through the citation of Acts 2.17 and Jl 2.28. *Pariter*, placed between *uisiones novas* and *repromissas*, suggests that the *uisiones* have been promised “just as much as” or “in the same way as” the *prophetias*. Extending the quotation from Acts, R, who is in sympathy with the New Prophecy movement, welcomes the practice of the interpretation of dreams and visions (see Trevett, *Montanism*, 170). Such an acknowledgement here prepares the audience for the sequence of the four autobiographical dreams of Perpetua and the one of Saturus (see Cox Miller, *Dreams*, 152ff).

I.5. for the instruction of the Church (ad instrumentum Ecclesiae). Amat (191) calls attention to the phrase in later Latin as a mode of instruction with particular reference to sacred texts. Although the noun *instrumentum* seems never to have this meaning in classical Latin, the verb *instruere* was used in the sense of “equip with knowledge” or “instruct” by Cicero (*Brut.* 59.214) and others. It is tempting to recall that the most basic meaning of *instruere* is “to build” and to connect this with the “building” idea in *aedificatio* in I.1. R, however, is still working from Paul. Just as Paul sought to construct a model of the unity of the Church—based on the metaphor of a body’s unity, despite being made up of disparate parts—so, too, it is with the Church of Christ (cf. 1 Cor 3.10–17; 12.12–13) whose many and disparate members work in common for the building up of the Church. The expression is used by a number of patristic writers, notably Tertullian in *Apol.* 19.1, 21.1, 47.9; *Marc.* 4.10.13; in Jerome *Adv. Iovinian.* 1.4; *In Ier.* 23.30; *Adv. Ruf.* 2.24; and in Augustine, *Serm.* 36.8: *lege euangelium instrumentum tuum*. The Greek adds the modifier τῆ ἁγία ἐκκλησία.

I.5. to which church (Cui et missus . . .). This must refer to the *Ecclesia* just mentioned, and thus corresponds to πρὸς ἣν in the Greek version. The Latin form could also be masculine or neuter, but then it is difficult to see what it would refer to. In the Greek text, ἣν can only refer to the ἐκκλησία. In the Latin, *idem* must be masculine (with long *i*), the subject of *missus est*, and it must refer to the preceding *spiritus sanctus*. Then the Greek πνεῦμα ἅγιον must be supplied as the subject of ἐπέμφθη, or it would otherwise be tempting to take πάντα τὰ χαρίσματα as the subject, recalling that a neuter plural subject takes a third singular verb. The Greek διοικοῦν, which here must be the neuter nominative singular of the present active participle of διοικέω, would agree with the implied πνεῦμα ἅγιον and thus would lend support to the emendation *administrans*, which would then correspond directly to διοικοῦν. I have adopted *administrat[ur]* *us*, as the future active participle could be seen as having a “purposive” force (cf. van Beek). The reading least likely to be correct is the *administratus* of MS M.

I.5. gifts (donatiua). The word has echoes of the gift given by the emperor to a soldier on achieving his majority, or performing some other notable feat (see Suet. *Ner.* 7.2.; OLD, s.v. *donatium*; and Souter, 112, who mistakenly dates it as only from the fourth century). Its use here creates an association of this military tradition with a militant, besieged church where the Spirit and the emperor have changed places. The new *miles* is the *miles Christi* strengthened by the gifts of the Spirit and may have some charismatic coloring as well. Tertullian in *Marc.* 1.1 shows this association with charisma: *dedit data filiis hominum, id est donativa quae charismata dicimus*. The Greek version uses this very word (τὰ χαρίσματα).

I.S. just as (prou). This, corresponding to ὡς in the Greek version, must be correct here, and not *pro*, as in some MSS. *Distribuit* could be either present or perfect, but the corresponding Greek has the aorist ἐμέρισεν. This phrase *prou* . . . *Dominus* seems to be based upon Rom 12.3, and the Greek version is taken directly from Paul. It is reminiscent also of 1 Cor 12.11.

I.S. reading (lectione). Cf. I.1 above. *I.S. we celebrate (celebramus).* This may be a reference to the public reading of the *Acta martyrii* and other liturgical celebrations (singing of hymns and feasting) on the anniversary of the martyr's death, the new *natalis* (see Tert. *Cor.* 3), and at the grave site (Tert. *Scap.* 3.1), and may also refer to the "reading" (*lectione*) mentioned at I.1 above.

I.S. lest . . . (ut ne). A variation on the more usual single *ne* to introduce a negative purpose clause.

I.S. weak or despairing in their faith (imbecillitas aut desperatio fidei). A phrase that may underscore the presence in the community of such types and the threat the community was under, and hence their despair and the enormity of the promise of *gratiam divinitatis*. *Fidei* likely depends on both nouns.

I.S. divine grace (gratiam divinitatis). An important aspect of the position that the Holy Spirit continues to be present in the lives of the Church and not simply at some distant past time for the ancients. R clearly understands grace as a received, tangible gift, either in favor granted for martyrdom or of revelations. Although the formal theology of grace had to wait until the great debates between Augustine and Pelagius, grace was a subject of concern throughout the NT, notably in Paul. It is given freely to those in need (Mt 5.45; Lk 18.9–14) and is not owed in any sense (Rom 4.13–16). Tertullian is among the earliest who wrote about grace. He viewed grace as a freely given divine energy working in our souls (see *Marc.* 2.9).

I.S. either in favor of martyrdoms or of revelations (sive [in] martyrum sive in revelationum dignatione). The retention of *in* before *martyrum* seems logical and is parallel to ἐν τοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων in the Greek version. *Dignatio* here could be translated "grace," but such a choice may place a theological burden on the language which it may not support (see Souter, s.v. *dignatio*).

I.S. martyr (martyrum). The word originally referred to a witness who testifies to a thing or condition or to one's character (cf. LSJ, s.v. μάρτυς), and it is only used in this sense in the Septuagint (see Gn 43.3, διαμαρτυρία μεμαρτύρηται). While the word μάρτυς is never associated in the Torah with volitional self-sacrifice for one's belief in the faith, Judaism does in fact have the concept of martyrdom. The Jewish martyr, *qiddush ha-Shem* (death for "the sanctification of the Name [of God]"), was permissible when the faith was being persecuted and the Torah reviled. It is noteworthy that the earliest martyrdom from North Africa (an area with an active Jewish population in the late second century), the *Scillitan Martyrs*,

illustrates witness and death for the name of Christ and their possession of *libri et epistulae Pauli viri iusti*. The outstanding example of such martyrs (*qadosh*) is that of Eleazar and the Maccabean mother and her seven sons (2 Mc 6–7.42; see Werblowsky and Wigoder, 444, “Martyrdom”). In Rabbinical writings, crucifixion was the punishment reserved for robbers and for martyrs (see Genesis Rabbah 65 [141a]). The ideal of martyrdom in Judaism likely has its roots in the *‘aqedah*, God’s test of Abraham’s faith and call to sacrifice Isaac (Gn 22). Martyrdom here represents the willingness to make such a sacrifice. Pseudepigraphical texts, like the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (c.150–200 CE), amplify their respective themes in the Torah.

In the NT the term is principally used in its older primary sense as a reference to the apostles who were witnesses of Christ’s life and resurrection (see Acts 1.8, 22; and Cross and Livingstone, 1046). However, R’s use of “witness” as one who testifies to a conviction at the cost of his life may also have its beginning in the NT. In Acts 22.20, Paul acknowledges his presence in Stephen’s death by stoning for blasphemy in the narrative of Stephen’s death in Acts 7.1–8.1, stating, “and when the blood of Stephen the witness was being shed”/ἐξεχύννεται τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου (Acts 22.20). Although being executed for blasphemy, his death is nonetheless as a witness to Christ.

Revelation mediated through the *Vetus* appears most central for this persecuted church in Carthage and contains favorite passages and examples that supported a theology of self-sacrifice. Rv 2.13 was a popular crux: “You did not renounce your faith in me even in the days of Antipas, my faithful witness (Ἀντιπᾶς ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός μου) who was put to death in your city.” The word *martyr* became unequivocally associated with volitional self-sacrifice for Christ (cf. 1 Clem. 5.4, μαρτυρήσας). The least ambiguous use of the term *martyr* as a blood witness and as an imitation (μίμησις) of Christ can be found in the account of Polycarp’s martyrdom (*Mart. Pol.* 14.2, ca. 165/170) and in the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne* 1.170, ca. 177). By the end of the second century, it appears that the terms *martyr* and *martyrdom* had become so aligned with the idea of death for the faith that their application to those who had not shed their blood was roundly rejected. See *Ltr Chr Lyons & Vienn* 5.22–4, *Tert. Cor.* 2; *Hipp. Dan.* 2.36.6; and *Cypr. Ep.* 5.2 and his *Laps.* 3–4. Such witnesses were to be called *confessores* (ὁμολογοί). The growing theology of martyrdom was also used as an argument against the Docetists, who viewed Christ’s physical body and hence his sufferings as a chimera or disguise worn by the Messiah—Christ. His person was wholly spiritual for Docetists, and thus hardly capable of suffering martyrdom. On martyrs and martyrdom, see Ferguson, 724–28; and Hastings, *Christian Thought*, 411–12.

I.5. *kindness (beneficium)*. R stresses the Lord's charity to those who believe. The word is nuanced and has a range of meanings that can include the idea of one's status and an obliged kindness to those in the military. Since it follows almost immediately after "martyr[s]," those new soldiers of the Lord, it would be well to hear such a resonance also. The Greek reads ἀντίληψιν and thus has a slightly different sense of "receiving help." It is perhaps not coincidental that Paul also uses the noun in Corinthians in discussing the gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor 12.28).

I.6. *brothers and little sons (fratres et filoli)*. R concludes the preface with a direct address to some of his audience. He includes in this phrase both the eyewitnesses to the events, the *fratres*, and a younger generation, *filoli*, who have knowledge of the event only through oral teaching. The plural forms of the nouns connote both sexes. The Greek uses τέκνα, "children." Although it is tempting to use this as a chronological marker to construct a date for the martyrdom, the best conjecture one can make is that their deaths took place not too long before these remarks, since among the new listeners are children, *filoli*. The diminutive might even suggest a different class of people or ones not fully initiated. Bastiaensen has suggested that here we have two categories of the Church being referred to, the fully professed *fratres*, and the catechumen *filoli*. Perhaps all such meanings are intended.

I.6. *you who were present (vos qui interfuistis, emphasis added)*. R directly addresses the eyewitnesses known to him to still be alive. The Latin's use of the second person plural form of the verb personalizes the expression, while the Greek uses the less personal form of the substantive οἱ συνπαρόντες with ἀναμνησθῶσιν in the third person. (See Robinson, 4.)

I.6. *you who know it now through the hearing (qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum)*. R's emphasis on the oral nature of the reception underscores his insistence that this is a significant and revelatory *exemplum*, like those of antiquity with which he began his narrative, *vetera fidei exempla*. The Latin version is more "personal," employing the second plural form of the verb *cognoscitis* where the Greek uses οἱ γινώσκοντες. This may be an echo of the Pauline idea (cf. Pss 18.4) that faith comes through hearing (*per auditum*) in Rom 10.17 (ἀκοή).

I.6. *may have a sharing with the holy martyrs (communio habetis cum sanctis martyribus, emphasis added)*. R appears to be appealing to the idea of the martyrs as mediators between men and Christ. Traditionally, the doctrine of the *communio sanctorum*, part of the ninth article in the Apostles' Creed, has been believed to date from the late fourth century. The kernel of such an idea of a holy mediator who serves as an intercessor for the living may well derive from Judas Maccabeus's dream in 2 Mc 15.12–16. There, Judas sees the deceased high priest and the prophet Jeremiah praying with outstretched arms for the Jews. Paul developed the idea of the mystical body in which, borrowing from the many different parts of the body and their various functions, he argues by analogy that

likewise we, who are many, are one body in Christ and “individually we are members of one another,” τὸ δὲ καθ’ εἰς ἀλλήλων μέλη (Rom 12.4–5; cf. 1 Cor 12.12–31). If this is a statement of the *communio sanctorum*, it is one of the earliest that we have.

CHAPTER II

The Argument: The Martyr’s Arrest and Biographies

The narrative proper begins in Chapter II. Although R may have been responsible for Chapter II, its Latinity, notably the much more straightforward syntax, lexical choices, and lack of theologizing, is quite different from that of Chapter I. For example, in contrast to Chapter I, this chapter contains no subjunctive constructions; the complex subordinating syntax is absent; the chapter is made up of simple indicative statements; with the single exception of *catechumeni*, there are no Greek words; and there is no argument made. The young people who are to be martyred are identified by name as young catechumens. Two of them, Revocatus and Felicity, are enslaved (*conserua eius*). The major figure in the narrative, Vibia Perpetua, is identified by name and her age given as twenty-two. R further states that she is well born and educated, and that her mother, father, and two brothers are still living. A brother is identified as also being a catechumen. She has an infant male child who is still nursing. R completed this chapter with the remark that from this point on in the narrative, Perpetua is responsible for it, having written it in her own hand and in her own understanding (*conscriptum manu sua et suo sensu*, II.3)

Chapter II, although very brief, contains much important historical material. We are told that the catechumens are young and that they appear to have known one another. While a considerable amount of detail is given about Perpetua—her *nomen* “Vibia” and her *cognomen* “Perpetua,” her educational level, her class, and her present status as honorably married (*matronaliter nupta*)—some salient details are omitted. For example, we are given no information about her husband’s family—indeed, no information at all about her husband. This is a curious matter and invites speculation. The average marital age of a daughter from a good family—the family was of the *honestiores* class—during the Empire was early to mid-teens. Shaw has suggested, however, that elite females from the provinces married later than those in Italy, as late as their late teens. The text gives Perpetua’s age as twenty-two, slightly older than the norm that one would expect for a newly married woman with but a single child. While only one child is mentioned, it is entirely possible that she had other children who are not discussed, since they played no role in the narrative. She is depicted nursing her child, a task many highborn women would have relegated to a wet nurse.

Most Roman marriages by the late second century were *sine manu*, and the daughter remained in *patria potestate*. This situation would explain the prominent position of her father throughout the narrative. Yet we still must ask why the husband is never mentioned. Of course, we will likely never know. It may be that he was deceased, or that they were divorced, or that the rigorist ideas concerning celibacy that were present in both Montanism and in the Catholicism of the North African church made it ideologically necessary for R or later editors to suppress any mention of a sexual partner. Revelation is one of the more influential Biblical texts represented in the *Passio*, and John notes at the appearance of the hundred and forty-four thousand saints that all were “undefiled with women” (Rv 14.3–4). Furthermore, if the spirit of Montanism was present in the early years of the third century in Carthage, the two principal priestesses of Montanism, Prisca and Maxmilla—who abandoned their husbands (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 13.3)—and their founder Montanus, who approved of annulment, would have provided appealing role models (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 13.2).

Chapter II Commentary

II.1. arrested (apprehensi). The arrests were likely part of a localized pogrom conducted under the aegis of the provincial governor. Scholars have debated whether Septimius Severus was responsible for issuing an edict forbidding new conversions (see Birley, *Septimius Severus*). The evidence of imperial involvement is inconclusive, and the persecutions at Carthage were likely initiated under the jurisdiction of the provincial governor (see Platnauer, *Severus*, 153; dal Covolo, “I Severi e il cristianesimo,” 189). Certain of the Latin MSS (G, N, and S) of the *Passio* (though only in their incipits and not in the body of the narrative)—and also the Greek text—indicate that the arrest took place in the *civitate Tuburbitana*. The Greek MS reads Ἐν πόλει Θου(βου)ρβιτάνων τῇ μικροτέρα συνελήφθησαν, and the Latin copy closest to this in the library of Saint Gall (G) reads *Apprehensi in ciuitate tyburtina minore*. The tradition of localizing the place of their arrest in *civitate Tuburbitanorum* is also part of the MSS of the *Acta*, where it is, in fact, part of the actual narrative. The best MS of the *Passio* (M) does not localize the place of the arrest, and it is possible that the tradition of attributing it to this town is a late addition. The story of Perpetua and her companions is well known among the citizens of modern Teburbo (ancient *Thuburbo minus*), and there is an active interest on their part to claim the martyrs as citizens of this community. However, the historical facts that speak against *Thuburbo minus* as a likely place of origin are the many physical and geographic details in the *Passio* (see below), which suggest a larger, more cosmopolitan city (see my forthcoming “The Legacy of Misidentification: Why the Martyrs in the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* were not from Thuburbo Minus”).

II.1. young (adolescentes). That period of life just before adulthood and likely the period before marriage; see OLD, s.v. 1. The emphasis on their youth highlights the class from which the majority of the converts were being made and heightens the drama of the narrative, since it invariably pits the young against the older generation and against their parents.

II.1. catechumens (catechumeni). From the Greek present passive participle *κατηχέω* (“the one being taught”; see LSJ, s.v. 2; and see Lampe, s.v. ii). While the verb *ἠχέω* means “to sound, or ring out,” as in 1 Cor 13.1–2, the secondary meaning “teach” was used in late classical Greek and in the NT. The participial form here may be the earliest citation of the word in Christian North African literature. It is used here in both the Latin and Greek versions to designate those who were receiving instruction before their baptisms. Satorius was the one responsible for their instruction, possibly in a private residence (IV.5). While the catechumens in the early Church attended church services, they were dismissed before the celebration of the mystery of the Eucharist began (see Paul, 1 Cor 3.2, 14.19; Rom 2.18; Lk 1.4; Acts 18.25, 21.21; and see 2 *Clem.* 17.1 and BDAG, s.v. *κατηχέω*). Although there is some evidence concerning the length of time the initiate was required to spend as a catechumen, it is difficult to know how widespread such directions were. Hippolytus notes that three years is the length of time spent as a catechumen, but he quickly adds that this practice should not be followed by rote but that judgment about the candidate should enter the decision (*Trad. Ap.* 17). Preparation for reception of the sacrament of baptism was of the utmost solemnity, and considerable concern was shown for its appropriate liturgical solemnity and the candidates’ suitability for its reception (see Tert. *De Bapt.* 6.7.20).

II.1. Revocatus and Felicity (Revocatus et Felicitas). These names appear to be the names of members of the lower classes (for an extended discussion of the names, see “The Personae in the *Passio*”). Indeed, the texts identify them both in Latin and Greek as “slaves” (*conserua/σύνδουλοι*). The Greek plural is more specific about both their class affiliations. They may even have been free at this time. The single name given to the males underscores their low status, lack of citizenship, and provinciality. If they were members of the *honestiores*, we would expect a typical male name to include *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*. Felicity’s single name also underscores her low social status. Further, the names “Revocatus” (OLD, s.v. *revoco* 10) and “Felicity” (OLD, s.v. *felicitas* 2) suggest types of behavior and may further suggest a name given them by an owner. Additionally, if we were to read their names as Christian allegories of character, then Revocatus has indeed been restored and “called back” to himself, and Felicity has enjoyed “good fortune” in being freed from childbirth in time to join her comrades in their moment of triumph. (See Solin, *Die stadtrömischen* [1996] and his *Namenbuch*; and Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina*. For the name “Satorius,” see Solin,

Beiträge zur Kenntnis, 68–70; on its presence in Africa, see Thieling, *Der Hellenismus*, 122; and Lamberz, 29ff, who sees it as a slave name.)

II.1. Vibia Perpetua. The name of the central character. Though our understanding of how names were assigned in the third century to well-born females of the provinces is not at all clear, it appears that for Perpetua alone we have both a *nomen* (Vibia) and very possibly a *cognomen* (Perpetua). While there was much variety in *cognomina*, it is noteworthy that they frequently could designate personal characteristics. The Vibii, attested both in North Africa and in Italy, were a large family of some distinction. Lucius Iunius Quintus Vibius Crispus was likely proconsul of Africa in 71–2 (see Pillet, *Histoire de sainte Perpétue*, 69). The daughter Perpetua may have received that name from her family as a distinguishing characteristic. Although women took the name of their fathers, they did begin to receive *cognomina* to distinguish among sisters, e.g., Iulia Agrippina and Iulia Drusilla.

II.1. well born (honeste nata). It would appear that the editor wishes to emphasize that Perpetua was a member of the *honestiores* class in provincial North Africa. There is a deliberate attempt to distinguish her from her fellow prisoners, who represent the *humiliores*, and possibly the freed-slave segment of the population. The expression may be reminiscent of an epitaph, and the phrase had currency, denoting someone well born, of high rank (see OLD, s.v. *honeste* 1b). Her precise class affiliation is unknown, but from the text it appears that she would likely have been a member of the *decuriones*, or less likely the *equites* (see the members of the Vibii clan in the *Index Nominum in L'Ordre équestre*, 680). There are certain problems that such class assignments do not easily explain, notably her condemnation to death by a beast in the arena. Likewise, it is hard to imagine the humiliating treatment meted out to her father (VI.5) if he were a member of either the *decuriones* or *equites*. Further complicating the matter is the sanction in criminal law that legislated more forgiving penalties for the *honestiores* than the *humiliores*. Members of the *honestiores* rarely received the death penalty, and never death by crucifixion or *bestiis obicere*, both of which Perpetua received. (See Garnsey, *Social Status*; and Arjava, *Women and Law*, 201–2.)

II.1. liberally educated (liberaliter instituta) The phrase provides some hint of the level of education that Perpetua received. She may have possessed an education equal to that of an educated young man, and clearly had more than the young man in Petronius's *Satyricon* (58.7). The education provided to women in the Empire was dependent on their status, wealth, and parental disposition, and since it likely varied considerably in the provinces, it is not easily reduced to a general formula. Elites like Perpetua may have received a very good education beyond that taught by a *grammaticus*—a course of study that would have engaged her from approximately the age of twelve through sixteen. Cicero notes the eloquent and polished letters of Cornelia (*Brut.* 58.211). However, the text repeatedly provides indications, both in

her prose style and her pointed arguments, that her education had advanced beyond that of most women, and might have included the study of rhetoric. Fridh remarks on her intelligent use of rhythmical *clausulae*, and McKechnie on her exposure to formal philosophical study, apparent in her dialogic argument. The skillful deployment of rhythm in periodic sentences was normally taught by the *rhetor*, a level of education immediately beyond that taught by the *grammaticus*. Her study of rhetoric may have been for a period of two years.

R states that Perpetua was twenty-two at the time of her arrest and was still nursing a child of about eighteen months. If this was her first marriage and first child (as seems likely), her age at marriage would have been about nineteen or twenty, a somewhat older age for first marriages of elite females. The average age of marriage for most Roman women was approximately fifteen. Of course there are notable exceptions: Caesar's daughter Julia was in her early twenties when she married Pompey, Antonia Minor was twenty when she married Drusus, and Agrippina Maior was about nineteen at the time of her marriage to Germanicus. Late marriage, however, provided more time for an elite woman to complete an education. If Perpetua married at nineteen or twenty, she would have had ample time to receive a liberal education. (See Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete, *Age of Marriage*, particularly app. 2, "First Marriages of Roman Women," 121.)

The education provided to certain women (e.g., Iulia Agrippina), whether at home with private tutors or in some formal classroom situation, could have been equal to that provided for males and may have continued even after marriage. While the physical place of Perpetua's education is unknown, it appears more probable for an elite female to have been educated at home, if only for the reason that it would have been safer for her (Quint. *Inst.* 1.2.6–8). Quintilian underscores the need for parents to be educated and for both to assist in a child's education (*op. cit.* 1.1.6–8, 15–17, 20). Perpetua's father's remark that he favored her even more than her brothers (V.2) might be construed to mean that he treated her in all things, including education, as if she were a son and, indeed, better than his sons. Perpetua appears to have been trilingual. She was a native Latin speaker, spoke fluent Greek to the bishop and priest who prostrated themselves at her feet (XIII.2), and likely would have spoken a dialect of Punic in running her household. There are a number of instances in her narrative when she alludes to classical texts and Scripture from memory (IV.4.7 and VII.6). Her memory of Scriptural passages suggests a serious study of the Bible as a catechumen, over some time, possibly years. (See Marrou, *A History*, 274; Hemelrijk, *Matrona Docta*, 29 and 236, no. 53; McKechnie, "Saint Perpetua," 279–91; Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters*, 338–43; and Rawson, *Children*, 197–200.)

II.2. twenty-two years of age (viginti duorum). The adopted Latin reading depends on whether *duo* is being treated as indeclinable or is declined to agree with *annorum*. Van Beek, Bastianensen, and Amat read *duo*; MSS A, G, E, N, S, and O read *duorum*.

II.2. *honorably married (matronaliter nupta)*. The phrase points out that the marriage was respectable, but the Greek adverb ἐξόχως hints that the marriage was a prominent one.

II.2. who had a father, mother, and two brothers, one of whom was also a catechumen (*habens patrem et matrem et fratres duos, alterum aequè catechumenum*).

This important biographical detail presents the entirety of her living family members. One younger brother, Dinocrates (with a fashionable Greek name), had died earlier (VII.1). One of her surviving brothers is a convert and a catechumen. If the persecution was widespread and the document is roughly contemporary with the date of the persecution (c. 203 AD), might such an identification have put him at risk? Might this acknowledgement of her brother's status suggest a later emendation?

II.3. *written in her own hand and in accordance with her own understanding (conscriptum manu sua et suo sensu)*. R emphasizes that the text of her memoir was written by Perpetua and reflects the sense of her actual words. This is an interesting remark, for while it appears to underscore the point that the memoir was authentic, the comment that the narrative reflects her own ideas (*suo sensu*) seems almost redundant, given the first part of the expression *conscriptum manu sua* ("she wrote it with her own hand"). If she actually wrote it, does it not follow that it would reflect her own ideas? What then might R intend? The insistence on both points allows R to address a number of concerns: first, to acknowledge that the present editor is a faithful copyist; second, that he is a simple transmitter; third, he is assuring a skeptical audience, not used to having a document so well written by a woman, that this is nonetheless genuine; and lastly, his textual fidelity is a charge to later editors not to change any of the text. Yet one is bound to ask how she managed to write this text under such appalling conditions as crowding, lack of light, hostile jailers, an infant to care for during at least part of her stay, and her own terrible anxieties (III.9; see also Bastiaensen, 415; Amat 194; and Formisano 82, no. 22). The Greek text adds nothing of substance to the Latin. See Tert. *De Anim.* 9 and his plea that the faithful believe the prophecies of visionary women. The Greek ends this section with a transitional phrase οὕτως εἰποῦσα, which introduces the dialogue in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

The Argument: Religion as Identity

Chapter III begins in medias res. It opens with a subjunctive clause (*Cum . . . essemus*) indicating that Perpetua and her companions had been under arrest for an unspecified time, presents a dialogic encounter with her father, and vividly reports the beginning of her painful incarceration. R adds a clarification to her

opening sentence (*inquit*) as he seeks to limit the ambiguity of who is actually speaking. Such an interpolation is a further indication of the likely genuineness of the text that R received, since such an interpolation would not have been likely if the entirety of the text were a forgery. No indication is given about how long they have been under the jurisdiction of the authorities, or about who was arrested, who the authorities were, or where the catechumens were seized, nor is any reason given for their arrest. The deliberate lack of details may have been a prudent one, considering the lack of tolerance for Christians in Carthage in 203. However, from a stylistic point of view there can be no doubt that the suppression of the details focuses attention on the two principal antagonists and their painful dispute. Additionally, since the text was to be read orally (“you who know it now through hearing,” I.6), the exclusive focus on father and daughter would have provided for an easier understanding of the narrative, and would have kept the tragic dramatic tension between them central.

After their dispute, the chapter introduces Perpetua’s unnamed infant son, two deacons named Tertius and Pomponius, Perpetua’s mother, and lastly her brother. Although none of her family members are named throughout the narrative, Perpetua typically names other historical figures whom she confronts. The textual anonymity provided to family members appears deliberate and, at the very least, would likely have spared them further public censure. The chapter can be divided stylistically into two separate sections: the conflict with her father, replete with concrete detail and rapid-fire dialogue, and her imprisonment and the resolution of her appalling circumstances, where the narrative details and chronology are vague and foreshortened.

The chapter opens with an intimate disputation and dialogue between Perpetua and her father about the nature of her belief. Her father has presumably been summoned to get her to recant. He visits her in the unidentified place where they are being held. It appears that they were under a type of house arrest, because she does not refer to an actual prison transfer until some lines later (III.5). Moreover, the present location has some of the accoutrement of domestic life about it, e.g., the small pitcher/*urceolum*. The language is dramatic and suggests the natural rhythms of speech. Employing a philosophical argument, reminiscent of Platonic dialogue, in a conversation with her father, Perpetua points out that the names we assign to things are not arbitrary, but serve to identify their essence (*quam quod est*). She then suggests by analogy that the name “Christian” now identifies her most profound sense of self. The argument has some similarity to Plato’s doctrine of subsistent forms—that is, she acknowledges that her being is now part of a pre-existing, universal Christian spirit. There is a subtle Christological point here as well, as she acknowledges that she has now become one with the body of Christ that Paul proclaimed (Gal 2.20; Col 1.24). This is the first time the

word “Christian” is used in her narrative. Its use sends her father into a fit of rage, and he momentarily threatens her physically. On this latter point, see 1 Cor 4.11–13, and Tertullian’s remark that Christians were being killed for the sound of the name “Christian” alone (*Apol.* 3.8).

From this point the dialogue ceases, and what remains is a tightly compressed narration of the ensuing events that dispenses with a careful chronology. She reports, in sequence, her baptism, her transfer to a dungeon-like prison, the bribe of the prison authorities by the deacons, her removal to a better part of the prison, the nursing of her child, a meeting with her mother and brother during which she hands over the child to them, days of extreme anxiety, and lastly, her joy at the return of her child. It is difficult to know how long this phase of her imprisonment took. While she comments on the passage of time, her remarks are vague, using such expressions as “few days” (III.4, 5) and “for many days” (III.9). Although it is speculation to estimate the length of time she remained in this initial prison, it must have been greater than a week, since it allowed her time to relinquish her child, to be anxious for “many days,” and then to seek permission from the authorities for her baby to stay with her.

It is interesting to note that initially, while she is under house arrest and before entering prison, she does not mention her child. She only mentions him after the transfer to the prison where, because of the harsh circumstances, she is concerned for his safety. Might her initial silence suggest that she had her child with her at the time of the arrest, and that the situation in that location (a residence of some sort) was at least sufficiently tolerable so that she only mentions her son after they arrive at the prison, where she first fears for his safety? Following this argument, it is possible to construct a plausible scenario: Perpetua went to this unidentified home with her child, where she was accustomed to receive training in the faith as a catechumen. She was arrested at the house with her child and her companions, also catechumens. It is reasonable to assume her visits took place over a significant period, as it better explains the authorities’ awareness of their activities. Her father was summoned to talk some sense into her.

Further, it is in this initial, quasi-residential place of detention that she was baptized. Adult baptism in North Africa was entered into only after the most serious soul-searching, as was still evident by the time of Augustine: “My washing in the waters of baptism was delayed, since it was thought if I lived I would foul myself with sin and once baptized the sin would be the greater and more grievous” (*Conf.* 1.11). Tertullian writes in some detail on the liturgical complexity of the baptismal rite. He suggests the presence of a high priest if possible (*nos . . . veri sacerdotes*) or at least a pious layman (both Hippolytus and Cyprian stipulate a bishop as the officiant), three witnesses, the prospect for triple immersion, a period of fasting and of keeping vigils, formal confession, a

renunciation of Satan, and an imposition of hands, followed by a symbolic meal of milk and honey. (See Tert. *Prax.* 26; *De Bapt.* 2.6.8–20; and *Cor.* 3; and also Hipp. *Trad. Ap.* 21.27, and Cypr. *Ep.* 13.5.3, along with the above note to Chapter II.1 for “catechumen.”)

The African church saw this initiatory sacrament as crucial to salvation. It conveyed a passage from the world of idolatry to that of the blessed elect. However, the circumstances of Perpetua’s baptism were extraordinary; she was under some type of house arrest. Although Tertullian has a profound concern for the solemnity of the liturgy of baptism, he does allow even a lay person to baptize in urgent situations (see *De Bapt.* 18). Presumably, the situation that Perpetua and her fellows found themselves in would have been sufficiently grave to allow for expedience in the ritual. The archaeological record bears out Tertullian’s interest in the ritual’s solemnity. Among the glories of North African liturgical architecture are the elaborate and beautiful mosaic baptisteries. I have visited a number of such baptisteries in situ in Tunisia and was privileged to study the Kelibia baptistery, presently closed to the public, located in the Bardo Museum, Tunis.

Chapter III Commentary

III.1. “While,” she said, “we were still with the prosecutors” (*cum adhuc . . . essemus*). The noun typically referred to an attendant, an escort (OLD, s.v. *prosecutor*). In later Latin, however, *prosecutores* begins to suggest an official judicial attendant (OLD, s.v. *prosecutio* < *prosequor*). It is interesting to note the single reading from MS E, *persecutoribus*, where the meaning is more explicitly “pursuers of Christians” (see OLD, s.v. *persecutor*; Prudent *Perist.* 1.28; and see Vulg. 1 Tm 1.13; and Formisano 83, no. 23). The Greek genitive absolute reads that they were under surveillance, being closely watched (Ἐτι, φησίν, ἡμῶν παρατηρουμένων), and is consequently slightly less specific than the Latin *prosecutoribus*, which identifies the officials as hostile. The subtle differences between *evertere* and *auertere* make it impossible to argue for an authoritative reading here. While the Greek’s addition of ὁμολογίας is specific as to what Perpetua’s father wishes her to renounce (her faith), such amplification suggests the Greek audience was unaware of the specifics of the persecution, hardly something of which an individual in Carthage at the time would have been unaware. (See Lampe, s.v. ὁμολογέω; the term was used in times of persecution as a confession of faith in Justin 1 *Apol.* 2.1, and in Clem. Al. *Strom.* 4.9.)

III.1. *Father . . . whatever? (Pater . . . aliud)*. Perpetua’s question is introduced with *numquid*, suggesting that a negative answer is expected through anxiety or caution. The Greek μή is similar.

III.1. wanted (cupiret). Here we have either a scribal error or a confusion of the third and fourth conjugations, where the author conjugated *cupio* following the model for *audio*. This may have been a post-classical usage in Africa.

III.1. small water pitcher (urceolum) Although typically used for water, such vases held a variety of items, even human ashes (cf. OLD, s.v. *urceolus*). Notice that Perpetua uses two words to describe the object: *vas* and *urceolum*. The Greek σκεῦος, meaning a “household implement of any kind,” lacks the specificity of the Latin and reflects the Greek text’s intent to convey the breadth (*aliud*) of the Latin (see Lampe, s.v. σκεῦος, 1). Christian Greek used σκεῦος metaphorically to suggest that Christians are the instruments, the “chosen vessel” of Christ (see BDAG, s.v. σκεῦος, 3, particularly Acts 9.15, where Jesus refers to Paul in language similar to that of the Greek text of the *Passio*, σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς). The sophistication of the argument and the very dialogue between Perpetua and her father are reminiscent of the *Cratylus* and the discussion between Socrates and Hermogenes concerning the nature of names, but not likely directly influenced by that passage. Perpetua’s observation is that names are not arbitrary but identify a natural characteristic of the object being named. A name speaks to the essence of a thing that cannot be other than what it is called. As she says to her father, the water pitcher cannot be called anything other “than what it is” (*quam quod est*). Such an argument is similar to the position taken by Socrates against Hermogenes. While upper-class women, like Marcia, Helva, and the empress Livia, did read moral philosophy, it was certainly exceptional that a woman Perpetua’s age would have had access to Plato. Yet there are the exceptions. The Stoic philosopher Musonius Rufus (30–101 CE) remarked that a woman educated in philosophy and *sophrosyne* would be more courageous and a better spouse (*Dis.* 3.14.13). Similarly, Plutarch remarked that a woman “charmed by the words of Plato or Xenophon” would be indifferent to magic (*Mor.* 138a–146a). This narration about the vase, along with Chapter IV.9, influenced the *Passion of Montanus and Lucius* 8.4 (though there, *fialae*). See Theoph. *Ad. Autol.* 1.9 on the use of the sacred name in rituals and other important circumstances: σέβασθαι θεῶν ὀνόματα.

III.2. than what it is (quam quod est). The Latin and Greek versions, though similar, do differ subtly. The Latin seeks to convey an ontological point, arguing that the very existence of the object is rooted in its name, while the Greek introduces a moral argument, saying, “it is not right” (μὴ θέμις) to call something by a different name.

III.2. I am unable to call myself other than what I am, a Christian (ego . . . sum, Christiana). Christ says, “You will be brought before kings and governors because of my name” (τοῦ ὀνόματός μου in Lk 21.12; cf. Mt 24.9 and see BDAG, s.v. ὄνομα). Christians knew that declaring themselves as Christians, forbidden at

least since Trajan's rescript to Pliny (112 CE), was a necessary first step in the legal proceedings that could lead to their deaths. There is ample evidence that a declaration of creedal affiliation and, in particular, an acknowledgement that one was Christian, could provoke a capital charge. See Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 4.4: "And those among yourselves who are accused you do not punish before they are convicted, but in our case you receive the name as proof against us." In his disparagement of the Gnostic community of Lyons, Irenaeus states that only "one or two of them have occasionally, along with our martyrs, borne the reproach of the name and been led forth with them to death" (*Haer.* 4.33.9). One important source for the type of interrogation that Christians underwent is in the *commentarius* of the *Cognitio extra ordinem*. Here the interrogation of Christians amply illustrates the requirement that they swear allegiance and sacrifice to the emperor and renounce their Christianity. (See Williams, *Pliny*, 70–1.) For a critical edition of the correspondence, see Mynors, *C. Plinii Caecili Secundi*, 338–40, *Ep.* 10.96: *nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. . . . Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi supplicium minatus: perseuerantes duci iussi* ("the name itself, or if without crimes, or only the crimes associated with the names are punishable. . . . I interrogated them as to whether they were Christian. If they confessed it, I asked them two more times but with a warning. If they persisted I ordered them executed"). Tertullian's response to the letter of Trajan and Pliny is typically hyperbolic, claiming with his characteristic flourish that Christians were being killed for the sound alone: "and a sound alone brings condemnation on a sect and its author both" (*Apol.* 3.8: *At nunc utriusque inquisitione et agnitione neglecta nomen detinetur, nomen expugnatur, et ignotam sectam, ignotum et auctorem uox sola praedamnat, quia nominantur, non quia reuincuntur*).

III.3. alarmed (vexauit). Her father's behavior frightened her. She was uncertain, if only for an instant, if he would attack her. The Greek adds that the father "screamed" or "cried out" (κράξας).

III.3. in order to gouge (ut oculos mihi erueret). Perpetua's father's anger is directed at precisely the object, her eyes, she has just used to defeat his argument about names and the objects which they signify. Just moments before, he acknowledged her selection of the water vessel as the object of the argument with the verb *video*.

III.3. with the arguments of the devil (cum argumentis diaboli). It is not that her father's arguments are malevolent, diabolical (*pace* Musurillo), but that the arguments are the devil's arguments. Not only does the syntax insist on such a translation, but also the identification of the source of the arguments follows directly from their discussion of the relationship of things and names, of the thing signified and the signifier. Here it would appear that Perpetua names her father's argument as the devil's own. The father is presented as one who is almost possessed, rather

than the child, who has taken up with the *superstitio* of Christianity. See OLD, where *argumentum* can be a fictitious narrative. The Greek μηχανῶν/“devices” reinforces this idea of a contrivance (see LSJ and also Lampe, s.v. μηχανή).

III.4. *for a few days (paucis diebus)*. The phrase normally would require an accusative of duration without a preposition (*paucos dies*), but the text uses an ablative (also see Amat *ad loc*). The vague chronology used throughout III makes it difficult to estimate the time elapsed between her arrest and baptism. It does, however, contribute to the verisimilitude, as one would not expect exactitude in such a memoir. (For a discussion of chronology in the *Passio*, see Heffernan, “Passio,” 314–25.)

III.4. *by my father’s absence (quod caruissem patrem . . . absentia illius)*. *Quod* could also be read in a temporal sense (see Sen. *Q Nat.* 5.11.1). It is a respite gained as a result of her father’s absence and his offensive arguments that provides her refreshment. (See Bastiaensen, III.10, 417.)

III.4. *I was refreshed (refrigeravi)*. The use of this word in Christian Latin conveys the unambiguous sense of rest, of peaceful relaxation, and of a physical place where there is no worry. (See Pss 65.12, *transvivimus per ignem et aquam et eduxisti nos in refrigerium*; cf. Ws 2.1, 4.7; Is 28.12; Jer 6.16; Acts 3.20; Lk 16.24, and 2 Tm 1.16.) It can even suggest (in a Christian context) a heavenly good fortune and the place enjoyed by the Elect after death (Souter, s.v. *refrigerium*). Although *refrigerium* was not used in the classical period in this sense, there are hints of a broader semantic range. (See Cic. *Sen.* 14.46, where the word suggests a sense of natural vitality, a kind of freshness, and 16.57, *et refrigeratio aetate, et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus*. Cicero also used the word to indicate insouciance [see *Verr.* 1.10.31].)

Perpetua’s father’s absence and his defeatist arguments are the immediate cause for her use of this verb. She is relieved of his vexatious presence and hence refreshed, free from anxiety. The Greek MS reading is less overtly theological, and the strength of ἡσθην here is simply “pleased/delighted.” The word *refrigerium* became an important part of the Christian lexicon and figures prominently on grave stela. There is an important Christian stele (ca. 291 CE) that uses the imperative form of the verb to require the deceased to take her rest with a holy spirit, *Refrigera cum spirita sancta* (see no. 37 in the dated grave stones in I. B. de Rossi’s *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, 2:1; we would normally expect *spiritu sancto* (*Supplementum*, fasc. 1, ed. I. Gatti, 1888). Snyder reads this line as “Eat the *refrigerium* with a holy spirit,” using the ablative of accompaniment, and arguing that this is an extension of the pagan custom of the *refrigerium*, where the family would celebrate the annual meal of the dead in the cemetery (see *Ante Pacem*, 126–7). One Fl. Concordius built a kind of dining hall a very short distance from an actual mausoleum for the purpose of celebrating an agape type banquet: *ita ut nulli liceat in eodem aedificio corpus sepulture mandare*

sed tantummodo convivium copulantibus vel refrigerantibus pateat (see CIL 10.6222 and Hamman, *Vie liturgique et vie sociale*, 170–217). In Christian Latin, *refrigerium* can signify a type of gathering place for good souls on their ultimate journey to paradise (see Du Cange, s.v. *refrigerium*, and Mohrmann). The word is nuanced in Tertullian. *Refrigerium* is a period of happiness that the blessed souls will enjoy as they await Christ’s return, as well as the joys of paradise that await the martyrs (see his *De Anim.* 55; *De Monog.* 10; *Idol.* 13). Commodianus (*Carmen Apol.*) links this idea with the martyrs.

The practice of the repast at the cemetery came under some criticism, as Augustine notes his mother’s pious but clearly embarrassing practice, and as he is at pains to distinguish in a sermon the pagan and Christian practices (*Serm.* 311). See Mohrmann on the changing meaning of the classical idea, as Christians understood it, in “Locus refrigerii” (127), and also in “Locus refrigerii, lucis et pacis”; and Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 46–51. See also Petraglio, 36ff. Note that in VIII.2 Perpetua, having prayed for her disfigured brother, who dwells in some nether state, now sees him restored: *Video . . . Dinocraten mundo corpore, bene vestitum, refrigerantem*. (See also Ex 23.12; the Vetus reads *reficiat*, but the Vulgate now uses what has become the normative Christian Latin, *et refrigeretur filius ancilliae tuae*; and see 2 Tm 1.16, *quia saepe me refrigeravit*.)

III.5. *we were baptized (baptizati sumus)*. The Greek reading, τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος, may be a later addition providing additional clarification, and its use here appears indebted to the New Testament sense, underscoring a type of immersion in the water (see Mk 1.9–10; Mt 3.16). Such immersion would not have been likely, since they were under house arrest. When immersion was impractical, as in the present instance, anointing was used (*Did.* 7). Note also that she gives no indication of location for the baptism, but it appears they remained in the place where they were initially taken.

III.5. *The Spirit told me (et mihi Spiritus dictavit)*. Perpetua situates her baptism within the broader context of a revelation from the Spirit. The Latin *Spiritus* is vague—it may be the Holy Spirit—but it does not identify which spirit has inspired her. We are unable to determine which aspect of the divine afflatus is referenced. The Greek is more specific, making the identification explicit with the third person of the Trinity, and reads τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (see Lampe, s.v. πνεῦμα). Her remark highlights her insistence that the Spirit of God speaks to her and, thus, underscores her role as prophetess (see Acts 2.38). The Spirit’s revelation is a minatory one and warns of her coming persecution. Tertullian remarks that persecution should be endured because it comes from God, the source of all good, and thus persecution is itself a good, since it too comes from God. He points out that in our flight from persecution, we may unwittingly flee from the providential good and, hence, from God (*De Fuga* 4.11).

III.5. endurance of the body (sufferentiam carnis). In Christian Latin, *sufferentia* contains the idea of extreme forbearance, endurance (Tert. *Marc.* 4.15). The revelation from the Spirit, which Perpetua receives fully after baptism (*ab aqua*), informs her that she will be provided the forbearance to endure the tribulation to come. The Greek is more precise, acknowledging it is τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Paul’s remark, “when we were baptized into union with Jesus Christ we were baptized into his death” (Rom 6.3–11), was interpreted from the middle of the second century with far greater emphasis on the suffering side of this equation. Baptism was understood as a charismatic gift that conveyed the grace to endure grievous physical brutality (see Justin *Dial.* 14.86.138). The promise implicit in Jas 5.11 is that those who “endure” (τοὺς ὑπομείναντας), who stand fast under trials, will receive God’s mercy (cf. *Vetus Jas* 5.11: *Sufferentiam Iob audistis*). Baptism comes at the beginning of their ordeal, and Perpetua’s remarks announce the onset of the torments. Note that Perpetua’s remarks single out physical suffering alone. The Greek is similar, σαρκὸς ὑπομονή. She has already vanquished the “arguments of the devil,” and hence, spiritual temptation is behind her. She is left with the physical contest. (See Tert. *Marc.* 4.15; *Acta Saturni* 9; *Ecclus.* 16.14.) Such sentiment was of crucial importance to this community, and the idea of *sufferentia*/ὑπομονή was also used in the sense of patient expectation (see Ign. *Rom.* 10.3). Cyril of Jerusalem (d.c. 386) applied ὑπομονή to Christ’s own suffering (see his *Catech.* 4.7; and Lampe, s.v. ὑπομονή). The martyrs designate are to seek from their baptism the strength to endure the torture and martyrdom they are about to undergo. This is the true *sufferentia carnis* or σαρκὸς ὑπομονή.

III.5. After a few days (Post paucos dies). The chronology is notoriously difficult to sort out. We have no idea how long she was with the arresting officials before her father’s arrival. It was likely not long, however. The first hint of the passage of time is after her father left her in what appears to have been their first incarceration, a type of house arrest. She notes that she has a few days rest after his departure. Then she indicates that another few days passed before her baptism. Lastly, she notes that a few days have now passed since baptism, and she is about to be moved to a prison. They would have been transferred from the place they were first taken to a prison, as this is the first time the word *carcer* is used to describe her situation. The prison is not identified. It well may be the municipal or the military prison (more on this below) in Carthage. Any estimate of the length of this early incarceration is a speculation, but the total time from arrest to imprisonment (that is, transfer to the *carcer*) may have been as long as two weeks. Roman law, particularly in times of persecution and particularly for those found guilty of capital crimes, was typically expeditious.

III.5. we were taken into the prison (recipimur in carcerem). The prison is not identified. Some have conjectured that it was the municipal prison in Carthage

(Amat, 197). At least one manuscript variant emended unnecessarily the present *recipimur* to *recepti sumus*, so as to agree with the perfect *expavi*. The present is, however, used as an historical present. The Greek uses the aorist, and the verb ἐβλήθημεν (“we were thrown”) is more forceful (see Lampe, s.v. βάλλω) than the neutral *recipimur* (see Heffernan and Shelton, “*Paradisus in carcere*”). Prison conditions were appalling. Even valued agricultural slaves were often treated harshly, chained in dark underground cells. The description of the cell depicted by Columella is similar to the extant cell (traditionally assigned to Perpetua and her companions) in the Carthage amphitheatre. Particularly striking is Columella’s discussion of the placement of the windows: “let there be an underground prison . . . and let it be lighted by many narrow windows which are built so far from the ground that they cannot be reached by hand” (see *Rust.* 1.6.1–24). Such a placement of the windows is very much like the extant cell in the Carthage amphitheatre, but there is no conclusive evidence placing the martyrs there. It is less likely (*pace* Amat) that Perpetua is using language with a deliberate juridical implication, since no formal charge has yet been lodged against them.

III.5. *I was terrified (expaui)*. The acknowledgement of her fear lends a vividness to the ordeal she is about to suffer and distinguishes this narrative from the idealizing propensity of many of the *Acts of the Martyrs*. The Greek ἐξενίσθην for *expaui* with its root ξεν suggests “be surprised” and reminds one of the remark: Ἀγαπητοί, μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει . . . (see 1 Pt 4.12: “Beloved, do not be surprised that a test by fire is happening to you . . .”).

III.5. *such darkness (tales tenebras)*. The darkness is another accurate detail, which we expect of a true description of a Roman prison cell. Tertullian remarks on the darkness of the prison (*Habet tenebras*) where the martyrs are kept and calls it the “devil’s house” (*Domus quidem diaboli est et carcer*; see *Mart.* 1.4, 2.4). The dark of the night is, however, lit by Christ’s presence (see *De Fuga* 14.1 and *Cypr. Ep.* 6.1, 37.2; *Pass. Mont.* 4.2).

III.6. *Oh cruel day! (O diem asperum)*. A use of the exclamatory accusative, a classical construction. (See Bennett, sec. 183.)

III.6. *The stifling heat (Aestus ualidus)*. Roman prisons were not only dark but often poorly ventilated. The cell in the Carthage amphitheatre would have been dark and suffocatingly hot, as the extant opening is small and located near the ceiling. I have visited it in the early afternoon in March, and it is dark inside the cell. Christian authors remark on the oppressive heat; Tertullian, using somewhat similar language, remarks, *De uestris semper aestuat carcer* (*Apol.* 44.3). An anonymous Christian poet used the verb *aestuat* to describe the sulfurous air of Sodom (PL 2.1104a). The *Passio sanctorum Montanii et Lucii* 4, although not using the word *aestus*, provides similar descriptions of martyrs in a hot, dark prison, and this passage appears to have been influenced by the *Passio Perpetuae*.

III.6. *crowding of the mob . . . and there was the extortion of the soldiers* (*turbarum beneficio, . . . concussurae militum*). The crush of the crowd “causes” the heat to be even more suffocating. The ablative form of *beneficio* without an accompanying preposition, plus a genitive, has parallels. The meaning is causative and occurs later in this paragraph in the expression *mei beneficio* / “because of me” (III.8). See Tert. *Marc.* 5.4; *Cypr. Op.* 16. The more difficult phrase is *concussurae militum*. While *concussurae* (OLD, s.v. *concutio*) normally has a physically violent association, such as an attack, a physical shock, or knocking objects together, it is used here figuratively to describe a threatening encounter, a shakedown, an extortion or blackmail by the guards (see Ulpian, *Dig.* 3.6.1.3; Tert. *Marc.* 1.25 and *De Fuga* 13.4). The use of *concussurae* reinforces and extends a subtle thematic association of abuse from the jostling of the crowd (*turbarum beneficio*) through the “shakedown” (*concussurae*) of the guards. The Greek use of *συκοφαντία* minimizes the physical threat (since the word does not have the root for “strike”) and emphasizes the slanderous nature of the soldier’s abuse (see Lampe, s.v. *συκοφαντία*, 1). Schmoller gives *calumniam facere* and *defraudare* as the Latin equivalents for *συκοφαντέω*. In the NT, the verb *συκοφαντέω* occurs only twice (Lk 3.14 and 19.8) and means “falsely accuse” or “extort.” Amat suggests *exactions*.

III.6. *I was consumed with worry* (*macerabar sollicitudine*). The Latin underscores her mental anguish, while the Greek *κατεπονούμην* stresses the physical exhaustion from toil. The root of *macero* denotes “lack of,” “thin,” “weak,” “wasting away” when applied to persons (see Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 4.35). The word is important, as it foreshadows the lexical nuance of her introduction of her starving baby below (III.8). This careful choice of words, both here and with *concussura* above, suggests an author with supreme literary skill.

III.7. *blessed deacons* (*benedicti diaconi*). The idea of a deacon as a minister likely derives from an occurrence in the OT (Est 2.2, 6.3). There are only two references in the NT that unambiguously associate this word *διάκονος* with someone holding a church office (see BDAG, 4 and Phil 1.1; 1 Tm 3.8–12 and, less likely, Rom 16.1). While the diaconate did not require ordination (but see Acts 6.1–6), the deacon was nonetheless held in high regard, chiefly as a minister who performed practical, service-oriented tasks. Such a practical function (*ministrabant*) is precisely the role being performed by Tertius and Pomponius (see Clem. *Rm. Cor.* 42). Ignatius of Antioch remarks on the role of deacon and places them slightly below that of bishop and priest (see *Magn.* 6, and more specifically in his *Trall.* 3, and see his *Smyr.* 8). Pliny’s remark to Trajan suggests that even slave women who converted to Christianity (cf. Rom 16.1: Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν διάκονον) were called deacons (see Plin. *Ep.* 10.96; Herm. *Sim.* 9.26; Tert. *Apol.* 6, and *Scap.* 3). The Greek has an obvious paronomasia with its use of *διάκονοι* ὡς *διηκόνου* ἡμῶν.

III.7. *Tertius and Pomponius*. The use of the single name is usually the sign of a freedman or a slave. The name “Pomponius” is attested in Carthage (Tert. *Apol.* 9.12.25 and *De Spect.* 8) as both a *nomen* and *cognomen*. Important individuals bore this name, for example, Cicero’s friend Titus Pomponius Atticus, who claimed descent from the legendary Numa Pompilius. While it is impossible to determine the status of these individuals from the single name, it stretches credulity that this community would elect or appoint freedmen to serve in so important a role.

III.7. *arranged by a bribe (constituerunt praemio)*. The phrase reminds one of the extortion of the guards (*concussurae militum*, III.6). See Ulpian, *Dig.* 13.7.26.

III.7. *better part of the prison (in meliorem locum carceris)*. It is difficult to reconstruct and identify this prison and even to account for the uncommon situation that women (some of rank) were held in common with men. Perpetua and her companions were initially held under house arrest (see III.5) until they were sent to a prison. Roman prisons were not modern warehouses where criminals were sent to live. Sentences were typically short, and late imperial legislation was designed to restrict periods of detention, requiring that trials should take no longer than one month. The exception to this is the case of the Christians, where presumably the longer sentences were intended to give the prisoners time to reflect on their obduracy in refusing to worship the emperor (see Krause, *Gefängnisse*, 240). Rather, prisons were places where individuals typically were remanded for short periods before their sentence was carried out. They seem to have been universally feared as hellishly dirty. Christian writers typically refer to them as hot, dark, filthy, and crowded (see Prudent. *Perist.* 5.550). There is some evidence that suggests the larger provincial jails had two levels, with the lower level being the dungeon, sometimes called the *Tullianum*, after the notorious cell in Rome (see Rapske, *Acts and Paul*). Women were only infrequently remanded to prison. This, however, seems not to have applied to Christian women, even if they were Christian women of rank. The Greek uses the surprising ἡμερώτερον τόπον (“more tame”) and thus avoids the likely equivalent of ἀμείων for *melior* (*in meliorem*). On the word *carcer*, see Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 301–2, 960.

III.7. *to revive (refrigeraremus)*. See above III.4. Presumably, the unidentified place where such rejuvenation took place was free from the dark, stifling heat and crowded conditions of the cell. Yet it was clearly within the prison compound. We might have expected the Greek equivalent to be a variant of ἡδομαι (“take pleasure”), as was used for the equivalent of *refrigeravi* in III.4; however, the Greek ἀναπνοῆς, used here as the semantic equivalent of *refrigeraremus*, literally suggests “a recovery of breath.”

III.8. *Then all left the prison (Tunc exeuntes de carcere)*. This is a confusing remark, since it follows the suggestion that they had just moved to a better

location in the prison itself. The Greek is little help, suggesting the move was a “movement forward” /προσαχθέντες. Perhaps all that is being suggested is that they were able to move out (*exeuntes*) to an outer courtyard, but one still within the physical jurisdiction of the prison. This new location permits visitors from the outside. While in this new location Perpetua has a visit from her mother and brother, to whom she gives her son for safekeeping. The family members would presumably have known in advance about the prisoner’s new location and thus the possibility of such visits.

III.8. *I nursed my baby (ego infantem lactabam)*. The Latin does not specify that her son was brought to her as the Greek does. Perpetua’s nursing of her young son poses another conundrum: elite Roman matrons seldom nursed their offspring. The high rate of infant mortality, almost 8 percent of all births according to French, functioned to keep parents from bonding until such time as they knew the child would live. Furthermore, some have argued that elite women required wet nurses to allow them freedom to socialize in the company of their spouse. Wet nurses were exceedingly common. That Perpetua does not employ one and gives the child into the care of her mother is yet another instance when this text presents an anomalous historical event. (See French, “Midwives”; and Bradley, *Roman Family*, 13.)

III.8. *weak from hunger (inedia defectum)*. Her anxiety for her child foreshadows the distress her father feels for both Perpetua and the child (see VI.4) and the death of her younger brother Dinocrates. Her fear points to the historical reality of high infant mortality. Roman families depended on their children for their survival, and in this culture longevity was not a given by any means (see Jolowicz, *Roman Law*, 119). Perpetua’s distress here is a model for her father and underscores the importance of the family. A small child who has not eaten (*inedia*) would be quickly weakened from the lack of food (see Frontin. Str. 2.1.1).

III.8. *I suffered grievously . . . suffered for me (tabescebam . . . tabescere)*. The repetition of the verb is deliberate and intended to heighten the drama of her dilemma; she, her son, and her family are suffering, and their mutual distress creates greater anxiety for the audience. Moreover, the verb underscores that the suffering, while principally emotional, has an unavoidable physical side. The Greek does not repeat the verb and hence does not render the same intensity of emotion. However, the Greek does underscore their grief (λυπούμενους) and amplifies the Latin. The Latin *Passio* uses repetition throughout to increase emotional intensity.

III.8. *When I saw how they suffered for me (mei beneficium)*. Another instance of the “causal” use of the ablative of *beneficium* without a preposition (see above III.6). *Mei* is the genitive singular of *ego* and not a form of *meus*.

III.9. *many days* (*multis diebus*). Another example of the ablative for the accusative of duration. The Greek employs the dative (see Blass, 108, sec. 201). Perpetua uses such temporal references repeatedly to mark the duration of her prison stay. The repetition of calendric concern is typical of prison life. However, here it masks a submerged eschatological urgency, her anticipation of martyrdom and reception in paradise. See above III.4 and IV.8.

III.9. *I obtained* (*usurpavi*). The word, unlike its English equivalent (“usurp”), has no negative overtones as it is used here, but it does suggest some authority (based on status in the cult or her family background) that she has, and furthermore implies that she was able to seek redress and argue for the privilege to have her child in prison with her (OLD, s.v. *usurpo*, 2). See Tert. *Scorp.* 12.9. The Greek ἤτησα/“I asked” is neutral, possibly more deferential than the Latin.

III.9. *for my baby to stay in prison with me* (*ut mecum infans in carcere maneret*). Some days earlier she had given her child into her mother’s care (see above III.9). The narrative is silent about what transpired during the period of the child’s absence. Perpetua apparently has had a change of heart during this period and arranged to have the child back with her. The giving and taking back of the son raise a number of interesting and difficult-to-address legal issues concerning who had jurisdiction over this child. Ultimately, issues of jurisdiction over the child must focus on her marriage at the present time and the type of marriage she contracted. Roman marriage was eminently pragmatic. Individuals were married if they lived conjugally, and if the husband took the bride into his house—that is, marriage was not so much a *de jure* but a *de facto* matter. Marriage did not require a specific solemnization. Perpetua’s behavior with her child suggests that she is not under the jurisdiction of her husband’s *manus* or that of his family’s cult. If she were, she would not have been able to give the child to her mother, as the husband would have jurisdiction. We have no information about her husband other than she was a well-married woman (*matronaliter nupta*). Her husband may be dead, or they may have been divorced. Whatever her present situation, her marriage must surely have been *sine manu*. However, even here we run into problems, since her independent behavior toward her father and her control of her son’s fate—in a *sine manu* marriage her father would still have *dominica potestas* over her and her child—is difficult to reconcile with what we know of the disposition of most Roman children. Yet she must have been still under the *manus* of her father and not *sui iuris*, since her father is the one to appear before the magistrate. It is unlikely that he would have been the one to appear in this official capacity as a male representative of the family if he did not have some nominal jurisdiction (see V.1). Arguments that she and Saturus were married are based on no evidence and fail to convince.

III. 9. *I grew stronger (convalui)*. Some have emended *conualesco* to a third singular, possibly following the Greek ἀνέλαβεν. It is a difficult crux, and arguments can be made on both sides. Surely she is using the verb to refer to herself. She acknowledged that as soon as she had her child back with her in prison, her anxiety lessened, and as a consequence, she felt stronger. The sequence of events is crucial to my reading: first, the child is with her in the dungeon; second, mother and child are given a few hours in a better part of the prison where she is able to nurse, and the child revives; and third, her continued concern for his well-being causes her to give him to her mother. At this juncture—after having given up her son—the narrative states, “I suffered . . . I endured such worry for many days.” Notice that it is she who is suffering both anxiety and physical hardship. The child is not present, nor is he mentioned. She then says (as a result of the anxiety), “I arranged for my baby to stay in prison with me.” The crucial line begins *et statim conualui*—an observation that she can only be making about herself, since its force depends on our knowledge of her fatigue. Furthermore, the use of *statim* suggests that her strength returns immediately as she sees the child is well. If emended to *convaluit*, it is difficult to know whom it could refer to save the infant, and she has already taken steps to ensure his health. It was her infant son who was *inedia defectum* in the previous line, and he, having been returned from outside of prison, would have presumably become stronger. However, he was not present during her period of anxiety, and it is hardly likely that she would have used the adverb *statim* in reference to him.

III.9. *palace (praetorium)*. The sudden reversal of her feelings is brilliantly mirrored in the use of “palace” as an antonym for prison. Her relief at having her child with her has transformed her inner and outer world. This reversal of expectations plays on this opposition of prison and world and was a rhetorical device in Christian texts concerning suffering and martyrdom (see Tert. *Mart.* 2.1: *Si enim recogitemus ipsum magis mundum carcerem esse, exisse uos e carcere, quam in carcerem introisee, intellegemus*). Did Perpetua know Tertullian’s *Ad Martyras*? *Praetorium* originally designated a military commander’s tent (Cic. *Div.* 1.33) and gradually came to mean the headquarters of the provincial governor (Cic. *Verr.* 4.65). The word also referred to a large home, or a palace (Suet. *Tib.* 39). Christian authors used it in varying senses: as a provincial governor’s palace (Tert. *Scap.* 3), the residence of the praetorian guard (Tert. *De Pal.* 5.4), and in the bold extension of Augustine, who employed it as a metaphor for the capacity of memory to store images and thoughts (*Conf.* 10.8.12). It was the common Greek word for an official meeting hall. Matthew identifies it as the location where Jesus was mocked (τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, 27.27). Unlike Perpetua, who turns prison into a palace, Flavian departed the jail (*carcer*) and was summoned to the residence (*praetorium*) of the prefect for judgment (see *Passio Mont.* 18.4 and Procop. *Vand.* 1.20.4).

CHAPTER IV

The Argument: A Ladder to Paradise

Chapter IV narrates the first dream of Perpetua. The chapter begins abruptly. Such abruptness is deliberate and similar to the transition between Chapters I and II. It is deliberate because it is intended to disarm the audience and forcibly remind one of the diurnal quality of this narrative. The chapter opens with a question: an unnamed Christian male, and fellow prisoner, acknowledges Perpetua's special status as a seer and asks her to seek a vision so that those imprisoned Christians might know their fates. There are a number of interesting things about her questioner's request which deserve comment. First, he addresses her in a formal and polite manner, indicative of her status. He then remarks that she is esteemed among their fellow believers. Her privileged status as a visionary was apparently well known to this man, and it might have been this reputation as a prophetess (as well as a catechumen) that led to her arrest. Her anonymous questioner knows her reputation before she has this particular vision, and thus it seems safe to assume that she was the recipient of such visions before her baptism, which took place just days before. She shows no surprise at the gift of prophecy, and there is no indication that this visionary quality was a recent gift, say a result of her deprivation from arrest, or that it was associated with her recent baptism. While baptism conferred many benefits, prophecy was not one of them. Tertullian does not single out prophecy as one of the gifts from the water of baptism. Indeed, he notes that John the Baptist's conferring of baptism did not furnish heavenly endowments and that John's own spirit of prophecy failed after he baptized the Lord (*De Bapt.* 10.6).

His question and her answer is the dramatic fulcrum around which much of the narrative turns. His query also allows her to represent this aspect of herself fully in the text. She agrees to have the vision and thereby tacitly acknowledges her status as a prophetic leader in the community. She does more, however, than simply agree to seek an answer to his question; her reply to his question reveals her prior intimacy with God, as she says that she knows that she can speak with God. This public admission of her history is not for the benefit of the unnamed interlocutor, since he already knows this or he would not have asked her for the favor, nor is it a type of soliloquy musing on her own power. Rather, the response seems intended to fill in the blanks for an unseen and unacknowledged audience. There is a hint of the literary artifact in her response. Her subsequent dream is deeply eschatological, and it narrates Perpetua and Saturus's ascent into heaven on a ladder covered with weapons and guarded by a fearsome dragon. Having surmounted the perilous ladder and attained heaven, the martyrs meet the Good Shepherd and those faithful who have gone before them, all of whom appear to

have been martyred. This chapter's significance is in its introduction of Perpetua as a visionary, a woman who is able to foresee the future and one who does so through her privileged conversations with God.

Before we discuss the dream, a caveat is in order. None of the narratives of her dreams or those of Saturus report their original dreams, but rather they report their memory and subsequent record of them. The importance of this seemingly obvious point cannot be underestimated. All four dreams have been carefully edited before they were put to pen. Therefore, read as literary artifacts they constitute a conscious rewriting of the earlier visions in light of the ever-changing present circumstances. Perpetua's present conscious mind imposes a necessary order and structure on her memory of these preconscious or unconscious reveries. Such ordering, such structuring, however, does not diminish the "truth" of her revelation. Rather, the representation of a visual chimera in language—particularly by someone as skilled a verbal artist as Perpetua—and the dreams' subsequent existence as an historical document are at a singular remove from the actual event. The dreams do not exist. What exists is the narrative recreation of those past experiences, shaped in light of present circumstances. It is the reader's discovery of tropes that are common to all the dreams, which I am calling structural elements, which forge thematic links and thus unite the four dream narratives.

Saturus and Perpetua's ascent to heaven begins with impediments—in particular, with a ladder to whose sides are affixed instruments of torture. A threatening dragon waits at the bottom of the ladder. Her dream has obvious literary antecedents. It is a conflation of Jacob's ladder, Jesus's remarks on the difficulty of attaining the path to eternal life, the dragon of Revelation, and the prophecy in Genesis that the woman will bruise the head of the serpent (Gn 3.15, 28.12; Mt. 7.13; Rv 12.3). Despite its reliance on commonly known Biblical passages, Perpetua's dream is no mere pastiche, but rather a tour de force in its own right. For example, I am unable to find elsewhere an image of the ladder to heaven with implements of torture fixed to its side, conflated with the image of the docile dragon, nor does a narrative exist which has combined these elements into such a remarkable whole. Their ascent up on the ladder is an allegory of their future. Their emergence into the garden (i.e., heaven) allegorizes their forthcoming suffering, death, and ultimate reception into heaven (XII). But this vision is more than an allegory of personal salvation. It is a dream predictive of the salvation of the community and how the faithful need to behave to attain such salvation. The narrative answers a number of questions concerning the attainment of salvation that such eschatological communities were debating at this time. Who will achieve heaven? And at what time? Would one receive it at the moment of death, or have to wait until the final judgment? These were urgent and highly contested questions, and Perpetua's dream provides a partial answer to them.

Tertullian, arguing on the basis of this vision of Perpetua's, believed that heavenly salvation was withheld from most until Christ's Second Coming, except for the martyrs, who received the beatific vision at their death. Tertullian, likely reflecting Stoic ideas on the soul, taught that the soul was created and corporeal, but it was not of the same flesh as the body (*De Anim.* 5.3). This soul, although it is of a substance different from the flesh, nonetheless shares in Adam's sin and spreads that sin to the flesh (*De Anim.* 40.4). Perpetua sees herself and Saturus, along with many thousands of martyrs, in paradise. She sees only martyrs there. The Second Coming is still to come. Tertullian believed that Perpetua's acknowledgement that she saw only martyrs was consonant with his own teaching that resurrection and salvation would be received at different times: *Post cuius mille annos, intra quam aetatem concluditur sanctorum resurrectio pro meritis maturius uel tardius resurgentium* (*Marc.* 3.6). However, those who were faithful and who strove mightily and died for their faith would enjoy a union with God at the moment of their death because their souls had been cleansed by the act of martyrdom: *Sed maiora certamina maiora sequuntur praemia* (*Scap.* 4.8).

Having arrived in the immense garden, Perpetua sees a tall, gray-haired man dressed as a shepherd, milking a sheep. It is the Good Shepherd, one of the most popular representations of Christ in Carthage at this time. The Good Shepherd gives her some of the cheese he has just milked from the sheep. She says she received it in cupped hands. The scene invokes memories of the Carthaginian churches' liturgical practices, particularly the one immediately following the baptismal ritual of immersion in the sanctifying water. The dream radically alters time and spatial events. The Good Shepherd draws not milk, not a liquid from his sheep, but cheese, and he gives her enough sufficient for a mouthful. The logic of the dream is not the logic of consciousness. Hence, cheese is drawn from sheep and given as food. Furthermore, the scene is in heaven, and the figure of the Good Shepherd is a type of Christ, who, as a figure of the Godhead, cannot be constrained by the norms that govern nature. As with most of her visions, there are analogues to the oneiric events in her daily life. Tertullian, constructing an argument on the nature and validity of the way tradition is construed, notes that after the reception of baptism, the faithful partake of a mixture of milk and honey: *Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus* (*Cor.* 3.3). The moral is a simple iteration that the ways of God and man are different. Having eaten the sacred food, the martyrs who stood around her said, "Amen." The sound of this ringing in her ears awakened her. She says she awakened with the taste of something sweet still in her mouth. The world of heaven, the gift of the sacred food, is at once transferred to the natural world in this single stroke and serves to validate the experience. She concludes rather gnomically by saying that she now knew they were to suffer and there was no hope left in this world.

Chapter IV Commentary

IV.1. my brother (frater meus). Not to be confused with her biological brother, this anonymous male surely is a recently baptized Christian, and he may indeed be one of those arrested with her (but see Formisano 86, no. 37, whose suggestion does not persuade me). Her form of address is polite but vague, perhaps deliberately so. His identity is not important. What is important is his role in introducing her as a visionary prophetess. Despite the fact that he asks her what will be the fate of the imprisoned Christians—a question which precipitates her dream vision, a vision in which Saturus figures prominently—there is nothing in the chapter that suggests his identity. Those who would propose Saturus as her brother do so because of his presence in the dream. However, it is well to note that whenever she refers to Saturus, which she does twice in the *Passio* (IV.5), she refers to him by name. Moreover, if her teacher Saturus asked the question, and in effect became the petitioner, the effect would be to cause the reader to feel a transfer of authority from him to her.

IV.1. Lady sister (Domina soror). A term of formal courtesy and used to acknowledge her exalted status in this small, beleaguered community. Later in the *Passio* she reports that her father, having failed in his efforts to get her to renounce what he believed to be a crude superstition, broke down weeping and no longer called her “daughter,” but “lady” (V.5, *sed dominam*). See August. *Serm.* 14.3.4. The phrase *domina soror* is used in the *Vita sanctae Euphrasiae* 22. See also Hoppenbrouwers, “Recherches sur la terminologie,” 83; Bastiaensen, *Le cérémonial épistoliare*, 24; and Dickey (Latin), 77–85, 125–26.

IV.1. now greatly esteemed (iam in magna dignatione). See I.5 above. The phrase is an acknowledgement that she is the recipient of God’s grace. Her ability to speak with God and to see visions flows from this gift, and it is likely a result of her willingness to witness for her faith (see Souter, s.v. *dignatio*). *Iam* underscores that the period of grace begins now and continues to some point in time.

IV.1. so much so (tanta). There are two possible ways to read *tanta*, either as a feminine nominative singular, the reading adopted here, or as an ablative modifying *dignatione*. The feminine nominative reading has the advantage of being more contextually sensitive to the statement of the anonymous brother concerning Perpetua’s ability to know the future. Furthermore, this reading has the support of the Greek τῶσαύτη, which can only be nominative. Moreover, *tanta* read as a feminine nominative focuses attention on the woman’s power as a prophetess, the point being made by her fellow prisoner. MS E provides support for the second *es*.

IV.1. ask for a vision (postules uisionem). Her brother’s comment about her special worth provides him an opportunity to ask his question. His question

assumes that she has had these visions in the past. Furthermore, there is a matter-of-fact tone about his question that suggests she has had a number of past visions, which the community knew about and which could have a genuine utility. This vision is not concerned with an as yet unknown spiritual revelation, but rather is a request for a specific, focused look into the future of their fate, and as such it indicates the breadth of her power. There may be a proto-Montanist quality in this depiction of her as prophetess.

IV.1. may be shown (ostendatur). The subjunctive here continues the result clause.

IV.2. And I asked . . . was shown (Et postulavi . . . ostensum est). The phrase is reminiscent of Matthew 7.7.

IV.2. whether there will be suffering or freedom (an passio sit an commeatu). Cyprian used *commeatus*, a word with notable military overtones, in a similar sense of being delivered from persecution (see *Ep.* 55.13, 10. 5, and *Mort.* 19). The “brother’s” question is one that presupposes that their ultimate fate is either condemnation or freedom, and as such it underscores the nature and consequences of their actions. Conversion to Christianity and Judaism at this time was a crime punishable by death. Presumably, his question does not have to do with the outcome of the magistrate’s deliberation, since the law would have stipulated that action. It may, however, be a subtle inquiry into the faith of the martyrs. There yet remained to the martyrs the opportunity to abjure their profession of faith and acknowledge the genius of the emperor. Might his question be seeking some reassurances on that point? Her brother is in essence asking Perpetua whether any of them will become apostates.

IV.2. to speak (fabulari). Here Perpetua chooses a word with a homely, domestic ring. It would not be too wide of the mark to translate it as “to chat” with the Lord. The comic playwrights Plautus (*Cist.* 774) and Terence (*Phorm.* 654) used the word. Notice that R uses the less common *sermocinari* (XIX.2). (See Tert. *Ad Ux.* 1.4.4.)

IV.2. great benefits (beneficia tanta). What are these great benefits? Although we are not told, we can surmise that chief among them was the intimacy she must have felt in the special presence of the Lord and the attendant graces prophecies and authority.

IV.2. I had known (experta eram). This expression is typical of what I would call Perpetua’s existential comprehension of her relationship with God. Her knowledge of God was not limited to understanding or reason. The “great benefits” that came to her were “known” in an existential, almost physical, sense. In the same way that the *urceolus* (III.1) is what it is called and could be nothing other than what it is, her Christianity is all-encompassing, both spiritual and physical. She is Christian, body and soul. Her explicit recognition of the palpable knowledge she

receives in these conversations with God can be seen in her second vision of Dinocrates—of which this is a foreshadowing—where, in a trance-like state brought about by prayer, she groans to the Lord (*ingemescere ad Dominum*, VII.2).

IV.2. *confidently promised* (*fidenter repromisi*). The confidence that Perpetua has in her relationship with God is total. She is utterly convinced that she will be able to talk with God and receive his revelation. This confidence is typical of her throughout the narrative and characterizes her every action. The single instance when she displays anxiety concerns her solicitude for her infant and the suffering of her family on her behalf. Such confidence appears more a product of Platonist than Montanist belief, since it is founded on her conviction that she will be united with God after death. Her resolution encourages the reader to view her as a fixed and immovable presence, able to withstand the vicissitudes of fate. Her confidence is to be seen against the depiction of her fretful father and the social commonsense of the procurator Hilarianus (VI.3). R fashions a similar depiction of such confidence in the face of death in his portrayal of Felicity and her response to the prison guards (XV.8). The endurance of the martyr in the face of such persecution is reminiscent of and possibly influenced by Paul's probing psychological insight in Rom 5.3–4 that "suffering produces endurance, endurance experience and experience, hope" (οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμὴν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα).

IV.2. *tomorrow* (*crastina die*). Chronology is often compressed and ambiguous in the text. Why is Perpetua so precise in this instance, informing the unidentified "brother" that she will tell him of their fate tomorrow? Her otherwise ordinary expression "tomorrow" is of interest because it is one of the few markers of definite chronology, and as such it may provide clues to the setting. Her remark that she will tell him on the morrow indicates that it is made the day before. Hence, her vision will come sometime after this, their initial meeting, and the next day, possibly that very night. Night has always been propitious for visions and dreams. "Tomorrow" may also be read as an implicit acknowledgment of an obligatory separation in the prison at night. Roman prisons typically segregated males and females, and thus her remark to tell him on the morrow makes good sense within the context of prison life.

The tone of their conversation is informal, almost banter-like, and its tone may provide a clue as to where it took place. It is possible to imagine such a conversation taking place in that better section of the prison in which they were earlier given a brief respite (III.7). It is less likely that they would have had such a private conversation in the dungeon-like cell from which they were released. At the conclusion of the vision, on awakening, she remarks, "At once I told this to my brother" (IV.10). Readers are given no indication of the time on awakening. Her

use of *statim* seems once again to collapse time, but presumably, her revelation of her vision takes place on the next day (*crastina*), as she promised. *Crastina die* is a more complete remark than *crastina*, and the former has support from MSS G, P, and N.

IV.2. *And I asked* (*Et postulavi, et ostensum*). Again chronology is collapsed. In virtually the same breath with which she promised to report back to her “brother,” she reports her vision. She makes no mention of the passage of time (*crastina die*), as it is not essential to the narrative. Perpetua often employs paratactic structures. For instance, in this chapter she employs “*et*” twenty-three times, often to introduce a clause. Such repetition lends a powerful reinforcing rhythm to her prose. These phrases may be indebted to the *sermo humilii* style of the Scripture.

IV.3. *I see* (*video*). Her use of the present to begin her dream narrative perfectly represents the theology that God’s presence unfolds here at *the present moment* and knows no past or future, but exists only in an eternal present. The Greek employs the aorist εἶδov.

IV.3. *bronze ladder* (*scalam aeream*). Why is the ladder described as bronze? While there is some variation in the manuscript readings (see Appendix I, “Manuscripts and Editions”), *aeream* seems a richer reading than *auream*. Perpetua’s choice of bronze may be an effort at creating a deliberate anachronism—bronze had ceased to be used for building tools for millennia—thus providing a patina of antiquity and authority to her vision. Bronze, however, is used metaphorically dozens of times in the OT, but less in the NT (see Zec 6.1 for a nocturnal vision where even the mountains are bronze; and bronze libation vessels are cited in Mk 7.4). Perpetua’s dream, although likely a conflation from other sources, has its principal roots in Jacob’s nocturnal vision of the ladder leading to God’s habitation (Gn 28.12). Jacob’s dream is the only instance in which a ladder is specifically mentioned in the Bible, and his dream is alluded to (Jn 1.51). It was a subject of Christian Roman funeral art in the catacombs and was discussed by patristic authors (see Ambrose on the death of his brother in “De Excessus Fratris sui Satyri,” PL 16.1343; August. *De Civ. D.* 16. 38 CSCL 48.543: *scala stabilita super terram, cuius caput pertingebat ad caelum*).

Perpetua’s is a very different ladder from the Biblical one, however. Jacob’s ladder has angelic beings going unimpeded up and down, and God iterates the covenantal promise made to Abraham (Gn 12.3). There are, however, similarities between Jacob and Perpetua. First, they are both hated and exiles, the former by Esau and the latter by the Roman state. Second, they are both on a quest: Jacob’s to find a wife and fulfill the prophecy made to his grandfather, and Perpetua to become fully a *matrona Dei* through a martyr’s death. Lastly, both individuals are directly addressed by God. From this point in their respective narratives, they

have a new clarity of direction and confident purpose. After their respective visions, they move from ignorance to knowledge.

Perpetua's ladder is described animatedly with the participle (*pertingentem*) "reaching" up to heaven (see below). This ladder is guarded by a dragon and is alive with weapons of torture. The motif of the ladder as a means of ascent, as a passage, to a better situation is a universal one and can be found in many national literatures, from ancient Egypt to the mystery religions. In Perpetua's dream, the ladder is a symbol that leads from the earth to the sky, and it is contrasted with the coiled and sinuous serpent, an unambiguously chthonic figure. The ladder leads in a linear fashion to heaven, while the coiled serpent upsets this linear progression and leads one astray, away from the truth.

The Mithraic mysteries—popular at this time, particularly among soldiers and veterans who were a significant presence in North Africa—make use of the symbolism of a seven-rung ladder on which the prophet-King Kosingas threatens to return to the goddess Hera. Mithraism was the closest of the mystery cults to Christianity (see Justin, *1 Apol.* 66; Tert. *Praescr.* 40.3; Gager, *Kingdom and Community*, 132; Gordon, "Mithraism," 103). However, Perpetua's ladder, while providing such passage to a better state, also represents the ladder as a gauntlet (see Habermehl 2004, 77). It provides safe passage only to the worthy whose Christian witness is not compromised. De' Cavalieri believed Perpetua's ladder was the *catasta*, a scaffold or platform that the accused was forced to climb for their trial (de' Cavalieri, "Gli Atti dei SS. Montano, Lucio e compagni," 35; places of judgment were frequently set on high and reached by climbing: see Lieberman, *Texts and Studies*, 69–71). The *catasta*, however, was most frequently used as a platform to display slaves for sale (Tib. *Eleg.* 2.3.60, *Barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes*; Mart. *Epig.* 10.76.3 and 9.59.5). It does not appear to have been covered with iron implements of torture, since Perpetua's father climbs it unimpeded on two occasions (cf. V.6, VI.2).

Her dream was the inspiration for its depiction on a palaeo-Christian sarcophagus in northern Spain, the fourth-century sarcophagus of Bureba. (See Fontaine, "Quatre ans d'archéologie hispanique," 548–60. Fontaine briefly describes the depiction of the first vision as it appears on this sarcophagus, 556; the sarcophagus is also discussed and illustrated by Schlunk, "Sur les sarcophages paléochrétiens," 139–66. The carving is amateurish, although not without artistic power, and the ladder depicted there in an unsophisticated manner shows the weapons attached to the sides and the recumbent dragon at its base; see Rossi, "The Passion of Perpetua," in the Appendix, 81.) The Catholic liturgy's use of the metaphor of ascending, of moving in the direction of the heavens, is discussed in a general fashion in Beirnhert, "Le symbolisme ascensionnel," 41–63, but on Perpetua, 52–3; see also von Franz, *Perpetua*, and Cox Miller, who see it as a complex

symbol combining phallic associations 176; Hadot, “Patristique latine,” 184–89; Amat, *Songes et visions*, 66; Penco, “Un tema dell’ascesi monastica,” 99–113; Heck, “L’échelle céleste”; and Weitzmann and Kessler, *Frescoes*, plate 10ff.

IV.3. *reaching (pertingentem)*. The choice of the participle animates the ladder image. The Greek text, which uses a relative clause without a verb, is flatter rhetorically. Cyprian uses the same participle to discuss Jacob’s ladder (see his *Adv. Jud.* 2.16, PL 4.740; see also August. *Serm.* 122 and *De Civ. D.* 16.38 CSCL 48.543: *scala stabilita super terram, cuius caput pertingebat ad caelum*). The Vetus uses the imperfect form of the verb *pertingebat* (see *Vetus Latina*, ed. P. Sabatier, 2, “Genesis”), while the Vulgate adopts the participle *tangens*.

IV.3. *up to heaven, but so narrow (ad caelum et angustam)*. The addition of the detail concerning the ladder’s narrowness may be an echo of Mt 7.13, *Intrate per angustam portam*, about the difficulty of entering the gates of eternal life. (See Tert. *Iei.* 17; and Gn 28.12.)

IV.3. *one at a time (nonnisi singuli)*. The emphasis on the climb being undertaken only by a man or woman individually (literally, “unless alone, separate”) underscores that the journey of faith leading to martyrdom can only be accomplished by an individual.

IV.3. *iron implements of every kind (omne genus ferramentorum)*. Although some have argued that this enumeration of iron weapons indicates Perpetua’s familiarity with the gladiatorial games (see Bremmer, “Perpetua,” 118, but for a different point of view, see Robert, “Une vision”), we need not assume that a writer with such an extraordinary imagination actually attended the games to know the sort of weapons used. Surely such information was widespread, as the information about the equipment used in modern sport is well known even to those who do not attend games. Perpetua is, after all, reporting the memory of her dreams, and if we insist too strongly on memory’s fidelity to events in the conscious world, we minimize the dynamics of her imagination. If, however, we add to this literal reading of the weapons from the arena a psychological dimension, we discover a reading richer by far. For example, as weapons that are a product of her imagination, they all have a common purpose, and that is to tear, pierce, and wound. They are hard; her body is soft. Perpetua is married and has one child at least. Her husband is never mentioned. The Christian church at Carthage was strongly sexually encratic and promoted abstinence. Is it possible that in her dreams these weapons of tearing and cutting represent submerged, threatening sexual symbols? Is her sexuality also under assault? Notice that the Latin text goes on to say that human flesh (*carnes*) clings (*inhaerent*) to the weapons for those who are careless in their travel up the ladder. The Greek does not make this point, but only remarks on the person being mangled (*σπαραχθείη*) by the metal points (*ἀκοντίοις*). She is later called a wife of Christ (*ut matrona Christi*, XVIII.2), and

hence threats to her sexuality might render her unfit for such a lofty title. Such a title might indicate a vow of perpetual virginity. The narrative frequently focuses on human sexuality: she is nursing her son; Perpetua is accosted by the prison guards; Felicity has a daughter in prison; they are displayed naked in the arena; Felicity's breasts are dripping milk; and lastly, they are condemned to fight against an animal chosen to match their sex, a mad cow. The iron implements on the ladder are symbolic and are simultaneously both real weapons used in the arena and representations of her terror at being raped and violated while in prison. The flesh that clings to the weapons might represent the unholy fruit of such a union.

IV.3. daggers (verruta). Classical spelling is normally *verutum*, but post-classical seems to favor the double *rr*.

IV.4. serpent (draco). The image of the serpent conflates the representations of the serpent of Genesis, the dragon of John's Revelation, and the beast from the *Shepherd of Hermas* (Gn 3.15, Rv 13.1, and Herm. Vis.4.1.6). The serpent is an archetypal motif representative of evil. It has no limbs, moves almost magically, is cold-blooded, and frequently lives under the earth. It has been identified with the gods of the underworld. Its position at the base of the ladder, lying in wait to strike the unwary, may subtly reinforce the sexual symbolism of this entire image of the ladder. While it would be psychologically reductive to read the serpent merely as a symbol, for example, of male genitalia, it is difficult to escape a reading that sees in the serpent-cum-ladder image a contemporary Christian view that believed sexual cohabitation was a state less worthy than virginity (Tert. *Ad Ux.* 1.4.4). Note that the most ubiquitous of the representations of the slaughter of the sacred bull in mithraic iconography shows a coiled serpent at the bull's rib cage, reaching upwards toward Mithras's dagger as it cuts into the bull (see Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, vol. 1, 87–98 and fig. 84; vol. 2, fig. 460; Vermaseren records fifty-six inscriptions in Africa alone).

IV.4. lying (cubans). The serpent lies waiting to strike. The Greek simply has the serpent under the ladder, and no reference is made to its posture.

IV.4. great size (mirae magnitudinis). She uses this very expression to describe threatening objects, and so describes the dragon guarding the ladder (IV.4) and the ἀγωνάρχης who convenes the contest between her and the Egyptian wrestler (X.8). MS G reads *longitudinis*, which provides a more precise statement of the ladder's size and height.

IV.4. frightened (exterreat). The first trial to overcome is the fear of the serpent, here a symbolic representation of the temptation of the devil (see Tert. *De Fuga* 10.3–5). The finite Latin form is replaced in the Greek by the participle ἐθαμβῶν, and *ascenderent* is made more dramatic by being expanded into τολμῶσιν ἀναβαίνειν (“dare to go up”).

IV.5. the first to go up was Satorus (Ascendit . . . prior). Satorus is the obvious choice, since he is their teacher and spiritual guide. Moreover, until this point in the narrative he is the only one of the group fully initiated into the sacramental mysteries of the Church. Although certain third conjugation verbs are inherently ambiguous in their present and perfect forms, the presence of the unambiguous perfect (*dixit*) in sentence six makes it clear that the other verbs are to be read as perfects. While the Latin is explicit in stating that Satorus went up first, the Greek simply records that he went up (Ἀνέβη δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος) and hence does not highlight his role as spiritual leader.

IV.5. Because he had been our teacher (. . . qui ipse aedificauerat). Perpetua abruptly interrupts the narrative of her dream to account for Satorus's role in the community. She has already implied his status by having him go first. Why does she need to supply these details about his role? It surely does not help the narrative, since it moves our attention away from Satorus's confrontation with the terrifying threat of the dragon and the instruments of torture affixed to the ladder toward a local, historical detail. For whom is this information intended, and what purpose does it serve? Surely, all those arrested know who Satorus is and his role. Perhaps it was intended for other Christians in Carthage? This point is an equally unsatisfying supposition, as we know the community was still small at this time. Would such identification be required of such a small Christian community? It is not likely, as one suspects the believers would have known the name of the catechumens' teacher, since he would probably have been an individual with some standing in this community. Although her digression on his role as their teacher and his subsequent arrest does portray him heroically, she need not have broken her narrative at such a critical juncture to present this information. I would like to offer an alternative proposal and suggest that the passage beginning with the relative (*qui*) and ending with the pluperfect (*fuera*) is not written by Perpetua but is in the hand of R. There is a hint of R's rhetorical presence in the line, and that is the use of the word *aedificauerat*. Satorus "instructed/edified" us; he literally "built" the faith in us (the Greek uses οἰκοδομή). The word is used three times in the text, twice unambiguously by R (see note to I.1 above and XX.11), and has echoes of Paul (see 1 Cor 14.3; see also Tert. *Res.* 45.10; *Paen.* 5.1.241; *De Pat.* 4; and August. *Serm.* 57). R, writing from some psychological distance from the narrative, intends the story to communicate clearly and wishes to construct an historical record of the events. Hence, here he is tidying up what he perceives as unexplained gaps. Notice also that the very next sentence begins with a coordinating conjunction, a style used very often by Perpetua.

IV.5. surrendered (tradiderat). The text highlights Satorus's voluntary surrender to the authorities. His refusal to hide, to flee the authorities' dragnet—his decision to turn himself in instead, so as to continue his role as leader and teacher in

prison—agrees with Tertullian’s position against flight during persecution in his *De Fuga in Persecutione*.

IV.5. *we were seized (adducti sumus)*. The expression avoids a more precise legalism such as “we were arrested” for a more forceful one. The memory is of their initial seizure, and it may not have been an official arrest. If, however, they were under house arrest at this time, then the Greek is more exact (συνελήφθημεν).

IV.6. *and said: Perpetua (et dixit mihi: Perpetua)*. Satorius is the only one who calls her by her name, which is indicative of friendship. There is not the slightest evidence for assuming the two have a special romantic relationship, and certainly not that they are married (but see Osieck, “Perpetua’s Husband”).

IV.6. *I am waiting (sustineo)*. Normally in classical usage, *sustineo* means to “hold up,” “support,” or “sustain.” It could hardly have one of those meanings here, since Satorius calls to her from the very top of the ladder, anticipating her ascent. Here it is used in a post-classical sense, and “waits for” seems to best capture his intent. Souter (s.v. *sustineo*) suggests that it is the equivalent of the Greek μένω. The Greek text of the *Passio* uses the compound form περιμένω.

IV.6. *the serpent does not bite you (mordeat draco ille)*. At first reading this appears simply a genuine expression of concern. It is what we would expect from someone who cares for Perpetua and is her spiritual guide. However, it is palpably naive, since the ensuing events demonstrate that such a warning is unnecessary. Perpetua knows that she need not fear the serpent. Such intuition serves to distinguish Perpetua from all those around her, including Satorius, her teacher, whose passage via the serpent is never remarked upon.

IV.6. *he will not hurt me (non me nocebit)*. In classical Latin, *noceo* is considered an intransitive form with the dative. Here, used transitively with an accusative, it is post-classical. Amat cites Tert. *Exh. Cast.* 12.5, and see Lk 4.35.

IV.6. *in the name of Jesus Christ (in nomine Iesu Christi)*. The *Acta martyrii* employ the name of Jesus as a talismanic utterance to shield the martyrs from all evil. The idea clearly has sanction in the NT (Mk 9.38–39; Lk 10.17; Acts 2.38, 4.10, 4.17) and was used extensively from the first century on (see Heffernan, “*Nomen Sacrum*”). The mere utterance of the name serves as an onomastic shield from evil. *Iesu* is the standard genitive form of “Jesus” on analogy with Ἰησοῦ.

IV.7. *from beneath (desub)*. Although rare in classical Latin, *desub* may occur (pace Amat; see OLD, which cites Columella, 12.34, although the text is uncertain). The serpent is portrayed as being beneath the ladder, again reminding the reader of his association with recesses in the earth. Perpetua subtly uses locational images (sometimes opposing, as here) of top and bottom, up and down, middle and edge (see *in medio* below) to highlight the contrast between good and evil.

IV.7. *slowly stuck out its head as if it feared me (quasi timens . . . lente eiecit caput)*. The serpent has been cowed by Perpetua’s utterance of the sacred name and

tentatively moves out as if in fear of her power. As *matrona Christi* she has called evil forth from its den beneath the ladder and commands it for the good.

IV.7. *on its head (illi caput)*. Van Beek claims to have seen evidence for an erasure of the genitive *us* at the end of *illi*. However, *illi* can be read as a dative of reference.

IV.7. *stepped and climbed (calcarem . . . ascendi)*. The Latin is more definitive than the Greek, which portrays Perpetua as “wishing to step” (ἠθέλησα ἐπιβῆναι). The repetition of the word’s root (*calc-*) reinforces the power of the action of dominance. The Greek uses two distinct words. The image of Perpetua stepping on the serpent’s head and using it as a step extends and ratifies the prophecy made against the serpent in Genesis that the woman’s seed shall bruise his head (Gn 3.15; see also Pss 18.40 and 109.1). There may be some loose association with the polyvalent figure of the persecuted woman in Revelation (Rv 12.13), a book of some importance to this community. It is interesting to note that these images of the triumphant woman do not readily associate Perpetua with the Virgin Mary, but rather with the Old Testament prophecy. The anecdote in Genesis is founded on a prophecy. Perpetua is a prophetess. Who could be a better vehicle to carry out God’s plan? If Perpetua is the new Eve, she is one whose roots are firmly imbedded in the Hebrew Bible. Unlike the mother of Christ, Perpetua is not a virgin, is born in sin, and struggles against her own demons, one of which is the serpent at the foot of the ladder. Amat notes that contemporary coins illustrate the emperor with his foot on the head of the vanquished (204). Although the contest is presented as a perilous one, Perpetua’s unconscious self-image is bold, daring, triumphant, and one with the assurance that the outcome will be victorious. It is more likely that the image, if it is deliberately borrowed, derives from the Christian source, since that of the emperor would be an unwanted association, as it illustrates her persecutors as victorious. Dölger, “Der Kampf mit dem Ägypter,” has shown that the expression *calcare diabolum* had considerable currency, being used in Tert. *De Spect.* 29; Cypr. *Ep.* 58.9; *Acta Fructuosi* 7; Prudent. *Perist.* 14. 112–18; Hil. Poit. *In Matt.* 3.4; and August. *Serm.* 280: *Calcatus est ergo draco pede casto*.

IV.7. *I climbed up (ascendi)*. This, the beginning of her journey to unification with God in heaven, begins with a momentous first step. The dragon whose head supports the step represents everything tangibly material and the opposite of the spiritual awakening her witness will guarantee. Early monastics read the text in this light (see Quasten, “A Coptic Counterpart,” 1–9).

IV.8. *and I saw (et vidi)*. Perpetua’s dreams are notable for their graphic images. Her use of verb tenses in her dreams is significant. Although she began this vision with a present tense (*video*), she quickly adopts the perfect in describing all the subsequent events in the dream narrative. Her reason for this approach

may be twofold: the initial use of the present vividly introduces the dream, while her subsequent shift to the perfect suggests a period of subsequent reflection on the events of the dream and may provide a type of authentication for what she saw. In other words, this specific narrative, though seen in a present tense dream state, is composed at a time subsequent to her awakening and represents a composition after the fact.

IV.8. an enormous garden (spatium immensum horti). The garden image is likely based on the Biblical paradise before the Fall (Gn 2.8).

IV.8. sitting in the middle (in medio sedentem). Once again, Perpetua uses locational images to underline crucial points. Her gaze takes in the entire area of this vast heavenly garden and locates the crucial figure precisely in its middle, the place of maximum importance and the hub about which everything moves. It is well to note that the Tree of Life (Gn 2.9) is also *in medio*.

IV.8. white-haired man (hominem canum). The figure of the white-haired man is a complex association of skeins of her memory. The color of his hair indicates his age, wisdom, and possible paternity. He acts like a father figure. We cannot exclude the possibility that she has conflated the figure of her father, from whom she is estranged, in this image and with whom—at least in the dream—she is at pains to be reconciled. The man also suggests the figure of Christ in Rv 1.14, which in turn is indebted to Dn 7.9. Thus, the figure also has an apocalyptic dimension. He is a savior who comes and awaits her return, offering her succor. All of her yearning to be free from her oppressive surroundings, to be finished with the torment of arrest and imprisonment, to be safe, her obvious need to be reconciled with her family and to be saved meet in this central image. Additionally, her anxiety for her son is likely being abated by the unconditional safety offered to her. It is significant that he is milking a sheep, and she is of course nursing her child. If the white-haired man is able to rescue her, a sinner, from the wrath of the persecutors, he surely will do so for an innocent child.

IV.8. dressed like a shepherd (in habitu pastoris). The image of the Good Shepherd as a symbol for Christ was a favorite of early Christians and has strong Biblical roots (see Pss 23; Mt 18.12; Lk 15.4; Jn 10.11; Heb 13.20; and Is 63.11); it is likely indebted to ancient sacral-ideal landscape painting. The Good Shepherd figure was used in influential early Christian texts both narrative and pictorial, like the *Shepherd of Hermas* (Vis. 5.1), and in the Roman catacomb of Calixtus. (This image is depicted eighty-four times between ca. 100 and 325 CE, often as a beardless youth). He is also depicted on the sarcophagus of Bureba, near the depiction of Perpetua climbing the ladder, and in the beautiful mosaic of Ravenna. The motif is an all-encompassing one of security: the Shepherd can fill all our wants. Tertullian relates that the chalice used by some in the liturgy in Carthage had an image of the Good Shepherd represented on it (see *Pud.* 12.10, *pastor, quem in calice depingis*).

IV.8. *a big man (grandem)*. Here *grandis* is post-classical usage for *magnus* (see VII.6 and XI.5). Amat suggests that the word is more nuanced than simply a designation of size (which *magnus* would convey) and encompasses the great age of the man, which the adjective (*grandaevus*) would suit.

IV.8. *milking sheep (oves mulgentem)*. The obvious association is to see this image and that of the Good Shepherd as part of a continuum. Wilpert in *Le pittura*, pl. 117, 193, and *I sarcophagi*, pl. 3, 4, however, distinguishes between these images, noting that this image should not be read as an image of communion, since Perpetua has climbed the ladder and is now in heaven. Wilpert notes that since the Eucharist is not received in heaven, the milk should be read as symbolic of the joys of heaven. While of interest, Wilpert's reading forces unnecessarily a causal and theological logic that we do not experience in dreams. Let us review Perpetua's immediate history. She has been recently arrested and baptized, and she longs for full communion. The Shepherd gives her something precious to eat. On awakening she retains the taste of something sweet in her mouth. The image is nuanced and totalizing, and Tertullian describes a rather similar experience in the Eucharistic liturgy. To exclude Eucharistic overtones privileges theology over her psychology. While we need not exclude Scriptural echoes of "the milk of paradise"—a motif indebted to depictions of Canaan, the promised land, *in terram quae fluit lacte et melle* (Ex 3.8), and furthermore, an image commented on frequently by the fathers and also appearing in apocalyptic texts, like the *Visio Pauli* (ca. 250 CE)—the dream image is more nearly a yearning for the agape banquet.

IV.8. *standing around were many thousands dressed in white (et circumstantes candidati milia multa)*. Although I follow the MS reading above, this reading might be improved in a bow to a more classical construction if we were to emend to *et circumstantium candidatorum milia multa* taken with the preceding accusatives. We would normally expect a genitive after a plural substantive form of *mille*. The image suggests the twenty-four righteous elders who, sitting around the throne of the lamb, symbolize the twelve patriarchs of the Old Testament and the twelve apostles of the New Testament (Rv 4.4): those who had been slain for God's word (Rv 6.9), and those who, dressed in white robes, had recently been martyred under Domitian (81–96).

IV.9. *And he raised his head, looked at me, and said (leuauit caput et aspexit me et dixit mihi)*. Her fondness for parataxis is well illustrated in the use of these three short independent clauses using coordinated finite verbs. The Greek subordinates *leuauit* to the participle Ἐπάραξ. Her sense of versimilitude in prose is uncanny. Notice how she conveys a sense of the drama of the moment, underscoring the Good Shepherd's preoccupation with milking through the use of *leuauit*. The scene is drawn out and the prose almost cinematic in its visual richness: he raises his head, he looks up, and he speaks to her.

IV.9. *You are welcome here, child* (*Bene uenisti, tegnon*). A number of the manuscripts (P and N, for example) delete this Greek term of endearment; they rewrite τέκνον as *tegnum*, thus replacing the Greek -ον with the corresponding Latin second declension ending, or they substitute *nunc* for *tegnon*, thus missing the warmth of the moment and the nuances of the relationship of father and daughter. The use of the Greek word is rhetorically nuanced: it surprises the reader; it underscores her education; it may represent an idiom of intimacy in Roman Africa; it serves to distinguish the figure of the Good Shepherd from the Latin speakers; it foreshadows her conversation in Greek with her bishop Optatus and priest Aspasius in XIII.1; and it intimates that Greek was a prestigious language in Roman African Christian circles, particularly among the clergy. Dickey makes the interesting observation that τέκνον is typically used in kinship addresses, and hence, when not being used by a parent to address a child, the one using the term “is usually in some sense *in loco parentis* for the addressees: tutors, old nurses, friends of their parents, etc.” Τέκνον is the overwhelming choice of term (94 percent) when a parent addresses a dead or dying son or daughter as well as when parents wish to comfort their child, and when used by non-parents is typically used for adults (see Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, 68). Formisano 90, no. 55 reads τέκνον as symbolizing a role reversal of Perpetua, from “mother” to “child.”

IV.9. *And he called me* (*Et clamauit me*). The phrase corresponds directly with ἐκάλεσέν. The verb typically is restricted to “cry out,” “shout,” and “declare.” Its use here suggests the Good Shepherd wishes all to hear their conversation (cf. *Vetus Pss* 129.1).

IV.9. *from the cheese* (*de caseo*). What precisely does *caseus* signify here? Why is the word joined with *mulgeo*, whose meaning is clear? The word has vexed a number of English translators. For example, Wallis suggests “milking sheep,” Shewring has “from the curd that he had from the milk,” Musurillo renders it as “milk,” Halporn as “curd” (cf. *Tert. Cor.* 3.3), and Shaw as “cheese.” An answer may not be so easy to arrive at, since the product being “milked” is received with *iunctis manibus* and eaten (*manducaui*). These ideas suggest a solid or, at the very least, a curd-like substance. Amat suggests this is an example of brachylogy, a type of ellipsis in which the omitted words are to be supplied from the abbreviated passage in question and which is intended for brevity’s sake. The expression is condensed, and it is a dream, with the logic unique to dreams. For the sake of brevity, events are juxtaposed differently, and time is often compressed. Normally, we would expect *mulgeo* would be used with an accusative referring to the animal being milked, as in the preceding *oues mulgentem* of IV.8. Thus, *de caseo quod mulgebat* (construing *caseum* as neuter) is likely a condensed way of saying something rather like “from the cheese which he was making from the milk he was drawing.” The Greek exhibits the same form of the ellipsis. However, it seems

best to read the passage as one of those genuine transcriptions of a dream whose logic and time sequence are different from that of a conscious waking state. If we maintain the logic of the dream, then the Good Shepherd's gift of cheese from milk is another indication of his miraculous ability (cf. Jn 2.1–10 and the wedding at Cana). The figure of the Good Shepherd may have Trinitarian overtones.

IV.9. *And all those standing around said: "Amen" (et universi . . . "Amen")*. The elect who are standing around the dreamer cry out, "Amen." The term "Amen" in both the Old and New Testaments typically concludes doxologies, blessings, curses, and commands (see Nm 5.22; Dt 27.15–26; Rom 1.25; 1 Cor 14.16). The word is used three times in the *Passio*, twice by R in exactly this way, as a conclusion of a doxology *in saecula saeculorum* (I.6 and XXI.11), and in this single instance by Perpetua as part of her memory of the dream. This line may suggest a memory of a Eucharistic liturgy. "Amen" was said by the congregation as a conclusion to a general prayer of thanksgiving (*Did.* 10) or as a response to the Eucharistic elements for which the thanks were offered (Justin, *1 Apol.* 66; Hipp. *Trad. Ap.* 4), and, at times, at the end of the entire service (Ign. *Eph.* 13.1).

IV.10. *And I woke up at the sound of their voice (et ad sonum vocis experta sum)*. The sound of their voice interrupts her reverie. This detail completes the first dream and is a perfectly natural way to conclude it. Her use of a perfect form of the verb *experior* (which here is used in the sense of *expergiscor*) signals that the narrative of the dream she is relating is a product of her reflection in her waking moments. She uses this form four times (IV.10, VII.9, VIII.4, X.14) to mark her movement from the dream state to consciousness.

IV.10. *still eating some unknown sweet (conmanducans adhuc dulce nescio quid)*. The verb *commanduco* is not common (TLL and Souter, s.v. *commando* and *manduco*). What does this "unknown sweet" taste refer to? First, it must be a reference to the mysterious food she received from the Good Shepherd. The term may also contain an additional resonance and refer to the liturgy of the Eucharist. The Eucharist banquet for those newly baptized made use of bread, milk, and honey. Tertullian remarks that "when we are taken up [from the baptismal pool] (as newborn children), we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey, and from that day we refrain from the daily bath for a whole week" (*Cor.* 3; cf. 1 Pt 2.2). Hippolytus of Rome writes that newly baptized Christians were given a cup of milk with honey and a cup of water: "the Bishop shall bless the bread, which is the symbol of the body of Christ, and the bowl of wine, which is the symbol of the blood which has been shed for all who believe in him; and the milk and honey mixed together, in fulfillment of the promise made to the fathers, in which he said, "a land flowing with milk and honey"; . . . the elders, and the deacons if there are not enough, shall hold the cups and stand together in good order and with reverence:

first the one who holds the water, second the one who holds the milk, and third who holds the wine” (*Trad. Ap.* 27–33). It is reasonable to assume that someone just baptized, who is willing to give up her family, her son, and her life for her faith, would be yearning to receive communion (Formisano 90, no. 57). Such a desire left its impress on both her conscious and her unconscious mind.

IV.10. And at once I told this to my brother (Et retuli statim fratri meo). Notice that after *experta sum* she writes *retuli statim fratri meo* (IV.10). The unavoidable conclusion is that she has written this narrative of the dream of the Good Shepherd at some time after the conversation with her colleague, since *statim* is unambiguous.

IV.10. And we knew we would suffer (et intelleximus passionem esse futuram). Their immediate and unswerving conclusion that death lies ahead surprises the reader at first glance. However, their judgment is based on their intuitive analysis of the dream’s portent and their mutual awareness of the situation in Carthage forbidding new conversions. The dream is apocalyptic, and the allusions to the eschatological passages in Revelation arguably form the basis for their conclusion (Rv 6.9, 7.13). Does their immediate response also presuppose an awareness of earlier martyrs about whom we have no records, and the precedent of whose deaths would have made their situation immediately clear to them? The Greek speaks of the necessity of suffering: *καὶ ἐνοήσαμεν ὅτι δέοι παθεῖν*.

IV.10. in this world (in saeculo). The phrase is not being used in the classical sense of “age,” “race,” or “generation,” but rather in the post-classical sense of “world.” The *ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ* parallels the Latin (see Ep 2.12, *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*; and cf. LXX, Ws 13.9).

CHAPTER V

The Argument: The Public Leave-Taking

For the prophecy of the dream in the preceding section to be fulfilled, Perpetua and her companions must begin to disengage themselves from all they cherish in life. Death is the price they pay for salvation—a price paid publicly, as a spectacle before the jeering crowd. Christian theology has always had as one of its first principles the paradoxical idea that one must first give in order to receive. The greater the gift given, the greater the reward. Crass egoism is avoided through the concomitant practice of Christ’s radical charge to love (Mt 5.43–48). During this period, particularly in Africa, martyrdom appears to have been for some of the more zealous a viable alternative to apostasy.

Letting go of loved ones on the journey to God is the initial rung on the ladder, whose first step is a witness that shreds the familial fabric. The metaphor

of the bronze ladder with the weapons that wound, that tear at the flesh, is still fresh in memory (IV). The first wound given in Chapter V is a rending of her relationship with her father. It is not steel but shame that wounds and jeopardizes their affection. Accordingly, the chapter opens with words that proclaim her “crime” to the entire city—words like *rumor* and *audiremur* dominate the opening line. Such a public confession would bring the family into disrepute, since, for the citizens of Carthage, it constitutes a rejection of the Roman way and an embrace of an irrational superstition, and it is, of course, illegal.

Her father arrives, shaken and breathless from his journey into the city. She notes that he is exhausted from worry and is intent on changing her mind. His anxiety is understandable. His daughter is to be charged with a capital offence. He is an anxious and frightened parent, but he also stands as a figure of synecdoche for the *mos maiorum*. The figure of the pleading father is one of the more powerful portraits in the narrative. Their relationship is explored in more depth than any other. They have the closest of bonds—affection so close that he claims it was greater than that he had for her brothers. She refers to him as *pater* ten times in Chapters III–IX. Although such a public declaration might appear to be an astonishing remark from a Roman father, there is evidence that fathers and daughters did indeed have very close, intense, and public relationships. A grave stele (ca. first century CE) from Karanis (southwest of Cairo) reads: “I wish I would have left my father a child when I died, so that he would not forever have an unforgettable grief through remembrance of me” (Rowlandson, *Women and Society*, 347). There is a fifth-century marble funerary plaque commemorating Perpetua, likely from the *Basilica maiorum*, that proclaims her parents’ grief at the loss of their daughter.

Her husband is never mentioned in the narrative. It is fruitless to speculate why: he may be dead, they may be divorced, or he may have been edited out of the text as we have it. The legal status of Roman women underwent considerable change in the early Empire, and the situation in Africa was somewhat different from that in Italy, particularly after the reforms of Antoninus Pius. However, her father’s prominence in this chapter—whatever the status of her husband may have been—makes it a virtual certainty that her marriage was *sine manu* and that she remains *in potestate patris*. Thus, it is appropriate for him to appear at the hearing.

She is deeply moved by her father’s anguish, principally, as she says, because he—alone of her family—would not rejoice in her suffering. This is a curious remark, since the text notes that not all her family were Christians. Such a remark, however, reveals much about the emotional distance she has placed between herself and the world. She has turned from being her father’s child *in filiae loco* to

someone *in potestate Dei*. Her last words announce the dissolution of this contract between her father and herself.

Chapter V Commentary

V.1. A few days later (Post paucos dies). She regularly makes use of an indeterminate chronology and uses this same expression of time a total of four times (III.5, V.1, VII.1, IX.1). Why is she so imprecise? The specifics of duration are simply not important. What is important is the nature of the events that are taking place and the end to which all of this drama is inexorably moving. The final lines in Chapter IV underscore what one might almost describe as a providential moving of history. Further, given her circumstances—harassed, frightened, and imprisoned in a dark and insufferably hot hole—it is understandable that she may not have been able to keep a precise record of time passing (see Heffernan, “Philology and Authorship”).

V.1. that we were to be given a hearing (ut audiremur). A number of manuscripts read *quod*, which seems more probable if we take in its post-classical sense of “that.” The line appears to be a statement of fact, but it is ambiguous. There may be a purposive or jussive idea present explaining the content of the “rumor.” The hearing would have been entirely appropriate according to Roman law (see Plin. *Ep.* 10.96 and notes above for III.1). Compare VI.1, where the phrase *ut audiremur* occurs. Perpetua is fond of repetitious language.

V.1. Arrived unexpectedly (Superuenit). Why did she chose to use this verb rather than something more common, like *venio* or *pervenio* or *advenio*? She only uses this verb here but uses *venio*, for example, eight times (see IV.9, VI.2, VII.1, X.1, 3, 6, XI.10, XII.1). *Superuenio* conveys the slight suggestion of “surprise” in its semantic range, and this element of surprise is not provided by more common forms (see OLD, s.v. *supervenire*; Livy, 30.25.9, *cum legatis Carthaginiensibus supervenerunt*; and Souter, s.v. *superuentio*). Perhaps she was not expecting her father to appear at her arraignment, given his hostility to her decision to convert to Christianity. The Greek reads Παρεγένετο where the Latin has *superuenit*, and it does not have this element of surprise (see LSJ, s.v. *παράγινομαι*; cf. Mt 3.13; Lk 11.6; 1 Cor 16.3; 2 Tm 4.16; and Heb 9.11).

V.1. from the city (de ciuitate). Where is her father coming from, and where does that place her? Is she outside the city under house arrest or in some lesser prison? The Greek ἐκ τῆς πόλεως reads much the same. Does this small detail with its characteristic lack of exactitude suggest that the audience would have known from whence her father was coming; that is, was the story so well known to the audience that they knew details which we require? Carthage was a Roman *civitas*, but she may be using the word to refer to any community of citizens. It is tempting

to read the phrase as a description of her father leaving from his home in the city for the prison. Whatever the location of her place of arrest, it does contain a *catasta*, and this feature may suggest that they were being held in a prison which served a municipality that was of some size, but outside the city.

V.1. *worn with worry (consumptus taedio)*. The verb is vivid, and the mood of paternal care is palpable but somewhat qualified by *taedium*, which here appears to represent a complex of feelings of concern, embarrassment, and disgust. While her father is being devoured by his anxiety for his precious daughter, he is publicly humiliated by her conversion. The very phrase occurs twice, here and in IX.2, and in both instances it concerns her father's apprehension concerning her.

V.1. *he climbed up to me (et ascendit . . . deiceret)*. We sometimes see the use of set phrases antithetically juxtaposed in a parallel structure for a rhetorical effect, as here and III.1, for example. Her father "climbed up" (*ascendit*) to her so as to get her to change her mind (*deiceret*)—literally, to "throw down" her belief. There appears to be an intentional word play in *ascendit* and *deiceret*. The former is likely used literally, since he has to climb to the *catasta*, and the latter metaphorically. The Greek parallels the Latin use with ἀνέβη and καταβαλεῖν.

V.2. *My daughter, have pity (Miserere, . . . filia)*. *Miserere* normally takes the genitive, and its use with the dative is post-classical (see Bennett, sec. 209). Repetition is used with great effect here. Although her name is used ten times in the text (II.1, IV.6, X.3, XIII.4, XVI. 2, XVIII.2, XVIII.7, XX.3, XX.8, XXI.9), her father, the one individual with whom she appears to have the closest relationship, except for her baby, never calls her by name, nor by any familiar forms (see notes IV.9). Is her father's use of a more formal form of address intended to distance their relationship? Since the exchange may take place in front of others, her father, as a Roman male, may feel the need to maintain a certain decorous authority.

V.2. *gray hair (canis meis)*. Her father uses the figures of ellipsis (omitted *capillis*) and metonymy and appeals to this visible sign of his old age and wisdom for her to recant. The only times such an allusion is used are in reference to her father and the Good Shepherd (IV.8 and XII.3). I have suggested elsewhere that she conflates her biological father and the Good Shepherd in her desire to integrate her conversion with the fragmentation of her familial life.

V.2. *have pity on your father (miserere patri)*. The use of the dative is late Latin. See den Boeft and Bremmer, "Notiunculae Martyrologicae II," 6, who suggest that the father's appeal is indebted to certain formulae found in Roman prayer. They print parallels from Vergil, Statius, and Catullus.

V.2. *if (si)*. The repetition of this conditional particle three times, introducing sequential independent clauses, heightens the emotional tenor of the father's pleas.

V.2. *I have preferred you to all your brothers (praeposui . . . fratribus tuis)*. This is an unexpected and uncommon remark from the *pater familias*. It acknowledges the hierarchy of female status in the Roman family, whether she be daughter or wife, having a subordinate position to the males of the household. It is also a private and tender moment, since he reveals to his daughter that he has stepped outside the traditional bounds of the Roman father and taken a risk. It is a risk because, if his behavior toward his daughter were made public, it could make him a figure of ridicule. His argument is complex: first, he appeals to his authority as her father; second, he reminds her that her present status (*florem aetatis*) is a result of his labors; and third, he acknowledges that he has privileged her above all others. Implicit in these pleas is the understanding that if she does not recant, then she will have rejected all three of his claims on her. It is a tragic dilemma that neither one of them can avoid.

V.2. *do not shame me (ne me dederis)*. *Ne* with the perfect subjunctive is used here in a prohibition, and in V.4 the present subjunctive is used in the same construction (see Bennett, sec. 276).

V.2. *shame (dedecus)*. The word is important because it concerns public comportment, an issue of great consequence to Roman culture. Perpetua is being judged a criminal, an enemy of the state. Her father, if he is to maintain his status as a loyal Roman citizen, must either control his daughter by persuading her to give up her pernicious superstition or reject her. Tertullian uses the word frequently in a host of applications, some of which have a parallel here (cf. *Carn. Chr.* 5). He argues (against Marcion) that true safety lies in not being “ashamed” of the Lord, and he quotes Mt 10.21–22. There may be an echo of the Scriptural passage here in her remarks. The verses from Matthew seem most pertinent, concerning, as they do, fathers and children: “Brother will hand over brother to death, and the father his child; children will rise up against parents and have them put to death. You will be hated by all because of my name, but whoever endures to the end will be saved” (*Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem, et pater filium . . .*). Her father’s remarks may be an implicit criticism of the entire Roman system of public mores.

V.3. *Think (aspice)*. The repetition of the imperative verb dramatizes the tension between the father and the daughter. At each instance, the semantic charge of the verb becomes more intimate. He demands first that she consider what her actions will do to her brothers, then to her mother and her maternal aunt, and lastly to her son.

V.3. *your mother’s sister (matrem tuam et materteram)*. Whenever mention is made of her mother, her other family members are also mentioned (see II.2, III.8). The father wishes to root her solidly in her natal family and force her to see the consequences of her actions on her loved ones. This personal detail is

likely a genuine fragment from her life, and her aunt is likely to have been someone with whom she was intimate. Festus identifies the maternal aunt closely with the child's mother: *matris soror, quasi mater altera* (see Lindsay, *Sexti Pompei Festi*). The maternal aunt often played a significant role, particularly in the birth and up to and including the *lustratio*, where she may have played the role of Juno touching the eyes, the brow, and the lips with a finger moistened with her own saliva in a kind of welcoming baptism; indeed, the *matertera* was often viewed as a surrogate mother (see L. & P. Brind'Amour, "La Deuxième Satire"). In the *Aeneid* (12.74), Turnus cries out in anguish to his aunt Queen Amata (his mother's sister), calling her *O mater* (see also Bettini, *Kinship*, 67–99). Note the effective use of alliteration in the repetition of the nasal consonants *matrem tuam et materteram*.

V.3. *who will not be able to live (qui . . . uiuere non poterit)*. After his appeal to her sense of familial obligation, he adds what must be construed as a threat. Why will the child die? It is because since she remains *in potestate patris*, her child is subject to his jurisdiction, and her father has, by this admission, acknowledged that he will not care for the infant (but see VI.8). The child's precarious situation has been alluded to earlier. She remarked that he was faint from hunger (III.8), and she gave him to her mother and brother to care for. Once the child was returned to her in prison, her spirits soared. Her father's remark about the child's perilous future is a deliberate stratagem. He assumes that she will abandon Christianity if she knows for a certainty that to pursue it will cause her child to die.

V.4. *Give up your pride (depone animos)*. Although *animus* was commonly used in Christian circles as "soul" (see Tert. *De Anim.* 13), here, in the context of this exchange, the plural is used in its classical idiomatic sense of pride (see Verg. *Aen.* 11.366, *pone animos et pulsus abi*). The Greek reproduces this with θυμους.

V.4. *do not destroy (ne . . . extermines)*. See V.2. The sense of "destroy" is post-classical. This is the earliest instance I have found of this word used in this sense. The Vetus and the Vulgate use this verb at least three times, but the use is not univocal. For example, it is used in the sense of "to destroy" in Rv 11. 18 and Ws 16.27, but not in Jas 4.14, where it is used to translate ἀφανιζομένη ("vanish" or "disappear"), and it does not have the sense of extirpation or destroy (see TLL, 5², col. 2015, and see Niermeyer, s.v. *exterminare*). The Greek of the *Passio*, however, does catch this idea of "destroy" with ἐξολοθρεύσης (see LSJ, s.v. ἐξολοθρεύω; and Gn 17.14; Acts 3.23).

V.4. *none of us (nemo . . . nostrum)*. *Nostrum* is the genitive of *ego*, used participatively, and not the neuter of *noster*, as is clear from the context and the Greek ἡμῶν.

V.S. *will be able to speak freely (libere loquetur)*. His remark reminds us of the shame (*dedecus*, V.2) he is so acutely conscious of being branded with. His greatest fear appears to be his loss of face in the community. Indeed, this seems of greater moment than his concern for Perpetua's safety.

V.S. *if you are punished (si tu aliquid fueris passa)*. Her father's language is evasive. He knows she will die if she does not recant. He adopts *pati* as a euphemism for a more direct verb, like *mori*, for example. His tone is idiomatic, almost casual, and his use of the conditional particle *si* underscores his belief that it is her choice that will bring all to grief, if she does not recant.

V.S. *as a father would, out of his love for me (quasi pater pro sua pietate)*. Father and daughter have the most complex and intimate relationship in the text. They are deeply attached to one another but separated by their different faiths. Perpetua's father is, moreover, motivated by his acute sense of public shame (*dedecus hominum*).

V.S. *love (pietate)* This complex word conveys a host of meanings and has pagan religious overtones, as well as serving to indicate Perpetua's awareness of her father's affection for her. Traditional Roman ideas of *pietas* concerned the appropriate practice of ritual to ensure the success of the household. The father was *pater familias*, the mother priestess of the *Penates*, and the daughters were the servants of Vesta. The description of her father's behavior, which immediately follows, may owe something to her memory of such rituals. The Greek use of the plural "parents" (τῶν γονέων) tends to generalize and move the focus away from only the father to the entire *familia*.

V.S. *kissing my hands. . . . Weeping (basians mihi manus. . . . lacrimans)*. Her father subordinates himself and kisses her as a suppliant, as a petitioner might his patron. This episode reverses the traditional roles of father and daughter and is a dramatic gesture on his part, and it illustrates the extent of his affection for this particular child, who, as he has already said, was his favorite. His behavior is markedly different from traditional paternal behavior and as such is likely to be the memory of an actual incident. Some would draw a distinction between the use of *basiare* as opposed to *osculari*. While both terms were typically used to designate polite, public kissing, Catullus and Martial used them interchangeably in romantic love poetry (see Catull. 5). *Suavium*, however, was restricted to a romantic kiss.

V.S. *lady (dominam)*. This honorific title at first glance appears to distance the father and daughter. One might have expected a more personal response—for example, her name, or *filia* (as the text states), or some other diminutive like *parvula*, or as the Good Shepherd did, who referred to her as *tegnon* (IV.9; cf. the Greek τέκνον). Why then *dominam*? *Domina* follows naturally if one accepts the idea that the supplication ritual described contains overtones of Roman religion,

particularly of the household. Is her father remembering these earlier rites, imagining his daughter as some distant, newly transformed, exalted being? Is this perhaps a fragment of a memory of those cultic rites which is conflated with his present behavior? Although there is much to recommend their reading, I would not go as far as den Boeft and Bremmer (see “Notiunculæ Martyrologiæ II,” 7), who view her father as a suppliant before a goddess, since if her father were conscious of such a change, such awareness would minimize their past special intimacy, which he cherishes (V.1., *si praeposui*). We would expect his grasp of their new relationship to have equally profound consequences; that is, there should be a change in his behavior. However, that never occurs. He continues to behave as a distraught parent and not someone with a new awareness of his daughter’s elevated status (see VI.2 and IX.2, and also IV.1).

V.6. *anguish (casum)*. The word *casus* typically suggests something that befalls one, an event, accident, or an occasion (OLD, s.v. *casus*, 4). It may even suggest a downfall. The word is used in all these instances in the *Passio* (see VI.5, VII.1). Here its use signifies her sorrow for the unhappy situation of her father and brother. It is thus in the latter instance only and by extension that it can suggest a malady. The Greek διαθέσεως appears to qualify the ambiguity of the Latin, and the semantic weight of διάθεσις hints that her father had a medical predisposition to such unmanly behavior (perhaps hysteria).

V.6. *he alone of all my family (solus . . . de toto genere meo)*. She is clearly proud of her family. Her observation may also suggest the success of Christianity in these upper-class Roman families in Africa. Chapter II.2 reveals that she has two brothers and that one was a catechumen like herself. In light of her observation here, should we now conclude that the other brother was already baptized and in full communion with the Church?

V.6. *would not rejoice (gavisurus non esset)*. The language is hyperbolic and is meant to convey her sense of ecstatic joy and that of her family, as she is being welcomed on earth as a martyr-to-be. See Tert. *Mart.* 4.9: *Quis ergo non libentissime tantum pro vero habet erogare, quantum alii pro falso?*

V.6. *I tried to comfort him (confortavi eum)*. The role reversal is now complete. The daughter ministers to the father. The child has become a parent, and the parent a child in need of solace. The word *confortare* appears to have been a favorite of Christians (see above I.1, III.8; and Isa 41.11) and was used to represent the hospitality of Abraham before the Lord (Gn 18.5). In particular, its occurrence in the Psalms (see 9.20, 26.14, 30.25) seems to have contributed to its popularity. See also Ambrose, *Expo. Luc.* 7.

V.6. *platform (catasta)*. The term denotes a platform in a public area. The *catasta* was used initially as a platform where slaves were displayed for sale (Alb. Tib. *Eleg* 2.3.62–3, *quem saepe coegit barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes*).

Subsequently, the *catasta* was employed for public confessions of faith (Cypr. *Ep.* 38.2 CCSL 3b.184), for the prosecution of criminal offences, and latterly for torture, particularly of Christians (Prudent. *Perist.* 1.56, *post catastas igneas* and 2.399, *ultra e catasta iudicem*). It is used in the *Passio* as a public platform where the accused are questioned. (See also *Acta SS. martyrum Numidarum*, 6; *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi*, 6; and August. *Enn. Ps.* 96.16 CCSL 39.1367, the latter using the word to designate a place where the soul is tested on the scaffold of conscience: *Interroga fidem tuam, pone in catasta conscientiae animam tuam*.) I have not found an instance of its use for a platform reserved for torture before the middle of the third century (see Cypr. *Ep.* 33).

V.6. *What God has willed* (*deus voluerit*). The phrase was rather common and is often used by Tertullian (*De Anim.* 2.1; *Scorp.* 2.1).

V.6. *Know* (*scito*). This imperative form underscores her prescience and utter confidence in God.

V.6. *no longer in our own power but in God's* (*in nostra esse potestate futuros, sed in Dei*). Her complete surrender to God's power is summed up in this phrase. We do not have the ability or the authority to manage, *constituere*, our own fate (see Ign. *Pol.* 7.3). *Futuros* is a preferable reading, since the martyr designate is moving toward this state of union in God as a future goal, and it has manuscript authority. Conversely, *constitutos* suggests the goal has already been accomplished and hence would vitiate, to some extent, their present course of action.

V.6. *he left* (*recessit*). This verb vividly contrasts with the opening verbs of motion in this chapter (e.g., *cucurrit*, *supervenit*). Her father arrived in great haste, exhausted with worry (*consumptus taedio*), but with the expectation that he would help his daughter. His failure is palpable in her use of this verb noting his departure.

V.6. *in great sadness* (*contristatus*). The use of the compound intensifies the root of *tristis*. Her choice of this as her final word as her father departs is deliberate and heartbreaking. It sums up the pathos of the entire episode between father and daughter. The verb is used most effectively for deep sorrow bordering on despair in the Psalms (see 34.14, 37.7, 41.10, 54.3; and August. *Enn. Ps.* 76.12).

CHAPTER VI

The Argument: Confession and Condemnation

Chapter VI relates what might be called the public coming of age of the catechumens: their public confession of faith leads to their subsequent sentence of death, pronounced by the procurator Hilarianus. They are to be thrown to the beasts (*et damnat ad bestias*). Without such public witness, their role as charismatic leaders would be in doubt, if not jeopardized entirely. The public nature

of their witness also leads to a collective maturation process, which implicates all the members of the small band of fellow believers. The condemned's proclamation of Christianity immediately moves them from the status of initiates—drawn from the ranks of the recently baptized—and makes them leaders of the community. Christian Carthage's deeply eschatological leanings revered those who were willing to die for the faith. The martyrs designate were believed to be filled with charismatic gifts, and some faithful even visited them in prison to seek forgiveness for sins. Catapulted into the ranks of the elders, their witness ranked them even higher than their clerical leaders, including priests and bishops (XIII). The martyrs' willingness to die and the adulation of the ideal of self-sacrifice by their clerical leaders suggest a community that was beleaguered, a community so driven to desperate measures that it was alienated from the mainstream and held together by the shared belief that the worst the authorities could do was to kill its adherents. Even the threat of death did not prove to be a deterrent to joining the sect, as such a humiliating end became the heroic path through which they achieved heavenly salvation. Such extreme attitudes necessarily left their stamp on this church. The administrative structure of the church in Carthage would have been fluid, dynamic, and, it must be said, unstable to have inculcated such values. No doubt, the local persecution exploited such tendencies that might have been latent in this community. If the proclamation of *sum Christianus* did not only lead to your death and your subsequent adulation but guaranteed your elevation in the hierarchy, the leadership roles of the more judicious and circumspect Christians surely always ran the risk of being minimized by that of the zealot.

It is something of a surprise, then, that a narrative so deeply committed to eschatology, which publicly proclaims the deaths of six young people who are guilty of no offense other than the confession of Christianity, opens on such a banal domestic detail: the prisoners are in the midst of eating their breakfast as they are rushed off to the forum for their first public trial. Why does Perpetua choose to open this crucial narration of their condemnation to death with the scene of their having a meal? These two incidents, the domesticity of a meal and the summons by the procurator, are, I believe, deliberately intended to counterpoise one another. Such a juxtaposition allows her to throw into stark relief the absurd dissonances of their situation. While she intends to represent the details of their imprisonment, she is equally intent on isolating certain of these details and placing them in an historical context. The juxtaposition of the banal, the everyday need for food to maintain life, placed alongside the imminent sentence for death highlights the fragility, the absurdity of the human condition. However, it also underscores the historical fact that this did happen and that it happened in this very domestic way, just as they were finishing

breakfast. Situating them in such stark relief highlights the surreal quality of their imprisonment: they complete their daily routine, eat meals, wash, use toilets, and breast-feed infants while they await the inevitable judgments of others who are planning their death sentence.

The humdrum events of the catechumens' day, however, continue under God's watchful presence, manifest in his church, as the prisoners draw ever closer to their final ordeal. The banality of daily life highlights the imminence of their death and salvation. Tertullian catches the essence of their polarized lives. The martyrs exist in a liminal condition. They are neither full members of the world nor yet fully outside it. The martyrs-to-be remain under the wings of a nurturing *mater ecclesia* in the midst of the state's persecution: *Inter carnis alimenta benedicti martyres designati, quae vobis et domina mater ecclesia de uberibus suis et singuli fratres de opibus suis propriis in carcerem subministrant, capite aliquid et a nobis quod faciat ad spiritum quoque educandum* ("Blessed martyrs to be, along with the provision which our lady mother the church from her bountiful breasts, and every brother from his means, makes for your physical needs in prison, *accept also from me some gift for your spiritual nourishment,*" *Mart.* 1.1). Tertullian fully expects (possibly even hopes) that these anonymous imprisoned will die for their faith, but he reminds the faithful of their obligation to support the physical needs of their incarcerated brethren before that moment.

No details of the location, neither of the prison nor of the forum, are given. The passage of time is invariably diffuse and very difficult to determine (e.g., III.7: *paucis horis*), and the change of their location in all the scenes in the *Passio* is rarely given with verifiable details (see VI.1). It is likely, however, that the prison and the forum are close, since the passage of time from their transition from the prison to the forum is rapid. Perpetua does not record the time it took to travel from the prison to the forum. It is entirely possible that they were held in some location on the Byrsa Hill itself, if not in one of the buildings adjacent to the forum. Once they are in the forum, a crowd quickly gathers as word of their appearance circulates throughout the neighborhood. The area enclosed by the Roman forum in Carthage, despite the city's population, was likely not great, a few hundred square meters at most, since the hilltop did not allow for a new forum commensurate with the city's reputation and size. A residential area was immediately adjacent to the forum, which would lend historical veracity to the remark that "a crowd quickly gathered." On their arrival in the forum, the martyrs ascend the platform (*catasta*) where their interrogation will begin.

The presence of the *catasta* and the mention of the forum suggest that they are in a municipality of some size. Oddly, for someone so involved with the persecution of the Church, *catasta* is a word that is absent from Tertullian's lexicon. Yet the small detail of the *catasta* is important. Carthage's significant

slave population and its ongoing trade in slaves would have necessitated the *catasta* for that reason alone, since it was used as a display platform for the sale of slaves as well as for the questioning of individuals indicted for crimes. The location of the *catasta* in the forum, hard by the basilica and the courts, was a feature of many substantial Roman Mediterranean cities. Even if we allow that Strabo exaggerated the city's size at around seven hundred thousand—the city walls were historically some twenty-three miles in circuit—it is nonetheless likely that Carthage had a population of approximately three hundred thousand in 200 CE. A city that large would have required a substantial forum and prison, and would have had a *catasta* (see below, VI.1).

One of the most dramatic moments in the chapter is Perpetua's struggle with her father on the *catasta*. He appears suddenly and unexpectedly. It is a moment of great crisis for them both. There he begs his daughter to have mercy on her child and not to continue in this endeavor. The procurator then joins her father in this plea. He appeals to her to consider the age of her father and her infant son, and he asks her to make the sacrifice to the health of the emperor and thus spare them both. The procurator functions as both judge and jury and is operating under the legislative dictates of the *cognitio extra ordinem*. The traditional constitutional principles of the Republic—specifically, procedures like *legis actio*, *formula*, and *quaestio*—gave way with the emergence of the Empire to what might be viewed as a more expeditious method of adjudicating cases, the *cognitio extra ordinem* (see Kaser, "Roman Jurisdiction," 129–43). The *cognitio* still functioned as a type of summary investigative process, but it was now employed for additional types of malfeasance and made use of extraordinary rules (*extra ordinem*). This jurisprudential situation allowed the sitting magistrate to arrogate to himself both municipal and police powers, the very situation we see in the present instance. Perpetua's refusal to sacrifice to the emperor obliges the magistrate to pronounce her death sentence.

What did such a sacrifice to the *salus imperatorum* entail, and why did Christians abhor it? Her refusal to sacrifice to the emperor is viewed as sedition and brings upon her the death sentence, since by refusing to sacrifice she acknowledges that she rejects traditional *pietas*. The ritual of sacrifice to both the dead and the living emperors was, in practice, the recognition of a social contract between the ruler and the ruled. There were mutual obligations on the ruler and ruled: the ruler must be just, pious, and virtuous, and must defend the Empire; the ruled, in recognition of the benefits bestowed upon them as members of the state, were obliged to bind themselves through the ritual of sacrifice and respect (*pietas*), a respect for the governing norms of the social, political, and religious order. Christians' refusal to sacrifice was an acknowledgment that they were outside this compact. (Jews were specifically exempt from having to make such

sacrifice during the Decian persecution; see Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 368.) Such a sacrifice would have consisted of a bloodless ritual of making a libation of some wine and placing some incense on a fire and taking an oath of allegiance. Emperor worship (likely initiated ca. 46 BCE under Caesar, who had his statue carried in procession along with that of the god Quirinus) was well established by this period. Septimius Severus had Commodus and Pertinax deified, and he personally claimed to revere the latter. Whether he did so or not, his pronouncement made for good public policy. Vergil and Horace both celebrated Caesar's divinity. Christians found such practice anathema. Despite the fact that Perpetua might have been able to sacrifice to the *genius* of the emperor and, strictly speaking, not commit idolatry, since every human being—it was believed by Christian and pagan alike—had an immortal genius, she refused. After her refusal to make the sacrifice to the emperor's health, the procurator had no choice but to pronounce the sentence. The legal precedent, if there was indeed an officially sanctioned persecution in the province supporting his sentence, was likely Trajan's rescript to Pliny. The persecution was not an imperial one, but seems to have been limited to certain areas of North Africa. For example, Leonides, Origen's father, was martyred in Alexandria in 202.

Her father, desperate to save her, tried to intervene and get her to recant and make the sacrifice, but he was ordered by Hilarianus to be thrown to the ground and beaten. She felt sorry for her father, as if she herself were being abused. She remarks on feeling particularly sorry for his old age. On hearing the sentence, she says that they left the platform and descended rapturously to the prison. She next relates that she was concerned lest her child was hungry and, since she had been nursing him in prison, she sent Pomponius the Deacon (see III.7) to her father to ask for the child. Her father refused. She next observes that her breasts were not inflamed from this sudden cessation of nursing, nor was her son desirous of the breast any longer. The latter fact freed her from anxiety concerning her son. Does her remark concerning the lack of inflammation in her breasts suggest genuine personal experience? Is this anecdote the sort of intimate detail that a male forger might not have been likely to compose? Do her remarks about the condition of her breasts point to a prior experience of child rearing? If so, might she have had other children who, being somewhat older, no longer required her nursing and so do not figure in this account? How did she know that the child was no longer interested in nursing? Did her mother visit the prison and tell her that they tried to nurse the child but he refused? We will never know. This is one of the many instances of tantalizing silences in the text. The chapter ends on a note of peace and calm despite the verdict. The die is cast. The small band of catechumens is now in God's hands. They have, to paraphrase Tertullian, been translated from the world to the prison, a place

paradoxically of greater safety than the world: *Quo vos, benedicti, de carcere in custodiarium, si forte, translatos existemetis* (Mart. 2.4).

Chapter VI Commentary

VI.1. *On another day* (*Alio die*). Perpetua uses chronology markers in an extremely vague manner. She uses *dies* fourteen times as an unspecified temporal marker (III.4, 5 [2x], 6, 9; IV.2; V.1; VI.1; VII.1, 8, 9; VIII.1; IX.1, 2). She frequently notes the passage of time with an expression like *post paucos dies* (V.1) or with a vague future referent, as she does in her response to her brother: *Crastina die tibi renuntiabo* (IV.2). This lack of precision in marking time is likely deliberate, since her pattern is so consistent. If deliberate, what does the narrative gain by it? While it may appear eccentric for an individual constructing a prison diary not to try and fix some precise time in these last hours, her method does allow her the freedom to move between narrative events without the likelihood of temporal contradiction. The Greek text is somewhat more precise in its chronology: καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ ὤριστο (“on the day on which it had been appointed”).

VI.1. *lunch* (*pranderemus*). This light meal was taken at about midday (noon) and would be equivalent to a light luncheon. Wealthier prisoners depended on their families to supply them meals, since the typical prison stipend, which was served cold, was frequently not sufficient to keep one alive, and for some Christian martyrs it consisted of bread and water: *Nam et ante dies octo per dies quinque medios modicum panis accepimus et aquam ad mensuram* (see Lucian to Cyprian *Ep.* 22.2 CCSL 3b.118). While Romans distinguished between different meals (*ientaculum*, *prandium*, and *cena*), many simply ate one meal, the *cena*, later in the day. In the wealthiest of homes, this could be an elaborate banquet and last for hours. Suetonius remarks that Nero sometimes dined from evening until the early hours of the next day: *a medio die ad mediam noctem* (*Ner.* 27). The Greek, which may be corrupt here, has nothing to say about their eating a meal and has no equivalent of *pranderemus*. This is a singular omission, as the setting of the meal is important in the narrative. It has been conjectured, however, that ὤριστο should be emended to ἡριστῶμεν, which would correspond to Latin *pranderemus*.

VI.1. *rushed off* (*rapti sumus*). The word can have the specialized meaning, as it seems to have here, of being “seized and dragged before a court.” It almost always has overtones of an aggressive nature. See Lactant. *De Mort. Pers.* 15.4: *Omnis sexus et aetatis homines ad exustionem rapti*.

VI.1. *for a hearing* (*ut audiremur*). This refers to an official hearing in front of the procurator. See *audiremur* above (V.1).

VI.1. *at the forum (ad forum)*. The forum in Carthage was substantial and impressive, as was fitting for the third largest city in the Empire and, after Rome, the second largest in the Western Mediterranean. However, the constraints of reconstructing a forum on the top of Byrsa Hill did not permit building a forum commensurate with the size of the city. Unfortunately, due to the Third Punic War (149–46 BCE) and modern urbanism, almost nothing of the original forum survives, save the courtyard situated directly adjacent and to the south of the present Museum of Carthage on Byrsa Hill. An indication of the city's importance can be seen in the impressive Antonine Baths, due west of the forum (ca. 149–62 CE), which still cover eight and one-half acres and were the largest baths at their time. Perpetua remarks that the crowd that gathered was *immensus*.

VI.1. *suddenly, immediately (subito, statim)*. The use of these two adverbs underscores the importance of the coming events.

VI.1. *throughout the neighborhood surrounding the forum (per vicinas fori partes cucurrit . . . immensus)*. Her use of the perfect suggests that the crowd gathered before the prisoners arrived and was awaiting their arrival. Therefore, the news of their impending trial must have spread throughout the surrounding area and allowed for the crowd to gather while the prisoners were still in jail. This small detail is rich in ambiguity, for it suggests that the prison and the forum were close and that a crowd of this enormous size may have had a special interest in seeing this particular small group brought to justice before the procurator. We will later see the crowd's hostility directed toward the prisoners as they enter the arena (XVIII.9). There was a residential district adjacent to the forum, and thus it was easy for a crowd to gather quickly.

VI.2. *We climbed the platform (Ascendimus in catastam)*. The platform is elevated so as to emphasize the public nature of the event and to allow spectators to view the proceedings (see V.6). The plural verb indicates they are all on the platform. Thus, it was of some considerable size.

VI.2. *confessed (confessi sunt)*. The word *confiteri* appears to have taken on a special meaning in the Christian community by this time, slowly becoming restricted to a profession of faith under duress. Tertullian, in a discussion comparing imprisoned Christians, asks the rhetorical question, *Christianus vero quid simile?* And he answers in language remarkably similar to Perpetua's, . . . *interrogatus vel ultro confitetur, damnatus gratias agit* (see *Apol.* 1.12). It is the basis for the substantive *confessor* that identifies an ascetic and holy Christian in the post-Constantinian Church.

VI.2. *then they came to me (ventum est ad me)*. An impersonal passive construction (see Bennett, sec. 256.3). It is interesting to note that she is the last of the catechumens to be interrogated. This is a curious detail, since we would have expected a woman of some status to have been cross-examined before the two

slaves. The Latin is rapid, idiomatic, almost breathless, and more concise than the Greek, which says “And I also was going to be questioned” (“Ἡμελλον δὲ καὶ γὰρ ἐξετάζεσθαι”).

VI.2. *And my father appeared (et apparuit pater)*. The appearance of her father is most unexpected, particularly after she has just told us she was next in the dock. The suddenness of his appearance with her son heightens the drama of the moment as her father tries to save her from the state and herself. Her father is depicted as continually interrupting these proceedings (see III.1 and V.1). These interruptions and sudden appearances heighten the drama and highlight the father’s desperation. Moreover, they show the small group of catechumens as being consumed by the machinery of the state, a fate their parents are unable to control. As these vestiges of parental care are abrogated, the narrative shows the catechumens are left with but one protector, God.

VI.2. *dragged me from the step (extraxit me de gradu)*. The Greek participle καταγαγών is softer, less angry than the Latin finite verb, and does not have the primal force of dragging her (*extraxit*) against her will back to the floor of the forum. The more common Greek correspondent to *traho* is ἔλκω. Perpetua uses *gradus* twice, here and in her earlier remark that she used the serpent’s head as a step (IV.7). This step is not the *catasta* proper but a stairway leading to the top of the platform where, presumably, the rest of the recently confessed and the presiding judge await her.

VI.2. *sacrifice (supplica)*. This use of the imperative form (MS A) better captures the father’s emotional state, having just dragged his daughter from the step, than *supplicans* (MSS M, P, N). The father wishes her to perform the sacrifice and to offer the prayer to the emperor’s genius (Formisano 94, no. 70). Such a sacrifice was anathema to the Christians, and it was this refusal that brought the state’s wrath against them (see Plin. *Ep.* 10.16; *Acta Scillitanorum* 3; Tert. *Apol.* 32: *Sed et iuramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis[.] . . . Ceterum daemonas, id est genios, adiurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus, non deierare, ut eis honorem divinitatis conferamus; Ad nat.* 17: *Sed non dicimus deum imperatorem*). The Greek uses Ἐπιθυσον, which contains the root θυ-/“sacrifice.” MS P has the intriguing but less convincing reading *dixit supplicans*. This places her father in the position of begging, and the single command which he makes to his daughter is *miserere*.

VI.2. *Have pity on your baby (miserere infanti)*. We might have expected a genitive in place of her dative.

VI.3. *Hilarianus (Hilarianus)*. This individual has been identified as one P. Aelius Hilarianus, a member of the *equites* class from Aphrodisias in Caria. His family was likely of Greek origin—a family *cognomen* of Apollonianus is from the Greek Apollonios—and they likely received Roman citizenship under Hadrian.

The Hilarianus of the *Passio* may have risen through the military ranks. He is likely to be identified with the Hilarianus who served in the role of *procurator ducenarius* in Spain in the early 190s. Of the six procurators in early third-century Carthage, Rives speculates that Hilarianus was serving as the senior procurator for Carthage, the *procurator IV publicorum Africae*. See Rives, "Piety," 5, 9; see also *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I, II, III*, hereafter PIR, 89, no. 175, which locates him in Africa between 198 and 208 (PIR⁴ H 175); Birley conjectured that he may also have supervised his fellow Aphrodisians who were at work constructing Lepcis Magna (see Birley, "Persecutors," 46; and also Bremmer, "Perpetua," 92). Tertullian mentions some of the abuses that were visited on the Christian community during this Hilarianus's administration. Such abuses are an indication of his piety toward the Roman deities (see *Scap.* 3.1: *quod nulla ciuitas impune latura sit sanguinis nostri effusionem; sicut et sub Hilariano praeside*).

VI.3. *the procurator (procurator)*. Originally the term "procurator" designated an official who managed property for a wealthy principal and, in the provinces, watched over the emperor's wealth. Hilarianus, however, has broader powers than simply financial ones and is functioning as the senior official of a province. He is responsible for administering the public finances and in some instances, as here, serves as a kind of magistrate or *quaestor parricidii*, charged with administering justice in the province. The procurator was not a magistrate, and some have argued that the office did not have the power to authorize a trial by a *iudex* (see Jolowicz, *Roman Law*, 350). However, Hilarianus is also serving in the capacity of the deceased proconsul Minucius Timinianus, *vice praesidis*, and hence governing the province with the powers due to that office.

VI.3. *proconsul (proconsulis)*. Originally this term designated the official who acted as if he were the official magistrate: that is, he served in the place of the consul without actually being the consul, typically for the period of one year. During the Republic the proconsul was the supreme civil and military official of a province. For the period of the Empire, it was typical for the governor of a province to have the title of proconsul, having frequently completed a term in office as consul.

VI.3. *Minucius Timinianus (Minuci Timiniani)*. The recently deceased governor of Africa. If the persecution took place in March of 203, Minucius must have recently died, hence the appropriateness of the aside *defuncti*. It would hardly be necessary to qualify his situation as *defuncti* if some time had passed after his death and before the present persecution, since knowledge of the new provincial governor would have been well established. Such a qualification gives more credence to the text's historical accuracy. The Greek version gives us a more correct version of his name, Μινουκίου Ὀππιανοῦ. The Latin *Timinianus* is likely a corruption for *Opimianus*. (See PIR⁵ M 622, 1983, where he is identified as proconsul for

Africa in 202/3 and consul ca. 186.) He was a descendant of an earlier proconsul for Africa, one T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus, ca. 123 (PIR⁵ M 623). (See DNP, 8.218: *allerdings mit dem Cogn. Timinianus bzw. Oppianus, das zu Opimianus zu verandern ist*; Musurillo, *Acts*, 113; Barnes, *Tertullian*, 267; Thomasson, *Fasti Africani*, 79; Eck, “Erganzugen,” 326–28; and Bremmer, “Perpetua,” 92.)

VI.3. *right of the sword (ius gladii)*. This phrase denotes one’s legal right to levy the death sentence (see Garnsey, “Criminal Jurisdiction,” 52, 55). Thus, Hilarianus had received the consular responsibility (see *procurator*, VI.3 above) for exercising his discretion concerning the implementation of capital punishment against all provincials other than aristocrats (see *Dig.* 1.18.6–8 and 2.1.3; see also Ermann, “Ius gladii,” 365–66). The adjudication of capital punishment cases was one of the singular duties of the proconsul. The proconsul had authority to impose the death penalty without restriction on all non-Romans. When Roman citizens were involved, it was usually the case that the governor would pass the initial judgment, but the actual sentence had to be authorized by the emperor. In the early years of the first century, the defendant was often dispatched to Rome. By the second century, however, all that seems to have been required was written permission to execute. If this procedure was still in place at the time of the *Passio*, there would have been a necessary delay in her execution, since Perpetua was likely a citizen, albeit holding the lesser rank of *civitas sine suffragio*. (See Peppe, *Posizione giuridica e ruolo*, 14–16; and Bauman, *Women and Politics*, 2.) Might the delay in the execution of Perpetua and her comrades support some presumption that the decision was being ratified by Rome? The provincial governor of Lugdunensis wrote to the emperor concerning his disposition of the citizen Christians in 177: *περι ὧν ἐπέστειλε τῷ Καίσαρι (Martyrs of Lyons, 1.43.36)*. Ulpian, writing after Caracalla’s edict of 212, even remarks that women who have been sentenced to the salt mines for criminal acts may retain their citizenship: *si uero ad tempus damnantur, retinent ciuitatem (Dig. 48.19.8)*.

VI.3. *Spare (parce)*. The procurator abruptly breaks into the conversation between father and daughter. His repetitious use of the imperative conveys his sense of urgency to get this unpleasant situation dispatched as quickly as possible. His imperious demands contrast vividly with the terrible emotional struggle that is destroying father and daughter.

VI.3. *Offer the sacrifice (fac sacrum)*. See above VI.2, *supplica*. The Greek again (see VI.2, *supplica*) uses the imperative Ἐπίθυσον.

VI.3. *for the health of the emperors (pro salute imperatorum)*. See the argument above. Hilarianus expects her to sacrifice to the health of Septimius Severus (193–211 CE) and to that of his two sons, Caracalla (211–17) and Geta (209–11). Both sons had the title of Caesar bestowed on them, ostensibly to diminish

rivalry. The two sons served as joint emperors after their father's death in York on 4 February 211. Caracalla and Geta, jealous of each other throughout their youth, increasingly despised each other. Caracalla had his younger brother murdered in December 211. The tradition of offering sacrifice to the emperors was likely also dictated by political exigencies and was viewed as a shrewd way to knit together an increasingly heterogeneous Empire. The emperor became through synecdoche a figure who represented and was, in a sense, the Empire. Hence, to sacrifice to him as a deity was to acknowledge one's allegiance to the state. Tertullian mocks the practice of making Christians sacrifice to the emperor, claiming that forced sacrifice has no value, that Roman gods are devils, that some Romans who have sworn to the emperor's genius are well-known traitors to the state, and lastly that every human being has a right to worship whomever he chooses (see Tert. *Scap.* 2.1: *Ceteros et ipsi putatis deos esse, quos nos daemones scimus*).

VI.4. *And I answered (Et ego respondi)*. The resultant dialogue between Perpetua and Hilarianus sounds rather like the question and answer responses we find in the *cognitio extra ordinem* and is likely her accurate rendering of this actual event.

VI.4. *I am a Christian (Christiana sum)*. The interrogation is formulaic and follows a procedure indebted to that promoted in Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 10.96.3): *Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi supplicium minatus*; and Trajan's response (*Ep.* 10.97.2): *Conquirendi non sunt; si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt*. The profession of the faith had by the second half of the second century become a ritualized response on which the individual's guilt or innocence was determined. Polycarp, when asked to swear by the emperor's genius, refuses and acknowledges he is a Christian: (Governor) Ὁμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, (Polycarp) Χριστιανός εἰμι (*Mart. Pol.* 10.1). The *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum* 11 has a similar formal question and answer—*Saturninus proconsul Sperato dixit: Perseueras Christianus? Speratus dixit: Christianus sum*. Tertullian tells of a soldier in the field who refuses to wear the laurel crown. When questioned by his superior why he will not do as others do and wear the crown, he declares himself not at liberty to wear the crown and states that he is a Christian (*Cor.* 1.2: *Cur, inquit, tam diversus habitu? Negavit ille cum caeteris sibi licere; causas expostulatus, Christianus sum, respondit*).

VI.5. *persisted in his efforts (staret)*. The word has overtones of the father standing resolutely, almost defiantly, at her side. The Greek equivalent is ἐσπούδαζεν ("was eager"). He must have been standing close to her, perhaps on the *catasta* itself, since Hilarianus's men, presumably close to the procurator so as to protect the dignitary from the crowd, beat her father with rods. (See *virga* below, VI.5.) His close presence underscores again his deep feelings for this daughter. Certain manuscripts (P and N) read *temptaret*, to which one

scribe has added *perseverare* (MS O). An emendation with *perseveraret* might be called for.

VI.5. *tried to change my mind (ad me deiciendam)*. It is not immediately clear why Hilarianus is so affronted by her father's efforts to have her follow the obvious request of the procurator. This verb is used four times (III.1, V.1, VI.5, XVIII.2), and in three of those instances, it reports her father's efforts at trying to get her to change her mind.

VI.5. *thrown (proici)*. The word suggests that the father was thrown violently down from the platform. It is used in a similar fashion in both the Vetus and the Vulgate (Lv 1.16 and Is 22.17).

VI.5. *beaten with a rod (virga percussus est)*. The father is beaten by some of the retinue of Hilarianus, who presumably carry the rods as weapons to control the mob. The Greek states that only one of the guards (τῶν δορυφόρων) struck him with a rod. Augustine sees the beating inflicted on her father as an effort on the devil's part; it is part of the devil's plan to move her to pity for her father and thus give up her quest for martyrdom (see *Serm.* 281.22). His reading is an effort at trying to reconcile the divisions between a father and a daughter, one not as obedient as Augustine might have liked, and to lay the blame for such divisiveness on Satan. Aside from the obvious brutality of the Romans toward her father, if we read the anecdote as her father's efforts at thwarting her martyrdom, then his beating might be construed as an act sponsored by God. If such a reading is plausible, then certain semantic Biblical parallels—where the rod of Aaron, for example, is used by the Lord to punish the mighty and chasten the faithful—are worth investigating (see Ex 4.2, 7.12; Is 30.32, *virga percussus*; Heb 9.4; and the rod of iron in Rv 2.27, 12.5, and 19.15). Note that Ulpian states that proconsuls should prescribe being beaten with rods for minor offenses for people of rank: *uel fustibus castigare* (*Dig.* 48.2.6). Is it likely that Hilarianus's men are here to administer prescribed punishment in the event one of the accused recanted?

VI.5. *made me sad (et doluit mihi)*. The depth of her feeling is very clear. Her father, very possibly a member of the *equites*, is thrown down, beaten, and humiliated in front of this vast throng in the middle of the forum. Certainly one of her father's great fears, that he would be exposed to the shame of men (V.2, *dedecus hominum*), has come true.

VI.5. *father's suffering (casus patris)*. Here *casus* is wonderfully nuanced in that it conveys both the father's literal fall, being thrown to the ground, and his grievous misfortune at being beaten and humiliated.

VI.5. *almost as if I had been beaten (quasi ego fuissem percussa)*. Her deep feelings for her father are so intense that she feels his pain as if it were her own. The form *fuissem percussa* is an alternate use for the more common pluperfect passive subjunctive *percussa essem* (see Bennett, notes on 60–1).

VI.5. *for his age (pro senecta)*. Perpetua notes on two occasions that she pities her father for his old age (VI.5 and IX.3). Why does she single out his age for her pity? There are so many other things concerning him for which she might feel pity. Perhaps his age has become for her a sign of his frailty. He is no longer the virile young man she knew as a child, but now he is victim to the vicissitudes, both physical and emotional, of life. He cannot manage the burdens he once shouldered. Her memory of a stronger, larger-than-life father collides with the present spectacle of him lying on the ground at her feet, being beaten for her sake. This juxtaposition, and possibly her awareness of her part in his humiliation, provokes immense sorrow.

VI.6. *us all (nos universos)*. The solidarity of the little group is always a constant, as the presence of an apostate would suggest a weakness in the group's faith.

VI.6. *he pronounced (pronuntiat)*. The official, formal proclamation of the death sentence under the rule of *ius gladii* is formally pronounced. An execution could not proceed without its being made. This became a formal part of the *Acta Martyrum* (see Carpus 4.1; Pionius 20.7; Cypr. 5.1; and Marian and James 11.8). The Greek text only uses the single verb πρὸς θηρία κατακρίνει where the Latin, apparently following the legal code more closely, uses both verbs: *pronuntiat et damnat ad bestias*.

VI.6. *and condemned us to the beasts (et damnat ad bestias)*. The presiding magistrate had some latitude in choosing the nature of the punishment for a capital crime. Aristocrats and those who were Roman citizens were treated somewhat differently and often spared the more horrific forms of punishment. Being condemned to the beasts was one of the traditional methods of execution employed by Rome for capital offenses (*Dig.* 48.10.9). Once her sentence is pronounced, Perpetua is no longer considered a citizen, and hence she can be killed in this manner. Gaius maintains that once sentenced to death, a citizen loses citizenship: *Quia ultimo supplicio damnantur, statim et ciuitatem et libertatem perdunt* (*Dig.* 48.19.29). Hence, there seems to be little jurisprudential impediment that would bar Hilarianus from sentencing her to death *ad bestias*.

VI.6. *cheerfully (hilares)*. The martyrs have begun their journey toward martyrdom, and every step of the way as they move inexorably along this path they are filled with an increased spiritual joy. The idea becomes a veritable trope in the literature of Christian martyrdom, and some saints are portrayed singing joyously as they go to their deaths (see *Passio Sanctarum Agapes, Eirenes, et Chiones* 7.2; *Vita Cypriani* 15.2; *Passio Sanctorum Montani et Lucii* 13.2; *Passio Beati Phileae* 8.2). Some have tried to see Stoic influence in the martyrs' joy at their impending death (see Amat, 213). However, Stoicism did not discriminate among virtuous actions, and it derived all virtue from reason, not faith. To be sure, there is much

in the ethical system of Stoicism that Christians could subscribe to, but there was little to overlap in their epistemologies and, consequently, in their spiritualities. To follow reason's dictates—to be wise—was a duty, not a choice for the Stoics. Lastly, notice how her mood has shifted from feeling deep grief for her father's sorrow to her present joy. Compare this with Acts 5.41: "They therefore departed from the presence of the council, *rejoicing* that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonor for Jesus' name."

VI.7. *we went down [from the platform] to the prison (descendimus ad carcerem)*. Their descent is from the *catasta*, but the prison itself is, as we have been told, a dark and quasi-subterranean place: *tenebras* (III.5).

VI.7. *become accustomed (consueverat)*. The child must have been with her for some time throughout her prison stay; otherwise, she would not have used the pluperfect of *consuescere*.

VI.7. *to nurse at my breasts (a me infans mammas accipere)*. This is an intriguing remark. Why does she specify that her child was willing to "accept/receive" the breast from her? Might there have been someone else who nursed the child? Is there a slight hint in this remark that her child had only become accustomed to nursing at *her* breasts (*a me*) in prison, because when she was free, she employed a freewoman as a *nutrix*? Wet nurses were ubiquitous in the Roman household of individuals of this rank. Rawson suggests that in the upper classes it was rare for a woman to nurse her child, and wet nurses were commonly employed. Children were usually weaned at about the age of two, so Perpetua's son would likely be less than two. (See Rawson, *Children*, 123; and Bradley, "Wet-nursing," 201–29.)

VI.7. *I immediately sent (statim mitto)*. Perpetua appears to have held a position of some respect and authority among the Christians, as she acts decisively and without delay when she believes the need is imminent. Women without authority who were writing at this time likely would have used less demanding language, and used *statim*, for example, with *rogo*, or related synonyms like *consulo* and *posco*. She uses *statim* at pivotal times: at moments of sudden awareness and at times when she must make a decision (III.9, IV.10, VI.1, and here). The Greek merely has *πέμπω* without an adverb.

VI.7. *Pomponius (Pomponium)*. He is one of her spiritual teachers and deacon to this small group of catechumens. He is a Christian but not a recent convert, because he is not under arrest. Only recent converts seem to have fallen afoul of the authorities. The name, occasionally written *Pomponianus*, may have been a common one in Carthage. (See Tert. *Apol.* 9.12.25 and *De Spect.* 8; Cypr. *Ep.* 61; and see *Pomponium*, III.7 above.)

VI.7. *deacon (diaconum)*. See *diaconum*, III.7 above.

VI.8. *father would not give him back (pater dare noluit)*. The Latin stresses the unwillingness (*ne + volo*) of the father to return her child, while the Greek simply

states that he did not give (οὐκ ἔδωκεν) the infant back. The sequence of events concerning the disposition of the child can be confusing. Perpetua rarely gives precise sequences of time, and she seldom gives the names of those who serve as her intermediaries. The narrator tells us (II.3) that she was arrested and that she had a child at the breast. It is not clear from these remarks whether this comment is simply an informational comment on her life situation—in the same vein as *honeste nata, liberaliter instituta*—or whether he intends the reader to understand that she has the child with her during and following her arrest.

The next mention of the child (III.8) is unambiguous—the child is in prison with her. She states that she was concerned for his health and so nursed him in prison. Shortly thereafter (also in III.8) she decides to give her son over to her mother and brother for his care. However, the next mention of the child in the following line, “after the passage of many days,” finds him returned to her in prison (III.9). She has just received permission to have the child returned to her in prison. She does not state from whom she sought such permission. The child is not mentioned again until VI.2, when her father appears with her son and tries to drag her from the *catasta*. It is not possible to say for certain whether the child has been with her all this time (since III.9) or whether her father had somehow assumed custody for an undetermined amount of time. The frequent comings and goings suggest at the very least the porosity of the Roman prison for individuals of status.

VI.8. *the baby (ille)*. Although her son would have been named on his *dies lustricus*, Perpetua never refers to him by name. This is noteworthy and only partially explicable. Eight percent of all children died in their first month of life and 30 percent in their first year, and likely at least half of all children born were dead before reaching their fifth birthday (see Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 225). It is possible that Roman women steeled themselves from ever deepening attachment to their infants by not using the child’s name more than absolutely necessary. Perpetua may be behaving in this fashion. Of all the epitaphs recorded in the CIL, only 0.4 percent are for children under a year old (Rawson, *Children*, 344). The Romans viewed very young children differently from adolescents. Another possible reason Perpetua does not use his name is that she may wish to shield the child from future association with her.

VI.8. *God willed (Deus voluit)*. See V.5, *Deus voluerit* above. The contrast between *noluit* and *voluit* seems intentional. Within the space of five words, she compares her father’s unwillingness to return her child (*noluit*) with God’s willingness (*voluit*) to grant her favors. The assonance and sonority of the verbs did not escape her.

VI.8. (*ne*). If this is a result clause, the *ne* is used in the sense of *ut non*, but if it is a purpose clause—and it seems to have this force—the use is perfectly classical.

VI.8. *tormented (macerarer)*. See III.6 *macerabar* above. *Mammas* is the object of *desideravit*. The medical situation she is describing is engorgement or, in her case, its absence. When nursing is interrupted, the breasts typically can become edemic, and the skin surface will be taut, hot, and tender to the touch, and sometimes this will be accompanied by a low-grade fever. Her surprise that she does not have such inflammation is of interest, as it suggests her knowledge of nursing and may speak to her past experience. Such a detail makes male authorship less probable (see Moon and Humenick, “Breast Engorgement”).

VI.8. *by the pain (fervorem fecerunt)*. The noun (*fervor*) suggests an intense heat, a virtual fire and pain in the breasts. She avoids the more common noun *inflammatio* used by that time to describe such situations in the body (see Cels. *Med.* 6.6.17).

CHAPTER VII

The Argument: Dinocrates, Power and Death’s Defeat

This dream, the first of two concerning her brother Dinocrates, serves multiple functions: it allows the reader a further glimpse into Perpetua’s emotional state, it fleshes out her biography, it provides historical details pertinent to the events in prison, and, lastly, these two dreams concerning Dinocrates provide Perpetua with the knowledge that God has granted her a special grace, a power which extends beyond the boundaries of life itself. In short, she learns that she can change the status of the souls of the dead, even the non-Christian dead. There are other near-contemporary parallels of Christians praying for the non-Christian dead; for example, in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, Queen Tryphaena’s deceased daughter Falconilla comes to her in a dream and asks her mother to have the Christian Thecla pray for her so that she may be translated “to the place of righteousness” (1.28). Perpetua’s present dream opens with a uniquely personal revelation: she and her fellow Christians are at prayer when a mysterious inner voice prompts her to cry out the name Dinocrates. Her scream and her subsequent recognition of her long dead brother’s name alarm her. She says that following her shock she felt grief as she remembered her deceased younger brother. Grief rapidly gives way to her understanding that the incident of his name issuing without volition was a divine gift done for a purpose. She concludes that she is found worthy and that she is expected to pray for her brother. Perpetua’s emotions move quickly from shock to grief to understanding her mission. How does she know that the cry was prompted by God’s wish that she aid her brother? She lives in such a heightened state of religious awareness that the smallest event, no matter its significance, is a sign of God’s plan for her. The name of her brother, unprompted and unbidden, is a divine sanction to prayer.

She gives no details of their prayer, nor does she say whether it was audible or silent. Although we know that in their private services North African Christians prayed intensely and quite audibly (see Tert. *Or.* 17), there appears to be no liturgical component attached to their prayer, which might suggest it is a silent, meditative prayer, particularly since they are in prison and concerned lest they raise the curiosity of their fellow non-Christian inmates and the anger of the authorities. Moreover, if the small group were praying silently, surely her cry would have startled them. It is interesting that no mention is made of her companions' response to her cry. Are they used to her prayerful exclamations? Perhaps their response is not germane to the story she is about to tell, and thus she does not mention it. Perhaps her outburst is a necessary part of establishing her position as prophetic visionary. Is she deliberately placing herself in the tradition of female visionaries, like Priscilla or Maximilla, and thereby seeking to reinforce her authority in the community, despite her imprisonment? There are no certain answers for our questions. It does appear important, however, that she situates the onset of the inner voice in the midst of their communal prayer. Perhaps the point she is trying to make is that, although they are under arrest, stripped of all their rights, condemned to death by a hostile state, and awaiting their death, God is in their midst and has not abandoned them to the mob.

While we are not told the source of this inner voice, the grammar and syntax she employs suggest that she believed it came from a source outside herself. Her shock at hearing the name of her long-dead brother prompts a rapid cascade of differing psychological states—from peaceful prayer to surprise to sadness. His name causes her to remember his terrible death. This involuntary cry shocks her, precipitates her mental image of the dead child, and finally moves her to grief. However, her grief at the vision creates in her a new awareness of her own authority. She concludes that she is powerful, and that she can help her brother even though he is long dead. Her difficult emotional pilgrimage is rendered in spartan prose.

Dinocrates is a Greek name. It was not an uncommon custom in Roman Carthage at this time, however, for Roman children to receive a Greek *praenomen*, particularly among the privileged classes (see below VII.1, *Dinocraten*). The child's Greek name further suggests that his father was a Hellenophile. Such parental disposition for things Greek helps explain Perpetua's facility in the Greek language (see below XIII.4). Indeed, such familial background and the existence of centers of Greek learning across Roman Africa and Egypt bolster my earlier suggestion that she was familiar with Plato, possibly having read him in Greek (see above III.2).

Perpetua's response to hearing her brother's name prompts a rich narrative image. She draws inspiration and takes direction from her cry of his name. This

direction leads her to two conclusions: first, she believes this unbidden utterance is a sign of God's favor, and second, she is convinced that Dinocrates needs her prayers. She gives no reasons for these conclusions. She understands intuitively the cry "Dinocrates" to be the voice of God emerging unbidden from within her, that God has spoken to her, and that this is perhaps a sign of His divine favor—a "still small voice" like that which spoke to Elijah (1 Kgs 19.12). But what should she do about such confidence placed in her? She seeks the answer to this question in prayer. Her prayer is intense, vocal, and filled with audible groans. No mention is made of her companions. The prayer prompts a vision that very night, some hours after she heard the voice. It would appear that she heard the voice during the day; she states it was "a few days later" (*post dies paucos*). There is a difficulty with the chronology that separates the two dreams of Dinocrates, and it may be more likely that she was transferred yet again from the military prison after her first vision to a smaller urban prison (where she finds herself in the stocks), under the jurisdiction of the military but closer to the municipal amphitheatre of Carthage (see Chapter VIII below).

Let us turn to the vision itself. The vision consists of a child emerging from a dark, crowded place. He is hot, thirsty, pale, and dirty. It is noteworthy that where the Latin limits itself to a description of Dinocrates, the Greek describes many others in this desperate state. Her dreams are very concrete. Yet there is much we are not told, some of which may be significant. For example, we are not told whether her brother is tall or short, brown-haired or blond, dressed or naked, shod or unshod, or indeed, even whether he recognizes her. He is a mere name attached to a shade. He is also mute. Are such details peripheral, or might they contain insight into the text? Any number of such dream-visions, in both non-Christian and Christian sources, have the deceased subject speak to the living dreamer. Dinocrate's lack of speech may indicate a reality, which she feels no need to adumbrate, to wit, that the cancer of his face destroyed his ability to speak.

What can we learn from the four features she identifies and presumably believes significant: hot, thirsty, pale, and dirty? The first two indicate the child has a need, while the latter two suggest his lack of robustness and uncleanness. She does not theologize about her brother's situation, his physical state, or the physical location of the dream. No further description is given of the place. While many have found it to be a description of a soul in purgatory, it is well to note that there is no explicit textual warrant for such an interpretation. Her dream is of a brother who is dead, who longs to drink, and who is covered with the detritus of the dead. There is no doubt, however, that she is praying for her dead brother. Although explicit prayers for the dead were still comparatively rare in Christianity, there was Scriptural sanction for such prayer (2 Mc 12.38–45 and 1 Cor 15.29, and possibly 2 Tm 1.18, since Onesiphorus is already dead). Moreover, there is

post-Scriptural evidence, such as epigraphic fragments or acclamations in the third-century catacombs (e.g., *Vivatis in Deo*, the epitaph of Abercius, Bishop of Hieropolis ca. 216; and see Tert. *Cor.* 3.3: *Oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis, annua die facimus*).

Returning to her vision, we notice that the child has a wound on his face that resulted from an ulcerous condition, possibly a cancer. She remarks that all men who saw it were horrified. Was the disease disfiguring? Their horror was presumably not directed against the child but against his disease and his suffering. He died a miserable and painful death. She does not mention their parents or any of his other siblings, nor their response to Dinocrates' death. Her mention of the men who saw her brother is to record their horror. Is there some shame connected with the child's death that is reflected in her memory of the mens' horror? She returns to her prayers, but she finds them futile. She notes that there is a great gulf separating her from her brother. Dinocrates stands near a pool of water. The pool appears to be directly outside the dark hole, or very near the entrance to the hole. The child tries to drink from the pool; he stretches to his full height, but the rim is higher than he can reach. Her description of the pool's height and Dinocrates' efforts to reach it are significant. They are verbal reminiscences of her first dream and her efforts to mount the high ladder on her journey to heaven (see IV.3). Both dreams are narratives that depict an individual who struggles toward salvation along a vertical axis. She uses metaphors of height to highlight the idea that salvation needs to be striven after and that the axis of salvation is a vertical one with God at its crown.

Her sorrow at seeing Dinocrates frustrated at not being able to quench his thirst causes her more grief, and she awakens. On awakening, it becomes clear to her, at least on a conscious level, that while Dinocrates is suffering, she is the agent who can help him. She next says that she prayed for him every day until they were transferred to the military prison. We have no idea how many days this may have been. Yet we learn two important historical facts—that she will eventually be transferred to the military prison and that the date of their execution has been fixed. First, we may conclude that at the time of this dream she is not in the military prison but probably in the municipal one. Second, they are to fight the beasts on the birthday of the emperor Geta, the youngest son of the emperor Septimius Severus. The date of the execution, although frequently given in other *Acta martyrum* during the actual sentencing, is omitted here; presumably, the specificity of the Caesar's birthday was sufficient. Written permission was typically required from Rome to execute a Roman citizen. The obvious delay may owe something to this judicial exigency, if in fact it was being sought by the authorities.

It is tempting to read the figure of Dinocrates as a subconscious projection of Perpetua's alter ego: to wit, she too must struggle from the dark, hot, and dirty

confines of the military prison before she reaches the cool, salvific waters of redemption. While such readings have much to recommend them, they can be reductive and impose twenty-first-century attitudes on antiquity. It is well to be mindful that Perpetua is deliberately writing about the death of her brother Dinocrates from the point of view of an educated Roman woman recently converted to an eschatological Christianity. She believes that she can speak with God, and accepts without skepticism that premonitions and dreams come from God. The child Dinocrates and the young mother condemned to death are both important figures in the dream. Yet two other figures are never far from her thoughts, those of her son and her father. Her dream of Dinocrates does not exist outside the mind of the dreamer. While her brother is the principal object in the dream, the subjectivity of Perpetua is also fundamental to any genuine understanding, since it is her interpretation of her dream which invests the whole with meaning. Therefore, both their complex realities as they coexist in her mind—first as children together, and second in her memory of a long-forgotten, beloved brother called to mind after the passage of many years, in the mind of a young mother on the precipice of death, about to lose her son and father but gain paradise—must be the subject of investigation.

Chapter VII Commentary

VII.1. *A few days later (post paucos dies)*. See above *post paucos dies*, III.4 and III.5.

VII.1. *while we were all praying (dum universi oramus)*. *Dum* with the present indicative is standard use (Bennett, sec. 293). The prison authorities did not restrict them from assembling together, nor from praying to their God. Tertullian's description of early Christian prayer in Carthage may have some bearing on what they were actually doing. He says Christians pray, looking to heaven, arms outstretched, heads uncovered, but with no leader, because they pray from the heart: *quia de pectore oramus* (See Tert. *Apol.* 30.4).

VII.1. *suddenly, in the midst of our prayer (subito media oratione)*. She uses this adverb whenever a swift and significant change has overtaken her (III.9; IV.10; VI.1, 7; VII.2).

VII.1. *a voice came to me (profecta est mihi vox)*. The use of the perfect deponent with the dative reinforces the mysterious occurrence of the voice and makes *vox* the subject, using *mihi* in the dative to refer to Perpetua. *Proficiscor* implies that the voice sprang unbidden out of her. The Latin suggests that the uttering of the cry was not voluntary on her part, but suddenly arose from her mouth. Hence, we can understand her amazement. The Greek use of a genitive absolute, referring to the utterance of the cry, in place of the Latin *dum universi oramus*, makes

Perpetua the subject and suggests something voluntary on her part (ἀφῆκα φωνήν). Their differences are, of course, considerable and may highlight the historical context for the *Passio*. Theologically, the unbidden voice would find more fertile soil in the apocalyptic climate of early third-century Carthage. Montanus compares someone in ecstasy to a lyre on which the Holy Spirit plays His melodies; the man sleeps, but the Holy Spirit is awake. Tertullian believed that all dreams came from God (*De Anim.* 49.3: *Sed et a Deo deducimus somnia*; see also Acts 2.17). The Latin is more in sympathy with the utterance being from the Holy Spirit.

VII.1. *Dinocrates (Dinocraten)*. The name is well testified in Africa at least since the Deinokrates of Rhodes who designed the city of Alexandria (ca. 332 BCE). The name of her brother suggests that his father was a Hellenophile. Extending this assumption about her father helps explain her ability and education in the Greek language. Hellenism penetrated even the rural areas. In the countryside outside of Alexandria, for example, the Greek language was studied in schools, and there is evidence of the adoption of Greek names in the local population (see Thompson, “Ptolemies,” 111). Rome’s complex and sometimes ambivalent adoption of things Greek and the influence of such adoption on daily life are covered by Green, *Alexander*, 501, 507–8. Jews also, particularly the elite, despite their suspicion of much non-Jewish culture and their considerable efforts at maintaining cultural integrity in some major cities of the Empire, actively adopted Hellenic culture and Greek names. For example, Jason of Cyrene, the author of 2 Mc, identifies the Jews Jason and Menelaos as the villains of his narrative. Philo remarks on the considerable attendance of Jews at the theater. The Jews of Alexandria were, among the other Greek-speaking inhabitants of the city, legally considered Hellenes (see Gruen, *Diaspora*, 69, 213–31).

VII.1. *I was shocked (obstupui)*. *Obstupesco* conveys the depth of her profound surprise and shock (cf. VII.1). She is overcome with a kind of amazement when confronted with an event which she believes to have some divine origin. In each of the four instances where the verb is used in the NT, it denotes the astonishing power of God (see Mk 5.42, 16.5–6; Acts 10.45, 12.16: *et obstupuerunt*; Souter, s.v. *obstupesco*). The Greek ἐκθαμβος ἐγενήθην (“I became amazed”) in a root form was often used to signify a divine portent (cf. *Od.* 3.372 and BDAG, s.v. θάμβος). The Vetus and the Vulgate use *obstupescere* as an equivalent for both ἐξίστημι (“stand out”) and ἐκθαμβέω (“stupefy”). See Schmoller; and Lampe, sv. *εκθαμβέω*; and Acts 3.10–11.

VII.1. *never before then (numquam . . . nisi tunc)*. She illustrates the depth of her surprise by acknowledging that never before had he come (*venisset*) into her mind. Surely, she simply means that his name had not entered her mind for many years, possibly since shortly after he died.

VII.1. *remembered (commemorata)*. The genitive *casus* is used because of the verb of remembering (see Bennett, sec. 205–6; see also Cypr. *Adv. Jud.* 3.57; Souter, s.v. *commemoro*; and Halporn, *ad loc.*, 36). This expression is also used in the *Passio Sanctorum Montani et Lucii*, 7.8, immediately before Quartillosa speaks of her recently martyred son and husband. Its use there is indebted to the present text.

VII.1. *fate (casus)*. See above VI.5. Although I have preferred to translate this as her reflection on the fate that befell her brother, *casus* was sometimes used as a euphemism for death (see Suet. *Calig.* 10). While there can be some ambiguity in the Latin *casus* (meaning “fall;” see OLD, s.v. *casus*, 1), the Greek τελευτής means “end,” with the clear indication of “death.”

VII.2. *I knew at once that I was worthy (cognovi me statim dignam esse)*. The Latin does not specify in what way she is worthy and, therefore, why she “ought” (*debere*) to pray for him. The Greek is more satisfactory and specifically notes that she was worthy “to make a request” (ἀξίαν οὔσαν αἰτησιν ποιήσασθαι) concerning him (see above IV.1, *dignatione*). It is the utterance of her brother’s name, long forgotten, and her recognition of the origin of that prompting, i.e., the Holy Spirit, that lead her to conclude that she is worthy, in other words, in a state of grace. There is an intriguing textual variant in MS N which reads *pati* instead *petere*, and thus has Perpetua say that she knew she was worthy to “suffer” for him.

VII.2. *intensely (multum)*. The choice between the readings *multum* and *multam* is not easy, but the meaning of the line is not affected by the choice. The adjectival form agreeing with *orationem* would be *multam*. The adverbial use here has the support of the Greek πλείστα.

VII.2. *to groan (ingemescere)*. See OLD, s.v. *ingemesco*, which perhaps became related to *gemino*, to “double the force” of a lamentation; and Souter, s.v. *congemesco* (particularly his remarks on the spelling variants, e.g., *ingemiscere*). The word represents the depth of feeling in Perpetua’s prayer. See the Vetus and the Vulgate for this depth of prayerful feeling, a crying out to God when in desperate straits (see Ex 2.23, *ingemiscentes filii Israel*; and see Pss 55.18; 2 Cor 5.2). Augustine in his *Confessions* reports that his mother cried copious tears in her prayers (5.8.15, 6.1.1) and, using the same verb as here, mentions his own heartfelt prayers: *Nec iam ingemescebam orando* (6.3.1). Immediately before he hears the child chanting *tolle lege, tolle lege*, he remarks on his emotional state and the frenzied state he was in and his efforts to shed those feelings: *oborta est procella ingens ferens ingentem imbrem lacrimarum* (8.12.28).

VII.3. *on that very night . . . shown (ipsa nocte ostensum est)*. Night is the traditional time for dreaming. *Ostendo* suggests that something was made manifest and almost has the force of a formula for introducing a dream (see Cypr. *Ep.* 57.1). The night seems to have been viewed as most propitious for dreams. Pliny uses

the phrase *per noctem quietem* in describing Fannius' dream of Nero in *Ep.* 5.5, 7.27.5. Suetonius and Apuleius, in describing apparitions, use the phrases *ea nocte per quietem* and *per quietem* respectively (*Otho* 7 and *Met.* 9.31).

VII.4. I saw (video). Perpetua uses this verb seven times, and of those seven she uses it in six instances as an entrée to her narration of her dreams (IV.3, VII.4, VIII.1 [2x], X.1, 7). Such emphasis on sight and seeing underlines her need to communicate that these visions were not chimeras, but palpable and accessible to her senses. Here *video* is used as an historical present.

VII.4. out of a dark place (de loco tenebroso). This is an intriguing description chiefly because of what it does not tell us. It is a bare-bones description from someone who can narrate the most vivid of dreams. Accordingly, we must consider that Perpetua is actually revealing what she has seen, and her vision is of a dark and gray sort. In short, the place she sees is the quintessence of absence. The image of the child is of someone in considerable distress. There has been considerable discussion about the physical place Dinocrates inhabits: is it Hades, or a description of a type of proto-purgatory, or an early Christian portrayal of hell? Rather than viewing these choices as mutually contradictory, an interpretation of this vision that best reflects Perpetua's background will provide the richest reading. She is an educated Roman woman who has recently converted to an eschatological form of Christianity. We will come closer to understanding the genuine individual if we begin with the premise that Perpetua has cobbled together bits and pieces from her past education and her recent conversion to Christianity. The vision she has in her dream is a product of her conscious and subconscious, with these disparate traditions yoked together. Her Christianity is a graft onto a substantial pagan rootstock, and the one cannot flourish without the other. Yet the actual written record of the dream is entirely indebted to her conscious mind, and it is shaped by her present circumstance as the spiritual leader of an embattled community.

There is no doubt that she is praying to relieve her brother's suffering. Prayers for the repose of the dead were common in pagan and Christian antiquity, and as I have suggested above, there are examples of Christian women, like Thecla, who even intercede for the souls of the pagan dead. There is little consistency, however, in classical authors concerning the origins of apparitions in dreams and the actual status of these apparitions. The Epicureans denied the human images in dreams any supernatural reality and tried to find a material explanation for them, while the Stoics and Pythagoreans believed they could have a supernatural origin. Aside from the materialists, most classical authors seem to agree that the realm of the dream was in some proximity to that of the dead and that the images, particularly of people, were their spirits (*ψυχή*) which exist, with some autonomy, outside the mind of the dreamer. Such an understanding is germane, since it allows

that the dreamer and the images of the dream possess a genuine reality. If we accept this position, then both image and dreamer can be changed in their oneiric interaction, as Achilles says the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of Patroclus told him of his coming death and asked that their bones be buried together (*Il.* 23.65–107). Biblical dreamers—with the exception of Moses, who speaks “mouth to mouth” with the Lord (Nm 12.6–8)—also believed that in their dreams they confronted genuine, supernatural realities, typically that of God or the spirits of men sent by God. Joseph and Daniel understand even the nonhuman images as symbols sent by God as expressions of His will. Elihu reminds Job that God opens the ears of men in their sleep, often to warn of future events, so that they may heed his warnings and change their behavior (see Jb 33.14–18). Joseph is warned by an angel *in a dream* to flee to Egypt (Mt 2.13).

The dead were accorded certain privileges that were deemed sacred obligations on the part of the living. Antigone disobeyed Creon because she believed that it was a heavenly imperative to bury the dead and that in so doing she was following a higher power than her uncle’s edict against burying Polyneices (*Soph. Ant.* 454–60). It is not too great a metaphoric and historical leap to see Perpetua, the Christian, following what she, too, believed a sacred duty, to help her deceased brother find eternal rest. Perpetua believes that she has actually seen the spirit of Dinocrates and that his image is directing her to some appointed end.

The classical underworld is rich with classification of souls from the blessed to the cursed and also contains the possibility for souls to be “rehabilitated.” Vergil conceived a masterful synthesis of Stoicism’s *anima mundi* with Platonic and Orphic-Pythagorean ideas on rebirth in his narrative of Aeneas’s descent to Hades. Anchises visits Aeneas in a dream and asks his son to visit him. The entrance to Anchises’ dwelling place is a large cave (6.237). Once in Hades, Aeneas sees the hordes of the unburied and the infants at the entrance (6.427), and when he sees his father, Aeneas learns of the rebirth of the good souls “to the light of the upper world” (*At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti, / inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras, / lustrabat studio recolens*, 6.679–81), and that fate owes them second bodies (*animae, quibus altera fato corpora debentur*, 6.713–14). Anchises responds to Aeneas’ incredulity about their passage back to life by acknowledging that they first must be cleansed from their sins (*veterumque malorum supplicia expendant*, 6.739) before they are able to revisit the world above (*ut convexa revisant / rursus*, 6.750–51).

The spatial geography and climate of classical Hades, as well as Biblical Sheol, is not unlike the situation of Dinocrates. Homer understood the dead to exist in a gloomy setting where the sun never shines and mist is omnipresent (*Od.* 11.13), men are always thirsty despite Hades being surrounded by five rivers, and the shades appear in our dreams as they appeared to us in life. Similarly to Dinocrates’

dream, water recedes from Tantalus whenever he seeks to drink. Vergil states that it is a place of shadows, of sleep, and of sleepy nights (. . . *alta terra et caligine mersas / . . . umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae*, *Aen.* 6. 267, 390). In his *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius describes the spirit of a woman who died violently as *lurore buxexo macieque foedata* (9.30). See also Dölger, “Antike Parallelen”; and Cox Miller, *Dreams*, 158–61.

Perpetua clearly believed that the dream of Dinocrates was a divine gift. Both in the Old and New Testaments she would have found bridges to her understanding of the classical underworld, Hades, as a shadowy, dark, and hot underground place. The Old Testament used the term *Sheol* to designate that underground place which exists in some ambiguous manner between the grave, on the one hand, and the underworld and the state of death, on the other (Pss 86.13 and Ez 31.15). *Sheol* is also a place of dust (Jb 17.16) and darkness (Jb 10.21). Turning to Christianity, Perpetua, like Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, may have construed the eschatological sentiments found in Paul, who wrote (1 Cor 3.15), “But if, that one will suffer loss; the person will be saved, but only as through fire,” as a reference to the necessity for some souls to undergo purgation. While the New Testament shares much with the Hebrew Bible’s understanding of *Sheol*, it does emphasize that *Sheol* is a place where one suffers often because of excruciating heat. The rich man begs Abraham to send Lazarus and have him dip his moistened finger in water and place it on his tongue (Lk 16.24). Clement of Alexandria appears to have envisaged a period of purgation for certain souls (*Strom.* 6.14). Tertullian certainly believed prayers for the dead were efficacious and urged married women to pray for the repose of their husband’s soul so that they might be joined together at the first resurrection (*pro anima eius orat et refrigerium . . . et in prima resurrectione consortium*, *De Monog.* 10.5). He urged his followers to say prayers in honor of the faithful dead on the anniversary of their death (*Cor.* 3; see also *Cypr. Ep.* 12.2.57). A number of the apocryphal writings, for example that of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (100 CE), provide vivid images of the underworld. Perpetua would have had a rich *mélange* of classical and Christian teachings on this subject, and she likely brought them together in her own eschatological frame of mind.

VII.4. *there were many others (conplures erant)*. Late antique visions of the underworld always comment on the crowding (see *Acta Thomae*, 52).

VII.4. *he was very hot, thirsting (aestuantem valde et sitientem)*. The Latin version only indicates Dinocrates as hot and thirsting, whereas the Greek states that many of those there were feverish and thirsty (καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καυματιζόμενοι καὶ διψῶντες). The Latin keeps the focus on the child Dinocrates’ situation, whereas the Greek universalizes the condition. Dinocrates is consumed by a fever which derives from the intensity of the fire of the underworld. Both Luke (Lk 16.23–24)

and Tertullian remark on the fiery nature of the underworld. In a discussion of the similarity between certain pagan and Christian understandings of the underworld, Tertullian remarked that the underworld, Gehenna, was a reservoir of secret fire under the earth for purposes of punishment (*Et gehennam . . . quae est ignis arcani subterraneam ad poenam thesaurus, Apologeticum*. 47.12), fueled by the river of fire, the Phlegethon (Claudian, *In Rufinum*, 2.3.408).

VII.4. *his face was covered with dirt (sordido vultu)*. The Latin uses ablatives of description in discussing Dinocrates' appearance, whereas the Greek uses accusatives ἔχοντα and ὠχρὸν, modifying Dinocrates with ἐσθῆτα ῥυπαράν as the object of ἔχοντα and with the dative τῇ χροῖα, indicating to what ὠχρὸν refers. The Greek text notes that his clothing is soiled. Dölger suggests the interesting emendation to the Latin text of *uultu et cultu* ("Antike Parallelen," 18). There seems little need for such emendation, however, as the textual tradition does not support it, and the case of the child's state is made as well without it (see *Passio Sanctorum Montani et Lucii*, 21: *uultu pariter et cultu nimis claro*).

VII.4. *his skin was pale (colore pallido)*. The color of death. Dinocrates is among the dead. *Pallidus* is often used to modify *mors* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.13) and is equally often applied to the underworld; Tibullus's description of Hades contains an image of scorching heat and crowds with pallid skin: *Illic percussisque genis ustoque capillo, / Erat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus (Eleg.* 1.10.38). The pale horse of the Apocalypse on which Death rides followed by Hades is the most powerful of the early Christian contexts for the use of *pallidus* in the context of the underworld. (See Rv 6.8, where the Vetus and the Vulgate use *equus pallidus* for ἵππος χλωρός.) The Greek *Passio* uses χλωρός but once (see X.8), and there it refers to the "green" branches of the trees (see BDAG, s.v. χλωρός). The image of the pale horse comes before that of the vision of the recently martyred souls, who cry out for vengeance. These souls, not yet in heaven, are told that they should rest for a bit until their brethren are killed, having thus completed their work on earth (Rv 6.9–11). The Greek text of the *Passio* uses ὠχρὸν for "pale," a word which does not occur in the NT. This Biblical prophecy of more death confirmed the Carthaginian Christians' view of the present, and this passage was commented on by their clergy (see Victor of Vitensis, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, 6.1). Lastly, the spirits were often depicted as having a pale color, as Vergil and Apuleius indicate (respectively, *Aen.* 4.26 and *Met.* 8.8, 10.10).

VII.4. *wound (vulnus)*. This may be the wound that took his life. It was a cancerous wound (see below VII.4, *cancerata*). Cyprian uses the word *vulnus* to refer to the wound given by sin (*Laps.* 30.260 CCSL 3: *Ecce peiora adhuc peccandi vulnera*).

VII.4. *which was there when he died (quod cum moreretur habuit)*. *Quod* refers to Dinocrates' *vulnus*, which he had in life and which horrified those who saw him

(see below VII.5, *omnibus hominibus*). It is likely this wound which killed him. One manuscript (MS P) reads *moraretur* for *moreretur*. This reading (from the verb *moror* “to remain, stay, linger,” here an imperfect subjunctive third singular) could be rendered as the “wound which he had while he was still alive.” Whether one reads *vulnus* as a nominative or accusative, *quod* certainly refers to it, and thus the phrase must mean that the wound which Dinocrates had at the time of his death is visible in Perpetua’s vision of him. The Greek περιῶν ἔτι (“still living”) would correspond more readily with *cum moraretur* (“when he was still living”) than with *moreretur* (see Souter, s.v. *moror*, “to live,” citing Commodianus).

VII.5. *my brother in the flesh (fuerat frater meus carnalis)*. Perpetua is carefully distinguishing her brother in the flesh from her spiritual brethren (see above IV.1, *frater*). This distinction here supports the assumption that the questioner in IV.1 is her brother in the faith. Both the Vetus and the Vulgate use *fratres* to translate Paul’s fellow believers (ἀδελφοί, 2 Cor 1.8), and both the Latin and Greek forms respectively became a common form of address among Christians by the second century. (See Souter, s.v. *frater*; and Min. Fel. Oct. 31.8: sic nos . . . *fratres vocamus, ut unius dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, ut spei coheredes.*)

VII.5. *age of seven (annorum septem)*. This age marked a transition in the lives of most Roman boys. They typically passed from under the care of the household, began to receive training under a regular teacher, and were thought to have command of speech and intelligence (see Knothe, “Zur 7-Jahresgrenze,” 239–56). Quintillian saw seven as the end of *infantia* (*Inst.* 1.1.18). It is noteworthy in this regard, however, that Perpetua uses the phrase *more infantium* to describe his play after he is cured (see below VIII.4). The categories of developmental change were not rigid.

VII.5. *a cancer of the face (facie cancerata)* See OLD, s.v. *cancer*, 3. Care should be used in assigning modern diagnostic terms to ancient descriptions of disease. There were a number of words for tumors that we might today refer to as cancers. Furthermore, the ancient diagnosticians rarely distinguished between malignant and benign tumors, using the same word to refer to both (OLD, s.v. *cancer*, 3; *carbunculus*, 5; and *tumor*; and see *Der Neue Pauly*, 6.798). The Romans were well aware that facial cancers not only disfigured but could also blind and kill. Celsus (fl. 25 CE) reported cancers that invade wounds of the eye, and Galen believed that the disease was due to an unsanitary diet. The word *cancer* is rare in the Vetus and in the Vulgate. It occurs once in 2 Tm 2.17, where it translates the Greek γάγγραινα, and the Greek is best rendered as a type of ulcerous wound, possibly “gangrene”; see Plut. *Mor.* 65d where it is used figuratively. Paul’s remarks are allusive. He uses the word γάγγραινα as a metaphor to refer to idle conversation and disputation about the faith. He considers such talk a type of verbal

γάργαυα. There is further difficulty, however, in his remark that this idle talk will have a “pasture” (νομήν). This word, when applied to diseases, can suggest something like “spreading” (an extension of the idea of a flock spreading in a pasture). The phrase *ut cancer serpit* in the Vetus and the Vulgate conveys the sense of spreading and provides the very faintest suggestion of the original meaning of cancer as “crab,” a crawling creature (OLD, s.v. *serpo*, 1, “creep”). The Greek text of the *Passio* uses γάργαυα (see Souter, s.v. *cancero*).

VII.5. *died horribly (male obiit)*. The child’s death was a hideous one, as he must have suffered greatly.

VII.5. *all men who saw it loathed the manner of his death (ut mors . . . hominibus)*. What does she mean by this remark? Why precisely do all men loathe the manner of his death? Surely all would regret and mourn the death of a child. Perpetua’s remark has a different intent, however. Her remark directs our attention to the nature of the malady which killed him and on how that particular disease itself was abhorrent to all, both on a physical and a spiritual level. I have noted above (see above VII.5, *cancerata*) that, given the amount of information contained in the text, it is impossible to identify precisely what she terms Dinocrates’ *cancer*. Nonetheless, there may be a hint concerning the nature of the disease in Perpetua’s remark that all those who saw him were horrified (see Amat, 216). Leprosy was such a disease (see *Der Neue Pauly*, 7, s.v. *lepra*, cols. 72–73). The leper was shunned and believed to be unclean. In Judaism, and indeed even in early Christianity, leprosy was viewed not only as a terrible physical malady but also as a spiritual wound which alienated the sufferer from the salvation afforded to believers in the community (see Kittel et al., 233–34). The ancients found the disease particularly abhorrent and typically shunned those who had it. In the book of Leviticus, it is stated that if the leprosy or scaly disfigurement of the skin (*Tsara’at*) is active—that is, suppurating—then the priest shall pronounce the victim unclean. Judaism believed that *Tsara’at* or *S’èth* (which the Septuagint and Vetus translate as “leprosy”) was a sign of divine wrath. The disease was believed to be a divine punishment, and those with it had to remain apart from the community (Lv 13.9–29; Nm 5.4). Judaism in the time of Jesus expected that this affliction would be removed with the advent of the Messiah and Messianic salvation. The example of Jesus cleansing the lepers may have been in Perpetua’s mind (Mt 8.2–3; Mk 1.40–42; Lk 5.12–13, 17.12–14). I hasten to add that not all instances when someone is labeled a leper in the Bible represent an accurate scientific diagnosis congruent with modern medicine, as is the case with Naman the Leper (2 Kgs 5.27), whose skin is described as white as snow, a condition more likely to be leucoderma. The important point here is not to present an accurate diagnosis of Dinocrates’ disease, but rather to consider what disease Perpetua believed her brother died from. I believe she thought it was leprosy.

Dinocrates' cancer, the disease that caused his death, has clearly alienated him from the community of believers and hence from salvation. Unfortunately, Perpetua's verb *cancerare* is never used unambiguously in conjunction with a discussion of leprosy in the Latin Bible—*cancer* is used once in 2 Tm 2.17 to translate the Greek γάγγραινα (see above VII.4, *cancer*)—nor does its Greek cognate καρκίνος appear in the OT, LXX, or NT. This fact makes identifying Dinocrates' particular illness an educated guess at best. However, the Greek version of the *Passio* provides some help, as it identifies his disease as γάγγραινα. This word referred to an inflammatory disease that, if left untreated, could become a fatal ulcerous condition, a gangrenous infection, or indeed, a cancer (see BDAG, s.v. γάγγραινα; and 2 Tm 2.17). Leprosy, which attacks peripheral nerves, can cause severe degeneration of facial tissue, particularly of the nose, throat, and eyes. Thickening of the facial tissue produces a highly characteristic appearance, sometimes likened to the appearance of a lion, and it could appear as an open, suppurating wound or *vulnus*. It was endemic in the Greco-Roman world from 300 BCE, and those who had it were shunned (see LSJ, s.v. λέπρα). Grmek has noted the rarity of cancerous diseases in ancient populations and suggests that this situation is likely a result of their earlier age of death, lack of environmental contaminants, and limited exposure to certain radiations (Grmek, *Diseases*, 72, 152–76). Hence, it would appear reasonable to infer that Perpetua at least believed that her brother Dinocrates died from leprosy and that he is therefore alienated from a spiritual rebirth.

VII.6. *I prayed for him (pro hoc ergo orationem feceram)*. As I suggested above, Perpetua's intercessory prayer is one of the earliest instances we have of someone praying to aid a deceased soul and a crucial part of the episode (see above VII.2). In light of this, it is worth noting that the Greek text makes no mention of her praying to aid her brother, nor does it note those other instances where she emphasizes she will pray for Dinocrates (see VII.8 below). Why is the Greek silent on so salient a detail? The practice of *refrigerium* seems to have been widespread in the Latin tradition at an earlier period than in that of the Greek, and both the pagan and the Christian practices are attested in Latin inscriptions in *Africa proconsularis* to the end of the third century (see Quasten, "Vetus Superstitio," 257). The Christian *refrigerium* was an evolved form of the Roman pagan *refrigerium*, or funeral banquet, arranged by the family at the deceased's grave, where the deceased was expected to be the host. The earliest attestations of these prayers for the deceased are in funerary inscriptions, and those that I have reviewed are predominantly in Latin, as one might expect. Funerary practices are the most conservative of social traditions and least subject to sudden change. Although the ancient Greeks revered their dead with animal sacrifice and libations, there does not appear to have been a festival similar to the Roman

refrigerium, or one of such regular occurrence. The absence of intercessory prayer in certain sections of the Greek text, therefore, may suggest some nonnative familiarity with this Roman, and now Christian, custom and may speak to the primacy of the Latin text (see Buonaiuti, “Refrigerio,” 160–67; Nilsson, “Pagan Divine Service,” 63–69).

VII.6. *there was a great gulf (grande erat diastema)*. The word *diastema* is a Hellenism and a direct transliteration of διάστημα, as used in the Greek version here (see Acts 5.7, where it refers to an interval of time). The Latin simply refers to the existence of the gulf between Perpetua and Dinocrates, while the Greek has Perpetua saying that she saw (έθεώρων) the gulf. The word διάστημα can suggest a move from one location to another. However, here the word signifies not the movement across a space but rather the enormous distance itself, which separates her from Dinocrates. The passage is similar to that in Lk 16.26, but Luke employs διαβαίνω, underscoring movement across a great chasm (χάσμα μέγα έστήρικται, όπως οι θέλοντες διαβήναι' ένθεν προς ύμās μη δύνωνται . . .), and Luke's διαβήναι reminds one of the *Passio's* *accedere/προσελθείν*. The distance she describes is more than a metaphor. It doubtless symbolizes the enormous distance between the world of the living and the dead, as well as the vast separation between pagan and Christian worldviews: *Non magis vitae miscebitur mors, quam diei nox* (Tert. *De Anim.* 51).

VII.7. *in that place (in illo loco)*. In view of the fact that Perpetua typically does not pay great attention to details of time and place, save in a general way, her insistence here that we understand the precise location of the pool of water which she is about to describe should be noted carefully. The geography of this place is important. Dinocrates is standing outside a hole. It is dark, misty, and hot. There are many others visible near him. There is a great void that separates her from him. Is she a character in the dream? Or is she simply reporting the vision and her sense of separateness from him, caused by the chasm?

VII.7. *pool full of water (piscina plena aqua)*. The pool she is describing is likely a conflation of her memory of the pools in the public baths (Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.23) with the pool Betheseda, where Jesus heals the man who has been sick for thirty-eight years (Jn 5.1–9). The scene has also been influenced by the baptismal immersions practiced by this group (Tert. *De Bapt.* 7.1: *Exinde egressi de lavacro*). All three images, the Greco-Roman, Semitic, and Christian, have healing as their end. The Antonine Baths (145–65 CE), which she would have known and may have visited, were the largest in the Empire, covering more than eight acres, and served a therapeutic function. The many others (*conplures*, VII.4) who were with Dinocrates may be an echo of the large number (πλήθος) of sick people mentioned in Jn 5.3. The *piscina* evolved into the baptismal fonts used in early Christian basilicas. Although these were typically placed near the altar at the

sanctuary's south wall and were small pools, often cross-shaped, with steps, which allowed for complete immersion, R. Jensen suggests (private correspondence) that no formal location seems to have been required. These baptismal fonts were often approximately 60 to 70 centimeters high. Tertullian argues that water was the first element to contain life, and he states that it is the water of baptism that cleanses the faithful and that signs of physical healing actually betoken spiritual healings (*De Bapt.* 3.6.5).

VII.7. *as if to drink (quasi bibiturus)*. *Quasi* is a favorite adverbial qualifier and is used nineteen times in the text. Here it is used with the future participle indicating purpose: "as if he were *about* or *going* to drink."

VII.7. *of the boy (pueri)*. Perpetua's use of terms designating age is not exact. The two nonadult males in the text, her son and brother, are referred to respectively as *infans* (ten times) and *puer* (three times). Note that with reference to her son, Hilarius uses the expression *infantiae pueri* (see above VI.3), and she, with reference to Dinocrates' play, says *more infantium* (see below VIII.3).

VII.7. *rim (marginem)*. "Rim" seems more appropriate than "edge," which is not normally associated with something being sought as a drinking vessel. MS C prints an ablative form *marginem*, which could work here.

VII.8. *he was not able to drink (bibiturus non esset)*. Although there is no expressed subject of the *bibiturus esset*, the masculine ending of the participle makes clear that it is the boy Dinocrates. The Greek is slightly more specific, using the diminutive τὸ παιδίον as the subject. The phrase suggests her belief that he was not able to take a drink.

VII.9. *I awakened (experta sum)*. This phrase is used almost as a formula to terminate a dream state (see above IV.10). See van Beek, who prints the more classical form, *experrecta sum*.

VII.9. *I knew (cognovi)*. How does she know that Dinocrates was suffering? He is dead, after all, and should be free from pain. The only sign she has is the child's inability to drink. Dinocrates never recognizes his sister, and he never speaks. To conclude from his inability to drink that "her brother was suffering" is to draw an interpretation from some authority outside the elements of the dream itself. She has these insights throughout her stay in prison (see above VII.2). We must conclude that her "knowing" is her deliberate effort at acknowledging a special intuition that comes from God.

VII.9. *was suffering (laborare)*. Perpetua's choice of this word is richly ambiguous. Le Goff makes the thoughtful point that her choice of *laborare*, rather than *punire*, in this instance suggests that the suffering is purely physical and does not derive from punishment for sin, and hence this is at best a proto-image of purgatory (see Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 50; but note August. *Orig. An.* 1.12 CSEL, 60.312, who did believe the boy had committed sin after baptism and, thus, was punished

for it). While there is a somewhat stronger connotation of punishment associated with *punire* than that of *laborare*, the issue is not so easily resolved. Perpetua had a wide repertoire of words available to her, including, but not restricted to, *supplicium* and *infortunium*, which she also did not use. She repeats the root in the next clause in the noun form *labor*. The Greek does not repeat it but simply speaks of helping him (ἀντῶ). Furthermore, there are instances when *labor* is associated with the horrors of the underworld. For example, Vergil personifies *Labor* as one of the hellish furies and places it immediately following death, just inside the Gates of Hell (*Aen.* 6.277: *terribles visu formae: Letumque, Labosque*). The Greek uses κάμνω, which does not provide any definitive assistance, since it too can mean “toil,” “affliction,” “harassment” and is also associated with the realm of the dead spirits (οἱ καμώντες). Perpetua does use *labor* to express anxiety and not physical pain (see above III.9). In sum, I think the ambiguity of *labor* does not allow us to follow Le Goff with confidence.

VII.9. *I could help him (profuturam)*. She is confident that she can help her brother even though he is dead. The idea that the dead suffer from sin in the after-life and can be freed from that sin and suffering has its first expression in 2 Mc 12.37–45, when after the battle against Gorgias at Adullam, Judas ordered the dead to be buried and prayers offered for them: “Turning to supplication, they prayed that the sinful deed might be fully blotted out” (εἰς ἰκετείαν ἐτρέπησαν, ἀξιώσαντες τὸ γεγονός ἀμάρτημα τελείως ἐξαλειφθῆναι). The idea that the dead could be helped by prayer seems to have taken hold by the middle of the second century in some circles. (See *Acts of John*, written ca. 160 CE, sec. 23 and 47, as I suggested above in the argument to this chapter.)

VII.9. *I prayed (orabam)*. The Greek does not contain this emphasis that it is continual praying that effects the cure in Dinocrates. Such practice of frequent prayer has New Testament sanction (see Lk 18.1).

VII.9. *every day (omnibus diebus)*. See III.4 and 9 above. Tertullian discusses an unidentified female member of his group, *soror*, who appears to use such prayer as a tool for healing, seeking visions, and speaking with angels and the Lord (*De Anim.* 9.4).

VII.9. *until (quousque)*. Although it was used during the classical period, it becomes a more common feature of post-classical use (see Halporn, s.v. *quousque*; Souter, s.v. *quousque* and *usque*; the Vetus uses *usquoque* and *quosusque*, but *quousque* is only used in the Vulgate, in Mt 17.16).

VII.9. *we were transferred to the military prison (transivimus in carcerem castrensem)*. This is the first indication we get of the specific sort of prison in which they were detained (see OLD, s.v. *castrensis*, 2). This is an intriguing remark, but the exact identification of this prison and its location in Carthage remain a problem. Since it is a military prison, it would be under the jurisdiction of the Legio III

Augusta, whose headquarters from 123 CE was in Lambaesis, a considerable distance (approximately 375 kilometers) west and south of Carthage. Typically, such camps were large (often covering 50 acres) and garrisoned some five thousand legionaries (see Coello, *Unit Sizes*, 12). Nothing approaching this scale could have been contained within the environs of the city of Carthage, much less Thuburbo Maius or Minus. It is worth noting that both Thuburbo Maius and Minus are off the main Roman road that connected Carthage to Lambaesis. Although textual evidence is scant, there is some mention of prisons within the walls of the camps (see Webster, *Imperial Army*, 206). There was an officer assigned to the jurisdiction of these prisoners, the *commentariensis*, and his assistants, the *auditores* (see DNP, 3.99), who were associated with judicial record keeping in the camps, as well as a camp superintendent, usually referred to as an *optio carceris*. Certain of these fortified camps had amphitheatres outside their walls where small-scale festivals and games were conducted. There is no evidence of such a massive, fortress-like camp in Carthage. This makes Perpetua's remark hard to identify with what are typically called *castra* (the Greek agrees with *castra*, calling the place παρεμβολή/"a camp where an army lives"). It is possible, however, that she was in a military prison outside the city, under the jurisdiction of Legio III *Augusta*, and was subsequently transferred to a smaller unit. If she was placed in a military prison, it must have been a small, urban prison, under the command of a local garrison of soldiers who helped with civilian crowd control, as they did at Alexandria (Aristedes, 67; see also R. W. Davies, *Service*, 175–85). Yet it is still unclear why these catechumens were transferred to a military prison. Their offense as Christians was a *crimen maiestatis* and not an actionable offense against the military. The Greek is more specific (but likely mistaken if, and this is an important qualification, this is the same prison being discussed) and states that she was under the governance of the χιλίαρχος, the standard translation for *tribunus militum*, who exercised jurisdiction over the camp, often served at court-martial, and could sentence individuals to severe punishment (see *miles optio*, IX.1 below). This identification of the office of tribune does not make identifying the site any easier and, in fact, may argue against the Greek text's genuine understanding of the situation at Carthage during this period.

VII.9. *in the military games (munere enim castrensi)*. Although certain military camps did have amphitheatres (for example, Caerleon had an amphitheatre immediately to its south and west), and some were substantial in size, they were usually reserved for the legionaries and a limited number of the inhabitants of the surrounding *vici*. The military games were typically small and reserved for festivals, like the birthday of an emperor, and may have included some limited gladiatorial combat and the use of animals (see Webster, *Imperial Army*, 207). There is no definitive archeological proof of an exclusively military amphitheatre located

in third-century Carthage (see XXI.1). The Greek text (τῆς παρεμβολῆς) follows *castrensi*.

VII.9. *we were to fight (eramus pugnaturi)*. *Pugno* is a favorite verb, used seven times in the *Passio*, and it is used on one occasion to describe the battle with the devil (X.14). Halporn (37) suggests that *pugno* particularly identifies gladiatorial and other fights in the amphitheatres. The martyr, the *miles Christi* par excellence, was a Christian warrior who fought for his savior for the crown of glory (see *Cypr. Ep. 8: miles Christi ob gloriam coronetur*). The Greek is more specific and identifies the impending fight as with wild beasts (θηριομαχεῖν). How does the Greek text know the nature of the coming battle, since the nature of the struggle, with whom or what they are to fight, has not been broached yet in the text? If, however, the Greek is a later transcription of the Latin, it would be readily understandable how the author could anticipate the end struggle and add it here to dramatize the moment. The Latin remains vague because the outcome is still unknown. Moreover, there seems to be a lacuna in the Greek text following βοηθῆσαι (“to help”). We might have expected after βοηθῆσαι a remark to follow up her intention to continue her prayers for him. Instead, the Greek identifies the rank of the officer, the type of camp, and the nature of the fight. If we put a period after βοηθῆσαι, we might then follow it up with something like καὶ προσηξάμην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (see van Beek, 23, no. 5). Then the rest of the sentence as it reads in the text would make better sense.

VII.9. *on the birthday of Geta Caesar (natale tunc Getae Caesaris)*. Publius Septimius Geta was the younger son of Septimius Severus. Geta was born in Milan on 7 March 189, so the games of March 203 would have been in celebration of his fourteenth birthday. These games may have been more significant than has been thought, since Geta may have assumed the *toga virilis* (Plin. *Ep.* 1.7) that year, and thus these games were celebrating his *tirocinium fori*. Although typically the *toga virilis* was donned at sixteen on the *Liberalia* (17 March), the sons of emperors were not held to a set age or time for its reception. Nero and Commodus both donned it at fourteen, and Alexander Severus on 26 June 221 at the age of twelve and a half (see Suet. *Aug.* 8; *Ner.* 7; *Calig.* 15; and Tert. *Idol.* 16.1, who mentions the ceremony of the assumption of the *toga pura*). I believe Perpetua died in 203, and I think this hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that Septimius and both his sons were in Africa from the late autumn of 202 until early June in 203. They likely wintered in Lepcis in 202–3. Furthermore, inscriptions suggest that they visited Lambaesis (the headquarters of Legio III *Augusta*) sometime in the spring of 203, were involved in a campaign against the Garamantes in April of 203, and returned to Italy in early June of that year (Southern, *Roman Empire*, 45; *pace* Platnauer, *Severus*, 127). If we consider that March was the typical time for the *Liberalia*, that the imperial family was in Africa, and that they had likely

visited Carthage (Carthage and Utica both were granted *ius Italicum*) on their arrival, it makes the games of 203 assume an importance they otherwise might not have had, particularly on the part of the local officials and inhabitants. It is almost predictable that the citizens of the largest city in Africa would wish to honor the ruling family and the birthday of the youngest son of the first African dynasty with a celebration, particularly since the emperor and his entourage were then in Africa (see Birley, *Septimius Severus*, 217–21). Lastly, the rescript issued by Septimius against Christians, if indeed he did issue one, seems to have been issued in the late spring of 202 and hence after the 7 March birthday of Geta in 202, thus making the martyrs' deaths in 202 quite impossible (see Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 6.1; and Perowne, *Caesars and Saints*, 94; but see Birley, *Septimius Severus*, 154; and Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 305–07).

The day of the martyrs' participation in the games is given very precisely and appears to be in celebration of the actual birthday. The tradition of games to celebrate the birthday of the emperor was well established and had been practiced at least since Claudius, who instituted games on the birthday of his mother, father, and son. Cassius Dio remarks that Claudius did nothing on the anniversary of the day on which he became emperor but that some of the praetors celebrated that day and the birthday of Messalina. The games celebrated on his son's birthday included gladiatorial games (see Cass. Dio, 60.17). See Tertullian's description of the festivities in celebration of the emperor's birthday in his *Apol.* 35.1.

Geta became coemperor with his father Septimius Severus and older brother Caracalla (186–217) in 209, and was proclaimed joint emperor with his brother on the death of his father in York on 4 February 211. He quarreled with Caracalla and was murdered by his brother's centurions in Rome in late December 211 (see Carrié and Rousselle, *L'Empire romain*, 275). Caracalla ordered a *damnatio memoriae*, and Geta's statues were destroyed and his name effaced from inscriptions. The Greek version simply notes that they will fight on the birthday of Caesar. The historical importance of identifying which actual Caesar is being referred to cannot be ignored, particularly for the Severans in Africa during this period. Furthermore, if we ask why the Greek text does not report the name, a ready answer is available from the *damnatio memoriae* ordered by Caracalla: it was forbidden and not prudent to mention his name and suggests again a later date for the Greek text. Furthermore, its presence in the Latin version suggests a composition date before the edict to abolish his memory was given, shortly after his murder in December 211. Caracalla's vengeance against those whom he suspected of supporting the memory of his brother in Rome was merciless, and thousands were killed within weeks of Geta's murder. There is a marble pilaster in the British Museum which shows Geta's name chiseled from the inscription. In the summer of 2005, I noticed a prominent inscription to Geta in the area of

the nymphaeum in Lepcis Magna where Geta's name was chiseled off the face of the stela. Geta's restoration was begun under Elagabalus's reign (218–22). It was Elagabalus who had the murdered Geta's remains interred in the Mausoleum of Hadrian near those of his father and brother (Cass. Dio, 78.2; and see Bryant, "Imperial Family," 28).

VII.9. *groans and tears (gemens et lacrimans)*. See *ingemescere*, VII.2 above. Such intense prayer had the sanction of the Psalms (cf. Vetus, Pss 102. 21: *ut audiret gemitum vinculatorum, ut solvat filios interemptorum*), was believed powerfully efficacious, and was thought to bring one into the realm of the Holy Spirit (see Eph 6.18). The Latin emphasizes the element of sorrow more than the Greek does, as the Latin uses two participles, *gemens* and *lacrimans*, where the Greek just has the single prepositional phrase μετὰ στεναγμῶν ("with groans").

VII.9. *gift might be given to me (ut mihi donaretur)*. *Dono* is normally used as a transitive verb, but in the present instance the subject of *dono* is unexpressed. The unexpressed subject of this subjunctive imperfect passive with the dative of recipient is unclear, hence my translation as "gift," since this can cover many possible meanings. The subject may be the nonmaterial gift of an answer to her prayers, the gift of healing for her brother Dinocrates, his freedom from this place of pain and suffering, Dinocrates himself, or all of the above. The Greek is clearer, since it has αὐτὸν (which could only refer to Dinocrates) as the subject of δωρηθῆναι.

CHAPTER VIII

The Argument: Healing and Redemption

Perpetua's second vision about her brother Dinocrates serves to complete the action of his deliverance, which she initiated in her first vision of him in Chapter VII. At eighty-five words, it is the second shortest of her chapters, IX being the shortest. Its brevity is a function of its intention to emphasize the suddenness of the miraculous transformation of her brother's condition from sickness to health. The action of Chapter VIII opens with an identification of the time and place of the vision. She frequently provides such information at the outset of her narrative sections, almost as if she were reflecting the rhetorical tradition of unity. It is also a traditional, diary-like entry. The Latin text begins by stating, "On the day on which we were kept in the stocks, this vision was shown to me." This line announces that her vision took place during the day on which they were first locked in the stocks. While this may appear so obvious as not to warrant mentioning, this detail is a crucial one, since it masks a more subtle theological point, as we shall see. The Greek text, however, identifies the vision as taking

place at night (ἑσπέρα) and thus associates the apparition more with dreams, mysterious revelations, and omens that come during sleep at night. Why do the Latin and Greek versions differ on such a seemingly small detail? Setting the dream at night provides a more literary context to the narrative, since night is the traditional time for dreams (see Jb 33.14–16; Cic. *Rep.* 6.10; and Artem. *Oneir.*). Hence, the Greek seeks to emphasize the literary nature of the vision. The Latin text's insistence that the vision was shown to Perpetua during the day disassociates the event from sleep and dreams, and it underscores that this vision was one that was shown to her (*ostensum est mihi*) by the power of the Lord, since visions granted by God can come whenever He wills, day or night. The point being made in the Latin is that God's faithful martyr has prayed incessantly and He grants her request, despite the time. The Latin thus emphasizes the divine power and mercy implicit in the revelation, while the Greek text points the audience more in the direction of the mysterious quality of the night vision. Moreover, from a purely historical and logistical point of view, the Greek text's choice of night as the time that the imprisoned Christians were placed in the stocks (and hence the dream) appears unlikely, as prisoners would have been transferred more properly to their different situations, particularly ones requiring a lockdown, during the day. Moreover, the order to place them in the stocks was not one that would have been the prerogative of the jailer, but rather his superior. As I indicated above, placement in the stocks was a deliberately humiliating punishment given to those guilty of such crimes, for example, as fomenting civil unrest. The order for such punishment would normally have been written down in the *ratio carceris*, and hence the jailer would know what sort of prisoners he was housing.

From its opening, Perpetua's narrative moves very rapidly to its conclusion: the cure and liberation of Dinocrates. Perpetua's rhetoric appears to be indebted to rhetorical handbooks on oratory. Indeed, she appears intent on reminding her audience, following the pattern of judicial oratory, of the precise past status of Dinocrates before she reveals and amplifies his present changed state, which she presents in short, succinct phrases. Thus, she depends in part on the reader's memory of her previous related vision to dramatize his present condition. For example, she says that Dinocrates now appears to her clean, well dressed, and refreshed. She does not repeat that in his prior condition he was dirty, hot, thirsty, and pale. The effect of such an economical style is to move the narrative rapidly along and, in so doing, to allow the reader to appreciate the miraculous nature of this sudden change in the child's state. The implication here, unstated of course, is her clear understanding that she is writing for an audience who will have the entire text before them, either as a written narrative or delivered orally.

The singular point of view of this chapter is to relate the healed state of the child and his changed status as a result of divine mercy working through his sister's intercession. In Chapter VII, the child is described as trapped in a hot, arid, cave-like amphitheatre with many others. He is described as having an open wound on his face that caused his death. His skin has the pallor of death, and he and his sister are separated from one another by a great chasm. A pool filled with water is near the child, but the rim is too high for him to quench his thirst. It is a scene where the child has no control, a scene that suggests the child is there as a punishment. He is utterly unable to help himself. His freedom, if indeed he is to receive it, must come from outside. Volition and agency are denied him, as is speech. He never speaks to his sister, or to any of the others with him. Indeed, Dinocrates is never aware of his sister's presence. She has identified a great chasm that separates them. This chasm functions as a physical barrier and possibly as a metaphor of their different spiritual states: she is a baptized Christian, and he an unbaptized pagan. Despite the distance separating them, Perpetua understands intuitively who he is, what has happened to him, where he is, and what he needs. Part of her intuition is credible, as she recognizes the child who lived with her until he was seven. However, how does she know where he is and what he needs?

Let us consider the circumstances of both visions, comparing the subject of each vision and the role of the visionary. The child is unable to drink and is thirsty. She prays for him, and his thirst is quenched. The child's suppurating wound is the primary cause of his death and is open and horrible to see in the first vision. She prays, and it is healed and turned into a scar. Notice in her second vision that the figure of Dinocrates fills her entire visionary canvas; the "hellish" location is not described, except for her concise remark: "I saw that place which I had seen before." In these instances of crisis, it is the power of her intercessory prayer to God that changes the child's status. But notice that as audience we are never told what she has prayed for, other than that she trusted that she could help him in his suffering (VII.8, *sed fidebam me profuturam labori eius*). Trust is a crucial message of this vision. She trusts in her God's promise that He will bring her to paradise with Him if she serves as a witness to the death for His gospel. She trusts that this same God has endowed her with special powers of prophecy and has chosen her to serve as an intermediary of His power in order to free Dinocrates from pain and be a voice of prophecy for this beleaguered community. It is easy to see how this idea of trust can be extended to her anxious situation.

But now let us also consider that Perpetua narrates this vision at the same time as she has been placed in the stocks, her limbs locked into place. Indeed, she may have open sores on her limbs where the stocks chafe. She too lacks all physical control; she cannot move, and she cannot supply herself with water to quench her thirst. Whether or not one wishes to read this as a projection of her situation onto

the existing predicament of the child, one point which is incontrovertible is that both Perpetua and Dinocrates in the narrative which she constructs are unable to help themselves and must depend on some power larger than themselves to effect change. Perpetua is able to liberate Dinocrates from his grave predicament because she has been found worthy by an almighty God, from whom she receives a special favor. Dinocrates' cure and liberation is a sign that her freedom from human thrall-dom is imminent. The dream is thus very eschatological in its orientation. Perpetua will receive the crown of martyrdom because the Holy Spirit, as Tertullian argued, will provide his *benedicti martyres designati* with the Holy Spirit, who is in prison with them, and that same Spirit will lead them to their Lord: *et ita vos inde perducatur ad Dominum* (*Mart.* 1.1–5). In sum, the vision serves to free the child but, additionally, serves as a consolation and promise of her own redemption.

The effect of her intercession is that Dinocrates is now able to play in the water of the pool, and a new element, the golden bowl, provides him water which not only relieves his terrible thirst but returns to him his childhood, allowing him to play happily as children do. Additionally, Perpetua's trust and perseverance have endowed her with a charisma so palpable that even the prison guards respond to it, as we shall see in Chapter IX.

Chapter VIII Commentary

VIII.1. On the day (die). The author is fond of opening her revelations with this ablative of time (see IV.2, VI.1). Beginning with an announcement of the time, whether it be day or night, is entirely appropriate to a diary-like memoir, which is what we have here. Perpetua on two occasions uses this expression to announce a sudden revelation (VI.1 and here). The Greek text, however, suggests the vision was in the night when they were chained (καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ). The Greek text restricts the dreams to the evening and employs night as the traditional time for such otherworldly visitations (see VII.3).

VIII.1. In the stocks (in nervo). This remark provides information on how the Christians were imprisoned and possibly the location of their cell in the prison. Some commentators have translated *in nervo* as "in chains" (Musurillo, *Acts*, 117; Amat, 131), but this noun hardly captures Perpetua's exact meaning. In short, how specifically were they restrained? If it were a simple matter of being "chained," why does Perpetua employ the word more commonly used for "sinew," "cord," or "string" (see OLD, s.v. *neruus* 1, 4; and see Is 48.4) and not the expected term *vincula*, a word particularly used to indicate a prisoner's fetters or chains, or indeed, as a synonym for the prison itself (OLD, s.v. *uinculum*; and see Cic. *Rep.* 6.14.14, *qui ex corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt*, and also Verr.

2.3.24, *Mitto vincla, mitto carcerem, mitto verbera, mitto secures*)? Cyprian distinguishes between being in the rack and being in chains in his discussion of Celerinus' imprisonment: *Per decem nouem dies custodia carceris saeptus in neruo ac ferro fuit* (Ep. 39.2). Livy uses both terms to refer to different types of restraints: *qui neruo ac uinculis corpus liberum territent* (Livy, 6.2.8). The older meaning of the word as “sinew” or “strap,” which identified a means of tying an animal or someone to a post or a ring, was apparently adapted to a new context (Columella, *Rust.* 12.14).

A more precise translation of *in neruo* in the present instance would be “in stocks.” MS A supports this reading with its use of *constricto*. If the prisoners were chained to the stocks, we might ask what parts of their bodies were constrained and where in the prison were they bound, since not all cells would have contained such devices. Clearly, her remark refers to some device (it may even have been a chain or a bar) that constrained prisoners by their feet, arms, or neck, or all the above (see Festus, 162.1–2: *ferreum vinculum, quo pedes impediuntur*). Tertullian uses the term *nervus* to suggest a binding used on the legs of the martyrs while they were being held in prison (*Mart.* 2: *Nihil crus sentit in neruo cum animus in coelo est*). The Vetus has Job complain to God that his feet have been placed in the stocks, *Posuit in neruo pedes meos* (Jb 33.11). However, *in neruo* may suggest that they were actually bound by the feet and some part of the upper body, since if they were only bound by the feet, we might have expected her to use the more common expression *compes* (see Vetus, Jb 13.27, *in compede pedem meum* and OLD, s.v. *compes*), or if only by the neck, *furca*.

Roman stocks seem to have been fastened to the floor (see Richardson, Jr., *Pompeii*, 85, who notes the skeletons of four prisoners found still bound in the stocks in the excavation of Pompeii's *Ludus Gladiatorius*; and see also the drawings of these same stocks in Gusman, *Pompeii*, 153). Rapske (*Acts and Paul*, 445, figs. 13 and 14) provides illustrations of horizontal and circular stocks. It seems likely that Perpetua and her companions were locked into something like these stocks. They would have had to sit and sleep on the floor or perhaps on some low bench. Their movement would have been very restricted. Any movement would cause chafing as the skin rubbed against the metal or wood of the stocks. The stocks were often used as a severe punishment. Some Christians even had their legs spread far apart and locked in place in the stocks in order to cause additional pain (see *Ltr Chr Lyons & Vienn* in Musurillo, *Acts*, 70.27.7: “confinement in the darkness of a prison or in most difficult places, the stretching of limbs in the stocks” (τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν)). The cells with the stocks seem to have been among the most miserable ones, located deep (and perhaps underground) in the prisons (*Martyrium Pionii*, 11.4). The officials of

the military prison where Perpetua and her fellows are incarcerated appear to be treating them with the utmost contempt, and hence the torture of confining them to the stocks in the darkest section. The Greek $\nu\epsilon\rho\beta\omega$ simply transliterates the Latin, suggesting that the author may have been unsure about the exact nature of the device being used, as there were Greek equivalents to *nervus* in $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$ and $\kappa\lambda\omega\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (see LSJ, s.v. $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$), as well as words to designate a pillory for the neck only, and restraints for the feet, $\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\eta$. LSJ does not record an entry for $\nu\epsilon\rho\beta\omega$, nor does BDAG. Lampe cites its use in the *Passio* ($\nu\epsilon\rho\beta\omega$) as the first attestation of the use of the word in Greek. While none of these sources should be considered exhaustive, the likelihood of its use before the *Passio* is small. Hence this transliteration suggests that the Greek text was copied from the Latin exemplar, since it is hardly likely that the Greek text, if the original, would use an unattested word (a transliteration borrowed from a Latin original), particularly when, as I have indicated above, there were perfectly appropriate Greek terms for such stocks.

VIII.1. we were kept (mansimus). It appears that they were confined to the stocks throughout the day. This was a severe punishment, since it invariably caused considerable distress to the limbs (see *in nervo* above, VIII.1).

VIII.1. this vision was shown to me (ostensum est mihi hoc). A favorite expression of Perpetua's, which she uses to describe the onset of her visions (see IV.2 and VII.2). The Greek does not characterize the nature of what she sees but rather states, "this was shown to me" / $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\theta\eta\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$.

VIII.1. before (retro). See Souter, s.v. *retro*. *Retro* is used adverbially here and in VIII.2 in lieu of *antea*, in the sense of "previously" (see OLD, s.v. *antea*; see Tert. *Apol.* 3.7, but also 3.3; and 1 Mc 15.27).

VIII.1. I had seen before (retro videram). Perpetua uses this pluperfect twice (and see VIII.2). In the perfect tenses *video* can be used to emphasize having had an experience of an event. She may also be using *video* in the sense of seeing something in the "mind's eye" (OLD, s.v. *video*, 7).

VIII.1. clean (mundo corpore). Her prayers have changed his appearance—*sordido cultu* (VII.4)—to one now free from all dirt and soil. There may be a play on words here, since *mundo* in the ablative suggests someone who belongs to another world (OLD, s.v. *mundus*). It is debatable whether the noun *mundus* ("world") and the adjective *mundus* ("clean") are etymologically related.

VIII.1. well dressed (bene vestitum). Why does she deliberately draw attention to his new clothes? We know that he formerly was physically filthy (*sordido cultu*), but there was no unambiguous reference to his clothes before this. *Cultus*, although more frequently referring to one's grooming, may possibly be a reference to his clothes (OLD, sv. *cultus*, 6), but if so, it is a very understated one. It is more likely that the reference to *vestitus* is meant to suggest that the miracle of his cleansing has

changed him wholly, both within and without. His clothing is a metaphor, likely indicating that he has become like “the ones dressed in white” in heaven (see IV.8, *candidati* above; and Tert. *Scorp.* 6.9).

VIII.1. refreshed (refrigerantem). See above *refrigeravi*, III.4. The verb *refrigero* was important in early Christian discourse and had a range of meanings from a simple feeling of well-being, to a state of grace, to a state of being best described as “ecstasy.” The verb is employed five times in the *Passio* (III.4, XIII.5, XVI.3, XVI.4). Although the Greek ἀναψύχοντα does not have the same variety of religious nuances as the Latin, tending more to restrict its meanings to physical relief resulting from a sense of cooling and refreshment, there is a use of the word in Acts 3.20 (καίροι ἀναψύξεως) that has eschatological overtones, announcing that the presence of the Lord will be a time of refreshment.

VIII.1. was, . . . I saw (erat . . . video). The intimate proximity of the imperfect and the present in this phrase compresses time and underscores the miraculous nature of the transformation that has taken place in the body of her brother as a result of her intercession.

VIII.1. scar (cicatricem). The scar is the experiential evidence of the healing. There is an interesting parallel in Leviticus 13.28, where the wound left from leprosy is identified as a scar—οὐλή in the LXX and *cicatrix* in the Vetus and the Vulgate—thus reinforcing my earlier point that Perpetua believed the disease that killed Dinocrates to be leprosy. Might there be some literary echoes in this anecdote? In *Aeneid* 6, Vergil depicts some notable marred individuals—Eriphyle, a shade in the *lugentes campi* pointing to her wounds (6.445–46: *monstrantem volnera*), and “Phoenician Dido with wounds still fresh” (6.450: *Inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido*). Augustine uses the example of Dinocrates’ wound to dismiss the Pelagian argument that one who is unbaptized can achieve paradise (see *Orig. an.* 2.12, 3.13, and 4.18). He argues that the physical wound which took Dinocrates’ life could not have killed his soul, since his soul was not corporeal. However, Augustine continues, since the soul possesses the likeness of the body (*similitudines corporum*), it therefore does share a resemblance of the wound (*apparet quasi vulnus, quod non est vulnus*). This similitude of the wound in the soul is nonetheless a true sign that the child’s soul, albeit nonphysical, shared in some sympathetic manner in the misery of the sick body. Perpetua’s prayers, he concludes, did then deliver the child from misery. Note also the effective alternation of tenses from the imperfect *erat vulnus* to the present *video cicatricem*.

VIII.2. pool (piscinam). This is a contained pool of water and is obviously miraculous, since it is never diminished. Very early in Christianity *piscina* was associated with the pool of Bethesda, where Jesus healed the sick man on the Sabbath (Jn 5.2 and Tert. *De Bapt.* 6.1). By the end of the second century, *piscina* was

used as a term for the water of the baptismal font, and in the High Middle Ages it designated the bowl in which the celebrant of the Mass washed his hands (see Blaise, CCCM, s.v. *piscina*). Her use of this word likely suggests both healing and baptism.

VIII.2. *the boy's navel (umbilicum pueri)*. Why does Perpetua specify the precise level to which the rim of the pool descended? And why this particular location? The child's navel is the source of in utero nourishment, and now that he is to be restored (a second time) by the life-giving waters, it is a natural point of reference to underscore the life-restoring properties of God's power, administered through his prophet Perpetua. Although we have no details of the child's height—and allowing ourselves for a moment to indulge in textual literalism—an average modern child of seven in the fiftieth percentile would be 119–46 cm. Even assuming a slightly smaller size for a child in antiquity, the height of the pool, if this is an analogy to a baptismal font (see above VII.5, *piscina illa aquam*), would be roughly the correct height. The umbilical was a favorite symbol of the mythographers; Zeus's umbilical cord fell near the river Triton, and this spot afterwards was made sacred and known as Omphalus.

VIII.2. *drew (trahebat)*. *Traho* is used here in the sense “to draw into one's body” the healing water without ceasing; it suggests Dinocrates is reveling in the water, rather like splashing in it. *Traho* can also have the sense of “to drink.” (OLD, s.v. *traho*, 7b; Hor. *Epod.* 14.3–4: *pocula Lethaeos . . . fauce traxerim*; Ov. *Met.* 15.330: *quem quicumque parum moderato gutture traxit*; and Plin. *HN* 6.188: *illum trahentem uina*.) However, in the very next line we are explicitly told that Dinocrates began to drink from the golden cup (*de ea bibere coepit*). A reading of him playing and splashing in the water here is more congruent with the later remark that he played as a child (*ludere more infantium*) than imagining him drinking directly from the pool and later from the bowl, although I would not rule that out. The Greek is quite different and emphasizes the autonomous agency of the water's unceasing flow (ἔρρεεν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀδιαλείπτως ὕδωρ), and not that of the child's ceaseless playing, minimizing the child's joy in the cooling waters. The difference is significant. The child is the singular focus in the Latin, while the Greek emphasizes the miracle of the flowing water.

VIII.3. *golden cup (fiola aurea)*. The word *phiala* is a borrowing from the Greek φιάλη and designates a broad, flat dish used for drinking, libations, and unguents (LSJ, s.v. φιάλη). The Latin use of *phiala* as a drinking vessel does not antedate the early first century. Despite the presence of the word in Petronius, the elder Pliny, Martial, and Juvenal, the Latin writers of this period commonly choose either *calyx* or *patera* for cup or bowl. Juvenal's spelling in his *Sat.* 5.39 (*Virro tenet phialas: tibi non committitur aurum*) is the latest I have found. Thus, we can cautiously isolate the period when the Latin spelling as *phiala*—indicative of an awareness

of the Greek etymon and fashionable pronunciation—was current, i.e., from approximately the early first to the mid-second century. Perpetua's spelling with the initial *f* is the earliest I have found outside of the *Vetus*, which reads, for the bowls holding God's anger, *fialas aureas*, Rv 15.7 (but see the Vulgate, *phialas aureas*; and F. Lo Bue, "Old Latin Readings of the Apocalypse in the 'Wordsworth-White' Edition of the Vulgate," in VC 19, no. 1 [1955]: 21–24). Perhaps this small Christian community is attempting to adopt the growing tradition of Christians to have their Scriptures in the *sermo cottidianus* by substituting the voiceless fricative [f] for the Greek aspirated stop [ph].

The symbol of the golden bowl in Greek mythology is a ubiquitous and polysemous symbol for safety, and its drink could provide immortality. Hercules borrowed the golden bowl from Helios to use as a vessel in order to cross over the ocean. In the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, *phiala* is the word for a precious bowl (Nm 7.13, 85), a liturgical bowl used on the temple altar (Zec 14.20), and notably, in the book of Revelation, the word designates the seven bowls of the seven angels who pour eschatological monstrosities on the earth (Rv 16, 17.1, and 21.9; and see Heffernan, "History"). Perpetua's vision of the water from the life-giving pool and the cup is the source for the cup and the spring water in the *Passio sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi*, 6, and very likely the source of Quartillosa's dream of the handsome young man bearing two cups filled with milk in the *Passio sanctorum Montani et Lucii*, 8.

VIII.4. *began* (*accessit*). One would typically read *accessit* to indicate that the child "came to/approached" the water. Indeed, MS S, which contains punctuation, reads: *et accessit ludere, satiatus de aqua more infantum gaudens. . .* However, here the context implies that the verb initiates a new action; hence my use of "began," since the child is already standing in front of the golden basin, so that to approach a second time (see the immediately preceding line) is a redundancy. The Greek also endorses "began" with its choice of ἤρξατο. Reichmann and Bastiaensen support this reading (but see Amat, 219).

VIII.4. *rejoicing* (*gaudens*). The word may even contain a hint of the child's genuine physical joy at being freed from his disability (see the reading from MS S above). The word is used three times in the *Passio*, and on two of those occasions (XIII.8, *Tunc gaudens*; and see XVIII.3), it is used after the converts are satisfied by an otherworldly experience.

VIII.4. *And I woke up* (*experta sum*). She uses the phrase to signify the completion of each of her four visions and her passage to the conscious state (IV.10, VII.8, VIII.3, X.13). The use of this set phrase at the end of each vision may be just a concomitant of how she ends these discussions. However, this phrase, repeated as it is at the end of every vision, has a deliberate, almost rhetorical feel to it. I believe that she may have added this phrase as she reviewed her text on its

completion so as to bracket carefully her different sorts of experience, that is, to mark clearly the end of the vision and her conscious state. Moreover, after each declaration that she has awakened, she provides an interpretation of the previous vision. It is possible that *gaudens* could be read with *experta sum* (see XIII.8), that is, Perpetua on seeing Dinocrates playing woke up rejoicing. The line is ambiguous.

VIII.4. *knew (intellexi)*. The reader is not told how or why Perpetua has this understanding. However, her certain knowledge on waking from her vision must derive from her now conscious memory of Dinocrates' improved situation, as he appeared to her in her second vision.

VIII.4. *he was freed from his suffering (translatum eum esse de poena)*. *Transfero* suggests a "transfer" of an individual to another state or situation (some read the use here as particularly Christian; see Bastiaensen 430, Amat 219, and Formisano 100, no. 93). It is tempting to read this line as a declaration that the child Dinocrates has now had his moral condition changed, and this alteration in turn has led to an improved physical and mental state. In Chapter VII even the least theologically inclined reading has to acknowledge that his sister believed the child to be suffering not only from the wound that took his life but from some undefined, nonphysical problem which has compromised his spirit life after death. The use of *poena* and the Greek τιμωριῶν reinforces this idea, since they suggest a punishment or penalty for an offence of some sort. Hence Perpetua's remarks that he has been freed from these pains suggest a type of purgation that has been accomplished by her intercession. We cannot identify precisely the nature of either the place of his confinement or the complex reasons that he was there. Those places and the rationale supporting them exist only in Perpetua's mind, and she is not explicit concerning them. Could this be a nascent depiction of Christian purgatory? I see no reason why not. The idea that souls move off into an underground afterlife of some ill-defined sort, living much as they lived on earth (see VII.3), was common in Greek, Roman, and Jewish culture. Likely under the influence of Orphic and Pythagorean teaching, this underworld was bifurcated into two realms: the guilty being led to the dark, suffering one of Tartarus (see 2 Pt 2.4) and the just to the Elysian Fields. Writers like Cicero, and Vergil in particular, transported the entire apparatus of the abode of the dead to the heavens, with the good souls in the upper regions and the bad in the depths. What is significant about Perpetua's depiction is her successful intervention through her intercessory prayer into the fate of the dead child and his changed status from that of a suffering shade to that of a happy child. It is difficult to escape the positive agency she has employed and its departure from the earlier traditions by virtue of that agency, along with its similarity to the later medieval doctrine of purgatory.

CHAPTER IX

**The Argument: Epiphany and Farewell,
Perpetua's Public Assumption of Authority**

Perpetua's life, not unsurprisingly for a Roman matron, revolves around male figures who play a significant and dominant role in her life: her father, son, and brother, her teacher Saturus, the warden Pudens, and the presiding magistrate Hilarianus, with the single exception of the absent husband, about whom see "The Personae." Such relationships were the norm for a woman in her social class, since elite women in Imperial Rome had little public life as individuals, outside the power they wielded behind the scenes in the family. While elite women appear to have gained some degree of public autonomy during the first century in Rome, their situation in the colonies remained little changed. This was particularly true in urban Africa and even more so in the rural areas. While women of the imperial family, although obviously in the public eye, exercised influence, they nonetheless continued to use the persona of their male counterparts as a scrim for their politicking. Dio Cassius remarks that Julia Domna cultivated learning and the arts. Although she never forgave her son Caracalla for the treacherous murder of Geta—and according to Dio, hated him for the remainder of his life—she played a substantial role as his behind-the-scenes advisor (see Dio Cass. 78.18). Some few women, like Junia Theodora and Julia Domna, did emerge from this social matrix as significant public figures.

Although Christianity is a product of the same cultural milieu that proscribed female roles in πολιτεία, it nonetheless provided women a greater opportunity for roles of public leadership, and it thereby attracted a disproportionate number of female recruits. It is well established that Christianity enabled even the lowest classes to achieve positions of authority. Phoebe held the rank of deacon (Rom 16.1), and Pliny referred to the two female slaves he tortured as *ministrae* ("deaconesses," *Ep.* 10.96.7). However, Paul's letters are replete with the names of women—like Prisca, Junia, Julia, Eudoia, Syntyche, and Mary, for example—not all of whom were members of the lower classes, and who played important public roles in his ministry and in the establishment of Christian diaspora communities (see Winter, *Roman Wives*, 173–204). For Paul, it would seem that the idea of the Church was inseparable from the household, and thus he blurred the distinction between public and private spheres. Yet when these spheres were transgressed in non-Christian Roman society, criticism was quick and often savage. In his *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius satirized the baker's wife not only for her questionable morality but also for her willful public independence. And Celsus's sneer that Christianity was a religion of women, children, and slaves is a significant testimony

to the public leadership role of women in the Church of the second century (see MacDonald, *Christian Women*, 94–120).

Christianity, however—particularly the sort practiced by the eschatological community of Carthage—encouraged Perpetua in her role as oracle and provided her with an opportunity to transgress these normative Roman ideas of female decorum. Her status in the Christian community as a prophetess placed her outside the normative strictures governing the behavior of women. The Montanist strain of religiosity in Carthage took Paul at his most literal—“So my brothers, strive eagerly to prophesy” (ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου ζηλοῦτε τὸ προφητεῦν, 1 Cor 14.39)—and did not discriminate against women in the role of prophet. The figure of Perpetua represented in the diary exists in at least two public spheres, pagan and Christian, and they are often difficult to delineate. Her worlds, while often divergent, are at some times congruent. If we consider her interaction with males who are her contemporaries, like that of Satorius, it appears that she behaves mostly like a traditional Roman matron. If, however, we examine her relationship with her father, she behaves most unlike a Roman daughter. Perpetua’s description of her world is as daughter, mother, sister, and wife, and as limited in detail as it is, it is always mediated through male figures, or through her dreams about them. There is not a single instance when she has a conversation with another woman or, indeed, reports a conversation with another female. She mentions her mother but once (III.8), and that is to express concern about her well-being (III.8). In sum, with the exception of her relationships with her father and her conversion to Christianity and role as prophetess, she behaves as an entirely appropriate Roman matron of the upper class.

In Chapters VII and VIII we watched as she rescued her beloved and long-dead brother Dinocrates from a painful afterlife. The two dreams of Dinocrates provided her audience with an entrée into the domestic world of women, since one of the subordinate concerns of those dreams is her unconsciousness, as it is depicted in the narrative of her long-suppressed memory of Dinocrates’ death and her relationship to that brother. She dreams as a Christian prophetess remembering her life as a pagan maiden. In all her dreams she works autonomously but according to God’s plan. The world of this vision is a realm where she has full authority and power. For example, she expresses her confidence in being able to help Dinocrates, remarking, somewhat obliquely, that she knew she was worthy (VII.2). This self-appraisal is presented as if she had received it as a communication from a source outside herself, from God himself. Her confidence allows her to restore the trapped, thirsty, and suffering Dinocrates to a new life, albeit one among the happy dead. Such powerful mediation she could only accomplish as a Christian female.

Her narrative, like her life, is deeply divided between the sacred and the secular spheres. For instance, while the second dream of Dinocrates certainly has obvious Christian elements, to read it principally as an explicitly Christian allegory separates the dreamer too radically from the dream. Perpetua was a Roman matron before she was a convert to Christianity. Although a reading of her rescue of Dinocrates as a *consolatio*, in which Perpetua and her brother are reunited in paradise after the resurrection of the flesh “to play in the manner of children,” contains powerful Christian imagery, such narratives of the afterlife were also richly attested in pagan literature, notably in Book Six of the *Aeneid*, a work she knew. Perpetua’s ideas of what such a redeemed world would resemble are a blend of pagan and Christian images. Let us look at one salient concern: Does the existence of the soul after death require a body? Perpetua believes that life after death is an existence that will require one. Her idea of a soul is inseparable from its situation in a body. She inherits this idea from both her pagan and Christian teachers. The idea of the resurrection of the flesh has its doctrinal roots in the New Testament (see Jn 5.28; 1 Cor 15.12; 1 Pt 3.19) and was a cornerstone of the theology of the earliest Christian writers (see *1 Clem.* 25–26 and Justin Martyr, *Res.* 7). Tertullian’s treatise *De Resurrectione Carnis* (ca. 208–11), written to confound Marcion and his Gnostic critics, is an extended meditation proving Christ’s body was a natural human body, that our actual bodies and souls will be reunited at Christ’s Second Coming, and that although corporeal, we will exist as a type of angelic being in heaven (see 62.1: *Erunt, inquit, tanquam angeli*). It is difficult to parse precisely what Tertullian understands as “angelic beings,” since he also believed that angels could change into human bodily forms and yet remain angels (see Osborn, *Tertullian*, 57). Perpetua, the Christian, appears to subscribe to much of the Christian position on the afterlife which we see in Tertullian.

Perpetua’s narrative of her brother’s situation in the afterlife is deeply indebted to Christian theology. If one were to read Dinocrates’ situation only as an expression of the pagan idea of Hades, where all humans, the good and the bad, go after death, then Dinocrates’ movement *ludere more infantium gaudens* would represent a final separation away from her. Yet in a metaphysical way, this meeting is their last, and Dinocrates does depart. The last scene we have of him is a happy one, playing in the manner of children. Where does he go? Where does she go? Although Dinocrates’ end is one that she has willed, sister and brother will not share some eternal paradise, as she will be in the Christian heaven and Dinocrates will exist forever in some sort of Elysian abode. Dinocrates cannot join her because he is unbaptized and not a Christian. The best she can do is secure for him an everlasting *locus amoenus*. Thus the traditions of the afterlife, pagan and Christian, exist side by side and provide a richer understanding of her psychology.

Before she became a Christian, Perpetua was a child of Rome. The pagan idea of a *locus amoenus* also had a considerable influence on the Christian representation of the afterlife. The gardens Perpetua sees in the *Passio* undoubtedly draw from this tradition. One need only look to the child Dinocrates. Dinocrates has a presence; he has a body which still bears the wound that killed him; he stands upright, and he even runs as a child. Many pagan authors who treat the afterlife represent it as being “peopled” by “shades,” the simulacra of their once-living spirits. While these shades are embodied, and some can even drink blood, their bodies are mysterious and often incorporeal substances, though they remain visible, palpable entities. Roman cemeteries always show evidence that bodies were buried fully clothed with grave goods and food. Perpetua understood that her brother as a dead shade had physical needs; he was thirsty, and she helped him drink. The two traditions, paganism and Christianity, as she represents them, are deeply indebted to one another (see J. Davies, *Death*, 195).

This brief recap of Chapters VII and VIII allows us to see the evolution of certain ideas expressed there as they emerge in Chapter IX. That chapter is divided into two halves. It begins with Perpetua interacting with Pudens, and it ends with the tragic denouement between her father and herself. The chapter focuses our attention on the power of ἀναγνώρισις (“recognition”). Pudens recognizes the intrinsic worth of the martyrs; her father, tragically, never does. Chapter IX shares certain thematic concerns with those of VII and VIII, notably a widening acknowledgment of her power outside the purely sectarian world of believers and a final meeting and farewell with the most important male in her life, her father. While the dreams of her brother illustrate her power in liberating Dinocrates, removing him from a shadowy realm of the dead and apparently beyond any further concerns on her part, the farewell with her father is cataclysmic, heart-wrenching, and utterly destructive of the Roman social fabric. Her natal family no longer exists. She has, to paraphrase Mark, looked around at her fellow imprisoned catechumens and said: ἶδε ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοίμου (Mk 3.34).

Chapter IX is not a dream. Reality is all too present. Prison life surrounds them, and they are suffering. The chapter is divided by two major events: the manifestation of their power and its recognition by the prison warden, Pudens, along with the final break with her father. The chapter opens with *Pudens*, the *miles optio* of the jail, acknowledging some great power in the martyrs. His recognition of their courage, their endurance, and their faith is a repetition of her earlier expression that she knew she was worthy and that she had the power to aid Dinocrates. There is a salient difference in these narrative settings, however. First, Pudens appears to be a pagan. Since we, as audience, have as yet no knowledge of his religious affiliation (XXI.4), we have to assume that he is a faithful

practitioner of the *mos maiorum* of the state. His recognition of their virtue is significant and needs some amplification. This is the first hint we are given that Pudens—who appears to be the same converted prison guard in Chapter XXI—is so moved by their heroism that he eventually becomes a Christian. This scene which illustrates his recognition of their charismatic courage underscores the power of their witness, which is, after all, what they are being sentenced to death for exercising. Pudens becomes the second pagan, following immediately after Dinocrates, whom Perpetua leads to salvation. Perpetua recognized that she was worthy to help her brother. She acted confidently and willfully on that insight. In this present instance, she is the object of Pudens's praise, and thus she occupies a position analogous to that of her brother: she is under the power of a higher power, the Roman jailer. It is Pudens's will, born out of his recognition of the good he sees in the martyrs, and very possibly his worthiness that initiates the ensuing action. Yet it seems that he is moved by a recognition that there is some power in them greater than anything he has ever known. Pudens's order that they be given better access to loved ones precipitates a series of actions in which things are suddenly made better for the martyrs.

The first thing that happens after Pudens's recognition of the martyrs' power is that they are given the freedom to have visitors, to meet together, and to offer each other mutual support. The gates of the prison are opened, and friends may visit. The historical record supports this detail. Tertullian records that many sought comfort from the imprisoned which they were not able to receive from church, and that fathers and mothers often accompanied the martyrs to the prison gates (*Mart.* 1.6: *Quam pacem quidam in ecclesia non habentes*; see also 2.1: *quousque et parentes vestri*). Her father is her only visitor who is named. He is her most important visitor. He is the visitor whose mind she cannot change, the one whose allegiance she most craves, and the one who does not recognize the power of God in her. Her father's visit must be some days after Pudens gave them their increased freedoms. The day of the games is fast approaching, and she acknowledges that her father is sick with worry about her (IX.2, *consumptus taedio*). The subject of his visit is not mentioned, nor is anything he said to her. The silence of the interchange forces our attention to the only thing the narrative does report on, their body language. Perpetua allows us only a glimpse, but a vivid one, this time of her father's comportment. He tears at his beard, throws himself on the ground, curses his age, and speaks to her so passionately that his words could move creation itself. All of these are heart-rending and desperate actions. They are also violations of the Roman code (*mos*) governing male behavior. Her father appears to have abandoned decorum. He is desperate; his daughter is about to be executed in the arena by being thrown to wild beasts. His principal thought is how he might save her. Weeks earlier he was humiliated when the procurator

Hilarianus beat him with a rod for his public display of grief and hysteria (VI.5). His parental sympathies overwhelm all pretenses to maintain his rightful authority of *patria potestas*. Willing to risk public shame, he is desperate to help her, yet unable to do so and control himself. His rage, grief, and frustration have no appropriate outlet. In desperation he turns on himself and tears out his beard. Does it matter to him at this stage if he humiliates himself yet again? Are his actions necessarily indicative of a state of desperation and grief?

His outbursts, while not normative for a Roman male as a public display of grief, make more historical sense and are more in keeping with Roman practice if we read the scene before us as a depiction of a father in mourning for his dead daughter, rather than that of a parent pleading for her to reconsider her decision. While this reading seems to disregard the text, consider that this meeting is their last. They are never mentioned again as having contact. The day of the games is almost here. She is sentenced to death. Could she be saved if she recants at this point? Likely not. Look carefully at her father's behavior. Her father's gestures are those we find familiarly used by Roman women mourning the death of a loved one. Women grieving at the funeral of a loved one would be expected to mourn publicly; their public display of grief ensured that the corpse was loved and that the corpse's final resting place was assured. Traditional Roman grief was not restrained. Women were the guardians of the rites of the dead. The Roman male, on the other hand, was expected to remain aloof from such public exhibitions of grief. The male was the guarantor of the realm of the living. He represented the continuity of life and its attendant traditions and, hence, had to appear publicly as a bastion of reassurance. Perpetua's father, however, steps quite outside these traditional constraints. To some extent he can, since the child, his precious daughter, is dead to him. His behavior is quite consistent with what we know about his affection for this particular child and with how he has loved her above all her brothers (see V.2). His behavior, as eccentric for a male of his class as it is, illustrates again this text's liminality, where behaviors follow their own trajectories and are not dictated by fashion.

Chapter IX Commentary

IX.1. *Pudens* (*Pudens*). The *cognomen* of the prison guard. His lack of any additional names is of interest, as it would normally indicate low status. However, he is identified as an *optio* (see below IX.1). The name "Pudens" appears to have been a common one. The Pudens of the *Passio* was celebrated as a saint in the diocese of Carthage, and his name appears as a saint for the third calends in May (see PL, 13.1219, *Kalendarium Antiquissimum Ecclesiae Carthaginensis*). If, as I believe, Pudens is a career military officer serving in an administrative capacity as

supervisor of the prison, he would have been a member of an urban cohort. Thus the prison where the converts are being held is a military one, and probably not the municipal prison of Carthage (see VII.9 above) but rather a comparatively small facility used by the military police for special prisoners and military personnel who served in the urban cohort and committed infractions. One Pudens was the subject of Martial's epithalamium "Marriage of Pudens and Claudia," and another was a Christian known to Paul in his last imprisonment (see 2 Tm 4.21). The name, at least in Paul's epistle, has the suggestion of one selected for what it reveals about the person, as it derives from the adjective *pudens*, "shy" or "modest." The practice was not uncommon in North Africa, and Augustine's son Adeodatus is such a name, "God's gift." There is an early tradition (with little substantiation) that Pudens was married to the British princess Claudia, and their son Linus, also mentioned by Paul, was the second bishop of Rome after Peter.

IX.1. military adjutant (miles optio). Pudens is a soldier and holds the rank of *optio*, which, if he were a field officer serving in the army, would make him a junior officer, usually subordinate to a centurion. The decurion or centurion had the right to "nominate" his *optio*, hence the name. These junior officers belonged to the order *optiones*, ranked as *principales*, and received approximately from one and one-half times to double the wages of the ordinary soldier. Their duties would vary according to what they were required to do. There are a number of references to different functions performed by the *optio*; those who supervised hospitals had the rank *optio convalescentium*, and those who were in charge of a military guardhouse within a military camp were called *optiones custodiarum* (OLD, s.v. *optio*, 2a: *in re militari optio appellatur is, quem decurio aut centurio optat sibi rerum priuatarum ministrum, quo facilius obeat publica officia*; and Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* 2.7: *Optiones ab adoptando appellati, quod antecedentibus aegritudine praepeditis hi tamquam adoptati eorum atque vicarii solent universa curare.*" For a discussion of *optio*, see Breeze, "Note," 71–77; also Speidel, *Framework*, and Watson, *Roman Soldier*, 126, 205.) The Latin text is quite specific about the rank of this Pudens, but the Greek is silent on the matter. Perhaps the Greek scribe did not understand such specific Roman military information, or possibly such specificity would have had little relevance for his Greek audience. Further, the Greek and Latin texts disagree concerning whose ultimate jurisdiction Perpetua is under. The Greek suggests she was under the jurisdiction of a *χιλίαρχος*, literally someone who commanded a thousand men, and *χιλίαρχος* is a translation of the Roman office of *tribunus militum*, a term which the Latin has not mentioned up to this point (see above VII.8, *transivimus*). This rank of *tribunus militum* was held by a very senior officer; he would be the second-in-command of the legion. *Tribunus* was often a rank that young aristocrats assumed before they took their positions in the Roman provincial administration. Birley has shown nine provincial

governors who, prior to their appointment as governor, served as *tribunus militum* in that very province (Birley, *Fasti*, 30). The probability that a young man likely to end up in the Senate would be assigned to supervise a small, urban military prison is very small. The Latin text's choice of *miles optio* is more accurate, and historically more likely. This difference between the Latin and Greek terms is important and suggests that the Greek scribe understood neither the jurisdictional distinctions in the Roman military nor the physical layout of the city of Carthage. There is a rank distinction made between the *tribunus* and the *optio* in Chapter XVI which illustrates clearly that the *optio* is subordinate to the *tribunus*.

IX.1. *who was in charge of the prison (praepositus carceris)*. Although we might not expect to find military officers in charge of prisons containing civilians—I have argued above that this may have been a military prison (see VII.8 above)—we do have the interesting corroborating evidence from the NT. Indeed, the Vetus uses the very words *ingressus* and *optio* (translating δεσμοφύλαξ) to identify the jailer responsible for overseeing Paul's incarceration: *et ingressus optio carceris* (Acts 16.23, 27, and 36; note that the Vulgate reads *custos*; see also Ambrose, *Ep. Eph.* 4 and August. *Serm.* 256). This position of *praepositus carceris* was typically held by a junior officer in an urban cohort. The word *optio* is a term older than *custos*, *curator*, or *magister*, all of which refer to ranks and duties performed by the *optio*. These latter terms replaced *optio* as a distinguishing term for such ranks and responsibilities in the course of the third century. Lastly, this jailer surely must be the same Pudens who, having converted to Christianity, is alluded to in Chapters XVI.4, XXI.1, 4.

IX.1. *to show us considerable respect (magnificare)*. Here the word seems to have the resonance of respect, rather than the more common sense of “to praise” or “extol.” Souter suggests that from Tertullian on, the word begins to have the meaning to testify to one's “greatness,” particularly that of God (see Souter, s.v. *magnifico*). R uses it this sense in reference to Christ (see XXI.11 below). However, here the sense does not imply a transcendental meaning, but rather the jailer's respect for the courage of these men and women. The verb *magnifico* is used in the Vetus in this latter sense to illustrate how the apostles are held in respect and esteem because of their powers (Acts 5.13). The Greek text, however, theologizes the line, extending Pudens's respect for the Christians under his control to their God as well (καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν), presumably thinking ahead to the end of the line where their power is acknowledged, and to the later identification of Pudens as a Christian (*iam et ipso optione carceris credente*; and see XVI.3). Perpetua seems to be trying to convey the sense that Pudens saw in the martyrs a great “power” (see BDAG, s.v. μεγαλύνω).

IX.1. *great courage (magnam virtutem)*. The common meaning of the word at this time is as a reference to one's excellence, to those qualities that make one's life

exemplary to fellow humans; it denotes acting in the highest way that a *man* is capable of behaving. With its roots in *vir*, the Roman *virtus* was inseparable from the practice of exemplary deeds, often military (Tac. *Hist.* 1.83: *res egregie gestae*), with the hopes that such deeds would lead to *fama* and thence to some notable position in society. M. Claudius Marcellus, in thanksgiving for a military victory, dedicated a dual temple to the gods Honos and Virtus in 208 BCE. The figure of *virtus* was often represented on Roman coins as dressed in a military helmet, bearing a spear and sword. Despite its roots in martial prowess, the word is used in a subtly differently manner here. Along with its inescapable origins in masculine feats of a notable sort, here it bears the connotation of moral virtue, particularly since the prison guard applies it to women. Indeed, although the martyrs have not had their defining moment, their *agon*, in the arena yet, the guard recognizes in their comportment and courage a moral *virtus*. His remark does not portray their virtuous qualities as something other than solely human (see OLD, s.v. *virtus*, 3; and Cic. *Invent.* 2.159: *nam virtus est animi habitus naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus . . . habet igitur partes quattuor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam*). Tertullian adjures the martyrs in prison to accept the old Roman military quality of *virtus*, seeing that such virtue is made stronger by hardship (*Mart.* 3.5: *quia virtus duritia exstruitur*), and he extends the meaning somewhat to include God's special power (see *Mart.* 11.14). The word seems to have begun to shift its meaning as Christians begin to use it as a lexical marker of some special quality of holiness. The Greek suggests that this quality in the martyrs is an ontological one, having its roots outside personal charisma, likely bestowed by God (καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν), and calls this quality they possess a "great force or power" (δύναμιν μεγάλην). This is a theological nuance that the Latin does not have. The Greek version of the *Passio* is obviously more indebted to the language of the Greek NT and the developing Christian theology, and frequently seeks to theologize and generalize issues that the Latin is content to leave unamplified.

IX.1. many (multos). Who were the "many" who were allowed to visit because of the largess of the warden? The number of visitors is not given, nor their relationships to the prisoners, save in the single instance of Perpetua's father. Does the text suggest that some of these were fellow believers? The phrase *invicem refrigeraremus*, particularly in light of Perpetua's apparent lack of interest in non-Christians, could be construed this way. The Christian population of Carthage is unknown. Christian authors typically exaggerate the size of their congregations. Tertullian's comments are intended to dramatize Christians' potential power and their rapid growth (see *Apol.* 37.4: *Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes insulas castella municipia conciliabula castra ipsa tribus decurias palatium senatum forum; sola vobis reliquimus templa*). The *Acts of St. Cyprian*

emphasize repeatedly the size of the crowds that attended his hearing conducted by Proconsul Galerius Maximus (see *Acta Cypriani*, 3: *mane multa turba conuenit*). A more sober figure of perhaps fifteen hundred, assuming about 0.5 percent of a population of three hundred thousand, would be closer to the mark for the first decade of the third century. It is likely that this number lessened after the pogroms of 202.

IX.1. one another (invicem). Used as a single word, *invicem*, although an adverb, frequently functions as the reciprocal pronoun in post-classical Latin (in addition to *alius*) and can designate a variety of interdependent relationships (see Souter, s.v. *inuicem*). Tertullian frequently uses the word in this manner (see *Spect.* 16.3).

IX.1. comfort (refrigeraremus). It is best not to try and restrict the exact nuance of Perpetua's use of this word in this situation. Clearly the prisoners have been suffering physical abuse—they were locked in the stocks—and emotional deprivation, and they have probably been ill nourished. Here the word *refrigeraremus* conveys more of the sense of mutual comfort and reassurance. (For an extended discussion of *refrigero*, see III.7 above.) The Greek is only subtly different, indicating that they exhort each other through continuous encouragements (παράμυθιῶν), which echoes 1 Cor 14.3 and Phil 2.1. (The corresponding verb is used in Jn 11.19, 31.) It is noteworthy that the passage in 1 Cor is a discussion of the importance of the voice of the prophet for encouragement. The noun παρηγορία (which is related to παρηγορεῖσθαι) is found in Col 4.11 and is rendered in the Vetus as *solatium*. Colossians depicts Paul in prison being comforted by fellow Christians Aristarchus, Mark, and one Jesus called Justus (καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰουῆστος). The New Testament echoes are more deliberate in the Greek version of the *Passio*.

IX.1. drew near (proximavit). This is a post-classical usage and is likely a denominative formation from the adjective *proximus*. I have been unable to find the word in use as a verb in other non-Scriptural Christian Latin texts prior to its appearance in the *Passio*. It appears to have gained in popularity as a verb; it occurs in some MSS of the Vetus, and, as one would suspect, is more commonly employed in the Vulgate and later authors (see 1 Mc 9.12; and in August. *Ep.* 44).

IX.2. devastated with worry (consumptus taedio). Perpetua is fond of repetition, and this very phrase is used to describe her father earlier in Chapter V (see V.1). Her use of this phrase, with its expression of lingering concern for her father's situation, underscores the deep affection she had for him—she refers to him as *pater* ten times in Chapters III, V, VI, and IX—and her recognition of his great love for her. He repeatedly risks public humiliation in trying to get her to recant. He is the only male figure in the entire *Passio* who elicits such emotional responses from her.

IX.2. came (intravit). The sense of the sentence seems to be to a past event. The perfect here also agrees with *proximavit* and *coepit* in the same sentence (cf. van Beek and Amat, who print *intrat*).

IX.2. tear out his beard (barbam suam euellere). This is a telling gesture, and although it is nonverbal, it reveals the depth of his pain. In addition, it discloses a world of complex associations, since public displays of such emotion by males were infrequent; public outbursts of grief were traditionally expected of women in ritualized rites of mourning for the dead (see OLD, s.v. *rado*; Quint. *Inst.* 3; and Lizzi, “Il sesso e i morti,” 61–64). Gesture in Roman society was gender-dependent. Roman decorum prescribed modes of expression of public grief that were different for men and women. Traditionally, tearing of the hair, audible cries of grief, and other acts of physical debasement were more commonly associated with female mourning for the dead. However, there were notable exceptions. Tacitus describes outbursts of public grief from both the male and female mourners who accompanied Agrippina as she made her way with the ashes of Germanicus (*Ann.* 3.1.5 and also Corbeill, *Nature Embodied*). Lucian mocks a father for his exhibition of grief (*De Luctu*). There were Scriptural analogues to Perpetua’s father’s behavior in the figures of David (2 Sm 18.33) and Ezra. The latter tears his beard and pulls hair from his head at his disappointment at Jews marrying foreigners (Ezr 9.3). See Levison, “Funerals,” 268. Tearing at the beard is a traditional gesture, and read symbolically it may represent a renunciation of his paternity, since his beard is obviously a symbol of masculinity.

IX.2. throw it on the ground (in terram mittere . . . faciem). The phase has some ambiguity: is it the hairs from his beard that he throws on the ground or is it himself? The proximity of the phrase to the act of tearing his beard, and the lack of a reflexive suggesting that he threw himself down, indicates that Perpetua intends the audience to understand that her father throws his hair on the ground (see Corbeill, *Nature Embodied*, 82–139). Augustine is another African male whose grief is not bounded by rules of decorum (see *Conf.* 4.4, 9.11–13).

IX.2. cursing his years (inproperare annis suis). This verb with the dative was used more typically in everyday speech and means “to blame” a person. It is used here to suggest her father’s assessment of his failure to save his daughter, and thus his self-blame.

IX.2. spoke such words to me as might move creation itself (dicere . . . creaturam). The intent of her poetic conceit and her use of the subjunctive (*quae moverent*) is to underscore that her father’s sorrow was so great that when it poured forth, the whole of the natural world itself might be moved to pity (see Gildersleeve and Lodge, 403, 631). Her phrase may be a subtle echo of Rom 8.18–27.

IX.3. I grieved (dolebam). She uses this very phrase, employing the common verb *doleo*, three times—once in reference to Dinocrates (VII.7) and twice

concerning her feelings for her father (V.5 and here). This phrase conveys the genuine depth of her feeling of compassion for him.

IX.3. for his unhappy old age (pro infelici senecta eius). Perpetua typically qualifies her grief for her father by a reference to his old age (VI.5, *dolui pro senecta*). Why does she do this? Why is the pity not simply expressed unqualified, and why is it associated with his old age? The answer lies in her awareness of his public shame at his diminished public status, *pudor*, and of the role of masculine honor, shame, and *potestas* in Roman culture. Moreover, she is an adult child and still subject to his jurisdiction. He chooses not to punish her. Yet her public behavior as an adult brings more potential embarrassment to him. There is a curious role reversal between daughter and father: the father begs her, in a childlike manner, to give up her Christian point of view. She responds as the adult. Her pity is genuine, but her belief is fixed. She is torn between her love and respect for her father and the obligation she feels to Christ, whose remarks concerning parents are stronger: “Here are my mother and my brothers. . . . For whoever does the will of my heavenly Father is my brother, and sister and mother” (see Mt 12.46–50). In sum, in a society where shame is meant to play such a strong role in governing behavior, anomalous situations like this one involving Perpetua and her father flout every convention.

CHAPTER X

The Argument: Transformation and Leave-Taking

Arguably the most complex and surreal of Perpetua’s visions, the fourth dream is structurally related to the first one in that it confirms the prophecy that she will die and triumph over death as a martyr. The crucial theme, and Perpetua’s fundamental concern, in this dream is to illustrate the personal transformation of the human soul, achievable through belief tested in disciplined, courageous action. The faithful witness of the martyr strengthened the entire Christian community, as apostasy diminished it. Clement of Alexandria believed that the soul of the martyr “manifests the perfect act of love” (see *Strom.* 4.4.28). Clement intends his readers to see in the act of the martyr the recapitulation of the act of Christ’s atoning love on the cross. Perpetua’s dream in the amphitheatre is a symbolic rehearsal of this impending “perfect act of love.” Additionally, as this is Perpetua’s last dream, it represents the climax of her physical and spiritual journey toward martyrdom (see Dodds, *Pagan and Christian*, 50–51; Amat, *Songes*, 76; Dronke, *Women Writers*, 13; Cox Miller, *Dreams*, 161–65). Interpretations of this dream range across the spectrum from an extreme Jungian position (von Franz) to a strongly positivist one (Robert). The Jungian reading views every aspect of Perpetua’s behavior as embodying a universal quality, and every anecdote in her

dream is seen to exhibit influences from the mystery religions—chiefly Gnosticism, Mithraism, and Greco-Egyptian cults (see von Franz, *Perpetua*). Such a reading turns the flesh and blood of the historical narrative into historical fiction, a trot for source studies. Robert, while he rightly illustrates the text's indebtedness to historical details, is rigidly positivist. Eschewing all symbolic readings, he views the dream solely as a reflection of a Greek athletic festival. Relying principally on the Greek version, he believes the contest to be the *pankration* celebrated in Carthage in honor of the Pythian Apollo, and not a symbolic depiction of a gladiatorial combat (Robert, "Une vision"). For Robert, since only men participated in these contests, the need for Perpetua's gender transformation is dictated by the historical exigencies of the games: she must be male. Both the Jungian and the positivist positions are too limiting: the Jungian is too dismissive of historical details and the positivist reluctant to allow the author imaginative license. The narrative does accurately depict scenes from the amphitheatre: it correctly names the gates of the amphitheatre as the gates of Life and of Death, the manager of the games is correctly referred to as the *lanista*, and the preparation for the contest in the stripping of the garments and the application of the oil and the sand from the arena floor is historically accurate. However, these details are the raw material employed by the author in constructing a complex literary allegory concerning a larger cosmic struggle. Both the historical and the symbolic exist in a mutually reinforcing narrative.

This is a dream, and as a dream it must follow the logic of dream narratives, a form which permits it to construct new orders of causality and temporal sequences not found in more naturalistic genres. Therefore, we should expect items gleaned from experience to be incorporated, refracted, and recombined in representations that are themselves not bound to empirical strictures. Elements from her personal experience, from what she knew of gladiatorial combats and the *pankration*, exist side by side. The core of Perpetua's dream is her employment of a complex allegory in which she pits herself against a foul-looking Egyptian in a contest of boxing, wrestling, and kicking (Tert. *Mart.* 2.4: *Nempe enim et athletae segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam*). Perpetua, as is her custom throughout her four dreams, provides her own interpretation of the nature of the struggle in her own words. She sees the conflict cosmically, as one that represents a mighty struggle for victory against the forces of Satan. Her unnamed Egyptian opponent is simultaneously an Egyptian wrestler and an unnatural being, a devil. In both the Latin and Greek versions she is quite explicit on this point: *et intellexi me non ad bestias, sed contra diabolum esse pugnaturam*/καὶ ἐνόησα ὅτι οὐ πρὸς θηρία μοι ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν διάβολόν ἐστιν ἡ ἐσομένη μάχη (X.14). The foul-looking Egyptian is the physical embodiment of evil, that is, Satan, and the contest represents the struggle of the Christian soldier against Satan and his assistants.

This is her last dream, her last opportunity to represent her situation, and it signifies the apogee of her narrative. She herself says, “This is the story of what I did the day before the final conflict. But concerning the outcome of that contest, let whoever wishes to write about it, do so.” This final remark is of interest, since it provides evidence of her literary self-consciousness. Before a discussion of the elements of the dream proper, I would like to consider briefly her words. First, they function as a *peroratio* because they point to a summation of the events of that day. Most such statements, however, we find as introductory elements, as *exordia* to an audience on events *about to occur*. Perpetua employs this figure at the end of her chapter. Why? She does this so that the narrative connecting Chapters IX and X is not broken. Allow me to illustrate. Chapter IX ends on a melancholy note with the pathetic image of her pitiable, beaten, and dejected father. The opening line in Chapter X begins with the contrasting image of the confident and bold deacon, Pomponius. Her biological father, representative of the old order, of the mutable world of human relationships, is now replaced by Pomponius, her spiritual father, who symbolizes the new order, the immutable world of divine rapture she is about to join. The close juxtaposition of the figures of these two men underscores her emphasis on this transformative change, a necessary one if she is to defeat her new enemy, the embodiment of evil, the Egyptian. The world of material concerns, of parents and of children, of lovers and relationships, must now be jettisoned, and that world of the spirit taken on. Her narrative must employ literary forms like that of allegory to illustrate this total *metanoia*.

Her employment of rhetoric is again illustrated in her concern that an anonymous author should take up the skein of her narrative. This remark, although it is delivered as if it were a fleeting second thought, is actually deliberate and hopeful. Its purpose is twofold: she seeks a biographer to record the martyrs’ last hours and to remind the listener that her death is imminent, since her narrative now must end. Notice that she employs two rhetorical figures: first, she uses an *apostrophe* in her address to two audiences, the listener/reader and the potential eyewitness/author; and second, she uses the figure of *pathos* in her understated, but nonetheless latent, emotional appeal that someone should continue and bring the story to completion.

This dream, more than the preceding three, serves as a leave-taking and is in the tradition of the *exitus illustrium virorum*, since Perpetua explicitly acknowledges that the end of her life is at hand. She openly invites any sympathetic survivor who knows the fate of the martyrs during and after the contest to complete the story, presumably employing epideictic rhetoric. Her remark “the day before the final conflict” is evidence that at the time of this dream, she has certain knowledge of the day of the games—the first time she has provided so specific a detail—and

that she expects that her contemporaries will be watching the final events, having read her account to this point, and compose a fitting conclusion. Her concern for her readers provides insight into the care she takes with the composition and what might be called its self-conscious artifice. Perpetua is writing a public document; she expects it to be read, and she expects her history to be completed. Our understanding of the public nature of the *Passio* must color our understanding of her intention and her use of language to construct an ideology of sacrifice. Lastly, we expect the character of her final dream to be invested with all the attendant anxieties and aspirations one might have who faced the certain knowledge that she will be dead on the next day. Her gladiatorial battle with the Egyptian—and I believe it is a battle that combines actual historical details with the theology of the *miles Christi*—is imbued with a heady optimism: it celebrates a rapturous embrace of an expected death which leads to life. Her final depiction of herself, immediately before she awakens, is of a solitary, victorious figure walking from the floor of the amphitheatre “in triumph to the Gate of Life.”

Perpetua’s dream begins appropriately with a journey, an appropriate metaphor for her leave-taking and final denouement. Pomponius appears at the door of the prison and knocks loudly. He announces that they (presumably, her fellow Christian initiates) are awaiting her, and then he leads her to the amphitheatre via a winding and rugged path. She arrives out of breath and is led to the middle of the arena where he takes his leave of her. Before he departs, however, he tells her that he will be with her in her struggle. She next notices many spectators who look at her in astonishment. She is puzzled that no beasts have been set against her. Although the narrative to this point is mostly a prelude to the contest about to come, a number of subtle points have been intimated: first, Pomponius has established himself as her spiritual guide, her *psychopompos*. He leads her not to the next world, but to the brink of that eagerly awaited paradise. Pomponius is a type of Christ knocking at the door (Rv 3.20). Christ himself was depicted as a *psychopompos*—syncretistic images of “Christ as Orpheus” can be found in those funerary images of Christ as the Good Shepherd, depicted in Phrygian dress, surrounded by animals, and grasping a lyre, in the catacombs of Domitilla and in the somewhat later cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus (see Veyries, *Les figures*).

An unnamed, foul-looking Egyptian next confronts her. His lack of name is significant as it mutes his identity and allows her to use him as a type. None of the participants other than her and Pomponius are named, and once named they have individuality. A retinue of helpers surrounds the Egyptian. Helpers, too, suddenly surround her. They are handsome and strip her of her clothing. While there is certainly an erotic element latent in the stripping of her clothing, the point of her being stripped has a twofold importance: she must be naked to wrestle, but more importantly, she must be naked so that her gender transformation stands

revealed. Her clothing hides her femininity, but her nakedness reveals her masculine identity. As soon as she is stripped naked, she is revealed as a man. For the contest to be credible, for her to emerge as the champion of Christ, his *miles Christi*, she must divest herself of her femininity and take on a male persona (2 Tm 2.3; see also Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, 61–67). Christ, too, was stripped before his final contest (Mt 27.35). This gender transformation is a projection of her own unconscious desire to seek martyrdom, and as such it exhibits her social understanding that the role of the martyr requires a transformation from the traditional depiction of females as nonaggressive and domestic to one of male combativeness (see August. *Serm.* 280 and 281). As Polycarp entered the amphitheatre before his martyrdom, a voice from heaven cried out to him: “Be strong, Polycarp, and be a man!” Ἴσχυε, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου (9.1; cf. Joshua 1.6–7). Moreover, since all martyrdoms are an imitation of Christ’s martyrdom, for one’s death to be religiously efficacious it is necessary to model it as closely as possible on that of Christ.

The depiction of the contest is accurate, as the rubbing with the oil, the application of the dust, and the figure of the *lanista* are historical features drawn from both gladiatorial combat and the *pankration* (see X.8 below). During the course of their combat, Perpetua kicks her Egyptian opponent in the face with her heels, knocks him to the ground, and finally stands triumphantly on his head. The detail is reminiscent of the prophecy in Genesis concerning women and their offspring, who will bruise Satan with their heels (Gn 3.15; cf. Rv 12), and also parallels Perpetua’s earlier use of the dragon’s head (the first dream) as the first step on the perilous ladder to heaven (IV.7). Her dream reshapes what we would expect an historical depiction of such a contest to look like. For example, at the Egyptian’s defeat, the crowd begins to shout its approval of her victory, and her supporters sing hymns. Perpetua has changed both the spectators and her helpers into types of Christians. Further, her depiction of her interaction with the *lanista* is also one that violates all the normative strictures of material creation. The behavior and character of the *lanista* is changed from his traditional function in such contests as a manager or referee (often despised and held in ridicule by the crowds) to someone who acts remarkably like a Christian minister performing in a semi-liturgical fashion. Notice that at the end of the contest he gives Perpetua the kiss of peace, *et osculatus est me*, saying as he does, *Filia, pax tecum*. Such behavior on the part of the *lanista* is ahistorical. Yet the change is more profound than simply one which represents a change in attitude or belief exemplified in an individual’s behavior as a type of pious propaganda meant to illustrate the *lanista*’s conversion as a result of Perpetua’s bravery. Perpetua has artfully changed the very character of the *lanista*. The deacon Pomponius has subsumed the anonymous persona of *lanista*. It was Pomponius who promised Perpetua, immediately before he left her in the

middle of the arena, that he would be with her and help her in her struggle. He has fulfilled his promise. He has returned—if he ever left her—as the *lanista*, or, more in keeping with the spirit of this text, he exists within the *lanista* and in place of that abhorred pagan official. There has been a miracle. One might almost call it a metempsychosis, rather like the one Felicity describes later, *illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me* (XV.6).

The world of the dream is a plastic one, and the rigid boundaries that define one's waking states do not exist. Narratives that wish to represent that oneiric world, therefore, follow the dictates of a reality freed from the strictures of a three-dimensional world. Meta-realities become normative experiential states within this framework. Women become men, dragons exist, travel to the stars is achievable, and conversations with God take place. The dream narrative seeks to impose shape and order on the fruits of the unconscious and to transform the visionary experience into a textual artifact. The transposition from dream to narrative is complex and is outside the generic rules governing composition in Greco-Roman rhetoric. Chronologies slip, personae change, the fantastic becomes real, divine and material beings conjoin; the content and the style used to express this new order must differ from the rules governing classical rhetoric. Following the language of Quintillian, we would say both *res* and *verba* are changed to address the exigencies of the visionary experience. Imitation, the practice of copying earlier models but supplying either a new content or style, was at the heart of classical rhetoric. With dream narratives, however, we have no established models to imitate, since every text is inherently *sui generis* and does not lend itself to imitation. The beleaguered Christian community of Carthage—a small, isolated, inward-looking sect with a deeply eschatological conviction, which believed it not only possible, but necessary to pierce beyond the limits of the senses—would have placed particular value on narratives like Perpetua's. Tertullian, for example, wrote admiringly and without skepticism about the sister in his own community who had ecstatic visions, spoke with the angels and with God, and could read the minds of men (Tert. *De Anim.* 9).

Such groups required a set of teachings that would complement and extend their beliefs. Christian theology that considered issues of the inherent value of prophetic revelation, and particularly the eternity of the soul, or metempsychosis—ideas chiefly indebted to Platonism and Gnosticism—were popular with such groups (see Or. *Princ.* 1.2.10; and Knight, “Apocalyptic”). For some, normative boundaries, such as those concerning the roles of men and women and the representations of these genders, were also transgressed. In the apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, Thecla disguises herself as a man in her search for Paul in Myra (9.25). The issue of transformation, of personal liberation from pagan strictures on gender roles, to cite one of just many examples, made Christianity particularly attractive

to well-born women but nonetheless required a radical reimagining of the self through Christian discipline. It is this Christian ideology of personal liberation from social strictures which is at the heart of her final dream. Hence Perpetua's transformation from female to male, the presence of Christ in Felicity, and the shift from *lanista* to Pomponius are part of the transformation from pagan to Christian.

Finally, at the battle's conclusion, Perpetua walks to the "Gate of Life." She then awakens and gives her interpretation of the dream, namely that she was to fight with the devil and not beasts and that she would be victorious. She sees no conflict in the apparent violation of all causal strictures in her narrative. The dream ends as she takes her leave, acknowledging that the end of the contest will have to be written by another.

Chapter X Commentary

X.1. On the day before (pridie quam). There is an abrupt transition, beginning at the end of Chapter IX, to this phrase. It is the sort of shift that we expect in a diary where the impulse to record the present event takes precedence over logical continuity. Chapter IX ends with Perpetua's remark concerning her pity for her father, while Chapter X opens with a statement of the time when the events in Chapter X took place and with a report of the vision she has had on that day. *Pridiequam*, often written as two words, is used with the subjunctive to express an expected action or outcome (Gildersleeve and Lodge, sec. 577). There may be an echo in the canon of the Mass: *Qui, pridiequam pateretur, accepit panem.*

X.1. vision (horomate). The Latin borrows this word from the Greek, where it typically suggests a vision or dream (LSJ, s.v. ὄραμα). Greek is particularly rich in verbs for seeing (ὀράω, φαίνομαι, βλέπω, εἶδω). The intransitive φαίνομαι also meant "to appear," "to be visible," and this sense is likely the basis for its use here. Plato discusses this particular seeing as the "eye of the soul." Although the prophecy or revelation through dreams is a commonplace in the OT—ὄραμα is used forty-three times; see Gn 15.1; Ex 3.3; Jb 7.14; and Dn 1.17—it is used far less in the NT: once in Mt 17.9, and after that only in Acts (eleven times). In those instances in the NT when revelatory dreams are narrated, for example, the word for vision (ὄραμα) can signify not only visions in the sense of seeing with the mind's eye (see Acts 9.10–12)—some of which have an exact time attached (Acts 10.3, 18.9)—but also visions that one believes are actually seen physically and do not exist in the imagination alone (Mt 17.9; Acts 7.31). Perpetua herself uses the normative Latin word for vision, *visio*, only once and ascribes it to her fellow Christians (IV.1); she prefers the phrase *ostensum est* (IV.2, VII.2, VIII.1). She

uses *horoma* but once, and her use may be the earliest attestation of this word in Latin (see Souter, s.v. *horoma*). Does her use here suggest that she intends a distinction (such as above, between a vision in the mind's eye and a material seeing) in those visions where she employs these different words? I think not. The present vision of the fight with the Egyptian (*horomate*) is certainly as surreal as any of the three revelations that have gone before, where she only uses *ostensum est*. Moreover, this fourth vision is clearly less part of her conscious life than those dreams concerning her dead brother, Dinocrates, and there is a suggestion that this vision is more of the type that exists in the "mind's eye." The word ὄραμα does appear in Christian texts of the second century. Hermas uses it to indicate a night-time revelation (*Vis.* 3.2.3, 10.6), as does Justin, *Dial.* 78.3. The Vetus only uses *visio* and does not employ the transliterated form. The word *horoma* appears in the fourth century in Juvenecus, *Evang. Lib.* 3.340, and in Augustine, *Faust.* 31.3. The initial glottal fricative [h] is typically dropped in later Latin (see Niermeyer, s.v. *horoma*). For additional bibliography, see Lampe, s.v. ὄραμα; Moulton and Milligan; and Friedrich.

X.1. Pomponius (Pomponium). Perpetua refers to this deacon three times (III.7, VI.7, X.1). Pomponius appears to have been an important presence in her life, may have been instrumental in her conversion, and was a comforting presence for Perpetua. The figure in her dream seems to be a conflation of the deacon Pomponius, whom she knew, with the figure of Jesus and the god Mercury, since Pomponius is described as wearing an unbelted white robe and marvelous sandals. Pomponius then tells her "not to be afraid" and that he will join with her in the struggle. This last remark is ambiguous—does Pomponius mean that he too will be martyred, or that he will be present to her in her struggle, as Felicity suggests Christ will be in her, struggle in her, when she remarks to the prison guard, "another will be in me who will suffer for me" in the arena (*illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me*, XV.6)? See the notes for III.7 and VI.7 above.

X.1. deacon (diaconum). This word, used three times, is only used to describe the office of Tertius and Pomponius (III.7, VI.7, X.1). See note III.7 above for discussion.

X.1. door of the prison and was knocking loudly (ostium carceris et pulsare vehementer). The line may be an echo of Revelation: Christ knocks on the door and invites those faithful to join him in a banquet (Rv 3.20). While a call to repentance to the church of Laodicea, Jesus issues this invitation to all those who will hear his message to join the Messianic banquet. Early Christians saw such a banquet as the initiatory meal of the Parousia (1 Cor 11.26; see also Hughes, *Revelation*, 68). Adopting this eschatological reading, as an echo of Revelation, reinforces the figure of Pomponius as at least partly a Christ-figure (see below X.2, *multiplies*). The image of the door as a portal to salvation is used a

number of times in Scripture (Lk 13.25; Acts 12.13). Christ actually identifies himself as the door to salvation (Jn 10.9), and this rhetorical figure was also used in Ignatius *Phild.* 9.1–2, where Jesus is called the “door of the father” (θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς). The issue is not so easily resolved, however, since in the *Passio* Pomponius is knocking at the prison door, whereas in Revelation it appears that Christ is knocking at the human heart of a church gone astray. If we extend such metaphorical meaning in the *Passio*—and in addition, factor in the eschatological tones of this dream—to the prisoners, who may be fearful, it is possible to read Pomponius’s knocking as both a physical knocking and also as a spiritual knocking at the door to the prisoners’ hearts. See also Tert. *Marc.* 4.30, where *ostium* is used as a metaphor for entrance into a divine presence.

X.2. *He was wearing a white unbelted robe (erat vestitus distincta candida)*. In Perpetua’s most pointedly eschatological dreams, the figures are often depicted as wearing white robes. The influence from Revelation seems indisputable (see note IV.8 above). The tunic was a basic item of dress and was typically worn under the toga by upper-class Roman men; it also served as the outer garment for the less well off and as an item of dress for the military (see Sumner, *Roman Military Clothing*). Pomponius’s white robe is a complex image. Its color suggests purity. The tunic is not described as having any stripes, and this indicates it is a simple garment worn by someone not from the equestrian or senatorial classes. Otherwise it would have colored, vertical-striped bars of varying breadth running from the shoulders down the front and back. Images from Christian iconography often depict Christ as wearing a plain, unbelted tunic. The image of Christ as the Good Shepherd in the Priscilla Catacombs shows him in an unbelted tunic (*exomis*) with the right sleeve cut away. The unbelted tunic is also represented in the female figure of the *orans*, common in North African funerary mosaics.

The dalmatic was an unbelted tunic with wide sleeves which came into fashion in the second century and was usually worn over a long, wide tunic. There is some suggestion within Roman funerary rites that the unbelted tunic (*discincta*) was used as a symbol of mourning. For example, in the description of the burial of the ashes of Augustus, men of the equestrian order, barefoot and wearing unbelted tunics, collect his ashes for placement in the family tomb (Suet. *Aug.* 100). This image in the *Passio* influenced the *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi*, 7.3 (*vidi, inquit, iuvenem inenarrabili et satis ampla magnitudine, cuius vestitus discincta erat in tantum candida luce [praeifulgens]*). In the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* I have adopted the reading of *vestitus distincta candida*, but note that MS M (Monte Cassino) employs a double accusative (see Gildersleeve and Lodge, sec. 338). The Greek reads very differently: Pomponius is depicted “wearing a shining garment” (ἔσθητα λαμπράν) and “girdled about” (περιεζωσμένος; see also Herm. *Sim.* 9.2.4 and 9.9.5). The phrase ἔσθητα λαμπράν is exactly the one used by Luke when

he describes Herod's throwing clothes on Jesus before he sends him back to Pilate (23.11). The Greek clearly draws from the Lucan account. Does the use of *περιεζωσμένος* echo the use of this verb in the NT, and if so, might it have some theological nuance here? See Lk 12.35 and 37, 17.8; Eph 6.14; and Rv 1.13 and 15.6. The tunic was also symbolic of priestly ministry. Aaron and his sons, out of respect for their ministry, wore fine tunics, and this tradition may have had resonance in Christianity (Ex 28.40, 39.27).

X.2. *multilaced sandals* (*multiplīces galliculas*). The word *gallicula* or *callicula* is post-classical (see Souter, s.v. *gallicula*) but likely derives from *caligula*, the shoe worn by the Roman soldier (OLD, s.v. *caliga*, and *caligula*). *Gallicula* is the earliest attestation of the term. The shift from the voiceless velar stop [k] to voiced [g] is not uncommon. The word has caused much confusion among some modern commentators. Leclercq believed the term derived from the Greek κάλλος and the *multiplīces galliculas* to be small, elaborately designed roundels sewn onto the fronts of clothing (see *DACL*, 2.2, 1655–57). The word indicates a sandal. The Vetus uses *calceus*, never *gallicula*. The next attested use of *gallicula* is in Jerome, who—while it does not occur in the critical editions of the Vulgate (where he typically uses *sandalia* or *calceus*, see Mk 6.9, Acts 12.8)—does use it unambiguously in his translation of Pachomius's rule, where it refers to an article of footwear (see “Regula Patris nostri Pachomii Hominis Dei,” PL 23.78: *Nullus vadat ad collectam vel ad vescendum habens galliculas in pedibus*). For the word in later Latin, see Niermeyer, s.v. *gallicula*. *Multiplīces* refers to the lacing or strapping around the ankle and extending up the calf. It was often part of the decorative feature of the sandal, and that appears to be the intent here and in X.10. Christ, depicted as the Good Shepherd (ca. 225), appears in a circular fresco in the Priscilla Catacombs wearing similar sandals and laces. The Church was sometimes personified as wearing beautiful sandals.

But a more important question concerns us. Why are Pomponius's sandals being referred to at all? What possible reason does Perpetua have for making such a deliberate point in illustrating the elaborate nature of these sandals, particularly on a Christian deacon? Her very mention of them leads one to expect that they play a functional role in the depiction of Pomponius. The context provides a clue. Pomponius and Perpetua are about to embark on a journey through a rough pasture. He is to be her guide. The image of Pomponius is a hybrid characterization and likely the result of an unconscious syncretism on the dreamer's part. Perpetua thus imagines Pomponius both as the Christ and as a god whom she knew before, Mercury. Originally, Hermes/Mercury was a god associated with shepherds and flocks—a figure not unlike early depictions of the Christ. These early associations of Hermes/Mercury as a protector of the pastures—as someone who could lead the sheep from danger to safety—coalesced with others that emphasized his role

as messenger and guide (*Der Neue Pauly*, 5.426–32). Mercury is also the *psychopompos* and the god of rites of passage. His caduceus was thought to have power over sleep and dreams. Hermes/Mercury as ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων brings divinely inspired dreams from Zeus to humans. Thus, the elaborate sandals seen in Perpetua's vision (*multiplipes galliculas*) are a motif drawn from her memory of the god Mercury, the messenger deity, the benevolent Olympian guide, who was invariably depicted wearing elaborate sandals. The image of Mercury would have been well known to the young Perpetua, as Septimius Severus had provincials minted in bronze and silver which circulated widely in Africa, depicting the god Mercury standing with helmet, purse, caduceus, and elaborately laced, winged sandals (*talaria*). See also *Orphic Hymns*, 27.4; *Ov. Met.* 11.312; and Seyffert et al., 287.

X.3. *And he said to me (et dixit)*. The narrative is initially very deliberate in its portrayal of events, almost at odds with the sort of disjunctive chronologies which we often expect in dreams. Notice that first Pomponius knocks at the door, and then, when Perpetua opens the door to him, he speaks just as we would expect, as if someone knocked at one's front door. This attention to compositional verisimilitude suggests authorial editing after the completion of the dream.

X.3. *we are awaiting you (te expectamus)*. Pomponius is alone. What others are awaiting her? At this stage in the narrative, the audience, ignorant of the events to come in the amphitheatre, is forced by Pomponius's use of the plural to imagine a more complex scene. The plural underscores the mystery of her mission and those unknown figures whom she is about to confront. It serves as a device to heighten suspense.

X.3. *Come (veni)*. Courcelle suggests that abbreviated syntax and imperative idioms may also be appropriate for the visions depicted as dreams in these North African martyrdoms (see Courcelle, *Les Confessions*, 128–30: “les paroles qu'il adresse sont une admonition d'une concision extreme, se réduisant le plus souvent à un ou deux impératifs”).

X.3. *And he took me by the hand (et tenuit mihi manum)*. The phrase may have a “pastoral” association. Similar language is used in the account of Jesus' raising of the daughter of Jairus: “He took the child by the hand” (κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου/*tenens manum puellae*, Mk 5.41).

X.3. *through places that were rugged and winding (aspera loca et flexuosa)*. The prison where they are being held appears to be situated in the area of the forum, which sits atop Byrsa Hill. The amphitheatre is approximately one-quarter mile below the forum on the west. Even today, the road from the top of Byrsa to Carthage's amphitheatre is a steep and tedious walk, as it takes a number of turns. Further, the difficulty of the journey toward the victory of martyrdom is metaphorically represented by the physical impediments which they have to traverse. Compare this with Herm. *Vis.* 1.1.3, “And a Spirit took me and carried me away through a

pathless region through which a man could not make his way, for the place was precipitous . . .” (Lightfoot, 335). The occurrence of sleep followed by dreams before a difficult journey also appears in the *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi*, 7.2: *ad medium fere diem inter illa itineris confragosa mirabili et alto sopore correptus*.

X.4. *And (Et)*. Two MSS, A and G, read *Et vix*. However, virtually all of Perpetua’s sentences in this chapter have a paratactic flavor and begin with *et*.

X.4. *all out of breath (anhelantes)*. This added emphasis on the difficulty of the journey and the fatigue which it causes heightens the verisimilitude of the narrative. Since *anhelantes* is a plural, we may conclude that Perpetua is not the only one suffering from fatigue. There is no verbal equivalent to *anhelo* in the Greek version.

X.4. *amphitheatre (amphitheatrum)*. This is the municipal amphitheatre of Carthage, which sits at the bottom of Byrsa Hill. Tertullian had personal experience of this facility. He had nothing but scorn for the games, believing that the amphitheater was a place of barbarous cruelty and idolatry (see *Spect.* 13: *quot et quibus modis spectacula idololatriam committant*, and sec. 12, 17, and 20). He believed it to be inhabited by demons, and hence, from the Carthaginian Christian point of view, the battle which Perpetua will undertake is, not surprisingly, said to be against a demon: *contra diabolum*.

X.4. *into the middle of the arena (in media arena)*. This may be a very early instance of the breakdown between the ablative and the accusative. The context here would require an accusative in classical Latin, since the notion is “motion toward,” as Perpetua is being led into the arena. It is entirely possible, however, that a later scribe could have introduced this change. Notice also that the events that are about to take place occur in the middle of the arena and not in the dressing room, as we would expect if this were a literal representation of a contest.

X.4. *Don’t be afraid (Noli expavescere)*. Although the Vetus uses *timeo* for *paveo* in the famous NT consolation of “fear not” (Lk 1.13, φοβέω), the context here is appropriate for an echo of that Scriptural phrase and suggests consolation or strengthening from a divine presence (see Lk 1.13, 30, 2.10, 5.10; Jn 12.15; and Courcelle, 130; and see X.3 above. Van Beek, Bastiaensen, and Amat print the less emphatic form of *paveo*, but MSS A, G, P, and C read *expavescere*).

X.4. *here (hic)*. Used here adverbially (long *i*) and not as a demonstrative (see the Greek equivalent, ἐνθάδε).

X.4. *I am . . . with you (sum tecum)*. *Tecum* is used but three times in the *Passio* and only in this chapter: twice in this line by Pomponius, and once when after having defeated the Egyptian wrestler, Perpetua receives the kiss of peace and the greeting *pax tecum* from the *lanista*. This latter greeting suggests the Eucharistic kiss of peace but is oddly out of place from the *lanista*. Nonetheless, there are parallels between Pomponius’s promise to be with Perpetua, along with his

use of *tecum*, and Christ's promise to be always with the faithful, although the Vetus uses the plural form *vobiscum sum* (see Mt 28.20).

X.4. *I will struggle with you (conlaboro tecum)*. *Conlaboro* is a Christian use and does not appear to have been much employed in classical Latin (Bastiaensen, 432). The sense of "to join another in struggle" or "to suffer with" is not classical (see OLD, s.v. *collaboro* and *laboro*; but TLL 3.1574; Souter does not record the form but does provide a late citation that is semantically equivalent, s.v. *collaboro*, from Verecundus, c. 552 CE; see also Mohrmann, *Études*, 2.238, 3.261). The form in early Latin may have been *conlaboro*, and assimilation of the final compound nasal before a labial produced *collaboro*. The Vulgate uses the verb in this sense of shared suffering but does not use the *con*-form, preferring *collaboro* or *laboro* (see 2 Tm 1.8, 2.3, *Labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu*). Paul's injunction to "share in the suffering as a good soldier of Christ" was influential in the development of the theology of martyrdom (see the *Martyrs of Lyons*, 1.23 in Musurillo, *Acts*, 68; and see Felicity's classic remarks on this idea in XV.6: *illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me*).

X.4. *And he went away (Et abiit)*. Why does Pomponius depart immediately after declaring: "I am here with you, and I will join with you in the struggle"? At first glance this appears to be just a statement of fact, although a contradictory one. Does Pomponius's departure presage something unsaid but understood by Perpetua? If the figure of Pomponius is a hybrid figure, a conflation of the supernatural with the natural, as I have been suggesting—a syncretized, oneiric image of classical and Christian figures (Christ and an angelic being)—then the line can be more richly read as a promise that Pomponius will not leave Perpetua alone on the spiritual level during her trial, but rather that he will be present helping her in spirit although she may not see him in the flesh.

X.5. *astonished (adtonitus)*. The crowd appears to be stunned (*adtonitus*) at Perpetua's entrance. They seem not to have been expecting a young woman. The word used here has the connotations of both fixation and surprise (OLD, s.v. *attonitus*, 2) but principally that of astonishment. With this passage we may compare XVIII.2: *vigore oculorum deiciens omnium conspectum*. Here Perpetua seems to be a regal figure, and there is a boldness in her eyes which embarrasses the crowd. Her appearance causes them to lower their gaze. While staring is occasionally proscribed (see Prv 16.30), in this instance and in XVIII.2 there is no stigma attached to it.

X.5. *I knew (sciebam)*. This may be an example of the conative imperfect as, Perpetua believes, the present events are her efforts at completing an action (see X.5; on verbs employing the conative, see Gildersleeve and Lodge, sec. 227, 233; and Quint. *Herr.* 2.1.2). Such intuitive knowledge is also divinely inspired, since, as she states, her knowledge comes from God: *ego quae me sciebam fabulari cum*

Domino (IV.2). One has the sense that she is reaching into a memory older than the judgment of the Roman jurist, Hilarianus.

X.5. *condemned to the beasts* (*ad bestias damnatam esse*). Hilarianus has earlier condemned her to such a fate (VI.6), and this outcome is what she is expecting. It is not clear at this stage whether Perpetua understands this sentence literally or figuratively (see X.14). The punishment was usually reserved for criminals (Cic. *Sest.* 64.135a; Suet. *Calig.* 27.3) but was also employed to punish Christians (Tert. *Apol.* 12.10: *Ad bestias impellimur*, also 27 and 35; *Spect.* 12); it was so abhorrent that some condemned individuals committed suicide rather than undergo the public humiliation of fighting the beasts (Sen. *Ep.* 70.23). Apuleius calls being damned to the beasts “the most cruel of deaths” (*Met.* 44).

X.5. *I was puzzled that the beasts were not being turned loose on me* (*mirabar . . . bestiae*). She is expecting the sentence of Hilarianus (VI.6) to be carried out.

X.6. *Egyptian* (*Aegyptius*). The premier sport in the classical world, wrestling, was extremely popular in Africa, particularly Egypt, and some of antiquity’s greatest wrestlers were Egyptians. Heliodorus (fl. third cent.) notes in his *Aethiopica* (10) a notable Egyptian or Nubian wrestler who is defeated by the condemned Theagenes. While it would be well not to be too literal-minded concerning Perpetua’s identification of the wrestler’s ethnicity, it is also important that such details may add to the historical record and substantiate the authenticity of the text and its age. There is some evidence, although it is hard to detect here, that the depiction of the wrestler as an Egyptian or Nubian represents a Roman stereotype of identifying a dark-skinned individual as having evil intent. Additionally, the identification of the wrestler as an Egyptian has unmistakable Scriptural overtones. The name of the country, Egypt, frequently functions both in classical literature and in the Bible metonymically for the people (Stat. *Theb.* 4.709; *1 Clem.* 17.5; and *Barn.* 9.5) and as a place of slavery and persecution for the Jews (Gn 37.29; Ex 1.13). The pharaoh, since he was the king of the Egyptians, was viewed as a satanic figure, and Egypt as the land of magicians (Ez 29.3 and Ex 7). This image from Ezekiel identifies the Pharaoh as the great dragon: *Ecce ego ad te, Pharaon, rex Aegypti, draco magne*. *Draco*, being for Christians an image of the devil, is particularly appropriate here, as Perpetua says she is going to fight against the devil (see Tert. *Marc.* 3.13.10: *Aegyptus nonnunquam totus orbis intellegitur apud illum, superstitionis et maledictionis elogio*). Revelation uses “Egypt” symbolically as a place of degradation and destruction (Sodom) and clearly has in mind the city of Jerusalem, where Christ was crucified (Rv 11.8). Perpetua’s identification of her combatant as an Egyptian brings all these associations to the fore.

X.6. *foul in appearance* (*foedus specie*). The Egyptian’s description as loathsome contrasts vividly with that of Perpetua’s youthful and physically attractive

male helpers (*adolescentes decori*, X.6) and foreshadows her judgment that she is going to fight with the devil (*contra diabolum*, X.14).

X.6. *Handsome young men (adolescentes decori)*. *Decori*, aside from its common use to describe someone as physically attractive, can also refer to a nonphysical beauty or grace (OLD, s.v. *decor*, 2). This latter meaning might better translate the description of the martyrs as they walk into the arena on the day of their martyrdom: *quasi in caelum, hilares, uultu decori* (XVIII.1).

X.7. *I was stripped naked (expoliata sum)*. The eroticism in this scene is palpable, particularly since it follows immediately on her description of her assistants as physically attractive. Her choice of the verb *exspolio* with its additional nuance of “to strip something of its external covering” (OLD, s.v. *exspolio*, b. “to strip (seed) of its sheath”), rather than *spolio*, may hint at the uncovering of the masculine beneath the feminine.

X.7. *and I became a man (et facta sum masculus)*. This revelation has always proved the most controversial of her dreams. It can be read in at least two ways. From the perspective of the games, it is simply a requirement: for one to perform the *agon* as a wrestler, one had to be a man. Hence Perpetua, in order to achieve verisimilitude in her depiction of the contest, adopts this persona. However, such a reading does not address the deeper meaning of the transformation, namely the spiritual dimension, which is the level on which she understands it. There was an early tradition—chiefly Gnostic, but also present in Montanism—according to which the issue of spiritual authority was discussed in gendered language. In the final verse of the Coptic version of the *Gospel of Thomas*, Peter, who serves as the voice of the anti-female faction, says, referring to Mary Magdalene, “Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of Life.” Jesus answers Peter: “I myself shall lead her to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every woman who shall make herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven” (114). The Coptic *Thomas* is a translation of the three Oxyrhynchus fragments (c. 130–250). Additionally, in the *Gospel of Mary* (c. 160), the Magdalene addresses the frightened apostles and tells them, “He has prepared us and made us into men” (5.2). Somewhat later in this same text, Levi urges all the apostles to “put on the perfect Man” (9.9). The idea of “man” in this context is being used to symbolize power, force, strength, and courage, things a mid-second-century audience would associate with “maleness.” To cite Gnostic texts is not for a moment to associate Perpetua with Gnostic doctrines, but rather shows the ubiquity of such concerns. Despite Paul’s injunction that “there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus” (Gal 3.28), the association of men with power and with the figure of Christ remained strong.

X.7. *supporters (fautores)*. The Greek text reads ἀντιλήμπτορες, “helpers” (see the apocryphal and pharisaical *Psalms of Solomon* 16.4, where the word can refer

to God or Christ). I believe that Perpetua sees these helpers as spiritual beings. On this matter, the Greek singles out one of the helpers as having a radiant beauty, τῷ κάλλει ἑξαστράπτων, a rather standard *topos* to describe angelic beings. The same word is used in Luke's depiction of the Transfiguration (9.29) and in the Greek *Passio*: ἑξαστράπτων (X.6). The word *fautores* appears in X.6, and Perpetua enjoys verbal repetition (cf. van Beek, Bastiaensen, and Amat, who print *favisores*, which only has the support of MS M, while *fautores* has MSS A, G, P, and C).

X.7. *rub me with oil (oleo defricare)*. This is a complex image indebted to both the classical and Biblical traditions and combines elements of the profane and the sacred. Oil was used as an unguent before the games to soften the skin and to prevent it from tearing. The images of young athletes involved in such activities can be found in both red and black figure pottery. There is a red figure *kylix* (Rome, Villa Giulia) depicting a young athlete being rubbed with oil by the coach (παιδοτριβης). Athletes were rubbed with oil immediately on undressing before and after their contests (Xen. *Symp.* 2). The Greeks were not unaware of the erotic overtones of such behavior, as Aristophanes' character "Wiser Argument" makes clear (*Clouds*, 1227–36). In the Scriptures the application of oil is commonly associated with anointing, consecration, making something sacred, baptizing, and healing (Ex 30.30; Pss 89.20; Mk 6.13). Her image of the helpers rubbing her is erotic because the nature of the erotic is inescapably a part of the Greco-Roman tradition. Yet Perpetua is also a Christian athlete, rubbed down with the sacred oil which consecrates her to the Lord. Anointing with oil was also part of the ceremonies of exorcism and baptism. Hippolytus's account of baptism has catechumens standing naked before the priest. They are anointed with oil, descend into the baptismal water, and on their emergence are again anointed with oil (*Trad. Ap.* 21.6; see also Tert. *De Bapt.* 7.1, although his discussion is less detailed than Hippolytus's). It is worth repeating that the place and time sequences of the events since she entered the arena are telescoped together. She never enters a dressing room where the undressing, oiling, and other ablutions would have been performed. The author is not focused on presenting a realistic depiction of an actual contest but is using elements of the contest to portray a cosmic struggle with the forces of evil.

X.7. *for a match (in agone)*. The word used to signify an athletic contest or combat (2 Mc 4.18; Plin. *Ep.* 4.22.1; Suet. *Ner.* 22). Christians adopted the word *agon* (Gk, ἀγών) as a metaphor for spiritual struggle against temptation, and as an all-embracing term to describe the Christian life in a pagan world. The Epistle to the Hebrews uses it as a metaphor for the race which is life (Heb 12.1), and Paul uses it the sense of a fight or contest (1 Tm 6.12). The Christian life, particularly that of the martyr, was seen as an *agon* (1 *Clem.* 7.1). The word is used to describe

the efforts of the martyr athletes of Lyons who have completed a great contest (Musurillo, *Acts, Martyrs of Lyons*, 1.36, ποικίλον ὑπομείναντας ἀγώνα), and Origen uses the word to describe Christ's temptations in his commentary on John (*Comm. Jo.* 10.1). It appears that the ablative better suits the action being described than *agonem*, which, however, has MS support (MS M).

X.7. *in the dust (in afa)*. The Latin is a borrowing of a less-common Greek term for a fine dust sprinkled on the body during athletic contests (see LSJ, s.v. ἀφή, 5; and Arrianus, *Epic.* 3.15.4). The Greek text interestingly employs the more familiar term κοριορτῶ (see also Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 14.2). If, as I believe, the Greek is a copy of the Latin, this example is yet another instance of the Greek scribe substituting a more familiar word for a less familiar one. To argue that the Latin is a copy of the Greek forces one to account for the occurrence of *afa* when the putative Greek exemplar contained a perfectly normal word in κοριορτῶ. Greek and Roman athletes were commonly rubbed with a fine coat of olive oil and then sprinkled with a fine dust so that they would be more difficult to grab and hold in the wrestling contests (Plut. *Lys.* 13). Tertullian mentions the wrestlers' oiling and the sprinkling with dust in *De Pallio* 4.1 as an arid and ultimately futile endeavour (*studia palaestrae, male senescentia et cassum laborantia et lutea unctio et puluerea uolutatio, arida saginatio*). Notice that although Tertullian's phrase *puluerea uolutatio* is close to Perpetua's, he uses a more familiar word (*puluerea*) than her *afa*.

X.8. *came out a man (et exivit vir)*. Perpetua rarely fills in such details as specific locations or precise chronologies. We do not know where this fantastically large man came from. He simply arrives on the scene. There are various possible reasons for her not saying where he came from. She may be presuming that her readers are so familiar with the amphitheatre that such an explanation is unnecessary. Perhaps she is simply not interested in specifying an exact location. It is possible that in view of his enormous size, his entrance is to be understood as essentially mysterious and inexplicable. Or the lack of any explanation may suggest that he is a divine being who simply appears.

X.8. *a man of such great size (vir quidam mirae magnitudinis)*. Perpetua exaggerates the size of the beings in her dreams. She applies the adjective *grandis* to the Good Shepherd of her first vision (IV.8), and she uses the very same phrase, *mirae magnitudinis*, to describe both the ladder and the dragon of the first dream (IV.3, IV.4). Hyperbole is a feature of her dream narratives. The unidentified figure is in charge of the contest and establishes the rules. He is described as acting as if he were the *lanista*, wearing an unbelted robe and wondrous sandals made of gold and silver, a portrayal which reminds one of the clothing of Pudens. The image is a complex and syncretistic one and conflates the Greek master of the *pankration*, the Roman *lanista*, and Christ as athlete-Savior. The man's size allows one to read

the image as both protective and threatening. He may be Pudens *redux*, with his Christ persona now exaggerated for all to see. Yet this same man carries in his hand the staff containing the golden apples of the Hesperides. The athletic hero Hercules' attainment of the golden apples was a ubiquitous story and was represented in verse, prose, pottery, frescoes, and mosaics, and his image influenced early Christians. Those same apples were guarded on Mount Atlas by the dragon Ladon, a possible parallel with the dragon in Perpetua's first dream. Perpetua's image is a composite one; it is a product of her pagan background and her recent conversion to Christianity. Hercules was superseded by the figure of Christ as the Good Shepherd, and, although the tradition is later than our period, the larger-than-life figure of Christ, who towers above the roof of the surrounding building, is depicted in sarcophagi and in the apsidal mosaics. Christ is shown on a sarcophagus in a colonnaded architrave, towering above his companions, and his head is higher than the architrave itself (see Saggiolato, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani*, 74). The apse depicting the towering figure of Jesus in the church of St. Pudenziana, Rome (c. 400) represents a similar effort of imagination (see Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 180, 251; and Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, 96). Lastly, Tertullian mentions that it is Christ who has led the martyrs into the arena and will act as the manager of the games (see *Mart.* 3.4: *Itaque epistates vester Christus Iesus, qui vos Spiritu unxit, et ad hoc scamma produxit, voluit vos ante diem agonis ad durioorem tractationem a liberiore conditione seponere*).

X.8. a purple garment with two stripes running down the middle of his chest (*purpuram inter duos clavos per medium pectus habens*). Tunics with stripes indicate status. The bands are technically called *clavi* (OLD, s.v. *clavus*, 4). Two stripes running from the shoulders down to the hem, front and behind, signified someone of the Equestrian rank. The right to wear this tunic could also be bestowed by the emperor (Suet. *Vesp.* 2: *Sumpta virili toga, latum clavum, quamquam fratre adepto, diu aversatus est . . .*; Plin. *Ep.* 2.9: *Ego Sexto latum clavum a Caesare nostro, ego quaesturam impetravi*). This garment was called the *tunica angusti clavi*. The term *clavos* has vexed scholars, but it now seems very likely that it was used to identify the stripes on the tunic. Images of Christians wearing this tunic abound in the Priscilla Catacombs on the Via Salaria Nova in Rome. There is an image in the cubicle of the "Velata" in the Priscilla catacomb which depicts a female *orans* figure with an unbelted tunic with two stripes from shoulder to hem, and immediately adjacent to this figure is the image of a mother (also wearing this tunic) and child. A depiction of the scene of Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well in a *cubiculum* of this same catacomb shows Jesus and the woman dressed in such tunics. The Greek does not translate this technical Latin name *clavus*. The Greek adds that the man's garment "had not only purple from the shoulders but also in the middle on the chest."

On this term see LeClercq, *Manuel*, 1.89. This passage appears to have influenced the *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi* (7.4).

X.8. *decorated shoes made of gold and silver* (*galliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas*). The shoes of the *lanista* indicate his elevated status. Footwear was a sign of status in Rome. The elites often wore sandals of many colors, decorated with gold, silver, pearls, and other precious stones. Poppaea wore sandals with solid gold soles and straps covered with gemstones, and Pliny remarks on women whose shoes were covered in gold leaf. The fashion to decorate their shoes reached such proportions that the emperor Heliogabalus (218–22) tried to enforce sumptuary legislation, banning women from decorating their footwear with gold, silver, and jewels (see Clem. Al. *Paed.* 2.11; and also X.2 above). The Greek makes little of the sandals, simply referring to them as ὑποδήματα ποικίλα (“decorated shoes,” see also X.2).

X.8. *carrying a rod* (*ferens virgam*). The traditional staff carried by both the referee of the *pankration* contests and the master of the gladiatorial combat. These figures are always depicted with their staffs. There are even images of the gladiators holding these staffs. (See the mosaic pavements from El Djem, now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis, which depict such scenes.) Of the numerous Biblical references to the Lord’s rod, the one that is most logically associated with the rod of the *lanista* seems to be that of Pss 23.4. The other citations refer to the Lord’s rod as a tool for chastisement (see Prv 10.13, 22.15). There is an important depiction of Christ holding a staff in a ceiling painting of the *cubiculum* of St. Claudius Hermes, located in the catacomb of St. Sebastian (see Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, fig. 11). There is an image of the referee bearing his rod with the two wrestlers and their attendants surrounding the wrestlers and, in this instance, Atalanta and Peleus on a Chalcidian hydra (see Munich no. 596, *Antikensammlungen*).

X.8. *as if a gladiator trainer* (*quasi lanista*). He is not a *lanista* but behaves as if he were one. The qualification is significant, since it underscores that Perpetua is not describing an actual scene from either the *pankration* or a gladiatorial combat, but a contest between a Christian *miles* and some embodiment of evil (see Clem. Al. *Strom.* 3.7). The contest is overseen by the *lanista*, who is a composite Christ-Pudens-Mercury-Hermes figure. (On *lanista*, see Suet. *Iul.* 26.3.) Although the presentation of this *lanista* contains certain elements not commonly found in ancient depictions of the role—for example, the decorated shoes of gold and silver and the green branch with golden apples—the figure nonetheless functions as the mediator of the ensuing combat. Perpetua also introduces unexpected and non-normative incidents into her narrative. For example, the *lanista*, who functioned as the manager, and at times was in the midst of the actual combat as a type of referee, here decides the outcome of the combat: he announces that if the Egyptian defeats her, he can kill her, but if she is victorious, she receives the

branch. Normally, the death of the gladiator was determined by the spectators, who, once a gladiator was down, would cry out *habet* or *hoc habet* (“he’s finished”) or, if he were to be spared, *mitte* (“let him go”), and he received his freedom for the day. The sentence of death was not that of the *lanista*’s to pronounce on his authority alone (see Corbeill, *Nature Embodied*, 41–66). Notice in the terms laid out by the *lanista* that, unlike the Egyptian’s victory over Perpetua, her victory over the Egyptian does not appear to be associated with killing him but with simply defeating him: *Hic Aegyptus, si hanc vicerit, occidet illam gladio; haec, si hunc vicerit, accipiet ramum istum* (X.9). The Christian martyr’s triumph in the arena is one of passive resistance, not one of pugilistic belligerence. It is interesting that the Greek version provides two words to translate *lanista*, βραβευτής ἢ προστάτης. It might be said that in this instance the use of two Greek words to express the idea of the Latin *lanista* indicates some confusion on the part of the Greek author (cf. X.12); βραβευτής goes some of the way in rendering the meaning of *lanista*, but προστάτης is wide of the mark (see BDAG for both terms). The former term designates the “judge of the games” (LSJ, s.v. βραβευτής), while the latter signifies “a leader, chief, someone who stands before one, as a protector” (LSJ, s.v. προστάτης). Both terms had some currency in the Christian Greek of this period and may be indebted to Paul’s use of the corresponding verb (Col 3.15). Clement of Alexandria uses βραβευτής (in language very similar to that of the Greek text) to designate Christ as the judge of the Christian life (see *Strom.* 7.3). Similarly, Clement of Rome uses προστάτης to refer to Christ (1 *Clem.* 36.1 and 64). Chrysostom used προστάτης in the sense of “martyr” (see *Hom.* 1 Cor. 26.5). The *lanista* was not held in high regard by society. Seneca’s remarks likely reflect more than his personal, moral rectitude: *contemptissimus quisque ac turpissimus* (*Ep.* 87.15).

X.8. *green branch* (*ramum uiridem*). The athlete who won an event in the games received a wreath and often a sheaf of green, sometimes laurel (see the images on Louvre vase K 518).

X.8. *golden apples* (*mala aurea*). The golden apples are the symbol of victory. The mythology concerning golden apples is exceedingly rich, and frequently contradictory. I noted above (X.8, *ferens virgam*) the important depiction of Atalanta, the greatest female athlete, as a wrestler. The contest of Hippomenes and Atalanta provides an explicit parallel, a contest where a female is pitted against a male, and golden apples (received from Venus) are an important motif. Hercules’ efforts to attain the fantastic golden apples of the Hesperides, symbols of fertility, may also be part of her dream. Hercules and the Hesperidian apples were a subject widely depicted in plastic arts and verse (see the Hydra, Brit. Mus. E 224; and Apollodorus *Lib.* 2.113–14; Verg. *Aen.* 4.480–86; and *Ecl.* 6.61). Viewed from a Christian point of view, the apples are ambivalent symbols, but in this context they

must function also as a symbol analogous to their pagan counterpart—that is, they are life-affirming symbols of attainment, and thus they may represent the Tree of Life (see Gn 2.9; Rv 22.2, 14, 19; Enoch 25).

X.9. *And he asked for silence (et petiit silentium)*. She adds a realistic detail; her comment is the first indication that there has been any vocal response from the spectators.

X.9. *sword (gladio)*. The reference is likely to the common legionnaire's double-edged, stocky military sword. Its breadth was the same from point to hilt. The term *gladius* had a wide range of meanings and, on occasion, might even refer to the *pugio*, a dagger-like weapon. The use of *μαχαίρα* in the Greek version suggests a large knife or dagger. Perpetua uses the word five times, and in every instance the context is threatening (IV.3, VI.3, X.9, XIV.3, XXI.7). The type of sword used by the gladiators is a subject of considerable discussion. Petronius preserves an example of the gladiator's oath. He uses the general term *ferrum* for sword, as in *ferroque necari* (see Petron. *Sat.* 117).

X.9. *if he defeats . . . this branch (si hanc vicerit . . . ramum istum)*. On first reading, there would seem to be a curious asymmetry in the prediction made by the *lanista* concerning the outcome of the contest. If the Egyptian wins, Perpetua dies. If she wins, however, he lives, and she gets the branch of golden apples. Moreover, for the contest to have been viewed as an honorable one, the contestants had to be reasonably matched (see Barton, *Sorrows*, 31). However, there are a number of subtle issues at play here. Perpetua will tell us (X.14) that her fight is with the devil and that this contest was a foretaste of that struggle. The devil cannot be killed but only triumphed over. Moreover, a Christian martyr achieves martyrdom through voluntary and pacific witness of the faith to the death. Hence the Egyptian cannot die, but the martyr must.

X.10. *punches (pugnos)*. This was the type of fighting that was principally used by boxers in the *pankration*, but it was also used by the gladiators (see Cic. *Mil.* 92). Such boxing and the use of the *caestus* (a leather strap sometimes filled with lead and iron and favored by the Romans) frequently led to fatalities (see Verg. *Aen.* 5.405).

X.10. *He kept trying to grab hold of my feet (ille mihi pedes apprehendere volebat)*. The contest has now moved to wrestling. This is a contest in which both boxing and wrestling could be used interchangeably (see LSJ, s.v. *παγκράτιον*). For Perpetua the struggle must be all-encompassing, since for victory over evil to be complete, she must have vanquished whatever she is challenged by. Since she sees this struggle ultimately as a cosmic one which taxes all her strength, a representation which uses manifold physical violence fulfills this requirement. Notice that Tertullian is quite clear on the nature of this struggle, equating the art of the wrestler with things demonic, seeing in the nature of the athletes' bodily contortions

a metaphor of the sinuousness of Satan (*De Pal.* 18.3, *et palaestrica diaboli negotium est*).

X.10. kicking him in his face with my heels (illi calcibus faciem caedebam). Following the interpretation which views the Egyptian as a personification of evil, there is a homologous parallel here with her stepping on the head of the dragon as she mounts the ladder (*IV.7, calcavi illi caput et ascendi*). The line is also evocative of God's curse on the serpent concerning Eve's progeny crushing them with their heels in Gn 3.15: "and he shall bruise your head." Kicking in the face was also permitted in the games, but typically not done unless one's opponent was down, making such kicks less likely to be parried. Attic red and black figure pottery frequently depicts the participants in the *pankration* kicking and striking one another. Note the deliberate use of alliteration in the Latin; there is none in the Greek.

X.11. And I was raised up into the air (et sublata in aere). The use of the perfect passive suggests that she was raised up by a power outside herself. The point is that God has now joined her. The promise made earlier by Pomponius (*X.IV*) to the effect that he would not abandon her is now fulfilled, and she is raised in the air by God's Spirit. Tertullian notes disapprovingly that during these games athletes were able to leap into the air (*Spect.* 18.2).

X.11. as though I were unable to step on the ground (quasi terram non calcans). Perpetua underscores the miraculous nature of what is happening to her while it happens. For her, gravity no longer exists. She is at least five feet in the air at a height where every movement of her foot strikes his face rather than the earth. The blows are directed by the unseen power of God. She is above the earth, and not of it, while her opponent is a chthonic force. Perpetua uses *quasi* nineteen times in the text, frequently to qualify situations which are difficult to comprehend and to convey her sense of wonder (see, however, Robinson, 78). Note again her use of the alliterating velar stops in *cadere . . . calcans*. There is no alliteration in the Greek.

X.11. I began (coepi). Perpetua frequently begins a clause or a sentence with this expression. The verb *coepi* occurs sixteen times in the *Passio* (*IV.10; VII.2; VIII.3; IX.1, 2; X.3, 7, 10–13; XI.2; XIII.4, 8; XVIII.8; XX.8*). The frequent use of the verb in this chapter (six times) propels the action of the contest forward, as it emphasizes her continual activity. It is only used twice by R (*XVIII.8; XX.8*).

X.11. my fingers were knit together (ut digitos in digitos mitterem). There is comparable language in Ovid's depiction of Achelous's and Hercules' wrestling match (*Met.* 9.58, *et urgebam digitos digitis, et frontem fronte*). Achelous's transformation from man to snake to bull forces us to consider the transformations here. Pomponius changes from *lanista* to Christ, the Egyptian into a demon, and Perpetua from a woman into a magical *miles Christi*. The reason for Perpetua's choice of this striking alliterative phrase might be her recollection of her own recent baptism,

when hands were laid on the catechumens as they were about to be baptized. Hippolytus remarks that those set apart for baptism shall have hands laid on them daily, exorcising all evil spirits (*Trad. ap.* 20.3).

X.11. *I stepped on his head* (*calcaui illi caput*). She deliberately repeats the identical phrase she used in describing her stepping on the head of the serpent in IV.7.

X.12. *And the crowd began to shout* (*et coepit populus clamare*). See X.11 above for *coepit*. The crowd shouts approval. These are Christians, ranged in the seats of the amphitheatre, and they shout their approval of her triumph. Their roar, coming from those who are sympathetic, is unlike the later angry bellowing of their pagan counterparts, who cry out against the martyrs (XVIII.9).

X.12. *and my supporters began to sing hymns* (*et fautores mei psallere*). It is now perfectly evident that the unidentified, attractive seconds were Christians and possibly angelic beings (Rv 22.16). Psalm 47.7 urges the faithful to sing psalms after the Lord has subdued nations and placed them under the feet of the righteous. Origen writes that all the angels and men on God's side hear the struggle of the martyr in the arena (see *Exh. Mart.* 2.18). Tertullian reminds the psychics of the importance of episcopal direction for church unity, as opposed to individual judgment; he cites the singing of psalms, particularly Psalm 132 (see *Iei.* 13.7–8). Augustine urges Christians to sing the psalms as a device to praise God and strengthen their faith (*Enn. Ps.* 67.6). The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste strengthened themselves through the singing of psalms. The Greek does not contain the etymological equivalent to the infinitive *psallere* (ψάλλειν), but rather an inflected form of a classical verb (LSJ, s.v. γαυριάω, with the meaning “to glory”). This verb is not commonly used in Christian texts. It occurs once in the deuterocanonical Judith and once in the *Shepherd* (see Jdt 9.7 and *Herm.Vis.* 1.1.8). It may just be a coincidence that this infrequently used verb occurs in Judith, but perhaps a subtle comparison is suggested between the OT heroine Judith and Perpetua. Formisano 105, no. 114 suggests that *psallere* in a Christian context suggests song with musical accompaniment. However, it is difficult to imagine such accompaniment here.

X.12. *and I took the branch* (*accepi ramum*). Perpetua receives the symbol of her victory. She uses this verb only once before, when she takes the curd-like cheese from the Shepherd (IV.9). She concluded from that dream that she would die, and from this dream that she will triumph over death itself.

X.13. *And he kissed me . . . peace be with you* (*et osculatus . . . pax tecum*). She is clearly echoing the liturgy and the kiss of peace (Rom 16.16 and 1 Cor 16. 20). It was early on associated with the baptism of the catechumen. Justin indicates that the initiate was welcomed with such a kiss before proceeding to the Eucharist (*1 Apol.* 65.1). Perpetua's dream of her fight, although it exists in her unconscious, is nonetheless framed by her desire for the sacrifice of Christ as reenacted in the

liturgy. There is no evidence that Perpetua has yet received the Eucharist. Her longing for the reception of the sacrament, for the reception of the crucified and resurrected *corpus domini*, is also a factor in the shaping of the details and the characterization in this final dream.

X.13. *Gate of Life* (*portam Sanavivariam*). This is the name of the gate through which contestants—gladiators whose lives have been spared—walked at the end of the contest. Some argue that there were three gates in the amphitheatre: the Gate of Death (*Porta Libitinensis*; see *Commod.* 16.7: *galea eius bis per portam Libitinensem elata est*), the Gate of Victory (*Porta Triumphalis*), and the Gate of Life (*Porta Sanavivaria*). (See also XX.7.) My own inspection of the ancient amphitheatre at Carthage shows only two gates extant and no evidence that there ever was a “Gate of Victory” there. The *Porta Libitinensis* (named after Libitina, the goddess of funerals) was the gate through which the bodies were drawn on their way to the *spoliarium*, where they were stripped of their weapons and anything else of value (see *Sen. Ep.* 93.12). Perpetua’s victory allows her to walk through the *Porta Sanavivaria* to eternal life (*Or. Exh. Mart.* 3.13).

X.13. *And then I woke up* (*experta sum*). She uses this phrase at the end of every vision immediately before she provides the interpretation (IV.10, VII.8, VIII.3, X.13). The use of the perfect form of *experior* (sometimes used in this period in North Africa as the perfect of *expergiscor*) is a deliberate effort to separate the visionary experience from her conscious state. It should alert the reader to the deliberateness with which Perpetua reviews the contents of her dream. (See Heffernan, “Philology and Authorship.”)

X.14. *I knew that I was going to fight with the devil and not with the beasts* (*et intellexi me non ad bestias, sed contra diabolum esse pugnaturam*). On the literal level of the events that later occur, she is quite wrong: she will fight with a beast, a mad cow. I find her inability to predict her future contest correctly another indication of the authenticity of the document. If this were a forgery, one would have expected the anonymous Christian author to have chosen to underscore Perpetua’s prescience—particularly in light of R’s Montanist sympathies—by having her predict accurately the nature of the forthcoming struggle. Here, however, her prophetic voice errs, at least on the literal level. If, however, we read her remark as a Christian summation of the coming contest, drenched in allegory, it is entirely accurate. She will fight the devil. The devil and the beasts are interchangeable for Christian martyrs of this period (*Tert. Mart.* 1.5: *quia pax vestra bellum est illi*). In fact, the beasts for the Christian zealots are the representatives of the idolatrous Roman state, and the move from that image to the devil in another guise is a simple one (*Rv* 2.13).

X.15. *the day before the final conflict . . . (in pridie muneris . . . autem muneris)*. See above in the argument my discussion of Perpetua’s certain knowledge that she is to die on the next day. Presumably, she has such certainty because the announcement

has been given to the martyrs through some official source. Is it curious that there is no mention of her father, her son, or indeed any member of her family? They have played a rather central role up until this point. She has apparently taken emotional leave of them at this time. The battle with the Egyptian is a psychic, emotional, and theological watershed. She has now entered the time of preparation for her imminent death, and she steels herself to focus only on the contest to come. Such focusing may have been an attempt to suppress the terrible anxieties they must have experienced as they approached closer to death. Those who were unable to go the course would have proved a great propaganda victory for the persecutors. The Church was terrified of such apostasy, and that anxiety is evident in the writings of many of their leaders (see *The Martyrs of Lyons*, 2.1; *Tert. Mart.* 4.2; and *Or. Exh. Mart.* 4.35–36, where Origen states that apostates will be denied by Christ, and 7.48). Notice the alliteration in this line.

X.15. let whoever wishes to write about it, do so (si quis voluerit, scribat). Notice that Perpetua is committed to an historical record of the contest (*scribat*) and not an oral retelling of the tale. This attests to her belief in the permanence of the written record and to her desire that her actions be remembered. See my discussion above in the chapter argument.

CHAPTER XI

The Argument: Paradise Gained, The Heavenly City

Saturus's dream is the substance of Chapter XI and the ensuing two chapters. The chapter opens with a single line from the hand of R, which introduces the vision of Saturus. R is intent to establish for his audience the authority of his copy of the narrative, based on a prior written record from the martyr himself (*quam ipse conscripsit*). This remark establishes R's intimacy with Saturus, his original composition, and thus situates himself within the historical context of the persecutions. As a spokesman for the martyrs, R becomes a witness and a participant in the struggle. However, while R emphasizes that the vision and its present rendering is the work of Saturus alone, there are noticeable differences between R's attribution of the dreams to Perpetua and the vision to Saturus. (See II.3.) First, in his discussion of the authenticity of Perpetua's dreams, R remarked explicitly that it was written in her own hand (II.4, *conscriptum manu sua*) and in the very sense which she intended (II.4, *et suo sensu reliquit*). R is slightly less emphatic in his attribution of the vision to Saturus and makes neither of these claims. His choice of *edo* is of interest, as it also has currency at this time as an oral report, or composition, as much as a written text. (See OLD, s.v. *edo*, 7; and *Tac. Ann.* 15.5.2.) Furthermore, R refers to Perpetua's record as a narrative (II. 3, *narravit*)

but to Saturus's vision (XI.1, *uisionem*), a word only used twice in the *Passio* and never by R in reference to Perpetua's dreams. The Greek employs συγγράφω in both instances and has no equivalent to *narro*. While it is prudent not to insist on restrictive lexical registers for *edo*, *narro*, and *visio*, it is nonetheless of importance to note their different employments by R and the martyrs. Arguably, this is a subtle difference, but such differences are at the heart of the language in this text, which is so often focused on the precise nuances which words may have (IV.3).

What might account for this difference in R's prefatory remarks concerning Perpetua and Saturus? Perpetua's dreams are the dreams of sleep or trances. She has them while still alive; she awakes from her dreams and provides an interpretation of each of them. At the conclusion of her last dream, she announces her impending death. Saturus's vision, on the other hand, is a vision of their souls' experience after their martyrdom. They are now dead. His is the soul's dream. Saturus begins his story with the startling announcement that "we left our bodies" after having suffered. None are alive in this narrative. Saturus relates a vision of the soul's afterlife beyond the grave. And although his vision contains the familiar, yet startling, phrase *expertus sum* (XIII.8) at the vision's conclusion, and although the narrative is set in an imaginary future time, at the time of his awakening it has already happened. This elaborate conceit suggests that the fictive element is more palpable structurally in this vision than those dreams of Perpetua's. The conceit of the after-death visions owes less to Saturus's unique imagination than to a tradition. Similar visionary narratives were a staple of Christian eschatology, and Saturus—or R, or whoever wrote this section—was likely influenced by those related themes in such works as the "Vision of Er" in Plato's *Republic*, Scipio's dream in Cicero's *De Re Publica*, Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and, of particular relevance for Saturus's narrative, the book of Revelation. The elements of the vision, chiefly the declaration of their out-of-body migration of souls, in so far as they illustrate an influence from chapters in the book of Revelation, may account for R's less emphatic emphasis on the text being in Saturus's own hand and as he left it, when compared to his insistence in II.3 that Perpetua completed the narrative in her own hand.

Let us turn to the dream itself. Saturus begins his story with the announcement of the death of the martyrs and their flight through the heavens. Only two of the five who died are depicted, Saturus and Perpetua. Saturus is the leader of the small group, and Perpetua their charismatic prophet. There is no indication that their relationship is anything other than teacher and student, and there is no suggestion that they may have been married or intimate (but see Osiek, "Perpetua's Husband"). Saturus states that four angels carried them but did not touch them. Since their souls are journeying toward a meeting with God, it is necessary that these souls be depicted as inviolate and pure, hence not touchable, but powerful and

capable of movement. Do their souls move under their own power? Saturus makes a point of noting that the angels are not touching them. This motif underscores the miraculous nature of their flight. Saturus next provides some visual images concerning the geometry of their flight. They are traveling not on their backs in the manner of a corpse, as we would expect of a body, particularly one lying in state. Rather, he and Perpetua are upright, bent slightly forward as if they were climbing a hill. Every opportunity is taken to deemphasize death and allegorize the animate power of the soul. Indeed, he depicts the souls as if they were bodies: they walk, talk, and act as if they were embodied. The scene is redolent of Plato's idea of the soul's return to its origin, its source of being, developed in the *Phaedrus*.

Freed from the bounds of this world, the martyrs see a great light, a common antique metaphor for heaven and the dwelling place of God (Gn 1.15; Acts 9.3). What is being depicted is the resurrection of their spirits: they see a light as they fly toward the east, toward the rising sun, the location of Eden, Jerusalem and the place of Christ's death and resurrection. The large space and the formal garden which they see on their arrival in a kind of heavenly antechamber is reminiscent of images of paradise, which is traditionally located in the east (Gn 2.8). Rose trees, whose leaves fall without ceasing, towering like cypresses (Is 37.24), appear before them. Flowers of every sort thrive in abundance. The contrast with the senescence of the earth could not be greater. Here in this sacred space the material universe exists on an enhanced scale: roses are as tall as cypresses, leaves fall continuously while the bushes are never bare, and a profusion of flowers abound. In this ethereal, cultivated garden they encounter another four angels who appear higher up the angelic scale of importance. These are described as more radiant than the four who brought them from the earth. Hence they are closer to the divine light. As in many dreams in antiquity, doublets abound. The pseudepigraphal Book of Enoch identifies the various archangels and their particular duties. For example, Raphael is over the spirits of men, and the souls of the just are assessed according to the proportion of light which they exhibit (Enoch 20.1–8, 43.1). Once Saturus and Perpetua have been placed on the firmament, they begin to exhibit all their physical abilities. They journey across this wonderful botanical garden on foot. They stop along the way and greet four comrades whom they recognize as martyrs. One is reminded that Perpetua in her first dream also saw a throng of martyrs around the image of the Good Shepherd. Tertullian claimed that the martyrs were granted the citizenship of heaven (*Mart.* 3.3), and the Christian community of Carthage under his guidance was strongly eschatological and gave the martyrs pride of place in heaven. The fact that Saturus provides names for these four individuals suggests that this audience remembered them and that they were likely killed in a recent persecution. There is no extant record of the names of these four martyrs. It appears that they died sometime before the

deaths of Perpetua and her companions in March of 203. As they interrogate the martyrs—Saturus, although it is his dream, always uses the plural verb, possibly indicating his deference to his fellow martyr Perpetua—about unnamed others whom they all knew, the angels interrupt this conversation, so as to hurry them along to meet the Lord. The effect of this curious detail is artful and underscores the eschatology of the entire episode. There is the strong suggestion that almighty God cannot be kept waiting.

Chapter XI Commentary

XI.1. Saturus (Saturus). This is the *praenomen* of her teacher. He was a member of some standing of the church in Carthage, but probably not a bishop or presbyter. The use of his single name suggests that his social status was not high, and he may even have been a freeman. He was nonetheless an important figure, as he is referred to eight times in the narrative (IV.5, XI.1, XVIII.7, XIX.4–6, XXI.1, 8). His name is a curious one for a Christian, if it derives (as one would expect) from the Greek *σάτυρος*, the demigod or satyr whose habitation was the forest. However, it may be that this is an adopted name from the adjective *satur*, used in a Christian allegorical sense, meaning “abundance” or “plenitude.” Saturus was thus one filled with the Spirit. The name remained popular in Carthage. Cyprian mentions one Saturus with his family in Lucian’s reply to Celerinus (*Ep.* 21) and refers to another Saturus whom he has appointed a reader (*Ep.* 28). The Arian Vandal King Genseric employed an orthodox master of his household whose name was Saturus (d.c. 460).

XI.1. blessed (benedictus). The term was applied honorifically to certain of the clergy, to the dead, and in particular to martyrs. Tertullian begins his *Ad Martyras* with the words *benedicti martyres designati* (1.1). See his *Praescr.* 30.2, *Eleutherii benedicti*. Cyprian also used the epithet (see *Ep.* 22.2.1; *Adv. Jud.* 2.30; and see Petraglio 86 on R in this line).

XI.1. vision (visionem). The Greek version uses *ὄρασις*, which can correspond to the meaning of *visio* in the sense of “supernatural or prophetic apparition” and is seen for example in Lk 1.22, where the Vetus (and the Vugate) use *visio*. See also X.1, *horomate*.

XI.1. made known (edidit). The word *edo* can be used with reference to either the oral declaration of a tale or the publication of a written text (see OLD, s.v. *edo*, 7 and 9). Post-classical Latin frequently uses the word to mean “to reveal” or “to relate” (See TLL, 5.2.89).

XI.1. he himself wrote (conscript). R is at pains to suggest that Saturus wrote his dream, as he follows *edo*—which might have functioned alone to suggest the act of writing—with the unambiguous *conscript*.

XI.2. we had suffered (passi . . . eramus). The pluperfect leaves one in no doubt that the contest in the amphitheater is over, that they have been martyred, and that the context for the ensuing dream is an after-death experience. Tertullian is fond of using the word to refer to the suffering of the persecuted Christians. He uses the verb in reference to the suffering of the martyrs in *Scorp.* 8.4 (*O martyrium et sine passione perfectum. Satis passi, satis exusti sunt, quos propterea Deus texit. . . .*) and in *De Fuga*, 7.5, citing Scripture as a justification for the ready and volitional acceptance of suffering.

XI.2. departed from the flesh (exivimus de carne). The entire dream episode contains colossal conceits. In the present instance, for example, the dreamer Satorius, dreams of a time—a time already past—in which he and his fellow martyr Perpetua are dead. Their spirits have left their bodies. His dream is thus an allegorical account of the flight of their souls. The word “flesh” is used metaphorically to signify the world of the living. The Bible frequently uses such corporeal language to indicate life. See Heb 5.7: Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ/*Qui in diebus carnis suae.*

XI.2. four angels (quattuor angelis). The image of the four angels is likely derived from Scripture. Here they resemble what Origen calls “celestial escorts,” who receive the soul on its departure from the body. The number four appears to have held some fascination for those who considered the characteristics of angels. Cherubim, the most privileged angelic beings, served as the attendants of God and were commonly depicted as having four faces—those of a man, ox, lion, and eagle—and four feet. Ezekiel had a vision of four angels who, as they flew through space, bore the chariot throne of God (Ez 1.5). Four angels also figure prominently in Rv 7.1; they stand at the four corners of the earth and restrain the wind from blowing. Robinson (32) has shown the possible influence of Herm. *Vis.* 1.4.3 on this passage. Satorius’s and Perpetua’s journey to this heavenly garden is also reminiscent of Enoch’s translation into the Garden of Eden (see the pseudepigraphical, *Book of Jubilees* 20.1). The Book of Enoch and other Hekhaloth literature were known and popular with certain Christian groups, as well as leaders like Tertullian. The idea of the winged being is also common in Greco-Roman mythology, and thus this image may be a syncretistic blend of the Hebrew Bible—there are no representations of winged angels in the Christian Bible—with the winged figure of the goddess Nike/Victory. (See also Danielou, *Les anges*, 52; Nebe, “Son of Man”; and Hunt, “Demons and Angels.”)

XI.2 toward the east (in orientem). The East is the mythological location of the Garden of Eden. Although the location of “East” is not specified in the Vulgate, some manuscripts of the Vetus for Gn 2.8 read: *Plantavit, inquit, paradysum voluptatis in Eden, contra orientem.* (See LXX, κατὰ ἀνατολάς.) They are being brought to a prelapsarian paradise.

XI.2. *were not touching us (non tangebant)*. The martyrs have left their bodies. Their incorruptible, and therefore sanctified, spirits are making this journey alone. Thus the angels, out of respect for their spirits, do not touch them. It is not a journey to death, though it does have funereal associations (Lk 16.22), but to life everlasting. Tertullian refers to angels as the “summoners of souls” and makes the association with Mercury (*De Anim.* 53.6: *evocatoris animarum, Mercurii poetarum*), the god who traditionally escorted souls to Hades. Saturus’s phrase may echo Christ’s words to Mary Magdalene when he asks her not to touch him (Vetus: *noli me tangere*, Jn 20.17) since, although Christ is risen, he has not yet ascended to his father.

XI.3. *not on our backs facing upwards (non supini sursum versi . . . ascendentes)*. This passage has often caused difficulty. Saturus wishes to underscore that it is not their dead bodies flying through the air under the watchful gaze of the four angels, typically depicted as lying on their backs in state, but rather that their active, sentient spirits are in some manner involved in the ascent to heaven. The Greek clarifies the phrase *sursum versi* with the prepositional phrase εἰς τὰ ἄνωτερα (“into the higher things”), which immediately follows the verb. The Greek reads “We were going into the higher things” and then adds “and not on our backs.” This image of their flight may have influenced the iconography of the depictions of other female saints (see for example the related iconography of Thecla in Grabar, *Martyrium*, 14; and Davis, *Cult of St. Thecla*, 235, fig. 29).

XI.4. *freed from this world (liberati primo mundo)*. The OLD suggests that the word could mean “to pass over” a barrier of some sort (see OLD, s.v. *libero*, 10, citing Petron. *Sat.* 136.9: *Necdum liberaveram cellulae limen* and Frontin *Str.* 1.4.13: *si flumen liberasset*). Saturus underscores the fact that they have been martyred and they have passed beyond the limits of the physical world and entered another realm. The cosmology is Aristotelian, mediated through Ptolemy, whose concentric spheres rotated around a fixed earth. Saturus and Perpetua have left the fixed abode of the earth and moved into one of these spheres. The idea that a person may go to heaven immediately after death is suggested in Paul’s Epistles (Phil 1.21–24; 2 Cor 5.1–10) and in John’s depiction of the souls of the martyrs waiting beneath the altar (Rv 6.9–11). See also Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*. Van Beek, Bastianesen, and Amat print *liberato*, construing this as an ablative absolute. Given the eschatological point being made, I prefer to read *liberati* (masc. nom. pl.) as “freed from” and *primo mundo* as an ablative of separation. The Greek version reads Ἐξελθόντες τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον/“having gone out from the first world.”

XI.4. *a great light (lucem immensam)*. The great light signifies they have reached the heavenly realm and the dwelling place of God (see 1 Tm 6.16). This recalls the Transfiguration of Christ in the synoptics (Mk 9.2). A likely echo, on this theme

of the “light of the heavens” arrived at after a visionary journey, is also in the *Passio Sanctorum Montani et Lucii*, 11.3: *Peruenimus autem in locum candidum*. Note that in Perpetua’s vision of heaven (IV) there is no mention of a great light. Saturus’s remark has a somewhat more literary quality about it, as it makes use of a number of standard tropes: they are borne by angels, fly to the east, and see a great light. See also a related vision of paradise in 1 Enoch 14. The Greek emphasizes the light’s intensity and reads a “brilliant light”/φῶς λαμπρότατον. The Greek does not use the adjective ἄμετρος, which means unmeasured and thus would correspond to the Latin *immensus*. The use of λαμπρός conveys the idea that this light is in some sense supernatural. The same idea in Latin would require a word like *splendidus*, *candidus*, or *praeclarus* (see Schmoller, s.v. λαμπρός). In sum, the Greek phrase suggests a theological orientation not present in the Latin.

XI.4. *at my side (in latere meo)*. This emphasis of their physical closeness also underscores their spiritual connection.

XI.4. *the Lord promised us (Dominus promittebat)*. Saturus still retains his role as teacher, reminding Perpetua of the Lord’s promise. The eschatological emphasis is marked, as the theology of self-sacrifice was very strong in Carthage at this time. It was believed that martyrs enjoyed special privileges and that on their death they went immediately to heaven. See Tertullian (*Mart.* 3.3), who notes (coining the post-classical use of *politia*) that *politia in caelis* will be their inheritance. Tertullian’s phrase may be an echo of Phil 3.20, πολιτεύμα. *Promitto* was used to conclude vows to the gods (OLD, *promitto*, 2c).

XI.5. *great space (spatium grande)*. Perpetua used similar language (IV.8) to describe the garden where she encountered the Good Shepherd. The expression is intended to underscore the magnificence of the place. The Greek text reads στάδιον μέγα, a large place for walking or running, and this phrase is more associated with games than is the Latin *spatium grande*.

XI.5. *like a formal garden (quasi viridarium)*. The Latin suggests a garden that has been planned, filled with wonderful plants so as to delight the senses and create an aesthetic pleasure (see Cic. *Att.* 2.3.2). This motif of the garden seen in a vision proved popular, as a passage indebted to this appears in the *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi*, 6.11. The Greek continues to suggest some contest or game in its use of κῆπος. For more on the Roman garden see Farrar, *Roman Gardens*.

XI.5. *having rose trees (arbores habens rosae)*. Roses were among the most popular of flowers planted by the Romans, and the extant mosaics in Carthage from the second and third centuries are filled with flower motifs. The image is of a tree-like shrub; see Plin. *HN* 21.16 and *Ep.* 5.6. The rose eulogized the end of life (see CIL 5.7454.13). In the *Passio Sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi*, James sees the recently martyred young boy wearing a garland of roses around his neck: *corona rosea collo circumdatus*, 11.5).

XI.5. *flowers of all sorts (omne genus flores)*. Saturus's depiction of paradise is lexically economic. His lack of rhetorical amplification actually becomes a shorthand way to emphasize the superabundance of beauty that surrounds them. Such prose also allows him to focus more particularly on the miraculous nature of the individuals they meet. It would be tempting to emend *flores* to *florum* and thus agree with the Greek ἀνθέων. The reading of MS M, which van Beek and Amat print *flores*, is distinctive. The other variants use either the genitive singular *floris* (MSS P and N) or the genitive plural *florum* (MSS A, E, G). Actually, MS A shows a corrector's hand changing the accusative *es* to the genitive *is*, suggesting scribal uncertainty. The original exemplar may have read *omne genus flores*, and thus we have an uncommon example of an adverbial accusative (Allen and Greenough, sec. 397a; and Gildersleeve and Lodge, sec. 336, note 2).

XI. 6. *height of the trees (altitudo arborum)*. Their size emphasizes their antiquity. Roman gardens favored large trees typically planted in *alleés*, and *cupressus sempervirens* (see below) could reach 15.2 meters tall.

XI.6. *of cypress trees (in modum cypressi)*. The cypress is sometimes identified with death and dying. Often, after a death, a branch from a cypress tree was placed at the home of a prominent man (see Luc. 3.442: *et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus*, and Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.23). If the individual was to be cremated, logs of cypress were placed in front of the pyre (see Verg. *Aen.* 6.215: *cui frondibus atris / intexunt latera, et feralis ante cupressos . . .*). St. Marian sees tall cypresses and pines in his eschatological vision in the *Passio Sanctarum Mariani et Iacobi* 6.12: *opacum cupressis consurgentiibus in excelsum*. The funereal images are balanced against a garden tended by angelic hosts who cater to the recently martyred. It is not entirely clear what species of *cupressaceae* Saturus is identifying. This may be a description of the *cupressus sempervirens*, commonly known as the Italian cypress and as a conifer. It is also native to the littoral of Roman North African. The tree is often cited in the Hebrew Bible; for example, Solomon builds the doors of his great temple out of them (1 Kgs 6.34).

XI.6. *their leaves were falling without ceasing (folia cadebant sine cessatione)*. The idea of the continuous falling leaves raises intriguing questions. Is the passage corrupt as Robinson first argued, and might the original reading have been *canebant*? Robinson appears to have adopted (38) *canebant* because he believed that the idea of “singing” was more consonant with his understanding of this entire passage than “falling,” which he saw as an image of decay and sin (cf. Amat, who also prints *canebant*). He cited such Biblical allusions to nature and trees singing as 1 Chr 16.33 and Is 35.1–2, 44.23, and 55.12: “the hills before you shall burst into singing.” Yet the image of falling leaves in Revelation is life-giving: they “were for the healing of the nations” (22.12, which passage Robinson does note). Robinson, however, minimizes Rv 22 because it differs from its source in Ez 48.12

and from a passage in the *Apoc. of Moses* (20.4), where Eve notes that immediately on eating the forbidden fruit “the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig tree.”

This crux is a difficult one and does not present an easy answer. However, while the image of “singing” has a certain attraction, no manuscript records it, and more importantly, the idea of *cadebant* may better suit Saturus’s theme. The falling leaf suggests the end of a season, a life cycle now complete, and this is precisely what we have in the present scene: Saturus and Perpetua have just died. Their physical bodies have fallen away, and their spirits have just been freed from their bodies. Is this not analogous to the leaf freed from the branch and falling in space? Further, as the fallen leaves in Revelation will bring healing to the nations, Perpetua and Saturus, immediately after they are welcomed to this new spiritual world, are engaged in bringing healing (XIII.2: *Componite inter nos*) to the conflict between the priest and bishop. *Cessatio* is used three times, and in each instance it signals a remarkable event (VIII.1, XI.6, XII.2).

XI.7. *four other angels more radiant than the others (alii quattuor angeli fuerunt clariores ceteris)*. These angels, more radiant than the initial four who brought them to the garden, are more notable than the others, as they dwell closer to God. Traditionally, aside from their role as messengers, angels in Scripture are attendants on God’s throne, as we shall see in XII.4. There may be some influence from Revelation (7.1–2, 11, 9.14–15), which also enjoys the repetition of the number four, using it twenty-nine times to refer to all sorts of creatures, angels, animals, thrones, old men, soldiers, and regions of the earth. The degrees of hierarchy within the angelic community were often remarked on (see Jude 6–9; 2 Pt 2.11). Lastly, this is also a stylistic effort to achieve symmetry through the use of the groups of fours. The Greek οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι, ἀλλήλων ἐνδοξότεροι suggests that each angel is more glorious than the other. The Greek lacks an equivalent for *alii*.

XI.7. *they gave us honor (honorem nobis dederunt)*. This is a signal moment and emphasizes that even the elevated angelic beings recognize the virtue in the martyrs. The Greek lacks the phrase.

XI.7. *Look, they are here, they are here (Ecce sunt, ecce sunt)*. The forceful phrase has a chant-like quality about it and may harken back to a liturgical hymn. It is not uncommon in the Scriptures (see Bar 2.25). It is interesting to speculate whether the introduction of Saturus and Perpetua might possibly echo Pilate’s introduction of the tortured Christ to the Jews, *Et dicit eis: Ecce homo* (Jn 19.5). The phrase is absent in the Greek.

XI.7. *with admiration (cum admiratione)*. The chant is made by those who are literally astonished and in awe at the two visitors (OLD, s.v. *admiror*, 1). There is an interesting correspondence in 2 Mc 7.18, where the sixth son, who is about

to be martyred, rebukes the King and says, *et digna admiratione facta sunt in nobis*.

XI.7. *became fearful (expavescentes)*. Why did the angels become frightened? Was it the sudden awareness of the preciousness of their burden, or perhaps an awareness of the importance of their task with their sense of the increasing presence of the throne of the Lord? When the two Marys and Salome appear at the tomb, the young man dressed in white robes says to them: *Nolite expavescere!* (Mk 16.6). The verb is rarely used in either the Vetus or the Vulgate.

XI.8. *on foot (pedibus nostris)*. Although *transivimus* is quite clear on its own, “we crossed over,” Saturus provides the additional detail, *pedibus nostris*, to emphasize that they are now free of their angelic escorts and moving volitionally.

XI.8. *the park (ad stadium)*. The word *stadium* can mean a track for foot racing or the measurement of 625 Roman feet, called a stade in English (OLD, s.v. *stadium*). The line can be read with both senses. If we read *via lata* as a clarification of the distance they traveled, the point is they went a stade (*ad stadium*). I prefer the image of the park, since their walking brings them to or along a particular place where they stop and meet earlier martyrs. Tertullian used the word to refer a gracious place for walking (*Si et Susanna in . . . stadio mariti non putem velatam deambulasse quae placuit*, Cor. 4.3), and in *Mart.* 2.9, he urges the martyrs to allow their spirits to follow the way that leads directly to God and not be distracted by walking on shady paths or along colonnaded avenues: *et non stadia opaca aut porticus longas*.

XI.8. *by a broad path (via lata)*. Robinson preferred the reading *violatum* (covered with violets; *Passion*, 39–40), believing that the MS tradition was corrupt. He argued that MS M reads *violata*, which he believed a misreading for *violatum*. Furthermore, he suggested that this reading harmonized more with the vision of Josaphat in *the History of Barlaam and Josaphat*. Robinson (81) notes a singular use of the word *violatio*, as a reference to the practice of decorating graves with *violae* on the *dies violaris* (See OLD, s.v. *violatio*). While Robinson’s reading is a poetic one and recalls the *omne genus flores* image (XI.5), the point of this passage is to emphasize that they are walking, in my reading, toward a *stadium*, which is not a measurement of distance, but a place with gardens and many shade trees (see Tertullian, XI.8 above) and one that is reached by an elegant and broad avenue. There is no MS evidence for his conjecture.

XI.9. *Jocundus and Saturninus and Artaxius . . . and Quintus (Iocundum et Saturninum et Artaxium . . . et Quintum)*. This list of martyrs is of interest because it suggests that these martyrs had suffered in a persecution before the present one of spring 203, and likely after that of the Scillitan Martyrs in 180, a generation earlier. Saturninus is omitted in MSS M and G. Moreover, their Romanized names, popular in Punic-speaking North Africa, suggest that these martyrs are of

low status and that some of them likely never knew Latin or spoke it haltingly and in a highly accented manner. Apuleius notes the example of the young man of good family who speaks only Punic, a touch of Greek, but never Latin: *Loquitur numquam nisi punice, et si quid adhuc a matre graecissat; enim Latine neque vult neque potest* (*Apol.* 98.8). Two Punic names of martyrs survive in the *Scillitan Martyrs*, those of Nartzalus and Cintinus. On the survival and importance of Punic as a viable language, see Augustine's defense of it in his letter to Maximus (ca. 389). Greek renders the Latin name "Quintus" with the shift from the velar stop [k^v] to [k], Κοῖντρον.

XI.9. had died as a martyr in prison (in carcere exierat). Although the venue of incarceration varied from the state prison to quarry imprisonment to military prisons, in general Roman imprisonment was brutal and frequently led to death. Roman prisons were not intended to serve as places where one served out a long sentence (see *Sall. Cat.* 55.3). Cells, like the Tullianum, were common, often underground, dark, and small. The cell in the present amphitheatre in Carthage, the putative prison of the martyrs Perpetua and Saturus, is one such dark, fetid place. It is not surprising that Quintus's death in prison is described as a martyrdom.

XI.9. in the same persecution (qui eadem persecutione). Saturus knows that these three individuals, and perhaps Quintus, all died in the same persecution. Unfortunately, we have no textual evidence concerning any persecutions in this area between the *Scillitan martyrdoms* (180) and the present outbreak of hostility (203). His remark is suggestive of persecutions during the procuratorship of Minuicus Timinianus before his death in 202.

XI. 9. burned alive (vivi arserunt). The Romans believed burning a particularly degrading form of death. Although as early as *The Twelve Tables* death by burning could be applied to anyone, regardless of class, who maliciously committed acts of violence or theft or burned down the property of another (*Lex XII*, 8.10), the *humiliores* received this capital punishment more frequently than any other class. Ulpian explicitly notes that members of the *decuriones* may not be burned alive (*Dig.* 48.9.11: *uel uiui exuri*), though those convicted of treason, as well as arsonists, seem to be liable to burning despite their class (*Dig.* 48.8.2, 48.28.12). Tertullian argues that the law is hypocritical and being applied unjustly as Christians are being thrown to the flames while even those guilty of treason are let off: *crematur; quod nec sacrilegi, nec hostes publici, verum nec tot maiestatis rei pati solent* (*Scap.* 4.8). Polycarp is the first Christian martyr who was condemned to the flames (13.1). Such scenes of immolation are also present in the death of the Christian martyr Agathonice (6.5). Occasionally, the authorities, in order to show even further disrespect to the Christians, had their bodies burned after torture and execution (see *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne*, 62). Christian martyrs, like Bishop

Fructosus and his deacons (4.2), compared their burning to the punishments meted out to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who were sentenced to death by Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 1.6–7). Although a cursory reading might suggest that the Greek author’s κρεμασθέντας provided an equivalent for *vivi arserunt*, the sense is quite different, and the verb suggests that these martyrs were hung on a pole (κρεμάννυμι) as their punishment. Blandina was hung on such a cross, perhaps two poles diagonal to one another: ἡ δὲ Βλανδίνα ἐπὶ ξύλον κρεμασθεῖσα πρὸς κερτο βορά (see *Mart. Lyons*. 41; also Harris, 57).

XI.9. *where the others were (ubi essent ceteri)*. It is difficult to know precisely what Saturus intends by this question. It would appear to concern their immediate past. Does Saturus wish to know where the martyrs went immediately following their death? What other martyrs (*ceteri*) is he referring to? Were their souls transported to this heavenly garden in the manner in which he and Perpetua were escorted, or were their deaths and passage treated differently? It is a curiously colloquial question.

XI.10. *First come, enter (Venite prius, introite)*. Although an invitation is extended by the angelic host, the imperatives give the phrase the flavor of liturgical language, possibly hymnody. The verb *venite* is commonly used in the Bible in the Psalms and the prophets (Pss 46.9; Is 55.1), but *introite* is rare elsewhere. The Vulgate uses the form *introite* in but one instance (where the Vetus uses the pluperfect subjunctive *introisset* in the corresponding passage), but it is used in a different context entirely (Mk 7.17).

XI.10. *Greet the Lord (salutate Dominum)*. The imperative continues the liturgical aspect of the greeting. The angel’s invitation is the first indication that they have arrived in heaven and are now about to meet the Lord. Notice that unlike her colleague Saturus, Perpetua never identifies the grey-haired shepherd in her vision as the Lord (IV.8–9). Perpetua’s dreams are less teleological and more concerned with reporting the events that she “saw” than Saturus’s more programmatic effort to construct a vision of the afterlife recognizable to his audience.

CHAPTER XII

The Argument: The Metamorphosis of Witness

Chapter XII takes up Saturus’s dream from his and Perpetua’s arrival at the gates of the Lord’s palace to that moment when Perpetua turns to Saturus and remarks that she is now happier than when she was alive in the flesh. This chapter contains the apogee of Saturus’s dream as it narrates the singular goal of all martyrs, their triumph over death and their subsequent reward of meeting God face to face in the celestial city (see *Mart. Pol.* 17.3, 18.2–3). Such a meeting, however, requires a radical change of character, a *metanoia* of the most profound sort, one that will

return an adult spirit to that innocence and guilelessness associated with a sinless child. Such change is a process that Saturus believed was begun with public witness but was only accomplished after the witness of martyrdom had been accomplished. While the martyr lived, he or she was always just shy of the totality of witness and lacked that chance at heavenly union. Death was the necessary step in the transformation and spiritualizing of the witness. Tertullian too understood the idea of martyrdom as a process, as a movement toward a goal only accomplished with the drawing of the last breath. He refers to the martyr's progress as *sed illam viam, quae ad Deum ducit* (Mart. 2.9).

Saturus and Perpetua approach a celestial city whose walls are made of light and where four angels stand at the gate. Comrades in life and death, the martyrs are reminiscent of a prelapsarian Adam and Eve. The two martyrs move together cautiously, watched by the angelic spirits as they approach the throne of the living God. They are clearly without sin; otherwise, they would never have been able to initiate the journey. Their approach to the hallowed throne room, while joyous, is nonetheless filled with contradictory feelings of trepidation and longing. The audience feels their trepidation (*expavescentes*, XI.1) as they approach the throne. The first evidence that they are in a world inaccessible to the life of the mind, inaccessible to reason and observation, is the trope of the city of light. The motif of the city of light had a considerable history even as early as the early second century. Ignatius, in his own suffering, begged to be allowed "to win through to the light" (ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν), where he could embrace his Lord (Rom. 6.6). For Ignatius, "light" is the one undefiled substance (καθαρὸν φῶς). In Revelation, God's throne is depicted as one saturated with images of radiance, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνῃ ὁμοίᾳ κρυστάλλῳ (4.6, 21.22).

Saturus and Perpetua enter this magical palace, whose walls of light gleam radiantly. There is not another architectural feature of this structure mentioned besides its gate: no roof, floor, or window. John, paraphrasing Isaiah, indicates that in his heavenly city there is no need for a temple, as the temple is God himself, who supplies all (ὁ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ναὸς αὐτῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρνιον, Rv 21.22; and see Is 24.23, 60.1.19), including the light from the sun and the moon. Saturus and Perpetua see only a series of walls of shimmering light surrounding an unseen throne. The idea of *domus*, with all the physicality that concept implies, is avoided. The residence of the Lord is a Johannine *locus*, existing outside of time and space, whose dimensionality is bounded by the photons. This lack of materiality functions metaphorically to emphasize the distance separating the world of the body from that of the spirit.

These angels clothe all who enter with white robes, the traditional garb of the martyr (Rv 7.9), and escort them to the throne of the Lord. Who are these four angels? Angelic beings frequently function as guardians at thresholds.

Angels came and opened the gates where the apostles were being jailed (Acts 5.17–19, 12.6–11). These unnamed four—there are no names given to angels in the Bible until Daniel 10.13—may be the four angels of the presence—Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael—for which the Talmudic gloss on Numbers 2 provides names (see Numbers Rabbah, 2.10). The oral teaching of such Mid-rashic tradition was known in Christian circles and may have had some influence on the composition of Rv 7.1. The Jewish community at Carthage was certainly sufficiently large to have supported the circulation of Midrashic tales, and doubtless some in the Christian community knew their traditions.

Depictions of the Lord as a hoary old man appear in some of the more apocalyptic texts available to contemporary Carthaginian Christians, and Perpetua has already provided such a model (IV.8). It is likely that this was the stock visual representation of God for this community. In particular, this icon appears indebted to a number of popular Hebrew Biblical images, particularly Ez 9.11, Dn 7.9, 10.5–6, and subtly mediated through Revelation 1.12–20 (see Hanson, *Living Utterance*, 168). The Lord is surrounded by angels (cf. Is 6.1). They are able to kiss the Lord, and he strokes their cheeks. The moment of their meeting the Lord is the climax of Satorius's dream. It need not be reductive to see in this moment the dream's theme. Indeed, if his dream has a singular theme, as I believe it has, it is one implicit in the martyrs' dismissal from this beatific meeting. After they have kissed the Lord, elders, not angels, ask them to stand and offer the kiss of peace to one another. The two are then dismissed from God's presence at the moment when the elders tell them, employing imperatives, to "go and play." The theme is one of transformation of the sinful self into innocence. This depiction of Satorius and Perpetua and the injunction of the elders embody Christ's gnomic injunction that unless one transforms oneself (στραφήτε, Mt 18.3) and becomes like a little child, he or she will not enter the kingdom of heaven. The "elders" (*seniores*) are the perfect vehicle to deliver this injunction to become like children, since they provide the illustration that the injunction is intended metaphorically. To seek the innocence of the child is not to become the child, but to clothe the mature individual in the garb of purity and innocence. This segment of the dream ends then with the injunction to seek innocence, trust in God, and avoid the perils of rationality, which often leads to pride. Utopianism joined to a radical Christian eschatology is the caldron in which Satorius's ideology is annealed.

Chapter XII Commentary

XII.1. *We came near a place (venimus prope locum)*. Satorius emphasizes the bravery and blessedness of the two martyrs as they approached the house of God alone, without angelic guides. The *Passio*, with its small lexicon (3,637 words),

frequently generalizes time and place; *locus* is used as an all-purpose descriptor eleven times. Rather than using *domus* or some variant—after all, they have come to a walled structure—Saturus uses the general term “place” (see below *loco sedentem*, XII.2).

XII.1. *four angels (angeli quattuor)*. These angels are fulfilling their traditional role as attendants at the throne of the Lord (see Is 63.9, Tb 12.15, Rv 8.2–5, and Dn 7.9–10; also Herm. Vis. 1.30) and are to be identified with the second group of angels mentioned in the Latin text (XI.7). The Greek, on the other hand, has only one group of four.

XII.1. *clothed those who entered (introeuntes vestierunt)*. Some scribes had difficulty with this reading—MSS E and P read *introeuntes nos*—and in their zeal to remove all ambiguity supplied the pronoun. The ambiguity results because *introeuntes* can be nominative or accusative plural and hence we cannot be absolutely certain who is being dressed. The Greek employs the nominative εἰσελθόντες and ἡμᾶς (accusative) and is not ambiguous, indicating that the angels enter in and dress the martyrs. The martyrs are the ones whose journey has brought them this far, and it is they who must be clothed and then enter the vestibule before appearing before the Lord. For confirmation of this position, see XII.3–5, where they complete their entrance. Musurillo translates the phrase “[the angels] who entered in” (as does Amat), while Shewring reads “[the martyrs] we went in.”

XII.1. *in white robes (stolas candidas)*. The stole was used in religious ceremonies (see Varro, *Res Rust.* 3.13.3: *quo Orphea vocari iussit. Qui cum eo venisset cum stola et cithara cantare esset iussus*). The white garment symbolizes the pure in heart. Apuleius uses it to indicate those who are morally pure: *quod de pudore illo candido* (*Met.* 8.30). Jews and Christians used white to indicate purity, righteousness, heaven, or a heavenly being, and to describe the Son of Man. It was also used to characterize those faithful followers of Christ who were prepared even to die victoriously for the faith (Rv 6.2, 19.11–14). The image of the Transfiguration of Christ also played an important role in the extension of such symbolism (cf. *Vetus: et vestimenta ejus candida sicut nix*, Mt 28.3). Although the double accusative was used with verbs of asking and teaching, its use with verbs of dressing may be a colloquialism. The accusative *stolas candidas* (even if this is an eccentric reading) is paralleled in the Greek by λευκάς στολάς.

XII.2. *chanting (dicentem)*. The Greek, which reads λεγόντων, would correspond exactly with *dicentium* (cf. MSS P and N).

XII.2. *Holy, holy, holy (agios, agios, agios)*. The words are repeated without ceasing, suggesting that they are being said rhythmically, perhaps as in a chant. If a chant, it is used to sacralize the angels’ solemn entrance to the Lord’s throne. If this were an abbreviated form of the *Tersanctus* or *Trisagion*, it would be among

the earliest attestations to that liturgical doxology (cf. *1 Clem.* 34.6). The *Trisagion* may have an apostolic origin in Revelation 4.8. In the earliest Greek liturgies it was sung as the Lesser Entrance, when the Gospel book was carried in solemn procession. The use of Greek is not surprising, as hymnody crossed this linguistic barrier, particularly in the case of the liturgy. The *Trisagion* was used in the Gallican liturgy, as Germanus of Paris (d. 576) states that it was sung both in Latin and Greek: *Incipiente praesule ecclesia Ajus [agios] psallit, dicens latinum cum graeco*. The North African community may have known the tradition from the Scriptures, where threefold emphases are not uncommon. Isaiah sees and hears the six-winged seraphs above the divine throne, crying to one another a remarkably similar hymn: Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος (6.3). This passage from Isaiah likely influenced the version in Revelation 4.8 (see Court, *Revelation*, 27).

XII.3. sitting in the same place (in eodem loco sedentem). Satorius's rendering of the heavenly realm tends to diminish its physicality so as to emphasize its transcendence. Satorius is intent to convey a singularly contradictory idea: the materiality of what is a nonmaterial realm. The house of the Lord, if that is in fact what this is, "appears" to have walls of light, and yet it has entrance doors. In order to emphasize the mysterious opacity of what the dreamer sees, Satorius employs vague descriptors like *locus*, thus avoiding terms with more materiality, such as *domus*, *mansio*, or *praetorium*.

XII.3 what appeared to be an aged man (quasi hominem canum). Satorius's depiction of the Lord and his heavenly court which follows is largely indebted to Revelation 2, 4, and 5, which in turn owe much to Daniel 7.9. The depiction of the Lord is qualified and made more opaque by *quasi*. *Canum* is used once before in a similar manner when Perpetua describes the image of the Good Shepherd (IV.8). Perpetua's depiction of God as Good Shepherd owes more to the pastoral genre than does that of Satorius, whose dream is more indebted to the apocalyptic vision employed in Revelation.

XII.3 he had white hair (niveos habentem capillos). Satorius's vision of the Lord, while reminiscent of Revelation 1.14 (καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαί, but cf. Dn 7.9), is more restrained than that of John. John's apocalyptic vision is of the Christ, the "Son of Man" (ὄμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, 1.13). John's image captivated later imaginations (see Cyprian, *Hab. virg.* 16.6).

XII.3 and a youthful face (et vultu iuvenili). The conjunction of youth and old age was an established trope and was used to suggest wisdom (Juv. *Sat.* 12.31–32: *nullam prudentia cani rectoris cum ferret opem*). Satorius's depiction emphasizes that the Lord is outside of time, that the person of Christ reconciles all contradictions, and that He was all things. The grey hair with the young face suggests wisdom in youth, a situation not normally found in the world but always manifest in the figure of Jesus, particularly as a child (see Lk 2.46–52, and *Gospel of Thomas*

15). The character of Peter remarks that Christ is “young and old, appearing in time and yet in eternity” (*Acts of Peter* in Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*). Revelation emphasizes this conjunction of opposites: ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος καὶ ὁ ζῶν, ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν (1.17–18). The conjunction of youth and age was a part of primitive Christology, and indeed, some early Christians understood the figure of the “Ancient of Days” in Daniel 7 as Jesus (see McKay, “Daniel’s Vision”; Royer, “Ancient of Days”; and Hofer, “Old Man as Christ”).

XII.3 *we could not see his feet (pedes non vidimus)*. God’s transcendence is magnified through absence of human limbs. The feet anchor one to the earth, and they are the palpable signs of earth’s governance over humanity (cf. Rv 1.15). The unseen feet of God reinforce both God’s transcendence and immateriality. I have been unable to find an earlier analogue of this motif, but later medieval manuscript iconography frequently depicts God as having no feet in order to punctuate his divinity. A particularly beautiful depiction of such a scene is by the Orosius Master, the fifteenth century illuminator of Augustine’s *City of God*, in the Collins bequest to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

XII.4. *four elders (seniores quattuor)*. There is no precise parallel to these four elders; the passage is a *mélange* reflecting the groups of four spirits in Revelation who surround Christ the Lamb (Rv 4.5, 5.6, 6.1, and 7.1, but see Formisano 108, no. 126).

XII.4. *were standing many other elders (ceteri seniores conplures stabant)*. Cf. *Vetus Rv* 4.4: *et super thronos viginti quattuor seniores sedentes*. It is the angels who are standing, and hence it is the martyrs who enter into the Lord’s presence (see above XII.1).

XII.5. *lifted us up (sublevaverunt nos)*. The throne-chariot vision in Ez 1.15–21 influenced the depiction of the “living creatures” going up and down in Rv 4.1, and it is likely that Satorius knew this passage and perhaps was influenced by it. The elevation suggests humanity’s limitations and God’s awesome majesty, and the “lifting up” is reminiscent of the homage due to an emperor.

XII.5. *and we kissed him (osculati sumus illum)*. This is the kiss of peace and welcome mentioned in Lk 7.45. It is reminiscent of the repeated exhortations in Paul that the faithful when they meet should greet each other with a kiss: ἀπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ/*Salutate inuicem in osculo sancto* (Rom 16.16; 1 Cor 16.20; 2 Cor 13.12; 1 Thes 5.26; 1 Pt 5.14). The verb *osculari* is used two other times in the *Passio*. Perpetua receives the kiss of peace from the Christ-like figure of the *lanista* (X.13), and in the amphitheatre during their martyrdom the martyrs offer each other the kiss of peace before they are killed (XXI.7). Each instance of its use notes a turning point. Here their souls have now been officially received through the kiss into the bosom of God.

XII.5. in a spirit of wonder (cum admiratione). The word also suggests veneration for the gods or astonishment before the fantastic. See Cic. *Off.* 2.71, *admiratione divitiarum*. Likewise, the Greek θαῦμα in Rv 17.6 has this connotation. The author of the Greek *Passio* uses the equivalent participle θαυμάζοντες here.

XII.5 with his hand (de manu). The *de* is grammatically unnecessary and may be a scribal insertion or a feature of later Latin, as the phrase does not require the preposition governing the instrumental ablative.

XII.5. he stroked our faces (traiecit nobis in faciem). Although the verb *traiciere* is not normally used in such contexts, the gesture is nonetheless loving, welcoming, and almost certainly reminiscent of a paternal one. *Traiciere* commonly suggests “throwing” or “traversing,” and not a caress. It may be being used in the sense of passing one’s hand across one’s face. The figure of the Lord reminds us of Perpetua’s father, who is described as an elderly man with grey hair (V.1). The figure of the father once lost but now found is a theme of the *Passio*. The Greek περιέλαβεν does not carry the meaning of *traiciere*, but rather the Greek phrase τῇ χειρὶ περιέλαβεν suggests a full, affectionate embrace, almost a rapturous hug, and not a gentle stroking of the face (LSJ, sv. περιλαμβάνω; and see Amat). The open palm is a universal symbol for peace, welcome, and benediction. There are Biblical precedents for God’s stroking the face, and specific statements that God will wipe away one’s tears (see Is 25.8; Rv 7.17, 21.4).

XII.6 elders (seniores). cf. XII.3.

XII.6 we stood and we offered each other the sign of peace (stetimus et pacem fecimus). The liturgical kiss was well established by this time, finding its earliest Christian injunction in Paul’s command for the faithful to greet one another with a holy kiss: ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ (1 Cor 16.20). The practice at this time was to stand during the liturgy. Tertullian warns about the misuse of the kiss by the insincere and notes that Christians in mixed marriages often were discouraged from offering this sign of peace (see *Ad ux.* 2.4). Paul’s ideal of the “holy kiss” given as a greeting is first recorded as a liturgical ritual in Justin (*1 Apol.* 65.2, ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν). It is consummated immediately before the bread and wine are brought to the celebrant. Hippolytus also records the practice. The Greek treats this anecdote differently from the Latin. The Greek reads Σταθῶμεν καὶ προσευξόμεθα, “let us stand and pray.” It does not mention the kiss of peace as part of the spoken injunction of the elders; rather, the Greek employs the participle in the next line (Καὶ εἰρηνοποιήσαντες), following the injunction almost as afterthought and not as an integral part of the liturgical practice. This is an odd placement, since the kiss was a feature of the liturgy at this time, and Origen, among others, suggests it had some antiquity, commenting that it was a “custom handed down.”

XII.6 go (ite). The imperative of *eo* for the liturgical dismissal ἀπόλυσις is an ancient part of the Roman *ordo*. Its use here following the liturgical kiss of peace

suggests the importance of the liturgy—celebrant as symbolic representative of Deity—in the consciousness of these recent converts.

XII.6. *play (ludite)*. The verb *ludo* is used twice in the *Passio*. It is used previously in its more familiar association to describe the play of children after Dinocrates has been restored to health (VIII.3). In the present instance the imperative suggests a mélange of meanings—“be at rest,” “be merry,” “be well,” “be at peace”—albeit this last meaning would extend the semantic register of the word (OLD, sv. *ludo*). If this description of the garden partakes of the *locus amoenus* topos (XI.5), the martyrs are being sent back into the garden for refreshment and rest after their ordeal. The Greek χαίρεσθε is more denotative than the Latin and has a stronger, almost Pauline, nuance (Phil. 3.1; and see BDAG, sv. χαίρω, 1, and Lampe, sv. χαίρω, 1) and provides further evidence of the presence of the developing tradition of Greek theological language in the *Passio*. The two verbs appear incommensurate.

XII.7. *You have what you want (Habes quod vis)*. Perpetua has known and desired this outcome since her remarks to her brother: *et intelleximus passionem esse futuram* (IV.10). Saturus appears to remind her of her earlier dream and that which she has long desired in his remark, *percepimus promissionem* (XI.4).

XII.7. *Thanks be to God (Deo gratias)*. Perpetua uses the phrase not only as an expression of thanks but as a recognition of the completion of the promise. The phrase is Pauline (1 Cor 15.57 and 2 Cor 2.14), and the Greek version Τῷ θεῷ χάρις is likely a Scriptural formula. Tertullian notes that Job’s response to his trials was to exclaim, *cum ille homo ad omnem acerbum nuntium nihil ex ore promeret nisi “Deo gratias”* (*De Pat.* 14.4). The exclamation may have been a greeting used by the African Christians for some years. Augustine notes that Catholics traditionally used this as a greeting, while the Donatists, particularly the Circumcellions, were more likely to use *Deo laudes* (see the view of Tilley, “Donatist Self-identity,” 22). The phrase was even adopted in Africa as a name; one Deogratias was Bishop of Carthage from 453 to 456.

XII.7. *happy (hilaris)*. The Latin expresses the sense of well-being deep within and also an external cheerfulness. The Greek χαρῶ suggests her joyful indebtedness, her gratitude for the grace to achieve her martyrdom. The word was used in earlier martyrological literature with the suggestion of grace. In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the martyrs look to the grace of Christ (*Mart. Pol.* 2.3, καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι).

XII.7. *because (ut)*. Amat (239) cites Fridh’s argument that *ut* is used causally in place of *quod*. There are instances in the New Testament where ἵνα is taken causally (see Rv 22.14; and see Blass, sec. 369.2). But see Halporn (45), who suggests that ἵνα introduces an epexegetic construction introducing an explanatory clause.

XII.7. *here now* (*hic modo*). Both used adverbially (OLD, s.v. *modo*, 5). The Greek employs *vūv* for *modo* but does not have any word equivalent to *hic*.

CHAPTER XIII

The Argument: Charism over Authority

The last part of Saturus's dream centers around a curious meeting between the two martyrs and two members of the clergy. Their encounter with the Lord is over. They have just left his presence and that of the angelic host and their fellow martyrs. Saturus and Perpetua are standing outside the dwelling place of the Lord. In front of the Gates of Heaven they meet two members of the clergy, whom they recognize, Optatus the bishop, and Aspasius the priest and teacher. Saturus first calls our attention to their physical location, pointing out that Optatus is on the right and Aspasius on the left. At first glance, this seems to be simply a narrative device intended to illustrate spatial dimensions in an otherwise ethereal, nonspatial universe. However, there may be more to it than that, as the next thing we are told is that the clerics are in conflict and unable to resolve their dispute. The "right" and "left" designations underscore their disjunction, their disharmony, and suggest a fissure in the *ecclesia*.

The clerics throw themselves at the martyrs' feet and beg that the martyrs resolve their conflict. Curiously for two men at odds, the bishop and priest always speak with one voice. Optatus's and Aspasius's remarks imply that the martyrs' deaths have left the Church in this conflict. Such a suggestion hinges on the idea that the presence of the martyrs in prison was a source of conflict resolution as well as a source for pride for the community. The martyrs may have been the most zealous of the Christians living in the community, and hence the foundation of the faithful. As long as there were martyrs in the prisons, the Christians could walk proudly in the midst of pagan scorn. The martyr is the Christian hero, willing to die for principle, analogous to such classical figures as Socrates or Zeno. The narrator of the *Martyrs of Lyons* suggests this very thing about the martyrs in his community (13). Moreover, those who were being tortured in Lyons, even after the most horrific punishment, continued to exhort and encourage the others (καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρορμῶντες καὶ παραμυθούμενοι, 28). Hence, the genuine loss to the small Christian community in Carthage was heartfelt.

The prostration as an act of self-abasement is reminiscent of Perpetua's father's prostration at his daughter's feet and is a symbolic act which acknowledges the power and the authority of the martyr over both bishop and priest. The recognized norms of authority and subordination are reversed. The power is not owned by the official clergy but by the charismatic few who profess their

faith even unto death. Does this anecdote in Saturus's dream serve as an argument for elevating the role of the martyr over that of the church officials? It would appear so. This point does not suggest that the dream is subtly advocating a proto-Montanist agenda of the prophet over the bishop. There is nothing but friendship between the martyrs and the clergy. Yet the martyrs seem not to be so sure of their role as peacemakers, since they remonstrate with their clergy, reminding them of the appropriate function of their authority within the Church. The martyrs use the affectionate terms "father" for bishop and "elder" for priest, and seem genuinely unaware of the nature of the specific conflict. If this conflict—let us for the moment assume it is a theological dispute reflected in the community and shared by the bishop and the priest—were a serious, public one, one has to ask why the martyrs respond with a question concerning issues of authority and why the actual nature of the dispute is never broached. Our answer must be a conjecture, but perhaps a public disclosure of the conflict was such a source of potential embarrassment that to reveal it would bring the community into even greater disrepute among other Christians and the Roman authorities. The martyrs, moved by the plight of their fellow Christians, embrace them.

Saturus next reports that Perpetua alone began to speak with the clerics in Greek, as the martyrs led them into a garden filled with rose trees. The park with the flowering roses symbolizes peace, tranquility, and transcendence. Why does Saturus single out this incident of Perpetua's speaking with the clergy in Greek? What does it offer to his narrative? First, the incident reveals that these members of the clerical hierarchy in Carthage were Greek speakers. However, this fact by itself does not suggest that the liturgy was necessarily in Greek, nor is this why Saturus highlights the incident. The Latin Church had had a presence in North Africa at least since the late seventies of the second century, and this presence was sufficient to have caused some secular authorities difficulty as early as 180, the date of the Scillitan Martyrs, who were persecuted somewhere north and slightly west of Carthage. Judging by the names of the martyrs, they were Latin in orientation, and it is possible that the copies of the Scriptural books they possessed were in Latin. Second, the incident unequivocally underlines that Perpetua was a woman of education, sophistication, and authority. Her power is being underscored. Her authority is now greater than even that of her teacher, and so says her teacher.

The angels abruptly interrupt this four-way conversation and admonish the clergy, telling them to settle their disputes among themselves and leave Saturus and Perpetua to rest. The angels single out the bishop Optatus for specific remonstrance. This is worth a second look. Optatus is the bishop, perhaps of Carthage itself, and the one who is charged by the universal church with overseeing the

community. Their rebuke is tantalizing: they tell Optatus to straighten out his flock because the faithful have as many opinions as those partisans of the four factions in the circus races. The angels, speaking with wisdom from on high, speak against the pluralism and diversity that apparently existed in some segments of this church. Perhaps this is simply an indictment of a particularly weak bishop, or it may suggest the rich theological tumult of the early third century church in Carthage before orthodoxy suppressed divergent views and brought others into the fold. This may be a glimpse into the autonomy of some of these house churches, where differing views were given free rein.

The dream ends abruptly. Their encounter with the Lord over, the angels wish to bring their visitation to a close, and so Saturus writes that they apparently wished to close the Gates of Heaven. As this is happening Saturus notes that he and Perpetua became aware of many of their brothers and fellow martyrs there. Where precisely is this “there” (*illic*)? Are these newly recognized and recently dead milling about outside the gates with Perpetua and Saturus, waiting their turn to enter into the throne room of God? Or is this final recognition a last, longing look beyond the Gates of Heaven into the throne room of the Lord, which they have just left and to which they hope to return? Saturus’s final remark before awaking is his account of the indescribable odor of sanctity, which fills their spirit with a rich well-being. He awakens from this joyous state. The dream is prophetic and promises the martyrs a reward of the vision of God in heaven. Like his fellow traveler Perpetua, Saturus represents his deity through the figure of God the Good Shepherd (IV), who awaits their return home.

Chapter XIII Commentary

XIII.1. we went out and we saw (exivimus et vidimus). The syntax is terse, and the repetition of the assonantal forms of the perfect plural force the action quickly forward.

XIII.1. in front of the gates (ante fores). Although they are now in heaven, the “gates” signify that there are gradations of the sacred in heaven. The “gates” symbolize the transitional passage from the house of God (XII.1) to the garden just outside.

XIII.1. Optatus the bishop (Optatum episcopum). Saturus refers to this individual as the “bishop” (LSJ, s.v. ἐπίσκοπος, “overseer”), but he never identifies his jurisdiction. There is no other mention of Optatus in the historical record. The first source of information about the bishops of Carthage is the Council of Carthage (ca.198?–220?), possibly summoned by Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage. Roman North Africa was, however, rich in episcopal leaders, as seventy bishops attended the first council. If Optatus was the bishop of Carthage, this early mention in the *Passio*, would make him either the first or second bishop of the city. Monceaux places

Optatus's episcopacy in the early years of the third century (see Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire*, vol. 1, 19). While Cyprian refers to Agrippinus, who "ruled the Lord's church in the province of Africa and Numidia . . . many years and a long time before (*quando anni sint iam multi et longa aetas*)," he makes no mention of Optatus (Cyprian, *Ep.* 71.4, 73.3; see in Diercks, ed. "Sancti Cypriani Episcopi Epistularium," CCSL, IIIc. in *Sancti Cypriani Episcopi Opera*. Pars III.2). Hassett, among others, has suggested (with no corroborating evidence) that Optatus was the bishop of Thuburbo Minus. From the summons of the First Council of Carthage to the ascendancy of Cyprian (May 248–249), therefore, we only have the names of four who were called bishop: Agrippina, Optatus, Cyrus, and Donatus. Hippolytus, however, in a list of the bishops who followed the apostles, mentions one Epaenetus, in the nineteenth position, whom he calls "bishop of Carthage." This allusion may possibly be derived from Rom 16.5.

The bishop of Carthage by the middle of the third century was the principal leader of the African church. Although the bishop of Carthage was not, in principle, the leader of the African church at this time, he was in practice the *primus inter pares*, and even those clergy (πρεσβύτεροι) under other metropolitans (e.g., Oea, now Tripoli) could appeal to his authority over that of their immediate superior. The name Optatus was not uncommon in Christian North Africa, as the late fourth century Optatus, bishop of Milevis, makes clear. The name was used as a *cognomen* and likely signaled that the birth of the child was wanted; it may suggest in this context "the one chosen."

XIII.1. Aspasius the priest and teacher (Aspasius presbyterum doctorem). Aspasius as a priest (BDAG, s.v. πρεσβύτερος, elder) was an elder of the community. As is the case with Optatus, there is no mention of this individual outside the *Passio*. It is clear from Satorius's remark that Aspasius was their teacher and that Optatus was his superior, the senior member of the clergy in this city (see Ign. *Smyr.* 8.1–2 and *1 Clem.* 44.4). There is administrative ambiguity in the terms "bishop" and "priest" (see also Lampe, s.v. πρεσβύτερος). In the first century, the terms appear to be used interchangeably and likely signified overlapping jurisdictions and functions (*1 Clem.* 42; see also Baus, "From the Apostolic Community," vol.1, 148 and Baker, *Great High Priest*, 58). Although by the beginning of the third century the duties of the bishop and presbyters were distinct and the presbyter served principally as a guide and teacher to the catechumens, liturgical terminology was not yet fixed. Tertullian states that one only receives the sacrament of the Eucharist from the hand of the one who presides (*Cor.* 3.3: *nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium*). The Greek does not mention that Aspasius was their teacher (*doctor*), a significant omission.

XIII.1. right-hand side (ad dexteram). This use of right and left might be a further indication of status with Optatus, the bishop and senior official on the right (the side of righteousness and power), and Aspasius, his subordinate, on the left. The *Passio* does use such location, however, without such apparent symbolism (XII.4).

XIII.1. separated and sorrowful (separatos et tristes). This image of discord is strengthened because the two officials are outside the gates. They have not been admitted to the house of God where the martyrs dwell. The differences are striking between this scene and the representation of the faithful in Chapter XII. There, the place of the meeting with God is filled with angels and many martyrs, all of whom stand around chanting praise to the Lord. These two church officials are depicted alone and isolated from one another; they stand in front of the gates outside the house of God. The criticism of these members of the church hierarchy is explicit.

XIII.2. they threw themselves at our feet (et miserunt se ad pedes). The martyr, depicted as superior to these administrative officials, is able to bring harmony out of discord. Charismatic leadership is superior to bureaucratic. There may be a hint of the Montanist promotion of the prophetic and suffering ministry over that of the administrative clergy. The martyrs' respective dreams reveal something of the personalities of these two individuals, Perpetua and Saturus. Saturus seems concerned with issues of leadership and authority and so deliberately places the martyrs over all other members of the Church. Perpetua's dreams are more nuanced, more personal, and her critique is subtle and made by the example of her action. Their submissive action is reminiscent of her father's behavior in V.4.

XIII.2. make peace between us (componite inter nos). The discord was local, since there were no major public heresies dividing the African Church at this time (ca. 203–7).

XIII.2. for you have gone away and left us in this state (quia . . . reliquistis). The church officials acknowledge the death of the martyrs, but the line also suggests that the discord existed while the martyrs were alive and that they may have known about it. *Exeo* is ambiguous in this context. Although *exeo* can mean “to die” (OLD, s.v. *exeo*, 7; and XI.2), it seems more in keeping with their request for help to translate it as “have gone away.” However, if, as Saturus tells us, they have already died, perhaps the bishop and priest are requesting assistance from beyond the grave. If one were to adopt “died,” one would be depending on their knowledge of intercessory prayer. Tertullian acknowledges that it is good to honor the dead on their birthdays, but he does not suggest that they can help the living (*Cor.* 3.3: *Oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis, annua die facimus*; the Greek version uses ἐξέρχομαι; and see also 1 Cor 5.10).

XIII.3. our father (papa noster). A childish form, equivalent to the Greek πάππας (LSJ, s.v. πάππας). Its use in Latin may also represent a childish pronunciation of *paedagogus* (OLD, s.v. *pappas*; and see Souter, s.v. *papa*), which, when it was adopted in Christian Latin of the second century, served as an affectionate and respectful name for the office of bishop (see also Tert. *Pud.* 13.7; and Lampe, s.v.

πάπας). Perpetua always refers to her father as *pater* and never as *papa*. See also Bastiaensen, “Le cérémonial épistolaire,” 23, 38.

XIII.4. Perpetua began (coepit Perpetua). See X.11.

XIII.4. speak to them in Greek (Graece cum illis loqui). This suggests that the clergy, at least in this case, were Greek speakers. Her use of Greek is not a hyperbole underscoring her sophistication, particularly in light of what I have suggested about her father’s fondness for things Greek and her own superior education. Although some in the Church were hostile to Greek philosophy—as aptly expressed in Tertullian’s ringing phrase, *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?*—some of the educated community of Carthage would have been bilingual. I would not agree with Brown that the majority were (see Brown, *Christianity & Western Thought*, 91; and Amat, 30). The subject of bilingualism, particularly among Latin and Greek speakers, is a complex and important subject. Swain, in a fascinating essay on code-switching, indicates that “there is (as has been pointed out) no evidence to prove that any educated Roman did regularly hold conversations in Greek with or write letters in Greek to his fellow Romans” (see his “Bilingualism in Cicero,” 147).

XIII.4. and we led them (segregavimus eos). The martyrs are the ones who control the situation and hence lead the way; the bishop and priest follow.

XIII.4. park under a rose tree (viridiarium sub arbore rosae). Heaven is frequently allegorized as a cultivated flower garden and also as the place where disputes are settled and justice provided. Susanna was accused of a crime by two evil elders but was saved by the visionary zeal of Daniel (see Dn 13.54). The rose flower often figures in images associated with heaven. In the depiction of paradise in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Akhmim fragment), Christ goes off with his disciples, who ask him to show them the righteous who dwell in heaven. At once they are shown those whose transfigured bodies appear whiter than snow and redder than any rose (*Apoc. Pet.* 1.8).

XIII.5. Let them rest (Sinite illos refrigerent). For *refrigero*, see above. The Greek ἀναψύξαι is somewhat more literal, suggesting “a break, rest, respite,” with perhaps less of the theological overtones inherent in *refrigero*. There are two NT citations, 2 Tm 1.16 and Rom 15.32, but the latter may be συναναπαύσωμαι (see Moulton and Milligan, s.v. ἀναψύχω; and see BDAG, s.v. ἀναψύξις and ἀναψύχω). *Refrigero* can be the Latin equivalent of either. The Greek text of the *Passio* suggests again a likely influence from the NT; but see also Ignatius of Antioch, *Trall.* 12.2 and *Eph.* 2.1, who uses the verb ἀναψύχω transitively, as does 2 Tm 1.16.

XIII.5. disagreements (dissensiones). While it is tempting to suggest a reason for their fractiousness—was it theological, or personal?—we have no means of knowing with certainty. That it may be a religious dispute is suggested by the angels’

admonition to Optatus in XIII.6. The chief threat to orthodoxy at the time was various forms of dualism, whether they were Marconite, Gnostic, Valentinian, or proto-Montanist. All these were known in Carthage in the early years of the third century (see A. Marjanen and P. Luomanen, *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics,"* Leiden: Brill, 2005).

XIII.6. *the angels admonished them (et conturbaverunt eos)*. The verb *conturbo* strongly suggests that they were confounded and that the angelic dictum threw their thoughts into disarray. The Greek *καὶ ἐπέπληξαν αὐτούς* is consultative and ameliorative and has little of the force of the Latin *conturbo*. The Greek *ἐπιπλήσσω* has more of the sense of rebuke, as in 1 Ti 5.1.

XIII.6. *Rebuke your people (Corrige plebem tuam)*. The difficulty appears more to be with the bishop Optatus and his congregation than with Aspasius the presbyter, since the latter is not singled out.

XIII.6. *from the chariot races (de circo)*. For Christians the "circus" was a trope for idolatry, since attendance there polluted the spirit: *de contaminatis contaminamur* (Tert. *Spect.* 5.8, 8.10).

XIII.6. *arguing about the different teams (de factionibus certantes)*. The bishop Optatus is criticized because his congregation does not hold to orthodox truth but fight among themselves, proffering different points of view. He is a weak shepherd of his flock and contrasts poorly with the figure of the Good Shepherd in IV.9. The word *factio* reminds one of the four factions ("teams" and their supporters) who competed in the races held in the circus (see Halporn, 47). The rivalry of these contests almost led to a civil war during the Nike riots of January 532, during Justinian's administration.

XIII.7. *as if they wanted to shut (quasi vellent claudere)*. The referent for the *vellent* is not altogether clear. However, it seems unlikely that neither Perpetua or Saturus nor the clergy with whom they are talking would have authority to close the Gates of Heaven. It must be the unnamed angels who wish to close the gates. The house of the Lord was traditionally depicted with gatekeepers (2 Chr 23.19).

XIII.7. *the gates (portas)*. The "Gates of Heaven" is a common expression in Scripture and the *Pseudepigrapha* (see Enoch 9.2).

XIII.8. *brothers (fratres)*. The word *frater* here refers to a fellow believer, whereas in II.2 it refers to a blood relative.

XIII.8. *and martyrs also (et martyras)*. The syntax suggests that their brethren whom they see in heaven consist of martyrs and others who are not martyrs, since otherwise there would be little reason to cite both groups. Oddly, Tertullian cites the *Passio* in his remark that Perpetua in her vision of heaven sees only martyrs there (*De Anim.* 55.4: *Quomodo Perpetua, fortissima martyr, sub die passionis in reuelatione paradisi solos illic martyras uidit*). Tertullian believed that until Christ's Second Coming heaven was closed to all except the martyrs, and he used

Rv 6.9 and this citation from the *Passio* as his proof texts for that position. If, however, Tertullian is referring to this passage above, it is curious that in his citation he attributes the dream to Perpetua, whereas it is Saturus's vision. Perhaps Tertullian is relying on the plural phrase *et coepimus illic multos fratres cognoscere* in his attribution of the vision to Perpetua. Alternately, he may be conflating this vision with her vision of the martyrs in IV.8, or he may have possessed a text different from those that survived. If he is referencing this latter scene, it is well to point out that Perpetua never actually refers to this group with the word "martyr" but says *et circumstantes candidati milia multa* (see IV.8).

XIII.8. *we were all nourished by an indescribable fragrance (universi odore inenarrabili alebamus)*. Antiquity always understood the gods as being enveloped with a pleasing scent. The Elysian Fields and Mount Ida were believed to be sweet-smelling. The Graces are depicted as wearing garments suffused with floral scents. Incense was believed to propitiate the gods and to serve as a vehicle to ascend to them. However, early Christians were skeptical of the use of scents, particularly incense—Origen called it the "food for demons"—because of its association with the ritual of sacrifice to the genius of the emperor. The idea of the sweet smell associated with the righteous dead was taken up by Christians who sought to legitimate, through such attributive characteristics, the idea of the resurrection of the body—an idea that was well established at least from the time of Justin Martyr. Polycarp's immolated body is said to have smelled fragrantly like gold smelted or bread baking in an oven (*Mart. Pol.* 15.2). Indeed, the tradition both in the classical and Christian world of identifying the afterlife and divinity with fragrance may stem from the association of the memory of the sweet smell of the embalmed body with this transition from life to death. Paul may have begun a tradition which associated the priesthood with an aroma pleasing to God (2 Cor 2.15). Incense and fragrance are ubiquitous in John's vision of heaven (Rv. 5.8, 8.3–4). The Greek text, however, reads exactly the opposite of the Latin and states that the scent did not satisfy, οὐκ ἐχόρταζεν ἡμᾶς. Perhaps the Greek here is equivalent to the idiomatic use in English where, when one wishes to praise something, one says something which employs a negative to indicate genuine approval, for example: "the aroma was so pleasant that I could not get enough of it." It has been conjectured that the reading οὐκ in MS H might be emended to οὖν (van Beek).

XIII.8. *Then, rejoicing, I awoke (Tunc gaudens expertus sum)*. Perpetua uses the perfect form of *expergiscor* four times, at the end of each of her dreams (IV.10, VII.9, VIII.4, and X.14), and Saturus but once. The word marks the end of each dream, and its placement makes clear that Saturus has but one dream, which tradition has broken into three separate sections. I use *expertus sum*, following the MS evidence in preference to the classical *experrectus sum* adopted by van Beek from MS M. *Expertus* has the support of MSS A, E, P, and N.

CHAPTER XIV

The Argument: Wrapping Up and Afterthoughts

R has at least a threefold purpose in this brief chapter. First, it allows him to conclude the narrative of the dreams of Saturus and Perpetua, repeating his claim that they wrote the narratives themselves. Second, it accounts for the case of Secundulus, and third, it provides the opportunity to make the transition from autobiography to his narrative of Felicity, which immediately follows. R's remark that the dreams were extraordinary should not be read with the valence the word *insigniores* might have if rendered in modern English, that is, "impossible," "bizarre," "surprising," or "fantastic." Rather, *insigniores* suggests that the events were simply outside the normal course of events. Because of God's favor the martyrs were able to transcend all normative bounds of material cause and effect, including, in Saturus's dream narrative, death itself. The dreams function as proof of the Christian God's power and authority and confirm Christ's reply to Pilate that his kingdom is not of this world (Jn 18.36). To all those who would follow the model of the martyrs, there is an explicit promise inherent in the word *insigniores* that they too will be privileged to receive such treatment.

Let us turn to the situation of Secundulus. He is only mentioned twice in the entire *Passio*, here and in Chapter II, where only his name is given. We know nothing else about him. If he is so insignificant, why does R draw attention to him again? The answer to the question is likely related to the situation at the end of the *Passio*. R records by name—Saturus, Saturninus, and Revocatus—the deaths of all the other martyrs who were killed in the arena. Perpetua's three male companions are dispatched by various animals (XIX, XXI), and she and Felicity are themselves killed (XX, XXI). Five of the six are accounted for. The obvious question is what has happened to Secundulus? R may simply be trying to account for the obvious void at the end of the *Passio*. Yet why call attention to his death at this juncture, in the middle of the narrative, and not at the end? It is possible that Secundulus died at about this point in the history of the actual events and that R has added that fact here out of a respect for the historical accuracy of the narrative. Conversely, the text as we have it may have become corrupted over the centuries, and an anecdote that was formerly at the end of the *Passio* has been moved to its present position. While we cannot answer definitively the question why Secundulus is featured here, the nature of his death and what R says about it are most important. In order to understand, we have to assume the posture of an ancient listener. Imagine that you are a member of this small Christian community and you are listening to this narrative being read to you. You know the story. You may even have been at the very games. Secundulus was not present at the climactic end. Rumors began to circulate almost immediately: Where was he?

What happened to Secundulus while in prison? Was he faithful? Did he kill himself? Did he apostatize? And did he flee? Read from this frame of reference, R's remarks reveal a certain anxiety to account for Secundulus. R is uncharacteristically explicit. He states that God called Secundulus from this world while still in prison. Thus, he rules out apostasy and suicide, since if God took him, he must still have been in God's favor. R next addresses the specifics of how he died. His prose has the tone of an apology. Although Secundulus did escape (*lucror*) the fight with the beasts, R is quick to note that Secundulus still suffered in the flesh. He was tortured. R's concern that the faithful believe this about Secundulus emphasizes that entrée to the ranks of the martyrs requires blood sacrifice. It would not have been enough if Secundulus expired naturally.

Finally, R obliquely remarks that Secundulus's soul did not know the sword. This is a puzzlingly oblique comment, but in light of the entire context of his narrative concerning Secundulus, it can be read as an affirmation of Secundulus's faithfulness to the end. His physical body succumbed to the sword; that is, he died of torture in prison—the Greek suggests he was hung on a pole—while his spirit remained steadfast (did not know the sword) because it resisted the deadly temptation to apostatize. “Sword” is a metaphor for the temptation to apostatize. Secundulus resisted the temptation to renounce his Christianity, despite the threat of death. R may be alluding here to the suffering of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the New Testament (Lk 2.35). The verbal echo in the Greek text is clear: τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ διεξήλθεν τὸ ξίφος. Simeon prophesized to Mary that Jesus would be a glory to Israel but that she would feel a sword pierce her soul at seeing her son's persecution and death; the sword is a metaphor for Mary's suffering. Secundulus never succumbed to the temptation to save his life and renounce his God. Yet his spirit, though steadfast, resisted the pain of the sword that is the temptation of apostasy.

Lastly, these few lines of Chapter XIV allow R to provide a transition from the autobiographical narratives he is so at pains to legitimate to the biographical details he personally knew and felt privileged to recount.

Chapter XIV Commentary

XIV.1. extraordinary (insigniores). The Greek superlative ἐμφανέσταται is subtly different, suggesting the visions are “real,” “plain,” “available” for all to see (BDAG, s.v. ἐμφανής).

XIV.1. most blessed (beatissimorum). Although the term was used in the imperial epithets, *nobilissimus ac beatissimus Caesar* (referring to Emperor Valerius Constantius, 293–306), I am unable to find the term used in Christian Latin to refer to martyrs earlier than this instance. The superlative indicates the enormity of the martyrs' sacrifice and their particular hallowedness in the Church. The

term caught on, as Cyprian uses it (*Ep.* 77), and Victor Vitensis, bishop of Byzacena, uses the expression in his martyrology, *Passio beatissimorum martyrum qui apud Carthaginem passi sunt* (c. 484; see also Bastiaensen, “Le cérémonial épistoliare,” 26–27; and Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address*, 131, 313). The Greek lacks an adjectival form equivalent to *beatissimorum*.

XIV.1. *which they themselves wrote* (*quas ipsi conscripserunt*). R again underscores the autobiographical nature of the texts, thereby reinforcing their iconic status. See my discussion in the argument for Chapter XI above.

XIV.2. *As for Secundulus (Secundulum vero)*. This is only the second time (II.2) that this martyr, whose name is a diminutive of Secundus and means “second,” is mentioned. His name suggests a status as a slave or freedman.

XIV.2. *God . . . called him* (*Deus . . . evocavit*). Secundulus died in prison before the games. Because R emphasizes that he was called from this world by God, and hence is a martyr, we may conclude that he likely died from his privations.

XIV.2. *not without favor (non sine gratia)*. I have avoided “grace” as a translation for *gratia* because the word bears an enormous semantic complexity which may not be applicable to his situation (Souter, s.v. *gratia*, and BDAG, s.v. χάρις). The Greek emphasizes the idea that his death was a calling and that he was worthy (κλήσεως ἡξιώθη).

XIV.2. *he might escape the fight with the beasts (ut bestias lucraretur)*. At first glance the word *lucror* seems a peculiar choice, since it is so clearly identified with the idea of financial gain. It is possible that *lucror* might be used in the sense that Saturated “might gain” the favor of escaping the beasts. The word also meant to be spared a difficult situation (OLD, s.v. *lucror*, 3; and see Apul. *Met.* 8.12: *mora temporis dignum cruciatum lucaris*). Tertullian uses the word *lucror* to signal an escape through death from the cares of the world (*De Anim.* 4.7). It is likely that it is used in this sense in the *Passio* here. The Greek κερδάνας τὸ μὴ θηριομαχῆσαι (“having gained not fighting the beasts”) is a bit clearer, stressing his “gain.”

XIV.2. *Yet his flesh . . . sword (Gladium . . . agnovit)*. This is a curious and difficult remark. Does the line suggest that Secundulus died from torture by the prison guards but that during this persecution his spirit remained free of any temptation to apostatize, and thus he did not recant? R’s phrase *non anima* is there for a purpose and must indicate a difference between the deaths of those in the arena and that of Secundulus. R is concerned to make it clear that Secundulus died honorably. Were the events already so familiar that R wishes to correct any misunderstanding, or any false rumors, concerning Secundulus’ death? R employs *corpus* and *anima* here as traditional opposites: the former is the world and the latter the realm of the immaterial. Thus, although violence took Secundulus’s physical life, his spirit remained true. Although the Greek verb διεξήλθεν is reminiscent of Lk 2.35, it is difficult to know how R might have understood Lk 2.35 as an influence in this line.

CHAPTER XV

The Argument: Victory through Suffering

Having completed his discussion of how Secundulus died, R now turns to the more dramatic situation of Felicity. Her chapter is the longest and most detailed of those devoted to a single character. This is a designedly triumphal chapter and intended as such. It begins R's introduction of the protagonist in a deceptive, almost casual tone: "As for Felicity," but it is one of the more theologically nuanced chapters of the entire *Passio*. It opens ominously with the time of Felicity's death and her impending alienation from her fellows because of her pregnancy, but it ends joyously with the birth of a daughter, the promise of Christianity's triumph over the state. R amplifies the idea that a sincere imitation of the Christ can prepare one as a worthy vessel and allow for a joining of the human with the divine. These two natures, the human and the divine, can exist simultaneously, hypostatically, not mixed, but independently alongside of one another, provided the vessel is innocent and pure and follows carefully the Christian program, particularly that of sacrificial blood-witness. Such eschatological theology also provided, paradoxically, a depth of psychological support for this embattled community. There is little doubt that for this beleaguered church in Carthage the physical enactment of martyrdom was a call to a new spiritual heroism. Such a call to heroic valour provided a mechanism to cope with the corrosive fear of imminent persecution. The uncertainty of not knowing whether the authorities might learn of one's conversion, whether a neighbor or a family member had turned one in, and whether you might be arrested at any time and summarily executed would have been debilitating, and as the *Letter of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* shows, such fear led some converts to apostatize. Apostasy was the most serious threat the Church faced from within, as it provided a model, a rational model, which their non-Christian contemporaries could point to and argue that once these Christians came to their senses they realized that to live a good life within the *mos maiorum* was the only rational choice.

Martyrdom, turning persecution into an opportunity for personal transcendence, mitigates the fear of torture and death—mitigates it only, it need be stressed—and allows the persecuted and the persecutor to change places symbolically. Within the Christian community, the persecuted becomes the victor and the persecutor the vanquished. Martyrdom also limits the allure of apostasy, since it provides a powerful response to those who would renounce their faith, to wit, that immediate union with the transcendent God is available to them as against the routine practice of a normal life within the rigid social obligations of the state.

R writes with a keen awareness of the important social and political implications of this chapter. Felicity is a slave. Her lack of status, her enslavement, is, once

she acts to violate the dictates of the state, a denial of the legitimacy of their authority. Her action embodies the Pauline idea that in Christ there is neither male nor female, slave nor free, a doctrine which, if followed prescriptively, was empowering and attractive to the lower classes: the lowest members of Roman society could aspire to the highest of spiritual heights. Such a promise was bound to attract and did attract converts among such classes. Perpetua is the only one who dies in this persecution who is not identified as either a slave or a freeman. Felicity's behavior also functions as a synecdoche. She is the figure who represents the physical continuity and triumph of Christianity over paganism, despite all the efforts of the old religion to expunge its new rival. Her enslavement is demonstrable proof that the machinery of the state cannot control even the least of its members once they convert to Christianity. R depicts the struggle and subsequent victory as one which pits the least of God's creations against the most powerful elite of Roman society. It is a narrative representation of a female David against Goliath. Felicity's weapon is not a slingshot but her body, her fecundity. She gives birth to a child, a daughter, who is raised by an anonymous sister. The implication is deliberate and clear: the unnamed child will be raised a Christian, and her heel will bruise the old religion's head. The child represents the victory of Christianity in the face of every effort to annihilate it and the inevitable death of classical religion in Africa.

R notes that Felicity was pregnant when arrested and that she is now eight months pregnant. Why is he so explicit on this point? Acknowledging that she was pregnant when arrested (absent in the Greek) is intended to allay any suspicion that she may have become pregnant subsequent to her arrest, that is, that she engaged in sexual relations after having become a Christian. This may not seem to be such a pertinent piece of information, but the ambiguity concerning her marital status makes it imperative that R convey to his audience that her pregnancy is a preconversion event. Moreover, this particular Christian community, or at least this particular house-church, appears to have been ascetic in its inclination (Tert. *Ad Ux.* 1.3.2). The chronology of her pregnancy might provide a hint as to the length of time the authorities held them under arrest. Unfortunately, the text does not provide sufficient information, and thus it will not support such an analysis with any accuracy. We do not know how long she had been pregnant at the time of her arrest. She may have been three or seven months pregnant. All the text states is that she is eight months pregnant now. R's specification of time is intended to link parturition with the miracle of prayer.

Felicity's pregnancy, paradoxically, is not a cause for her joy but for sorrow, since it is likely to keep her from being killed with her fellow martyrs. If she is executed with common criminals and not with her fellow martyrs, her innocent and pure blood will mingle with theirs and be polluted. This appeal to the ritual purity

of their sacrifice and their innocent blood, while it may echo the crucifixion and the innocent blood of the Lamb slaughtered for the salvation of mankind, is an idea that also has roots in earlier North African practices. And while these two ideas are parallel, they are also different. R represents Felicity's sacrifice as that of an individual whose suffering has made her ritually pure, separate, set apart from the criminal element in society (*sceleratos*). Christ's sacrifice, on the other hand, was redemptive. His sacrifice took place with that of two common criminals, one of whom he welcomed into paradise. This idea of sacrifice as ritual purification is also consonant with what we know of the extreme eschatological bent of the Carthaginian church, whose ideas on martyrdom may owe something to the indigenous religion and the practice of cultic killing to honor the deities of Baal and Tanit. While one must be wary of blood libel charges, particularly with individuals as volatile as Tertullian, his claim that such infanticide was still practiced sporadically in Carthage as late as the reign of Tiberius and that it was done secretly during his own lifetime, *Sed et nunc in occulto perseverat hoc sacrum facinus*, appears credible (*Apol.* 9.2–3). The Tophet (cf. 2 Kgs 23.10) in Carthage contains thousands of amphora, and the osteological evidence is unequivocal, showing that most of the bones and ashes are from healthy children from two to three months old, though some as old as five have been found there (see Stager and Wolff, "Child Sacrifice at Carthage"; and Levenson, *Death and Resurrection*, 20).

R provides a reason for the delay in Felicity's execution, citing that of the precedent of the law. Roman law is nuanced on the issue of executing a pregnant woman. It forbade the killing of the fetus, since the fetus was innocent of the crime of the mother, and further, the unborn child was the property of the husband, father, or owner (see XV.2 below). While R's arguments are historically accurate concerning the law, it is interesting to ask for whom was such rather specific legal information intended. If the audience was a local and contemporary one, that is, a mixed congregation of Christians and the newly converted in the years just after 203, would they have required such jurisprudential information? Should we expect a contemporary audience to require such amplification? It seems more likely that such specific information would be of greater benefit to those not as intimately acquainted with the Roman statutes. This might include colonials, members of the nonelite classes, or both.

R is also concerned to construct what I would call a narrative symmetry in his representation of the events. For example, the two infants in the narrative, Perpetua's son and Felicity's daughter, have received almost no consideration by scholars, yet their presence is nonetheless important to R's purpose. The birth of Felicity's daughter reminds the audience of Perpetua's loss. The loss of Perpetua's son to this struggling community—he will be raised a proper Roman by his grandfather—is more than offset by the birth of Felicity's daughter, who,

symbolically as a female child, will be fruitful and multiply the offspring of this struggling Christian church. The female life-affirming aspect of human society, particularly as lauded among these Christians, is contrasted against that of the rule-based, masculine milieu of duty, respect, and obligation. It is Perpetua's father who takes the son and who raises him, while it is an anonymous sister who does the same for Felicity's child. The child taken by the grandfather, who is an elite member of society, becomes a captive of the past. The child of the slave, raised by an anonymous sister, is the promise for the future.

One last point needs to be addressed. Why are the children unnamed? The text provides names for almost all persons that appear, even that of some prison guards. Perpetua's child is approximately eighteen months old, but Felicity's child is taken from her immediately. It is true that Roman practice would not have provided a name for Felicity's prematurely born daughter, but Perpetua's son would have had a name. Of course, R may not have had such information. From a social point of view, however, to provide or represent the children with names, and hence an identity, might have been an unwise marker in such a polarized society. While naming the children would provide them with an identity and add verisimilitude, from a narrative point of view to identify the two children with names directs more of the attention to the pathos of the children's situation, and thus detracts the reader from the heroism of the mothers. Furthermore, to provide the children with names might allow for an implicit criticism of such unmaternal behavior on the part of the two women, since children without names have no identity and exist more at the level of symbols whose role is to highlight the heroic behavior of their mothers.

Chapter XV Commentary

XV.1. As for Felicity (Circa Felicitatem). R has just finished accounting for Secundulus, who died in jail, and next wishes to provide an accounting for the unique happenstance of the slave Felicity while she was in prison. Names were frequently allegorized (see Jerome, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*), and her name appears to be an onomastic device meaning the "fortunate" or "fruitful" one (see II.1 "Revocatus and Felicity"). She is true to her name by having her child born in an actual prison, which Tertullian says is less of a prison than the world (*Mart.* 2.1).

XV.1. favor touched her in this way (gratia . . . contigit). The verb *contingo* with the dative *illi* allows for a graphic, almost physical association with the Lord. This is an apt word as Felicity later rebukes the guard, punning on the verb *patior* to show the physical intimacy of her association with God (*XV.6: et illa respondit: Modo ego patior quod patior; illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum*).

XV.2. *in her eighth month (octo . . . mensium ventrem haberet)*. This is a colloquial manner of indicating her pregnancy. Tertullian employs *venter* as shorthand for pregnancy in *De virginibus velandis*, 14.

XV.2. *for she was pregnant when arrested (nam . . . adprehensa)*. The Greek συλληφθεῖσα is a play on words (συλληφθεῖσα ὀκτῶ μηνῶν ἔχουσα γαστέρα. See LSJ, s.v. συλλαμβάνω, 4, which can be used concerning both pregnancy and seizure).

XV.2. *day of the games drew near (instante spectaculi die)*. This phrase is missing in the Greek. This detail is important (as is its absence) because it provides a more complete explanation of why she is in agony: she does not fear dying but actually fears she will miss her opportunity to die as a martyr. The use of *spectaculum* to indicate blood sports, particularly gladiatorial combat, is unambiguous (see OLD, s.v. *spectaculum*, 2). The Greek θηριομαχείν/“to fight with the beasts” is more graphic.

XV.2. *fearing that her pregnancy would spare her (ne propter ventrem differretur)*. No joy is taken in the termination of the pregnancy. Rather, the impending birth is seen as an impediment to her primary goal of dying with her fellows. The Greek does not mention that her great anxiety (*in magno erat luctu*) is due to her pregnancy, which she fears will be the cause of her missing the games. This is an important lacuna and fails to capture Felicity’s state of mind.

XV.2. *it is not permitted (non licet)*. The phrase was often used in the law. See Gaius’ *Institutes* (ca. 155–70), [G] 14.183: *Quasdam tamen personas sine permissu praetoris in ius uocare non licet*.

XV.2. *it was not permitted to punish pregnant women in public (non licet praegnantes poenae repraesentari)*. The use of *repraesentari* underlines the objectionable and legal nature of this practice as a *public event*. Roman law is complex on this issue of the disposition of the unborn. Ulpian argued that the child was part of the viscera of the woman before birth (*Dig.* 2.5.4.1.1), and Paulus argued that the fetus does not have the intrinsic rights of a person prior to birth (*Dig.* 1.5.7). Nonetheless, the law forbade the killing of the fetus, since the fetus was innocent of the crime of the mother and, most importantly, the property of a spouse, father, or master. Ulpian is quite specific on this point, arguing that until the time of parturition the woman cannot be executed (*Praegnantis mulieris consumendae damnatae poena differtur, quoad pariat, Dig.* 2.3.48, 19.3), and elsewhere he cites a rescript of Hadrian: *Liberam quae praegnans ultimo supplicio damnata est, liberum parere, et solitum esse servari eam, dum partum ederet (Dig.* 1.18.1). If the woman was married, the fetus was the property of her husband, since by this time most marriages were either *usus* or *sine manu*. If the woman was unmarried, or a slave, the property, that is, the fetus, was the property of a

father or master at the time of birth (*Dig.* 41.1.66). Hence the law against killing the fetus is largely one based on ownership and on property rights. Felicity may have been a freed slave (*conserva*, II.1), since she has the authority to give the child to another sister (presumably, a Christian, XV.7) to raise. This issue of property rights and the right of the husband was repeated in a rescript issued by Septimius Severus (ca. 208–11). Marcan writes that Septimius and Caracalla wished to provide the local governor with the authority to order temporary exile for a woman who gets an abortion, “since it is disgraceful (*indignum*) that she should with impunity deprive her husband of children” (*Dig.* 47.11.4: *impune eam maritum liberis fraudasse*; see also Carrié and Rousselle, *L’Empire romain*, 283; and Quasten, “Mutter und Kind”).

XV.2. *common criminals (sceleratos)*. Originally associated with grievous acts of impiety, *sceleratus* identifies a more socially unacceptable criminal act than does *facinus*, or *dedecus*. See their near contemporary C. Flaccus, *Dec.* H.9.10, who uses *scleratus* as an epithet describing a young man who was accused of blinding his father (Sussman, *Declamations*). The Greek equivalent ἀνόσιος suggests the criminals are profane or unholy.

XV.2. *her holy and innocent blood (sanctum et innocentem sanguinem)*. Volitional self-sacrifice is one of the great ethical actions of Roman custom (OLD, s.v. *sanguis*, 3). Felicity’s status as someone about to be martyred is underscored through the use of the adjectives “holy” and “innocent.” Both these words (*sanctus* and *innocens*), as they refer to an individual, are only used in the *Passio* in this instance. Blood was believed to be the source of life, and in a young person it was at its most vital. With age it was believed to have cooled and to have lost some of its essence. She gives up her life in her prime. The Greek is less strong than the Latin and lacks an equivalent to *sanctum*, simply using one adjective (ἄθῳον, “innocent”; cf. Mt 27.4).

XV.3. *fellow martyrs (conmartyres)*. This appears to be the earliest occurrence of this word. Some manuscripts of Tertullian’s *De Anima* (ca. post 203; but see Barnes, *Tertullian*, 34) use this noun form in remarking on Perpetua’s vision in paradise (*De Anim.* 55.4 and Souter, s.v. *conmartyr*), and it is used in the mid-third-century *Passio Sanctorum Montani et Lucii*, 7.2: *nam Victori presbytero conmartyri nostro . . . ostensum est hoc* (see also Boustan and Reed, eds., *Heavenly Realms*). Tertullian seems to be citing this vision of Perpetua, which is actually part of Saturus’s vision. Some have argued that this is evidence that Tertullian had a complete copy of the *Passio*. However, as I have suggested above, Saturus always uses the plural form of the verb in his visions (XIII.8), and hence everything that Saturus sees, Perpetua also sees. Accordingly, Tertullian, when referring to fellow martyrs in paradise, may accurately be making a reference to the dual vision of Saturus and Perpetua. While Tertullian restricts paradise to the martyrs, Saturus

and Perpetua acknowledge that there were others present as well: *multos fratres cognoscere* (XIII.8).

XV.3. *deeply saddened (graviter contristabantur)*. The martyrs are saddened because Felicity may not have the opportunity to die together with them. They fear that her death with the criminals will associate her actions with criminal acts and hence diminish and perhaps change the nature of her sacrifice. The Greek indicates that her fellow travellers were “unwilling” (μη θέλοντες) to leave her behind. This phrase is not in the Latin.

XV.3. *the way to the same hope (in via eiusdem spei)*. This is a beautiful and memorable phrase. The noun *via* was frequently used as a metaphor for a journey undertaken to achieve a goal and was occasionally used to refer to the desired consummation of death (Tacitus remarks on Mela’s suicide in order to thwart Nero’s desire for his wealth, *Ann.* 16.17). The eschatology in this remark echoes sentiments in Heb 10.19–25 and Jn 14.6.

XV.4. *joined together (coniuncto)*. The community could not survive unless all the members were united in their efforts. Apostasy was a great fear of these radically eschatological communities and a cause of frequent concern (*Mart. Lyons*, 11). An apostate drew attention to the fragility of the belief system that the group professed. For the contemporary non-Christian, an apostate was the certification of good sense and recognition that the power these Christians claimed their God gave them was at best a human claim and not a divine gift. Thus, the apostate placed the entire community at risk.

XV.4. *united supplication, groaning . . . to the Lord (unito gemitu ad Dominum orationem)*. The Latin states that the groan is joined together, whereas the Greek, perhaps seeking some slight clarity, suggests it is the martyrs who are united in a groan (ένωθέντες), or moaning (στενάγμα). The prayer was audible and likely ecstatic and charismatic, and was thought to bring one into the presence of the Holy Spirit (Eph 6.18). Perpetua used such prayer to heal her brother Dinocrates (see VII.9). Tertullian believed prayer to be a natural predisposition of all created beings, humans and animals (*Or.* 29.4). He discusses group prayer and states that the living God and the angel of prayer are present during efficacious prayer (16.6), but he does not appear to counsel such charismatic crying out (17.3) as is happening here. Paul indicates that the Holy Spirit intercedes for those who pray with “groaning too deep for words” (στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις, Rom 8.26).

XV.4. *poured forth (fuderunt)*. The verb provides a rich metaphoric description of the prayers flowing out of their mouths freely, as water from a vessel (OLD, s.v. *fundo*, 4a and 5c), or as someone giving birth. Interestingly, this verb was used to describe the labor of a woman in childbirth (*Aen.* 8.139: *quem candida Maia / Cyllenae gelido conceptum uertice fudit*). The prisoners pray to cause Felicity’s parturition.

XV.4. *two days before the games (ante tertium diem muneris)*. The Greek is less factual and more theological, reading two days before their suffering (τοῦ πάθους).

XV.5. *she suffered in her labor (in partu laborans doleret)*. R's remarks on the difficulty of her physical suffering in labor allow him to introduce Felicity's overtly theological rebuke to the prison guard immediately following.

XV.4. *one of the assistant jailers (quidam ex ministris cataractariorum)*. It is interesting that R uses this rather infrequently occurring word *cataractarius*. This may be the earliest extant use of this word (see Souter, s.v. *cataractarius*) to identify an occupation associated with a prison. It likely derives from the Greek noun καταράκτης, which originally meant "waterfall," and then the portcullis which enclosed the gates of a fortified camp or a city (see OLD, s.v. *cataracta*, 2b; Vegetius, *Rei Mil.* 4.4). It is an apt metaphor for a jailer whose place of employment is entirely fortified. The jailer is unnamed and, unlike her other jailer, not in sympathy with the Christian prisoners.

XV.5. *which you scorned (quas contempsisti)*. The jailer knows their history. This is the first acknowledgment that the others also were contemptuous of the judges' request that they sacrifice to the emperor and the gods. The jailer's anger is evident in his choice of so pointed a word as *contemno*.

XV.6. *Now I alone suffer (Modo ego patior . . . passura sum)*. The Latin uses the verb *patior* four times in this line for emotional emphasis. Felicity gives voice to perhaps the single most important theological reflection in the *Passio*. The theology of Christ joining his faithful in their suffering was well established in the theology of martyrdom by the middle of the second century. Through the martyr's death the nascent Christian world is fructified (Jn 12.24). The zeal to become as close to Christ as possible, embodied in the practice of imitation, allowed the martyrs to project their suffering onto the figure of Christ crucified and to lose themselves in that action. Paul adopts the idea of childbirth and its attendant suffering in his suggestion that our redemption requires an act of the will which creates suffering in all creation, analogous to childbearing: καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν νιοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν (Rom 8.23). Suffering for Christ is a blessing, and after a short duration of suffering, God will restore and strengthen the martyr (1 Pt 4.16 and 5.10). Such an ideal is explicit in the figure of the martyr Sanctus, the Latin-speaking martyr who was killed in the pogrom of Lyons (*Mart. Lyons*. 1.23: ἐν ᾧ πάσχων Χριστὸς μεγάλας ἐπετέλει δόξας; see also Bremmer, *Rise and Fall*, 104). The belief that Christ is inside Sanctus and Felicity is difficult to articulate in non-mystical discourse. The idea owes something to Justin's notion of the pre-existing seed of the Logos, which exists in everyone but which Christians share more fully because they worship and participate in the life of the Logos (2 *Apol.* 7.1). The anecdote here seems to have been the inspiration for the remark in *Pass. Mont.* 21.4. The Greek version

(a later interpolation?) adds the idea “so that he [the Lord] will suffer” in the clause, ἔσται ἐν ἐμοὶ ἵνα πάθῃ. This is not in the Latin.

XV.7. *and she gave birth (enixa est)*. Although *enitor* (see OLD, s.v. *enitor*) is a verb for giving birth, it is one whose etymological overtones of “struggle,” “forcing a way upwards,” “striving,” and “constancy” are also perfectly apt in this instance, since Felicity’s struggle is not only with her body but with the harassment of the prison guard. The Greek ἔτεκεν (LSJ, s.v. τίκτω) is more neutral and lacks this sense of struggle, focusing instead on the birth, and thus would be closer semantically to the Latin *parere*.

XV.7. *a certain sister (quaedam soror)*. Felicity’s status is ambiguous. She is called *conserva* (slave) when we first encounter her (II.1). Yet here her autonomy appears to be underscored, since the child is not given to an owner but presumably to someone of her choosing. The unnamed woman, while she may be a relative through birth, is more likely to be a fellow believer and a member of this Christian community, perhaps even a member of Perpetua’s *familia*. It would be most unlikely for R to suggest that Felicity (or the community) permitted her daughter to be given to someone who did not share her belief to raise as her own (OLD, s.v. *educō*, 10, from *educare* and not *educere*). The Greek identifies a particular relationship when it says that one of the sisters had “taken her” (συλλαβοῦσα). The Latin lacks this specificity. Amat suggested that the Greek εἰς θυγατέρα ἀνέθρεψε αὐτῇ is indebted to Moses’ nurturing by Pharaoh’s daughter in Acts 7.21: καὶ ἀνέθρεψατο αὐτὸν ἑαυτῇ εἰς υἱόν. Moreover, the sentiment in this line (*soror in filiam educauit*) suggests that R has some knowledge of the future upbringing of this little girl. Does this suggest that it may have been written some years after the event?

CHAPTER XVI

The Argument: Perpetua and the Tribune, Civil Authority vs. Spiritual Power

R delays the narrative of the martyrs’ persecution momentarily, dropping Felicity’s ordeal of premature childbirth and her rebuke to the guard, to remind his audience that his composition is written with the express permission of the Holy Spirit, willed by the same Spirit and commanded by Perpetua herself. He portrays himself as the amanuensis of the Spirit and the faithful servant of the martyr. Thus, his text is the product of the continuing revelation which the Spirit provides to his faithful. R’s commingling of the expressed will of the Holy Spirit and the command or “holy trust” (*fideicommissum*) of Perpetua places her in a familiar role—that of the medium of God’s will. R traces the obligation placed on him to record

the events which the Holy Spirit has made manifest in his prophet Perpetua. His acknowledgement of her command is also intended to direct our attention to her earlier remark to her fellow believer to the effect that she could talk with God (IV.2) and thus is a powerful prophet. This argument allows R to establish an authority for his narrative not unlike that claimed by Scripture itself. He is an eyewitness to these events, which are under the direction of God, who speaks through Perpetua. Her “holy trust” has the force of obligation and emphasizes R’s intimacy with the martyrs and makes canonical his sacred promise to her to tell their story.

Having legitimated his authority, R next returns to the story of the martyrs’ suffering and to Perpetua herself. He now resumes the narrative of suffering with an anecdote illustrative of the intrigue and cruelty directed at the imprisoned martyrs. We are told that the tribune, who was likely in charge of the military camp which included the prison, had earlier been approached by some unnamed malicious men, who informed him that the Christians were going to use magical incantations in order to secure their escape. Accordingly, the tribune had their freedoms curtailed. Although the precise nature of the cruelty the martyrs suffered is not given, it appears that they were kept locked up and denied access to even normative standards of sanitation and nutrition (*nobis refrigerare . . . pinguiores*). This detail that the tribune acted at the bequest of anonymous men emphasizes the hostility of the local population against the Christians (which is made explicit in Chapter XVII), and it alleviates the charge of gratuitous callousness toward them on the part of the tribune. R’s anecdote concerning the calumny of the anonymous men has a historic resonance. It reminds one of Perpetua’s father’s earlier pleas that her behavior will also condemn her family, including her child, to a shameful and pariah-like existence. Her father’s fears have been realized. The rumors of deviousness, of magic, of non-rational behavior have been associated with membership in the cult, and it has reached individuals of authority who have access to the tribune. R intends to do more than just present this simple intrigue. He is constructing a literary narrative with its roots in earlier Christian texts. The tribune acts to uphold the laws of the state and not from personal antagonism. The depiction of the tribune as a reasonable, almost sympathetic authority figure (XVI.4, XVIII.6), who—although he initially treats the Christians poorly—is finally able to recognize the virtue of the Christians, provides additional support for the universal message of Christianity and has a parallel in the figure of Pilate. He is powerless before the machinery of the state, represented by the anonymous complainants. R argues that some members of the elite classes—those who by their birth, wealth, and ability have risen in society—can and do acknowledge the truth of the Christians. The tribune is a type of the righteous pagan, of Pilate who struggled against the demonized Jews to speak for the innocence of Christ. The Roman mob and the Jews of the Gospels are here viewed as analogous groups.

This anecdote of the devious men, although it seems an aside to R's opening remarks about the will of the Holy Spirit and the "holy trust" of Perpetua, is pertinent and functions to underscore Perpetua's power, which has its locus in the Spirit. The events are oblique, and the listener is forced to supply omissions in the narrative. For example, who are these unnamed and devious men (*hominum vanissimorum*) who report that the Christians will try to escape? We know nothing about them, not even the reason for their anxiety concerning the Christians. They are stock characterizations of the "enemy" of the Holy Spirit. Notice that they claim that their escape would be affected through "magical incantations." This is a reference to the Christian practice of ecstatic prayer, trances, and glossolalia, gifts which Tertullian argued came from the Holy Spirit (*Marc.* 5.8.10–12) and which were earlier featured in the text (VII.2). The early third century was an age that took a keen interest in the mystical and the non-rational. Aristides's *Sacred Orations* were well known, the charge of witchcraft against Apuleius was taken seriously, and the Chaldean Oracles had recently been "discovered." And slightly later, popular philosophers of the stature of Plotinus believed that magic was a medium that could change the course of nature. Within that milieu, Christians particularly were believed to use language to summon powerful beneficent spirits, to perform exorcisms, and to celebrate liturgies where wine and water were transformed into their savior's body and blood (*Tert. Apol.* 21.17, 23.12). Christians used magical language as a part of their liturgies and could employ it against their enemies. Moreover, Perpetua, as an acknowledged leader of this cult and someone who publicly acknowledged that she could speak with God, would seem, to a prudent prison official, a person to be zealously guarded. At the very least, an escape could jeopardize the tribune's reputation and damage his career. Thus, he sensibly has the Christians kept in a more restricted situation.

The narrative frequently avoids strict chronology and does so at this point. R's narrative jumps from a discussion of the suspicion of anonymous men to the tribune, to the martyrs' harsh treatment, to a face-to-face meeting of the tribune and Perpetua. No narrative details of this shift or the nature of the events which led to it are provided. How long were they kept in such difficult circumstances? What was the nature of the punishment? Did the tribune summon Perpetua into his presence, or did she or her father ask for a hearing? Such questions are left to the imagination. R is interested in illustrating the struggle between the anonymous denouncers and the Christians, and such questions are irrelevant to his purpose. The scene displays the meeting of two formidable opponents. There is no dialogue between them; then it is only Perpetua's accusation to the tribune that his most noble (*nobilissimis*, with the emphasis on "virtue" and not class) prisoners are not treated as they should be. Perpetua's remarks convince the tribune. She reminds him of his role as guardian of Caesar's prized victims. This is an appeal to his self-interest. She does not beg for

mercy, or for better treatment to alleviate their suffering. Such petitions would diminish her status as Christian hero. Rather, she alludes to the coming contest in sacrificial language, arguing that Christians should be brought to the contest in a state of readiness, appearing before the mob like healthy sacrificial victims (*pinguiores*). She asks him, rhetorically, what merit will it bring to the tribune, to Rome, if the Christians are dragged into the arena disheveled and half-starved? Her query provides insight into the radical theology of martyrdom in Carthage among this small group. Perpetua's ideas concerning the sacrifice of martyrdom, as represented by R, are reminiscent of the Jewish custom of providing an unblemished victim offered as holocaust in the temple. Although her argument plays on the tribune's pragmatic self-interest, her focus is on her body as a worthy vessel in her impending death and the efficaciousness of this sacrifice. R states that the tribune was horrified and that his embarrassment was showing in his face. What precisely shocked him? Was it her unkempt appearance, the obvious truth of her words, his fear at the provincial governor's wrath lest the games appear to go badly because the victims are presented in so dispirited and physically unattractive a manner, or his awareness of her irrational desire to die as a spotless sacrifice?

The confrontation between the female prophet and the tribune is ageless. It dramatizes the different approaches to decision making between the charismatic leader and the representative of the state. Perpetua, although the prisoner, has won this contest: she has secured a better situation for her fellows. Power has shifted from the civil authority of the tribune to that of the spiritual leader. The Christian audience is subtly reminded of the origin of Christ's authority and his remarks to Pilate that if he wished, he could bring legions to aid him against the secular authorities. The achievement of better prison conditions foils the evil machinations of her anonymous accusers, who poisoned the tribune against the Christians, claiming that they would use magic to escape and that Perpetua was an enchantress. The power of her witness is made most manifest in the final line of the chapter; that is, the force of her example has converted the adjutant of the prison. This may be the same Pudens mentioned in IX.1. The literary quality of this chapter is inescapable, as are its muted Scriptural echoes; the charismatic leader under the protection of God and with the explicit assistance of the Holy Spirit is invincible, no matter what the forces raised against her seek to do.

Chapter XVI Commentary

XVI.1. Therefore, since the Holy Spirit has given permission . . . and by such permission has willed (Quoniam ergo . . . permisit et permittendo voluit Spiritus Sanctus). The authority of the text is its divine mandate received from the Holy Spirit, who

has willed it and the very events it describes into being. The theology implicit in this remark points to the necessary coexistence of all action in God. There is no temporal horizon in God, and thus the act of “permission” and “willing” is one. The collision and economy of these contrasting ideas of providing “permission” (a variation on *polyptoton*) and “willing” highlights this theology and is also a measure of R’s rhetorical skill. The Greek does not have this collocation. The Holy Spirit is personified as one who permits and wills and thus is the embodiment of the “replacement,” the comforter, exhorter, mentioned in Jn 14.16–26, 15.26, and 16.7 (ὁ παράκλητος). It is the Holy Spirit who “willed” that R write down the narrative demanded (*mandatum*) by Perpetua. *Volo* is used most frequently in the *Passio* in association with God’s desire for the martyrs. The theology implicit in such usage is that God’s desire and that of the martyrs are the same (see also V.6, VI.8, XXI.10).

XVI.1. *written down (conscribi)*. R, like Perpetua, does not share a Christian skepticism of the written word, so succinctly stated by Papias in his *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord*, 1.4: “For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.” R’s concern with the historical record suggests someone with a strong classical education and possibly someone with an administrative position in his church.

XVI.1. *although we are unworthy (etsi indigni)*. A routine use of the humility trope.

XVI.1. *or rather her sacred trust (fideicommissum)*. This is a legal term and should be understood in relation to R’s earlier use of *mandatum*. The Greek ἔνταλμα lacks the force of *mandatum* (cf. BDAG, s.v. ἔνταλμα; and Lampe, s.v. ἔνταλμα; and OLD, s.v. *fideicommissum*) and does not have the Latin word’s additional nuance of an order expressly intended to commission a written text. The term specifically signals a testamentary disposition made either orally or, if the individual was literate, in a written fashion. Although usually having reference to a *hereditas*, here the commission has placed R under obligation to perform a non-material duty, and thus he is Perpetua’s *fiduciarius*. The use of this juridical term is R’s representation of himself as both legally and morally obliged to fulfill this command (Gaius, *Inst.* 2.184). Tertullian used the word *fideicommissum* in this sense when he proposed that if his wife were to be faithful to his spiritual legacy, she would regard a second marriage on his death as a lesser good. He contrasts a *fideicommissum* with the obligations placed on one by a will (see *Ad Ux.* 1.1.3: *Tu modo solidum capere possis hoc meae admonitionis fideicommissum Deus faciat*).

XVI.1. *her resolve and sublimity of spirit (constantia et animi sublimitate)*. These are two of Perpetua’s most singular character traits. The Greek lacks this phrase, and although it catches some of the sentiment of the Latin with the μεγάλωφρων καὶ ἀνδρεία ὡς ἀληθῶς Περπετουά, the phrase ἀνδρεία ὡς ἀληθῶς indicates an uneasiness with attributing such qualities to a woman. The highlighting of

“resolve” is an influence from Stoicism. Stoicism understood *constantia* (εὐπάθεια) as the one of the signs of a balanced life, a conjoining of consistency of mind and action, and control over the passions. Constancy for the Stoic was the enemy of psychic inconsistency and a principle means to avoid the conflict of the passions and the corrosive fear of death (Sen. *Ep.* 120). Christ was the sine qua non of *constantia* for early Christians. Paul preaches a type of Stoicism in his plea that we find true human freedom once we surrender our will to God and follow the dictates of the Spirit (Gal 5.13–26). Perpetua behaves in a recognizably stoic manner and may have imbibed a type of Pauline Stoicism. Tertullian’s deep indebtedness to Stoicism caused him to see *constantia* and *patientia* as the foundation of morality, particularly important for the martyr elect (see XVII.1 and XVIII.4; Tert. *Mart.* 6.1; and Osborn, *Tertullian*, 235).

XVI.1–2. The Latin narrative shifts abruptly at this point from a discussion of Perpetua’s spirit to the martyrs’ suffering in prison. The Greek text, on the other hand, constructs a narrative bridge, Ὡς δὲ πλείους ἡμέραι διεγίνοντο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ αὐτῶν ὄντων, between these different events. While it may appear oxymoronic to claim for the Latin lacuna a *lectio difficilior potior*, the Greek version’s bridge of these two distinct narrative events appears just that, an editor’s effort to provide a smooth transition where none existed.

XVI.2. *tribune (tribunus)*. It is difficult to identify precisely the particular function of this tribune, since the term covered a variety of duties (see Southern and Dixon, *Roman Army*, 61). This official most likely was of the rank *tribunus augusti-clavius* (an equestrian officer) in Legio III *Augusta*, whose responsibility as an officer in the urban and praetorian cohorts was typically to be in charge of 480 men, but who—unlike his counterpart *tribunus laticlavius*, who exercised direct command—held a staff appointment and had administrative and judicial duties (see also Webster, *Imperial Army*). The Greek versions’s use of χιλιάρχης (someone who commands a thousand men) suggests a misunderstanding of the exactitude of rank in the Roman Army (*pace* Rapske, *Acts and Paul*, 144, who argues on linguistic grounds). That Perpetua had such easy access to a man of such rank is noteworthy and unlikely for most prisoners. It may be an effort on R’s part to embellish her status by suggesting such access was in her prerogative. The toga worn by the *tribunus* contained a broad purple stripe in the case of *t. laticlavius* and a narrow one for *t. augusticlavius*. Note the figure of the *lanista* (X.8), whose toga bears such stripes. The decoration of stripes on the toga was a commonplace and was indicative of rank. However, R may have transferred this icon of authority as a sign of the oppressor.

XVI.2. *treated them with great cruelty (castigatus eos castigaret)*. Another instance of *polyptoton* (cf. *permisit et permittendo*, XVI.1). The verb *castigo* connotes a wide variety of punishments (OLD, s.v. *castigo*, 2a). The tribune is cruel only

because he is deceived by deceitful men. Perpetua's meeting with him provides R with the opportunity to demonstrate the power of the Christian message; the tribune's sympathetic response to her argument exemplifies the Christian message.

XVI.2. warnings of the most devious of men (admonitionibus hominum vanissimorum). *Admonitio* here carries the weight of a cautionary, minatory reminder (OLD, s.v. *admonitio*, 1). *Vanus*, when used to refer to individuals, has the sense of "distrustful," "unreliable" (OLD, s.v. *vanus*, 4). These unnamed men would presumably have been important members of the city, as they had direct access to the tribune, and since he initially acted on their advice, he must have respected or feared them. R accuses them of being liars.

XVI.2. magical incantations (incantationibus aliquibus magicis). The word *magicus* could refer to a variety of practices and powers, and it was a charge commonly leveled at Christians. The accusation was not against the use of supernatural power or its effects, but rather against the source of that power. In an age when individuals took for granted the existence of gods, demons, angelic beings, and the suspension of natural law, actions that defied reason were credible gifts from beneficent gods. Here the charge of "magic" is an accusation of chicanery and of deception (see Justin, *1 Apol.* 14 and *Dial.* 69). Christian magicians were accused of deriving their power from demons and not from the gods (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 4.15). The anonymous men argue that the source of the martyrs' power, their "magical incantations," is disreputable and not from a benign divine source. Such accusations date from the earliest times of Christianity. Smith pointed out that Jesus was accused of being a magician during his life (Smith, *Jesus the Magician*). This charge, refuted by Justin (*1 Apol.* 30), had considerable currency. The discussion of magic and Christian charismatic power, and the differences between the two, in Acts (see chapters 8 and 13) suggest that Christian cultic practices were being attacked as demonic magic (see Klauck, *Magic and Paganism*). Paul, while in Ephesus, a center of magic, was opposed by the false magician Bar-Joseph, and Jewish exorcists (ἐξορκιστῶν) also tried to use the name of Jesus to rid individuals of evil spirits (Acts 19.13). Part of the association may be due to the liturgical use of the name "Jesus" as a healing and miraculous utterance and as a way of summoning his presence (Heffernan, "Nomen sacrum," 11–28). Celsus claimed that Christians used the name of Jesus as a magical and incantatory formula (Or. *Cont. Cel.* 1.68). The charge of the anonymous men may also indicate a class antagonism, since Tertullian associates the charge of "magician" with the lower classes and suggests the Jews charged Christ with this practice (*Apol.* 21.17).

XVI.2. Perpetua said directly to his face (in faciem ei Perpetua respondit). There is another chronological break in the narrative, separating the expression of the tribune's fear that the martyrs might escape from his meeting with Perpetua.

Although we are not provided with any information as to how much time passed while the martyrs were being treated poorly, it must have been considerable, since the effect of seeing Perpetua in person and hearing her arguments horrifies the tribune. He could only have been horrified if the evidence of their deprivation—that is, the lack of food, hygiene, and sanitation—was visible in her person. The Latin *in faciem* underscores her female bravery, which the Greek subtly minimizes, attributing her bravery to a masculine quality, ἀνδρεία (XVI.1). Festus points out to Agrippa that it was the Roman custom for the accused to meet their judge “face to face” (κατὰ πρόσωπον, Acts 25.16).

XVI.3. *Why (Quid utique)*. The phrase as an intensifier was commonly used both by Tertullian (*De Anim.* 31.5, *Pud.* 9.2) and Cyprian (*Laud. Mart.* 16.4; and see Halporn, 49, and notes XIX.1 below).

XVI.3. *permit (permittis)*. A deliberate echo of the phrase in XVI.1, reminding the audience that it is the power of the Holy Spirit that “permits” and that the tribune must bend his will to that inevitable force.

XVI.3. *refresh (refrigerare)*. Used in the sense of restoring their well-being, both physical and emotional (see also *refrigeraui*, III.4).

XVI.3. *most noble of the condemned (noxiiis nobilissimis)*. The oxymoronic alliteration in the phrase *noxiiis nobilissimis* is deliberate. R favors the figure of alliteration (see the expressions in XVI beginning *permissit . . . ; cum . . . ; carceris credente*). The word *nobilissimis* is ambiguous. Although it can refer to notoriety—that is, being well known in a community (OLD, s.v. *nobilis*, 1), or even one’s birth, being well born (OLD, s.v. *nobilis*, 5)—Perpetua likely refers to the martyr’s moral character. She could have used it to refer to herself as highborn, since she is *honeste nata*, but her use of the plural *nobilissimis* includes all the condemned. Since two of them, Felicity and Revocatus, are slaves, it is less likely that she intends it to be a marker of birth, but rather one of nobility of spirit (but see Barnes’ literal reading, *Early Christian*, 69).

XVI.3. *belonging to Caesar, who are to fight on his birthday (Caesaris scilicet et natali eiusdem pugnaturis)*. In what way do the martyrs belong to Caesar? The tradition of identifying a prisoner as belonging to a ruler is of great antiquity. Joseph was placed in the area of the prison where “the King’s prisoners were confined” (Gn 39.20), and Paul refers to himself as a prisoner of Christ (Παῦλος δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Phlm 1).

XVI.3. *to fight on his birthday (et natali eiusdem pugnaturis)*. The reference is to the birthday of the Emperor Geta (see *natale tunc Getae Caesaris*, VII.9) born in Rome, 27 May 189. This visit of the Severi to Africa coincided with Geta’s fourteenth birthday. The fourteenth birthday was significant, since at this time in the Empire boys on this birthday could choose to enter their majority, dispense with the *toga praetexta*, and assume the *toga virilis* during an official ceremony

which Tertullian calls the *solemnitates togae*, and which was often accompanied by processions and games. Suetonius alludes to festivals when the sons of the emperor received the *toga virilis* (*Aug.* 26, *Tib.* 54, and *Ner.* 7). If this practice was still current, and the evidence from Tertullian suggests it was, the games in Carthage would have been even more compelling, and it would be surprising if the emperor and his family did not visit the greatest city in the province, as they were in Africa from June 202 through May 204. Indeed, Geta's assumption of the *toga virilis* and its associated pageantry may be the very reason that his name is mentioned in the *Passio*. The date of the martyrdom has traditionally been the nones (7th) of March 203 (see the *Depositio Martyrum*). Games were traditionally celebrated on the birthday of the emperor and on his accession. Both Suetonius and Cassius Dio note that Claudius decreed that his parents' birthdays were public holidays to be celebrated by games in the circus (*Claud.* 11.4; and *RH* 60.5; see also Barnes, "Pre-Decian Martyrdom"). Birley places Septimius and the imperial sons in Africa at this time but says they were likely not involved in these games (see Birley, *African Emperor*, 153–54). For a useful review of Septimius Severus's career, see Hammond, "Septimius Severus, Roman Bureaucrat," particularly 162.

XVI.3. *well fed* (*pinguiores*). The word indicates unambiguously that their punishment, in part, was the deprivation of food. The literature of martyrdom records a number of such instances of near-starvation. The imprisoned martyr Lucian was placed on a dole of bread and water (*Cypr. Ep.* 21.2), and Cyprian also notes how the martyr Celerinus, who was imprisoned for only nineteen days, "rotted away" (Diercks ed., *Ep.* 39.2: *Per decem nouem dies custodia carceris saeptus in neruo ac ferro fuit . . . Caro famis ac sitis diuturnitate contabuit*). The martyrs Montanus and Lucius were also placed on a severely restricted food and water ration while in prison (*Mont. et Luc.* 6.5). There are Scriptural parallels as well. When the imprisoned Daniel announces that he will not defile himself by eating the King's food, the steward reproaches him and says, if you fast and the king can discern it, I shall lose my head (*Dn* 1.1–21). Perpetua argues that if they are brought into the arena half-starved and disheveled, they would appear already broken and hardly worth the price of the entry. If, however, they enter the arena robust, healthy, and clean, the contest will have the appearance of like contesting against like. Is there a desire in Perpetua's request that the acceptable sacrifice to the Lord must follow those Biblical admonitions, requiring the offering to be unblemished and fat? (Cf. *Ez* 44.15.)

XVI.4. *horrified and flushed* (*horruit et erubuit*). R underscores Perpetua's authority and the tribune's recognition of it with his emphatic use of *horreo* and *erubesco*. *Horreo* connotes great fear, physical trembling, and the dread of a superior (OLD, s.v. 4, 6). *Erubesco* illustrates the sudden sense of shame that overcomes

him (OLD, s.v. 1), evident in his reddened face. The scene is a set piece designed to inspire a Christian audience.

XVI.4. *so that her brothers, and the others (ut fratribus eius et ceteris)*. The word *fratribus* is ambiguous, and it is difficult to know with certainty the exact reference. The word *frater* is used twelve times in the *Passio*: six times it unambiguously signifies blood kinship (II.2, III.8, V.1, V.2, VII.5, VII.9); four times its use is ambiguous and may refer to a fellow believer or a family member (IV.1, IV.10, XVI.4, XX.10); and on two occasions it identifies people other than family members (I.6, XIII.8). We do know that at least one of her siblings is a catechumen (II.2: *et fratres duos, alterum aequae catechumenum*). Is the reference here to that brother or one of the unnamed brethren, as in IV.1? The term *frater* had long designated members of religious *collegia* (Plin. *HN* 18.16; I.6, *fratres et filioli*), and Christians, following Christ's extension of the term (Mk 3.33), used it commonly to refer to fellow believers. Tertullian claims that the pagans are angry at the Christians because they call themselves "brothers." Christians believed their spiritual brotherhood to be stronger than the bonds of pagan blood kinship: *Sed et quod fratres nos vocamus . . . simulatum est* (*Apol.* 39.8). Perpetua identifies individuals by name. The single time she mentions a family member is when she refers to her deceased brother Dinocrates. Furthermore, she has no hesitancy in providing the names of deacons, bishops, and presbyters. Moreover, the church in Carthage celebrated the memory of their martyrs and held them in enormously high regard. R's distinction between "her brothers" and "the others" might suggest he did not have knowledge of their names, or that he was concerned about making such information public at the time he was writing.

XVI.4. *to visit and be refreshed with the prisoners (facultas fieret introeundi et refrigerandi)*. Their family and friends will provide nourishment and solidarity. Mommsen noted that prisoners could receive assistance from friends and family outside the prison, and Roman prisons, like their Greek and Egyptian counterparts, placed the burden of providing adequate nourishment on the shoulders of the prisoners (Rapske, *Acts and Paul*, 210).

XVI.4. *now (iam)*. This underscores that the event took place sometime before this time and points to the sudden conversion of the guard. Such a motif in the literature of martyrdom may owe something to the tradition of the conversion of the good thief (Lk 23.39–43).

XVI.4. *adjutant in charge of the prison was a believer (optione carceris credente)*. The reference refers back to Pudens (*Pudens miles optio, praepositus carceris*, IX.1). The Greek identifies the newly converted head of the prison as τῆς φυλακῆς προεστώς, thus confusing this official with the tribune (see XVI.2).

CHAPTER XVII

The Argument: Agape Widens the Circle of Believers

Although often vague in his chronology, R here provides a precious piece of historical detail: he notes that the events narrated in this chapter took place the day before the actual games. We can date the events of this day as the day before the celebration of Geta's fourteenth birthday. On this penultimate day in their imprisonment, the Christians, like those numberless others who faced imminent death in the arena (gladiators, for instance), celebrate the custom of a "free meal"/*cena libera*, their last meal (Kyle, *Spectacles*, 107–8). However, R is at pains to distinguish this meal from pagan celebrations and states it is not "free," but rather it is the agape or love meal (*sed agapem*) which they eat. If this is a reference to the Eucharistic liturgy, which seems likely, it is the first and only reference to the martyrs' celebrating it. Given that this is the most important liturgical ceremony of the Christians, why has R provided so meager a description of the meal? Surely if it is the Eucharist it is of paramount significance for this group. Perpetua has dreamed of eating this very meal (IV.9). His prose is suggestive of some uncertainty as to what actually went on during the meal. Notice, for example, that he uses the plural verb *vocant*. Such use is a hint that their practice is something different from that which he knows or has participated in. Why he chose to use this plural verb rather than a first person singular or plural, which would acknowledge his own lived experience of this liturgical ceremony, is a mystery. Can there have been some special ceremony that was part of the Eucharistic meal but only practiced by those who were about to die as martyrs? Has he not been fully admitted into the faith and is himself still a catechumen? R also suggests that the meal was celebrated under some duress, as it was managed "as far as it was possible." It is difficult to know precisely what the difficulty was. It appears that the prison was crowded and some who were there came as voyeurs and to heckle the Christians. This may have contributed to a lack of privacy and hindered their celebration. R's terseness here seems more subjective than this, however.

The result of the meal is to make the Christians bold, fearless, even threatening those who came to jeer at them. Although they are the imprisoned, R wishes to convey that it is the Christians who are free, who are celebrating, who are acting as judges, who turn suffering into joy and pain into pleasure. The agape meal has fortified and provided them with vast reservoirs of inner strength. The celebration of the agape meal has empowered them with the confidence of their righteousness, and they have become fearless. Their behavior is an analogue to Felicity's remarks that once she suffers in the arena another will be in her suffering for her. Their fearlessness is a result of Christ's presence in them. The Christian's stoic attitude toward death, particularly death in these public spectacles, was frequently remarked on by Romans.

The martyrs' words, while indicative of disdain (*iactabant*), also suggest some physical distance from the hecklers and provide evidence of how they were jailed. The martyr Saturus's remarks bear some extended scrutiny. It is Saturus, their teacher, who remonstrates against the crowds. His role as cult leader is emphasized. His series of barbed questions addressed to the crowd of onlookers, while clearly rhetorical, provides evidence of a physical barrier of some sort which separates the two groups. Saturus appears to address the crowd of onlookers from some distance. The condemned are on one side, likely in a large cell, and the crowds on another. The crowds "jostled" (*concurrentium*) to see the Christians. The language makes vividly present the melee that characterized this prison. People are not described as jostling unless they are struggling to get a view of someone. There must have been a barrier, perhaps a barrier of bars or doors of some sort, which would have obstructed or inhibited an easy access to the martyrs, since if they had access to one another, there would be no need to indicate that there was this jostling and crowding to see the condemned.

Saturus rebukes the crowd's hypocrisy, and thus we learn that some of the visitors knew the martyrs (*Hodie amici, cras inimici*). Although the visitors feign friendship initially, they loathe the martyrs for their membership in this cult. The number of Christians in Carthage is notoriously difficult to estimate with accuracy. Their numbers surely reached no more than a few thousand. It is more likely that those who came to see the prisoners would have been drawn largely from those who knew them: their family members, friends, and neighbors. We learned in the previous chapter that Perpetua has secured permission from the tribune to have a more liberal visitation policy (XVI.4). Saturus's censure of the crowd and, in particular, his charge that they remember the faces of the condemned on the morrow, when they are led to their deaths in the arena, is a bold statement of his refusal to be cowed, a refusal to bow to the wishes of the state at the expense of their personal belief. It has all the hallmarks of the epic warrior standing heroically but tragically alone against insurmountable forces. Saturus's rhetoric proves more powerful than the crowd's disgust. The crowd's skepticism and disdain turn to admiration. His supplication effects its intended purpose—many of those who came to gawk or to mock leave stunned and convinced of the righteousness of the martyrs' cause, and they convert. What began as a the memory of an agape meal celebrated under duress ends with the vindication of the sacramental theology of the agape meal as it now embraces those outside the fold, turning the scorned into heroes and the scornful into believers. R skillfully turns this brief vignette in the prison cell into a didactic trope on the power of the martyr to draw the sting from the adder and invites the voyeurs into membership in the forbidden cult.

Chapter XVII Commentary

XVII.1. last meal (cenam ultimam). The tradition of the “last meal” of the condemned is resonant of the *cena libera* provided to the gladiators the night before their contest so that they would maintain their strength (Cic. *Phil.* 2.23, *gladitoria totius corporis firmitas*). Tertullian mocks pagan festivals, observing that he does not recline at the feasts of Bacchus, as do the fighters of beasts at their final banquet (*Apol.* 42.5: *quod bestiariis supremam cenantibus mos est*). Halporn (49) has noted that the phrase only appears twice in Latin—here and in Petronius—and is likely slang (*Sat.* 26.7: *Venerat iam tertius dies, id est expectatio liberae cenae*), but infrequency of use alone does not make it slang.

XVII.1. love-feast (agapem cenarent). Although the exact practice covered by the word *agape* during the second half of the second century varied, its use here refers to the Christian meal of fellowship eaten during their liturgy service. Ἀγάπη as a feast is not singled out explicitly in the NT, but most scholars believe that Paul implies its existence in 1 Cor 11. 17–34, particularly in the phrase κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (see also Jude 12, ταῖς ἀγάπαις, and 2 Pt 2.13; and BDAG, s.v. ἀγάπη, 2; for a Roman observation of the practice, see Plin. *Ep.*10.96). Scholars debate whether ἀγάπη signifies the actual meal or the distribution of food before and after the Eucharist, although some ancient authorities, like Tertullian, clearly identify it with the Eucharist (*Apol.* 39.16–19; and see Lampe, s.v. ἀγάπη, 4e).

XVII.1. at the mob (ad populum). This is an important phrase, as it confirms the historical accuracy of the *Passio*. It was the customary practice the evening before the games to open the *cena libera* to the public, who would gawk at the gladiators as they consumed their last meal, which is precisely what is happening here to the Christians (see Shadrake, *Gladiator*, 120).

XVII.2. happiness they found in their suffering (passionis suae felicitatem). The phrase has a Pauline ring (Νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν, Col 1.24).

XVII.1. Satorus said (dicente Saturo). When the martyrs are gathered together, Satorus typically serves as their spokesman, confirming his leadership of the group.

XVII.1. curiosity of those who jostled to see them (concurrentium curiositatem). Another example of R’s delight in alliteration (cf. XVI.3, *noxiiis nobilissimis*).

XVII.2. Today our friends, tomorrow our enemies (hodie amici, cras inimici). A brilliantly economic use of antithesis to sum up the situation.

XVII.2. take a good look at our faces (Notate . . . diligenter). The Christians insist that their innocence and righteousness are apparent in their faces. Such goodness allows them to “face” their accusers and the mobs without blanching (see XVI.2, *in faciem ei*; XVIII.1, *vultu decori*; XVIII.2, *vigore oculorum*).

XVII.2. to recognize us (ut regnoscatis nos). Satorus insists that the spectators remember their faces on the morrow. It is his hope that the mob will finally believe

their claim that they can rejoice in their suffering (*passionis suae felicitatem*), no matter how harsh, if it is for and through Jesus Christ (cf. Felicity's remark to the guard in XV.6, *Modo ego patior . . . sum*).

XVII.2. *on that day (in die illo)*. The phrase was a favorite of Christian writers and could signify the *parousia*, that day when the righteous and the persecuted would be saved and the evil punished (Mt 7.22), as well as the day Jesus died (*Gospel Pet.* 12.50). However, in this context it appears, despite its inherent ambiguity, to refer to the following day, when they shall be led in formal procession (*pompa*) into the arena for the start of the games.

XVII.3. *the crowd . . . stunned (omnes . . . adtoniti)*. The crowd leaves their presence stunned because the truth of Saturus's words and the conviction apparent in the martyrs' faces have transformed many in the crowd (see Mk 11.18).

XVII.3. *many of them became believers (multi crediderunt)*. The phrase appears indebted to the New Testament, particularly John (see 4.41, καὶ πολλῶ πλείους ἐπίστευσαν). Compare this to the Greek version of the *Passio*, πλείστοι ἐπίστευσαν. This is yet another instance which illustrates that the Greek version is more indebted to the Scriptures than is the Latin. Simplicius makes a distinction between πίστις and ἐπιστήμη, the latter term suggesting the special favor of God unaided by a mediator (see *Comm. Epict.*). For some second-century apologists, the word ἐπιστήμη suggests an inherent characteristic of Christians (see Justin, *1 Apol.* 61.10 and Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7.16). The verb *credo* is only used by R (XVI.4, XVII.3, XX.9, XXI.1) and has a distinctly Christian implication "to become a believer" (see Souter, s.v. *credens*, "the faithful"). The Latin adjective uses a positive degree, while the Greek has the superlative.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Argument: The Condemned's Door to Justice and Freedom

Let us examine the topography of this chapter with a view to understanding whether it may provide additional insight into the historical setting of the events being described. The chapter opens with a description of the martyrs marching fearlessly and joyously on the day of their martyrdom. R notes that they marched (*processerunt*) from the prison to the amphitheatre. His setting may allow us to identify the historical topography of the scene or, at the very least, discount some previous assumptions. The procession being described is the ritual celebratory *pompa*, traditionally performed for funerals (see Suet. *Iul.* 37) and for the commencement of the circus games, but here used to inaugurate the gladiatorial combats. Such processions entered the Colosseum in Rome through the *Porta Triumphalis*. The martyrs do not seem to have been imprisoned in the amphitheatre—as were

many who were executed in the games—since the text explicitly says they were led to the gate of the amphitheatre. Their movement is toward the amphitheatre from a point outside. The amphitheatre at Carthage, as one would expect of a major arena, did have holding cells (still extant) beneath the floor of the arena, which today are partially exposed. If the condemned were imprisoned in these subterranean cells, it is hard to reconcile that place of imprisonment with R's statement that they marched to the gate of the amphitheatre (*in amphitheatrum*), where they were forced to change clothes before they entered. For this to happen, they would have to have been led from the subterranean cells, via one of the tunnels, to an exit outside the walls of the amphitheatre, only to be led back to the arena through the gate. This does not agree with R's description, and these subterranean cells, moreover, were not typically referred to as the "prison" (*carcer*).

Why march the condemned from beneath the middle of the amphitheatre to the gate, force them to change there, and then march them back? And it is not likely that he would have used the verb *procedo* if they were marching beneath the arena hidden from view. Furthermore, even if we concede for the sake of argument that they were being held inside the amphitheatre, it would have been easier, more efficient, and more dramatic to have dressed them in the pagan garb and then have them brought up, either walking up the stairs or being winched up in the cage-like boxes sometimes used to convey animals, and into public view. It is more likely that they were imprisoned outside the amphitheatre and led into the arena from a prison some distance away. Although we do not know the location of their imprisonment, in her final dream Perpetua has provided some clue as to where they were imprisoned: "And he took me by the hand, and we began to walk through places that were rugged and winding. Finally, after great difficulty, we arrived at the amphitheatre, all out of breath, and he led me into the middle of the arena": *et coepimus ire per aspera loca et flexuosa, vix tandem pervenimus anhelantes ad amphitheatrum . . .* (X.3–4). If they were imprisoned in cells located in the forum of Carthage or in the hypothesized prison of the urban cohort located on the hill of Bordj Djedid, their movement would require that they descend from Byrsa Hill, the location of the forum, a distance of at least half a mile, along a route which still winds its way down to both the amphitheatre and the circus and, more importantly, a route that would have allowed spectators to see them, thus increasing the spectacle. This is a more likely location than the amphitheatre, but until we have better archaeological data the precise location of this *carcer* will remain unknown. However, although we cannot rule out that they may have been imprisoned elsewhere, the likeliest place of their execution remains the civic amphitheatre of Carthage.

Only Perpetua and Felicity are mentioned by name in this solemn procession, and it seems they were at the end, following the column (*Sequebatur Perpetua . . .*),

the likeliest place for women in an otherwise all-male file. The language used to describe the two women is important. Matrimonial language is used to characterize Perpetua. She is the wife of Christ and the darling of God. The Greek avoids the second epithet, but the term *delicata* was not uncommon on Roman funeral *stelae*. Felicity is described in language that vividly reminds the audience of the recent birth of her daughter. Although there are obvious class differences in the language used to describe them—Perpetua, the noble-minded woman (*generosa illa*), is Christ's spouse, while Felicity is associated with birthing—both women are nonetheless depicted in the language of the bedroom and the birthing stool. The rhetoric focuses on their flesh. Why does R associate the two women alone with marriage and birth at this crucial moment, just an instant before their deaths? Does he harbor a lingering concern that the women's single status might trouble his audience? Do the women need to be legitimated socially even in the eyes of his Christian audience through some quasi-marital alliance? Is there some lingering shame R feels about their independence—a shame which he needs to exorcize? To attribute such marital status to Perpetua provides a rationale and minimizes for the Christians her present lack of a husband. It is also a sign that her social responsibility is now complete and honorable. R answers the lingering concern about her former legitimacy as a Roman matron (*matronaliter nupta*, II.1), since there can be no suspicion as she now moves from her earthly marriage partner to the Lord. Her imminent martyrdom is the moment when she will enjoy the fullness of that final intimacy with God. Hence this is the perfect time to proclaim her betrothal as she publicly walks to the waiting arms of her beloved savior.

The intensity of her gaze and the spectators' inability to meet it in return is a symbolic assurance to R's audience that she is a noble woman, innocent and proud of her status, and that it is the onlookers, those who cannot meet the intensity of her gaze, who register shame. On this issue of the female gaze see Barton's, "Being in the Eyes." Felicity is depicted in more corporeal language. R uses the language of childbirth, evoking the bloodiness of her recent premature delivery and the new blood she is about to shed. Lingering questions do remain: why is Felicity's death to be a second baptism? While the early Church used such language when discussing the ordeal of martyrdom (see Tert. *De Bapt.* 1.16.1), such language is here only used about a female character. R's use of such language in regard to the women alone is consistent with his position as a male Christian of this period. Women, no matter how noble, no matter how independent, are nonetheless described in the traditional language of domesticity, of the body, of child-bearing, and of their relationships with men. To be sure, in Felicity's case his language is commensurate with her recent experience and thus lends itself to such description. R reassures his audience, presumably a predominantly male one, that these two heroic women have not abandoned their proper place in the

social hierarchy, despite their election as martyrs, but have simply transferred their matronly loyalties to a new Lord and master, Christ Jesus.

At the gate, the Christians are stripped of their clothes and forced to wear the dress of the priests and priestesses of the pagan gods and goddess—the women that of Ceres, a recently Romanized Tanit figure, and the men that of Saturn, the former Punic god Baal. Tertullian identifies the priestly robes of Baal/Saturn as red ocher and those of Tanit/Ceres as white (*Apol.* 15.4–5; *De Anim.* 2.7; and *AJA*, x, 1895, 523). The indigenous pre-Roman people who worshiped Tanit and Baal practiced human sacrifice, and these practices may linger in the unconscious memory in this ritual redressing. The Tophet in Carthage contains thousands of urns of the cremated remains of children and a number of *stelae* bearing the figure of Tanit. This ritual redressing also serves to humiliate the martyrs by offering them as sacrifices to these abhorred deities, and thus honors the emperor and the traditional deities, whom the martyrs had earlier repudiated. Clothing them in the garments of the priests of Ceres and Saturn also denies them the opportunity to manifest their deaths as offerings to Christ. To die thus robed would be a signal victory to the forces of evil they have fought against. Perpetua protests to the tribune that to force them into these garments is to deny their freedom, asserting that they came here freely to give their lives so that they might maintain that freedom of expression. Her efforts again persuade the tribune, who, it is said, recognized the truth of her rebuke.

They are brought at last into the amphitheatre dressed in their normal clothing. Perpetua is said to be singing a hymn, and R reminds his audience of her earlier battle and triumph over the Egyptian (X.10). We are told that the three remaining male martyrs threatened the spectators. As he has done for the two women, R seeks to legitimate a normative social role for the men. Thus they are depicted as fearless, brave warriors, as *milites Christi*. The appropriate balance in the Roman social structure has been maintained even within this band of eschatological Christians on their way to die. R depicts them as exemplary Romans who act courageously, almost stoically, in the face of death. Caesar may take their lives but not their dignity. Indeed, the condemned say as much to Hilarianus, his deputy. They fearlessly accuse him through nods and gestures of his unjust judgment and promise him that his actions will bring on his head the wrath and just judgment of God. They turn the table and become the righteous judges passing sentence on the entire assembly. Their unwillingness to be cowed infuriates the crowd, who demand that the games begin. The games start with their scourging: they are whipped by a line of *venatores*, those gladiators who fought with the beasts. Their actual martyrdom begins symbolically with a whipping, precisely as did that of their savior. R is careful to begin his depiction of their actual execution by showing how it imitates that of Christ.

Chapter XVIII Commentary

XVIII.1. *The day of their victory dawned (Illuxit dies victoriae illorum).* The language of the contest quickly became part of the rhetoric of martyrdom. The struggle for the martyr was with sin and death itself. Their subsequent triumph in martyrdom was not only over the Roman state but, as Paul states (paraphrasing Isaiah 25.8), over death itself, which will be swallowed by their victory (1 Cor 15.54, κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος). Early Christian writings understood their “witness” as a struggle, as warfare both spiritual and physical (see 2 Clem. 16.2; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.8). Tertullian discusses the great anxiety the martyrs feel on the day before they enter the arena and compares their struggle to that of an athlete whose rigorous training prepares him for victory (*Mart.* 3.4: *tanto plus de victoria sperant*), and Eusebius refers to the martyrs as “athletes of piety” (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.1.1: τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβίας ἀθλητῶν). Eusebius uses the expression “victory” in conjunction with the “crown of martyrdom” (*Hist. eccl.* 4.16.1). Blandina is called a “noble athlete” (*HE* 5.19, ὡς γενναῖος ἀθλητῆς ἀνευιάζεν) whose triumph over pain and refusal to recant is referred to as a “victory” (νικήσασα) and who concludes her great trial in the amphitheatre, the very last to die, hastening after her spiritual children, having sent them on earlier “victorious to the King” (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.55: καὶ νικηφόρους προπέμψασα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα).

XVIII.1. *their faces radiant (vultu decori).* *Decorus* can indicate being adorned with something, or a shining from within (the Greek version of the *Passio* uses a similar term, φαειρός, “radiant”). The Psalms frequently refer to the divine illumination that may brighten one’s face (Pss 66.1, 80.1–7, 88.16), and the transfigurations of Moses and Jesus, their faces shining and radiant, were important Christian literary motifs of transcendence (Ex 34.29; Mt 17.1–7; Lk 9.28–29). Some manuscripts of the *Vetus* translation of James use a similar phrase, albeit in the context of the fading of the beauty of nature, *et decor vultus*, alluding to Isaiah 40.6 (see Jas 1.11). Thus the idea that proximity to God or his grace could transform one’s physical appearance became part of the rhetoric of martyrdom. Eusebius describes the faces of those martyrs who remained faithful as they were paraded out before the mob as “mingling great glory and grace” (*Hist. eccl.* 5.1.35: δόξης καὶ χάριτος πολλῆς ταῖς ὄψεσιν συγκεκραμένης).

XVIII.1. *and if by chance they trembled (si forte gaudio pauentes non timore).* This is a revealing aside. R anticipates the response of skeptics, perhaps in his audience, who may have seen such a contest where the martyrs were so terrified that they shook involuntarily from fear and perhaps some apostatized (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1–12). R, with his idealizing impulse, is unwilling either to allow the martyrs such feelings or to permit such an interpretation to his audience.

XVIII.2. *Perpetua followed (Sequebatur Perpetua)*. Presumably she followed behind the male martyrs, as would have been customary for the women, who in turn would have entered the arena as condemned criminals after the more important figures had processed in. The Christians would have followed after the gladiators and the *bestiarii*.

XVIII.2. *darling of God (ut Dei delicata)*. The Greek lacks this significant phrase—another example of R’s delight in alliteration—which amplifies the epithet *matrona Christi* and emphasizes that Perpetua is an intimate and favorite of the Lord (OLD, s.v. *delicatus*, 2b). The word has a rich semantic range; it can mean a child slave, a companion of the household, a sexual plaything; a depraved lifestyle; an animal kept as a pet; someone who is wanton, or a weak individual; and lastly, it can be a term of fond endearment. The meaning of *delicatus* appears to have merged semantically with that of *delicia* by the time of the *Passio*’s composition. This latter use as a term of endearment (see TLL, s.v. *delicia*, cols. 447–48) is intended here—perhaps with the subtle resonance that Perpetua, the “darling of God,” is also a “child of God.” Used in this sense of endearment, the word is most commonly found in texts from Late Antiquity and in some Christian literary materials. Tertullian uses a synonym in *Ad Uxorem* 1.4.4: *Deo speciosae, Deo sunt puellae*. Robinson first showed the use of the term in a funeral inscription from a cemetery in Lambaesis (CIL Afr. 2861: D M S / IVLIAE DELICATAE / MERENTI / DIDIVS FRVCTVS B / LAT^{ic}); see also Laes, “Desperately Different?” Laes quotes Nielsen, who suggests that the use of *delicatus* in Christian texts may underscore that group’s interest in the conjugal nuclear family over the extended *familia*.

Perpetua uses the name of Christ and God sparingly, using the former only three of the eight times it is used, and the latter only three of the thirteen times it is used. R uses these names far more frequently, underlining his apologetic intention. We have no information on the situation regarding Perpetua’s husband. Her marriage at this time was almost certainly *sine manu*, meaning she legally remained a part of her natal family under the jurisdiction of her father, *patria potestas* (see II.2, III.9). Such a reading also legitimates her father’s crucial role in the *Passio* (see Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 28–36). A conundrum remains however, since, even with a *sine manu* contract, Perpetua’s son would have been considered a member of her husband’s *familia*. As the text vividly illustrates, the child is taken by her father, a practice which normally would violate the husband’s jurisdictional rights. It may be that we are dealing with a social anomaly. We cannot determine her conjugal status with the information provided in the text: Perpetua may have been a widow; she may have been divorced, or indeed she may still have been married but abandoned by her husband, or her husband may have been a Christian in hiding. Moreover, there is no evidence that suggests her and Saturus as husband and wife (*pace* Osiek, “Perpetua’s Husband”). Furthermore, such an

association raises the question of conjugal intimacy and thus runs counter to the growing approval of sexual abstinence in Christian Carthage at this time (see Tert. *De Monog.* 16).

XVIII.3. *blood to blood (a sanguine ad sanguinem)*. This is another example of R's affection for alliteration.

XVIII.3. *from the midwife to a net-bearing gladiator (ab obstetrice ad retiarium)*. The Greek fails to render the specificity of the type of gladiator and simply remarks that she will fight in single combat alone, ἀπὸ μαιίας πρὸς μονομαχίαν. The Greek may be extending a theological argument about the testing of personal witness as ultimately a solitary act. Yet the failure to cite the specific type of gladiator indicates that this Greek version, or the exemplar from which it is drawn, did not know the word, did not think his audience would know it, or did not think such detail important. The *retiarius* carried a weighted throwing net (*rete*) and a short sword, and his role in the gladiatorial contests increased from ca. 50 CE. There may be a hint of additional shame in the guise of this particular gladiatorial combatant, as the *retiarum* had developed an unsavory reputation even among the ranks of the gladiators by the time of Juvenal (see *Juv. Sat.* 2.143 ff.).

XVIII.3. *to be washed after childbirth in a second baptism (lotura post partum baptismo secundo)*. All those to be martyred have been baptized. Why is martyrdom associated with a second baptism? Christianity preached the value of expiatory sacrifice, and the Gospels seem to link baptism and martyrdom (Mk 10.38; Lk 12.50).

What was only a nuance in the Gospels, however, became a veritable item of belief in North Africa by the end of the second century. Tertullian, quoting Lk 12.50, appears to have believed that while the true Christian receives baptism only once, there is a “second washing” (*De Bapt.* 16.1, *secundum lavacrum*) available only to the martyr and from which the martyr received an additional benefit. Tertullian extends his ideas on martyrdom as the greatest Christian act (*Scorp.* 6.9–11), an act which makes Paradise immediately accessible (*De Anim.* 55.5)—because the martyrs are led there by the Paraclete (*De Fuga* 9.4)—to a reentering of the sacred sphere of baptism but in a more exalted manner. Hippolytus notes that those who are martyred for the faith before baptism receive baptism in their own blood (*Trad. Ap.* 19.2). Amat (251) is undoubtedly correct in identifying the Greek τουτέστιν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι as a gloss.

XVIII.4. *they were led to the gate (ducti essent in portam)*. The Greek uses the word “amphitheatre” instead of “gate,” πρὸ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου. While this may appear to be a minor detail, it is important to note that the opening line of this section specifically states that they were led from the prison to the amphitheatre. Although we do not know which gate they entered through, the fact that they processed in the *pompa* suggests it was one of the two main entrances.

XVIII.4. *the priests of Saturn (sacerdotum Saturni)*. The male martyrs were forced to wear the robes of Saturn, likely scarlet in color (Tert. *De Anim.* 2.7: *et pallio Saturni coccinata*). This was an egregious insult because wearing the priests' clothes identified them as his priests, and furthermore, Saturn was also associated with the sacrifice of innocent children.

The Greek identifies the god as Cronus (Κρόνος). This difference in names is an interesting example of religious syncretism. Saturn was an ancient and beneficent deity of agriculture and sowing indigenous to the Italo-Latin peoples. The association of Cronus with Saturn seems largely to have happened after the third century BCE, when Saturn became increasingly associated with Cronus. The Greek Cronus, according to Hesiod's *Theogony*, castrated his father and seized power. On learning that one of his sons would overthrow him, he devoured all his children except Zeus, who was saved by his mother. Porphyry reports a human sacrifice to Cronus in Rhodes at the start of his festival, when a condemned criminal was killed to honor the god (*De Abstinencia*, 2.54). The Saturn-Cronus association with human sacrifice begins with this branch of Greek mythology, but his already complex image was enriched when the god's cult was transplanted to Africa. The Roman God Saturn in *Africa Proconsularis* absorbed elements of the mythology associated with Baal Hammon. Carthaginians brought the cult of Baal-Hammon with them to North Africa in the ninth century BCE from their home in the Levant (see Leglay, *Saturne Africain*, 432 ff.). Baal Hammon was widely worshiped at Carthage, Thysdris, Cirta, Lambesis, Utica, and Hadrumentum as well as in the smaller settlements. Baal was a representative of the sun, fertility, and human sacrifice. Doubtless the early Punic colonists brought their tradition of sacrificing children to Baal shortly after their arrival. The Tophets at Carthage, Cirta and Hadrumentum, and Minucius Felix testify to the extent of this practice, which continued through the second century of our era (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 30.3). The Roman colonists quickly assimilated the figure of Baal Hammon to Saturn. Unless we presume the influence of Cronus on the Saturn cult before the Roman colonists came to Africa, it would be a puzzle why the Romans assimilated this god, typically identified with sowing, with the figure of Baal Hammon. Leglay also suggests that the Roman Saturn received some of his associations with blood sacrifice from the Etruscans.

Wilson notes that the syncretized version of Baal/Saturn was chiefly a votary of the middle and lower classes and that the case for such syncretism was more pronounced at military sites, like that of Lambaesis, the home of the Legio III *Augusta* (see Wilson "Romanizing Baal" and Leglay, *Saturne Africain*, 128). That the Romans did assimilate this figure is incontrovertible. They built some of their most beautiful temples to Saturn over sites formerly dedicated to Baal Hammon.

The Temple of Saturn in Dougga (ca.195CE) is a notable example of this. It would appear that the Saturn of agriculture and sowing was conflated with the Greek Cronus of sacrifice, and in Roman Africa this syncretized Greco-Roman deity was quickly associated with the indigenous Punic Baal Hammon and with the history of blood sacrifice associated with that deity.

XVIII.4. *priestesses of Ceres (sacratum Cereris)*. The Greek version indicates that Perpetua and Felicity were forced to wear the robes of the priestess of Demeter, αἱ δὲ θήλειαι τῆς Δημήτρας. It is difficult to know exactly what these robes looked like other than that they were recognized by the audience and offended the martyrs. Apuleius suggests that Ceres wore a tunic and *palla* and that the colors of her garments were so rich as to be almost unidentifiable, being of fine silk and at some times appearing yellow or rose, at others dark, and covered with a black robe (*Met.* 11.3: *nunc albo candore, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida et quae longe longeque etiam meum confutabat optutum, palla nigerrima splendescens atro nitore . . .*). Tertullian indicates that the priestesses of Ceres also wore woolen wreaths on their foreheads (*De Anim.* 2.7: *et vitta Cereris redimita*). Thus, as in the case of the gods Saturn and Cronus, we have an instance of religious syncretism. The indigenous cult of the moon goddess Tanit, the consort of Baal Hammon, influenced this Greco-Roman figure of Ceres-Demeter. Likely brought to Africa by the early Phoenicians and related to the goddess Astarte, she was an enormously popular deity, the goddess of the moon; her images are found frequently throughout the countryside and outside Africa, and they are often represented abstractly as an equilateral triangle with a horizontal line and a round disk. I have come across a Tanit stela in the floor of a merchant's house (ca. 200 BCE) on the island of Delos. Additionally, there are a number of stelae with Tanit figures in the Carthage Tophet. Attributes of the indigenous goddess Tanit were assumed into the Roman moon goddess Dea Caelestis. And by the time of the Severi, the goddess Ceres was particularly favored by those who did not belong to either the senatorial or equestrian order. Thus there also may have been issues concerning social class involved in dressing the female martyrs in her garb.

XVIII.4. *that noble-minded woman (generosa illa)*. While both the Latin and the Greek underscore her pedigree, the Latin uses the demonstrative pronoun, while Greek uses her proper name, ἡ εὐγενεστάτη ἐκείνη Περπετούα (“that noble Perpetua”). The Greek version has throughout sought to amplify and fill in details, and this addition of the martyr's name is in that same vein. Note also the Latin uses the positive degree of the adjective *generosa* where the Greek uses the superlative εὐγενεστάτη.

XVIII.5. *fiercely resisted (repugnavit)*. This is an apt verb to describe her behavior, as Perpetua herself uses a variant of this verb six times in her own narrative

(VII.8; X.1, 6, 14; XVI.2; XVIII.3). Perpetua is in a struggle that is both physical and moral, and she chooses to resist both physically and with her will.

XVIII.5. *We came here freely, so that our freedom . . .* (*Ideo ad hoc sponte pervenimus*). Tertullian uses *sponte* too, underlining an act of the will when he describes the nature of the sacrifice Christ made on the cross (*Apol.* 21.19).

XVIII.5. *handed over our lives* (*ideo animam nostram addiximus*). Robinson first identified this as an echo of the oath of the gladiator (see 89, no. 8, and see Petron. *Sat.* 117). The gladiator's oath (*sacramentum gladiatorum*), while it bound the gladiator to the *lanista* and his "stable" of fighters, as Barton states, paradoxically provided the gladiator some element of volition and honor (see Barton, *The Gladiator and the Monster*, 15). Perpetua is defending that crucially important element of free will, lest the martyrs be seen as condemned common criminals. (See also Mazzucco, "Il significato cristiano.")

XVIII.5. *Injustice recognized justice* (*agnovit iniustitia iustitiam*). R's use of antithesis is another instance of his awareness of the rhetorical tradition. The phrase is wonderfully economic and powerful in its effect. The truth of the Christian argument has persuaded the injustice of the system and the tribune, its adjudicator, to bow to its power.

XVIII.5. *Perpetua was singing a hymn* (*Perpetua psallebat*). Although *psallo* is typically restricted to accompanying oneself on the cithara (LSJ, s.v. ψάλλω; OLD, s.v. *psallo*, and Souter, s.v. *psallo*) and the association with psalmody was just being recorded in Latin, the context demands the idea that she is singing an unidentified sacred song (see X.12). The earliest Christian Latin use of *psallo* "to sing a hymn" which I have found is the Vetus versions of 1 Cor 14.15: *Quid ergo est? orabo spiritu, orabo et mente; psallam spiritu, psallam et mente*, but see also Eph 5.19, where Paul distinguishes among psalms (ψαλμός/*psalmus*), hymns (ᾠμος/*hymnus*), and spiritual songs (ὠδή/*canticum*): ψαλμοῖς καὶ ᾠμοῖς καὶ ᾠδαῖς; and Col 3.16).

XVIII.8. *trampling on the head of the Egyptian* (*caput iam Aegyptii calcans*). This is the entrance to a gladiatorial combat, and R's depiction of the martyrs is appropriately pugnacious. Perpetua, R reminds his audience, has already defeated the Egyptian, and the ensuing battle, which Perpetua earlier identified as being with Satan, was one which she knew she would win: *sed sciebam mihi esse victoriam* (X.11).

XVIII.8. *of Hilarianus* (*Hilariani*). This is P. Aelius Hilarianus, a member of the *equites* class from Aphrodisias in Caria, who is serving as senior provincial procurator of Carthage after the recent death of Minicius Timinianus (see above VI.3).

XVIII.8. *through gestures and nods* (*gestu et nutu*). Although both nouns are ablative singular, they are used in a collective sense, since the reference is to the martyrs. The Greek uses the plural forms κινήμασιν καὶ νεύμασιν. What precisely

the gestures were we can only surmise, but since the text notes that the audience became angry, we can assume that they were pointing in a manner not designed to show the proper deference to Hilarius and the audience. Such gestures were not unexpected in the amphitheatre and were also part of the repertoire used in the mime shows, which were frequently performed in the amphitheatre and as interludes in gladiatorial games. The relationship between the mimes and their audience could be volatile, and there are records of outbursts (*ad hoc populus exasperatus*) and obscene gestures between the mimes and the audience, rather like what is depicted here (see Beacham, *Spectacle Entertainments*, 145). R may be conflating his memory of the mimes in this depiction of their behavior.

XVIII.9. *along a line of beast-hunting gladiators (per ordinem venatorum postulavit)*. The presence of the order of *venatores* is significant, as it indicates that there was very likely a *venatio* taking place on the same day as the death of the martyrs. Although such combat with animals was traditionally reserved to the circus, under the Empire the hunts were often staged in the amphitheatre, particularly if savage animals were the game. That there was a line of *venatores* further suggests that this was to be a large-scale *venatio*, underscoring the games as a celebration of Geta's birthday. Thousands of animals were often slaughtered at these games (Dio Cass. 68.15; and see Epplert, "Capture of Animals," who argues persuasively that members of the Legio III *Augusta* went so far afield as to hunt lions in Agueneb, Algeria, four hundred miles to the east of their camp). Tertullian knew of the practice of whipping by the *venator* (*Mart.* 5.1: *Alii inter venatorum taureas scapulis patientissimis inambulaverunt*). He scolds the present Roman leaders, claiming that Christians' lack of fear of the sword and of scourging has analogues in their ancestors' brave behavior (*Ad nat.* 1.18.11: *Si flagris mulier insultavit, hoc quoque, qui proxime inter venatorios ordine transcurso remensus est*) and notes the presence of such behavior pursued for glory by pagans.

XVIII.9. (*utique*). By the third century, *utique* has become simply an intensifier, "yes" or "truly" (see Chapter XVI.3; Souter, s.v. *utique*; and Halporn, 49).

XVIII.9. *they had obtained (essent consecuti)*. The Latin verb also conveys the distinct sense of having sought this end as a goal (OLD, s.v. *consequor*, 9). The Greek text, on the other hand, employs a quite different verb in the aorist, ὑπέμεναν, with a markedly different semantic register (LSJ, s.v. ὑπομένω, "endure") and one which appears to have been influenced by the New Testament and the Christian Greek writers of the second and third centuries. If the Greek were translating *consequor*, we would expect an equivalent like λαμβάνω, as we see, for example, in 1 Cor 9.25, οὗν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν. Can these different lexical choices tell us something significant about the two versions? The Greek's choice of ὑπομένω reveals its greater indebtedness to the New Testament (BDAG, s.v. ὑπομένω), used particularly in association with patient suffering.

The New Testament, particularly Paul, is at pains to inculcate the virtue of patient endurance in times of trial (τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες, Rom 12.12). Hebrews 12.2 makes the association succinctly, linking this patient endurance to Christ's sufferings (Ἰησοῦν, ὃς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς ὑπέμεινε; see also 2 Thes 3.5). The literature of martyrdom of the second century (cf. also apologists like Justin, *1 Apol.* 39.5) also employs ὑπομένω to drive home the power of the Christian faith to overcome even the most difficult of torments. Polycarp is said to have endured the fire, ὑπομείναι τὸ πῦρ (*Mart. Pol.* 13.3), and in the Epistle of Polycarp he is urged "to practice all endurance" (ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, 9.1).

CHAPTER XIX

The Argument: Let the Games Begin, Thrown to the Beasts

Chapter XIX offers a revealing insight into a conversation among the martyrs, the radical eschatology of this group, and their desires for differing means of death. The previous chapter ended with a depiction of the martyrs being scourged by a line of *venatores*. This punishment was demanded by the mob. R begins Chapter XIX with a Scriptural citation from John 16.24: "ask and you will receive" / *petite et accipietis*. Surprisingly, however, rather than using this quotation to illustrate the grace of God as the provider of life, he reverses one's expectations and employs the quotation to illustrate a human paradox, only understood by faith, and that is how God has granted to each of them in the midst of life the death they have desired. R next moves from this citation of canonical Scripture to a representation of the martyrs' confessions of their most intimate thoughts on their imminent deaths, stating that they spoke among themselves about their desire for martyrdom and the particular nature of the death which each desired. What does R's bold disclosure of these conversations accomplish? His revelation of their most private moments has two important goals: first, it allows R to underscore his clout as the spokesperson for the group and, second, it suggests that he was present at these conversations, or that he had confidential, authoritative information about them. His rhetorical strategy allows his audience to feel a certain privilege at being invited to join a small band of initiates who know these heady secrets. Such privilege may also make some slightly uneasy as they eavesdrop on this private conversation—the unguarded revelation of the radical eschatology of this band of Christian zealots. There is something almost unwholesome, adolescent, bordering on the voyeuristic about R's reports of these intimate, overheard conversations. These are conversations which the condemned had among themselves, unaware that they would be reported. At the very least, R expected his Christian audience to respond to the implicit heroism of their desires. His audience must also have shared some of these sentiments, even

if not to the degree of the imprisoned. Those hostile to the martyrs, the overwhelming majority of the population, would have found such a discussion and rationale for suicide shameful and worthy of condemnation.

The condemned's expressed desire for martyrdom reminds one of the zeal to be martyred which we see in the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch. These young Carthaginian converts who express this passion to die as martyrs, who specify and revel in the precise nature of that death, whose behavior shows utter disdain for authority, come perilously close to the border of a type of suicide well understood in the Roman world, a world used to such examples of self-sacrifice in the noble suicides of a Cato, Seneca, or Epictetus (see Seeley, *Noble Death*, 113 ff.). R subtly reminds his audience that these men and women, however, die not as Romans, not as heroic suicides, but as victims and inheritors of salvation who are made sacred by their actions, since they follow the *imitatio Christi*. A further factor that mitigates their actions as Christian suicides is the involuntary nature of their arrest, imprisonment and death. They do not wish to die. They wish to live, but only as Christians. If they cannot live as Christians, they prefer to die as Christians rather than to live as Romans worshiping the traditional deities.

One of the most singular bits of conversation that the audience is invited to consider is the condemned prisoners' understanding of leadership roles within the cult of the martyrs. Saturninus, for example, says that he wishes to be thrown to all manner of beasts so that his glory will be the greater. Such a statement points to a gradation of sanctity within the ranks of the martyrs, so that those who suffered the most received the greater glory. In the *Letter of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* all eyes are on the young slave Blandina, who has distinguished herself due to the degree of horrific abuse she was subject to. Later medieval hagiography continued this hierarchy of sacrifice. When the age of the martyrs had passed, Saints Augustine and Jerome fashioned a new hierarchy of sanctity with the virgin ascetic saint at the apex.

R, although writing at some remove from their martyrdom, reveals many details about their feelings and their executions. He notes that Saturninus and Revocatus were first thrown to a leopard and then placed on a scaffold to be attacked by a bear. R states that Saturus hated nothing more than a bear and hoped to die from the bite of a leopard. Saturus's expectations were thwarted in this instance but were fulfilled later. Hoping to die from the bite of a leopard, he was now tied to a wild boar but only dragged about the arena and not seriously injured. The guard who tied him to the beast was gored and, in an ironic twist, died from his wounds. Saturus was next tied to the scaffold awaiting the charge of a wild bear. The animal, however, refused to leave its cage, and so Saturus was momentarily spared, only to be recalled to return a second time to meet his fate—at which time a leopard killed him. The audience is meant to see the providential

hand of God in these punishments and their miraculous postponements. R's citation of Jn 16.24 at the beginning of the chapter has proved efficacious, since the male martyrs do receive the deaths they desired (*petite et accipietis . . .*).

Chapter XIX Commentary

XIX.1. But he who said (Sed qui dixerat). Why does R use the masculine relative pronoun rather than the name Jesus? Is this a reluctance to call on the divine name except in the most critical moments? Jesus says in John 16.23, "Truly, truly, I say to you if you ask anything of the Father, he will give it to you in my name" (δώσει ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου). The name "Jesus" is used only four times in the *Passio* (I.6, IV.6, and XXI.11 [2x]). R uses it three of these four times, employing it always in a doxology as part of a Christian formula. R avoids the use of the divine name on its own as a unique utterance and a request. The single other use of the name of "Jesus" is by Perpetua, who utters it as a talismanic protective cry at a particularly difficult moment (see IV.6; and Heffernan, "Nomen Sacrum," 26).

XIX.1. "Ask and you shall receive" (petite et accipietis). This phrase is an echo of John 16.24. John employs the phrase so as to allow Jesus to introduce his impending death and inculcate the need for the disciples to pray to the Lord once Jesus has returned to God. It was a consoling promise to Christians that God would grant their requests, particularly in time of need. Tertullian is fond of this phrase and glosses it three times. In *De Baptismo* he beseeches those who emerge from the saving waters to ask for God's blessings and to pray for Tertullian, a sinner: *etiam Tertulliani peccatoris memineritis (De Bapt. 20.5; Praescr. 8.11; Or. 10.1; see also BDAG, s.v. αἰτέω).*

XIX.1. the death that each desired (exitum quem quis desideraverat). R uses the pluperfect in this context to underscore that the martyrs' conversations about their desire for death had taken place before the events narrated in Chapter XIX (see Bastiaensen, "Le cérémonial épistolaire," 447). Ignatius's desire to die so that he may be "a freedman of Jesus Christ" and through death reborn again in Christ is the strongest statement of this desire before the *Passio* (Ign. *Rom. 4.3, ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, cf. 1 Cor. 7.22; also XV.3).*

XIX.1. (quis). *Quis* is used in late Latin in place of *quisque* (Halporn, *s.v. quis*, 52).

XIX.2. desire (voto). The Greek τῆς εὐχῆς has a more theological connotation (cf. Acts 18.18, 21.23, and Jas. 5.15).

XIX.2. For whenever they spoke among themselves (sermocinabantur). The verb has the sense of holding an ordinary conversation among friends (OLD, *s.v. sermocinor*). R's change to the imperfect (also in the Greek συνέλαλλον) dramatizes the intensity of the martyrs' habitual interest in this subject and indicates that it was being discussed for some time.

XIX.3. *on the platform (super pulpitum)*. This term belongs to the architecture of the theatre (see Suet. *Calig.* 54.2, who refers to Caligula's invitation to men of consular rank to stand on the proscenium of the stage, *super pulpitum conlocavit*). Within half a century, Cyprian used the term to refer to the platform from which the Bible was read (*Ep.* 39.4). The Greek γεφύρας (“bridge”) misses this meaning, and the author does not appear to know the term for this feature of the Roman amphitheatre.

XIX.3. *were threatened by a bear (ab urso vexati sunt)*. The Latin and the Greek differ significantly. While *vexo* can mean to be physically injured by violent blows (OLD, s.v. *vexo*, 1), note that Saturated unambiguously remarks later to the soldier Pudens that he has not yet *been touched* by a beast (XXI.1: *nullam usque adhuc bestiam sensi*), hence my translation here of “threatened.” Note also that the Latin is a plural. Both the martyrs were threatened, *ipse et Revocatus*. The Greek, however, employs an aorist passive singular, focusing entirely on Saturated, and furthermore states that Saturated was “torn apart” (ὑπὸ ἄρκου διεσπαράχθη), contradicting Saturated's prophecy and his own words repeated in XX.1. The verb for “tear apart” is a compound form of διά and σπάω, or διά and σπαράσσω. This seems a particularly important detail, since the text clearly indicates that Saturated dreaded nothing more than the bite of a bear. Although not native to this part of North Africa, bears were apparently familiar to those who visited the amphitheatre in Carthage. Tertullian notes that the entrails of the bears killed in the gladiatorial games, still filled with undigested human flesh, were highly sought after (*Apol.* 9.11: *Ipsorum ursorum . . . de visceribus humanis*).

XIX.5. *offered to a wild boar (apro subministraretur)*. Wild boars were frequently used in the amphitheatre at the games because they were less expensive than large carnivores, as Diocletian's “Edict on Prices” illustrates. The “Corridor of the Great Hunt” in the Villa Romana del Casale in Armerina, Sicily, shows a wild boar trussed in a restraining net, carried by two slaves, being loaded on a ship for transport for the *venationes* in Rome.

XIX.5. *the hunter (venator)*. This is the name for the gladiator who specialized in hunting the animals.

XIX.5. *who had tied him to the wild boar (qui illum apro subligauerat)*. Notice that the Greek adds a detail not in the Latin, stating that Saturated was tied with a plaited rope to the boar, σχοινίῳ προσδεθείς. The Latin *subligo* implies such a tying.

XIX.4. *Saturated himself was only dragged (Saturated solummodo tractus est)*. The Latin and Greek (ἔσῶρη μόνον) both present this detail, which appears to function as an irony underscoring the horror of his being dragged across the coarse sand of the arena floor. The role of the *venator* is frequently depicted in North African mosaics (see also *Apul. Met.* 4.13). Commodus was notorious in the arena and frequently played the role of *Hercules venator*, slaughtering animals and men from the safety of a raised platform (Herodian, 1.15–17).

XIX.5. *died a few days after the games (post dies muneris obiit)*. This small detail adds to the historical verisimilitude of the narrative. While his death may also serve some narrative point, that is, illustrating the irony of the hunter being killed by his own machinations, it also points to R's authority as an eyewitness to the totality of the event, even to those things which happened after the martyrdom.

XIX.6. *he was tied on the bridge (substrictus esset in ponte)*. The Greek lacks this detail, indicating simply that Saturus was restrained and exposed. It is difficult to identify precisely the referent for this *ponte*. The floor of the arena in most amphitheatre had a number of wooden trapdoors, which could open at right angles in order to raise cages containing wild animals. It is entirely possible that *ponte* refers to some such wooden trapdoor, which was in an open position and to which Saturus was tied. The amphitheatre also had *pegmata*, which were wooden devices that could be introduced into the arena via the trapdoors and counterweighted lifts (see Suet. *Calig.* 26). In Cuiperi's notes (185), which accompanied the 1692 edition of the *Passio* printed in Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, there is a woodcut of a *pons* depicting a naked woman lying on the platform being menaced by a bear (see Cuiperi in my "Bibliography of Printed Editions" on Lactantius).

XIX.6. *the bear refused to leave its cage (ursus de cavea prodire noluit)*. The bear's behavior points to the correctness of Saturus's prophecy about being touched by no animal other than a leopard, and thus this anecdote confirms that his prophetic vision was a gift from God.

XIX.6. *unhurt, was called back for the second time (secundo Saturus inlaesus revocatur)*. This detail is lacking in the Greek, since that version has him being mauled by the bear and ends on the note of the bear's refusal to leave its cage. This second calling underscores that the martyrs are not participating in a gladiatorial combat but are being subjected to the punishment of a capital crime, since the state's intent is to kill all the Christians this day. Gladiators were an expensive investment and, although many did die, every death cost their owners and diminished their profit. Hence it was financially beneficial to have a gladiator fight in as many games as possible before his death.

CHAPTER XX

The Argument: Death Without Fear, Felicity's Prophecy Fulfilled

R begins Chapter XX with the announcement that the women are to be matched against a wild cow, *ideoque praeter consuetudinem* ("not a traditional practice"). The reason for this strange choice of animals is so that their sex might be matched with that of the beast. His remarks suggest his own experience of the games and of the types of contests Christians were typically forced to endure. His explanation for the

fact that this curious beast was chosen by the authorities only hints at what they intended. If the decision was made to match the women against a feminine beast, would not a female of the cat family—a species frequently depicted in rhetoric with feminine overtones, commonly used in the arena, and used here to kill Satorius—have been at least as appropriate? Why then the mad heifer? The choice to torment the women with the cow, the paradigmatic symbol of nurturing and fertility, is a derisive comment on their domesticity, and their unnatural response to children, birth, and lactation. The wild cow is a parodic symbol of their response to maternity. The “cow” is a universal archetype of the nurturer, and its life-giving udders parallel and mock the recent birth of Felicity and her unnursed breasts, still dripping with milk. Plutarch notes the crucial need of a mother to nurse the child so as to build the bond of mutual trust between them (see his *De Liberis Educandis*, 5.9, in the *Moralia*). He notes further, and his point is pertinent here, that even animals that have once nursed their young form an unbreakable and recognizable bond.

Thus, as the cow is the symbol of all that is motherly and nurturing, a wild cow is its symbolic antithesis, and this scene argues that these Christian martyrs are to civilized, human mothers as the wild cow is to its domestic relatives. Hence these Roman women, who ought to have followed the customs of generations of their sisters and given birth to productive Romans, are like this cow—mad, deranged, barren, unnursed, and thus the antithesis of Roman maternity. Although it is difficult to determine whether the *Lex Iulia et Papia* was enforced in Carthage at this time, the cultural imperatives of those laws for Roman women to produce offspring remained powerful (*Dig.* 38.1.37.1). Unmarried females and males alike faced punitive taxes, and under Augustus adultery was a criminal offense which could result in exile and loss of property, and brought, in theory, capital punishment. Such traditions likely were even more applicable in a conservative society like Roman Carthage.

Accordingly, since Perpetua and Felicity are in the eyes of the mob, at some level, the analogues of this mad maternal symbol, they are brought out naked, unclothed like an animal, and symbolically restrained by netting, a sign of humanity’s efforts to control the bestial, the erratic and irresponsible forces in its midst. The officials, nuanced in their choice of beast and its symbolic signification, were, however, unprepared for the reaction of the crowd. Even this crowd, one used to frequent blood sports, was unprepared for what they saw: two young women, one a delicate young girl (R’s reference to Perpetua’s status as a member of the landed class) and the other, Felicity, days from childbirth, her breasts dripping with milk. Such detail begs a moment’s consideration. The scene is a creation of the omniscient redactor. We know what has happened only through the prism of his imagination. He purports to be retelling an actual historic event. Yet it is difficult to know when he is transgressing historical details and constructing sacred

biography, a *consolatio* for the contemporary faithful. For example, was the crowd's lust for ritual violence slaked by what they saw, or is this anecdote an adumbration meant to illustrate how Christian virtue can move even the benighted crowd? R further notes that the crowd could readily see that Perpetua was a woman of status and that milk was dripping from Felicity's breasts. Such an anecdote provides both a rhetorical flourish and may prove to be an issue which can be empirically tested. R's emphasis on their youth and frailty and on Perpetua's class is intended to highlight their innocence and to portray the spectators, jailers, and judges as the barbarous ones. Are these purely rhetorical embellishments, are they a memory of what took place, or might they be an imaginative fusion of history and epideictic? Might this visual anecdote also be a record of an actual moment in the persecution? Was it even possible for the crowd to see their faces and breasts? The material remains of the civic amphitheatre in Carthage provide some assistance. I am assuming for this discussion that the scene takes place in the extant civic amphitheatre (see X.4). The area of the arena of the amphitheatre in Carthage is approximately 1,860 square meters, and it measures approximately 66 × 36 meters. Even if we allow that the two women were in the middle of the arena during the assault, they would never have been further than approximately 18 meters distant, if that, from the crowd. Standing in the middle of the southern *cavea* on a spring mid-morning facing the arena, I have been able to see with little difficulty the expression on the face of someone who stood in the arena's center. Therefore, it is entirely possible that R's reconstruction of this vignette is a fusion of both rhetoric and the actual event.

While R provides details of their combat with the beast, his narrative functions more like subtitles for a silent movie, lacking any strict denotative and chronological correspondence between the actual image and the text. For example, R states that Perpetua was thrown down; her clothing was torn and revealed her upper thigh. But we are given no specifics: How was she thrown? Where was she when it happened? Did the animal charge her; did she run, slip, and lose her footing; was she gored (*κερατισθεῖσα*, as in the Greek alone); did she scream, or say anything at all; did the crowd roar; where were her male colleagues? The events which these questions throw into sharp relief are never mentioned. The narrative depiction is sharply curtailed—deliberately so. R focuses on a few salient issues. He limits the salacious details which would have made the narrative more dramatic and possibly more pious. Indeed, he actually introduces another element, the figure of Rusticus, which moves the narrative away from the central character. Who, for example, is this catechumen Rusticus? How did he and her brother manage to get so close to Perpetua? Why does the focus shift to him at such a critical juncture? Where are the authorities in all of this? Were other members of her family present and watching, and where was R during the games?

Dozens of such questions press for an answer. R's narrative and his attention to detail in this, the most crucial of moments, are, however, surprisingly spare. While he normally restricts his focus so as to isolate those moments which throw Perpetua's behavior into high relief, occasionally the historical record intrudes and forces his narrative along a different path. This accounts for the presence of Rusticus. He was a part of the oral tradition or textual exemplar from which R received his story because he was there at the time. Such a strategy of highlighting specific incidents to drive home his point—some might argue—obscures a full and compelling narrative of the actual events and thus may jeopardize the historicity of the moment. It might be argued, from the opposite side, that R is uninterested in a sentimental and tendentious view of their deaths through an extended depiction of their torment, a depiction like the catalogue of abuses visited on the young maiden Blandina in the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*.

Perpetua is the one who is first attacked and thrown to the ground, landing on her side and ripping her tunic. Her response to the charge of the savage cow, if read as a literal retelling of the actual moment, might strain credulity. The narrative of her ordeal should be read with the understanding, as R states, that she is in a state of shock. All of her actions are thus affected by this condition. Her first action, to cover her thigh, is to defend her modesty and disdain her suffering. Are we expected to believe that she acted in just this way? Does it matter? It apparently did for R and his contemporaries. The next line may help to restore the balance between idealizing biography and historical event. Perpetua asks for a pin to control the disheveled state of her hair. This is not an instinctual cosmetic response on the part of a fastidious woman (see Tert. *Cor.* 2.1), or an act of Christian feminine modesty. Rather, the reason for Perpetua's behavior is her desire to provide the crowd with a non-verbal account of her courage. Tousled hair signified mourning for a traditional Roman matron. Her martyrdom signifies joy, not grief, and she is determined that the semiotics of her action be clear—she needs to appear well coifed. Her act is one of defiance, and it is in keeping with the character of this young, independent spirit. Her actions may contain some historical verisimilitude, as they support the presentation of character both in the autobiography and what R has reported thus far. Likewise, the allusion to Polyxena is intended to place Christian female heroism on a par with the greatest of the Greek heroines. As an author, R has a responsibility to his audience to make his case for Perpetua's heroism with all the skills he commands. His use of literary allusion need not jeopardize the historicity of his narrative. We do not doubt Socrates's existence or the depiction of his life because of Plato's skill as an artist.

In the next frame of the narrative, Perpetua rises and helps Felicity up. We learn of Felicity's torment only by virtue of Perpetua's offer of assistance to her fallen comrade. The focus is entirely on Perpetua. Felicity's role here, as subordinate,

exists only to emphasize the gracious courage of her mistress. Once on their feet, the two stand invincible side by side. The crowd's lust for ritualized violence temporarily sated, the women were called back to the "Gate of Life." This is an interesting detail and likely an accurate historical one. Normally, if a gladiator was returned to this gate, he would have had an opportunity to seek freedom. Perpetua and Felicity are given only a temporary reprieve, as they are condemned to death. The events which unfold at this gate are abbreviated but of great interest. An entirely new and potentially important personage, Rusticus the catechumen, is introduced into the narrative. We are told nothing about his identity save that he is a convert. His name provides almost no evidence about his identity. Rusticus was not an uncommon name. There were some notable individuals, some of whom were native to Africa, who bore it. Tacitus writes about Fabius Rusticus, the historian, who worked during the reigns of Claudius and Nero. There is a funerary inscription to one Rusticus who was an architect and freedman of the imperial family. What do we know about the Rusticus of the *Passio*? Virtually nothing. He may have been a freedman, like his predecessor, since he goes only by a single name, or conversely, there may have been reluctance to provide his complete name so as to save him from the wrath of the authorities. Aside from the pressing issue of his identity and his relationship to this group and to Perpetua in particular, there are a number of issues concerning Rusticus which R leaves unresolved. Rusticus is in the midst of the action. What is he doing this close to the condemned? How has he managed to have such access? He is identified as a catechumen. His status is therefore illegal—if he converted after the imperial edict was issued—and it is the same as that of Perpetua when she was first arrested. Has he bribed the guards (III.6)? It seems most unlikely that a catechumen would have had such easy access to her and not be among those who were also to die. We would expect, if this were the case, for R to have mentioned him previously among the names of those arrested or condemned. Why is Rusticus only mentioned so vividly at the very end of the narrative? Paradoxically, the introduction of someone never mentioned in the *Passio* until this last moment, someone who thus upsets the narrative congruence, might actually support the historical accuracy of the moment. I would argue that his presence represents an unassimilated piece of the historical fabric which R has felt it necessary to incorporate into his narrative. Perhaps Rusticus is a fellow prisoner but one not slated to die at the moment.

If R had wished to develop the narrative and dramatize this moment, he would have been better served to have had Perpetua meet one of her fellow martyrs, preferably her teacher and leader, Saturus. She has been struck by the beast; she is in shock and needs supporting. What better moment could there be to introduce Saturus—her leader, teacher, and guide in the faith? Such a portrayal would provide more narrative coherence than the meeting with the unknown newcomer

Rusticus. Nonetheless, it is Rusticus who is introduced. He is the single individual at this stage who is named, and it is he alone who goes to her side to support her in her crisis. Their meeting then is surely not insignificant. Rusticus supports Perpetua just as she supported Felicity. For the first time in the *Passio*, Perpetua needs help. She is dazed from the shock of being trampled to the ground. R is quick to minimize her actual physical condition, her state of shock, and transforms it into a circumstance of spirit possession and ecstasy. Rusticus holds Perpetua. The verb *adhaereo* is sufficiently nuanced to allow for a number of readings. It is difficult to know who supports whom. Rusticus appears to derive emotional strength from the martyr, but she less from him, despite the fact that she has been knocked senseless by the beast and requires his physical support.

Perpetua is fully in the Spirit, and the Lord is suffering *in her and for her*, as Felicity eloquently stated (XV.6). Perpetua's first remark is revealing and indicates genuine physical shock: she is unaware that she has been thrown by the cow and even uncertain of the beast's identity. She only acknowledges that she has already been thrown to the animal when she sees the sign of violence on her body and her torn clothing. We learn for the first time that she has suffered some bruising and possibly more serious injury. Her last words in this chapter are an exhortation and a quotation: "Stand fast in the faith and love one another," addressed to her brother and the catechumen, presumably Rusticus. It is significant that these two men are joined with their "sister" at this final farewell. The reference to her brother is a reference to her blood brother, who was also a catechumen (II.2). The call to her brother reminds the audience of her family, her lost son, her aunt, her mother, and, most significantly, her father and his desperate, heartfelt pleas. Her prayer that her brother and Rusticus "love one another," while a Scriptural tag, also suggests some special familial intimacy that her brother shared with Rusticus, perhaps through the person of Perpetua. Although the evidence will not allow us to speculate further, it seems clear that these three individuals had a prior history. This unknown past is likely the reason that Rusticus and her brother are with her just before her death. Furthermore, this brief evocation of family connects her to the lived world of Roman Carthage, emphasizes her flesh and blood, the boldness or madness of her choice to die for her faith, and diminishes her depiction as a type of Christian goddess.

Chapter XX Commentary

XX.1. For the young women (Puellis). The Greek adds the qualifier (absent in the Latin) ταῖς μακαρίαις, implying that they are blessed as they go to their deaths. The Greek text frequently theologizes the narrative, which emphasizes

its distance from the actual event. The Greek μακάριος may be an echo of the beatitudes (Mt 5.3 ff.).

XX.1. a wild cow (ferocissimam vaccam). This is a curious beast, and the exact meaning of the phrase is itself ambiguous. Cows were almost never used in the arena. The phrase has caused consternation among translators. Musurillo translates this phrase as a “mad heifer” (see the translations of Allard, Saxer, and Hamman, who render it as a *vache furieuse*). Such translations read *ferocissimam* as a characteristic of the animal’s disposition and not, as I believe, as a description of its natural state as a wild animal (Amat, 171: *une vache des plus sauvages*). The cow may be “ferocious,” but this is not because it is suffering from some distemper which makes it “mad,” but rather because that is its natural state as a wild animal. If it were “mad,” as Musurillo and others have it, it is more likely that the author would have chosen a more apt modifier, such as *demens*, *irata*, or *truculenta*. If we read the expression as an allegory of an evil combatant, the beast’s nature is due to the machinations of the devil (see below *XX.1, diabolus preparavit*).

Wild animals were used almost exclusively in the arena, but for special events tame animals in considerable numbers were displayed, hence the need for the specificity in this instance (see Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, 2.69–70). Wild bulls (*tauri*) were commonly employed in the arena during *venationes* and are frequently depicted on North African mosaics and terracotta statues illustrating scenes from the arena (see the Carthaginian terracotta figure of the woman tied to the back of a bull being attacked by a leopard, printed in Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, fig. 4, p. 93). There were also pornographic games in which condemned females were forced to dramatize the tale of Pasiphae and the bull.

Furthermore, *uacca* is a much less used as a word for cow than *bos*, for example. If the women had been matched against a bull, a symbol of hypermaleness, the implication would have been clear, i.e., they were adulterers who were being punished for their crimes against a symbol of savage, rapacious maleness (see Shaw, “Passion of Perpetua”). Being matched against a wild cow is a sign that their maternity is being mocked and ridiculed and through them the maternal instincts of the class of women called Christian. Both Perpetua and Felicity have voluntarily given up their children, a behavior which Roman women would have found incomprehensible and savage. The women, like the savage cow, are being referred to as beasts, unnatural and a disgrace to their gender.

XX.1. not a traditional practice (ideoque praeter consuetudinem comparatam). R’s observation is important, as it shows knowledge of the *venationes* and the traditions of the games in the amphitheatre. The Greek version lacks this important detail, which suggests that its author was less familiar with the games.

XX.1. the devil prepared (diabolus preparavit). We have been prepared for this attribution to the wiles of the devil in Perpetua’s earlier remarks (X.4),

where she acknowledged that they would not be fighting against beasts but against the devil.

XX.2. *The crowd shuddered (Horruit populus)*. The Latin *horruit* is a strong verb emphasizing the crowd's shock at seeing the youth of the women. The Greek verb is less intense (ἀπεστράφη) and does not emphasize the stunned look of the crowd.

XX.2. *stripped naked and clothed only with nets (despoliatae et reticulis indutae)*. North African Mosaics invariably depict those who are fighting against the beasts in the arena as naked (see the House of Orpheus floor roundel, Volubilis, Morocco). The nets would have restricted the women's movement and thus made it easier for the wild cow to hurt them. *Despolio* may signify the stripping off of clothing before scourging (OLD, s.v. *despolio*, 2). The sequence of clothing changes is important. The women martyrs were first brought into the arena in the robes of the priestesses of Ceres (XVIII.4). Their protests to the Tribune were heard, and they were then brought back into the arena "simply as they were" (XVIII.6, *quomodo erant, simpliciter inducerentur*). Presumably this means that they were allowed to dress in the clothing they were wearing before they were forced to robe in the garb of Saturn and Ceres. After having been paraded around the arena and having been scourged, they must have been returned out of sight of the crowd, perhaps to some holding pens beneath the arena floor, where they had their clothes stripped off and were wrapped in nets in preparation for this entrance. The Greek does not mention the stripping of their clothes but simply states they were naked (Καὶ γυμνωθεῖσαι). The martyr Blandina was also wrapped in a net, but unlike Perpetua and Felicity, she was victimized by a bull which tossed her about until she lost consciousness, when she was killed (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5 1.56).

XX.2. *seeing that one was a delicate young girl (respiciens puellam delicatam)*. Although *puella* regularly signified an adolescent, it could infrequently refer to a married woman (Apul. *Met.* 6.10). The word *delicata* occurs twice in the *Passio* (cf. XVIII.2). R uses this language not only to heighten the heroism of Perpetua, but he wishes to convey that the crowd also recognized that she was attractive, that she was someone of high status, and someone who was God's favorite. There seems also to be a subordinated erotic overtone in this phrase, particularly as it refers to a young, attractive woman who is depicted naked and covered with restraints.

XX.2. *the other (alteram)*. Unlike Perpetua, who is *puellam delicatam*, Felicity is described entirely from the point of view of her recent parturition; she is "the other." The contrast between the two women could not be greater: Perpetua, mentioned first, is delicate, attractive, well born, and clearly of some social standing. Felicity represents maternity. R's language acknowledges that the former is a Roman matron and the latter a slave.

XX.3. *unbelted robes* (*discinctis*). The participial adjective for “unbelted” tunic or robe occurs in two other situations (X.2, 8), referring to the garb of Pomponius and the *lanista* respectively (see X.2). The Greek is completely opposite and states that their garments were belted (ὑποζώσασιν). Lampe suggests the Greek ὑπόζωσμα in this instance means “drawers, pants” (Lampe, s.v. ὑπόζωσμα), presumably deriving it from “to fasten” (ὑποζώννυμι). If Lampe is right, this further indicates the difference of the Greek from the Latin. Note that R’s fondness for repetition is present in *induo* (cf. XX.2). There is no shift in the chronology of the Latin narrative from the scene of their being dressed in unbelted robes and the attack by the cow in the arena. The Greek seeks to smooth the transition with the genitive absolute εἰσελθουσῶν αὐτῶν (“when they had come in”).

XX.3. *Perpetua was thrown down first* (*Prior Perpetua iactata est*). As she is first in status, first to enter and first in the eyes of God, she is the first to be hit. The Greek states that she was actually gored by the horn of the cow (κερατισθεῖσα). The Latin never mentions that the animal is horned. The Greek “goring” has the feel of a gloss attempting to explain the subsequent tear on the side of her tunic, which oddly, however, is missing in the Greek. The Latin never mentions any goring but simply notes the presence of a tear in the side of her tunic.

XX.3. *ripped on the side* (*a latere discissam*). The Greek never mentions that the tunic was ripped. This is curious, since the Greek explicitly notes that Perpetua was gored. It is not likely that an individual who was gored by the horn of such an animal would not have a tear in his or her clothing.

XX.4. *she drew it up to cover her thigh* (*ad velamentum femoris reduxit*). Although it is impossible to determine with certainty where she was first hit, the likelihood is that she was hit obliquely, since if the blow came straight on, she would have fallen backwards and landed on her back (*tergum*). We are told that she fell on her side (OLD, s.v. *lumbus*, “about the hips”) and that the rip was on the side of the tunic—presumably caused by the animal—and that she modestly drew the tunic up to cover her thigh (OLD, s.v. *femur*, 1). All these words suggest that the blow came from the side and that she was thrown to the side opposite where she was hit. The narrative also is redolent with voyeurism as the crowd leeringly looks at her suffering and her temporary dishabile.

XX.4. *more mindful of her modesty than her suffering* (*pudoris potius memor quam doloris*). Musurillo suggested that this line reminds one of Polyxena’s death (Eur. *Hec.* 569–70, ἡ δὲ θνησκους / ὄμως, πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν / κρύπτους ἅ κρύπτειν ὄμματ’ ἀρσένων χρεῶν). The figure of the noble, virginal woman about to be sacrificed is present also in the person of Iphigenia, who in Aeschylus’s version, dies at the altar (*Aga.* 218–49 and Eur. *Iph. Aulis* 1540–97). The question we have to address is not R’s use of the allusion to Polyxena, which seems apparent, but whether such use jeopardizes the truth of

his depiction, as some argue (see Bremmer below). It is impossible to answer this question to everyone's satisfaction. The women's gestures are very similar. What I would propose is that anyone who pretends to literary skill, as does R, never serves as a simple reporter but as something of an artist with all the attendant liberties. Does anyone doubt that Plato permitted himself the liberty of dramatizing his depiction of Socrates? But for all that, we do not think that Socrates is a fiction or that his final words to Crito were not, "I owe a cock to Asclepius." There is another question we might ask: Why would a Christian polemicist wish to acknowledge such a parallel between Polyxena and Perpetua? And while both women exhibit a similar concern for modesty, their characters could not be more different. Perpetua is a mother with a two-year old son. Felicity has just given birth to a daughter. Polyxena and Iphigenia are virgins. Indeed the entire efficacy of the Greek maidens' sacrifice depends on their state as unmarried virgins. Their virginity was a measure of their innocence and youth (see Mossman, "Death of Polyxena"). Furthermore, Neoptolemus sacrifices Polyxena to his father in the hopes that her blood will summon the great Achilles. Lastly, Polyxena, immediately before Neoptolemus cuts her throat, tears her robe off from her shoulder to her waist displaying her breast for him to strike. These are significant differences in the Christian and Greek heroines' death scenes, just as there are parallels. See also Braun, who noted the popularity of Polyxena in Roman theatre in the second century and the use of this figure by such notable Christian stylists as Ambrose in his hymn to St. Agnes (see his "*Honeste cadere*"). Bremmer in his review of Habermehl's "Perpetua und der Ägypter," suggests that the presence of this echo of Polyxena's death is a caution that the depiction of the martyr's death is untrustworthy. Such a judgment reads R's depiction in a binary fashion: an accurate depiction cannot employ literary allusion. If literary allusions are present, then the depiction is untrustworthy. Surely this cannot be correct. R is not a modern journalist working under the imperative to "get it right." The motif of the heroic female death from Euripides was well known, and R, writing some months or even a few years after the events, used the allusion to place Perpetua in that class of persecuted innocents who emerge transcendent from their ordeal. To suggest that the presence of the allusion renders the entire scene "untrustworthy" is to insist that this ancient author is a cipher, copying the scene before his eyes with an unflinching effort to reproduce some "factual" reportage. Such was not his interest or intent. The allusion to Polyxena was deliberate, and it was meant to show that the Christians have heroines every bit as heroic as the Greeks did. The Greek version adds an otiose and repetitive phrase not found in the Latin, *αἰδουμένη, μηδαμῶς φροντίσασα τῶν ἀληθόνων*, which Robinson referred to as a "curious addition" (91; van Beek believes this spurious, see ad loc. 47, 17).

XX.5. *requested a pin (acu requista)*. This anecdote is not in *Hecuba*. There is some subtle ambiguity in her request, since it could also refer to pinning her torn tunic (see Halporn, 54). The Greek is syntactically clearer, though βελόνην is less specific a term for a hair pin than is *acus* (LSJ, s.v. βελόνη, and OLD, s.v. *acus*, 2a). Furthermore, the Greek amplifies details not in the Latin and refers to both her disheveled garments and her hair (τὰ ἐσπαραγμένα συνέσφιγγεν, καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς περιέδησεν).

XX.5. *a martyr (martyram)*. This is the first attested occurrence of the feminine noun *martyra* (see Halporn, 54 and Souter, s.v. *martyra*).

XX.5. *disheveled hair . . . glory (sparsis capillis . . . gloria)*. The traditional cross-cultural gendered sign for public female ritual mourning is disheveled hair. The disheveled hair is a sign of self-debasement, and this is precisely the note that the martyr does not wish to convey. The martyr must project triumph and glory, and not debasement (see Jerome, *Ep.* 118.4.1). Tearing the hair was a widespread tradition. (See the anecdote narrated by Diodorus Siculus 19.34.1–3, and Plutarch, who in *Roman Questions* notes that Roman women leave their hair disheveled in mourning because it represents a reversal of normative practice, *Moralia*, RQ, 14; also Osborne, *Studies in Ancient Greek*; and Halevi, “Wailing for the Dead.” And cf. IX.2.)

XX.6. *Then she got up (ita surrexit)*. The Greek lacks this detail. *Ita* is used in the temporal sense (cf. Bastiaensen, 448, who cites TLL 7², c. 522). Although van Beek suggests a lacuna in the Greek version, the text reads intelligibly as is (see 49.6).

XX.6. *crushed to the ground (et elisam)*. The verb *elido* can suggest “crush to death” and indicates that Felicity is so seriously injured that she is unable to get up by herself and hence requires Perpetua’s assistance (OLD, s.v. *elido*, 1b; and Souter, s.v. *elido*). Amat (256) suggests this is a Christian Latin synonym for *prostrernere*.

XX.6. *and helped her up (suscitavit illam)*. The Latin *suscito* (OLD, s.v. *suscito*, 3a) principally means “to move from a recumbent position.” It can also signify “to arouse from unconsciousness,” “to restore to life.” The Greek ἤγειρεν has a more pronounced theological range of meanings, its semantic range extending even to a resurrection (see BDAG, s.v. ἐγείρω, 7).

XX.7. *called back to the Gate of Life (revocatae sunt in portam Sanavivariam)*. There were three possible outcomes in a contest to the death in the arena. The victim, if killed, was dragged first to the *spoliarium* where, if not already dead, he had his throat cut. If he was defeated but his life was spared, he normally was sent out through the *Porta Sanavivaria*, but if he was victorious and spared he was sent out through the *Porta Triumphalis* (see X.13 above). The use of this gate at this stage in the contest represents a temporary respite from suffering, since the

Christians must die because they have been sentenced for a capital crime. The Greek does not transcribe the proper name but provides a translation, Ζωτικῆν. (For a discussion of these terms see Bomgardner, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 137; and Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 159.)

XX.8. *received by a certain Rusticus (Rustico . . . suscepta)*. This is the first time this catechumen Rusticus is mentioned. While his name suggests that he has a low social status (OLD, s.v. *rusticus*), his familiar behavior with his social betters and his appearance at this crucial juncture in the narrative belie this humble origin. While we have no evidence about his personal connection to Perpetua, he must have known her before the contest, as he alone welcomes her, at this most crucial moment, on her return to the “Gate of Life.” He both welcomes her and clings to her side (*qui ei adhaerebat*)—is this an embrace?—comforting her and being comforted in turn. This is the only instance in the *Passio* when another individual holds Perpetua and the only instance of the use of this verb (*adhaereo*), which suggests closeness and intimacy. Was Rusticus a member of her *familia* or a member of her house church? He is not under arrest, since he moves openly and freely among the condemned and the authorities alike. Also, he is not mentioned as one of those arrested. His apparent lack of detention, his apparent freedom, if my surmise is true, raises the question of his exact identity. If Rusticus is a Christian, which seems likely from this anecdote, would the ban on conversions not have applied to him as well? Perhaps he converted before the putative ban and thus was not breaking the law. While we may never solve the mystery of his identity, his presence here at this moment suggests that he is an important figure in Perpetua’s life (see Batiaensen, 448). It is tantalizing to note in our investigation of the person of Rusticus the presence of *adhaereo* in the context of Jesus’s instructions on marriage, *relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem et adhaerebit ad uxorem suam* (Mk 10.7 προσκολλάω). The majority of Vetus MSS read *adhaero*, but the Greek *Passio* reads *παρειστήκει* (“standing near”).

XX.8. *She awakened (expergita)*. Perpetua and Saturus use the participial form of *expergo* (IV.10, VII.8, VIII.3, X.13, XIII.8) to conclude their respective dreams and acknowledge their return to a state of consciousness. Perpetua awakens from the shock induced by the attack of the mad cow.

XX.8. *she was so deep in the spirit and in ecstasy (adeo in spiritu et in extasi fuerat)*. R seeks to theologize her obvious physical shock by his suggestion that her awakening was from an ecstatic state and not from the attack of the animal alone. He uses *adeo* with *spiritu* and *extasi* to underscore the intensity of her complete immersion in the Spirit and the overwhelming sense of divine afflatus which embraced her. The use of the term “ecstasy” is deliberate and reflects the strong attraction early Christianity felt for this state. The *Passio*’s use of the word *extasis* is the earliest I have found in Christian Latin. Tertullian employs this term in a

number of his works, *De Anim.* 9.4, 45.3 and *De Ieiunio* 3.2, but neither work can be dated earlier than 210 (see TLL, s.v. *ecstasis*).

Ecstatic prophets were a feature of late second-century life, and an educated pagan could appeal to a hoary authority, notably the authority of the Pythia, who uttered the ambiguous oracles of the god. Both the Attis and the Isis cults made use of an ecstatic state (*Apul. Met.* 11.6, 21.24). Neo-Platonists like Plotinus understood and valued the role of that state (*Enn.* 4.8.1, 6.7.22, 911). Both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures also depict individuals who are ecstatic. Deborah may have been such a character (*Jas* 4.4). Philo is perhaps the first to use the term to characterize an out-of-body, trance-like experience in his commentary on Abram's dream (*Gn* 15.12). Although present in the Septuagint (*Gn.* 15.12), the Christian Scriptures seem particularly to valorize the ecstatic state. John sees a door in heaven and acknowledges, εὐθέως ἐγένετο ἐν πνεύματι/*et statim fui in spiritu* (*Rv* 4.2); Luke records that Paul, referring to what happened to him after his Damascus experience, said "After I had returned to Jerusalem and while I was praying in the temple, I fell into a trance" (ἐκστάσει, *Acts* 22.17); and Paul himself accepts his visionary ability (*2 Cor* 12.1). The early Church appears to have believed that the revelations received in ecstasies were particularly beneficial in times of travail and persecution. See *Acts* 10.10, where Peter falls into an ecstatic trance (ἐγένετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις, and 7.55 and 11.5).

XX.8. and looked about her (circumspicere coepit). R uses this detail to great effect to reinforce her awakening to the conscious state.

XX.8. or whatever it is? (illam nescioquam). The use of this indefinite adjective is slightly dismissive and implies that Perpetua is not interested in the manner of her punishment (see OLD, s.v. *nescio*, 6a). Her disdain for the manner of her suffering exemplifies the Christian ideal emphasized in the New Testament (*Mt* 16.24) and in such spirituality as Ignatius's desire to accept whatever self-sacrifice the Lord has provided.

XX.9. she refused at first to believe it until . . . her body and her clothing (non prius credidit nisi . . . habitu suo recognovisset). The syntax seems garbled, since classical usage would not employ *nisi* in this position. Braun and Halporn have noted the use of *nisi* for *quam* after a negative comparison in late Latin (see Braun, suggesting it is an example of a "popular" use in his "Nouvelles observations linguistiques," 113 and Halporn, 55). The Greek πρὶν is unambiguous. Perpetua's refusal to believe she has actually been attacked until she sees the signs of violence on her body, although intended to reinforce her ecstatic, out-of-body state and the miraculous nature of God's protecting grace, is, while different, nonetheless reminiscent of Thomas's remark to his fellow disciples: "Unless I see the mark of the nails in his hands . . . I will not believe" (ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν . . . οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω/*Nisi videro in manibus eius figuram clavorum . . . non*

credam, Jn 20.25). God's saving power, which transcends the expected, is evident in both instances. Thomas discovers that Jesus, though tortured to death, lives, just as Perpetua discovers her own immunity to this affliction (cf. Felicity's remarks XV.6).

XX.9. *certain marks (notas vexationis)*. *Nota* can signify the "marks" left by a blow (OLD, s.v. *nota*, 9a). Tertullian uses *vexatio* in an analogous way when he refers to the vanity of the mob, who exult in the way the Christians are tormented in the amphitheatre (*Apol.* 49.6: *Proinde et vulgus vane de nostra vexatione gaudet*). The Greek σημεῖον seems already to have acquired a strongly ecclesiastical register. Its use in the New Testament for portent or miracle is well established, and Origen also used this word to designate the wounds on the risen Christ's body (*Cont. Cel.* 2.59.4: καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς κολάσεως ἔδειξεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς), its precise use here.

XX.9. *her body and her clothing (in corpore et habitu)*. The Greek lacks "her clothing" (cf. XX.1). The Greek version is inconsistent in the matter of whether they were naked or dressed; furthermore, the Greek is entirely opposite from the Latin and states that their clothing is unbelted (cf. XX.1, XX.3).

XX.10. *her brother and the catechumen (accersitum fratrem suum et illum catechumenum)*. The passage is difficult, but perhaps we can press it to reveal a less obtuse meaning. This phrase identifies two different individuals, both of whom are unknown. The identifications are ambiguous. Her "brother" may be her brother by blood, who is identified as a catechumen (II.2), or one of her fellow believers (XIII.8). R uses the word "catechumen" four times in the *Passio* (II.1, 2, XX.8, 10). He first uses it to indicate the status of those who were first arrested (II.1) and next to identify one of Perpetua's blood brothers as a catechumen (II.2). He then uses the word to identify the status of Rusticus (XX.8), the only one identified by name as a catechumen. And lastly, he identifies the individual whom Perpetua summons to her side as "the catechumen" (XX.10). R's use of *accerso* to call to her side her brother is understandable but not to summon Rusticus, since we are told in the line above that he is clinging to her side. One hardly needs to summon someone who is already present. Thus, it is more likely that this *frater* is the one whom she has just summoned and that he is her brother by blood and Rusticus the catechumen. Her blood brother has only been identified as *frater* and *catechumenus*, and Rusticus as *catechumenus*. In order to distinguish between the two, who are after all both catechumens, R uses the language of kinship and ecclesiology.

XX.10. *Stand fast in faith . . . (In fide state . . .)*. An exhortation and a quotation from 1 Cor 16.13 addressed to the two men at her side. Most of the Vetus readings are *vigilate state in fide*.

XX.10. *and love one another (et invicem omnes diligite)*. This continues the exhortation and is likely based on 1 Jn 4.7. That the final words of a hero or heroine

should contain direct quotations or parts of quotations is a traditional trope and has been part of Christianity from the very beginning (cf. Lk 23.46).

XX.10. and do not lose heart (ne scandalizemini). This is Christian Latin and derived from the NT idea that one should strive to believe and at all costs avoid apostasy (Mt 11.6, 13.57, 26.31; Mk 6.3; Lk 7.23; Rom 14.21). Although originally from the Greek σκανδαλίζω (“to cause to stumble, give offense or scandal to anyone”), its use here need not depend on the Greek NT, as the word is present both in the Vetus and Tertullian. The latter uses it to suggest that heretical teachings on the Trinity give offense (*Prax.* 19.8: *et tamen ne de isto scandalizentur*) and to illustrate prideful behavior which minimizes Christ’s sacrifice (*Cor.* 14.2: *capite . . . Fortasse tunc illos coronato scandalizauerit*). For its NT and patristic use, see BDAG, s.v. σκανδαλίζω, 1b; and Lampe, s.v. σκάνδαλον, 3–4.

CHAPTER XXI

The Argument: In My End Shall Be My Beginning

R begins his final chapter in medias res: Saturus is shown reminding Pudens, the soldier, of the accuracy of his earlier prediction that he would die from a leopard’s bite. Saturus stands at an unnamed gate on the arena floor. R frequently provides names for places, things, and people; he mentioned in the last chapter that the women were called back to the “Gate of Life.” Why does he leave unnamed this important place, where Saturus was to provide his last lesson as leader? The question is at the most literal level unanswerable. Perhaps R did not have that information, or he did not know it, or it may have been one of the many unimportant entrances and exits (*vomitoria*) from the arena floor, not deemed worth mentioning. From a narrative point of view, however, its anonymity may tell us something about his audience and provide a crude clue to the date of composition. Leaving the gate unnamed suggests that his audience would have understood the spatial geography of the arena and would know where Saturus was standing and that they did not require such specification, since they would have been to games in this amphitheatre. This was an audience for whom events in the amphitheatre were part of their lived experience. Hence, although it is a small matter, R’s not naming the gate where Saturus and Pudens had their colloquy may further substantiate the historicity of the narration.

R’s description of the arena is actually quite complex and must be carefully examined, since it reveals much about the amphitheatre. Saturus stands at this unnamed gate while predicting that he will be killed by the leopard’s bite. His remarks are intended to call to mind the leopard’s earlier attack against Saturninus and Revocatus and his own confidence that he would die from such a confrontation (XIX.4). He then turns to Pudens and says, “See, I will go in there” / *ecce prodeo illo*.

Saturus must be standing outside the floor of the arena watching from a barrier some unrevealed action taking place *in there*—perhaps the completion of the wild cow attack against the women, or perhaps wild cats running in and out of the arena—or some other undisclosed action which prompted these remarks. He and Pudens are spectators, and it is through their discussion of their witness to the events that the action moves forward. When their conversation breaks off unfinished, the audience is left to conclude that Saturus has suddenly turned away from Pudens and gone in to meet his fate. Their conversation emphasizes the freedom with which Saturus chooses to enact his martyrdom. Saturus decides when to return to the contest almost as if he were an athlete waiting for an opportune moment to return to the game. R is intent on placing the entire sequence of events within the frame of volition. The end of their colloquy is most appropriate, since it signals the next stage in the contest, when Saturus will fight with the leopard. It would be remarkable if this brief vignette actually does represent a Christian martyr looking at and discussing the events in the arena where he will momentarily die.

R now jumps precipitously ahead to the end of the games, deliberately sacrificing narrative verisimilitude, avoiding any description of Saturus's fight in the arena and remarking, matter of factly, that at the end of the game, a leopard rushed out and bit Saturus. The lack of drama, the avoidance of climax in his rhetoric (which he can manage so capably, as in the depiction of Felicity's childbirth) actually heightens the probability that something very much like this actually happened, if not in this precise instance, then to other Christian martyrs. Saturus went back—he does not appear to have been forced—into the arena and a leopard rushed out and bit him. Saturus likely was bitten superficially in a fleshy part of the front of his body, rich in blood vessels, since he bleeds copiously but is able to continue his discussion with Pudens. The bite of the animal likely caused a serious laceration and tore away his flesh. The crowd cries out, mocking him with an expression, “a saving bath,” commonly employed in the baths. R reinscribes this as a Christian blessing. As the leopard only wounded him, Saturus comes back to the soldier Pudens and initiates a discussion on his post-mortem legacy. This is operatic melodrama. Saturus asks for Pudens's ring and dips it into his wound and returns it to him to keep as a legacy and a memorial of his action. His request echoes a practice long enjoyed in the gladiatorial games, where a memento of a great fighter was often saved as a token of his prowess. Dipping the ring in his blood hallows the ring, iterates the sacrificial nature of Christianity, and provides a very early example of a relic, which was physically part of the saint. One can imagine how this small Christian community would have revered this ring. It would have been brought out on the anniversary of Saturus's death, his festal birthday, when Pudens and

other faithful would celebrate the *refrigerium* on or very near Satorus's grave. It was to become a talisman of one of the founders of the Carthaginian church and would provide its owner with a certain authority.

Satorus passed out from the loss of blood from the wound. R says he was unconscious and that his body was thrown (*prosternitur*) in the accustomed place to have his throat cut. The verb *prosterno* is brutally honest and likely reflects the historical situation. One gets the picture of slaves manhandling their bodies, dragging them and tossing them into a heap. R does not name the place where they were thrown (traditionally the *spoliarium*) and merely acknowledges it as the accustomed place. The coup de grâce would have been administered, without ceremony, in this place of slaughter by a gladiator or condemned slave. The crowd is unsatisfied with such an expeditious and private end and clamours for more action. They demand that the condemned be brought back into the middle of the arena. R says the crowd desires this so as to watch the actual execution, and thus be able to participate in it in a visceral way. R intends to demonize the crowd. They become a howling, blood-lusting, savage rabble. The Christian martyrs are by comparison civil, courteous to one another, compliant, and concerned even for the timidity of their guards. They embrace one another, offering each other the agape kiss of peace seconds before their throats will be cut, and they spill their life's blood on the arena floor. The amphitheatre crowd is bestial, a clamoring mob who stamp their feet, wave their arms, curse, and cry out for blood. R's contrast raises for his audience an unstated question: Which is the better system—that of the Christian or the Roman? Who are the better people? Is it not better to die as a Christian than to live as a Roman?

The martyrs get up from where they have been thrown. This is a curious remark. We have just been told that Satorus was thrown while unconscious into this throng. Are we now to assume that this was a writhing heap of human bodies, some more horribly wounded than the others, but that all were alert enough to be able to follow the orders of the guards? Has some time passed since Satorus was thrown into their midst? Has he now recovered consciousness? R's lack of concern with such narrative chronological details stems from his sense that he has a bigger picture to portray. He must construct a heroism of hyperbole which eulogizes their heroic deaths in bold strokes. Whether they moved from one spot to another is unimportant for this purpose. Allowing them to be dispatched lying there in a heap, half-dead, would not provide nearly the dramatic flourish he has in mind for their denouement. And thus to effect this drama, Satorus, their teacher and leader, must get up, no matter what his state, and move to the arena's center with the other martyrs.

It is to R's credit as a writer that we can visualize this scene. In our mind's eye we imagine them, horribly wounded and mutilated, struggling to move to the

center, supporting one another as they struggle forward. Perhaps we also see their family members in the amphitheatre, and perhaps Perpetua's father is also there. He sees his precious child moving inexorably toward her death, a death she desires more than family, more than life itself. There is suddenly no sound in the arena. The crowd is silent. The condemned embrace, kissing one another. They do not move but they wait as a gladiator moves quietly but swiftly among them, savagely cutting their throats. The scene is surreal. Some drop immediately to the sand, others linger before also dropping. Saturus their leader, the first to mount the ladder (IV.5), is the first to die. He is again waiting for Perpetua. He is their teacher; she is their prophet. They are joint leaders of the band. There is no romantic fantasy being implied, as some scholars suggest. Their witness completed on earth, they now depart to assume their rightful place in heaven.

Questions abound in the audience's imagination. Does the crowd remain silent and thus parallel the muteness of the martyrs? Do those in the crowd who recognize the martyrs from their prison visit to the condemned the day before scream out? Are the martyrs mocked and ridiculed, or admired? What has the devil's role been in all of this (XX.1)? R never mentions the crowd again. Henceforth, we focus on the dead and dying. How many are left standing before the guard comes to Perpetua? Hers seems to be the last death. Is she alone standing, while her comrades lie strewn at her feet? Is she standing in her ripped, unbelted tunic, hair coiled, defiant in her gaze? What is she thinking at this moment? And what of Hilarianus? What does this fragmented tableau suggest about him? Perpetua stands alone in the arena; Hilarianus her judge sits in the stands. Who is now victim, and who is vanquished? At last the guard comes for her. He strikes, but the blow accidentally hits her in the ribs or in the clavicle. She screams in pain. There is an instant when the action stops. The guard looks at her. Is he amazed that she still stands? How could a blow aimed at the throat go so far awry? How could he miss? Why won't she die? He raises his sword yet again, but now his hand wavers. Perhaps he cannot kill her; perhaps she cannot be killed. The action resumes. She reaches out to him, steadies his hand and guides it to her throat. As we have seen in the anecdote regarding Saturus's slaughter, Perpetua is in complete control of how she shall die. What is the reaction of the crowd to her action? Is the young gladiator an unwitting part of God's providential plan? Is this the precise moment that Perpetua has been joined (as Felicity predicted) by her Lord, who will suffer in her stead? The narrative draws to a close. The audience is never explicitly told that the second blow killed her. It is intimated. R concludes his narrative enigmatically, and there is a suggestion that Perpetua could not have been killed if she herself had not willed it. It is a complete rout of Rome's symbolic power, with the martyrs emerging victorious.

R concludes his narrative with a doxology. This brief paean of praise emphasizes the providential nature of what has happened and celebrates the eschatological witness of this church. We hear in the concluding doxology echoes not only of Revelation but of the first chapter of the *Passio*. The martyrs were called and chosen for this task by Christ himself. These young Carthaginian Christians have indeed seen visions and have acted on this truth. The continuing presence of almighty God working through his Holy Spirit is the guiding force for these events in the arena in Carthage celebrated in March 203 on the Emperor Geta's birthday. The martyrdom of these six young people is not the result of a random series of events that have moved to an ineluctable end. Rather, they have played their courageous part in salvation history; they have responded to the prompting of the Holy Spirit. Having demonstrated the power of providence, R can now return to the point he made so strongly in his first chapter, namely that these new deeds manifest that same Holy Spirit whose presence all acknowledge as an inseparable part of the old accounts of the faith. Revelation never ceases. R concludes with an echo from the Book of Revelation, underscoring the continuing presence of the power of the Son in the Holy Spirit and the necessity for the faithful to be open to the Spirit, wherever it may move, if the Church is to grow and thrive (cf. Rv 5.13, 7.12). Perhaps even more significant is the deliberate echo of *Passio* I.6: *cui est claritas et honor in saecula saeculorum. Amen*. This return to chapter I at the end of the narrative, while in itself no more than the traditional doxology, nonetheless also acts as a subtle reminder of the thesis of chapter I and thus serves to frame the entire narrative.

Chapter XXI Commentary

XXI.1. At another gate (in alia porta). The gate remains unidentified, but it is nonetheless important to attempt to identify this reference, as it can provide a richer understanding of the topography of the events in the arena. The amphitheatre at Carthage (see "Argument" XVIII), begun under the Julio-Claudians, retained the twin portals of the gates of life and death, located on the minor axis running east-west and facing one another—even after the expansive late second century reconstructions—(see Colvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain*, 199, no. 174, and plates 15, 21). Bomgardner suggests that the *Porta Libitinensis* was at the western end of the minor axis, with the *Porta Sanavivaria* at the eastern (*Roman Amphitheatre*, 137). The podium at Carthage, 2.5 meters above the arena and 2.9 meters wide, would have provided the best seats (*subsellia*) in the *cavea*, and this is likely where Hilarianus and other ranking citizens sat during these games. In keeping with R's use of specific names—for example, his identification of Perpetua at the *Porta Sanavivaria* (XX.7)—we would expect him to name this gate, if he had

such information. This gate is not the *Porta Sanavivaria*, since Perpetua and her two companions are there, and R is very clear that it is *in alia porta*. Therefore, Saturus could only be at the *Porta Libitinensis* or one of the other two major gates (at opposite ends of the north-south axis and normally not given a name), located at the north and south entrances. Since the gate in question is unnamed, it seems unlikely, given R's interest in providing specific names, that Saturus is standing at the *Porta Libitinensis*, but rather he is at either the southern or northern gate, and thus diagonally across from Perpetua and farther from her than if he were at the *Porta Libitinensis*. Furthermore, this separation would have made it impossible for him to have been at Perpetua's side during her initial ordeal.

XXI.1. exhorting (exhortabatur). Always the teacher, Saturus here exhorts the soldier Pudens to a greater fidelity in the faith. The Greek προσμιλέω is less strong than the Latin *exhortor*; the Greek indicates individuals engaged in a simple conversation (see Justin, *Dial.* 1.2, and the uncompounded form in BDAG, s.v. ὀμιλέω). Moreover, the Greek's lack of intensity does not capture the ruling personality of Saturus or the extreme passions of the moment. There may be an echo here of the *Mart. Pol.* 2.2: ὁ κύριος ὀμίλει αὐτοῖς.

XXI.1. Pudens (Pudentem militem). This is a common Roman name throughout the Empire among both élite and *humiliores*. For example, L. Arrius Pudens and Q. Seruilius Pudens served as the consuls for 165 and 166 respectively. Perhaps most notable is Perpetua's contemporary Gaius Valerius Pudens, who served as governor of Britannia ca. 205–08. While it is tempting to identify this soldier Pudens with the sympathetic *miles optio* of the same name (IX.1), that military man is in charge of the prison (*praepositus carceris*), while this individual has no title but is simply *miles* (see below XXI.3). This Pudens is a Christian, or at the very least someone who believed completely in the righteousness of Saturus and the cause of the martyrs.

XXI.1. as I imagined and predicted (sicut praesumpsi et praedixi). Saturus refers to his earlier assumption (XIX.4) and thus underscores the power and importance of prophecy (OLD, s.v. *praedico*, 2) in the lives of these Carthaginian Christians. It is nonetheless a remark that has its roots in ideology, as it is hardly the sort of comment one would expect of someone awaiting an imminent and brutal death.

XXI.1. with (de). One might have expected the use of the instrumental ablative with no preposition, but this appears to be a post-classical use of *de* governing the ablative, where the Greek uses the genitive to express the sense that his belief is coming from his heart (see Amat, who argues for the instrumental, but note the typo on page 176, where it should read *de toto*).

XXI.1. must believe this with all your heart (toto corde credas). Saturus's exhortation to Pudens urges him to acknowledge the power of his prophecy before he

enters the arena for a second time, because he will now demonstrate the truth of his remark, death from the single bite of the leopard. In other words, Satorus wishes Pudens to believe by faith and not by experience.

XXI.1. in there (illo). An adverbial use of the demonstrative, suggesting “thither” or “to that place” (see Halporn, s.v. *illo*, and Bastiaensen, s.v. *Et . . . consummor*).

XXI.1. at the end of the game (et statim in fine spectaculi). R’s remark that Satorus is bitten at the very end of the game, when no animal was apparently visible on the arena floor, heightens the drama of the moment and acknowledges the unflinching power of Satorus’s earlier prophecy.

XXI.1. by one (ab uno). Post-classical use of *ab* as an ablative of means.

XXI.1. killed (consumor). The verb *consummo*, although it likely caused the Greek scribe to write *τελειοῦμαι* (LSJ, s.v. *τελειόω*), is less apt contextually than *consumo*, which makes far more sense here, since it is a description of the bite of the leopard which kills him. The Latin MSS are divided on this crux, some preferring “to bring to perfection” (*consummor*), while others use “to consume” (*consumo* for *consummor* and see Hamman). The Greek prefers the theologically nuanced *τελειόω*. *Consummor* and *τελειοῦμαι* are theologically charged words, suggesting that Satorus’s death will bring his life as a Christian to perfection (*consummor*). The influence from the NT (Lk 13.32) is obvious. In his dying, Satorus will imitate his Lord, who said to the Pharisees that he would bring his course to completion on the third day (*καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι*). The preponderance of the Vetus MSS read the Lucan remark as the completion of an event and thus have *et tertia die consummor*. See also BDAG, s.v. *τελειόω*; and Bastiaensen, s.v. *Et . . . consummor*.

XXI.2. a leopard rushed out (leopardo eiecto). This reading adopted by Robinson (92 and MS M) is more in keeping with the savage and dramatic attack of the leopard at the game’s end than is *leopardo obiectus* (van Beek, 50; and Bastiaensen, s.v. *statim . . . obiectus*). The attack is sudden, swift, and savage, all senses of which are conveyed by *eiecto*, but not nearly as well as by *obiectus*, which has the force of placing Satorus in the path of the leopard, an interpretation clearly not intended by the editor. The Greek *πάρδαλις αὐτῷ ἐβλήθη* is closer to *eiecto*.

XXI.2. from one bite (de uno morsu). Post-classical use of *de* as an ablative of means.

XXI.2. so covered with blood (tanto perfusus est sanguine). The phrase, particularly in the Greek version, has a NT ring. The innocent martyrs are covered with the blood of sacrifice. R stated that Felicity understood the blood she shed was utterly innocent, and by extension the Christian audience was meant to understand it to be like the blood of Christ (XV.2; see also Heb 9.22; 1 Pt 1.2; and Rv 7.14). The Greek makes this more explicitly theological by noting that Satorus was “filled with the sacred blood”: *τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνεπλήσθη*. This theological qualifier is lacking in the Latin.

XXI.2. *roared (reclamauerit)*. The Greek ἐπεφώνει suggests intensity in the cry of the crowd. The distinction between the idea of repetition in the Latin *reclamo* and the Greek emphasis on intensity is admittedly a blurred one (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπί).

XXI.2. *second baptism (secundi baptismatis)*. This is a reference to Satorius's baptism by blood. As a Christian teacher, Satorius has already received baptism by water. This baptism of blood is typically associated with the remission of sins. Purification of sins by blood sacrifice is an ancient idea in Judaism (Lv 11.44); it left its impress on early Christianity principally through such texts as Heb 9.22: καὶ χωρὶς αἱματεκχυσίας οὐ γίνεται ἄφεσις. Origen notes that such baptisms undergone by the martyrs were a way of atoning for and receiving forgiveness for post-baptismal sins for others and possibly for oneself (*Exh. Mart.* 30.1–7: οὐκ ἔστιν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων χωρὶς βαπτίσματος λαβεῖν . . . καὶ ὅτι βάπτισμα ἡμῖν δίδεται τὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου). See also Tert. *De Bapt.* 16.2. Tertullian suggests that the baptism of blood returns the individual, already baptized by water, to a state that has been lost through sin: *hic est baptismus qui lavacrum et non acceptum repraesentat et perditum reddit*. This sacrificial baptism of blood was conferred by angels and was greater in grace; see Cypr. *Ep.* 55.17. It is not clear from the text what Satorius is atoning for.

XXI.3. *For truly (Plane utique)*. Bastiaensen (450) suggests that *utique* is an intensifying reference to Satorius's valour, and its use was particularly popular in Africa ca. 200. It is an intensifier frequently employed by Tertullian (see *Ad Nat.* 1.1.5).

XXI.2. *a saving bath, a saving bath (saluum lotum, saluum lotum)*. Dölger notes that this is part of the formulaic expression customarily used in regard to the baths: *saluum lotum te esse optamus* (see his *Gladitorenblut und Märtyrerblut*, particularly 198–201). Variations on this expression seem to have been a commonplace and appear on mosaics. While visiting the museum at Sabratha, I came upon a small, hitherto unstudied mosaic which depicts a bathing scene; written on it are the phrases *Bene laua [et] saluum lavisse*. The crowd's cry is drenched in irony. The word *salvus* would normally be restricted to a range of meanings suggestive of good health and safety.

XXI.3. *one was saved (salvus erat)*. R puns on the meaning of *salvus*. He employs the word in the sense that Satorius's bath in the blood of martyrdom was a saving bath and thus mutes the irony of the crowd's cry. The word was used colloquially in classical Latin in this very sense (OLD, s.v. *saluus*, 1b) to indicate being saved from something, unhurt. Cyprian also employs the term in a theological sense and suggests, like R, that an individual whose perseveres to the end will receive a salvific gift (see his *Ep.* 26.4). The Greek text completely misses the pun employed by the Latin and reads simply, καὶ μὴν ὑγιής, attesting that he was fit. It is possible, however, that the Greek author, reflecting his interest in “theologizing,” was employing ὑγιής in a figurative sense. See Ti

2.8; Shep. *Vis* 8.6.3; also Dölger, “Antike Parallelen,” particularly his remarks on Tertullian and baptism (and see Herm. *Sim.* 8.6.3).

XXI.4. to the soldier Pudens (Pudenti militi). Notice that R uses the epithet *miles* in identifying this Pudens, but when Perpetua mentions the head of the prison complex, she specifically acknowledges his rank and refers to him as *miles optio* (compare XXI.1 and IX.1).

XXI.4. he said (inquit). R takes considerable pains to reproduce the colloquialism of the dialogue between Saturus and Pudens, employing the irregular verb *inquam* in the perfect eight times in the *Passio* and three times alone in the first four lines of this chapter (XXI.1 and XXI.4). This may reflect a post-classical use. See Bastiaensen, s.v. *inquit*, 3.1.

XXI.4. remember the faith and me (et memento fidei et mei). Saturus’s remark is an echo of Perpetua’s *in fide state* (XX.10), and, like her comment to Rusticus, Saturus’s places the emphasis not principally on Pudens’s memory of the man but rather on what he died for, that is, his steadfast faith in salvation.

XXI.4. do not let these things trouble you but strengthen you (et haec te non conturbent, sed confirment). R is fond of such negative parallel alliterative phrases (XX.10). His use of *conturbo* idealizes the horror of the moment and is a veritable topos of the literature of martyrdom. Saturus’s farewell is dependent on the genre of the *exitus illustrium virorum* (see Horace, *Ars.* 469; A. Ronconi, “Exitus Illustrium Virorum,” *RAC VI* (1996): 1258–68. Saturus’s behavior suggests the Johannine narrative of the death of the Good Shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep (Jn 10). The martyr, dripping blood from his recently inflicted, gaping wound, comforts the neophyte Christian Pudens by counseling him not to be troubled by what he sees—the faculty of sight as a metaphor is strong in this chapter—but to seek the lesson of self-sacrifice beyond the physical gore, and to allow that truth to strengthen his faith.

XXI.5. At the same time (Simulque). R uses the adverb to suggest the virtual simultaneity of the farewell and the presentation of the ring.

XXI.5. small ring (ansulam). The word is a post-classical use for *anulus* and appears to have an African provenance and is first recorded in Apuleius (see *Met.* 4.3.7). It is likely a small gold signet ring of the type that bore inscriptions to Asclepius and other gods—Venus was frequently depicted—and was worn for health and luck. Tertullian consistently uses *anulus* (see *Pud.* 9.11,16). Outside of its use here, the earliest Christian use I can find is in the sermons of the African Zeno, who was appointed Bishop of Verona ca. 362, and also in Augustine, who, in a list of superstitious practices, condemns the custom of wearing rings of ostrich bone on the fingers (*ansulae in digitis, Doct.* 2.20.30).

XXI.5. dipping it in his wound (et vulnere suo mersam). Saturus initiates this action in such a matter-of-fact manner that, although unexpected, it causes

Pudens no surprise. The force of his action is to provide this relic as a lasting token of purity and power—the power it derives from the slain Messiah (Rv 12.11, 19.13). The figure of the rider of the white horse (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ) depicted in Rv 19.13 wears a “garment dipped in blood” (καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι). We may assume that such an action was not utterly unexpected and that retaining something of the one persecuted was already a practice. Both Greeks and Romans employed some aspects of what we shall call “relic taking.” Aesclepius’s ashes were said to be at Epidaurus, and Plutarch writes most interestingly of the elaborate funeral rites involving the ashes of Demetrius—wrapped in a king’s royal purple robe and a diadem—en route to burial (*Dem.* 53.5). Judaism employed blood symbolism in a variety of ways, particularly as a covenant-confirming bond (Ex 24.8), which Christianity emulated (Mt 26.28). The anecdote of Elijah’s mantle (2 Kgs 2.14) and Paul’s handkerchiefs (Acts 19.11), used to cure the sick, likely exerted an influence on the growth of interest in relics and their power. The Book of Revelation specifically acknowledges those martyrs who “have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb” (7.14). Satorius gives Pudens the means for his salvation through the efficacy of his martyred blood. The *Exultet* proclaims that Christ “ransomed” the faithful with his blood (*Qui pro nobis aeterno patri Adae debitum solvit . . . pio cruore deterisit*). Cyprian’s friends spread small linen cloths and handkerchiefs before him prior to his beheading in the hopes that these would be sprinkled with his blood: *linteamina et manualia multa ante eum a fratribus mittebantur* (*Acta Cyp.* 5.4).

XXI.5. legacy (reddidit ei hereditatem). The gift of the bloodied ring is an unexpected gift to Pudens (OLD, s.v. *hereditas*, 2d). The Latin text, while it clearly underlines the importance of the gift of the ring as a token of Satorius’s extraordinary faith, does not sacralize the ring. The Greek text, however, does associate the bloodied ring with a powerful spirit, referring to the gift as a μακαρίαν κληρονομίαν. There are parallels here in the Roman use of magical amulets. Roman North Africa was particularly interested in what we would call magic, or what Apuleius (who himself carried a figure of Mercury, *Apol.* 61) called the “science of the stars.” Septimius Severus consulted astrologers (*Historia Augusta, Geta*, 2.6), and there are extant Roman rings with Sarapis and the magical beast-figure of the Anguipede on them. In the latter case, the Tetragrammaton is frequently imprinted below the figure. If Satorius’s ring is given as a legacy, something to be cherished, one might expect that these Christians would anticipate that the ring would replace the *lares* and was worn, carried, or placed along side them in a domestic *cubiculum*.

XXI.5. a memorial of his blood (et memoriam sanguinis). Carthaginian Christianity early on appears to have reified Judaism’s understanding of blood as that

which contains life and expiates the sins of men (Lv 17.11–12) and extended the idea to that of a physical memorial of that sacrifice.

XXI.6. *Then, being now unconscious (exinde iam exanimis)*. The chronology and the events during Satorus's ordeal are telescoped. R writes to propel the narrative to its conclusion and so avoids amplifying those moments when encomiastic rhetoric might have been expected. A brief expansion of the events will clarify my point: standing at the gate Satorus discusses how he will die from the bite of a leopard. At the end of the games a leopard rushes out and bites him. He must have moved from the gate into the arena. The text then says "as he was returning" (*revertenti*), a reference to his return from the arena to the gate and Pudens. The crowd roars *salvum lotum, salvum lotum* ("a saving bath, a saving bath"). Satorus then dips his ring into his wound. He next falls unconscious at or near Pudens. The passage of time is suggested by the adverbs, but it is tantalizingly vague. We do not know whether they talked for five or twenty-five minutes. R is interested in Satorus's sacrifice and death and thus restricts his focal plane, coalescing time and events.

XXI.6. *the accustomed place (solito loco)*. Satorus's body may have been dragged to the *spoliarium*, where his throat was cut. Etymologically the *spoliarium* (OLD, s.v. *spoliarium*) would initially have been a place in the amphitheatre where the defeated gladiators or enemy were stripped of their arms (OLD, s.v. *spolio*, 2; Liv. 7.26.6: *postquam spoliare corpus caesi hostis tribunus coepit*). However, this custom seems to have evolved into the name for the place where the coup de grâce was carried out. The practice ensured that an individual—whether gladiator, convict, or Christian—was truly dead. Seneca notes the practice of the cutting of the throats in a location other than the arena and calls it *spoliarium* (Sen. *Ep.* 93.2: *ut iugulari in spolio quam in harena malit*). Thus the physical *spoliarium* combined charnel house with place of execution. Bomgardner has identified a small cross-vaulted chamber (2.2.3 × 5.6 m) beneath the *cavea* on the western end of the short axis in the Carthage amphitheatre as the probable *spoliarium*. He based this on this chamber's proximity to the cemeteries outside the western side of the amphitheatre and the presence of two low stone benches (0.8 × 2.3 m) where bodies could be laid out for stripping and dispatch (*Roman Amphitheatre*, 136–37; but see Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 158–59, who is skeptical—as am I—about this *cubiculum* as the Carthage *spoliarium*). The text provides no help, simply noting that Satorus was "thrown with the others in the accustomed place." Bomgardner's location is approximately 30 m from the exact center of the arena, and if, as I suspect, Satorus is standing at either of the other two gates before losing consciousness (see XXI.1), it could be as far as 45 m to Bomgardner's *spoliarium*. This is a considerable distance, particularly in light of the fact that the crowd then demands that their bodies be returned to the middle of the arena (see XXI.7, *in medio*).

XXI.7. crowd demanded (populus . . . postulet). R underscores the crowd's barbarism through his emphasis on their demands to witness every aspect of the savagery. Seneca writes scathingly of a similar scene of the cruel demands of the crowds at the games, where, as they lust after more savage brutality, they are made more savage by their own behavior (*Ep. 7.6: Subducendus populo est tener animus et parum tenax recti; facile transitur ad plures*).

XXI.7. middle of the arena (in medio). Assuming that the *solito loco* is the *spoliarium*, it is a curious practice to have their bodies returned from such a distance. Bastiaensen suggests that *in medio* simply means in public view and may not refer to the center (see Bastiaensen, *Acti e Passioni*, 450; and OLD, s.v. *medius*, 3, although such use is less frequent than “middle, centre”). Placing their bodies in the “middle” also allows R to have the martyrs occupy center stage.

XXI.7. their eyes (oculos suos). The literary topos of the eye as signifying associative guilt or its lack is of great antiquity and particularly appropriate. The eyes of the crowd, according to R, lust after homicide. The eye is a complex symbol. It could symbolize the all-seeing presence of a deity, the evil eye, the organ that represented one's character, and the *oculus mentis*, a manifestation of the workings of the Spirit. Oedipus avenges himself on his eyes and the pleasure they have taken in his unfortunate life, and Paul uses synesthesia to discuss the enlightenment that is a result of the eye of the heart: *πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν* (Eph 1.18). See also Bastiaensen, 450. Seneca (*Ep.7*) warns Lucilius not to attend the games lest their savagery contaminate him. Augustine relates a similar situation in *Confessions* 6.7–8 in which his friend Alypius becomes almost a ravening animal from watching the games.

XXI.7. the martyrs got up unaided (ultra surrexerunt . . . volebat). This is a curious detail, as immediately before this R notes that Saturus was unconscious and thrown with the others, presumably in a similar state. Does he also get up or does he remain unconscious (see XXI.8)? If we read this from a Christian point of view, R is more intent on keeping his focus on the volition of martyrs and not on the verisimilitude of the narrative.

XXI.7. First they kissed . . . martyrdom (ante . . . consummarent). The ritual of the kiss of peace was a regular part of the liturgy even at this early date. R intends it to signify the sacrifice of these martyrs within a liturgical context. This is a bold theological addition to the literature of martyrdom, as it suggests that the martyrs are the holocaust being offered and, like Christ, they offer themselves as willing sacrifices. Paul emphasized the importance of the “holy kiss” of peace as a greeting of the faithful, *ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ* (Rom 16.16). Justin mentions the “kiss” as a part of the liturgy (*1 Apol.* 65) which took place immediately after prayers and before the Eucharist. While Tertullian understands the kiss of peace as an integral part of the worship service, particularly as a way of

concluding corporate prayer (*Or. 18.1: ieiunantes habita oratione cum fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis quod est signaculum orationis*), he shared the contemporary feeling that public displays of affection might be misconstrued (*Ad ux. 2.4*). Despite this social hesitancy concerning public displays of affection, the description given by R suggests that men and women shared this kiss, since both Perpetua and Felicity are to be included in the group about to die. The verb *consummo* is nuanced and likely should be read as “bringing to perfection” and not simply as a completion.

XXI.8. *The others, in silence and without moving (Ceteri quidem immobiles et cum silentio . . .)*. Clearly some of the martyrs—Saturus perhaps among them—are too injured to move and hence are killed where they lay. See Bastiaensen, 451.

XXI.8. *Saturus, who had first climbed up the ladder (Saturus, qui et prior scalam ascenderat . . .)*. This is an allusion to Saturus’s earlier climbing of the ladder to heaven: *Ascendit autem Saturus prior (IV.5)*.

XXI.8. *was the first to give up his spirit (prior reddidit spiritum)*. Although the context strongly suggests that this is a reference to Saturus’s death, the phrase is sufficiently ambiguous to allow an interpretation to the effect that Saturus was the first to surrender himself in faith to the will of God. He is the first of their group to become a Christian and is their teacher.

XXI.8. *he was waiting for Perpetua (nam et Perpetuam sustinebat)*. R deliberately repeats language from earlier in the text (IV.6) and delights in assonance, as well as in his repetition of *prior* in the adjoining phrases *qui et prior ascenderat, prior reddidit spiritum*.

XXI.8. *so that she might taste something of the pain (ut aliquid doloris gustaret)*. R’s use of the verb *gusto*, the single time this verb is used, may reflect a current idiomatic use. It provides the reader with a very visual image of Perpetua’s suffering. Bastiaensen suggests that it refers back to her state of ecstasy (451).

XXI.9. *pierced between the bones (inter ossa compuncta exululavit)*. The location of this stab wound on her body has long been debated. Traditionally the condemned were simply dispatched at this point by having their throats slashed. If this is the case here, as is most likely, then *inter ossa* could refer to a poorly aimed glancing blow, which struck between the clavicle and the cervical bones of the neck (see *tirunculi gladiatoris* below, XXI.9; and OLD, s.v. *iugulo*). Although an identifiable verbal allusion is lacking, the Bible does provide a number of well-known passages concerning the righteous suffering servant, whose bones are pierced (see Jb 30.17; Pss 22.17), and the stabbing of Christ on the cross in Mt 27.17. There is no ambiguity about the fact that the final blow was to her throat (see XXI.9, *iugulum*).

XXI.9. *right hand . . . wavered (et errantem dexteram)*. R’s attention to detail is very valuable, and this detail of the trembling hand provides a human drama

otherwise lacking. The gladiator is hesitant, reluctant to kill the innocent young woman. This gladiator is not a savage warrior. He is young and inexperienced. Does he recognize her innocence and draw back? Seneca, in his wonderful letter about Bassius's bravery as he faces death (*Ep.* 30.5), notes the doomed gladiator who proffers his throat to his foe and directs the "hesitant blade" to the vital spot: *si gladiator tota pugna timidissimus iugulum adversario praestat et errantem gladium sibi attemperat*. This depiction of the pagan who recognized the authentic goodness of the Christian martyr was to become a topos of Christian hagiography (see Prudent. *Perist.* 1.2). This motif likely influenced the depiction of the executioner in Pontius, *Vita Cypriani* 18.4 (see Aronen, "Indebtedness to *Passio Perpetuae*," 73). The right-hand side is statistically dominant in all populations (85 to 90 percent of all populations). Roman soldiers were taught to use the right hand for the sword and the left as the shield hand. Young legionnaires, if they were found to be left-handed, had their left hands bound to their side and were forced to use the *gladius* with their right hand. If we assume that Perpetua and the gladiator are facing one another, Perpetua, in order to guide his trembling right hand, would likely have grasped with her right hand, and thus exposed her left side to his sword.

XXI.9. novice gladiator (tirunculi gladiatoris). This is a beginning gladiator of unknown type (see Robert, "Une vision," 248ff., who suggests a *retiarius*). Since he was a novice (OLD, s.v. *tirunculus*) this may be the first time he was called on to kill. He would likely have been a slave. Here he is depicted killing a member of the upper class. R's emphasis on his timidity (*errantem*) brings all these issues to the fore. Although there was no prescribed weapon for the gladiator, surviving mosaics, ceramics, frescoes, tomb reliefs, graffiti, and vases, like the Colchester Vase (c. 175), suggest that the sword used by most of the gladiators was the double-edged *gladius*, which was used for thrusting and slashing at close range. It was approximately 50 cm by 6 cm. (For images of such weapons, see the *Gladiator Mosaic* in the Villa Dar Buc Ammera and in the Galleria Borghese.) Halporn adds that the beginning gladiator was trained for his profession by cutting the throats of the dying in the *spoliarium* (57).

XXI.9. her throat (in iugulum suum). There is no ambiguity that the gladiator dispatched her in the traditional manner by cutting her throat (OLD, s.v. *iugulum*).

XXI.10. such a woman (tanta femina). The power of the female heroine as an unalloyed exemplar of human courage is still celebrated in the Church. By the time we reach the early fifth century, Augustine is anxious to divert attention away from her feminine heroism, and acknowledges her as a member of the "weaker sex" and theologizes her courageous behavior (*Serm.* 280.5, 281.1, 282.3; and see Lefkowitz, "Motivations," 421; Steinhauser, "Augustine's Reading," 244).

XXI.10. by the unclean spirit (ab immundo spiritu). R at this point seems to have placed the devil in the person of the novice gladiator. Although this malign force has now possessed the young man, even that force could not dispatch her if she had not willed it. The early Christians clearly believed in demonic possession, and R's depiction here is perhaps indebted to the figure of the *immundus spiritus* from the Gospels (Mt 12.43; Mk 1.26; Lk 11.24). Paul exorcized an unclean spirit out of the young woman (Acts 16.18), and Tertullian discusses exorcism and unclean spirits who possess women who attend theatrical productions in *De Spect.* 26.2: *itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi, constanter: "et iustissime quidem" inquit "feci: in meo eam inveni."*

XXI.10. she herself had willed it (nisi ipsa voluisset). The emphasis is on volition and placing one's will in concert with God's will, which is what Perpetua does here. This is her last action, and as such it is entirely in keeping with her character. She has acted volitionally in every aspect of the life which we have been privileged to see. If she were to die against her will, her martyrdom would be a mockery and for naught. Furthermore, her action is not an act of suicide. (The Latin word *suicidium* for suicide does not appear until the twelfth century.) The Romans, particularly the Stoics, did not scorn what they called *mors voluntaria* unless it was done for an ignoble reason, or by a slave or a legionnaire. Seneca's famous remark typifies the Stoic attitude to suicide: a wise person "lives as long as he ought, not as long as he can." Suicide was never condemned in Roman law. Early Christianity's attitude on voluntary death is very complex, and the literature on this subject is considerable (see Droge and Tabor, *A Noble Death*; and Lampe, s.v. θάνατος, 3g and 4). While Christians believed that human life is sacred and that one of the characteristics of life is to struggle amidst the rigors of an oppressive state, the Christians also celebrated heroic, volitional death. They viewed some suicides, such as Judas' hanging, as despicable acts. However, Jesus's remark "The man who loves his life loses it, while the man who hates his life in this world preserves it to life eternal" (Jn 12.25) seems to allow for volitional death with dignity. Suicide is not clearly condemned by the Church until Augustine does so, citing the precedent of the sixth commandment and the behavior of the extreme Donatist Circumcellions and those bishops, like Gaudentius of Thamugadi, who did not condemn Donatist suicide.

XXI.11. O bravest and most blessed (O fortissimi ac beatissimi) R begins his doxology with this lyrical paean to the character of the martyrs and their actions (OLD, s.v. *fortis*, 7–8). These lines represent a grand finale, a coda, which allows R to return his audience to his opening themes in Chapter I and his celebration of the continuing presence and importance of revelation and prophecy. It is noteworthy that *fortis* was also used to celebrate the deeds of the Roman warrior; R uses it here to associate the martyrs' bravery with that of the soldier. The martyrs are *milites Christi*. This idea will be well explored by Cyprian, who borrows this

very phase (*Ep. 8.2: Cyprianus martyribus et confessoribus in Christo Domino nostro et in Deo Patre perpetuam salutem. Exulto laetus et gratulor, fortissimi ac beatissimi fratres*). The Greek version, likely influenced by this developing idea of the Christian soldier, is explicit in its comparison, referring to the martyrs as καὶ στρατιῶται ἐκλεκτοί.

XXI.11. *O truly called and chosen . . . who praises, honors (o vere vocati, et electi . . . et honorificat)*. R again emphasizes the importance of the prophetic spirit, a spirit which is imparted by the Holy Spirit and given to those who are called. This calling appears to be something freely given by the Spirit, and it is nothing one can strive after, as Luke notes in Acts 5.13: οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα κολλᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς. (*Honorifico* is first found in the second century; see Souter, s.v. *honorifico*; for *adorat*, see Sir. 35.20.) I have noted R's attention to rhetoric, and Amat notes here the apparent similarity of the collocation of these three verbs to the ternary style employed in Ciceronian *clausulae* (262). She does not discuss the specifics of the metrics of the feet, e.g., a cretic followed by a spondee or trochee. While Amat has directed attention to the metrics of these three verbs, it is likely that R was also thinking of the Bible and that he has borrowed the phrase (hitherto unnoticed) from Revelation, where the victory of Christ over that of the Antichrist is with the called, the chosen and the faithful: *Hi cum Agno pugnant, et Agnus vincet eos quia Dominus dominorum est, et Rex regum, et qui cum illo sunt et electi et fideles* (17.14 in some MSS of the Vetus).

XXI.11. *no less worthy than the old ones (minora veteribus exempla)*. R refers to *exempla* only twice in the *Passio*, here and in his very first line (I.1: *Si vetera fidei exempla*). Might he be referring to non-canonical Scriptural texts like that of the *Scillitan Martyrs*, or the martyrdoms of Ignatius and Polycarp? He remarks that the deeds of the present are as great, if not greater, than those of the past, and these deeds should be studied (*legere debet*) because they are the actions which lead to the building up of the Church (*aedificationem Ecclesiae*; see also I.1 for this phrase).

XXI.11. *these new deeds . . . witness that one and the . . . same Holy Spirit (novae quoque virtutes . . . eundem semper Spiritum Sanctum)*. R argues that the personal witness of the martyrs is as great a testimony as those in the past, since this present witness is called into being by the power and authority of the Holy Spirit. Thus he is at pains to underscore the crucial importance in the Church of this ongoing charismatic outpouring of the power of the Holy Spirit as it is manifest in his elect. The Greek text seems to soften this radical indwelling of the Holy Spirit. It appears more indebted to a Trinitarian emphasis, and it does not highlight or single out these new deeds to the Spirit's power alone: δι' ὧν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν αἰώνων, ἅμα τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

XXI.11. glory and endless power for ever and ever (in saecula saeculorum). R ends his narrative with the triumphant liturgical expression of the eternal majesty of God's power stretching into eternity. The martyrs have joined that hallowed celestial retinue and are meant to serve as examples to those of us who remain in the world that they must be open to the power of God mediated through the Father, the Holy Spirit, and Jesus Christ, His son. The phrase is of great antiquity (see Tb 13.10) and was a favorite of Paul's (Gal 1.5; Phlm 4.20; 1 Tm 1.17; 2 Tm 4.18) and used frequently in Revelation (Rv 1.6, 1.18, 4.9–10, 5.13, 7.12, 10.6, 11.15, 14.11, 15.7, 19.3, 20.10, 22.5). At least three of these instances (5.13, 7.12, 22.5) concern the blood sacrifice of the innocent witness, the martyr, who, John says, will "need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they shall reign εις τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων/*in saecula saeculorum*" (22.5). R concludes by repeating the ringing exultant expression from the last chapter of Revelation. The conclusion is at once traditional and polemical. How fitting a conclusion to someone with R's sympathies for the New Prophecy movement in this hour of persecution.

APPENDIX I

Manuscripts and Editions

At the risk of proliferating manuscript sigils, for clarity's sake I have adopted sigils based on the initial letter of the name of the manuscript. For example, M is Monte Cassino MS 204, and P is Paris MS BN 17626. Manuscript sigils H, VB, and A below stand for Heffernan, Van Beek, and Amat respectively.

NAMES AND SIGILS OF THE MSS OF THE *PASSIO*

Editor's Name	H	VB	A
Monte Cassino 204	M	1	A
Ambrosiana C.210	A	2	D
St. Gallen 577	G	3a	E ¹
Einsiedeln 250	E	3b	E ²
Bib. Nat. 17626	P	4	B
BL Cotton Nero E.I	N	5a	C ¹
Salisbury Cathedral 221Olim Fell.4	S	5b	C ²
BL Cotton Otho D.VIII	O	5c	C ³
Canterbury E.42	C	5d	C ⁴
Jerusalem 1 (olim <i>S. Sepulchri</i> Greek)	H	H	H

A. THE TEXTUAL TRADITION

The manuscript tradition of the *Passio* is late, and the surviving exemplars exhibit a complex skein of relationships. There are nine surviving Latin manuscripts and one Greek manuscript. None of the extant manuscripts can be reliably dated before the ninth century CE. The Greek MS, MS H, which some have argued represents the language of the original composition, is actually a fourth-century translation of a non-extant Latin text. I have studied all the extant manuscripts in situ, and I provide their first full description both codicologically and palaeographically in this Chapter. Up to the present time, the understanding of the status of and the relationships among the manuscripts has been only partial. For example, van Beek was the first one to discuss the confusion and subsequent misidentification of S as having a Salzburg provenance, when in fact it is from Salisbury. And as recently as Amat's edition, MS S was still being identified as Codex Oxoniensis Fell 4. S, however, is a product of the scribes working in the Salisbury Cathedral scriptorium in the late eleventh century. James Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh, borrowed it from Salisbury Cathedral Library in 1640. It was subsequently deposited in the Bodleian Library around 1650, where it remained for 335 years—hence the Oxford provenance—until it was returned to its rightful owner, Salisbury Cathedral Library, in August 1985.

The earliest surviving text is MS G (figure 7.4), and on palaeographic grounds it can be dated to the late ninth century—early tenth century. It was written at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall and is a *Legenda Sanctorum* and *Passionale* with a strong representation of local saints. Although it is beautifully written in a careful Caroline hand, unfortunately the text of the *Passio* in G is defective, and ends with the words *ab urso vexati sunt* from XIX.13 (f.174va). It also lacks the prologue. MS G is most closely related to the only other extant Swiss Benedictine exemplar, MS E (figure 7.5), from the monastic house Our Lady of the Hermits in Einsiedeln in the Canton of Schwyz. E is a twelfth-century *Legenda sanctorum*, and the *Passio* is in the fourth volume of a handsome four-volume collection used at Einsiedeln for liturgical purposes, likely for readings at matins or in the refectory on the saint's day. Unfortunately, the version of the *Passio* in E, like its counterpart G, lacks the prologue and also ends defectively, concluding with the words *gloriosiorem gestaret coronam* from XIX.2. E, however, then continues the narrative, but at this point adds textual material from the *Acta*: *Acclamante vero turba positi sunt in medio . . .* (*Acta* IX.3), ending with the concluding lines of the *Acta*, *quod est benedictum in saecula saeculorum* (IX.5). E's conflation of the *Passio* with *Acta* text suggests that the exemplar which the single scribe of E copied from was itself corrupted and was therefore not that of the related MS G family. Therefore, E was not copied from G or an immediate ancestor of G, but they both likely descend and branch off from an earlier exemplar.

Yet while G and E do share an earlier common exemplar and share the bulk of their readings, they do differ among themselves, indicating that their immediate exemplars were different. The obvious instance of such difference is E's use of the *Acta* to complete the *Passio* where G simply ends defectively without adding material. Three additional examples will suffice to illustrate the separate traditions of E and G. First, the incipit to E is written in large majuscules and states *Incipit Passio Sanctorum Revocati, Saturini,*

Perpetue & Felicitatis. Although other MSS also vary the order of the martyrs' names in their incipits, E is the only MS to place Revocatus first. The incipit to MS G reads differently and omits the masculine names altogether, stating *Incipit Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. This is a more common incipit. My second example concerns Chapter XI of the *Passio*, which introduces the narrative of the dream of Saturus, Perpetua's teacher and the leader of the small band of condemned. It is the only other autobiographical section in the *Passio* and was justifiably popular with medieval readers and thus important textually. E correctly attributes the dream to Saturus: *Sed et Saturus benedictus hanc visionem suam . . .* (emphasis added). MS G, alone of all the nine Latin MSS, mistakenly identifies the dream as the narrative of the other male martyr with a similar name, Saturninus, and writes *Sed et Saturninus benedictus hanc visionem . . .* (emphasis added).

However, despite these differences E and G share readings which differ sufficiently from all the other extant Latin exemplars to place them in a related, separate line of descent. For example, in VII.1, Perpetua notes that in surprise she uttered the name of her long dead brother Dinocrates, stating, *subito media oratione profecta est* (MS M, my emphasis). E and G alone share the reading for this line as *subito media oratione profecta est* (emphasis added). Lastly, E and G alone reverse the word order in *Deinde post paucos dies Pudens miles*. All other MSS read *Deinde post dies paucos Pudens miles . . .* (IX.1).

MS M (figure 7.2), which has been the basis of the great modern edition of van Beek and most recently that of Amat, I would date to the last third of the eleventh century. It is the most complete text of the *Passio* extant and the least vexed by corrupt readings or additions from the *Acta*. Although the *Passio* excerpt in M has long been thought of as an original part of the manuscript and therefore a product of the great late eleventh-century scriptorium of Monte Cassino under the guiding hand of Abbot Desiderius and written in a Beneventan hand, my study of the manuscript suggests a different provenance. Let us consider M. It is an important collection of the letters of Cyprian. The *Passio* selection is the last quire gathering in the manuscript, and although the hand is contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, the hand of the *Passio* is not Beneventan. The quire containing the *Passio* was written by a scribe trained outside the Beneventan area. The parchment in this quire is thicker and darker than those preceding, suggesting they may have been planned for a different book and may have lain exposed before being bound in M. I have been unable to determine the provenance of the hand of the *Passio* quire, but I am certain that it is written by a scribe trained in a convention different from that of the Beneventan or other south Italian scripts. The scribe who copied the *Passio* selection may have been a visitor working in the monastic scriptorium of Monte Cassino. The *Passio* quire was early bound with the rest of M, as the edges of the leaves of all the MS fols. have been stained with a medieval rose-colored decorative pigment, consistent with such rubricating practices of this period. The *Passio* excerpt is unlike anything else in M, which, as I said, is an important early copy of Cyprian's letters. It may have been bound with the rest of M because the Cyprian *Epistolae* and the *Passio* were seen as originally having an African source.

M is the earliest of the manuscripts to contain the most complete text of the *Passio*. It is the manuscript copy of the *Passio* found by Holstenius and printed by Valois from

Holstenius's notes and transcriptions in 1664. It has served as the copy text since that time. While M shares more readings with E and G than any of the other Latin exemplars, it derives from an exemplar different from either of the Swiss manuscripts and the other five extant Latin exemplars. For example, M uniquely contains the opening prologue, which neither E nor G has. Furthermore, the important claim that R makes concerning the autobiographical nature of the section attributed to Perpetua (*conscriptum sua manu*)—extant in E, G, P, O, A, N, S—occurs uniquely in M as *conscriptum manu sua*, thus reversing the word order. In Chapter XI, M alone identifies this section with the title *Visio Saturi*. In that same chapter the large garden visited by Saturus and Perpetua is described by M, E, and G with a variant of *grandis* (M, *spacium grandem*), whereas all others use a variant of *magnus* (N, P, S *spatium magnum*). In the dramatic confrontation between Hilarianus and Perpetua's father, all the other Latin manuscripts read *ab Hilario proici*; M alone reads *ab Hilario deici*. The list of variant readings singular to M could be greatly expanded.

As I suggested above, it is curious in the extreme to have a single quire of a saint's passion bound with a collection of a patristic author's letters. I can only conjecture that it was copied in Monte Cassino roughly contemporaneously with the copying of M, and it was added to the Cyprian collection because there were some in the community who saw an affinity between the two African saints, both of whom were martyred in Carthage in the third century. Finally, M derives from an exemplar that contained a complete version of the *Passio*, including the prologue. It is highly unlikely that M was copied from a third-century exemplar and much more likely that it was copied from a *Passionale* used in a monastic liturgical setting, likely a product of the Carolingian resurgent interest in such texts.

MS A appears to have derived from β , and, as the Bollandists and van Beek have suggested, it also shows a relationship to MS H. I have hesitated to indicate such an affiliation, as I remain uncertain of their claims for such a relationship.

Four of the manuscripts (C, N, O, and S) have an English provenance: C (figure 7.10) and O (figure 7.9) from the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury, N from the Benedictine priory of St. Mary's Worcester, and S from the Cathedral Library of Salisbury. C is a collection of manuscript leaves which survive from the dismemberment of what was once a handsome seven-volume *Passionale* for the entire liturgical year, written in Christ Church scriptorium before 1128. It was dismembered in the late sixteenth century and used for rent receipts and mutilated. The present volume in Canterbury contains leaves from at least four of these volumes and was bound together in 1890. The *Passio* survives only as a twenty-three-line acephalous excerpt beginning . . . *prior reddendo spiritum Perpetua* (XXI.8). However, although C is not particularly useful in constructing an edition or in determining manuscript relationships, I have compared the lines with the other exemplars. MS O, also with a Christ Church Canterbury provenance, is an elegantly written multivolume *Passionale* produced between 1130 and 1150. That indefatigable sixteenth-century bibliophile Sir Robert Cotton purchased it, and it became part of his extensive library. Unfortunately, O was severely damaged in the horrific fire at Ashburnham House on October 23, 1731, which destroyed as much as a quarter of Cotton's manuscripts

and books. The text of the *Passio* was badly charred from the fire, and the intense heat caused the parchment leaves to shrink into a tight ball. The Victorian conservators, hoping to recover textual material, sliced into these balls in an effort at flattening them for binding. Unfortunately, this caused even more loss, since sometimes they sliced through lines of text. While MS O does contain the entirety of the *Passio*, it is so severely damaged that much of it cannot be read even with the assistance of ultraviolet light. I have used the readings selectively where legible, but I have been unable to collate this exemplar in extenso. N (figure 7.7) is the first volume of a handsome two-volume *Passionale* written for the monastic community of St. Mary's Priory, Worcester, toward the end of the eleventh century. Although it too was in the Ashburnham fire, it was little damaged, and here the serious damage is restricted to the first three fols. It was evidently intended to contain other readings in addition to passions and martyrologies, as is evident in Saint Augustine's sermon on the "Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mother" (f.142rb, l.15). S (figure 7.8) appears to have been written as a liturgical *Passionale* for the community of canons resident in Salisbury Cathedral at the end of the eleventh century. It is a workaday volume, as is evident in the quality of the parchment, presumably intended as a daily office book. For example, fols. 98 and 106 contain holes—a not uncommon finding in parchment leaves—which were present when the parchment was prepared and readied for writing. The scribe simply wrote his text around them.

While there is a strong affiliation among the texts of the *Passio* in the manuscripts with English provenance, these four MSS derive from different exemplars. N and S often share a reading which all other MSS do not. For example, N and S both read *post paucos dies* (VII.1), and they share uniquely with P the reading of the verb *profero* where the other exemplars employ *proficiscor*. N and S alone agree in their reading of *et Satyrus benedictam* (XI.1), against all others which read *et Satyrus benedictus* (emphasis added). However, N and S also disagree in a number of readings, which indicate they descend from a different exemplar. N alone reads *occurrit quod audiremus* (V.1) where S, agreeing with all the other Latin exemplars, reads *occurrit quod audiremur*. N uniquely notes (combining letters and numerals) that the four angels who assist Saturus and Perpetua are *ab ipsis iiiiior angelis* (XI.5). All other texts read *quattuor*. In the important discussion about delaying Felicity's execution because she was in the eighth month of her labor, N alone omits mention of the precise month—and thus misses the significance in Roman law of pregnancy in the execution of a woman—reading *pro naturae difficultate mensis* (c.xv.5). All other Latin exemplars read *octavi mensis*.

The exemplar of the *Passio* in MS P is contained in a collection of saints' lives (fourteen in total) for the month of March. As I state in my commentary, it was undoubtedly part of a much larger collection, perhaps running to as many as a dozen volumes. Its provenance is the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Corneille in Compiègne and was written for use in the monastery toward the end of the tenth century. The gathering of these fourteen lives only represents a part of the calendar for March and suggests that some texts were lost before the nineteenth-century rebinding. While P agrees most often with the most complete English manuscripts, and while it is somewhat earlier than either N or S, it was not part of the tradition from which they were copied, as the three exemplars can be

shown to disagree. For example, both N and S name and identify the city where the martyrs are from as Turbitana. P, however, lacks any mention of the city. P alone of the manuscripts does not open the second paragraph with the mention of their arrest (M, *Apprehensi sunt adolescentes cathecumini . . .*) but begins acephalously: *Revocatus et Felicitas conserua eius*. P appears to agree more often with S than it does with N. For example, N begins c.xviii.1 *Inluxit dies* where P and S read *Illuxit dies*. However, P can differ from either N or S, as in its use of the present tense in c. xxi.5, *eius petit* where N and S adopt the perfect *petiit*. P uniquely reads *per infirmitatem cancerata* where N and S and all the other exemplars read *infirmitatem faciem*. In that same line, P reads *annorum vii* where N and S read *annorum septem*.

I have adopted MS M as the copy text for the present edition because of its completeness and comparative lack of textual corruption. I have provided lemmata at the bottom of the page citing noteworthy variants (Chapter 4). I have also placed significant textual emendations in the commentary (see I.1, *repensatione*). The stemma below begins with what might be called the three Urtexts, those of Perpetua, of Saturus, and of the Christian editor R. It is impossible to say in what form R received the two autobiographies. However, I think it likely that he received them in a form close to what we have today, as the Latinity of the three narratives is sufficiently different in lexicon, syntax, and style. R constructed the present version of the *Passio*, incorporating the narratives of Perpetua and Saturus, sometime before the end of the first decade of the third century. R's hybrid text is the version I have labeled autograph. Six centuries separate the autograph version of the *Passio* from the earliest extant manuscript, G. Comments from Augustine, Quodvultdeus, and others underscore the popularity of the *Passio* in the mid-fifth century among the populace and thus speak to the existence of a considerable number of manuscripts in circulation. Despite such apparent cultural presence in early medieval Africa, it is virtually impossible to account for the textual tradition during the half millennium separating its composition from the earliest extant manuscript. The paucity of manuscripts from the period of composition until the ninth century is due in part to the subsequent destruction of these late antique Christian Latin manuscripts of African provenance in the Vandal depredations and the Muslim conquests of the mid-seventh century. The study of the dispersal of Christian Latin manuscripts from Africa to Europe after the Muslim conquest is only now being undertaken, and one hopes with greater study more manuscripts with an African provenance will come to light, as well as the paths of their migration from Africa to Europe.

The stemma below shows that the Greek text is a translation of a no longer extant Latin text that was closely related to M, as the translated text was also derived from *a*. In trying to account for the differences between M and all subsequent Latin exemplars, I see at least three distinct later traditions, which all derive from exemplar β . Manuscript A seems to be the most closely dependent on β , while the Swiss manuscripts G and E are dependent on an additional exemplar which I have labeled γ . The second important exemplar is δ , and it is the ancestor of P. The manuscripts of English provenance are descended from δ , but I postulate that another exemplar closely related to P influenced the copying of S, N, O, and C. While there are strong similarities, as I indicted above, between P and some of the

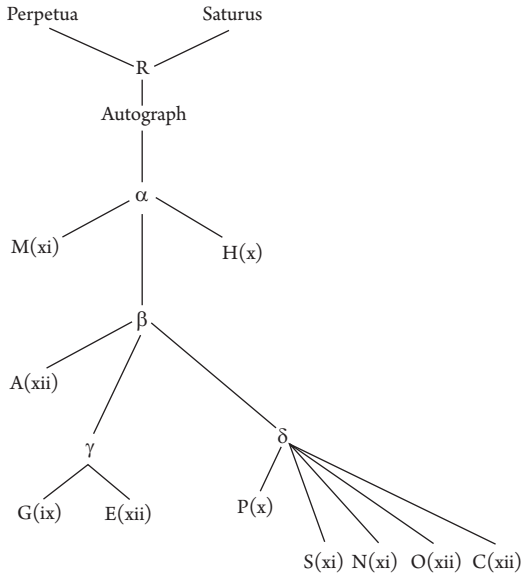


Plate 7.1: Stemma

English manuscripts, there are sufficient textual divergences to assume that there may have been a no longer extant English exemplar between δ and the four extant English manuscripts.

While the descriptions below follow a similar format, if there is no instance of a particular phenomenon or if it proves to be of little significance for an individual MS, for example MS repairs or erasures, I do not list the category (see MS M). Although it would have been preferable to treat every MS with a uniform format, the state of preservation of the MSS sometimes precluded this. Hence, for example, MS C has an entry for “largest folio” because its leaves were dismembered in the sixteenth century, and they have been reset in modern parchment surrounds and rebound. Hence also the entry “Modern Conservation” for MS C. The bibliography cited after each MS description is not intended to be exhaustive but rather to provide access to the better discussions of the MSS, and it is provided in chronological order. All measurements are in millimeters unless stated differently.

B. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript Name: Monte Cassino 204.

Sigil: M.

Subject: (1) *Epistolae Cypriani*, fols. 1r–164r. (2) *Dispositio cene nuptialis facta a Cecilio Cypriano*, fols. 164v–168v. (3) *Passio*, fols. 170r–175r.

Provenance: Disputed. Fols. 1–169 are Beneventan script and are likely Monte Cassino. Fols. 170–75 are in a different hand. The scribe writes a Caroline script, but these fols. do not follow Beneventan conventions, and could have been written by a visiting monk,

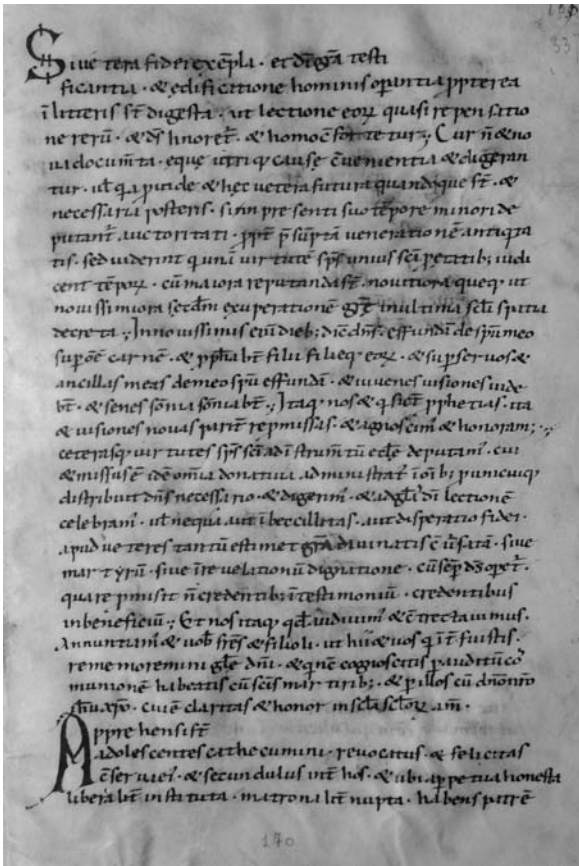


Plate 7.2: M Monte Casino 204

or have been brought to the monastery from outside, perhaps southern France. Newton believes they exhibit some signs of a South Italian influence (pp.317, 325, 366–67).

Date: ca. last third of the eleventh century. Fol. iv verso: Written in ink on fol. iv verso is “saec xi, ul-vis (E.A.L.).” The initials inside the parenthesis are those of E.A. Lowe. Fol. v recto: written here is “Codex seculi X. post annum 950.” This script is older than that on fol. iv verso.

Contents:

1. Fol.1r 164r *Incipit Epistola Cipriani ad Silvanum et Regianum*. It ends correctly with an explicit.
2. Fol. 164r–168v: *Incipit cena nuptialis facta a Cecilio Cypriano*. At fol. 164r there then begin four fols. of lists of names. The names and accompanying descriptors are written in four columns down each leaf. The list contains Biblical patriarchs and their spouses, men and women from the New Testament and some non-Scriptural personalities such as Thecla. Each name is

followed by a phrase. For example, in the first column on 164v, there is the name “Eva” [Eve] followed in the second column (but immediately to the right of “Eva”) the phrase “super folium.” To the right of “Eva” on this same fol. is the name “Iacobus” followed by the phrase “super Reab.” A few names below we see on fol. 164v: “Moyses” followed to the right by “super lapidem” and to the right of that is Rebecca and to Rebecca’s right “pallium,” followed by fol. 165r “Danihel” and to the right “Leoninam,” “Adam” and to the right “Pelliciam,” “His,” and the right “Columbinam.” The lists end on fol. 168v with “Explicit Cena Cypriani.”

3. Fol. 168v–169v. At the bottom of fol. we read: “Incipit Oratio Cipriani.” Fol. 169r: this fol. is darkened, and the script heavily abbreviated and difficult to read. The first line begins: “D[omi]ne s[an]c[t]e pa[ter] agios d[ominus].” The scribe ran out of space or for other reasons did not wish to begin a new quire and so changed the number of lines on the verso side. Fol. 169r contains twenty-nine lines, but on fol. 169v he squeezed in forty-six. The last word written in the lower inside margin of fol. 169v is “Felicia” with an abbreviation mark over the final *a*, perhaps *Feliciam* or *Feliciae*?
4. Fol. 170r. The *Passio* begins. It has neither an incipit nor a header which would provide an identifying title. The *Passio* begins “Sive Tera fidei exempla et dei gratiam Testificantia.” Note that the first two words are written separately: “Sive [space] Tera” (for *Si vetera*). See section on collation below.

Number of Folios: v + 175 + v. Note that of these five end sheets, only two are old—that is, end leaves iv and v. The other three (i, ii, iii) were added at the time the manuscript was rebound in the twentieth century (?), and the paper is discernibly newer.

Material: Good-quality parchment throughout. Most of the leaves are of high quality—white and thin. The layout shows the arrangement of fols. according to flesh-flesh, hair-hair in most instances (for example, fols. 147r flesh, 147v hair, 148r hair, 148v flesh). The leaves are uniform in thickness except for those of the *Passio*, which are thicker and darkened, suggesting they may have had a different placement in this volume or in a different composition or they may have been unbound prior to being placed in this manuscript. They are consistently thicker than those used for the Cyprian letters.

On a few occasions the scribe has employed leaves which were defective from the time of their making. For example, on fol. 122 the lower right-hand side is missing a piece, which is scalloped out in a curving fashion (140 cm long × 38 cm at widest at the bottom of the fol.). The scribe has simply written around this curve in the parchment. For example, on fol. 122v we read written on the edge of the curve (*de locis pagina liberata*). Fol. 99 has a similar shaped scalloping, but it is bigger, measuring in length 180 mm and in width 30 mm. On fol. 12, there is a hole measuring 24 mm in length × 26 mm wide in the inside margin, which the scribe has simply written up to.

Columns: Single columns throughout, except for fols. 164r–168v.

Lines per Folio: Selection 1, the letters of Cyprian, average between 25 and 29. Selection 2, 29 lines per fol. Selection 3, 32 lines per fol., last fol. 175v, 22 lines.

MS Size:

Average size: width 181 and 270 length

Largest fol.: 11r width 186 and 272 length

Reconstructed: width (not damaged) and (not damaged) length

Passio average: width 183 and 270 mm length.

Pricking: Visible throughout in outside margin very close to the edge.

Catchmarks: Only one instance apparent on fol. 8v.

Foliation: 1–5⁸, 6⁷, 7⁷, 8–16⁸, 17⁷, 18–19⁸, 20⁴, 21⁸, 22¹, 23⁴. The quires were all eights, save for 20. Quires 6 and 7 are missing a fol. each. Quire 17 is missing either 139 or 140 depending on which numbering system one adopts. Quire 20 has only four fols. Quire 22, which contains the *Passio*, is somewhat different. Fol. 170 is a singleton; fol. 171 has been cut away, and all that remains is a 12.7 mm stub in the gutter; fol. 172 begins a new gathering of four leaves. We cannot be certain from a codicological standpoint why 171 was excised. The excision was likely done prior to the actual composition, as 171 was deemed unnecessary. They would have had to end on a single fol., given the line length of each fol., and it made better sense in putting the quire together to have the singleton where it was than at the end of the quire. I will follow the modern pencil numbering which appears in the middle bottom margin of every recto.

There are three numbering systems used on the leaves; none are medieval, and all are Arabic rather than Roman. The earliest system is written in ink in the upper right-hand corner of every recto and may be eighteenth century. Directly beneath this is a pencil number written very faintly (perhaps faded). The two numbering systems are rather different. The early one numbers fols. in the traditional manner, recto and verso. The pencil records leaves as page numbers, numbering both recto and verso as different page numbers. For example, fol. 154 (old numbering) is page number 309 (in pencil). In the lower central margin of every recto fol. there is a new modern pencil number. For this same page it gives the fol. as 156r.

Quire numbers followed by fol. number they begin on: 1–9r; 2–17r; 3–25r; 4–33r; 5–41r; 6–49r; 7–55r; 8–63r; 9–71r; 10–79r; 11–87r; 12–95r; 13–103r; 14–111r; 15–119r; 16–127r; 17–135r; 18–142r; 19–150r; 20–154r; 21–162r; 22–170r.

Running Heads: None.

Lineation: (ink quality, etc): The ink is typically black, and the contrast with the white parchment makes it most legible. Occasionally there are fols. where the ink is faded and not easy to read, for example fols. 125v–126r. Perhaps the ink in the quill was insufficient for fol. 125v, because it is dark again on fol. 126v.

Capitals: There are few large capitals. For example, on fol. 148v in the lower left-hand side of the fol. at the beginning of Cyprian's letter to Stephen, the initial **C** in Cyprian is in red ink and large, measuring 39 mm high × 20 mm in width. The **C** has a distinctive shape with its middle pinched and looks like a backwards 3. Here is how it appears: "Incipit ad Stephanum de Concilio. . . 3yprianus. (The waist of the **C** is pinched as indicated above, and the pinched **C** in his name is 29 mm long × 19 mm wide.) This majuscule **C** is used elsewhere; see the rubricated *Cyprianus* on fol. 161v. Note that this same capital **C** beginning Cyprian's name is the majuscule which begins the work on fol.

1r. There the incipit begins *Incipit Epistola Cipriani ad Silvanum et [in] regionem in Metallo Constitutos. Cypriani Martyribus et Confessoribus ihesu Christi domini nostri in Domino.*

Historiated Capitals: None.

Illuminations: None.

Rubrics: The rubricator is the same hand throughout. For example, compare the rubrics on fols. 56v, 57r, and 134v. There is no one single strategy employed in the use of rubrics. They are used sometimes to depict incipits (fol. 1r and 134v), but sometimes they are not used for incipits; see fol. 139r and fol. 17v. In other instances, selections of the text extending from three to five lines of Cyprian's letters are rubricated without any apparent reason; see fols. 95r and 144v. Furthermore, there is no consistent use of rubrication to highlight the beginning of capitals or paragraphs.

Corrections: The texts are comparatively free of corrections. There are instances where an entire line has been removed through abrasion with pumice (see last line fol. 45r). Words left out in copying are added as superscripts in a small script; see fol. 3v, line 15. The corrector has often simply drawn a line through otiose or incorrect copying to be deleted; see 118v and fol. 41r, where an entire line beginning "In opere elemosinis . . ." has been drawn through.

Punctuation: There is punctuation in the MS. The *Passio* consistently uses the *punctus* to end a sentence, for example fol. 137r, l.19. The *punctus elevatus* is also used, but less frequently (see fol. 148r, l.14), and it suggests less of a pause. The *Passio* scribe uses the *punctus* almost exclusively, save in two instances: fol. 172r, l.20 following *vicerit* and 174r, l. 22 following *quidem*.

Marginalia: There are few marginalia. The longest extended marginal comment appears on fol. 5v. In the margin next to the incipit *Divi Caecili Libellus unus Fortunatum . . .* we read the marginal notation *Io Maria Genuesis, lectori. Cum videre candide lector in hoc libro Diivi C. Cypriani, tum titulum, tum principium desideravi, Longobardis nihilominus figurae depicto, tamen quia +se puist+ evenit ut de emendatis inemendata et non +numt+ quibus emendata corrigantur ne liber [. . .] falo esset, titulum et principium ex Erasmiana correctione impressis exemplaribus apposui.* There are small circles with an oblique line drawn through them, which often appear in the margin denoting an incipit. There are no figures, doodles, pointing hands, fingers, *nota bene* signs, etc.

Margins: Cropping is evident on fols. 150 and 151, but it was likely minimal elsewhere, since the manuscript leaves were clearly prepared for this size from the outset. For example, on fol. 150 a marginal annotation written perpendicularly to the text was cropped, and thus now only part of the letter forms remain. This was done after the fol. was written, since it is hardly likely that the annotation would have been prior to the main text.

The outside edges of the leaves have been decorated with colored ink. Holding the manuscript shut, the edges appear as muted reds, violet, and black. All the fols. of the manuscript are so treated, and this suggests that the entire volume was together when this was done, including the leaves of the *Passio*. It is a decorative feature.

Width: outside 30–35 mm, inside 15 mm.

Length: top 10–15 mm, bottom 30–35 mm.

Written Surface: width 135 mm, height 220 mm.

Drypoint: Used throughout. There is no lead point used. Fol. 104r is a nice example as the drypoint continues beyond the written lines of text into the margin and is very visible. See also fol. 153r, which is entirely blank and only shows the drypoint awaiting the scribal text, which was never written. The drypoint layout for the leaves shows a difference after fol. 154. Prior to 154r there is one vertical line, which frames the inside and outside margin. After fol. 154 there are two lines approximately 6 mm apart, which frame these margins. The quality of the parchment changes at this point, being thicker and likely less select.

Hands: There are two hands. Hand number one is responsible for the bulk of the manuscript from fol. 1r through 169v. Hand number two is responsible for the entire text of the *Passio* from fol. 170r through 175v. Although scribe number one can vary the size of his script when necessary, for example, to complete a text of a given piece of parchment, it is nonetheless the same hand, as the letter forms are the same, albeit smaller. The standard size of his lowercase letters is 2.5–3 mm. Those letters like s and r, which have descenders, or f, which has an ascender, are typically 5 mm; see fol. 85r for examples of these. When he chooses to reduce his letter size, the lowercase letters are 2 mm, and those with descenders and ascenders are 3.5 mm; for examples see fol. 162r.

The second hand does not seem to employ Beneventan script. The ductus of the two hands are strikingly different. Hand number one has an upright ductus and a formal look, with the letters individually shaped, and has an angular appearance. Hand number two has an artfully done ductus which leans to the right and provides the feeling of a cursive influence in the script. Even the letter sizes are different. The letter sizes of hand number two, particularly the nondescenders and ascenders, average about 1 mm larger than those of hand 1, and are approximately 3.5 mm in height.

The scribe of the *Passio* employs a Caroline script but does not use the standard Beneventan script. His letter forms for lowercase a, r, d, t, e, and n are distinct from the rest of the manuscript. His majuscules are also different; see for example his distinctive use of capital Q compared to the Beneventan script throughout. The ampersand is also distinctively different.

Binding: The manuscript has been recently bound, perhaps in the twentieth century. The binding is brown wooden boards with brown calf leather covering the entire spine and folding midway around both front and back wooden covers. It is a utilitarian binding.

Bibliography

Reifferscheid, August, “Die Bibliothek von Monte Cassino,” *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, 2. *Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Philologische—Historische Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 2, ix (Vienna: 1871): 91–97. He only lists Cyprian’s works but does date the entire MS x–xi cent (91).

Ramsey, H.L., “Our Oldest MSS of St. Cyprian, III: The Contents and Order of the Manuscripts LNP,” *JTS* 3 (1902): 585–94. He refers to MS 204 as N and makes the singular observation that the *Passio* passage is “in a later (post-Lombardic) hand.”

Codicum casinensium Manuscriptorum cura et studio Monachorum S. Benedicti. Vol. II, pars 1 & 2 (Monte Cassino: 1928–34), pp. 4–5, dates the MS as eleventh century but notes that the fols. of the *Passio* are earlier and in a Caroline hand “etiam pagina integra sed littera Carolina saec. x–xi sunt descriptae,” with which judgment I agree.

Shewring, W. H., “En marge de la Passion des Saintes Perpétue et Félicité,” in *Revue Bénédictine* 43 (1931): 15–22. Shewring, in a discussion of MSS variants, dates M as eleventh century and dates MSS P (tenth), S (which he believed lost: “le ms est perdu”), A (end of tenth), and H (tenth).

Newton, Francis. *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp. 317, 325, 366–67.

Manuscript Name: Ambrosiana C 210, infer.

Sigil: A.

Subject: A collection of miscellaneous texts, including Augustine on the Psalms (fols.119 through 134), a collection of saints’ festivals, and Pope Leo’s treatise on the *Translation of St. James*, concluding with an acephalous and as yet unidentified treatise on the faith.



Plate 73: A Ambrosiana C.210 infer

Provenance: The monastery of San Savino of Piacenza. Fol. 1r records the provenance in faint tan ink of eight lines and in a hand of the same period as the texts of the MS.

The donation to the Ambrosiana is written on flyleaf iii in a contemporary hand of the seventeenth century and states that the manuscript came to the Ambrosiana in 1603. Fol. iv (my numbering 1) states that before the manuscript was given to the Ambrosiana it was owned by James Bechetus, the Secretary to the Duke (of Milan?) and that he gave it to the Franciscan house in Milan (though the precise location of the house is not stated) on 22 February 1572, with the proviso that they agree to say mass and the divine office in his memory in the chapel of Saint Ludovicus: *MDLXXII die XXII februarii hunc librum donatur magnificus d. Iacobus bechetus ducalis Secretarius Conventui Sancti Francisci in eius defunctorum suorum memoriam ad hoc ut fratres dicti couentus celebrent missas as diuina offitia in eius capella nuncupata sancti Luodouici.*

Date: s.xii.²

Contents: fourteen miscellaneous items.

1. fol. 1ra–63va: Augustini in Psalmos 119:134
2. fol. 63vb: Augustini ad Valerium
3. fol. 81ra: Passio Sancti Barnabae
4. fol. 83ra: De Natali Sancti Matthaei
5. fol. 87vb: De Natali Sancti Vincentii
6. fol. 88vb: Augustini de Natali Missa Candidatorum
7. fol. 89rb: Augustini de libro Cypriani de Sancto Quadrato
8. fol. 92ra: De Natali Petri et Pauli
9. fol. 93ra: Homilia Sancti Augustini
10. fol. 95ra: In Natali Confessorum
11. fol. 96vb: Augustini de Natali Virginum
12. fol. 100va: De Martyribus Hyacinthi et Eugeniae
13. fol. 109vb: Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis
14. fol. 115ra: Papae Leonis de Translatione Sancti Iacobi
15. fol. 117ra: An acephalous text beginning *ut quidem et melius est alicui ut aliqua atrocissima pena condempnatur temporalem mortem*. It ends as a fragment with the sentence: *Quia dixerat dominus ue esse homini per quem.*

Number of Folios: ii + 116 + ii. There is a seventeenth-century system of foliation in Arabic numerals in the upper right-hand corner of the recto of every leaf. This same hand numbered the flyleaves as well. The first three paper flyleaves are numbered correctly as i, ii, and iii. However, the next leaf is parchment, and it is actually part of the first quire, yet it nonetheless is numbered as number iv as if it were a part of the front matter flyleaves. The scribe does not begin his text of Augustine on this recto iv/1ra but on 2ra. Presumably the first leaf was kept blank for a dedication page and also to protect the first fol. of Augustine's *Ennarationes in Psalmos* from wear. The result of this old fol. numbering system is off numerically by two leaves, since the enumerator did not count either the flyleaf leaf or number 10, which is but a stub. Hence his leaf 117, his last leaf, is actually 119, since the first parchment leaf is not front matter but an actual leaf, and he has missed number 10 in the first quire.

Material: Good parchment throughout, except for the last fol., which is worn and aged from exposure.

Columns: Double throughout.

Lines per Folio: 37

MS Size:

Average size: width 260–65 mm and 360 mm length

Reconstructed: width 260–65 mm and 365 mm length.

Pricking: Yes, throughout.

Catchmarks: Yes. There are six extant catchmarks: Fol. 56v, *aliquid*; fol. 80vb, *peccata conpuncta sum*; fol. 88v, *ergo anima eorum dominum*; fol. 96, *hodie volui recitare*; fol. 104, *me[is?] libertata fuisse solatio*; fol. 112v, *et conturbauerunt eos*.

Quire Signatures: There are four extant quire signatures in Roman numerals left on fols. 24v (iii), 32v (iiii), 40v (v), and 48v (vi). The others must have been cropped off.

Foliation: 1⁰ (missing leaf 10, only stub in gutter), 2–15.⁸ Quire 15 is missing leaves 1, 5, and 6; 5 and 6 are stubs in the gutter and have stuck together from being mashed together over the centuries.

The quire number plus the recto fol. it begins on is given in the parentheses which follow: 1(1), 2(9), 3(17), 4(25), 5(33), 6(41), 7(49), 8(57), 9(65), 10(73), 11(81), 12(89), 13(97), 14(105), 15(113).

Running Heads: None.

Lineation (ink quality, etc): The ink is a faded sienna color throughout.

Initials: There are decorated initials throughout.

Capitals: There are eleven large decorated capitals; five of them are of figures. The quality of the drawing is not of the highest order, but the figures do have a naive charm.

Historiated Capitals: Fol. 1ra, unidentified letter **B** or **L**; fol. 6ra, capital letter; fol. 12ra, rampant unidentified beast; fol. 17va, letter **A**; fol. 26ra; fol. 38rb, rampant horse; fol. 43rb, letter **P**; fol. 46va, letter **O**; fol. 63vb, letter **P**; fol. 81ra, dragon twined on letter **A**; fol. 100va, letter **S**; fol. 109vb, letter **A**.

Illuminations: Although there are various figures of beasts and one of a man struggling with a beast (fol. 29rb, man against dragon), these letters have backgrounds done in red, green, yellow, and sepia ink and often use the parchment itself to depict the skin of the figure.

Rubrics: There is no systematic use of rubrication throughout the manuscript. Incipits are typically rubricated, fol. 163va. Some explicits, fol. 21vb, are rubricated but not all. See fol. 83ra, where the explicit for St. Barnabas is not rubricated, but the following incipit for the feast of St. Matthew is. Section number 2 alone uses rubricated majuscules (20 mm high × 12 mm wide) to mark the beginnings of new paragraphs.

Corrections: The MS is comparatively free from corrections. Those corrections which appear are made above the element to be corrected. For example, fol. 37rb, *qui* is inserted above *quia* in the phrase *hoc dico quia excutit*. Marginal corrections are far fewer. See fol. 21va, line 15, where *sedendo fatigatur* appears in the margin with two small carets indicating its appropriate placement in the line. The corrections are occasionally made in different ink and possibly in a different hand. See fol. 31ra, line 22, *exsufflaret*.

Punctuation: The *punctus* is principally used to end a thought throughout. See fol. 24. Hands three and four used the *punctus elevatus* as well; see fols. 15ra, and 117rb.

Margins:

Outside: 65 mm

Top: 65 mm

Bottom: 75 mm

Gutter: 24 mm

The space between the columns varies and measures 15–20 mm.

Drypoint: Used throughout. Ruled on one side only, and the subsequent depression in the leaf was sufficient to allow lineation on both recto and verso.

Hands: There are four hands present: (1) fols. 1r–75rb; (2) 75va–114vb; (3) 115ra–115vb; (4) 117ra–117vb. The hands are in Italian Caroline.

Binding: The spine is a worn brown leather, which is wrapped and extends over front and rear boards some 45 mm. The boards themselves appear to be a heavy cardboard covered in worn white parchment.

Bibliography

Boscha, Petrus Paulus, *Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Hemidecas ad Eminentissimum Principem S.R.E. Cardinalem Federicum Borromæum* (Milan: Ludouici Montiae, 1672), pp. 3, 15, 48; Boscha provides an important early account of the library's history and discusses acquisitions.

Montfaucon, de Bernard, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols. (Paris: Briasson, 1739): I, 521, simply notes "S. Perpetuae passio, pergam."

Reifferscheid, August, "Die Ambrosianische Bibliothek in Mailand," in *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, in *Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Philologische—Historische Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 2, ix (Vienna: 1871): 467–568. Reifferscheid does not discuss C.210, inf.

Ceruti, A, "Un codice del Monastero Cistercense di Lucedio," in *Archivio Storico Italiano* serie V, 8 (1881): 365–89.

"Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XI, 2 (1892):74–78, 278–82. The Bollandists give a brief description of C.210, inf. and provide the variant readings that it offers as against that of Monte Cassino 204 and Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale Latin 17626 [Bollandist not named]. See also in the same issue of *Analecta Bollandiana* on pp. 369–73, where a favorable comparison of C.210, inf. with the Greek variant printed by Robinson is given. The Bollandists find that MS C.210, inf. is closer to the Greek than either Monte Cassino or the Paris exemplar. They note that C.210, inf. came to the Ambrosiana via the earlier ownership of one James Becheto, who left it to the Franciscans in Milan (donation noted in a fifteenth-c. hand on fol. 1v): *MCCCCCLXXII, die XXII Februarii. Hunc librum donavit magnificus d. Iacobus Bechetus, ducalis secretarius, conventui sancti Francisci Mediolani.*

Cipriani, Renata, ed., *Codici Miniati dell' Ambrosiana* (Milan: Neri Pozza, 1968), p. 197: dates manuscript as thirteenth c.

Gengaro, Maria Louisa, and Gemma Villa Guglielmetti, eds., "Inventario dei Codici decorati e miniati (saec. vii–xiii) della Biblioteca Ambrosiana," in *Studia e Documenti* 3

(Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1968), pp. 85–86, provide a brief description with a date of beginning of the thirteenth century and a list of miniatures. They argue against the former librarian Ceruti's date of twelfth c. on the basis of the colors used in the illuminations.

Paredi, Angelo, ed., *Inventario Ceruti: Dei Manoscritti dell' Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. 5 vols. (Milan: Etimar, 1973), p. 315: Paredi prints Ceruti's handwritten descriptions of the library's manuscripts. Ceruti provides a one-line description of the manuscript, dates it as thirteenth c., and gives a list of the contents, the *Passio* being number 13, fol. 109ff.

Merrile Ferrari, "Per una storia delle biblioteche francescane a Milano nel Medioevo e nell' Umanesimo," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 72 (1979): 444–45.

Paredi, Angelo, *A History of the Ambrosiana*, trans. Constance and Ralph McInerney (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1983); see pp. 101–10 for a discussion of the groupings of the Latin manuscripts of the Ambrosiana.

Marcora, Carlo, ed., *Catologi dei Manoscritti del Card. Federico Borromeo nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1988), pp. 113–14, 136–37; Borromeo's collectors were actively collecting books of saints' lives, including passionals and martyrologies, but MS C.210, inf. was not in the library when this catalogue of 146 manuscripts was compiled.

Jordan, Louis, and Wool, Susan, eds., *Inventory of Western Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 3 vols. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1984–89). Although they only discuss the superior manuscripts, their bibliography on the manuscripts of the Ambrosiana is very good, and it should be consulted.

Manuscript Name: MS St. Gallen 577.

Sigil: G.

Subject: A *Legenda Sanctorum* and *Passionale*, with a strong representation of local saints.

Provenance: The monastic scriptorium of the Benedictine abbey of Saint Gallen.

Date: s.ix/x.

Contents: The complete contents are given in Scarpatetti (pp. 90–6).

The first *vita*, the *Vita Sancti Ermenlandi Abbatis*, may have lost lines. The last line written in pencil on page 7 ends *enim in ea oratorium inpar*. This parchment leaf is followed by two paper leaves. The next parchment leaf (pencil 21a) begins *+uamine+ velocius consummasset*.

Liturgical Calendar: Page 3 has a calendar listing the *vita* and the *passiones* contained in the MS. The calendar begins with the following sentence written in capitals (4 × 4 mm) in red ink: "In nomine Domini Salvatoris incipiunt capitula libri sequentis." The items are listed as follows: first in the left margin, with their number of occurrence (i, ii, iii) followed by the title of the text. Following the name is a fol. number written in a tiny cursive fifteenth-century script. The last item given written in red is the date in the calendar in which the item appears, hence viii. K apr.

Here are the first two and the forty-eighth item as examples:

- i. *Vita Sancti Ermenlandi Abbatis* fol. primo viii K apr.
- ii. *Passio Sancti Meginradi heremite* xix xii K Febr. xlviiii. *Item de sancto Dyonisio Episcopi* cccl vii Id Oct.

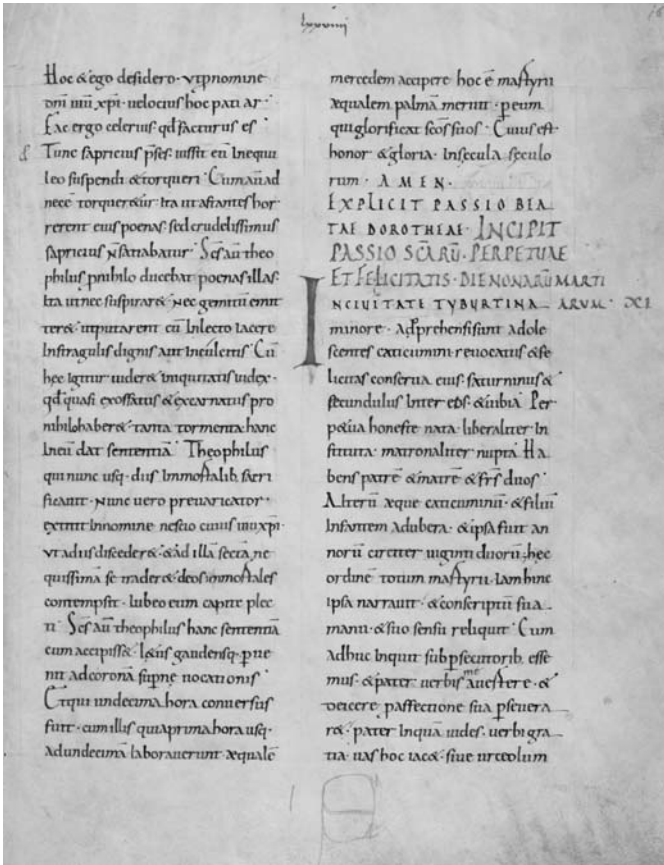


Plate 7.4: G St. Gallen 577

There is another medieval table of contents on page 5, which lists twenty items, none of which, however, are saints' feasts. The items in this table have a decidedly monastic orientation, for example: *De cella in qua amore vite contemplative se reclausit & de*. None of these items, however, are found in the present manuscript.

Number of Folios: 754 pages. The codex is substantial and was paginated in the late twentieth century. Although the evidence of the medieval foliation is no longer legible, the presence of medieval quire signatures (page 22b) suggests it was foliated at the time of composition (see **Foliation** below).

Material: Good-quality parchment, but it has darkened through use. The manuscript does not follow any consistent format of matching flesh-flesh, hair-hair.

Columns: Double columns throughout.

Lines per Folio: 28, average.

Size:

Average size: width 255 mm × 345 mm length

Largest fol.: p. 451, width 260 mm × 345 mm length

Pricking: Throughout; see p. 407. Most of the pricking holes have been cropped, however.

Catchmarks: Quire signatures are initially given in letters (see p. 22 b) and later in the MS in Roman numerals in a small cursive hand of the fifteenth century (see p. 249, vii).

Foliation: 1^s (lacking 1,2,7,8), 2^s, 3¹² (lacking leaves 4, 9, 12), 4^s, 5⁶, 6^{s-8^s}, 9⁴ (lacking leaves 5, 6, 7), 10^s, 11^s, 12^s, 13^s, 14^s, 15^s, 16^s, 17², 18^s, 19^s, 20⁶, 21^s, 22^s, 23^s, 24^s, 25^s, 26^s, 27^s, 28^s, 29⁶, 30^{s-36^s}, 37^s (lacking leaves 7, 8), 38–39^s (39 lacking leaves 7, 8), 40^{s-48^s} (48 lacking leaves 3, 6, 7, 8).

The manuscript begins with a recto leaf, which is numbered 3 in a modern hand in pencil. The manuscript is paginated continuously from 3 to 754. There is also a fifteenth-century system of foliation written in the middle of every recto page in roman numerals. Quire signatures are provided in a twelfth-century hand in the bottom margin (see p. 22b). The first leaf of the manuscript (p. 3 in pencil) contains no medieval numbering. The first medieval fol. number to appear is 1, written on a verso. This verso leaf also contains the penciled number 6.

The first gathering is an 8 but is lacking the first and last leaves (i and viii). Between the first and the second gathering are two thick blank paper pages, likely late sixteenth-century paper. The first gathering is sewn mid-quire between penciled leaves 10 and 11 and joins the quire to the spine. Page 11 contains the correct fol. number *iiii* in the top margin.

Pages 3 through 5 were not assigned fol. numbers in the fifteenth century. The reason for this is that these leaves contain a festal calendar only and are not part of the actual text. The fifteenth-century fol. numbers only appear on the text leaves. Hence the first full leaf of actual narrative text, the *Vita sancti Ermenlandi Abbatis*, is in pencil on number 6 (a verso). The first medieval fol. number (ii) begins correctly on p. 7. My analysis of the foliation agrees with the mid-quire sewing, with the medieval fol. numbering and the quire signatures. Quire number 2—twelfth-century quire signature “b” appears in the bottom margin—begins correctly on page 21; this page also shows the fifteenth-century fol. number *vii* of this leaf number.

Running Heads: None.

Lineation (ink quality, etc): The quality of the ink is good throughout, with little fading.

Initials: Yes.

Capitals: Typically, a rubricated capital is the first letter of the first word which begins the actual text immediately following the incipit. For example, p. 427b has a capital **S** (45 mm × 29 mm), which begins the *Passio Felicis et Fortunati*. On page 198a, there is a capital **Dominus** (50 mm × 50 mm), which begins the text for Willibald's preface to *De Vita Actibusque Sancti Bonifacii Archiepiscopi* (see Scarpatetti, 91).

Historiated Capitals: None.

Illuminations: None.

Rubrics: There is no consistent use of rubrics other than that discussed above under capitals. For example, the *Vita Sancti Cassiani*, which begins on page 244, uses capitals to mark every paragraph. These small capitals average 15 mm high. There can be some slight variety in this, however, depending on the letter shape. For example, a **T** (p. 245a), measures 16 mm h × 15 mm w, while an **M** (p. 245b) measures 15 mm h × 24 mm w.

Margins:

Outside—50 mm (from last letter of text)

Top—25–35 mm

Bottom—63 mm

Gutter—25 mm

Between columns—18 mm.

Drypoint: Used throughout. Page 70 is a blank leaf, completely drypointed and ready for writing. Two vertical lines form the uprights for the margin columns. These are bisected at right angles by horizontal lines at the top and bottom. The depressions formed by the stylus are deep, and one can see how readily the scribe wrote in these depressions.

Hands: There are at least ten hands in the manuscript (see Scarpatetti, p. 90). The scribe who copied the *Passio* was also responsible for fols. 153–83. There is at least one instance when two hands appear on the same leaf: on p. 367, hand one in column 1a copied the *Gesta Sancti Germanii Episcopi*, while another hand in column 2b copied the *Passio Sancti Thrutberti Martyris*.

Corrections: There is evidence of a corrector's hand.

Punctuation: The *punctus* is the most commonly used sign to terminate a complete thought, see page 468a, the *Vita Sancti Augustini Episcopi*: *Scio item non solus*. There are two scribes who employ the *punctus elevatus* represented in the *Passio sancti Peregrini Episcopi*; see the line on page 351b: *ubi tunc temporis custodia obscurissima habebatur*.

Marginalia: There are no marginal doodles, drawings (apart from the capital letters), or *nota bene* signs in the leaves. There are a handful of instances when, because of space constraints, the rubricator was forced to draw a roman numeral in the margin; see page 319b, where he has written xviii. There is but one marginal note in the entire codex, and that is in the *Vita Sancti Pirminii* (p. 641a): *Hinc colligitur q[ue] Sanctus Bonifacius †maguntur† sedis archiepiscopi & sanctus Perminius*.

Binding: The binding is medieval. It is made of pine boards with white parchment stretched over the exterior. The parchment is turned over and covers some 40 mm on the inside of the perimeter of each board. Five raised leather straps from the spine are visible, anchored in corresponding grooves cut in the boards. Parchment leaves were formerly glued over the inside surface of the both boards, as they have left their textual imprint on the boards. Three clasps originally locked the manuscript, but presently only one leather clasp survives. The strap is crudely nailed into the top board and fastened to a metal pin on the bottom board.

Bibliography

Scherrer, Gustav, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle: Waisenhauses, 1875), pp. 187–88: dates the MS “ix/x.”

Munding, P. Emmanuel, “Das Verzeichnis der St. Galler Heiligenleben und Handschriften in codex Sangall. No. 566,” *Texte und Arbeiten Erzabtei Beuron*, vols. 3/4 (1918): provides the contents for MS 577 on pp. 99–101 and dates the MS “ix/x.”

Bruckner, Albert, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica: Denkmäler Schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, 14 vols. (Geneva, 1935–78), III: p. 112: dates the MS “ix–x s.”

Von Scarpatetti, B. M., *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, Band 1. Abt. IV: Codices 547–669. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.

Manuscript Name: MS Einsiedeln 250 (382).

Sigil: E.

Subject: Codex Einsiedeln 250 (382) is the fourth volume in a substantial collection of saints' lives and martyrs' passions for the liturgical year. The other three volumes that comprise this collection are Einsiedeln manuscripts number 247(379), 248 (380), and 249 (381). Glued to the inside board of E 250 (382) is a label which identifies this volume as "Vitae Sanctorum Ms 250 (382)."

The physical layout of all four volumes is the same, indicating that they were undertaken as a single project. Every aspect of the volumes is similar: the way marginal corrections are made, the particular dark black ink, the use of pricking, the disposition of the running heads, the use of marginal pointing fingers as *nota bene* signs, the addition of a table of contents on the first or second page of each of the four volumes, the drypoint ruling for the frame, the number of lines (twenty-five), the single columns throughout,

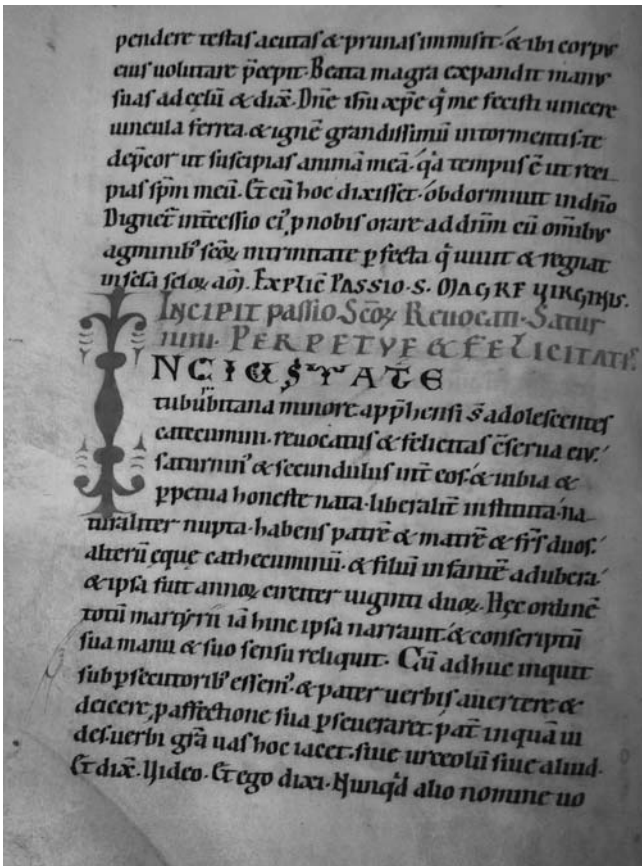


Plate 7.5: E Einsiedeln 250 (382)

and even the sewing to repair parchment damage. The quality of the parchment is remarkably uniform throughout, and the leaves are the same size for all four volumes, averaging 300 × 230 mm. The letters are consistently the same size, averaging 4 mm for lowercase to 5–6 mm for descenders and ascenders. The use of large rubricated capitals, which begin each saint's life or passion, is also the same. The bindings are virtually identical: a light, almost white, parchment stretched over old boards, which contain closing clasps, and leather straps at the top and bottom of the spine for additional strength. Although there are different hands present, the bulk of the composition is the work of one principal scribe. Codices 247, 249, and 250 all appear to be in one hand. However, MS 248 (380) is written by two different scribes—hand one from page 1 to 480, and hand two from 481 to 488.

MS E 247 provides a rubricated calendar for the saints' festivals, assigning them their liturgical importance—for example, assigning them either the status of semi-duplex or duplex for this volume. This calendar includes feasts that appear in some of the other three volumes. However, a note in this calendar (p. 6), written in a different hand in brown ink following the "Passion of Saint Narbor," suggests that the lives which follow "Narbor" are to be found written in the other volumes.

The calendar lists the saints' festivals under their respective months. The entries are incomplete. Under February, we have only Dorothy, Polochronia, Montanus, and Nestorius. For March, the calendar is also limited, providing the names of only six feasts: Albinus, Focus, Deacon Apollonius, Pionus, Teoderius presybter, and Acasius. The calendars in the other volumes are not as elaborate, nor do they assign the solemnity of the feast day, and they are more in the manner of lists than festival calendars.

Date: s.xii. See Bruckner, *Scriptoria* V, pp. 49, 53, 57, 70, 88, 180. There is a possible dating remark on page 2 in MS 247. There we read: "Ex consilio Bonifaci Papae qui quartus a beato greg[orio] fuit quid liceat monachis bene sacerdotali officio ministrare." Could this be a reference to Boniface VIII or IX? A brief two-page treatise then follows.

Contents: This is a *legenda Sanctorum*. It contains a table of contents on page 2, which lists thirty saints' lives and passions and five treatises, which are the last five items in the MS.

1. p. 3: Vita Sancti Syri et Niuentii Episcoporum
2. p. 25: Passio sanctae Eullalie Virginis
3. p. 31: Passio Sancti Valenti Episcopi
4. p. 38: Passio Sanctarum Marie et Marthe et Valentini
5. p. 49: Passio sanctae Iuliane Virginis
6. p. 61: Vita sanctae Walpurgae Virginis
7. p. 74: Passio Sanctae Magre Virginis
8. p. 78: Passio Sanctarum Perpetue et Felicitatis
9. p. 90: Passio Sanctorum Quadraginta Militum
10. p. 102: Passio Sanctae Gerdrudis Virginis
11. p. 129: Passio Sancti Pimenii Presbiteri
12. p. 136: Vita sancti Leonis Pape
13. p. 214: Passio Druthperti Heremite

14. p. 224: Vita Sancti Athansii Episcopi
15. p. 232: Vita Sancti Iuuenalis Episcopi
16. p. 236: Passio Sancti Quiriari Episcopi
17. p. 247: Passio Sanctarum Virginum Fidei, Spei, et Caritatis
18. p. 257: Passio Sanctorum Septem Fratrum Filiorum Sanctae Felicitatis
19. p. 277: Translatio Sancti Alexandri M[artyris]
20. p. 286: Vita sancti Arbogasti Episcopi
21. p. 292: Vita Sancti Abraham heremite
22. p. 310: Penitentia sanctae marie neptis eius [Abraham heremite]
23. p. 322: Passio sancti Felicis
24. p. 332: De Puero †aseam† Maria Liberato
25. p. 333: Epistola Chromati, et Helidori, ad Ierominum
26. p. 334: Epistola Beati Ieromini ad eosdem
27. p. 336: De Infantia Sanctae Marie et Christi Salvatoris
28. p. 362: De Dormitatione S. Marie
29. p. 375: Festa Salvatoris Nostri
30. p. 412: Epistola Herodis (concerns a letter that Herod sent to Pontius Pilate about John's death)
31. p. 413: De Origene (a short treatise on the errors of Origen)
32. p. 414: De XII Lectoribus (a tract identified as by Jerome the Priest directed to Desiderius, containing twelve readings: Augustine, Hylarius, Orienes, Eusebius, Helidorus, Ambrosius, Dardamis, Paulinus, Pelagius, Souianus, Iulianus, Fannonius)
33. p. 418: De Antichristo
34. p. 421: De Die Iudicii (a brief commentary on the signs foretelling the Day of Judgment)

Number of Folios: 426 pages. There is a system of numbering in the MS, but it is confused. It begins by assigning page numbers. Hence, written on the recto side of the first leaf in ink is the number 1, and on its verso, also in ink, is the numeral 2. The next leaf, which is number 2, following this system of pagination is numbered 3. Thus far it is a correct system of pagination. However, on the verso side of this leaf, which is numbered 3, instead of the page number 4 there is written (now in pencil in a modern hand) 3,a. The next leaf is 3b (a recto), and on the next leaf the verso is 4. From this point on the numbering system is paginated correctly to its end at page 426. The problem lies in assigning the leaf numbers 3a and 3b. These should have been simply pages 4 and 5. Thus the pagination is off by two pages. The old pen numbering appears again at the end (see pp. 424, 425, and 426).

Material: Good quality white parchment throughout. It is difficult to determine if the system of flesh facing flesh is used, as the quality of the parchment is uniformly an undarkened white.

Columns: Single columns throughout.

Lines per Folio: 25.

Size of Text Letters:

Lowercase: 4 mm

With descenders and ascenders: 5–6 mm

Uppercase: 7 mm; see pages 25, 63. These uppercase letters are only used in the first word of the text after the rubricated letter. For example, on page 49 in the *Passio Sanctae Iulianae virginis*, the first word of the text is *Martyrum*. The **M** is a rubricated capital (60 mm h × 69 mm w), while the rest of the letters are capitals, not rubricated, and measure approximately 7–8 mm.

Size:

Average size: width 230 mm and 295 mm length

Reconstructed: width 230 mm and 300 mm length

The leaves show some evidence of loss of identifying headers, which give saints' names. It appears that they were cropped approximately 3–5 mm. Fol. 108v has only the very bottom of the letters for the name Gerdrudis, but on its facing fol. 109r the entire name appears at the top of the top margin.

Pricking: Yes. See fol. 181.

Catchmarks: None.

Quire Signatures: Quire signatures are marked with small Roman numerals from ii through xiii; xiv is not marked; xv is; xvi is not; xvii–xx are marked; xxi through xxiv are not; and xxv and xxvi are marked. The last gathering is not marked, since this is the last leaf and very damaged, and none were intended to follow.

Foliation: The MS consists of twenty-seven quires of eights, 1–27⁸. It is only lacking three leaves. Gathering 25 (quire 25) is lacking leaf number 6, which, following the pagination system, should be pp. 393–94. However, the enumerator has simply passed over the stub and numbered the next full page 393 and 394. Quire 26 is lacking leaf 7, which would be page numbers 411 and 412, but once again he passed over and continued numbering the next leaf 411 and 412. Quire 27, the last quire, is also lacking leaf 7, which would be pages 425 and 426, but it is passed over and the last leaf numbered 425 and 426.

Running Heads: Throughout. The name of the particular saint is written in the top margin in the middle of the leaf. In some instances, these have been lost due to cropping. However, see page 109 for the name Gerdrudis. In some instances the verso contains part of the title and the recto the rest. For example, page 34 (which is actually a verso) reads *Passio S[ancti]* and page 35 (a recto): *Valentini Episcopi*.

Lineation (ink quality, etc): The ink is a rich black color throughout and has not faded.

Initials: Are used.

Punctuation: The *punctus* is used throughout (see page 80, l. 25 in the *Passio*). The *punctus elevatus* is also used, but seems to indicate a less-than-full stop; see page 96, l. 8, in the text of the *Passio Sanctorum Quadriginta Militum: Tunc duos iussit eos duci in carcerem! [punctus elevatus here] ut cogitaret aliquid de eis [punctus]*.

Capitals: Large red-ink capitals are used throughout as the initial letter with which to begin the saint's life. For example, on page 31, a capital **P** (101 mm high × 68 mm wide) begins the *Passio Valentini*, with the opening word *Propheta*. In the *Vita Sanctae Walpurgae*

Virginis, page 61, the text begins with a 70 × 70 mm capital **D** with the opening word *Domino*. Additionally, there are occasional uses of large red capitals scattered throughout the texts. For example, in the life of Saint Walpurga, there is a capital **P** (42 mm h × 38 mm w) beginning the word *Postquam*. There are smaller capitals in the *Life of Gerdrudis*. For example, see on page 112, line 7, **Erat** (12 mm h × 11 mm w) and scattered randomly throughout the MS; see page 158, line 24, **Victoriosus** (12 mm h × 20 mm w) in the *Vita Sancti Leonis Pape*. One section of the life of Saint Leo, which purports to indicate the miraculous signs after his burial, employs many of these small capitals. For example, on page 209, ten appear, most of which are 12 × 12 mm.

Historiated Capitals: None.

Illuminations: None.

Rubrics: Incipits are rubricated in red ink, but explicits often are not. Page 224 contains the rubricated incipit *Vita Sanctorum Alexandri et Athansii Episcoporum*, but the explicit, written immediately above this incipit, is not rubricated and simply reads: *Finit Passio Sancti Thrutperti [Heremite]*.

Corrections: The composition has been put together with care. Cuts in the parchment have been carefully sewn; see page 159 in the lower margin, where a 35-mm tear has been sewn, and page 119, where two such repairs have been made. Textual omissions are supplied in the margins. In the margin of page 88, the scribe has written the text of a passage to be inserted and has indicated with three dots in the margin and on the line where the insertion is to go. Another example of this use of dots is on page 334 with the word *uiris* (to be placed after the phrase *domini †armenuis†*) in the outside margin. Corrected letters are occasionally marked above the letter to be replaced with a dot below the offending letter. See page 127, in *sancto exemplo radians*, where the incorrect “e” in *radiens* has a dot beneath it and an “a” directly above it in the line. Sometimes entire words are simply caretred in where they should be. See page 201, where the phrase *in corruptorum* is caretred in before the word *sacramentorum*.

Marginalia: The margins are comparatively free from marginal annotations. However, there is a consistent use of the *nota bene* sign of the long, pointing finger.

Margins:

Outside: 50 mm from drypoint ruled mark to edge of leaf

Top: average 20 mm

Bottom: average 55 mm

Gutter: average 25–30

Drypoint: The MS is entirely in drypoint. There are no lines for formatting text lines in the MS. The drypoint ruling consists of two vertical framing lines approximately 8 mm wide, which run the length of the leaf. There are two horizontal lines, also of 8 mm, which form the frame for the top and bottom lines.

Hands: There is only one hand in the MS for pages 1 through 423. The last two pages, 424 and 425, however, are in two different hands. The texts on page 424 are of the twelfth century, and copies of these texts were made in the thirteenth century on page 425. Page 424 contains the *Salve Regina misericordie, Vigilate omnes*, with neumes, *Alma redemptoris mater*, and ends fragmentarily. Page 425 contains the *Iuxta trenum Jeremie [Trental of Jeremiah]* . . . *nec habebit iudicem, Vigilate omnes* with neumes for singing the *Salve*

Regina . . . O dulcis Maria. The twelfth-century scribe wrote these items on page 424, and they were subsequently copied in a thirteenth-century hand on page 425.

Provenance: Einsiedeln or a related Swiss Benedictine house. There are no ownership attributions in the MS.

Binding: The MS is in its original medieval board binding with white suede-like leather stretched over the boards. The spine has two additional modern brown leather straps at the top and the bottom to strengthen the binding. The top is 18 mm wide and only goes 35 mm into the front and back of the board; the bottom strap is 32 mm wide and goes 45 mm onto the boards. In addition, the MS binding has two leather straps with clasps for closing the MS.

Bibliography

Meier, P. Gabriel, *Heinrich von Ligerz Bibliothekar von Einsiedeln im 14. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1896), pp. 29, 56: dates the MS as XII cent.

———, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlen-sis*, Vol. 1 (Einsiedeln: Harrassowitz, 1899), pp. 215–19: provides very abbreviated description, dates it to twelfth cent. and lists contents.

Lang, Otto. *Das Commune Sanctorum in den Missale-Handschriften und vortridentinischen Drucken der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln* (Ottobeuren: Winfried-Werk, 1970), pp. 8–15.

Albert Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica: Denkmäler schweizerischer Schreib-kunst des Mittelalters*, 14 vols. (Geneva, 1935–78), V: p. 181: dates the MS “xii s.”

Manuscript Name: MS BN Latin 17626.

Sigil: P.

Subject: Thirteen saints’ lives for March. In the top margin of fol. 1r, in a hand of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, we read *Vitae sanctorum q[ui] mense februar.* In the top outer margin, badly faded, there is a list of the contents of the saints whose texts appear in the manuscript, beginning with [*Vita*] *S. Yuentii* and ending with *S. Cyriaci*.

Provenance: There are two ownership attributions in the margins on fol. 1r. They are in a seventeenth-century hand and read *S. Corneille Compiègne* in the top margin in black ink, and “Comp. 40 bis” at both the top and the bottom of the outer margin in black ink. Similar annotations concerning ownership provenance exist on fol. 1r in the sister manuscript BN Latin 17625, which was received by the Bibliothèque Nationale from the Benedictine house of Saint-Corneille Compiègne in 1802.

Date: s.x².

Contents: A selection of saint’s lives for the month of March. This volume is part of a much larger and no longer entirely extant *legenda sanctorum*. For example, BN Latin 17625 (v+ 261 + iv fols.) is, I believe, sister to this volume but not presently identified as such. The two codices, BN 17625 and BN 17626, are virtually identical in layout, quality of parchment, format, and rubrication, and the same scribal hands appear in both volumes. BN 17625 and 17626 also use the same rubricator for incipits as well as capitals (see fol. 62 capital *Beatorum* in BN 17625, a capital which, in style, is very similar to the *Revocatus* in the *Passio* in P). The codices share the same provenance, the Abbey of

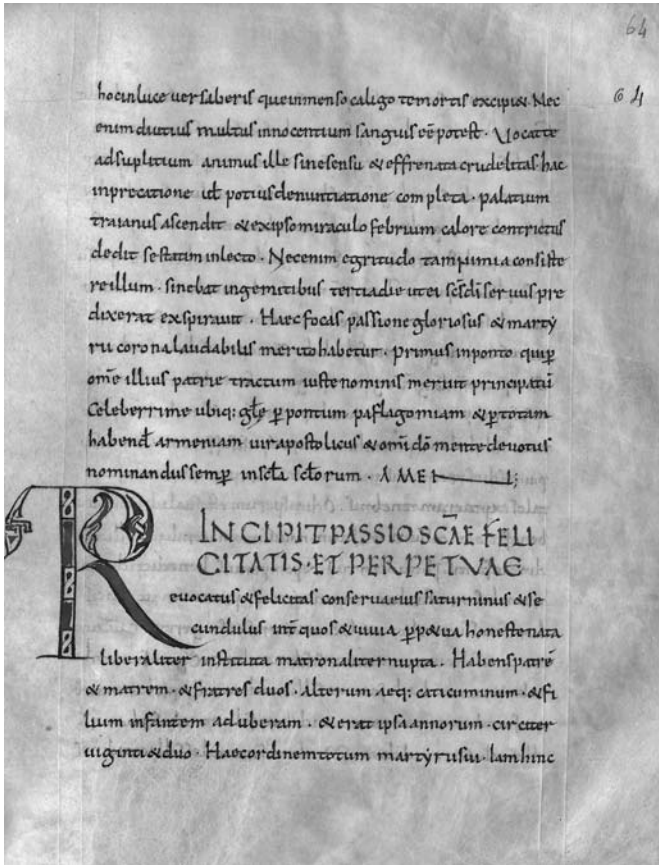


Plate 7.6: P Bibliothèque nationale Latin 17626

Saint-Corneille in Compiègne (but see L. Bieler in bibliography). There is an ownership attribution (seventeenth century) in the front margin and on the last fol. 261v of BN Latin 17625, which cites Saint Corneille as the place of composition.

However, MS BN Latin 17625 is considerably larger, as it contains thirty-three lives and passions for the month of January. BN 17626 is smaller than one would suspect for a *legenda sanctorum* for March, and evidently material has been lost from the original composition. Assuming that these two volumes are part of a complete, but no longer extant, *legenda sanctorum* for the entire liturgical year, the original collection would have been massive, likely running to some dozen codices.

1. Fol. 1r: Sanctus Amandus (seventeen-line fragment, beginning “Alia quidem sunt multa que †pereura† dominus operari dignatus est nobis & quia incognita. . . . Anno incarnationis domini ihesu Christi dclxi In die[m] iiii †Epact† xv Concurr[it] iiii Termino xii KL aprlis pascha v KL aprlis Luna xxi [uul or iiiiil?] id[us] febr die dominico luna i. Obit sancti Amandus plenus annorum circa xc.”)
2. Fols. 1r–4v: Sancti Yuentii

3. Fols. 4v–22v: *Vita Beatae Euphrasie*
4. Fols. 2v–25v: *Passio Sancti Nestorii Episcopi et Martyris*
5. Fols. 25v–31v: *Vita vel Obitus Sancti Vodoali cognomento Benedictus*
6. Fols. 32r–40v: *Epitomes for March saints*. It begins with an epitome of these saints for March. The epitomes average nine to twenty-one lines in length. The epitome for Perpetua begins: “In Mauritania ciuitate tuburbitanorum passio sanctarum martyrum Perptuae & Felicitatis.” . .
7. Fols. 40v–41r: These fols. contain the festival calendar for the saints celebrated in March. The calendar list does not correspond to the saints’ narratives which follow and may indicate some damage to the manuscript. “Kl mensis martius habet dies xxxi Mar Romae sanctorum martyrus cclx temporibus Claudii qui via salaria harenam fodientes dampnati fuerant per Christi nomine.”
8. Fols. 41v–46r: *Sancti Albini*
9. Fols. 46r–55v: *Sancti Adriani*
10. Fols. 56v–64r: *Sanctae Foe*
11. Fols. 64r–71r: *Passio Sanctae Felicitatis et Perpetuae*
12. Fols. 72r–85v: *Vita Sancti Patricii*
13. Fols. 85v–115v: *De Vita vel Miraculis Venerabilis Benedicti*
14. Fols. 115v–122r: *Passio Cyriaci*

Note that Delisle’s list appears very much out of order. Could the MS have been rebound differently after he saw it?

Number of Folios: ii + 122 + ii. The end leaves are all nineteenth-century paper contemporary with the binding.

Material: It is good-quality parchment throughout. There is some deliberate pairing of flesh facing flesh leaves (f = flesh and h = hair; see fols. 29v–30r h; 30v–31r f; 31v–32r h; 53v–54r h, and 54v–55r f). Care was taken in the MS’s composition and layout. The parchment varies in quality. Many of the leaves are rather thick and stiff. The thicker fols. are more prevalent at the beginning (fols. 1–17) and at the end (fols. 112–122). These fols. are slightly thicker than the bulk of the interior leaves (fols. 62–64).

Columns: Single columns throughout.

Lines per Folio: 22

Size:

Average size: width 222 mm and 295 mm length

The size of the leaves is reasonably uniform and consistent throughout.

Pricking: There are no pricking holes in the manuscript.

Catchmarks: There are no catchmarks or quire signatures.

Foliation: 1–14⁸, 15⁶, 16⁴. The MS was tightly rebound at the end of the nineteenth century. We read written on paper leaf ii: “Volume de 122 feuillets. Les feuillets sont mutilé 16 mai 1870.” The rebinding was so tight that it is impossible to determine, without damage to the manuscript, whether the original stitching was maintained after every fourth leaf. It is likely, as the first two gatherings and 15 do illustrate where the stitching separating the midpoint of the quires is visible. The quire number is followed by the fol.

number it begins on in parentheses: 1(1), 2(9), 3(17), 4(25), 6(41), 7(49), 8(57), 9(65), 10(73), 11(81), 12(89), 13(97), 14(105), 15(113), 16(119). The last leaf, 122, has been backed with paper on the verso side.

Quire Signatures: It appears that the first 14 quires are all 8's, and the last two contain six and four leaves respectively.

Running Heads: There are no running headers.

Lineation (ink quality, etc): The ink is a clean dark color throughout (see fol. 64r) and has not faded.

Initials: There are eight large capitals which are not mere rubricated initials.

Capitals:

1. Fol. 1r, **Postquam** (50 mm h × 40 mm w)
2. Fol. 4v, **In** (92 × 25)
3. Fol. 32r, **KL** (40 × 45)
4. Fol. 41v, **Religio** (30 × 25)
5. Fol. 55v, **Sanctorum** (43 × 24)
6. Fol. 64r, **Revocatus** (55 × 75); the most decorated initial of all, employing black and red ink and some foliated design within the **R**.
7. Fol. 86v, **Fuit** (53 × 25)
8. Fol. 115v, **Tempore** (43 × 53).

Historiated Capitals: There is only one, a capital **F** in the shape of an animal's body and the head of a beast on fol. 22v (100 mm h × 55 mm w).

Illuminations: There are no illuminations.

Repairs: There are contemporary repairs, stitching long diagonal cuts on fols. 24 and 25.

Rubrics: For incipits to lives, see fol. 56v, *Sanctae Foce*, and *Passio*. In the piece on Benedict, the names *Petrus* and *Gregorius* are rubricated throughout. Throughout the narrative on Benedict (fols. 85v–115v), small capitals (20 mm h × 15 mm w) are randomly rubricated (see fol. 104v).

Punctuation: *Punctus* exclusively. I found no use of the *punctus elevatus*. The *punctus* does not function like a modern period but often simply acts as a brief pause, rather like a comma.

Corrections: The manuscript is remarkably free from marginalia, corrections, and commentary. There is not a single marginal annotation in the entire 122 leaves of the manuscript. The single mark in the margin appears on 30v and is a bracket in the margin enclosing ll. 13–18, and in the margin there is written what appears to be the letters *ol*.

Erasures: I have only found eight erasures in the entire MS. On fol. 39r, l.4, the rubricator has written a small capital **A** in an erasure area. On fol. 46v, l.14, an erasure was made and the word “fingere” written in place; fol. 50v, l.17; fol. 72r, l.1; On fol. 105v, l.16, the scribe has scratched out and erased his repetition of the words above *inter eos qui communionem*; see also fol. 106v, l.20; fol. 107r, l.4; fol. 118v, l.13.

In line: I have found only six corrections in a text line, and they are all made above the word in question. For example, in fol. 60v, l.12, the scribe has caretred *ti* above the end of the word *Omnipoten*; on fol. 63r, l.16, above the line is *in* following *quasi non fuisset*; On fol. 78v, l.15, there is the single correction that appears to not be in the scribe's hand: the word *diebus* is inserted above *ego vobis cum sum omnibus [diebus]*. The last three are all this sort of correction: fol. 81r, l.13; fol. 99v, l.3; fol. 101v, l.7.

Margins:

Outside: varies between 35–50 mm; for example, fols. 21 & 87 are 40 mm.

Top: average of 30 mm but can be smaller (20 mm, fol. 21v), and at times larger (35 mm, fol. 93r).

Bottom: 60 mm, fols. 1r and 15v.

Gutter: 35 mm, fol. 88r.

Drypoint: Drypoint is used throughout. The layout of the drypoint consists of two outside vertical lines which run the height of the text. These vertical lines are 7 mm apart, and they are bisected by one horizontal line at right angles at the top and bottom of the grid.

Hands: There are three hands present. They are all carefully and professionally written and all of the same date. They are on the following fols.:

Hand one—Fol. 1–30v.

Hand two—Fol. 31r–48v.

Hand three—Fol. 49r–122v

Letter Sizes:

Lowercase: average 2.5 mm

Descenders and ascenders: lowercase 4–5 mm.

Binding: Full tan leather bound at end of nineteenth century. The binding has four ribs across the spine. The top of the spine is dyed in purple, where *Vitae Sanctorum* is written in gold.

Bibliography

Delisle, Léopold, “Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre Dame et d’autres fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les n^{os} 16719–18613,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes: Revue d’érudition*, vol. 31 (1870): 464, 567: dates MS as “xii s.”

———, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. II. Paris, 1874, pp. 264–65.

Bieler, Ludwig, ed., “Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi: Introduction Text and Commentary,” in *Classica et Mediaevalia* II (1950): 8.

Manuscript Name: Cotton Nero E.1, pt.1.

Sigil: N.

Subject: *Passionale*.

Provenance: Benedictine Priory of St. Mary of Worcester.

Date: s.xi^{ex}.

Contents: This manuscript is currently bound in two parts. I provide a detailed description of Part I only, since that contains the *Passio* text. Part I begins with two

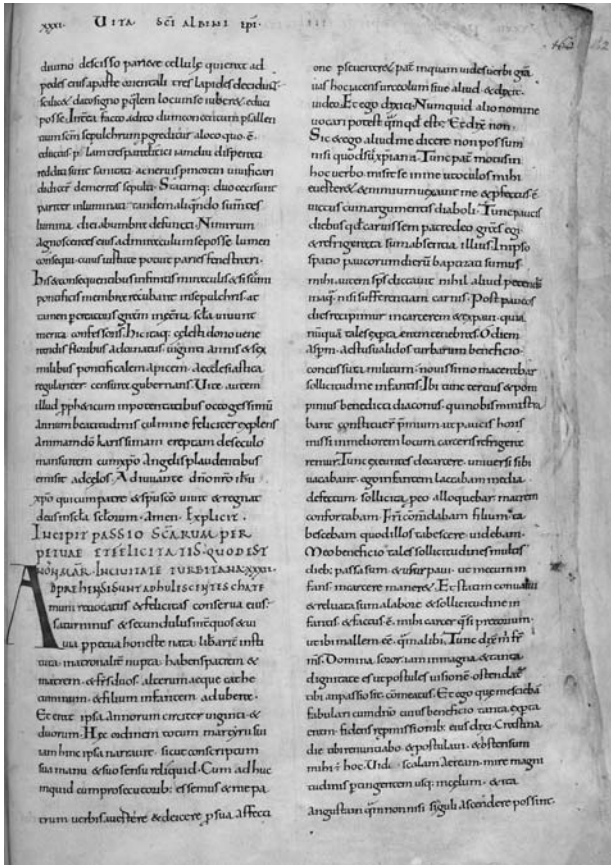


Plate 7.7: N British Library Cotton Nero E.I

parchment fols. (ff.1r–2v) providing a table of contents. The hand of the table of contents is seventeenth-century—almost certainly that of Richard James, Sir Richard Cotton’s librarian, who died in 1638—and in a black ink commonly used at the time. James lists 146 saints’ festivals, the majority of which are the passions of the saints. The original composition was a *Passionale*, which followed the liturgical calendar. James’s table begins with item number 1, the *Vita sancti Oswaldi* on fol. 3ra, and ends with item number 50 on fol. 208va, the *Passio sancti Phylippi apostoli*. The manuscript does contain some few texts that are not passions, however. For example, fol. 142rb contains Augustine’s sermon on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mother. The *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* is listed as item number 37 [fol. 161ra].

There is a second table of contents, contemporary with the composition of the manuscript and likely the original one, which dates from the late eleventh century. This table begins on fol. 55ra. This festal list does not always agree with that of James on fol. 3. For example, the *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* in this, the original table of contents, is listed with an item number in Roman numerals followed by its liturgical date and

the name of the feast, thus: XXXII: *Non mar passio sanctarum perpetue et felicitatis*, but it is not James number 37. Moreover, this original table of contents records 108 items of *Libri passionales*, beginning with number 1, the *passio sanctae Martinae*, and ending with number 108, *Vita sancti Hieronimi presbyteri*. James's table of contents, on the other hand, begins with the *Vita sancti Oswaldi Ebor[acensis] Archiepi[scopi]*; the *passio sanctae Martinae* is James number 5, and the life of Saint Jerome, *Vita actus q[ue] B. Hieronymi presbyteri*, is James number 119 and not 108 as in the original table.

These differences suggest that the manuscript had already been altered when James compiled his table, thus accounting for the differences in the two lists of contents. Comparing the original table of contents against that of James, we can speculate with some accuracy on what the original composition contained, however. Specifically, the eleventh-century table of contents does not list the first four items in James's table: [1] fols. 1–23vb, Oswald; [2] fol. 23ra, Saint Ecgwin (the headers on this life are written in gold capitals); [3] fols. 35ra–52vb, Lanfranc's, *Life of Saint Swithun*; [4] fol. 53va, *de virtutibus sancti Andreae Apostoli* (item 4 is in a different hand from the first three items). The first *vita* that both tables of contents have in common is that of the *Passion of Saint Martin*, which begins on fol. 55r.

While all four of the above items were written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there is nonetheless a question as to whether these initial four items (fols. 1–53v) were a part of the original composition, which begins on fol. 55r. The texts are not named in the eleventh-century table of contents, which itself appears more than ample to have filled a significant volume of liturgical festivals. It is more likely that these four items were added to this manuscript later, after the completion of the original composition (s.xii²). This surmise is strengthened by the fact that hand number four for fols. 53r–54v is from the second quarter of the twelfth century and thus at least a half century older than the principal hands in the manuscript. Other codicological evidence also strengthens this view. For example, the fol. containing the late eleventh-century table of contents (fol. 55r) shows darkening and wear, suggesting that it was originally at the beginning of a volume of the original *passionale*, and consequently, since it was used to locate individual texts, received greater wear. The manuscript was assembled in its present state during the Middle Ages, and items were added to it after the bulk of the composition was completed but before James saw it. Furthermore, the initial four selections that begin the present manuscript also differ from the texts which follow in their considerable length and subject matter. They are more typical of *Vitae sanctorum*, since they celebrate the saints' deeds rather than their witness and suffering for the faith. The latter is typical in a *passionale*.

Material: Good-quality vellum. Although this manuscript has been partly damaged by the Cotton fire, there is very little loss of text. Some scribal glosses have been lost on fol. 13va in the outside margin, as the parchment shrank from the heat of the fire. The outer margins have likely shrunk approximately 25 mm. For example, the outer margin on fol. 86r is 19 mm at line 23 (almost midpoint), while it is 43 mm at the very bottom of this fol., a difference of 24 mm.

Number of Folios: There are at least three systems of fol. numbers throughout, and none original to the composition. I am following the latest foliation that is in pencil. An

example of the three numbering systems can be seen on fol. 102r. The modern pencil gives 102r, the next most recent in pen (eighteenth-century) states 100, and a somewhat earlier hand (c. early seventeenth-century?) but not medieval states 47. The foliation is not exact since, as I have suggested above, this is a reassembled manuscript and does not reflect its original state of composition.

Size: The size is h: 390–400 mm × w: 243–280 mm. The fols. vary in size a bit as they show a consistent pattern of being cut in a crescent-moon pattern from top to bottom. The center of the fol., can be 25 mm less than the top and bottom corner of the same fol. On average, the width of the upper right corner of the recto averages about 275 mm, while the middle of the fol. recto side is 257 mm and the lower recto corner is 275–80 mm. This cutting is consistent throughout the manuscript and may have been an effort to remove the charred outer margins (see **Material** below). Hence, the uppermost recto corner is slightly wider than the middle of the fol., and the lower recto corner is the widest.

Reconstructed Size: 410 mm × 280 mm.

Use: It was perhaps used for public reading in the monastery, like that in the refectory, or at chapter or for the second Nocturn in Matins, when such lives were typically read.

Pricking: While there is evidence of pricking, it was not used to lay out the individual lines for text (see fols. 30rb in the margin and 70rb in the margin, where the holes are approximately 25 mm apart). Pricking was used to establish the general grid outline for the outside margins and for the double columns.

Leaded Lines: are used infrequently for text guides (ff. 35r, 102r, and 208vb).

Drypoint: Drypoint ruling is the principal layout for lineation. Fols. 18r, 64v, and 164v have clearly visible drypoint for the text lines. The gutter in 164v still preserves the outline of a frame in drypoint 13 mm outside the nearest lettering. The right-hand column (b) on fol. 53r contains only fifteen lines of text, and while the remaining twenty-three lines are empty, the lines have been drypointed.

Margins:

Outside 40 mm

Top 25 mm

Bottom 40 mm

Gutter 40 mm

The top margin averages 25 mm above the first line of text. However, these top margins do show some variation, particularly in those earlier fols. that exhibit the results of the fire and have lost their margins; see fol. 43r/v. The bottom margin averages 40 mm below the last line of text, though in some instances it is considerably larger, and fol. 37r has the largest margins in the manuscript at 58 mm. Gutter margins average 40 mm (see fol. 3r).

Columns: Two columns throughout (Part II, fols. 185v and 186r–v).

Lines per Folio: The fols. contain an average of forty-three lines in each column. This can sometimes vary, particularly when a new text is begun or ended and when the scribe is writing the incipit and explicit in slightly larger rubricated letters. For example, fol. 162r, containing the incipit to the *Passio*, illustrates this larger rubricated script and has fewer lines on the leaf. The rubricated letters are on average 2 mm larger than the script employed in the text.

Line Width: They are approximately 100 mm per column. The middle margin, which separates the columns, is on average 17 mm wide.

Catchmarks: None.

Running Heads: The top margins of the fols. record the name of the item number and the saint or martyr in an insular script, the number and name corresponding to the original table of contents on fol. 55rv. Thus fol. 162v records in the top margin *XXXii passio Perpetue et Felicitatis*, which is also found on fol. 55ra. These headers are written in a late eleventh-century hand. Written across the top margins on fols. 28v and 29r in gold-lettered capitals is the title *VITA SCI ECGWYNI EPI[SCOPI]*. The capitals average 10 mm in height. These fols. (fols. 1–55) were not bound with this original volume, but all the fols. in this *legenda* are approximately the same size and share the same layout, rubrication, and *ordinatio*. This suggests that they were intended for a related composition.

Lettering: Every text begins with a large initial capital, often rubricated in red and green. See fol. 47r, in the “Life of Saint Swithun,” where the rubricator used two initial red capitals and two initial green capitals to begin the four paragraphs on that fol. The size of these rubricated capitals varies throughout the manuscript (see also fols. 44vab and fol. 45rab). The largest green capital is on average 40 mm tall, while the smallest is approximately 15 mm. On fol. 185ra in the incipit for the *Vita sancti Guthlaci*, the opening lines are rubricated in the standard red, but in addition the interior spaces of the letters are filled in with blue ink. Gold capitals are used by scribe number one alone. Fol. 23r has a beautiful capital **E** almost 33 mm tall beginning the name *Epelwinus*. On Fol. 26r, beginning at the bottom of column a, and in the first nineteen lines of column b, every line begins with a gilded initial (5 mm high) of the first word of the sentence.

Historiated Capital: There is only one in the entire manuscript, a handsome capital **R**, the first letter in the word “Regnante” (150 mm × 150 mm) on fol. 55v, which begins the *Life of Saint Martin*. The initial contains what appear to be six dog- or bear-like faces; three eagle heads and one very large monster face shown swallowing the left descender of the **R**. The initial is illuminated in red, yellow, green, and blue and makes effective use of interlace design.

Hands: Part I. Hand one: fols. 1 & 2, seventeenth century (a list of the contents); hand two: fols. 3r–34v, 35r–52v, third quarter of the eleventh century; hand three: 35r–52v, third quarter of the eleventh century; hand four: fols. 53r–54v, second quarter of the twelfth century; hand five: fols. 55r–174v, third quarter of the eleventh century; hand six: 175r–208v (see below **Anomalies in Calendar**).

Part II: hand one, fols. 1–155v, 166ra–174vb, 177ra–180vb (these three sections are part of same composition as pt. I); hand two, 156ra–165a (Feast of St. Frideswide; not part of pt. I), 174vb–177vb; 187ra–188vb (first half thirteenth century); hand three, 181ra–186v (Old English cartulary from Westbury on Trym Monastery; see Ker); hand four, 189ra–222vb (mid-thirteenth century). Part III then contains three sections from the *legenda passionum* from the second half of the eleventh century in part I, and three miscellaneous texts added to this collection. The bulk of the legendary material may have been completed by John of Worcester.

Corrections: Although the texts in the *passionalia* were gone over by a contemporary for lacunae, spelling errors, line repetitions, omissions, and other forms of error, they are remarkably free from corrections. There are, to be sure, some corrections in the text. For example, on fol. 58ra, l. 22 the scribe has indicated with three dots that the *usque* which he has written in the middle column should be added to the end of the line. Spelling omissions are typically made above the word, as the addition of *ter* in the word *subuertere* (fol. 58va, l. 13), and similarly, *te* is indicated by a caret in the word *potestate* (fol. 114va, l.40). While there are curious spellings such as *delebam* for *dolebam* (fol. 162vb, l.6), the texts were written with care and hence seldom required corrections. For example, there are none in the *Passio* fols.

Fire Damage: There is some damage to the edges of the first thirty-two fols., but even here, save for the first three fols., there is only a slight loss of text in the lower right-hand corner margin. See fol. 4, lower outside corner, where eight lines of text are charred and shrunk but still readable. Those Cotton manuscripts that were not wholly consumed in the fire often suffered damage to the parchment leaves through shrinking and charring from the extreme heat. The conservators cut some of these leaves to get them to open and to lie flat (see fol. 6, l.31).

Binding: Part I is bound in full brown morocco (nineteenth century) and has the coat of arms of Cotton in gilt on the front board. The leather is tooled in the egg and dart motif along the outside edge.

Passio Text: The *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* is listed as item number 37 [fol. 161ra]. The manuscript does contain some few texts that are not passions, however. For example, fol. 142 rb (l.15) contains Augustine's sermon on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mother. The *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* in this, the original table of contents, is listed with an item number in Roman numerals followed by its liturgical date and the name of the feast. It is number 32 in this calendar. The entry assigns it number 32 and reads: XXXII: *Non mar[tis] passio s[an]ctaru[m] p[er]petue et felicitatis* (James assigned it number 37).

Punctuation: The text of the *Passio* uses the *punctus* to indicate pauses and what appears to be a *punctus elevatus* after the words *cum prosecutoribus* (fol. 162ra). The *punctus elevatus* and the *punctus* are used commonly throughout. The hand is not heavily abbreviated.

Collation: Mainly quaternions of 8: 1–5⁸, 6⁴ (43r), 7⁴ (51r), 8–22⁸, 23–24⁹, 25–26⁸. The scribe has taken the item numbers of every calendar entry in fol. 55r and 55v and then written these corresponding item numbers with the accompanying text, when the texts appear in the manuscript.

Marginalia: There is a glossator's hand throughout, written in both side margins and interlinear in a small but good clear hand of the late eleventh century. The largest letters made by the glossator are 2 mm, and the common lowercase letters are, on average, 1 mm. He glosses a wide variety of issues, from expounding on major themes to expressing terse opinions in the various texts. While there is evidence of this glossator throughout (see fol. 189rab), the overwhelming percentage of annotations are restricted to the first twenty-seven fols. of the manuscript. For example, on fol. 25r, columns a and b, the glossator has

made a considerable number of marginal and interlinear glosses. At times the glossator provides, in addition to comments, synonyms for words in the text above the word in question. For example, on 25ra, line 2, we read in the text *clarius* and above it glossed we read *splendidus*, and in line 3 fol. 25ra, we read in the text *potestatem* and the gloss immediately above reads *virtutem*. It may be that the glossator is providing variant readings from another exemplar. He also writes in the liturgical calendar, glossing interlinearly, whether the monastery possesses a text in English. For example, above the entry for *Passio sanctorum Iohannis & Pauli*, fol. 55rb, he writes *habeo anglia*. This is certainly evidence of his intimacy with the monastic library.

Calendars: Part I begins with two parchment fols. (ff.1r–2v) listing the table of contents in a seventeenth-century hand—almost certainly that of Richard James, Sir Richard Cotton’s librarian, who died in 1638—and written in a black ink commonly used at the time. There is, however, a late eleventh-century table of contents (hereafter calendar) which differs in part from James and suggests that the collection was disassembled prior to James’s study of it. The twelfth-century table of contents, labeled “Incipiunt Capitula,” begins on fol. 55r. This is a festal calendar that was made to identify saints’ feasts for at least two volumes of a larger, no longer extant work. It begins with the *Passio sanctae Martinae* (to which it assigns the Roman numeral I, corresponding to James number 5). The actual *Passion of Saint Martina* begins on fol. 55vb, reading *Regnante primum omnium in ambitu totius*. The hand of the calendar is contemporary with the passion texts in both parts I and II, that is, the second half of the eleventh century. The letterforms—particularly the lowercase c, g, a, e, and p and majuscules p, s, u, and a—are the same as the hand of the text for Saint Martina. The calendar lists 108 lives, beginning with number 1 in part I, *Kl. Ian[uarius] Passio sanct[ae] Martinae u[irginis]* and ending with number 108, *Vita sancti Hieronimi pr[es]bi[teri]* found in Part II on fols. 149ra–151ra. That the calendar was intended to locate texts in what was a multivolume work is borne out by the fact that Part I ends with the Life of Saint Philip the Apostle, in the calendar listed as *XLiiii Philippus Apostolus Domini* (but James number 50), and the calendar entry for Part II ends with fols. 149ra–151ra, with the last item recorded in the calendar as *Cviii, iiii kl Octob[ri] Vita sancti Hieronimi presbyteri* (to which it assigns the Roman numeral Cviii, but James number 119). There would have been at least four other volumes, as these two present codices (parts I and II) represent only part of what was designed as a *passionale* for the entire ecclesiastical year.

Although the calendar’s last item ends on fol. 151ra, Part II continues with the Feast of All Saints (fol. 151ra), which lists in summary fashion a variety of anonymous and named saints, often as simple as: *Puer quidam n[omin]e Petrus officium recepit manus dexterae* (f.152rb) or anonymous: *Puer quidam regine coloseo habens dexteram manum aridam cum toto latere & pede* (f.152ra). This calendar is occasionally at odds with the actual texts in the present composition and does not always agree with James. The discrepancies between the calendar and the actual texts allow us an insight into the original composition and provide evidence for the scope of this collection. The simplest differences between the original calendar and James are sequential ones. Part I ends with the *Life of Saint Philip the Apostle*. It appears in the calendar as *XLiiii Philippus Apostolus Domini*

(fol. 208r–v, but James number 50). The last item recorded in the calendar is *Cviii, iii kl Octb[ri] Vita sancti Hieronimi presybteri* (to which it assigns the Roman numeral Cviii, James number 119). Other entries also show similar lack of correspondence, which points to dismemberment of the original volumes after the composition was completed and before James saw it.

Other differences between the original calendar and the extant texts provide additional evidence for the existence of a large multivolume work completed in Worcester in the late eleventh century. For example, an entry in the calendar for item number 38 (James 42) is *XXXviii v Id apr[ilis] Vita sancta Marie Aegyptiae*.

This entry correctly identifies that same life in part I on fol. 179ra–184vb. The next item recorded in the calendar, number 39 (James 44), appears as *XXXIX ii Non apr Vita Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis*. However, this sequence does not agree with the actual text extant in part I, which is the *Vita sancti Guthlaci* (part I, fol. 185ra–196ra). The life of Saint Ambrose actually follows the life of Guthlac, and it appears on fols. 196ra–202ra (*Incipit vita sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Urbisepiscopi II Non Apr*). There is no entry in this calendar for the feast of Saint Guthlac. What do these differences reveal about the way the present text is compiled? Might the compiler of the calendar have simply missed the text of Guthlac in his construction of the calendar from the actual texts of the manuscript? This is unlikely, as Guthlac is eleven fols. long and has a bold header on every leaf identifying it as the life of Saint Guthlac. What is more likely is that Guthlac was not in the compilation when the calendar for this volume of the compilation was written, and hence Guthlac was not part of this composition or was intended for another volume, no longer extant, of this *legenda*. Evidence for this hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the life of Saint Guthlac begins a new gathering (fol. 185r, quire 23⁸), and it is in the same hand as that of the scribe of Mary of Egypt and Ambrose, which precede and follow it respectively. Guthlac was certainly contemporary with the majority of texts in parts I and II and was written for this large collection of saints' lives. The Guthlac piece was not in the present volume when this volume and the calendar were first compiled, but was added to the present collection after the calendar for parts I and II was written and the manuscript reassembled. It is difficult to know when this discrepancy between calendar and text took place, but it was certainly part of the present composition when James made his table of contents, as he lists Guthlac as following Mary of Egypt and immediately before Saint Ambrose.

There is further evidence to suggest that texts were added to the two manuscript volumes (parts I and II) after the calendar was written. The last life that is listed in the calendar and one that is actually in part I is the passion of Saint Vitalis (fols. 206va–207vb). It is, however, not the last text in part I. The actual two last texts of part I are the *Passion of Saint James and the Passion of Saint Phillip* (*Incipit passio sa[n]cti Iacobi ap[osto]li fr[at]ris d[omi]ni*, and *XLiiii Philippus Apostolus D[om]ini*, fol. 208rb; James no. 49). Neither text is mentioned in the calendar. Conversely, the next three texts the calendar mentions are the feasts of the *Inventio* of the Holy Cross, Saint Alexander, and Saint Jude. They are not in either of the present two manuscript volumes, nor are they mentioned by James, and they have been crossed through in a later hand in the calendar. They must have appeared in

another no longer extant volume. In fact, part II begins with an explicit to the *life of Saint Gordian* (a fragment), with the first complete text being the *life of Saint Pancratius*. The calendar does record entries for Gordian and Pancratius.

This seemingly small discrepancy, however, allows us to conjecture that the surviving two volumes were only part of a larger multivolume collection of *libri passionales*, perhaps as large as six large manuscript volumes composed in the late eleventh century. They were later dismembered, perhaps in the mid-sixteenth century, and reassembled in the early seventeenth century by an antiquarian. An unreliable corrector (his hand is early, though postmedieval) has tried to emend the discrepancies between the calendar and the actual texts. Not finding the calendar agreeing with the texts in part I, that is, not finding certain texts present, he drew a line through the entry for the Vitalis, the “*Inventio crucis*,” and the next three calendar entries. It seems unlikely that he would correct the calendar without reference to the actual text. Yet he also crosses out the item listed as *XLiii passio sancti vitalis mar et sanctorum protasii et geruasii*, but this is in the text and is written as an incipit and has a bold running head on fol. 206va and fol. 207va respectively. The postmedieval corrector notes incorrectly, in an interlinear gloss, that the *Passio Sancti Iacobi* is actually to be found as item 73, and he writes the title directly above the calendar entry for the Seven Sleepers for the 6th calends of August, *Passio sanctorum vii dormientium*.

Let us next briefly examine James’s table of feasts, which appears in the first two fols. in part I. James lists 146 saints’ festivals, the majority of which are the passions of the saints, and all of which he has numbered in Arabic numerals. James’s table begins with item number 1, the *Vita s[an]cti Oswaldi Eborac. Archiepi* (he provides the title for the actual incipit in part I, on fol. 3ra, the *Prologus De Vita et Virtute Gloriosissimi Archipresulis Oswaldi*; the actual *Vita* begins on 3va). Although part I begins with the *Vita sancti Oswaldi*, Oswald’s feast is not mentioned in the calendar on 55r, which lists, as I indicated, 108 named feasts. Indeed, the texts of the first four saints’ lives (Oswald, Ecgwin, Swithun, and Andreas) that begin part I and precede the liturgical calendar are not mentioned in the calendar, and this placement suggests that they were not part of this volume but that these initial leaves (fols. 1r–54v) were taken from a different volume in this collection and reassembled here some time later, certainly by the time James worked on the manuscript.

[1] fols. 1–23vb, Oswald; [2] fol. 24ra, *Vita S[anc]ti Ecgwini* (the capital letters which frequently begin new sections of this life are written in gold capitals); [3] fols. 35ra–52vb, *Lanfranc’s Vita S[an]cti Suithini Epi[scopi]*; [4] fol. 53va *de virtutibus sancti Andree Apostoli*. (Item 4 is in a different later hand from the first three items. A stub 6.3 mm wide is in the margin between 53 and 54 and indicates that a leaf is missing. Two leaves are missing between 54 and 55, and thus the text of Saint Andreas is fragmentary.) The last line of Andrew on fol. 54rb reads “*Et fiat nobis una dominus ex omnibus*.” The first *vita* that both tables of contents have in common is that of the “*Passion of Saint Martin*,” which begins on fol. 55r.

While all four above items were written in the late eleventh century, there is nonetheless a question as to whether these initial four items (fols. 1–53v) were a part of the original composition. The texts are not named in the extant eleventh-century liturgical

calendar, which itself contains entries more than sufficient to have filled two significant volumes of saints' feasts. I surmise that each set of volumes had a liturgical calendar very like the one which survives in Part I. It is more likely that these four items were part of different volumes of the same composition (c.s.XII²) for which we have no surviving liturgical calendar. Other codicological evidence also strengthens this view. For example, the fol. containing the late eleventh-century table of contents (fol. 55r) shows darkening from wear, suggesting that it was originally at the beginning of a volume of the original *passionale*, and consequently, since it was used to locate individual texts, it received greater wear. The collection of saints' feasts was finished in the late eleventh century. Items were added to various volumes after the composition was completed but long before James saw it. Furthermore, the initial four selections that begin the present manuscript also differ from the texts which follow in their considerable length and subject matter. They are more typical of *Vitae sanctorum*, since they celebrate the saint's deeds rather than the witness and suffering for the faith which are typical of a *passionale*, and they may not have been written for inclusion in the *libri festiviales*.

James concludes his table of contents with item number 146, *Passio sancti Stephani martyris sub Galieno Imperatore* (the title he provides for the incipit in part II, fol. 220ra, *Passio Sancti Stephani Mart IIII Nonas [Aug]*). In James's table, the contents of part I consist of fifty lives and passions of the saints. He ends his contents of part I with an item numbered 50 on fol. 208va, the *Passio sancti Phylippi apostli*. His next item 51, the *Passio Sancti Pancratii martyris*, is his record of the first item in part II. Actually, Part II of Cotton Nero E.1, fol. 1ra, begins with the last line from the *Passio sancti Gordini Mart. simul cum domino patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti in saecula saeculorum, Amen*. It is then immediately followed by the life of Saint Pancratius, which begins *Incipit Passio Beati Pancrati Mart[yr]is] Mense Maio Die XII*. Comparing these feasts and their incipits against the original calendar in part I, we find that Gordinius is item XLvii. James does not list it, and Pancratius is item XLvii in the original calendar (James number 51). Volume 2 also has been disassembled and put together somewhat haphazardly, as the saints' lives are clearly out of order. These differences show that the manuscript had already been significantly altered when James compiled his table, thus accounting for the differences in the two lists of contents and the fact that the two volumes we have are part of a larger multivolume *liber festivialis* for the entire church year composed in Worcester Abbey sometime after the Conquest and before 1200.

Calendar Anomalies. The twelfth-century table of contents, presently placed at fol. 55r, was the probable beginning of this *passionale*, or of a similar book, which was part of a multivolume *legenda sanctorum* that subsequently was broken into pieces. It began with the *Passio sanctae Martinae* and continued through to the end with the *Life of Saint Philip the Apostle (XLIiii Philippus Apostolus Domini)*.

The original calendar is wrong in places and was corrected by a contemporary hand. For example, the entry beginning *XLIiii, Inventio Sancte crucis* in the calendar does not agree with the text, as the text actually in the manuscript at that placement is the *Passio sancti Iacobi apostoli*, fol. 207vb (written this way in rubrics in the actual incipit in the text), and followed by the last text (written in the actual text as an incipit in rubrics as:

XLiii Philippus Apostolus Domini, fol. 208rb). In fact, there is no liturgical calendar entry for the feast of Saint Philip. Note again that the corrector, after having drawn a line through the entry for the *Inventio crucis*, also draws a line through the next three calendar entries, since they too do not correspond to what is in the text. In fact, the corrector notes, in an interlinear gloss, that the *Passio Sancti Iacobi* is actually to be found as item 73, and he writes this in directly above the calendar entry for the Seven Sleepers for the 6th calends of August, *Passio sanctorum vii dormientium*. It does not seem likely that he would correct the calendar without reference to the actual text. Yet he also crosses out the item listed as *xliii passio sancti vitalis mar et sanctorum protasii et geruasii*, though this is in the text; it is written as an incipit and also appears as a bold running head on fol. 206va and fol. 207va respectively. This corrector's hand is an early one and appears contemporary with the hand of the scribe who wrote the actual calendar. There are other problems with the calendar. Item XXXVI, for example, has been left blank, and in fact a new scribe begins writing on fol. 175r and does not list the calendrical item number with the running heads—he still lists the names—for any of the subsequent texts he completes.

Select Bibliography

Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), p. 58. He lists all the items (145 of them, concluding with the “Passio S. Stephani, martyris”) but has absolutely nothing to say about the manuscript itself. See Smith's account of the Cotton fire at Ashburnham House on October 23, 1731, pp. 25–46.

Planta, J., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Library* (London, 1802), p. 239: “Codex membranaceus in fol. crassiori; constans foliis 428. cuius pars longe maxima scripta fuit A.D. circiter 1000.” Planta then lists the items.

Levinson, W., “Conspectus Codicum Hagiographicorum,” *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, vii, 1920, who dates the MS “saec xi,” pp. 601–02.

Ker, N. R., “Membra Disiecta,” 2nd series. *The British Museum Quarterly* no. 4 (1940): 82, dates the MS to mid-eleventh century.

Ker, N. R., “Hemmings Cartulary,” in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke* (1948), pp. 65 ff. Ker's essay concerns fols. 181–84.

Ker, N. R., “Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue,” *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* Liii (December 1949), p. 179; and Ker's discussion in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 30, C. pp. 310, description on p. 326.

McIntyre, E. A., “Early Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory, with Special Reference to the Manuscripts Written There” (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1978), p. 204) for provenance.

Jackson, P., and Lapidge, M., “The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,” in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. P. Szarmach (Albany, N.Y., 1996), pp. 131–46. (They provide an inventory of the original contents and cross list them with their *BHL* number).

Wright, C. J., *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and His Legacy* (The British Library: London, 1997).

Gameson, Richard, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c.1066–1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), item number 397, p. 101. “Additions to s.xi^{med} Legendary.” He also indicates that there are “Extensive corrections to original text, s.xii.” He says it is a “companion” to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 9 (no.54 above).

Tite, C. G., *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library* (London: The British Library, 2003), pp. 138–39.

Manuscript Name: Salisbury Cathedral MS 221.

Sigil: S.

Subject: *Passionale*.

Provenance: Salisbury Cathedral. Ker believes it is possibly “the work of the canons established by St. Osmund in 1089” and a scribe he has identified as “A.” See Ker 1949 and 1992.

Date: Late eleventh century.

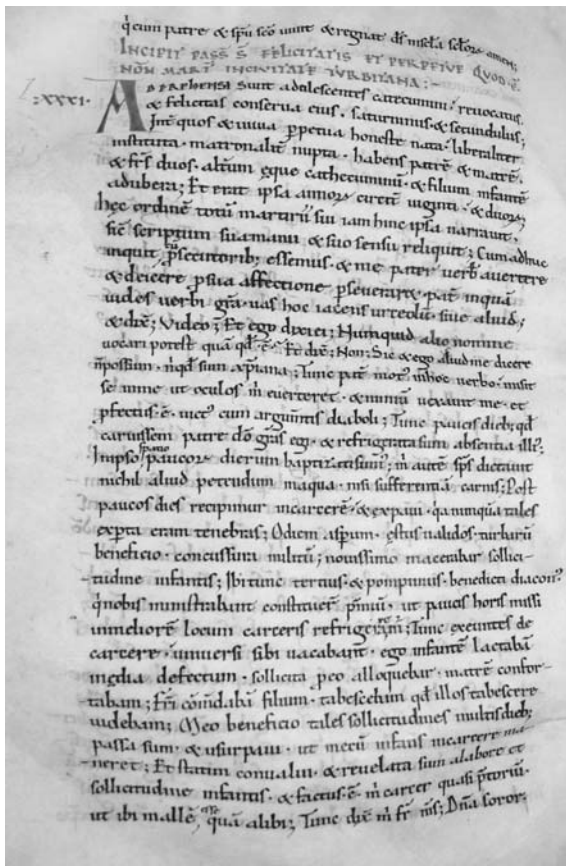


Plate 7.8: S Salisbury Cathedral 221 (Olim Fell.4)

Contents: The manuscript contains a later medieval liturgical calendar, possibly mid-thirteenth century (fol. ii). This list of festivals does not give the item numbers preceding the texts, which we see rubricated in the fols. (fol. 164v). There is also a seventeenth-century table of contents (fols. iii–iv) in the hand of Bishop Thomas Barlow (ca. 1655), written on paper, which lists sixty items, beginning with the *Passio sanctae Martinae martyris* and ending with the *Passio Pria[miani] et Feliciae* (fol. 275r). Also written on fol. iiii in Barlow's hand is "Bp. Fell [3]." The manuscripts were in Bishop Fell's possession from sometime after 1679 until his death in 1686. A complete listing and discussion of the sixty-seven items contained in MS 221 is available in Zettel and Weber (see bibliography). The *Passio* text is fols. 165v–170r.

Collation: See Ker, *Medieval MSS*, IV: 257–62.

Use: It was perhaps used for public reading in the monastery, like that in the refectory, at chapter, or for the 2nd Nocturn in Matins, when such lives were typically read.

Number of Folios: iv + 278.

Material: Parchment. Although the quality is good, the scribes did not hesitate to use damaged leaves, some with substantial holes (fols. 98 and 106). The text was then written around the tears. The leaves are noticeably darker from 225r on. A number of fols. show medieval stitching used to repair damage to the leaves (fol. 48).

Drypoint: Drypoint is used throughout; see fol. 98rv.

Lines per Folio: The leaves average thirty-six lines.

Columns: Single columns are used throughout.

Pricking: The leaves were pricked, and the space between outside margin pricking holes is 9 mm; see fol. 70. The top margins also show the pricking holes used to draw the vertical drypoint lines for the grid which established the outer limits of the text; see fol. 56.

Abbreviations: Standard for the period.

Catchmarks: While uncommon on manuscripts of this date, there are catchmarks for quires 3–8; for example, see fol. 48v, where the catchmark and the quire number *uis vi* is barely visible on the bottom of the leaf near the gutter margin. See also fol. 88v, where the catchmark survives, but the quire number is absent, *voluptatibus*.

Foliation: 1–34⁸

Margins:

Outside: average 60 mm from end of outer drypoint vertical frame to edge of leaf

Top: varies from 32 mm (fol. 130r) to 17 mm (fol. 218v); average 25 mm

Bottom: average 60 mm, but can be as large as 70 mm (f. 193v)

Gutter: average 17 mm.

MS Size: 360 mm h × 250 mm w. This is the manuscript's original size, as there is no evidence that it was cropped.

Columns: The text is in single columns throughout, which measure on average 155 mm wide by 260/80 mm high.

Running Heads: These are very infrequent but do appear in some top margins; see fols. 3v–4r, *Passio Sanctae Ma[r]tinae*.

Capital Lettering: There are rubricated initial capitals, in red only, that begin many of the *Passiones* and *Vitae*. The capital initials in the *incipits* average about 20 mm tall and are

normally rubricated (capital **I** on fol. 80v; capital **M** on fol. 128r, 20 mm × 29 mm; fol. 164v, capital **A** 22 mm × 30 mm). There are instances where there is no rubrication and the incipit and explicit are in the same ink which the scribe is using; see fol. 223r. The rubrics seem to be in the same hand as the scribe who is responsible for the individual leaf where they appear.

Illumination: None.

Historiated Capitals: None.

Corrections: Although not heavily corrected, there is evidence of a careful reading of the texts and the hand of a contemporary corrector throughout. The preponderance of corrections and glossing is after fol. 210r. Corrections are typically above the word (fol. 77v, l.11). There are faint pen scribbles in an old hand in the outside margins throughout the manuscript (see fols. 57v and 210r).

Punctuation: There is the occasional use of the *punctus elevatus* (fol. 165v, l.1), semicolon (fol. 165v, l.17), and period (fol. 165v, l.5).

Hands: Multiple. There are a number of hands in the manuscript. For example, on fol. 33v the scribe skillfully changed the ductus and the size of his script in the last four lines, possibly to accommodate the exigencies of his exemplar.

Binding: Spine in twentieth-century brown leather, with the four corners in the same material.

Ownership: There are no ownership marks in the manuscript except for the name Bp. Fell and on fol. iir the stamp of the Bodleian Library, which had possession of the manuscript from 1650 until 1984. This manuscript, along with six others, two of which (SC no. 8687, olim Fell 3 now Salisbury 223, and SC No. 8688, olim Fell 1 now Salisbury 222) comprise this large *Passionale*. The history of the manuscript since the seventeenth century is fascinating. It was only returned to Salisbury on 5 August 1985, having been absent since it (along with MSS 222 and 223 and three other Salisbury manuscripts) was borrowed by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, on 30 September 1640. Ussher's efforts to return the manuscripts were frustrated by the Civil War. However, on 14 November 1650 he gave these manuscripts to William Bell, who was instructed to give them to Richard Baylie, president and a fellow of St. John's College and Dean of Salisbury. Baylie in turn gave the manuscripts to the Bodleian Librarian, Thomas Barlow, "until the Deane of Sarum, and the chapter there shall call for them." Two of the volumes that Ussher borrowed (numbers 2 and 5) were not returned to Dean Baylie, since Ussher's London residence was ransacked. One of these volumes is now Trinity College Dublin manuscript 174, and the other is lost. The dean and chapter tried to recover their manuscripts as early as April 17, 1679. After some delay, Thomas Hyde, the Bodleian librarian, replied and said that the curators had agreed to return them to Salisbury, but they requested that the learned John Fell (1625–86), Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, be allowed to collate them before their return. Fell's request of these *libri passionales* is a curious one, as he was no friend of Rome or of its repertory of pious hagiographies. Fell likely received the three manuscripts, in accordance with his request to see them (Bodleian SC no. 30248), sometime after 1679 and kept them until his death on 10 July 1686, when his executor returned them to the Bodleian Library with the rest of Fell's books later in that

same year. They were subsequently catalogued as manuscripts Fell 1, 3, and 4 *Vitae Sanctorum*. There were some efforts on the part of Salisbury Cathedral to see to the return of the manuscripts, but to no avail until the Dean of Salisbury contacted the Bodleian Librarian on 18 April 1984 and requested their return, citing the history of their disappearance. The curators of the Bodleian Library agreed and, asking that the transfer not be publicized, acknowledged Salisbury's rightful ownership. Accordingly, on 5 August 1985, the Dean of Salisbury, the chancellor and the Salisbury Cathedral librarian drove to Oxford to fetch the manuscripts which had been missing for 345 years. I am most grateful to Miss Susan Eward, the Salisbury Cathedral librarian, for her unpublished typescript of the books' history.

Bibliography

Salisbury MS 223 (SC 8687, olim Bodley Fell 3) is a companion to Trinity College Dublin MS 174.

Gallandii, Andrea, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiarum postrema Lugdunensi multo locupletior atque accuratior*, vol. 2 (Venice: Joannis Baptistae Albrithii Hieron. Fil., 1766). Gallandi prints an edition of the *Passio* with Holstenius and Valesius's notes (pp. 167–73), with variant readings taken from the Salisbury manuscript. Gallandi argues that the martyrs were not killed in Thuburbo Maius (3. xiii), that the text is not Montanist (6. vi), that it was written during the reign of Septimus Severus in or near 203 and not during that of Valerius (4. xiv), and that even though the style of the autobiographical sections is inimitable (*a Perpetua & Saturo scriptam fuisse nemo infitari posset*, 5.v), Tertullian likely wrote some of it. Gallandi cites remarks made by ancient and medieval authors about the *Passio* (8. viii). Gallandi's scholarship is still of value.

Thompson, E. Maunde, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cathedral Library of Salisbury* (London: Spottiswood & Co., 1880), pp. 43–4.

Craster, H. H. E., and N. Denholm-Young, eds., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937): II, part 2, Summary Catalogue number 8689 (olim Fell 4 now Salisbury 221), pp. 1211–13. Contains a description of the MS.

Ker, N. R., "Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick's Young's Catalogue," *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 53 (1949): 154.

Ker, N. R., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977): IV, Paisley-York, 257–62, for a complete description of the manuscript.

Zettel, P. H., "Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1979): see pp. 15–27. Zettel provides a complete list of the contents and a discussion of the texts.

Ker, N. R., "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library," in *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. Andrew G. Watson (London: The Hambleton Press, 1985), pp. 143–73.

Weber, Teresa, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075–c.1125* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), itemizes contents of 221 on pp. 156–57.

Manuscript Name: BL Cotton Otho D.viii.

Sigil: O.

Subject: *Passionale* (fols. 2r–174a).

Date: s.xii². Fols. 174 to 269 are s.xiv².

Provenance: Christ Church, Canterbury.

Contents: Fol. 1v contains a table of contents in the hand of Sir Robert Cotton's librarian, Richard James. Sir Robert Cotton's signature is in the bottom margin of fol. 8r for the feast of Saint John the Apostle: "Ro. Cotton (Bruceus)." The festal calendar following the liturgical calendar appears on fols. 2r–7v. The Cotton fire severely damaged this manuscript, and many of the items are lost and rebound incorrectly (see **Fire Damage**). For example, the festal days for the month of January are mostly lost. The first item in the volume is the feast of Saint John the Apostle, beginning with the incipit *Cum Traianus Romanorum* and followed by the feast of *Sanctae Brigide Virginis*, traditionally celebrated

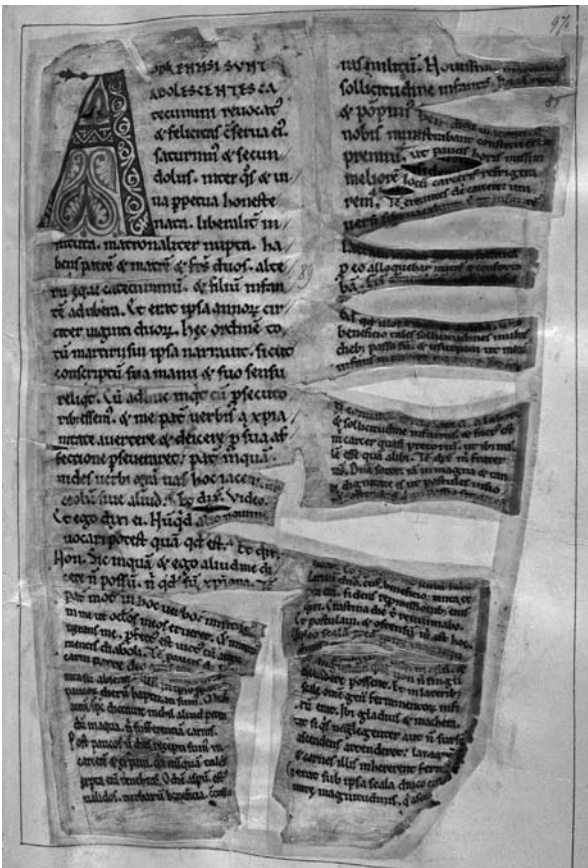


Plate 79: O British Library Cotton Otho D.VIII

on 1 February. Despite the ravages of the fire, it is still evident that this was a select MS, as folio gilding is present in majuscules and incipits.

Collation: Impossible to provide a collation because the MS was so badly burned in the fire.

Use: For public reading in the monastery, like that in the refectory, or at chapter, or for the 2nd Nocturn in Matins, when such lives were typically read.

Liturgical Calendar: There are two tables of contents in the MS. The original twelfth-century table on fols. 1v–7v is a badly burned calendar of the *passiones*. Fol. 1r in the hand of Richard James, Sir Robert Cotton's librarian, also contains a table of contents, which provides the item number in Arabic numerals of the passions followed by the name of the text. James also lists entries for *Annales Nicholai Trevet a Rege Stephano ad annum Domino 1307* and *a Bruto anno domini 1388*. The twelfth-century calendar is written in single columns and although badly burned still shows its original splendor. The names of the saints are colored in red. Gilding was used in the lettering on the **O** for Octave, on the initial **S** in Sancta, Sanctus, Sanctarum or Sanctorum, and on the foliate tendrils which curl up the inside margin.

The foliate-like scrollwork moves down the interior margin in blue and gold, with foliating leaves of gold branching off the vine. Roundels (25 mm in diameter), which contain well-drawn human figures, mark the seasons. Fol. 4v, the figure for June, is drawn wielding an agricultural instrument with a long handle. The roundel and icon for August (fol. 5v) shows a man winnowing, beating the grain with a winnowing stick. Signs of the zodiac appear on the verso side of some of the months. For example, October (fol. 6v) has a scorpion inside a roundel.

Material: Vellum and of good quality.

Number of folios: 269.

Reconstructed Size: 265–70 mm × 175–185 mm. Due to fire damage, few fols. in the MS have their original size. This reconstructed size is based on one of the larger fols. in the manuscript fol. 95. The top margin of 95rv measures 18 mm above the first line, and it appears the bottom margin was approximately 18 mm (see fol. 58r 18 mm). The fols. average thirty-eight lines of text, each of which is approximately 5 mm high with a space of 1 mm between lines of text (see fol. 100r), giving approximately 234 mm for text alone. Adding to this the top and bottom margins gives 260/270 mm for height. The width is based on an average from a number of fols. Column a on fol. 115r is well preserved and measures 70 mm. The open space between columns a and b is 15 mm. Assuming that column b (which is damaged by the fire on that same fol.) was the same width, we would have a total text width of 140. Unfortunately, the gutter margin and the outside margins on fol. 115r have been damaged by the fire and cropped. However, fol. 147 maintains something of its gutter margin, which measures at its widest 15 mm. Allowing for some shrinkage from the heat, I assume that both the gutter and outside margins were at least 20 mm. Hence the width of the fols. would have been approximately 175–185 mm.

Columns: Double columns throughout; width of columns 70 mm with thirty-eight lines per column.

Pricking: There is some evidence that the leaves were pricked in the page layout. For example, fol. 107r in the inside margin (gutter) shows prick marks. However, the outside

margin has been so greatly damaged that there are none visible. With the possible exception of fol. 109r, there are no prick marks visible on the outside margins. This surface of the MS was exposed to the greatest heat and hence suffered the greatest damage.

Leaded Format Lines: They are used but not consistently throughout the manuscript. Leaded lines are visible for the vertical layout and for each line of text on fols. 8r through 93r, but there are none on fol. 95r. Fol. 45r illustrates clearly the space dividing the columns a and b with three vertical framing lines. Two vertical ink lines lay out the inside gutter margin frame and two the outside margin. There is no leaded lineation from 174r through 254v. Lineation resumes again on 256r through 267r. Fols. 267v through 269v (the final fol.) are too damaged to read.

Catchmarks: There is no evidence of catchmarks or quire signatures.

Quire Signatures: None.

Foliation: Since the MS has been dismembered and is so badly fire-damaged, it is impossible to provide this with any certitude.

Running Heads: The texts do have running heads written in the top margins. The titles of the respective works are written so that they cover two fols. For example, on fol. 114v we read *Gregorii*, and on the facing fol. 115r we read *pape*. In those instances when the top margins have been severely cropped (perhaps to remove charred parchment), we have lost the heading. Thus, fol. 97v does not have *Perpetue* but the facing fol. 98r reads *Et Felicitatis*. However, on fol. 98v, we do read *Perpetue* and its facing fol. 99r has *Et Fel[icitatis]*.

Lettering: The saints' lives frequently begin with a rubricated initial capital incipit and an explicit (see 103vb). Because of the severe fire damage, many of these are lost or impossible to read. For example, fol. 97r, which contains some of the text of the *Passio*, rubricates the first letter in the word beginning chapter 2, line 1 of the *Passio*, *Apprekenssi* (*Apprekenssi sunt adolescentes catechumini*), as a capital **A** measuring 50 × 39 mm at the base of the **A**. The **A** is decorated in blue, green, and red ink and with foliation. The spelling of the verb *apprehendo* is distinctive. Although the explicit on fol. 100va is badly damaged and shrunken and has a hole immediately below it, one can still read the rubricated *Explicit Passio Sanctarum Perpetue et Felicitatis*. There is a handsome, albeit workmanlike, initial **B** on fol. 169ra for the feast of Saint Wilfrid, Bishop. It is done simply in red, green, tan, and blue and measures h mm 78 × w 58 mm. The leaves also show rubricated capitals at the start of a line that the rubricator thought significant. See fol. 106rb, the capital **M** (h 15 mm × w 15 mm). Rubricated paragraph markers begin on fol. 174r (scribal hand number 3) and continue through to 233vb. There is no rubrication from 234r through to the end fol. 269r, and there are no rubricated initial majuscules after fol. 173va. The *Annals* of Nicholas Trevet (c. 1257–c. 1334) begin on fol. 174ra.

Historiated Letters: There are illuminated, decorated, and historiated initials throughout. Rubricated capitals as the initial letter introduce the first line of each narrative. There is a handsome historiated initial **G** on fol. 104ra (h 70 mm × w 65 mm) drawn in concentric circles of red, blue, green, and a gold-tan, containing the figure of a headless dog. Damage to the fol. has caused it to lose its head.

Corrections: There is a corrector's hand in the text. Written on the top margin of fol. 98ra is *hylaes descendimus ad carcerem*. Study of the text of fol. 98ra shows that the scribe

omitted this phrase when he copied the *Passio*. The place in the text where we would expect to see the sign directing us to the correction in the margin has been obliterated by the incision of the Victorian conservator. On Fol. 98vb, a small caret shows where the word *video* in the line beginning (X.11) “*At ubi* [caret *video*—above the line] was omitted and correctly added. The texts were gone over carefully after they had been copied.

Fire Damage: The Cotton fire has made this MS almost illegible. In the original copy of Thomas Smith’s 1696 *Catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts* there is a note in a later hand (late eighteenth century) that notes “VIII A burnt lump of little use.” This line was surely written before the Victorian conservators worked on it, and its judgment must not have been wide of the mark. The intensity of the heat likely caused the MS to shrivel up into a cabbage-like ball. The greater fire damage is to the bottom and right side of the MS, that is, the outside margin, suggesting that this part of the MS was more exposed than the inside margin. The later fols. from 176rb on show ever-greater darkening of the vellum, and this might suggest that the MS was lying facedown in a press with the beginning fols. facedown, as one might place a book down on its face and leave the end face up. Fols. 267v through 269r are so damaged and faded that without better technology they are lost and cannot be read.

Conservation: The MS has been rebound in a modern half-leather binding (spine and corners only are leather) and each fol. has been separately mounted in a paper frame surround of h 270 mm × w 180 mm. A clear tape has been used to paste the fols. to the page, but over time it has discolored and makes reading the text it covers impossible. Since the tendency of skin as it gives up its moisture to a heat source is to shrivel, the fire caused the manuscripts that were not completely destroyed to shrink to a fraction of their size into cabbage-like shapes. The conservators cut into the shriveled and balled parchment leaves so that they could flatten them. Fol. 100 shows the cuts made into the middle of the fol. along a vertical and horizontal plane to allow for opening and flattening of the leaf.

Punctuation: *Punctus elevatus* is used.

Drypoint: There is none visible, even in those areas where the vellum has been left blank. For example, on fol. 125r in column a there are 35 mm of blank space where one can see the evidence of lineation (about 4 mm spaces) but no drypoint.

Margins: The top margin averages 20 mm and the bottom 17 mm. The blank area between the columns averages 15 mm, and the actual lines of text in the double columns average about 70 mm in width. (See **Reconstructed Size**.)

Hands: There are four hands: (one) 8r–173v; (two) 174r–233v; (three) 234r–262v; (four) 263r–269r.

Binding: The binding is late nineteenth-century tan morocco spine with four bold horizontal bands identifying the subject and the name of the manuscript and tan morocco on the four corners.

Passio Folio Numbers: 97r(a)–100v(a)

Passio Size: The average size of these fols. is 240 mm × 153 mm. The outside of the leaf is the most badly damaged, which suggests that the MS was closed and the heat attacked that surface first.

Passio Text: Fol. 1v contains a badly burned twelfth-century table of contents where one can still read with difficulty item number 17, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. The text contains selections from both the *Acta* and the entirety of the *Passio* and immediately follows that of the Breton Saint *Wingvaloeius confessor* [Saint Winwaloe]. The incipit for the *Acta* in rubricated lettering reads *Incipit Passio Sanctarum Perpetue et Felici[ta]tis nonae martii* (fol. 95rb). The narrative begins *Acta persecutio [ne] [s]ub Valeriano* (fol. 95va). Fol. 96rb contains two mostly illegible rubricated lines in the bottom margin, which may gloss the text (*anno victo[ri]ae*). The *Passio* itself begins on fol. 97ra, beginning *Apprekenssi sunt*, and ends on fol. 100va; the last line of the text (XXI.11), which is defective, reads *cuius est claritas in s[ae]c[u]la s[a]ec[ul]orum*, followed by the rubricated explicit *Explicit passio sanctarum Perpetue et Felicitatis*. The next incipit begins *Incipit Passio Sanctorum Quadringenta . . .* and provides a list of martyrs' names. (See Canterbury Lit. E. 42 for a similar ordering of the lives.) The *Passio* text, while complete, is severely damaged, and it is not possible to provide an accurate transcription. For example, all of the columns b on fols. 97r through 100 are illegible due to charring from the fire. Additionally, some of the fols. were placed out of order when the manuscript was reassembled. The medieval table of contents on fol. 1v states that the *Passio* is preceded by Saint Winwaloe and the *Passio* is followed by *Vita Sancti Gregory papae libris 4*, and the Gregory *vita* is followed by *Passio sanctorum Quadraginta martyr[um]*. However, in the reassembled volume the *Passio sanctorum Quadraginta martyr[um]* follows the *Passio*, and that is followed by *Vita Sancti Gregorii*. Either the medieval calendar is wrong or the manuscript was reassembled incorrectly, and the latter is far more likely.

Bibliography

Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliotheca Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), p. 76, lists the manuscript as a “kalendarium” and notes the *Passio* as item number 17. There is a note in a late eighteenth-century hand on a blank recto page in this volume that states “viii. A burnt lump of little use.” This note was clearly made before the manuscript was conserved and suggests that it was still shriveled in a ball.

For an account of the Cotton fire at Ashburnham House on October 23, 1731, see Smith, 25–46. J. Planta, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Library* (London, 1802). 369: Planta’s entry is almost as terse as Smith, reading: “The remains of a MS on vellum, in small fol., which once consisted of 267 leaves now burnt to a crust, and preserved in a case. It contains the lives of many saints, several historical tracts, chronicles, & etc.”

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis, ed. Société des Bollandistes (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–99), p. 964; for the *Passio* see numbers 6633–6.

A seventeenth-century transcript of part of the Life of St. Brigid from Cotton Otho D. VIII was made before the fire of 1731. It can be found in MS Trinity Dublin no. 179, and a copy of that exists in Marsh’s Library Dublin Codex Z.4.5.12. See also M. Esposito, “Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Medieval Ireland, IV,” *Hermathena* 49 (1935): 143–45,

and T.K. Abbot, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis, 1900), p. 24; and Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Scholar Press, 1991) I: 320–30, item number 179.

Ker, N. R., “Membra Disiecta,” 2nd series, *The British Museum Quarterly* 4 (1940): 79–86.

Ker, N. R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1941), 23, labels the MS a “Passionale S. Ignaci s.xii,” giving the foliation as 8–173.

Kaufmann, C. M., *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), p. 56, states that the end flyleaves in Cotton D. Otho VIII are taken from Cambridge Trinity College MS O.2.51, and the latter’s provenance is Canterbury, St. Augustine’s Abbey.

Dean, R. J. “Nicholas Trevet Historian,” in *Medieval Learning & Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, eds. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 328–52, cites the MS and adds that fols. 174ra–231ra are s.xiv^M.

Tite, Colin G., *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton: The Panizzi Lectures 1993* (London: The British Library, 1994), provides a fascinating account of the collector and the disposition of his library, including Tite’s reconstruction of it, p. 95–6: “First, the allocation of books to presses was dictated purely by size, the smaller volumes for the most part on the upper shelves. . . most of the volumes must have been stacked on the shelves vertically in a manner which would give us no surprises. But some have titles written, in Cotton’s time, across the fore-edges of the leaves. . .” The MSS were likely stored standing upright.

Jackson, P., and M. Lapidge, “The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,” in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints’ Lives and their Contexts*, ed. P. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York, 1996), pp. 131–46.

Gameson, Richard, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 101, item number 401. Gameson lists the manuscript as a *Passional* and records the first volume only (31 January–20 March). He notes the presence of decorated initials, lists the items contained in this first volume of the *Passional* in fols. 8–173, and gives the provenance as Christ Church, Canterbury with a date of xiii^{1-2/4}.

Tite, C. G., *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton’s Library* (London: The British Library, 2003), p. 156.

Manuscript Name: Canterbury Lit. E. 42.

Sigil: C.

Subject: *Passionale*.

Provenance: Christ Church, Canterbury.

Date: s.xiiⁱⁿ (ca. before 1128).

Contents: The leaves bound in Canterbury Lit. E. 42 represent the remains of an original seven-volume *Legenda martyrum* or *Passionale*. The narratives, chiefly of the martyrs of the Church, follow the liturgical calendar. The liturgical year was begun with the feasts

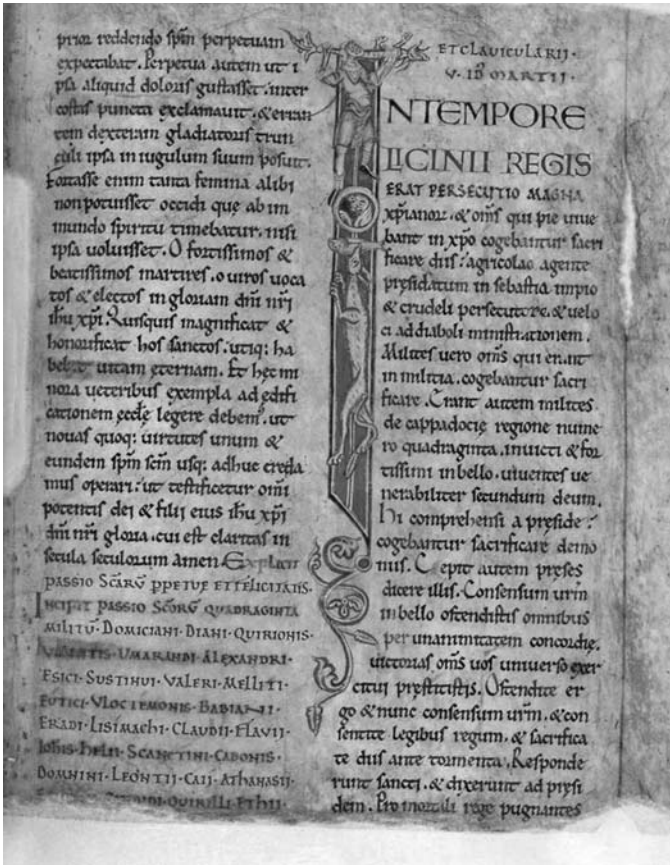


Plate 7.10: C Canterbury Lit. E. 42

for 31 December, 1 February, 2 April, 29 June, 3 August, 21 September, and 11 November. The original volumes were ripped apart sometime in the late sixteenth century (ca. 1574 at the earliest) and their leaves reused to bind other books. (See below, **Folios Rebound.**) The present *Passionale* appears to have been in its original form taken from a very complete series of readings for the entire liturgical year written in Christ Church, Canterbury, in the first quarter of the twelfth century in some seven volumes. It was broken up perhaps as early as the end of the sixteenth century and many of the fols. used as binding materials. The original manuscript was a magnificent composition. Great artistry was exhibited, and great care was taken in its composition, as it has some fine examples of decorated initials that include human figures throughout. The *Passionale* was initially seven volumes.

The present fols. have been placed within parchment surrounds (holders) and rebound in the present volume. There are sixty-two items, the overwhelming majority of which are feast days for martyrs and saints. For a complete list of the items, see N. Ker, *Medieval MSS in British Libraries*, II, 289–95 and R. Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200*, London: The British Library, 2008.

Collation. See Ker. Gameson says that fol. 69r through to the end at 75v is in the hand of a Dutch scribe, Werken, of the late fifteenth century, likely working here after 1473 at the behest of the prior to help “recondition” and copy manuscripts.

Use: It was perhaps used for public reading in the monastery, like that in the refectory, or at chapter, or for the second Nocturns in Matins, when such lives were typically read.

Material: The leaves are vellum and of good quality, but due to the subsequent dismemberment of the original manuscript volumes in the late sixteenth century and their later use as binding material, there are many darkened and damaged fols. showing staining, scarring, and general deterioration. Most of the leaves have parchment surrounds and exhibit the work of conservation.

Columns: Double columns throughout.

Lines: Volume 1 averages thirty-five lines per column. Volume 2 has thirty-four lines (see fol. 37r), but not a single bottom margin remains intact, all having been cropped. Volume 3 has thirty-seven or thirty-eight lines; volumes 5 and 6, thirty-seven lines respectively (see fols. 43r, 44r, 45r). Fol. 31, containing the *Passio* selection, has only thirty-three lines in both columns but is also missing some final lines. Ker estimates thirty-six lines as the average line length for the seven volumes.

Folios: 81 (75 + 6). The original *Passionale* for the entire liturgical year comprised seven substantial volumes. Six of the original seven volumes were broken up in the last third of the sixteenth century and their parchment leaves used as binding material and outside covers for books. Volume seven has never been found. The present volume was reassembled about 1890 and bound in the twentieth century. It contains leaves from as many as four of these original volumes. A bifolium survives in Maidstone, Kent County Archives (S/Rm Fae.2), and three considerable sections of the original composition are in British Library MSS Cotton Nero C.vii, fols. 29–78, Harley 315, fols. 1–39, and Harley 624, fols. 84–143. Canterbury Cathedral Library acquired (1951–66) six unbound leaves of the original composition. (See below Modern Conservation.) They were catalogued as Lit.E.42A, and, despite their being separated from the main text, were foliated as 76–81.

Size: 380–400 mm × 285 mm (see below).

Largest Folio: fol. 75, 390 mm × 266 mm. Before it was cut, it may have measured 430 mm × 280 mm. Such size and the decoration are evidence that this was a significant composition. The text, written in two columns, measures 285 mm × 190 mm.

Pricking: Present. The pricks on fol. 31, for example, are 9 mm apart in the outer margin and provide spacing guides for the frame for the double columns. (See below, **Leaded Formatting Lines**.) However, drypoint is used on this fol. and elsewhere to make the indicators for the scribe’s text. (See **Drypoint**.)

Leaded Formatting Lines: Present. The text frame was laid out with leaded lines: one line on the inside margin, one on the outside, and two parallel lines in the middle running top to bottom so that two separate columns of text could be written. In some instances, as on fol. 26r, there are three midlines, presumably because of the exigencies of the historiated initial on that fol.

Line Width: 90 mm per column is an average text length for the entire manuscript. (See fol. 31r.)

Catchmarks: None present.

Quire Signatures: None.

Foliation: There are two existing systems of modern foliation present and no medieval foliation. The earlier of the two is written in pencil in the upper right-hand corner of the leaves. The latter system is written on the new parchment surrounds and so was done after the manuscript was bound. The two systems differ considerably. For example, fol. 59r in the first modern hand corresponds to fol. 43r in the post-assembly hand. The system adopted here is the latter hand, which records seventy-six fols. (sixty-one in the earlier hand) and is more nearly correct. There are seventy-five fols. extant in the existing bound volume 1 (1r–75v).

Running Heads: Yes; but they typically only appear above the start of a new passion narrative. For example, on fol. 35vb (above the large historiated **T**), we read *Incipit Passio Sanc[ti] Maximilliani*.

Binding: Full brown ribbed morocco modern binding. It is tooled with a simple series of diagonal lines crisscrossing the binding. There are two clasps which lock the manuscript.

Capitals: Twenty-three historiated (containing figural and zoomorphic elements) and decorated (containing nonfigural and non-zoomorphic elements) initials are still extant, and they serve to introduce the beginning of each new passion narrative. R. Gameson suggests that they are all, save the **T** on 57v, the work of a single artist. I will provide a few examples of the initialing to illustrate the quality of the original drawing and the magnificence of the entire composition. On fol. 31rb (the fol. of the *Passio*), there is a beautifully drawn majuscule **I** running almost the entire length of the inner margin, which separates the two columns of text. It is rubricated in red, blue, and green. At the top of the **I** is the figure of a man—a monk perhaps—in green robes (55 mm long) holding a dragon over his head. Immediately below this figure is a roundel (14 mm in diameter) depicting the head of an unidentifiable animal (cow?). The next figure down is a running dog (85 mm) holding a fish in its mouth. The entire initial ends with a vine-like tendril flourish 65 mm in length. From top to bottom, the initial rubricated **I** measures 240 mm. There are other initials throughout volume 2. For example, on fol. 34rb there is a stunning, but now very damaged, initial letter **B** (125 × 80 mm) containing two human and various animal figures and luxuriant foliage in the bowls of the **B**. There is a beautiful letter **T** (115 × 100 mm) on fol. 35vb, the first letter in the name Tusco. It is rubricated in red, blue, green, tan, and pink with animal and human figures. Fol. 50rb has a magnificent initial letter **R**, which begins the passion of Saint Ypolita, martyr. Inside the bowl of the **R**, a dragon is shown consuming another beast; a beast is consuming a man, and there is a drawing of a long-snouted (unidentifiable) beast. This **R** is rubricated in green, red, and blue, and all the figures are contained within the bowl of the **R**, which measures 130 × 115 mm. There is a handsome and large letter **P** on 65rv.

Rubricated Lettering: 20-mm rubricated letters introduce paragraphs; see fol. 36ra for the letter **I**.

Damage: Fols. from the *Passionale* were reused. Fol. 38v, for example, which still has a faintly visible rubricated explicit to the *Life of Saint Gertrudis the Virgin* (*Explicit vita*

sanct[ae] Ger[t]rudis Virgin[is]) and an historiated initial (which because of the severe damage is difficult to identify; possibly a **G**?), has lost almost all traces of the medieval writing in both its columns. The leaf's appearance suggests damage from exposure (likely resulting from its use as binding material), which has effaced the medieval writing. On the top of this fol. (38r), written prominently in English in an eighteenth-century hand, we read "*The booke of Rates.*" These fols. were reused as bookkeeping ledgers. In some instances the fols. have been damaged with black ink (fols. 56v and 57r). This is the same ink used by the individual who was writing the dates on fol. 22r. Fols. 56v, 57r and the evidence of the ink damage indicate that this manuscript was held in low esteem by this seventeenth-century annotator. Fol. 60v shows this clear lack of regard for the medieval composition, as there are two hands written carelessly across the leaves. The first hand in an older script (early sixteenth century) in a faded tan ink has written: *Liber 21, Liber [Instantiarum]*; below that in the hand of the late sixteenth-century annotator, we read *Acta ad Instantiam Partium Lib. 21, Anno 1573*. In some instances this same annotator has turned the fols. upside down and written across the middle of the medieval text. Since it would be simpler to complete such annotation on unbound manuscript leaves, this writing suggests that the actual fols. were already unbound from their original volumes by the late 1570s.

A number of fols. are only partially preserved, having been severely damaged, possibly through exposure (fols. 66r through 68). These fols. are just ragged pieces and have been set in parchment surrounds. Other fols. also show evidence of extreme darkening of the leaves and damage suggestive of exposure to elements like water, particularly fols. 72 and 73. Fol. 73v is very dark from staining and is missing a section (w 30 mm × h 70 mm) in the lower part of column a. Fol. 7 contains only the top nineteen lines in both columns, and 8 preserves only the bottom fifteen lines in both columns.

Modern Conservation: This manuscript was rebound in the early twentieth century. The binding is a full binding of brown tooled leather with two brass clasps for securing the volume. This volume now contains all the existing fol. remains of a magnificent six-volume (possibly seven) early twelfth-century *Passionale*, except for three *bifolia* that were placed in the library by a Church Council deposit of 1966. These 1966 *bifolia* were removed from the Eastry Quitrents of 1513 and 1593, and they are shelved separately in the Canterbury Cathedral Library under the accession number Lit. E. 42A. The evidence for their association with Eastry is written in a sixteenth-century hand on the bottom of fol. 80rb: "Estry: Rentals of Quitrents, 1513 & 1593." This affiliation is written upside down on 80r, directly across the twelfth-century text, showing the clerk's complete lack of regard for the earlier text. There remains a single leaf (*bifolium*) in Maidstone, Kent County Archives, S/Rm Fæ.2, which I have not been able to see. It was used to wrap the Common Expenditors Accounts 1574–79 of the Commissioner of Sewers for Level of Romney Marsh, a text concerning sewer abatements.

The present order and sequence of the passion narratives is not correct. For example, the text of the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* is a twenty-three-line fragment of the entire text, and it begins acephalously on fol. 31ra with the first line reading *prior reddendo spiritum Perpetua*. The prior fol. 30vb has no relation to this text. It may be a narrative of

the life of Saint Honoratus. It is a somewhat didactic discussion of how one should dedicate oneself to the love of God, with the injunction that if a monastery follows this principle it will surely flower.

1966 Bifolia Deposits: There is one bifolium in each of the three blue paper folders. The envelope containing the bifolium with fols. 80 and 81 has written on it “Church Council Deposit 1966, Eastry Quitrents of 1513 and 1596.” The fol. numbers in the three bifolia which are not bound in the manuscript and whose descriptions follow were numbered to follow the last fol. in the bound manuscript, which ends with fol. 76v. These bifolia contain texts which do not follow an order that depends on the texts in the liturgical calendar. Furthermore, since the manuscript was broken up, many leaves have been lost; some of the survivors were used as binding material, and have subsequently been put together without any genuine hope of reconstructing the original early twelfth-century *Passionale*.

Packet 1: The text of *Gregorius, Aurelius, Felix et socii* starting on fol. 76ra begins with a large historiated initial **F** (h 240 mm × w 75 mm), depicting a naked man, human heads, a pig, a woodsman with an ax, and another human figure in an acrobat-like pose. The text accompanying the initial (fol. 76ra–77vb) reads, *Fuit quidam iuuenis temporibus Abdiram Regis nomine Aurelius apud Cordubam Hispanie cuitate[m] natalibus & rebus plurimos antecellens. Hic infantia matre Christiana & patre gentili orbatus. . . .* This fol. has double columns, and thirty-six lines of text are extant. Fol. 76 measures (height) 300 mm (missing some of the bottom margin) and (width) 277 mm. Reconstructed, it was likely at least 320/60 mm by 277/300 mm. There is a final single leaf in the packet, which contains some illegible text and appears to have absorbed text from the original manuscript, hence its illegibility. It also contains the fragmentary section of an historiated initial (a fragment of the vertical ascender) in red, green, and blue. The colors appear to have been inked onto the paper.

Packet 2: Begins acephalously. Fol. numbers 78 and 79 contain thirty-nine lines in two columns. Size: h 345 mm × w 248 mm (the outside margin has been cropped). Moreover, folding along the outside margin—the seam which resulted from the folding is very visible but has been opened and pressed flat in subsequent conservation—shows it has been used as a wrapper for a binding of a later text. The fold was made to stiffen the edges of the new vellum bindings. The text of these fols. is identified at the top margin as *Lucia & Geminianus*. Fol. 78 is severely darkened from being exposed as a wrapper and hence difficult to read. The text mentions Diocletian 78rb, l.35, who was traditionally responsible for St. Lucia’s death. The reconstructed size of the packet must have been considerably greater than the present cropped size of 280/90 mm, on the order of 360 mm. The present parchment surrounds are h 360 mm. If fol. 80, whose bottom margin is intact at 60 mm below the last line of text, was representative of the original size, then we can assume a length of approximately 360 mm or so for the height of the leaf. If, as seems likely, the leaves had approximately thirty-nine lines—that is, six more than fol. 31r now has (it has been cropped)—it would have had an additional 45 mm of text. If we add to this additional line space a margin of approximately 30 mm, we would have a total height of at least 360 mm.

Packet 3: Fols. 80 and 81. This is another single bifolium (h 305 mm × w 210 mm). However, evidence of a large historiated initial—possibly a **P**—on fol. 81ra suggests it might have been originally 50 mm or 60 mm taller in height. If this is the case, as seems likely, then this bifolium measured approximately 360 mm × 260 mm. If so, the six or seven volumes of the original liturgical passionale would have been approximately the same size. The fol. 80r column has been identified by Ker as containing the miracles of St. Maurice, which begin with a faded historiated initial (**M**?) of a beast (dog or lion?) swallowing a dragon.

Collation for Volume 2: There are a total of fourteen leaves in volume 2, if we count the two leaves at Maidstone: fols. (1) 1r–2v; (2) fols. 31r–34v; (3) fols. 35r–36v; (4) 37r–40v; (5) fols. 41r–42v.

Passio Text: Is wholly contained on fol. 31ra. The entire selection is twenty-three lines long and concludes with a one-and-one-half-line explicit. The *Passio* begins (acephalously) on fol. 31ra with the line *prior reddendo spiritum Perpetua* from the middle of line 8, chapter XXI of the *Passio*. The text before the *Passio* on fol. 28rb begins the *Life of Saint Balthil[dis]*, and the text on fol. 29va with an historiated initial is the deposition of Saint Hilary (... *Sanctus Hilarius In Depositione*), followed by the rubrication “XVII Kal. Februarii.”

At the bottom of fol. 31ra, immediately following the *Passio*, is a series of alternating red and green rubricated lines listing the passions which follow: *Incipit S[an]c[t]orum Quadringenta militum*, [e.g., Domiciani, Diani, Quirionis, Valentis, Umarandi, Alexandri, Valeri, Melliti, Eutici, etc.] for a total of thirty-two names. The narrative which begins at the top of fol. 31rb starts: *Et Clauicularii, v Idus martii . . . In tempore Licini Regis erat persecutione magna Christianorum & omnes pie vivebant in Christo cogebantur sacrificare diis; agricola[e] agente praesediatum in Sebastia impio & crudiliter persecutore & veloci ad diaboli ministracionem*. Some later hand has carefully gone over and darkened the letters ‘re’ at the end of *persecutore* and the ‘i’ and ‘e’ at the end of *minsitacionem*.

Punctuation: The *punctus elevatus* is used throughout for pauses (see line 3 on fol. 31ra).

Margins: The gutter margin measures approximately 25 mm and the outside margin 30 mm. Fol. 80, which contains the legend of St. Maurice, has a 60-mm margin below the text. The top margins, although frequently cropped, would have averaged 40 mm.

Drypoint: Present; on fol. 31r, the fol. containing the twenty-three lines of the *Passio* extract, there is clear evidence of drypoint in column b, in lines 3 and 4 from the bottom of the fol. On fol. 16vr, immediately following the *Life of Saint Julian the Bishop*, the scribe has not written on the eighteen lines that finish column a of fol. 16v, and the drypoint is clear. Fol. 63v has never been written on and also shows the drypoint technique for line layout.

Hands: There are six hands, with some apparent overlap on fols. (all of the twelfth century) and two from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. Hand one fols. 1r–37r; 2, 37v–42v, 48r–61v; 3, 43r–57r; 4, 57v–65v; 5, 62r–63r, 6, 66v–75v. Fol. 69r to the end at 75v is in a later hand, which N. Ker dates as xv² and Gameson identifies as that of the Dutch scribe Theodorick Werken, who was working in Canterbury after 1471.

There are many later annotations throughout the manuscript, though they are chiefly from the sixteenth century. On fol. 4r there is a sixteenth-century librarian's identification of the manuscript. Across the top of the manuscript on fol. 4r are three dates, written one after the other with no separating punctuation: 1573 1574 1574. Directly beneath the dates, written across the medieval text, we read *expedit*; 35 mm below that we read *Ad Instantiam Partium*; 17 mm below that we read *Lib. 22*; and 20 mm below that in the space separating columns a and b we read the date 1573, and immediately below it 1654. In a similar hand (fol. 22r) we read "Ex officio, Comperta & Delecta, Decan Sittingbourn & Lutton Lib. 24, 1577, 1588." On fol. 28r there is much the same: "Comperta & Delecta, Lib. 17, Decan Bridge, 1577, 1584." On fol. 33r we read "Ex officio, Comperta & Delecta, Lib. 14, 1574, 1576." On fol. 35 in the top margin over column a there are three dates on top of one another, reading from the top "1574, 1575, 1576," and immediately to their right over column b a signature in the same hand as the dates: "Thomas" (last name illegible), and below that *Ad Instantiam*.

Size of the *Passio* Folios: The two widest lines of text on fol. 31ra are 90 mm (lines 4 and 19). The inner margin between the two columns of text is large (30 mm) to allow for the beautiful initial **I**. The outside margin is large and continues approximately 60 mm beyond the end of the text line. The gutter margin is approximately 25 mm; hence the width of this fol. would have been 285 mm. The height at present is 295 mm, but the bottom margins have been cropped, and it would likely have been considerably longer; a reconstructed size for these fols. containing the *Passio* would be nearer to 310 mm × 285 mm. Fol. 75 is 380 mm high and has a fold of 40 mm at the bottom margin. Unfolded, it measures 380 mm high, a very large fol. and the largest of the extant fols. All volumes of the *Passionale* would have been approximately this size.

Binding: There is ample evidence that these medieval fols. served as binders for later texts. There are two classic indicators of this practice extant in the manuscript. First, some of the present fols. show a shadow outline across the text, which has darkened the leaf. This darkening or stain resulted from the leather lacings being tightly bound against the parchment leaves, which wrapped and secured these fols. around later texts (see Eastry under **Modern Conservation** above). This darkening (or staining) resulted from lacings pressed against the parchment for a considerable time and is visible on fols. 25vb and 30ra. Second, the outside margins of the parchment leaves all show a dark seam approximately 50 mm from the cropped edge running the length of the fol. The leaf was doubled over (hence the dark seam) for stiffening and used as a binder. When the original manuscript volumes were disassembled in the late sixteenth century and the fols. used for rebinding other leather books or to serve as book covers, the outer margin of these medieval fols. were first folded back on themselves. This doubled the thickness of the parchment leaf, which stiffened it and thus ensured that the leaves would provide a more durable edge for the new bindings. The leaves darkened along the fold. When the manuscript was reassembled in the 1880s, the conservators unfolded and flattened these leaves. Today, the leaves, while perfectly flat, have a dark vertical line indicating where the seam was. There are no medieval quire signatures on the leaves.

Bibliography

Todd, Henry J., *Catalogue of the Books, both Manuscript and Printed Which Are Preserved in the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury* (Clerkenwall: Bye and Law, 1802), p. 128. Todd identifies Lit. E. 42 as E. 25, “Lessons in the week . . . Those relating to the saints are legendary.”

Edwards, E., *Memories of Libraries* (London, 1859), I: 122–235.

Legg, J. Wickham, and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church Canterbury with Historical and Topographical Introductions and Illustrative Documents* (Westminster: Archibald & Co., 1902), for their discussion of the cathedral’s wealth in material goods.

James, Montague R., *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), p. 52. Lit. E. 42, appears to be recorded in Prior Eastrý’s (Prior 1284–331) catalogue of 1331 under the heading *Passionale*, number 360. See James, p. 509, who notes “No. 360. The flyleaf is bound up in Trinity Coll. Camb. O.2.51. Article 19 in MS. C.C.C.C. 298 was copied from from liber eccl. Cantuar. vocatus passionale S. Ignacii iam in manibus Magistri Bower.” Eastrý’s Catalogue (covering the period 1190–1331) indicates a rich and variegated collection, which James estimated at 1,850 books.

Woodruff, C. Eveleigh, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury* (Canterbury: Cross & Jackman, 1911), p. 22, item number 46, and his *Memorials of the Cathedral and Priory of Christ in Canterbury* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1912), pp. 1–116. This is still informative for the early period.

Ker, N. R., “*Membra Disiecta*,” *British Museum Quarterly* xiv (1940): 85, where he discusses the provenances of Christ Church manuscripts.

Dodwell, C. R., *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954): pp. 66, 70, 75, 78, 121, and plate 42d.

Ker, N. R., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977): II, pp. 289–96.

Ramsay, N., “The Cathedral Archives and Library,” in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay, and M. Sparks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). Ramsay suggests (p. 370) that by the fifteenth century the Cathedral library was so rich with early manuscripts that there was no need to commission or buy new ones, and indeed some scribes produced what we might call facsimile copies of earlier volumes. He cites fols. 69–74 from Canterbury Cathedral MS E. 42 as ones “that look back more skilfully to twelfth-century models.”

Gameson, Richard, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c.1066–1130)*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 77, number 194, with Maidstone, Kent County Archives, S/Rm Fæ.2. Gameson points out that Lit. E. 42 is a companion piece to MSS BL Harley 315 and Harley 624, and Cotton Nero C. vii. Gameson dates Lit. E. 42 as xiiiⁱⁿ⁻¹: “Passional (frags.: parts of four separate volumes from a seven-volume set; contents are inventoried in Ker, ‘Med. MSS in BL’, II, pp. 289–96. Companions to London, British Library, Harley 624 + 315 + Cott Nero C.VII (no. 433). X^{ii in-1} (before 1128?) Canterbury, Christ Church.”

Manuscript Name: MS Jerusalem 1.

SIGIL: H.

Subject: The Jerusalem codex is a menologion for the month of February and contains accounts of approximately forty-two martyrs and saints, interspersed with homiletic materials written in Greek.

Provenance: There is no identifiable medieval provenance in the manuscript. However, the manuscript bears the stamp (fol. 1r) of the Orthodox Patriarch Cyril II (1845–72), and the volume may have been received by the Patriarchial Library during this period. Coincidentally, this was a period when many Orthodox libraries in the East were being consolidated in the Jerusalem library. H has been shelved with those manuscripts of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the largest manuscript collection in the Jerusalem Patriarchate, containing some 645 manuscripts, since Cyril II's reign.

Date: s.x². There is no internal evidence, save that of the scribal hands, for the date of the manuscript.

Contents: A menologion for the month of February containing approximately forty-two accounts of saints and martyrs. Folio numbers are provided when verifiable.

1. Saint Tryphon, fol. 1r.
2. Saint Amphilochius of Iconium, fol. 11r.
3. Saint John Chrysostom, fol. 15v.
4. Saint Timothy, Priest of Jerusalem, fol. 18v.
5. Saint Methodius, fol. 22r.
6. Saint Theodore, fol. 25r.
7. Saint Athanasius, fol. 28r.
8. Saint Photius
9. Epistle of John of Jerusalem
10. Saint John of Damascus, fol. 36r.
11. Saints Perpetua and Felicity, fol. 41r.
12. Saint Agatha, fol. 47v.
13. Saint Abramius
14. Saint Julian
15. Saint Faustus and Companions
16. Saint Parthenius, fol. 56r.
17. Saints Martha, Mary, and Lycarion
18. Saint Nicephorus, fol. 64r.
19. Saint Gregory of Nyssa
20. Saint Charalampus
21. Saint Blasius Bishop of Sebastius, fol. 79r.
22. Saint Mary
23. Saint Martinian
24. Saint Auxentius, Priest fol. 94r.
25. Saint Onesimus

26. Saints Pamphilus, Valens, Paul, Seleucus, Porphyry, Theodolus, Julian, Egyptians
27. The Ones commemorated in Martyropolis and Saint Maroutha
28. Saint Auxibius
29. Saints Sathod and Companions
30. Saint Chrysippus
31. Saint Polycarp, fol. 136r.
32. Head of John the Baptist
33. Saint Porphyry
34. Saint Hippolytus, fol. 173r.
35. Saint Nestor
36. Saint John Chrysostom, fol. 195v.
37. Saint Anastasios Sinaitus, fol. 202v.

Number of Folios: ii + 209 + iii fols. The manuscript contains two paper front pieces and three paper end pieces. The manuscript is enumerated in the upper right-hand corner of every fol. recto. There are three blank fols.: 73, 80, and 201.

Material: The codex uses good-quality light-colored, thin parchment. The compilers used the occasional thick bifolium to enclose a gathering, e.g., fol. 25 for gathering 4. The entire last quire, gathering 28, is written on a consistently thicker parchment. Fol. 1r is dirty and discolored and suggests the manuscript may have been unbound for some time.

Columns: Double columns are used throughout, except for fol. 87. The text columns average w 70 mm × h 295–300 mm.

Lines per Folio: 38.

Size of Text Letters: The scribes use lowercase letters throughout, and these letters average (except minims) approximately w 2.5 mm × h 4 mm. There are no spaces between the words as the narrative is written. Abbreviations are used throughout and are common. There are no paragraph marks or other indicators of thematic breaks.

MS Size:

Average size: width 260 mm and 395 mm length

Largest: fol. 82 width 268 mm and 404 mm length

Reconstructed: width 263 mm and 400 mm length

Pricking: Although there is no obvious consistent presence of pricking holes, fol. 74 has three pinholes in the bottom margin consistent with where pricking pins would have been used to construct the double-column drypoint grid. This suggests that the edges of the fols. were cropped and pricking holes lost.

Catchmarks: None.

Foliation: 1–13⁸; 14⁶; 15¹⁰; 16⁶; 17–25⁸; 26²; 27–28⁸. The codex contains twenty-four quires of eights and four of differing lengths. Fol. 73 and 80 are blank and begin and end quire number 10.

Running Heads: Every saint's life or account of their martyrdom begins with an identification of the individual in a bold abbreviated calligraphic hand in black ink. In

addition, a block scroll of vines and tendrils forming a small rectangular grid (for example, fol. 41ra: w 90 mm × h 53 mm) surrounds each incipit and encloses a varying number of the actual opening lines of the each narrative.

Lineation (ink quality, etc.): The ink is a burned sienna color, the script of the principal scribe is written with a sharp quill, and the letters are finely and thinly drawn.

Initials: There is little use made of Greek capitals, save in the running heads.

Capitals: Capital letters are only used to identify the individual whose feast is celebrated. They consistently use the abbreviation of the Greek word for martyr followed by an abbreviation of the saint's name, typically only providing the first initial of the name; see fol. 47v, where the Martyrdom of Saint Agatha simply identifies her as **A**.

Historiated Capitals: None.

Illuminations: There are no illuminations in the codex. However, the codex does begin every saint's narrative with an ink drawing (possibly scribal) immediately below the identifying grid pattern mentioned above. These drawings have been crudely gone over in colored inks. For example, the text of the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* contains, immediately below the bracket containing the incipit, a three-quarter roundel of two birds facing each other (h 35 mm × w 23 mm). The ink outline of the birds has been gone over in blue and green ink. The birds are skillfully drawn, particularly considering the small area allowed for the drawing. The colored ink is rapidly and sometimes sloppily applied over the outline of the drawing. There are occasions when the drawing is intended to serve as a visual clue to an aspect of the martyr's story. Hence, in the martyrdom of Saint Julian on fol. 52r, a roundel measuring 30 mm × 30 mm depicts the saint being scourged by a second man wielding a whip. The saint's body is covered with spots indicative of the welts from the scourging. As in the depiction of the birds in the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*, the line drawing of Julian has been outlined in blue, green, and red ink.

Repairs: Strips of parchment have been carefully cut from some of the lower margins. The manuscript has been carefully cut with a sharp instrument, causing no loss of text (see fols. 35–36, 44, 117, 118, 160, and 161). Frequently, in those cut fols., a small tab of parchment has been left in the gutter margin (see fol. 44). The reason for such mutilation may have been to use the substantial lower margins for binding stiffening in other manuscripts. While the present codex does show such repairs made with vellum (see fol. 106 in the outside margin), most of the repairs made in the present codex are made with paper and glued into the weak areas in the gutter and or lower margin (see fols. 119v and 140v respectively).

Rubrics: There is no use of rubrics.

Corrections: There is evidence of the manuscript's having been checked for accuracy. Corrections are not common, but when they do appear the correction might consist of a word or words being scraped away and surrounded by a series of small dots (see fol. 70vb, the last word).

Punctuation: The *punctus* is used, but not consistently. It is used most frequently to distinguish the iota from other minims. The standard modern accent marks in Greek, for example, the iota subscript and the breathing marks, are used inconsistently.

Marginalia: Given the size of this manuscript and the popular nature of the contents, there are a small number of marginal annotations throughout. The few examples are usually concise remarks on the text being narrated (see fols. 30r, 97r, 104r, and 136r, all in the bottom margin).

Margins: The generous margins suggest that the manuscript was designed to be read publicly, perhaps in a liturgical setting, since the amount of white space provided by the generous margins improves legibility considerably and would allow a lector to stand and read the codex.

Outside: 40 mm from end of text line to edge of leaf

Top: average 38 mm

Bottom: average 63 mm

Gutter: average 40 mm

Drypoint: The codex is laid out entirely in drypoint. There is no evidence of leaded or inked lines on the leaves. The drypoint layout is the familiar double-column grid. Fols. 32r and 171r exhibit very clear examples of the drypoint stylus, as it bit deeply into the parchment.

Hands: There is a principal scribe in the codex. Three different hands are also present:

Hand one—fols. 1r–86v; 88r–143v; 194r–209v.

Hand two—fols. 87r–87v (an inserted paper singleton of medieval provenance).

Hand three—fols. 144r–154v. This hand is smaller and employs thicker letter forms than hand one, and the ductus here slants decidedly toward the left.

Hand four—fols. 155r–193r. A small square and upright script that ends on the partial fol. of 193, containing one column of twenty-nine lines (h 280 mm × w 140 mm).

Passio Text: The *Passio* begins on fol. 41ra and ends on 47vb at the top of the leaf. It is in gathering number 6.

Binding: The binding is of the nineteenth century and is a complete red-tooled morocco leather over wooden boards. The tooling on the front and back is of spiraling double parallel lines along the outside margin and a large tooled diamond shape drawn from the center of four sides of the exterior tooling lines. The spine contains two black leather inlays which serve to identify the contents, attributing the collection to the tenth-century civil servant and Orthodox monk Simeon Metaphrastes. Simeon, as is well known, compiled ten volumes of the Orthodox Menologion at the request of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. It is entirely possible that the codex is contemporary with Simeon.

Bibliography: There is little scholarship available on the manuscript, save the description in the Catalogue of the Orthodox Patriarch's Jerusalem library by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Bibliothekhe etoi Katalogos ton en tais Bibliothekais*. . . , 5 vols. (Brussels: 1891), pp. 1–8; Kleopas M. Koikylydes, *Kataloipa cheirographon Hierosolymitikes bibliothekes* (Jerusalem, 1899). See also Kenneth W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1953), p. 5, who lists it under *Panagios Taphos*. Although Clark's is but a brief report of the microfilming of the Patriarchate library, his introduction is nonetheless useful.

C. THE EDITIONS

Bibliography of the Principal Printed Editions and Significant Translations of the *Passion of Perpetua et Felicitatis*.

Since Holstenius first printed the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* in 1661, the work has remained a perennial favorite of scholars and has also enjoyed a wide popularity among general readers. Translations continue to appear in virtually all the western European languages, and recently it has even begun to be translated into Asian languages. I cite below all the significant editions of the *Passio* as well as translations in English. I would refer the reader to Habermehl for a general bibliography and information about texts and translations in various languages. If I occasionally cite an edition which translates the text into a language other than English, it is because there is additional information of interest in the translation or commentary or because of the particular volume's influence.

[L. Holstenius corrected by Valois] *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. Cum notis Lucae Holstenii. Vaticanae Bibliothecae Praefecti. Paris: Carolus Savreux, 1664. Much of Valois's brief Latin introduction (iv–xiii), “Henricvs Valesivs Lectori,” which praises Holstenius, concerns Valois's efforts to demonstrate the historicity of the martyrdom, its location, whether in Thuburbo or Carthage, and under whose reign the martyrs suffered. The text of the *Passio* is the second item in the book (pp. 1–37), the first being the *Passio SS. Martyrvm Tarachi, Probi et Andronici* and the third the *Passio S. Bonifatii*. Each item is individually paginated and begins anew on a page 1. Valois edits Holstenius's edition of the Monte Cassino exemplar. He acknowledges on the very last printed page (unnumbered) of the volume that his edition is taken from Holstenius's Rome edition of 1663. Pages 38–87 of this text contain excerpts from the earlier commentators who have remarked on the *Passio*, beginning with a selection from chapter 55 of Tertullian's *De Anima* and ending with an excerpt from a MS of the *Acta* (*Ex Manuscripto Codice Bibliothecae Sancti Victoris*), which opens with *Facta itaque persecutione sub Valeriano & Galieno*. . . . Pages 89–208 contain all of Holstenius's notes, and Valois's work concludes on pages 209–16 with an *Index Verborum*. There are no chapter divisions in the text of the *Passio* as printed here. This edition does not include what modern editors have referred to as Chapter 1, beginning *Si uetera fidei exempla*, but rather Holstenius labels this chapter *Praefatio*. The text proper begins on page Aiiii under the title *Passio Sanctarum Martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. For more on Holstenius see Alfredo Serrai, *La biblioteca de Lucas Holstenius* (Udine: Forum, 2000).

Acta sanctorum. Martii a Iohane Bollando, S.I. A. G. Henschenius et D. Papebrochius. Antwerp: Iacob Meursium, 1668. The Bollandist's text of the *Passio* is taken from Holstenius's text based on the Monte Cassino MS (p. 631). They do not cite the Valois edition of 1664 as their base text. They simply refer to their edition as *Vita Ex Ms. Casinensi eruta à Lucâ Holstenio*. Their brief introduction to the *Passio* follows the format of the two earlier editions; they print brief excerpts from earlier commentators like Tertullian and Augustine (p. 631), and argue many of the same points, notably the merits of Thuburbo

versus Carthage as the likeliest place of the martyrdom. The notes to the texts are very abbreviated, and while they do cite Holstenius's readings, they do not give his notes in full. For example, a typical note contains a lowercase letter, which agrees with the same letter in the text followed by the note. Thus, glossing the word *defatigationibus* (XIII.6) their note reads "d Holstenius . . . legi de factionibus." Their reading is the same as that used by Valois and indicates that they knew Valois's emended text (see Valois p. 25).

Oxford edition of 1680. Lucii Caecilii Lactantii, *De Mortibus Persecutorum. Accesserunt Passiones: SS. Perpetuae & Felicitatis, S. Maximiliani, S. Felicis*. Oxonii: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1680. The *Passio* is included in this volume which begins with Lactantius's great work. On page 5 of the front matter of the copy held in the British Library there is a handwritten ink note in a contemporary hand (Thomas Spark? late seventeenth century): *Fuit hic liber dono missus a Johanne Fell Oxoniensi Episcopo ad Isaacum Vossium, ab eoque postea datus Baulo Colomesio, cuius manus passim apparet*, and slightly further down on that page the date when the marginal emendations were made is given as 1684. The author indicates that the corrections in the text of Lactantius were taken from an edition of Nicholas Toinard and made here in *ex ciptas ex Editione hujusico Operas Abod improsse cura ejusdem Toinhardi anno Domini MDCLXXXIV, forma quam in duodecimo appellat*. The hand is tiny, faded, and difficult to read, and my transcription is tentative.

The *Passio* proper is part of this edition of Lactantius and appears at the end after his *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. The Latin text of the *Passio* is the 1663 edition of Holstenius. However, it is compared in their notes against the Salisbury MS. This is the first citation of the *Passio* text from the Salisbury MS, and is evidence of Bishop Fell's possession of this manuscript and its presence in Oxford before 1680. For a discussion of how Fell took possession of this MS, see my remarks in the chapter on *Manuscripts* under "Salisbury." Robinson was the first to note that the Monte Cassino MS was collated in this edition against the Salisbury MS. The entire text and the notes (all at the bottom of the page) are on pp. 1–36. The notes are very brief and restricted to emending the Monte Cassino readings with the variants from Salisbury, and Jean-Louis Quantin suggests they are by Henry Dodwell (1641–1711). For example, on p. 1 (gathering k) in the printing of the *Praefatio*, footnote 1 at the bottom of the page reads: "Inscriptio M.S. Sarisburiensis. *Passio SS. Felicitatis & Perpetuae, quod est Nonis Martiis in civitate Turbitana*. Forte legendum Turbitana." Footnote number 2, glossing the phrase in line 1 of the preface *propterea in literis*, reads 2 *Rectius in literas*. The glosses are brief throughout. Occasionally, the author does refer to Holstenius's edition by name, as in footnote 5 on page 23, which glosses the phrase in chapter XI.8 [here printed] *violata*. Footnote 5 states: "S *Via lata* Holst." Valois in his emendations of Holstenius also prints *violata*, noting in his gloss (p. 153): "Pag.22.v.12 Transivimus stadium violata. Omnino legendum *via lata*." In his footnote 4 on page K2, glossing the Latin in chapter I *novissimiora*, the editor cites the passage as likely indebted to Montanists: *Ex hoc loco conjici potest Montani sectatorem fuisse qui haec Acta digessit*. The anonymous editor occasionally cites from the Greek language, from the scriptures or from the classics. For example, on page 10, he glosses the Latin transliteration *tegnon* "1 Gr. Teknon." On page 29, footnote number 2, glossing the phrase *lucido inces su*, he cites "2 sic Xenophon de Socrate, cum morti addictus a judicium conspectu

discederet” (and then the [problematic] Greek line ἀθη. . . . ομμασι βαδισ μαν φαιδό). Unlike his practice in the text of Lactantius’s *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, which begins the book, he makes no comments in the margins.

Lucii Cæcilii Firmiani Lactantii, *De Mortibus Persecutorum Liber. Accesserunt Passiones: SS. Perpetuae & Felicitatis, S. Maximiliani, S. Felicis*. Oxonii: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1680. This copy of the 1680 edition in the Cambridge University Library (CUL Edition 3.38.34) has no annotations of any kind in the front matter or anywhere else, and hence, unlike the British Library copy, it does not contain Spark’s autograph attribution to Bishop Fell. The *Præfatio* is printed as a separate section (pp. 1–4) before the chapter narrating their arrest, which begins *Apprehensi* . . . (p. 5). Although the chapter divisions are exactly where they appear in modern editions, the chapters are not assigned numbers. There are some editorial conventions employed. For example, Saturus’s vision is preceded by the header: *Visio Saturi* (p. 21). The only other chapter header in the text is on page 29, where *Passio Ut Supra* appears in the middle of the page preceding Chapter Eighteen, which begins *Illuxit dies victoriae illorum* . . .

The *Passio* was well received after Holstenius’s edition appeared. The *Passio* made an enormous impression on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century readers. It was frequently referred to even when scholars were working on different texts. For example, it appears in a very good edition of Lactantius’s *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. See *Lucii Cæcilii Firmiani Lactantii, De Mortibus Persecutorum, Cum notis Stephania Baluzzi, editione secunda, Accesserunt Gisb. Cuperi, Jo Columbi, Tho. Spark, Nic. Toinardi, Jo Georg. Graevii, Tho. Gale, Elliae Boherelli, Trajecti ad Rhenum: Francisci Halma, 1692* (Cambridge University Library Edition 3.36.8). Cuperi provides an extended discussion of the scene of the amphitheatre, the various implements of torture, and the anecdote of the bear in the *Passio* and its reluctance to fight (see part two of this volume). Cuperi was so intent to communicate the contents of the *Passio* that he used visual images to illustrate narrative details. Page 185 of this text depicts an engraving of a bear and a naked female. The woman is covered with a restraining net and shown lying on a large board (*catasta?*) which is tilted at an angle and faces the bear. The bear has one paw on the bottom of the board (here *pontes*) but seems reluctant to move further. Cuperi also cites Holstenius (p. 182): *Lucas Holstenius, vir paucis comparandus, censet Xiphilinum loqui de Pontibus Amphitheatri, quorum mentio in Passione SS. Perpetuae & Felicitatis; ad quam haec notat. . . .*

T. Ruinart, *Acta Primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta*. Paris: Archbishop of Paris, 1689. Ruinart’s discussion of the emperors involved in the persecutions from Nero to Maxentius, although largely drawn from Eusebius, is surprisingly balanced (pp. xxviii–lxiii). Ruinart prints an *Admonitio* to the reader (p. 81) concerning his text of the *Passio* with the acknowledgment that he has used the text of Holstenius supplemented by the notes of Valois: *Multum desiderata, & frustra in variis bibliothecis diu conquesta Acta germana Sanctarum Perpetuae & Felicitatis, invenit tandem studiosissimus sacræ antiquitatis indagator Lucas Holstenius in cod. MS. Sacri monasterii Casinensis, unde eruta & Romæ vulgata, eadem postea, cum ejusdem Holstenii notis, Parisiis edidit Henricus Valesius*. Ruinart discloses that he has also used two additional MSS to construct his text, MSS S and P (p. lii): *Passio SS. Perpetuae & Felicitatis cum sociis earum. Ex. 2 codd. Mss. Uno*

ecclesiae Salisburgensis, & altero S. Cornelii Compendiensi, collata ad editionem Lucae Holstenii; also p. 81: *Ecclesiae Salisburgensis, cujus codicis varias lectiones sapientissimi viri Antonii Faure Theologi Parisiensis & Remensis Ecclesiae Praepositi beneficio accepimus; alter vero qui ad annos 800 accedit, est bibliothecae nostri monasterii sancti Cornelii Compendiensi*. Ruinart is the first to misidentify the Salisbury MS (*Sarisburiensis*) as the Salzburg MS (*Salisburgensis*), an error not corrected until Robinson, who did not see this MS. Ruinart mistakenly dates the Salisbury MS four centuries too early. He does not use all of Holstenius's notes but uses them selectively, when he wishes to make a point. For example, he acknowledges (p. 92, n. L) that where Holstenius read in c.XIII.6 *defatigationibus*, Ruinart prints *de factionibus*. Presumably he knew Valois's gloss on this phrase. Ruinart's chapter divisions are those adopted in modern editions. The text is printed on pages 85–96. He begins his text (p. 85) with this title: *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae & Felicitatis, cum sociis earum, Ex 2. Codd. Mss. & editione Holstenii*. He does, however, label the opening chapter I as *Præfatio*, and he begins the next chapter with the heading *Incipit Passio*, following this with the Roman numeral for the next chapter and the text, i.e., *II Apprehensi sunt*. . . . Migne used Ruinart's text for the *Patrologia Latina* edition, volume 3 (Paris, 1844). Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century Holstenius's edition, reworked by Ruinart, who incorporated readings from the Salisbury and Paris MSS (BN MS Latin 17626), was the standard edition.

Andrea Gallandii, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. Venice: J. Baptistae Albrithii Hieron. Fil, 1766. Gallandius notes in chapter XI on page xxiii that he is adopting Ruinart's text, *Ex Actis Martyrum sinceris V.C. Theoderici Ruinart, pag. 77. Seqq.* His chapter divisions are those we use today, and even the doxology is included as part of chapter XX. Gallandius acknowledges (p. xxiii) the existence of what he refers to as the *Salisburgensis* MS (following Ruinart's misidentification) and the codex from the Abbey of Saint-Corneille in Compeigne (now BN Latin 17626). After noting that Holstenius has taken the *Passio* from the Monte Cassino codex, he states (paraphrasing Ruinart): *eadem postea cum ejusdem Holstenii notis, Parisiis edidit Henricus Valesius. Nos vero ea proferimus ex duobus codicibus mss. cum eadem editione collatis: quorum unus est Ecclesiae Salisburgensis; cujus codicis varias lectiones sapientissimi viri Antonii Faure theologi Parisiensis & Remensis ecclesiae praepositi beneficio accepimus: alter vero qui ad annos 800 accedit, est bibliothecae nostri monasterii sancti Cornelii Compendiensi*. The text of the *Passio* appears on pages 174–98. Like Holstenius, Gallandius labels the chapter beginning *Si vetera fidei exempla* as *Præfatio* (p. 174), but here he has numbered it I. His Chapter II is headed *Incipit Passio*. The first chapter contains the title page, and his attributions (p. 165) are unambiguous: *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis. Praemittuntur Veterum Testimonia. Subjiciuntur Vero Notae Postumae Lucae Holstenii, et Paralipomena Petri Possini e Soc Jesu*. Gallandius prints excerpts from past writers on the *Passio* (pp. 164–73). He prints Holstenius and Possini's notes at the bottom of each page. In addition, Holstenius's text is read against what he calls *Codd. Compend. & Salisb*, the Paris BN MS and Salisbury MS. Although Possini's notes are far fewer than those of Holstenius, Possini's notes, which Gallandius cites, are learned and acute. For example, Possini typically cites Holstenius and then gives one entire column to his own discussion of the event and its meaning. Possini's gloss on

what the Good Shepherd gave Perpetua to eat (p. 185) is still insightful. He reads this passage as a prefiguration of Perpetua's reception of the Eucharist. Gallandius presents a long discussion of the date of the *Passio*, settles on the year 203, and identifies the likeliest place as Thuburbo (p. 197): *ad omnem certitudinem firmata remanet quam praeposuit sententia de tempore Triumpho sanctarum Turbitanarum Martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis, anno Christi, Nonis Martii, gloriae immortalis palmam adeptarum.*

J.R. Harris and S. K. Gifford, *The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas: The Original Greek Text*. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1890. This is a good edition providing Latin and Greek texts on facing pages. Harris is the first to have produced in its entirety the Greek text from MS; he also provides a lengthy commentary on the *Passio*, arguing, among other things, the primacy of Greek as the language of composition, a position he later rejected (see Shaw, *The Passion of Perpetua*).

J. Armitage Robinson, *The Passion of S. Perpetua*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891. Robinson prints the text based on his careful collation of MSS Monte Cassino, BN Paris Latin 17626, and the readings from Salisbury taken from the Oxford edition of 1680 and those of Runiart. Although Robinson was the first to acknowledge the confusion in the attribution of the Salisbury exemplar to Salzburg, he never discovered the whereabouts of the Salisbury manuscript. Its provenance remains misidentified in Amat's edition (see below). Robinson provides a number of cruces which illustrate his belief that the Latin exemplar was the original version and not the Greek (arguing against J. Rendell Harris). Harris later acknowledged the primacy of the Latin. Robinson believed that the Greek was filled with "blunders," that the martyrs were from Carthage and not Thuburbo, and that the *Acta* may have derived from the Latin version used by the Greek redactor. Robinson also concludes on the basis of a close study of the different rhetorical patterns in the *Passio* that Perpetua, Saturus, and the redactor are three different voices written by the martyrs and the editor and that these distinctive voices are "entirely obliterated" in the Greek version. He believes Tertullian to have been the redactor of the *Passio* and cites a number of correspondences between his work and the *Passio*. He also posits that the martyrs were familiar with the *Shepherd of Hermas* and that its language appears in the *Passio*, and he suggests that the dream of Saturus may be indebted to the lost *Apocalypse of Peter*. Robinson's apparatus and notes are excellent. He also prints the Latin and Greek versions of the *Scillitan Martyrs*.

Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri, "La Passio ss. Perpetuae et Felicitatis," in *Scritti Agiografici, Studi e Testi* 221, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962, pp. 41–154. This volume gathers together some of de' Cavalieri's writings on hagiography. The *Passio* essay is a reprint from his earlier *Römische Quartalschrift*, Supplementhaft v, Rome, 1896. De' Cavalieri prints the Latin text based on that of Holstenius and Possini and acknowledges that he consulted the readings of Valois (1664); the Bollandists (1668); Spark (1680), who first introduced the readings from what de' Cavalieri calls "un cod. Sarisburiensis" (note that de' Cavalieri has the correct identification); and Ruinart (1689), who added readings from "un ms. dell'abbazia di Compiègne (oggi nella Nazionale di Parigi, fonds Latin 17626) e si valse altresì delle varianti d'un codice *Salisburgensis* ora perduto (v. su questo codice, forse = *Sarisburiensis* dell'ed. di Oxford, J. A. Robinson. . .)." De' Cavalieri

numbers the text sequentially, identifying the chapter beginning *Si vetera fidei exempla* as number I with no qualification that it had historically been called *Praefatio* since Holstenius. The Latin and facing Greek texts are on pages 108–39. De' Cavalieri prints three black-and-white plates of the Greek codex (fols. 41r, 41v and 47v). He identifies the library for the Greek codex as “Codex gerosolimitano, S. Sepolcro I.” He provides a detailed introduction (pp. 40–106) to the relationship of the Latin and Greek versions and has produced a solid edition. He believed Latin was the language of the original composition.

T. Herbert Bindley, *The Epistle of the Gallican Churches: Lugdunum and Vienna. With an appendix containing Tertullian's Address to Martyrs and the Passion of St. Perpetua*. London: SPCK, 1900. Bindley bases his translation (pp. 61–76) on Robinson's edition. It is not a complete translation, as he abbreviates entire sections. For example, Perpetua's two visions of Dinocrates are cut and summaries provided: “In these sections Perpetua narrates the substance of two further visions vouchsafed to her” . . . (p. 67). His translation of the Good Shepherd and the milking episode, despite its liberties, likely reflects the author's intent better than most: “and gave me a piece of the cheese which he was making, as it were a small mouthful, which I received with joined hands and ate” (p. 65).

Rudolf Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten*. Tübingen and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Knopf prints twenty-one of the “authentic” martyr stories. *Perpetua and Felicity* is the eighth text he prints (pp. 44–57). He provides no textual commentary, prints only the Latin text, and directs the reader to see Robinson and Franchi de' Cavalieri for their notes (p. 57). He concludes his very brief single note with a citation of his text's indebtedness to the *PL* edition (“Boll 7/III. Marz I 630–38. Ruin. 134–67”). See also the 4th edition, R. Knopf, G. Krüger, and G. Ruhbach, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, 4 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1965).

Oscar V. Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta*. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1902. He notes in his introduction that he has used the edition of de' Cavalieri. The entirety of his commentary on the *Passio* is (p. vii): “Bei der Revision des lateinischen Originals der Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis (VII) hat mir die Ausgabe von Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri gute Dienste geleistet; die Abweichungen des von mir dargebotenen Textes gehen, wo sie nicht ausdrücklich als Konjecturen kenntlich gemacht sind, auf bisher unbenutzte handschriften zurück, über die ich mir nähere Mittheilung für eine andere Gelegenheit vorbehalten muss. Für den griechischen Text konnte ich eine genaue Collation der einzigen Handschrift benutzen, welche Herr H. Achelis mir vor Jahren in liebenswürdiger Weise zur Verfügung gestellt hat.” He prints the Latin text on the top of the page and the Greek below it. Gebhardt says (p. vii) he has made a new transcription of the Greek text and seems to have read Cavalieri's text against another Latin manuscript or manuscripts. Amat notes with regard to Gebhardt: “L'édition fournit le texte grec et le texte latin, en collationnant les manuscrits de Saint-Gall et d' Einsiedeln (E¹ et E²; p. 93).” However, I have found no explicit statement to this effect in his apparatus, and I presume Amat bases her remark on textual evidence. Gebhardt frequently cites a MS F, but it is unclear if he means this to refer to either St. Gall or Einsiedeln.

Gerhard Rauschen, “Die Akten der hl. Perpetua u. Felizitas,” in *Frühchristliche Apologeten und Märtyrerakten*, O. Bardenhewer, Th. Schermann, K. Weyman, eds. 2 vols.

Kempten & München: Jos. Kölschen, 1913. I: 40–56. Rauschen provides a translation from the Latin to German. There is no Latin facing page, but he provides a brief commentary. He takes his Latin text from Ruinart's edition (hence C) from its printing in Migne (*PL*. 3: 13–60). He refers his readers to de' Cavalieri. He translates nine *Acta martyrum* (1-Polycarp, 2-Justin, 3-Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice, 4-Scillitan Martyrs, 5-Apollonius, 6-Perpetua and Felicity, 7-Pionius, 8-Cyprian, 9-Lyons and Vienne). He notes that the *Passio* is one of the finest of these narratives, calling it “eine Perle unter den alten Märtyrerakten; der Verfasser ist wahrscheinlich Tertullian,” citing d'Alès, “L'auteur de la *Passio Perpetuae*,” in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 1907, 5–18. He accepts Tertullian as the likely author and indicates that the Greek is a translation of the original Latin, noting “Ausser dem lateinischen Originale ist auch eine alte griechische Übersetzung erhalten” (p. 295). On the issue of what the Good Shepherd gave Perpetua to eat, he translates somewhat literally (p. 44): “Er gab mir von dem Käse der Milch, die er molk, einen Bissen; ich empfang ihn mit zusammengelegten Händen und ass ihn, wobei die Umstehenden sagten: Amen.” He states, perhaps somewhat anachronistically, that this scene is a dream-like depiction of the Eucharistic liturgy.

G. Sola, *La passione delle SS Perpetua e Felicita*. Rome: Liberia di Cultura, 1921. Provides a facing Latin and Italian translation and a brief introduction.

R. E. Wallis, trans. “The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas,” in *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, vol. 3 of *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, eds., Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. Appendix, pp. 696–706. While Wallis never explicitly identifies the Latin text of his translation, it appears to be taken from that of Ruinart as Migne printed it. This edition he believed “the best and latest edition.” He believed Tertullian the editor and not the author of the *Passio*. He accepts Carthage, and not Thuburbo, as the place of their death and dates their martyrdom about 202. Wallis believed the narrator a contemporary who wrote shortly after the events. This is a translation only, with very few notes.

R. Waterville Muncey, *The Passion of S. Perpetua: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, 1927. This is a translation with no accompanying Latin text. Muncey accepts MS M as the best exemplar of the Latin *Passion of S. Perpetua* (p. 2). He believes the Latin earlier than the Greek and hence the original text (pp. 9–10); he equivocates on whether Tertullian was the author (p. 12); his discussion of the MSS is taken from Robinson. He has very limited notes. This is a reader's edition only.

E. W. C. Owen, *Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. On p. 28, Owen repeats the no longer credible point that “(a) persecution [under Septimus Severus] was regulated by a new series of edicts, (b) Christians were not accused by private prosecutor[s], but sought out by the state.” Owen accepts (p. 75) that the autobiographic sections are authentic on the basis of a comparison of the style of these sections with that of the redactor. He notes that the writing of Perpetua and Saturus differs from that of the redactor: “No one who has any sense of style can doubt that the author of the remainder of the Acts is a different person from the writers of these chapters [iii–x, xi–xiii]. His work is that of a man accustomed to composition, his sentences are

often of considerable length and periodic in structure, he is fond of epigram, he is often difficult (v. inf.). Their writing, on the other hand, is marked by extreme simplicity and a complete absence of literary artifice.” He assumes Tertullian is the redactor on the basis of style, similarity with Tertullian’s views on martyrdom, the Montanist sentiments in the preface, and the textual alterations. Owen views the lack of appearance of the “Preface” in some of the MSS as a reflection of orthodoxy’s anxieties about its Montanist sympathies (p. 76). He states that Tertullian was a committed Montanist by 205, and he believes that the Carthaginian Christians were heterodox. He uses Robinson and Knopf as his base text.

Walter Hayward Shewring, *The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicity: 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 & Ward, 1931. Shewring prints the Latin text with an English translation and acknowledges that his edition is largely dependent on Robinson and de’ Cavalieri, except that he has given greater consideration to the MSS which he refers to as “BCMg”—MSS BN Paris BN Latin 17626, Salisbury, Ambrosiana, and the Greek exemplar. He was aware of only four Latin MSS, these three and Monte Cassino. Shewring accepts the primacy of the Latin exemplar over the Greek and the authenticity of the autobiographical claims of Perpetua and Saturus. He accepts the idea that Tertullian is the redactor, arguing principally that the Montanist elements in the preface and epilogue were congenial to Tertullian’s own Montanist sympathies. His textual apparatus, notes, and bibliography are limited. Shewring also prints the sermons of Saint Augustine which treat the *Passio*.

Cornelius Johannes Maria Joseph van Beek. *Passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. Nijmegen: Dekker and Van de Vegt, 1936. With J. Amat’s edition and that of Bastiaensen, van Beek remains the standard edition of the Latin and Greek texts.

———. *Passio Sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis. Latine et Graece*. Florilegium Patristicum tam veteris quam medii aevi auctores complectens, fasc. XLIII. Bonn: Petri Hanstein, 1938.

Primo Vannutelli, *Atti dei martiri*. Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1939. Vannutelli’s small book provides the Latin texts of the Scillitan Martyrs, the *Passio*, and the *Acta proconsularia Sancti Cypriani* with a facing page translation into Italian. There is little apparatus. The Latin text of the *Passio* he has taken from the edition of R. Knopf, but he has emended that text with readings from the Latin text of Giuseppe Sola, *La passione delle SS. Perpetua e Felicita* (Rome, 1921). Vannutelli translates the scene of the Good Shepherd and the milking anecdote thus: “Poi me chiamò; e mi porse tanto come un boccone di panna rappresa di quel latte che stava mungendo; lo ricevetti con le mani giunte e lo mangiai. Tutti i circostanti dissero: *Amen*.” (p. 21). He calls the *Passio* the gem of these passion narratives (p. 4, and see Rauschen): “La gemma di questo genere è *la passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, che noi diamo in secondo luogo nel nostro libretto.”

Marie-Louise von Franz, *The Passion of Perpetua*, trans. E. Welch and ed. D. Sharp. Toronto: Inner City Books, 2004; 1st ed. 1949. This is a Jungian study of the dreams of Perpetua and provides translations of the four dreams from von Franz’s German. Welch compared the German against Shewring, Owen, and Roberts and Donaldson.

Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962. Musurillo prints Van Beek's Latin text and provides a facing-page translation. The twenty-one notes he provides cite almost exclusively the text's dependence on Biblical texts. He provides a sketch of the *Passio* and accepts the primacy of the Latin over the Greek version (pp. xxv–xxvii). Although there are some problems with his translation, Musurillo's version remains the principal English translation.

A. A. R. Bastiaensen, "Atti e Passioni dei Martiri," *Scrittori Greci e Latini*. Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1967. This is a thoughtful edition and is particularly useful for Bastiaensen's supple understanding of the language of the *Passio*. This is one of the best of the recent editions and should be used in conjunction with that of Amat.

R. P. Julio Campos, "Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis," in *Suplementos de Estudios Clásicos*, no. 2, Madrid, 1967. This is a printing of the Latin text alone, with a limited number of notes at the bottom of each page. Campos accepts Tertullian as the redactor (p. 26) and argues this point at greater length in his "El autor de la *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*," *Helmantica* xxxiii (1959): 357–81. He uses van Beek's text, and on one occasion only does he cite from different MSS, in this instance from G and E in his note on the gloss of *prosecutoribus*, indicating that these MSS read *persecutoribus* (p. 29).

A. G. Hamman, "Félicité et Perpétue," in *Les premiers martyrs de l'église*. Paris: Desclée de Browuwer, 1979, pp.70–85, 157–58. Hamman's French translation of the *Passio* is based on the Knopf edition (1901), corrected by G. Kruger (1929). This is a reader's edition, with no scholarly apparatus. He accepts the Latin version as the original but gives no reason for his choice of the Latin over the Greek. He does not think that the tradition that ascribes the text to Tertullian is terribly convincing, save for the prologue and the conclusion.

Victor Saxer, "Passion de Pérpétue, Félicité et Compagnons," in *Saints anciens d'Afrique du nord*. Vatican: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1979, pp. 39–57. Saxer translates the *Passio* into French and appears to have taken his translation from both Robinson and de' Cavalieri. Although he cites both editions in a note, he is not explicit about whether he used both texts or one or the other in making his translation. This is a reader's edition, with few notes. Saxer believes that Perpetua wrote her original text in Latin, that Saturus wrote his in Greek, and that the compiler wrote his additions in Latin. He does not believe Tertullian had a hand in the composition. He leans toward Carthage as the site of the martyrdom rather than Thuburbo. Saxer cites the *Passio's* indebtedness to works like the *Shepherd of Hermas* and other apocalyptic texts like Revelation, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Apocalypse of Moses*, and the *Book of Henoch*. He provides a limited bibliography.

R. Rader, "The Martyrdom of Perpetua: A Protest Account of Third-Century Christianity," in *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church*, ed. P. Wilson-Kastner. New York: University Press of America, 1981, pp. 1–31. Rader provides a brief introduction and notes to accompany her English translation, which is based on the Latin and Greek texts in Robinson. She does not address the problem of the Greek versus the Latin versions. This is a reader's edition.

Ioan Ramureanu, *Actele Martirice*. Bucharest: Institutului Biblic și de misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1982, 372 p. This is an edition in Romanian. I have not read it.

Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Dronke's translation is based on van Beek's Latin text. Dronke reads the text as deeply indebted to classical literary antecedents and resists interpretations that see it as embodying a programmatic Christian reading.

J. W. Halporn, *Passio Sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1984. This is a student's reading edition of the Latin text alone. Halporn prints van Beek's text. His notes chiefly concern grammar.

Giuliana Caldarelli, *Atti dei martiri*. Edizioni Paoline: Milan, 1985. A collection of acts of the martyrs with brief introductions to each text and a general overall introduction to the period of the persecutions (pp. 7–47). The two versions of the *Acta* are translated into Italian but with few notes.

A. A. R. Bastiaensen "Atti e Passioni dei Martiri," in *Scrittori Greci e Latini* Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1987. Bastiaensen prints the text (pp. 114–27) from van Beek with a facing-page Italian translation by Giachino Chiarini. Bastiaensen's notes are intelligent and insightful (pp. 413–52). Chiarini's translation of the scene with the Good Shepherd is rendered thus: "Poi mi chiamò per nome e mi offrì un boccone del formaggio che mungeva. Io lo presi a mani giunte e lo mangiai. Tutti i presenti dissero: 'Amen.'" Bastiaensen provides an index of scriptural citations (pp. 609–10). He accepts the primacy of the Latin chiefly because of the authenticity of Perpetua's idiomatic style (p. 416). He lists all the MSS except Canterbury E. 42 and adopts van Beek's sigils.

Andrzej Malinowski, *Sylwetki diakonów w "Acta martyrum"* [Exempla diaconorum in "Actibus martyrum" proposita], *Vox Patrum* 9 (1989), f.17, pp. 757–79. A Polish version which I have not read.

Clementina Mazzucco. "E fui fatta maschio": *La donna nel cristianesimo primitivo (secoli I–III): Con un'appendice sulla Passio Perpetuae*. Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1989. Provides a translation into Italian (pp. 142–61) and some notes.

Shōsaku Toki and Kenji Toki, *Junkyōsha gyōden* [Acts of the martyrs], Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1990, 345–101p. (Kirisutokyō kyōfu chosakushu, 22). The *Passio* is on pp. 77–95. This is an annotated translation of Mururillo's text with very detailed indexes of terms and language in Japanese. I have not read it.

Brent Shaw. "The Passion of Perpetua." *Past and Present* 139 (1993): 3–45. This is a good, idiomatic modern translation. Shaw provides a particularly insightful and learned commentary, which is especially good on certain issues such as the way in which R and subsequent male editors "appropriated" Perpetua's text.

Sara Maitland, *The Martyrdom of Perpetua*. Evesham: Arthur James, 1996. This is a reprint of Shewring's translation accompanied by Augustine's sermons on the saints. There is a brief introduction in which Maitland identifies herself as a feminist who finds inspiration in the story of Perpetua and Felicity. This is a nonscholarly book intended to be accessible and inexpensive.

Jacqueline Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des Actes*. Sources Chrétiennes, no. 417. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1996. Although Amat's text is indebted to that of van Beek, she collates that edition against all the other manuscripts except the fragmentary bit in the Canterbury MS. She prints the Latin and the Greek texts one atop the other (as Gebhardt did before her). Her introduction provides a thoughtful discussion of the context for their martyrdom, the families of the martyrs, the nature of the dreams, and literary influences on the text, particularly from the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Her comments on the relationship of the Latin and Greek versions are very informative; she argues for the primacy of the Latin text over that of the Greek. Her collation has provided her with a useful stemma, showing the descent of the different exemplars, the unique descent of the Monte Cassino MS, and the mutual dependence of all the remaining eight MSS from a no longer extant text which she labels B. She provides only a limited discussion of the MSS. Her translation of both the Latin and the Greek is thoughtful and keeps close to the original. Her notes are judicious and provide solid historical information. In addition to the *Passio*, she prints and translates texts types I and II of the *Acta* and provides a collation for both. She concludes her most useful edition with an index of scripture, an *index verborum*, and an *index nominum* for the *Passio*.

Jakob Balling, Ulla Morre Bidstrup, and Torben Brammung, *De unge skal se syner: Perpetuamartyriret oversat og kommenteret*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 1997. This is a Latin text with facing-page Danish translation. The Latin is taken from van Beek's 1936 edition. Following Barnes, the authors argue that Tertullian or one of his disciples had a hand in the composition (p. 58: "at forfatteren kan antages at have været en af Tertullian påvirket ven eller discipel").

Maria Corti, *Un ponte tra latino e italiano*. Novara: Interlinea, 2002. Corti translates selections of the *Passio* into Italian. She is interested almost exclusively in Perpetua's writings and so omits chapters 1, 2, 11–17.

Petr Kitzler, *Umučení svaté Perpetuy a Felicity. Passio SS. Perpetuae and Felicitatis*. In: Teologický sborník (2, 2002), pp. 75–83. This is a Czech translation of chapters three through ten with a brief introduction and notes. It is the only translation in Czech. I have not read it.

Vincent Hunink, Elisabeth van Ketwich Verschuur, Arie Akkermans, and Toon Bastiaansen, *Eeuwig Geluk: De passie van de vroeg-christelijke martelaresen Perpetua en Felicitas & Drie preken van Augustinus*. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2004. Provides an edition of the Latin and a translation into Dutch.

Peter Habermehl, *Perpetua und der Ägypter oder Bilder des Bösen im frühen afrikanischen Christentum: Ein Versuch zur Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 2nd ed. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004. Habermehl provides a Latin text with a German translation. His text is principally that of van Beek. He translates the episode of Perpetua meeting the Good Shepherd: "Und er rief mich herbei, und von dem Käse, den er molk, gab er mir gleichsam einen Bissen. Und ich empfang ihn mit ineinandergelegten Händen und aß. Und sämtliche Umstehenden sagten 'amen'" (p. 15; compare with Rauschen above). He provides a thorough bibliography.

Marco Formisano, ed., *La passione di Perpetua e Felicità*. Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 2008. Pp. xiii, 133. Formisano provides an introduction, the Latin text (van Beek's), and his translation into Italian, with notes. Eva Cantarella provides a brief preface to the *Passio* addressing some of the difficult questions concerning Perpetua's background, arguing that the family is from Thuburbo Minus (viii), that Perpetua is likely a divorcée (x), and that the father's *patria potestas* is the reason for his dominant role in her affairs (x). Formisano's introduction of fifty-four pages ("seppur brevissimo") discusses the form of the *Passio*, the three narrative voices, its place in the genre of the *Acta Martyrum*, and an analysis of Perpetua's dreams, with particular attention to the language of physicality and its implications for gender, and compares the *Passio* with the works of Borges and Levi. He concludes that as "diario" the narrative occupies a Borgesian liminal space outside of the definitions of genre (61).

The *Passio* and the *Acta*

The *Passio* survives in far fewer MSS (9) than the *Acta* (41). As I am not presenting an edition of the *Acta*, I am not providing a discussion of those MSS. The reasons for the increased popularity of the *Acta* over that of the *Passio* are complex and reflect not only changes in taste but likely certain ecclesial changes as well. The *Acta* are more "hagiographic" than the *Passio*; that is, they generalize themes, idealize characters, and tend to ignore narrative nuance. Presumably, the text of the *Passio* had achieved something of an iconic status, and the redactors were reluctant to change it. The *Acta* are sufficiently different in form and content that they allowed for change. The *Acta* suggest a text that may have been intended for the epitomized readings in the second nocturne. They fill in the gaps, emphasize the miraculous, and domesticate the figures of these independent women. For example, in the *Acta* Perpetua's husband appears before the proconsul with her mother and father with her infant child to plead that she recant. Moreover, the comparative brevity of the *Acta* allowed them to be epitomized for the Matins readings and, after the mid-thirteenth century, for inclusion in the breviary readings. The latest extant *Passio* MS A is late twelfth century (Ambrosiana C.210, infer), whereas the latest extant *Acta* codex, is MS Treverensis (B8/2h) is late seventeenth century.

Occasionally, the two narratives have been misidentified, a version of the *Acta* being mistaken for the *Passio* and vice versa. If one relies on catalog descriptions taken from incipits only, such misidentifications are easy to make. For example, G. Becker in his *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Max Cohen and Sons, 1885) notes two MSS with tantalizing incipits. Becker notes that MS Reichenau 10, a *liber festivalis* of the lives and passions of the saints which dates from the mid-ninth century, contains a text labeled *Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (p. 21). This is almost certainly a version of the *Acta*; it is likely the text later identified by Albert Holder in his catalogue of Reichenau MSS, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, 1. "Die Pergamenthandschriften," Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1906, p. 128 (here number xxxii, but van Beek sigil 2a). However, Becker's entry for MS Saint-Nazare 510, *passio sancti Saturnini et sancti sature, Felicitatis et Perpetuae in uno codice*, is of interest, particularly because he refers to it as a single codex. If this note meant a single quire, St. Nazare 510, for example, might well be a no longer extant

Passio, since, depending on the size of the fols., the *Passio* text could fill a quire as it does in MS M. Becker's remarks about the Saint Nazare codex have been slightly expanded in Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890), p. 49m, no.109, who considered it a mid-ninth-century florilegium. Gottlieb referred to MS St. Nazare 510 as *Euangelium pictum cum auro scriptum habens tabulas eburneas*.

This page intentionally left blank

APPENDIX II

The Greek Text

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΠΕΤΟΥΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΗΙ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΦΡΙΚΗΙ· ΤΗΙ ΠΡΟ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ ΝΟΝΩΝ ΦΕΥΡΟΥΑΡΙΩΝ. ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΟΝ

Ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλιηνοῦ διωγμὸς ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ ἔμαρτύρησαν οἱ ἅγιοι Σάτυρος, Σατορνίλος, Ῥεουκάτος, Περπετούα, Φηλικιτάτη, νόναις Φευρουαρίαις.

I

1. Εἰ τὰ παλαιὰ τῆς πίστεως δείγματα, καὶ δόξαν θεοῦ φανεροῦντα καὶ οἰκοδομὴν ἀνθρώποις ἀποτελοῦντα, διὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν γεγραμμένα, ἵνα τῇ ἀναγνώσει αὐτῶν ὡς παρουσία τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμεθα καὶ ὁ θεὸς δοξασθῇ, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ τὰ καινὰ παραδείγματα, ἅτε δὴ ἑκάτερα ἐργαζόμενα ὠφέλειαν, ὡσαύτως γραφῆ παραδοθῆ; 2. Ἡ γὰρ τὰ νῦν πραχθέντα οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν παρρησίαν ἔχει, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ πως εἶναι τὰ ἀρχαῖα σεμνότερα; Πλὴν καὶ ταῦτα ὕστερόν ποτε γενόμενα παλαιὰ, ὡσαύτως τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γενήσεται καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τίμια. 3. Ἄλλ' ὄψονται οἵτινες μίαν δύναμιν ἐνὸς ἁγίου πνεύματος κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας κρίνουσιν τῶν χρόνων· ὅτε δὴ δυνατώτερα ἔδει νοεῖσθαι τὰ καινότερα, ὡς ἔσχατα, αὐξανομένης τῆς χάριτος τῆς εἰς τὰ τέλη τῶν καιρῶν ἐπηγγελμένης. 4. *Ἐν ἐσχάταις γὰρ ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ κύριος, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν· καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβῦται ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίους ἐνυπνιασθήσονται.* 5. Ἡμεῖς δέ, οἵτινες προφητείας καὶ ὀράσεις καινὰς δεχόμεθα καὶ ἐπιγινώσκομεν καὶ τιμῶμεν, πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὡς χορηγεῖ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ

(πρὸς ἣν καὶ ἐπέμφθη πάντα τὰ χαρίσματα ἐν πᾶσιν διοικοῦν, ἐκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν ὁ θεός) ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἀναμνησκόμεν καὶ πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν εἰσάγομεν, μετὰ ἀγάπης ταῦτα ποιοῦντες εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ καὶ ἵνα μὴ πως ἦ ἀβέβαιός τις καὶ ὀλιγόπιστος, ἢ καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς μόνον τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν δίδοσθαι νομίση, εἴτε ἐν τοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων εἴτε ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἀξιώμασιν, πάντοτε ἐργαζομένου τοῦ θεοῦ ἃ ἐπηγγείλατο εἰς μαρτύριον μὲν τῶν ἀπίστων, εἰς ἀντίλημψιν δὲ τῶν πιστῶν. **6.** Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἃ ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐωράκαμεν καὶ ἐψηλαφήσαμεν, εὐαγγελιζόμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα, ἵνα καὶ οἱ συμπάροντες ἀναμνησθῶσιν δόξης θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ νῦν δι' ἀκοῆς γινώσκοντες κοινῶν ἔχητε μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

II

1. Ἐν πόλει Θου[βου]ρβιτανῶν τῇ μικροτέρᾳ συνελήφθησαν νεανίσκοι κατηχούμενοι· Ῥεουκάτος καὶ Φηλικιτάτη, σύνδουλοι, καὶ Σατορνίλος καὶ Σεκουδῶς· μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Οὐβία Περπετούα, ἥτις ἦν γεννηθεῖσα εὐγενῶς καὶ τραφεῖσα πολυτελῶς γαμηθεῖσά τε ἐξόχως. **2.** Αὕτη εἶχεν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ δύο ἀδελφούς, ὧν ὁ ἕτερος ἦν ὡσαύτως κατηχούμενος· εἶχεν δὲ καὶ τέκνον, ὃ πρὸς τοῖς μασθοῖς ἔτι ἐθήλαζεν. **3.** Ἦν δὲ αὕτῃ ἐτῶν εἴκοσι δύο· ἥτις πᾶσαν τὴν τάξιν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐντεῦθεν διηγῆσατο, ὡς καὶ τῷ νοί αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ χειρὶ συγγράψασα κατέλιπεν, οὕτως εἰπούσα·

III

1. "Ἐτι" φησὶν "ἡμῶν παρατηρουμένων, ἐπεχείρει ὁ πατήρ μου λόγοις πείθειν με κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν τῆς προκειμένης ὁμολογίας ἐκπεσεῖν. **2.** Κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτόν· 'Πάτερ, ἔφην, ὄρας λόγου χάριν σκευὸς κείμενον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων;' Κἀκεῖνος ἀπεκριθὴ· 'Ὁρῶ· Κἀγὼ· 'Ἄλλο ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸ μὴ Θέμις; Οὐδὲ δύναμαι εἰ μὴ ὃ εἰμι, τουτέστιν Χριστιανή.' **3.** Τότε ὁ πατήρ μου, ταραχθεὶς τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ, ἐπελθὼν ἠθέλησεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐξορῆσαι· ἔπειτα μωόνον κράξας ἐξῆλθεν νικηθεὶς μετὰ τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου μηχανῶν. **4.** Τότε ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀποδημήσαντος αὐτοῦ, ηὐχαρίστησα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἦσθην ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ. **5.** Καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβαπτίσθημεν· καὶ ἐμὲ ὑπηγόρευσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μηδὲν ἄλλο αἰτήσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰ μὴ σαρκὸς ὑπομονήν. Μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐβλήθημεν εἰς φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐξενίσθη· οὐ γὰρ πώποτε τοιοῦτον ἐωράκειν σκότος. **6.** Ὡ δεινὴν ἡμέραν καυμά τε σφοδρόν· καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος ἦν ἐκεῖ, ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν συκοφαντία πλεῖσται· μεθ' ἃ δὴ πάντα κατεπονύμην διὰ τὸ νήπιον τέκνον. **7.** Τότε Τέρτιος καὶ Πομπόνιος, εὐλογημένοι διάκονοι οἱ δικόνουν ἡμῖν, τιμὰς δόντες ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἡμερώτερον τόπον τῆς φυλακῆς μεταχθῆναι. **8.** Τότε ἀναπνοῆς ἐτύχομεν, καὶ δὴ ἕκαστοι προσαχθέντες ἐσχόλαζον ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ τὸ βρέφος ἠνέχθη πρὸς με, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν αὐτῷ γάλα ἤδη αὐχμῶ μαρανθέντι· τῇ μητρὶ προσελάουν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν προετρεπόμεν, τὸ νήπιον παρετιθέμην· ἐτηκόμην δὲ ὅτι

ἐθεώρουν αὐτοὺς δι' ἐμὲ λυπούμενους. **9.** Οὕτως περιλυπος πλείσταις ἡμέραις οὖσα, ἤτησα καὶ τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ μετ' ἐμοῦ μένειν· κάκεινο ἀνέλαβεν καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκουφίστην ἀπὸ ἀνίας καὶ πόνου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ φυλακὴ ἐμοὶ γέγονεν πραιτώριον, ὡς μᾶλλον με ἐκεῖ θέλειν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀλλαχοῦ.

IV

1. Τότε εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἀδελφός· 'Κυρία ἀδελφή, ἡδη ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπάρχεις, τοσαύτη οὖσα ὡς εἰ αἰτήσεως ὀπτασίας, ὀπτασίαν λάβοις ἂν εἰς τὸ δειχθῆναι σοι εἴπερ ἀναβολὴν ἔχεις ἢ παθεῖν μέλλεις.' **2.** Κἀγὼ ἦτις ἤδειν με ὀμιλοῦσαν θεῶ, οὐ γε δὴ τοσαύτας εὐεργεσίας εἶχον, πιστεως πλήρης οὖσα ἐπηγγειλάμην αὐτῷ εἰπούσα· 'Αὐριὸν σοι ἀπαγγελῶ.' Ἡτησάμην δέ, καὶ ἐδείχθη μοι τοῦτο· **3.** Εἶδον κλίμακα χαλκὴν θαυμαστοῦ μήκους, ἧς τὸ μήκος ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ· στενὴ δὲ ἦν ὡς μηδένα δι' αὐτῆς δύνασθαι εἰ μὴ μοναχὸν ἓνα ἀναβῆναι. Ἐξ ἐκατέρων δὲ τῶν τῆς κλίμακος μερῶν πᾶν εἶδος ἦν ἐμπεπηγμένον ἐκεῖ ξιφῶν, δοράτων, ἀγκίστρων, μαχαιρῶν, ὀβελίσκων, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ἀναβαίνων ἀμελῶς καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέπων τοῖς ἀκοντίοις τὰς σάρκας σπαραχθῇ. **4.** Ἦν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ κλίμακι δράκων ὑπερμεγέθης, ὃς δὴ τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐνήδρευεν, ἐκθαμβῶν ὅπως μὴ τολμῶσιν ἀναβαίνειν. **5.** Ἀνέβη δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος, ὃς δὴ ὕστερον δι' ἡμᾶς ἐκὼν παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν (αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ οἰκοδομὴ ἦμεν), ἀλλ' ὅτε συνελήφθημεν ἀπῆν. **6.** Ὡς οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς κλίμακος παρεγένετο, ἐστράφη καὶ εἶπεν· 'Περπετούα, περιμένω σε· ἀλλὰ βλέπε μὴ σε ὁ δράκων δάκη.' Καὶ εἶπον· 'Οὐ μὴ με βλάβῃ, ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.' **7.** Καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς κλίμακος, ὡσεὶ φοβούμενός με, ἡρέμα τὴν κεφαλὴν προσήνεγκεν· καὶ ὡς εἰς τὸν πρῶτον βαθμὸν ἠθέλησα ἐπιβῆναι, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάτησα. **8.** Καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ κῆπον μέγιστον, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κήπου ἄνθρωπον πολὺν καθεζόμενον, ποιμένος σχῆμα ἔχοντα, ὑπερμεγέθης, ὃς ἡμελεγε τὰ πρόβατα· περιεστήκεισαν δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες λευχειμονούντων. **9.** Ἐπάρας δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐθεάσατό με καὶ εἶπεν· 'Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, τέκνον.' Καὶ ἐκάλεσέν με καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τυροῦ οὐ ἡμελεγε, ἔδωκέν μοι ὡσεὶ ψωμίον· καὶ ἔλαβον ζεύξασα τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἔφαγον· καὶ εἶπαν πάντες οἱ παρεστώτες· 'Ἀμήν.' **10.** Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον τῆς φωνῆς ἐξυπνίστην, ἔτι τί ποτε μασωμένη γλυκύ. Καὶ εὐθέως διηγησάμην τῷ ἀδελφῷ· καὶ ἐνόησαμεν ὅτι δέοι παθεῖν. Καὶ ἠρξάμην ἕκτοτε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἔχειν.

V

1. Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔγνωμεν μέλλειν ἡμᾶς ἀκουσθήσεσθαι. Παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀδημονία μαραινόμενος, καὶ ἀνέβη πρὸς με προτρεπόμενός με καταβαλεῖν, λέγων· **2.** 'Θύγατερ, ἐλέησον τὰς πολιὰς μου· ἐλέησον τὸν πατέρα σου, εἴπερ ἄξιός εἰμι ὀνομασθῆναι πατὴρ σου· μνήσθητι ὅτι ταῖς χερσὶν ταύταις πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄνθος τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνήγαγόν σε, καὶ προειλόμην σε ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου **3.** [ὄρα τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου] ὄρα τὴν σὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς σου ἀδελφὴν, ἴδε τὸν υἱόν σου ὃς μετὰ σὲ ζῆν οὐ δύναται. **4.** Ἀπόθου τοὺς θυμούς καὶ μὴ ἡμᾶς πάντας

ἐξολοθρεύσης· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λαλήσει, ἐάν τί σοι συμβῆ». **5.** Ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὡς πατήρ κατὰ τὴν τῶν γονέων εὐνοίαν, καὶ κατεφίλει μου τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔρριπτεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν μου, καὶ ἐπιδακρῶν οὐκέτι με θυγατέρα, ἀλλὰ κυρίαν ἐπεκάλει. **6.** Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἤλγουν, ὅτι ἐν ὄλῳ τῶ ἐμῷ γένοι μόνος οὐκ ἠγαλλιᾶτο ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ πάθει. Παρεμυθησάμην δὲ αὐτὸν εἰποῦσα· ‘Τοῦτο γενήσεται ἐν τῷ βήματι ἐκεῖνῳ [δ] ἐάν θέλῃ ὁ κύριος· γινῶθι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσόμεθα.’ Καὶ ἐχωρίσθη ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀδημονῶν.

VI

1. Καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ ὄριστο ἠρπάγημεν ἵνα ἀκουσθῶμεν. Καὶ ὡς παρεγενήθημεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, φήμη εὐθὺς εἰς τὰ ἐγγὺς μέρη διήλθεν, καὶ συνέδραμεν πλείστος ὄχλος. **2.** Ὡς δὲ ἀνέβημεν εἰς τὸ βῆμα, ἐξετασθέντες οἱ λοιποὶ ὠμολόγησαν. ‘Ἡμελλον δὲ καγῶ ἐξετάζεσθαι. Καὶ ἐφάνη ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου μου ὁ πατήρ, καὶ καταγαγῶν με πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν· ‘Ἐπίθυσον ἐλεήσασα τὸ βρέφος.’ **3.** Καὶ Ἰαριανὸς τις ἐπίτροπος, ὃς τότε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἀποθανόντος Μινουκίου Ὀππιανοῦ ἐξουσίαν εἰλήφει μαχαίρας, λέγει μοι· ‘Φεῖσαι’ τῶν πολιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς σου, φεῖσαι τῆς τοῦ παιδίου νηπιότητος· ἐπίθυσον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων’. **4.** Καγῶ ἀπεκρίθην. ‘Οὐ θύω.’ Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰαριανὸς· ‘Χριστιανὴ εἶ;’ Καὶ εἶπον· ‘Χριστιανὴ εἰμι.’ **5.** Καὶ ὡς ἐσπούδαζεν ὁ πατήρ μου καταβαλεῖν με ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμολογίας, κελύσαντος Ἰαριανοῦ ἐξεβλήθη· προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῇ ῥάβδῳ τῶν δορυφόρων τις ἐτύπησεν αὐτόν· Καγῶ σφόδρα ἤλγησα, ἐλεήσασα τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ. **6.** Τότε ἡμᾶς πάντας πρὸς θηρία κατακρίνει καὶ χαίροντες κατήειμεν εἰς φυλακὴν. **7.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐθηλάζετο τὸ παιδίον καὶ μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ εἰώθει μένειν, πέμπω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου Πομπόνιον διάκονον, αἰτοῦσα τὸ βρέφος. **8.** Ὁ δὲ πατήρ οὐκ ἔδωκεν. Πλήν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὠκονόμησεν, οὔτε ὁ παῖς μασθοῦς ἐπεθύμησεν ἔκτοτε, οὔτε ἐμοὶ τις προσγέγονεν φλεγμονή· ἴσως ἵνα [μη]’ καὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδίου φροντίδι καὶ τῇ τῶν μασθῶν ἀλγηδόνι καταπονηθῶ.

VII

1. Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας προσευχομένων ἡμῶν ἀπάντων, ἐξαίφνης ἐν μέσῳ τῆς προσευχῆς ἀφήκα φωνὴν καὶ ὠνόμασα Δεινοκράτην. Καὶ ἔκθαμβος ἐγενήθην, διότι οὐδέποτε εἰ μὴ τότε ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ πεποιήκειν· ἤλγησα δὲ εἰς μνήμην ἔλθοῦσα τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς. **2.** Πλὴν εὐθέως ἔγνω ἐμαυτὴν ἀξίαν οὖσαν αἴτησιν ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἠρξάμην πρὸς κύριον μετὰ στεναγμῶν προσεύχεσθαι τὰ πλείστα. **3.** Καὶ εὐθέως αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐδηλώθη μοι τοῦτο· **4.** Ὁρῶ Δεινοκράτην ἐξερχόμενον ἐκ τόπου σκοτεινοῦ, ὅπου καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καυματιζόμενοι καὶ διψῶντες ἦσαν, ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντα ῥυπαράν, ὠχρὸν τῇ χρῶ· καὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἐν τῇ ὄψει αὐτοῦ, περιὸν ἔτι ὅπερ τελετευτῶν εἶχεν. **5.** Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Δεινοκράτης, ὁ καὶ ἀδελφός μου κατὰ σάρκα, ἐπταετῆς τεθνήκει ἀσθενήσας καὶ τὴν ὄσιν αὐτοῦ γαγγραινὴ σαπεῖς, ὡς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ στυγητὸν γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. **6.** Ἐθεώρουν οὖν μέγα διάστημα ἀνά μέσον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις προσελθεῖν. **7.** Ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ τῷ

τόπω ἐν ᾧ ἦν ὁ ἀδελφός μου, κολουμβήθρα ἦν, ὕδατος πλήρης, ὑψηλοτέραν δὲ εἶχεν τὴν κρηπίδα ὑπὲρ τὸ τοῦ παιδίου μήκος. Πρὸς ταύτην ὁ Δεινοκράτης διετίετο πιεῖν προαιρούμενος. **8.** Ἐγὼ δὲ ἤλθουν, διότι καὶ ἡ κολουμβήθρα ἦν πλήρης ὕδατος, καὶ τὸ παιδίον οὐκ ἠδύνατο πιεῖν διὰ τὴν ὑψηλότητα τῆς κρηπίδος. **9.** Καὶ ἐξυπνίσθη, καὶ ἔγνω κάμνειν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου· ἐπεποίθειν δὲ δύνασθαι με αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀνά μέσον ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς κατήχθημεν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην φυλακὴν τὴν τοῦ χιλιάρχου· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν τῆς παρεμβολῆς οὗ ἡμέλλομεν θηριομαχεῖν· γενέθλιον γὰρ ἡμελλεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι Καίσαρος. **10.** Εἶτα προσευξαμένη μετὰ στεναγμῶν σφοδρῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, δωρηθῆναί μοι αὐτὸν ἠξίωσα.

VIII

1. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ ἐν ἣ ἐν νέρβῳ ἐμίναμεν, ἐδείχθη μοι τοῦτο· Ὁρῶ τόπω ἐν ᾧ ἐωράκειν τὸν Δεινοκράτην καθαρῶ σώματι ὄντα καὶ καλῶς ἡμφιεσμένον καὶ ἀναψύχοντα· καὶ ὅπου τὸ τραῦμα ἦν, οὐλὴν ὀρῶ. **2.** Καὶ ἡ κρηπίς τῆς κολουμβήθρας κατήχθη ἕως τοῦ ὀμφαλίου αὐτοῦ· ἔρρεεν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀδιαλείπτως ὕδωρ. **3.** Καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς κρηπίδος ἦν χρυσοῦ φιάλη μεστή. Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Δεινοκράτης ἤρξατο ἐξ αὐτῆς πίνειν, ἡ δὲ φιάλη οὐκ ἐνέλειπεν. **4.** Καὶ ἐμπλησθεὶς ἤρξατο παίζειν, ἀγαλλιώμενος ὡς τὰ νήπια. Καὶ ἐξυπνίσθη. Καὶ ἐνόησα ὅτι μετετέθη ἐκ τῶν τιμωριῶν.

IX

1. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας Πούδης τις στρατιώτης, ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προϊστάμενος, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς ἤρξατο ἡμᾶς τιμᾶν καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν, ἐννοῶν δύναμιν μεγάλην εἶναι περὶ ἡμᾶς. Διὸ καὶ πολλοὺς εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐκώλυεν εἰς τὸ ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπαλλήλων παραμυθιῶν παρηγορεῖσθαι. **2.** Ἦγγισεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν, καὶ εἰσέρχεται πρὸς με ὁ πατήρ, τῇ ἀκηδία μαρανθείς, καὶ ἤρξατο τὸν πώγωνα τὸν ἴδιον ἐκτίλλειν ῥίπτειν τε ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ λέγων τοιαῦτα ῥήματα ὡς πᾶσαν δύνασθαι τὴν κτίσιν σαλεῦσαι. **3.** Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπένθουν διὰ τὸ ταλαίπωρον γῆρας αὐτοῦ.

X

1. Πρὸ μιᾶς οὖν τοῦ θηριομαχεῖν ἡμᾶς βλέπω ὄραμα τοιοῦτον· Πομπόνιος ὁ διάκονος 'φησὶν' ἦλθεν πρὸς τὴν θύραν τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ ἔκρουσεν σφόδρα. **2.** Ἐξελθοῦσα ἦνοιξα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν καὶ περιεζωσμένον, εἶχεν δὲ ποικίλα ὑποδήματα. Καὶ λέγει μοι· 'Σὲ περιμένω, ἐλθέ.' **3.** Καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ ἐπορεύθημεν διὰ τραχέων καὶ σκολιῶν τόπων. **4.** Καὶ μόλις παρεγενόμεθα εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον, καὶ εἰσήγαγέν με εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ λέγει μοι· 'Μὴ φοβηθῆς· ἐνθάδε εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ, συγκάμνων σοι.' Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. **5.** Καὶ ἰδοὺ βλέπω πλείστον ὄχλον ἀπόπληκτον τῇ θεωρίᾳ σφόδρα· κἀγὼ ἦτις ἦδιν πρὸς θηρία με καταδικασθεῖσαν, ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐκ ἔβαλλόν μοι αὐτά. **6.** Καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς με Αἰγύπτιος τις ἄμορφος τῷ σχήματι μετὰ τῶν ὑπουργούντων αὐτῷ, μαχησόμενος

μοι. Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς με νεανίας τις εὐμορφότατος, τῷ κάλλει ἔξαστράπτων, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ νεανίαί ωραίοι, ὑπέρεται καὶ σπουδασταὶ ἔμοι. **7.** Καὶ ἐξεδύθη, καὶ ἐγενήθη ἄρρη· καὶ ἤρξαντο οἱ ἀντιλήμπτορες μου ἐλαίω με ἀλείφειν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγῶνι· καὶ ἄντικρυς βλέπω τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐκείνον ἐν τῷ κονιορτῷ κυλιόμενον. **8.** Ἐξήλθεν δὲ τις ἀνὴρ θαυμαστοῦ μεγέθους, ὑπερέχων τοῦ ἄκρου τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, διεζωσμένος ἐσθῆτα, ἧτις εἶχεν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν δύο ὤμων τὴν πορφύραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους· εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ὑποδήματα ποικίλα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου· ἐβάσταζεν δὲ καὶ ράβδον, ὡς βραβευτῆς ἢ προστάτης μονομάχων· ἔφερον δὲ καὶ κλάδους κλωροὺς ἔχοντας μῆλα χρυσᾶ. **9.** Καὶ αἰτήσας σιγὴν γενέσθαι ἔφη· ‘Οὗτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐὰν ταύτην νικήσῃ, ἀνελεῖ αὐτὴν μαχαίρα· αὕτη δὲ ἐὰν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, λήψεται τὸν κλάδον τοῦτον.’ Καὶ ἀπέστη. **10.** Προσηλθομεν δὲ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἠρξάμεθα παγκρατιάζειν· ἐκείνος ἐμοῦ τοὺς πόδας κρατεῖν ἠβούλετο, ἐγὼ δὲ λακτίσμασιν τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἔτυπτον. **11.** Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπήρα ἐπ' ἀέρος, καὶ ἠρξάμην αὐτὸν οὕτως τύπτειν ὡς μὴ πατοῦσα τὴν γῆν. Ἴδουσα δὲ ὡς οὐδέπω ἤκισον αὐτόν, ζεύξασα τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ δακτύλους δακτύλοις ἐμβαλοῦσα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπελαβόμην, καὶ ἔρριψα αὐτόν ἐπ' ὄψει καὶ ἐπάτησα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. **12.** Καὶ ἠρξάτο πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος βοᾶν, καὶ οἱ σπουδασταὶ μου ἐγαυρίων. Καὶ προσήλθον τῷ βραβευτῇ καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν κλάδον. **13.** Καὶ ἠσπάσατό με καὶ εἶπεν· ‘Εἰρήνη μετὰ σοῦ, θύγατερ.’ Καὶ ἠρξάμην εὐθὺς πορεύεσθαι μετὰ δόξης πρὸς πύλην τὴν λεγομένην Ζωτικὴν. **14.** Καὶ ἐξυπνίσθη. Καὶ ἐνόησα ὅτι οὐ πρὸς θηρία μοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν διάβολόν ἐστιν ἡ ἐσομένη μάχη, καὶ συνῆκα ὅτι νικήσω αὐτόν. **15.** Ταῦτα ἕως πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν ἔγραψα. Τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ γενησόμενα ὁ θέλων συγγραψάτω.”

XI

1. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Σάτυρος τὴν ἰδίαν ὀπτασίαν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ συγγράψας ἐφανέρωσεν τοιαῦτα εἰρηκῶς. **2.** “Ἦδη” φησὶν ἡμῖν ὡς πεπονθότες καὶ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐξεληλύθειμεν, καὶ ἠρξάμεθα βασταάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἀγγέλων πρὸς ἀνατολάς, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν οὐχ ἤπτοντο. **3.** Ἐπορευόμεθα δὲ εἰς τὰ ἀνώτερα, καὶ οὐχ ὕπτιοι, ἀλλ' οἷον ὡς δι' ὀμαλῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐφερόμεθα. **4.** Καὶ δὴ ἐξελθόντες τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον φῶς λαμπρότατον εἶδομεν· καὶ εἶπον πρὸς τὴν Περπετοῦαν (πλησίον γάρ μου ἦν)· ‘Τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅπερ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐπηγγείλατο· μετεilhάφαμεν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας.’ **5.** Αἰωρουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀγγέλων, ἐγένετο στάδιον μέγα, ὅπερ ὡσεὶ κῆπος ἦν, ἔχων ῥόδου δένδρα καὶ πᾶν γένος τῶν ἀνθῶν. **6.** Τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῶν δένδρων ἦν ὡσεὶ κυπαρίσσου μῆκος, ἀκαταπαύστως δὲ κατεφέρετο [τὰ δένδρα] τὰ φύλλα αὐτῶν. **7.** Ἦσαν δὲ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κήπῳ οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι, ἀλλήλων ἐνδοξότεροι, ὅφ' ὧν ἐφερόμεθα· πτοῦ μένους δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ θαυμάζοντας καὶ ἀπέθηκαν καὶ ἀνελαβον. **8.** Καὶ ὁδὸν λαβόντες διήλθομεν τὸ στάδιον τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποσίν. **9.** Ἐκεῖ εὔρομεν Ἰουκοῦνδον καὶ Σάτυρον καὶ Ἀρτάξιον, τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ διωγμῷ ζῶντας κρεμασθέντας, εἶδομεν δὲ Κοῖντον τὸν μάρτυρα τὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἀποθανόντα. Ἐζητοῦμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ποῦ ἄρα εἰσιν. **10.** Καὶ εἶπον οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ‘Δεῦτε πρῶτον ἔσω ἵνα ἀσπάσησθε τὸν κύριον.’

XII

1. Καὶ ἤλθομεν πλησίον τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔχοντος τοίχους ὡσανεὶ ἐκ φωτὸς ὤκοδομημένους· καὶ πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου εἰσελθόντες οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι ἐνέδυσαν ἡμᾶς λευκὰς στολὰς. 2. Καὶ εἰσήλθομεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν φωνὴν ἠνωμένην λεγόντων· Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἀκαταπαύστως. 3. Καὶ εἶδομεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου καθεζόμενον ὡς ἄνθρωπον πολιόν· οὐ αἱ τρίχες ὅμοιαι χιόνος καὶ νεαρὸν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, πόδας δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔθεασάμεθα. 4. Πρεσβύτεροι δὲ τέσσαρες ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τέσσαρες ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὀπίσω δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων πολλοὶ πρεσβύτεροι. 5. Ὡς δὲ θαυμάζοντες εἰσεληλύθαμεν καὶ ἔστημεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι ἐπῆραν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐφιλήσαμεν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ χειρὶ περιέλαβεν τὰς ὄψεις ἡμῶν. 6. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρεσβύτεροὶ εἶπον πρὸς ἡμᾶς· Ὑπακούετε καὶ προσευξάμεθα. Καὶ εἰρηνοποιήσαντες ἀπ-εστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, λεγόντων· Ὑπακούετε καὶ χαίρεσθε. Καὶ εἶπον Περπετοῦα· Ἐχεις ὁ ἐβούλου. 7. Καὶ εἶπεν· Ὁ Θεὸς χάρις, ἵνα, ὡς ἐν σαρκὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐγενόμην, πλείονα χαρῶ νῦν.

XIII

1. Ἐξήλθομεν δὲ καὶ εἶδομεν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν Ὀπτάτον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ Ἀσπάσιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη διακεχωρισμένους καὶ περιλύτους. 2. Καὶ πεσόντες πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν ἔφασαν ἡμῖν· Διαλλάξατε ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅτι ἐξεληλύθατε καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἀφήκατε. 3. Καὶ εἶπαμεν πρὸς αὐτούς· 4. Οὐχὶ σὺ πάπας ἡμέτερος εἶ, καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος; Ἴνα τί οὕτως προσεπέσατε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποσίν; Καὶ σπλαγχνισθέντες περιελάβομεν αὐτούς. Καὶ ἤρξατο ἡ Περπετοῦα Ἑλληνιστὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ ἀνεχωρήσαμεν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν κήπον ὑπὸ τὸ δένδρον τοῦ ρόδου. 5. Καὶ λαλούντων αὐτῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἐάσατε αὐτοὺς ἀναψύξαι, καὶ εἴ τινας διχοστασίας ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἄφετε ὑμεῖς ἀλλήλοις. 6. Καὶ ἐπέπληξαν αὐτούς, καὶ εἶπαν Ὀπτάτω· Ἐπανόρθωσαι τὸ πλῆθός σου· οὕτως γὰρ συνέρχονται πρὸς σε ὡσεὶ ἀπὸ ἵπποδρομιῶν ἐπανερχόμενοι καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν φιλονεικοῦντες. 7. Ἐνομίζομεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὡς θέλει ἀποκλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας. 8. Καὶ ἠρξάμεθα ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιγινώσκειν, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας. Ἐτρεφόμεθα δὲ πάντες ὁσμῇ ἀνεκδιγητῶ, ἥτις οὐκ ἐχόρταζεν ἡμᾶς. Καὶ εὐθέως χαίρων ἐξυπνίσθη.

XIV

1. Αὐταὶ αἱ ὁράσεις ἐμφανέσται τῶν μαρτύρων Σατύρου καὶ Περπετοῦας, [ἄς] αὐτοὶ συνεγράψαντο. 2. Τὸν γὰρ Σεκουῖνον τάχιον ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου μετεπέμψατο· ἐν γὰρ τῇ φυλακῇ τῆς κλήσεως ἤξιώθη σὺν τῇ χάριτι πάντως κερδάνας τὸ μὴ θηριομαχησαί. 3. Πλὴν εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ διεξήλθεν τὸ ξίφος.

XV

1. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Φηλικιτάτῃ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαύτῃ ἐδόθη· 2. Ἐκείνη γὰρ συλληφθεῖσα ὀκτῶ μηνῶν ἔχουσα γαστέρα, πάνυ ὠδύρετο (διότι οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἐγκύμονα θηριομαχεῖν ἢ τιμωρεῖσθαι), μήπως ὕστερον μετὰ ἄλλων ἀνοσίων ἐκχυθῆ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῆς τὸ ἀθῶν· 3. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συμμάρτυρες αὐτῆς περιλυποὶ ἦσαν σφόδρα οὕτω καλὴν συνεργὸν καὶ ὡσεὶ συνοδοιπόρον ἐν ὁδῷ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ θέλοντες καταλείπειν. 4. Πρὸ τρίτης οὖν ἡμέρας τοῦ πάθους αὐτῶν κοινῶ στεναγμῶ ἐνωθέντες προσευχὴν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἐποίησαντο· 5. Καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὠδίνες αὐτὴν συνέσχον, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀγδόου μηνὸς φύσιν καλεπαί. Καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοκετὸν καμοῦσα ἤλγει· ἔφη δέ τις αὐτῇ τῶν παρατηρούντων ὑπηρετῶν· “Εἰ νῦν οὕτως ἀλγείς, τί ἔχεις ποιῆσαι βληθεῖσα πρὸς θηρία, ὧν κατεφρόνησας ὅτε ἐπιθύειν κατεφρόνησας καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησας θῦσαι;” 6. Κάκείνη ἀπεκρίθη· “Νῦν ἐγὼ πάσχω ὁ πάσχω· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ <ἐν ἐμοί> πάσχων ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ [ἔσται ἐν ἐμοί ἵνα πάθῃ], διότι ἐγὼ πάσχω ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.” Ἐτεκεν δὲ κοράσιον, ὁ μίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν συλλαβοῦσα εἰς θυγατέρα ἀνέθρεψεν αὐτῇ.

XVI

1. Ἡμῖν δὲ ἀναξίοις οὖσιν ἐπέτρεψεν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀναγράψαι τὴν τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις παρακολουθήσασαν· πλὴν ὡς ἐντάλαμι τῆς μακαρίας Περπετούας, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς κελύσματι ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀποπληροῦμεν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἡμῖν. 2. Ὡς δὲ πλείους ἡμέραι διεγίνοντο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ αὐτῶν ὄντων, ἢ μεγαλόφρων καὶ ἀνδρεία ὡς ἀληθῶς Περπετούα, τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἀπηνέστερον αὐτοῖς προσφερομένου, τινῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ματαίως διαβεβαιωσαμένων τὸ δεῖν φοβεῖσθαι μήπως ἐπωδαῖς μαγικαῖς τῆς φυλακῆς ὑπεξέλθωσιν, ἐνώπιον ἀπεκρίθη λέγουσα· 3. “Διὰ τί ἡμῖν ἀναλαμβάνειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις, ὀνομαστοῖς καταδίκαις Καίσαρος γενεθλίοις ἀναλωθησομένοις; Μὴ γὰρ οὐχὶ σὴ δόξα ἐστίν, ἐφ’ ὅσον πίονες προσερχόμεθα;” 4. Πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφριξεν καὶ ἐδυσωπήθη ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐκέλευσέν τε αὐτοὺς φιλανθρωπότερον διάγειν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς καὶ λοιποὺς τινὰς δεδυνῆσθαι εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν μετ’ αὐτῶν. Τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προεστῶς ἐπίστευσεν.

XVII

1. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ μιᾶς ὅτε τὸ ἔσχατον ἐκείνο ‘δεῖπνον,’ ὅπερ ἐλεύθερον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅσον δὲ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς οὐκ ἐλεύθερον ‘δεῖπνον’ ἄλλ’ ἀγάπην’ ἀπετέλουν, τῇ αὐτῶν παρρησίᾳ πρὸς [δὲ] τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐκεῖσε παρεστῶτα ῥήματα ἐξέπεμπον, μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας αὐτοῖς ἀπειλοῦντες κρίσιν θεοῦ, ἀνθομολογούμενοι τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτῶν, καταγελῶντες τὴν περιεργίαν τῶν συντρεχόντων, Σατύρου λέγοντος· 2. “Ἡ αὔριον ἡμέρα ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ; Τί ἡδέως ὁρᾶτε οὐς μισεῖτε; Σήμερον φίλοι, αὔριον ἐχθροί. Πλὴν ἐπισημειώσασθε τὰ πρόσωπα ἡμῶν

ἐπιμελῶς, ἵνα καὶ ἐπιγνώτε ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.” 3. Οὕτως ἅπαντες ἐκείθεν ἐκπληττόμενοι ἐχωρίζοντο· ἐξ ὧν πλείστοι ἐπίστευσαν.

XVIII

1. Ἐπέλαμψεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν, καὶ προῆλθον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ὡς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπιόντες, ἰλαροὶ καὶ φαιδροὶ τῷ προσώπῳ, πτοοῦμενοι εἰ τύχοι χαρᾶ μᾶλλον ἢ φόβῳ. 2. Ἦκολούθει δὲ ἡ Περπετοῦα πρᾶως βαδίζουσα, ὡς ματρῶνα Χριστοῦ, ἐργηγόρῳ ὀφθαλμῷ, καὶ τῇ προσόψει καταβάλλουσα τὰς πάντων ὁράσεις. 3. Ὁμοίως καὶ Φηλικιτάτη χαίρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ τοκετοῦ ὑγείᾳ ἵνα θηριομαχήσῃ, ἀπὸ αἵματος εἰς αἷμα, ἀπὸ μαίας πρὸς μονομαχίαν, μέλλουσα λούσασθαι μετὰ τὸν τοκετὸν βαπτισμῷ δευτέρῳ, τουτέστιν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι. 4. Ὅτε δὲ ἤγγισαν πρὸς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον, ἠναγκάζοντο ἐνδύσασθαι σχήματα, οἱ μὲν ἄρρενες ἱερέων Κρόνου, αἱ δὲ θήλειαι τῆς Δημήτρας· ἀλλ’ ἡ εὐγενεστάτη ἐκείνη [Περπετοῦα] παρρησία ἠγωνίσαστο ἕως τέλους. 5. Ἔλεγεν γάρ· “Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκουσίως εἰς τοῦτο ἐληλύθαμεν, ἵνα ἡ ἐλευθερία ἡμῶν μὴ ἠττηθῇ· διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν παρεδώκαμεν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων πράξωμεν· τοῦτο συνεταξάμεθα μεθ’ ὑμῶν.” 6. Ἐπέγνω ἡ ἀδικία τὴν δικαιοσύνην· καὶ μετέπειτα ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ κιλιάρχος ἵνα οὕτως εἰσαχθῶσιν ὡς ἦσαν. 7. Καὶ ἡ Περπετοῦα ἔψαλλεν, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἤδη πατοῦσα. Ῥεουκάτος δὲ καὶ Σατορνίλος καὶ Σάτυρος τῷ θεωροῦντι ὄχλῳ προσωμίλουν. 8. Καὶ γενόμενοι ἔμπροσθεν Ἰλαριανοῦ κινήμασιν καὶ νεύμασιν ἔφασαν· “Σὺ ἡμᾶς, καὶ σὲ ὁ θεός.” 9. Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγριωθεὶς ὁ ὄχλος μαστιγωθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐβόησεν· ἀλλὰ οἱ ἅγιοι ἠγαλλιάσθησαν ὅτι ὑπέμεινάν τι καὶ ἐκ τῶν κυριακῶν παθῶν.

XIX

1. Ἄλλ’ ὁ εἰπὼν· “Αἰτεῖσθε καὶ λήψεσθε,” ἔδωκεν τοῖς αἰτήσασιν ταύτην τὴν δόξαν οἶαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπεθύμησεν. 2. Εἴ ποτε γὰρ μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου συνελάουον, Σατορνίλος μὲν πᾶσιν τοῖς θηρίοις βληθῆναι ἑαυτὸν θέλειν [ἔλεγεν], πάντως ἵνα ἐνδοξότερον στέφανον ἀπολάβῃ. 3. Ἐν ἀρχῇ γοῦν τῆς θεωρίας αὐτὸς μετὰ Ῥεουκάτου πάρδαλιν ὑπέμεινεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας ὑπὸ ἄρκου διεσπαράχθη. 4. Σάτυρος δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄρκον ἀπεστρέφετο· καὶ ἐνὶ δήγματι παρδάλεως τελειοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπέποθει. 5. Ὡστε καὶ τῷ συὶ διακονούμενος ἐσύρη μόνον, σχοινίῳ προσδεθείς, ὁ δὲ θηρατῆς ὁ τῷ συὶ αὐτὸν προσβαλὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρὸς κατετρώθη οὕτως ὡς μεθ’ ἡμέραν τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν ἀποθανεῖν. 6. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄρκον διαδεθείς ὑγῆς πάλιν διέμεινεν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ζωγρίου αὐτῆς ἡ ἄρκος οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐξελεθεῖν.

XX

1. Ταῖς μακαρίας δὲ νεάνισιν ἀγριωτάτην δάμαλιν ἠτοίμασεν ὁ διάβολος, τὸ θῆλυ αὐτῶν παραζήλων διὰ τοῦ θηρίου. 2. Καὶ γυμνωθεῖσαι γοῦν καὶ δικτύοις περιβληθεῖσαι προσήγοντο· ὅθεν ἀπεστράφη ὁ ὄχλος, μίαν μὲν τρυφερὰν κόρην

βλέπων, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην μασθοῖς στάζουσαν γάλα, ὡς προσφάτως κηήσασαν. **3.** Καὶ ἀναληφθεῖσαι πάλιν ἐνδιδύσκονται ὑποζώσασιν· ὅθεν εἰσελθουσῶν αὐτῶν, ἡ Περπετοῦα πρώτη κερατισθεῖσα ἔπεσεν ἐπ’ ὄσφους. **4.** Καὶ ἀνακαθίσασα τὸν χιτῶνα ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτῆς συναγαγοῦσα, ἐσκέπασεν τὸν ἑαυτῆς μηρόν, αἰδοῦς μᾶλλον μνημονεύσασα ἢ πόνων· [αἰδουμένη, μηδαμῶς φροντίσασα τῶν ἀληθῶν]. **5.** Καὶ ἐπιζήτησασα βελόνην τὰ ἐσπαραγμένα συνέσφιγξεν· καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς περιέδησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔπρεπεν τῇ μάρτυρι θριξίν σπαραχθεῖσαις ὁρᾶσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ τιμῇ δοκῇ πενθεῖν. **6.** [καὶ κεραιτισθεῖσαισιδοῦσα τὴν φιλικιτάτην, προσήλθεν αὐτῇ] καὶ κρατήσασα τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς ἤγειρεν αὐτήν. **7.** Καὶ ἔστησαν ἅμα. Τῆς δὲ σκληρότητος τοῦ ὄχλου ἐκνικηθείσης ἀνελήφθησαν εἰς τὴν πύλην τὴν Ζωτικὴν. **8.** Ἐκεῖ ἡ Περπετοῦα ὑπὸ τινος κατηχομένου ὀνόματι Ρουστίκου, ὃς παρειστήκει αὐτῇ, ἀναδεχθεῖσα καὶ ὡς ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθεῖσα (οὕτως ἐν πνεύματι γέγονεν ἔκστασιν παθοῦσα) καὶ περιβλεψαμένη, θαμβούντων ἀπάντων ἔφη· “Πότε βαλλόμεθα πρὸς τὴν δάμαλιν ἢν λέγουσιν;” **9.** Καὶ ἀκούσασα ὅτι ἤδη ἐξελήλυθει πρὸς αὐτήν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπίστευσεν πρὶν ἢ σημεῖά τινα τῆς βλάβης ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐωράκει. **10.** <Καί> καλέσασα τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, καὶ αὐτὸν [τὸν] κατηχούμενον, παρεκάλει ἵνα ἐν πίστει διαμείνωσιν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπῶσιν, καὶ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐκείνοις μὴ σκανδαλισθῶσιν τοιούτοις οὖσιν.

XXI

1. Καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πύλῃ ὁ Σάτυρος τῷ στρατιώτῃ Πούδεντι προσωμίλει “Καθόλου,” λέγων [ὅτι] “κατὰ τὴν πρόλεξιν τὴν ἐμὴν, ὡς καὶ προεῖπον, οὐδὲ ἐν θηρίον ἤψατό μου ἕως ἄρτι. Ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν, ἵνα ἐξ ὄλης καρδίας πιστεύσης· προσέρχομαι καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ δῆγματι παρδάλεως τελειοῦμαι.” **2.** Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τέλει τῆς θεωρίας πάρδαλις αὐτῷ ἐβλήθη, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ δῆγματι [τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνεπλήσθη] τοσοῦτον αἷμα ἐρρῦη, ὡς λογισθῆναι δευτέρου βαπτισμοῦ μαρτύριον· καθὼς καὶ ἐπεφώνει ὁ ὄχλος βοῶν καὶ λέγων· “Καλῶς ἐλούσω, καλῶς ελούσω.” **3.** Καὶ μὴν ὑγιῆς ἦν ὁ τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ λελουμένος. **4.** Τότε τῷ στρατιώτῃ Πούδεντι ἔφη· “Υγιᾶνε καὶ μνημόνευε [τῆς] πίστεως καὶ ἐμοῦ· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ στερεωσάτω σε μᾶλλον ἢ ταραξάτω.” **5.** Καὶ δακτύλιον αἰτήσας παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνθεις αὐτὸ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ μακαρίαν κληρονομίαν, ἀφείς μνήμην καὶ ἐνθήκην αἵματος τηλικούτου. **6.** Μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἐμπνέων ἔτι ἀπήχθη μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ συνήθει τόπῳ εἰς σφαγὴν. **7.** Ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἤτησεν αὐτοὺς εἰς μέσον μεταχθῆναι, ὅπως διὰ τῶν ἀγίων σωμάτων ἐλαυνόμενον τὸ ξίφος θεάσωνται. Καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκόντες ἠγέρθησαν· ἡσχύνοντο γὰρ ὀλίγους μάρτυρας ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ θανάτῳ αὐτῶν. Καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ὅπου ὁ ὄχλος ἐβούλετο, πρῶτον κατεφιλησαν ἀλλήλους, ἵνα τὸ μυστήριον διὰ τῶν οἰκείων τῆς πίστεως τελειώσωσιν. **8.** Καὶ μετέπειτα ἀσμένως ὑπέμειναν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ξίφους τιμωρίαν. Πολλῶ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Σάτυρος, ὁ καὶ πρότερος τὴν κλίμακα ἐκείνην ἀναβάς, . . . ὡς καὶ ἔφησεν τὴν Περπετοῦαν ἀναμένειν. **9.** Ἡ δὲ Περπετοῦα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴ γεύσῃται τῶν πόνων, περὶ τὰ ὀστέα νυγείσα ἠλάλαξεν, καὶ

πεπλανημένην δεξιάν ἀπείρου μονομάχου κρατήσασα προσήγαγεν τῇ κατακλεῖδι ἑαυτῆς. **10.** Ἴσως τὴν τοσαύτην γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος φοβουμένου καὶ [φονευθῆναι] μὴ βουλομένην.

11. Ὡ ἀνδριώτατοι καὶ μακαριώτατοι μάρτυρες καὶ στρατιῶται ἐκλεκτοί, εἰς δόξαν κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κεκλημένοι. Πῶς μεγαλύνωμεν ὑμᾶς ἢ μακαρίσωμεν, γενναιότατοι στρατιῶται; Οὐχ ἦσσαν τῶν παλαιῶν γραφῶν [ᾶ] εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἐκκλησίας ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ὀφείλει ἢ πανάρετος πολιτεία τῶν μακαρίων μαρτύρων, δι' ὧν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν αἰώνων, ἅμα τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

This page intentionally left blank

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amat, J. *Songes et visions: L'au-delà dans la littérature latine tardive*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985.
- Arjava, A. *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Arnaud-Lindet, M.-P. "Sources littéraires de l'histoire de l'Afrique romaine." In *L'Afrique Romaine de 69 à 439*, edited by B. Cabouret and M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, 369–439. Nantes: Éditions du temps, 2005.
- Atkinson, P. C. "The Montanist Interpretation of Joel 2.28, 29 (LXX 3:1, 2)." *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur Berlin* 126 (1982): 11–15.
- Baker, M. *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of the Christian Liturgy*. London: T & T Clark, 2003.
- Balch D. L., and C. Osiek., eds. *Early Christian Families in Context*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Baratte, F. "L'architecture chrétienne en Afrique." In *L'Afrique Romaine de 69 à 439*, edited by B. Cabouret and M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, 229–40. Nantes: Éditions du temps, 2005.
- Baring-Gould, S. *Perpetua: A Tale of Nîmes in A.D. 213*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1897.
- Barnes, T.D. *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- . "Pre-Decian Martyrdom." *JTS* 19, no. 2 (1968): 522–23.
- . *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.
- Barton, C. "Being in the Eyes: Shame and Sight in Ancient Rome." In *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body*, edited by D. Fredrick, 216–35. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

- . *The Gladiator and the Monster*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- . *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Bastiaensen, A. A. R. *Le cérémonial épistolaire des chrétiens latin*. Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum primaeva. Suppl. 2. Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1964.
- . “Les désignations du martyr dans le sacramentaire de Vérone.” In *Fructus centesimus: Mélanges offerts à Gerard J. M. Bartelink à l’occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, edited by G. J. M. Bartelink, A. A. R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst, and C. H. Kneepkens, 17–36. *Instrumenta Patristica* 19. Steenbrugge: In abbatia S. Petri, 1989.
- . “Tertullian’s Reference to the *Passio Perpetuae* in *De anima* 55, 4,” *Studia Patristica* 17 (1982): 790–95.
- Bauman, R. *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Baxter, J. “The Martyrs of Madaura,” *JThs* 24 (1924): 21–37.
- Beacham, R. C. *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Becker, G. *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*. Bonn: Max Cohen et Filium, 1885.
- Bedjan, P. *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*. 7 vols. Paris: Vis dicta de Sèvres, 1890–97.
- Bettini, M. *Kinship, Time, Images of the Soul*, translated by J. van Sickle. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1991.
- Birley, A. R. “Persecutors and Martyrs in Tertullian’s Africa.” In *The Later Roman Empire Today*, edited by D. F. Clark, M. M. Roxan, and J. J. Wilkes, 37–86. London: Institute of Archaeology, 1993.
- . *The Fasti of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981.
- . *Septimius Severus*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971.
- . *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- den Boeft, J., and J. Bremmer. “Notiunculae Martyrologicae II.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 36, no. 4 (1982): 383–402.
- Bomgardner, D. L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Boustan, R. S., and A. Y. Reed, eds. *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Bowersock, G. W. *Martyrdom and Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Bradley, K. R. *Discovering the Roman Family: Studies in Roman Social History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- . *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- . “Wet-Nursing at Rome: A Study in Social Relations.” In *The Family in Ancient Rome*, edited by B. Rawson, 201–29. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Braun, R. “Nouvelles observations linguistiques sur le rédacteur de la *Passio Perpetuae*.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 33 (1979): 357–81.
- . “Tertullien est-il le rédacteur de la *Passio Perpetuae*?” *Revue des Études Latines* 33 (1956): 105–17.

- Breeze, D. J. "A Note on the Use of the Titles *Optio* and *Magister* below the Centurionate during the Principate." In *Roman Officers and Frontiers*, edited by D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, 71–77. *Mavors Roman Army Researches* 10. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993.
- Bremmer, J. N. "Drusiana, Cleopatra, and Some Other Women in the *Acts of John*." In *A Feminist Companion to the New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by A.-J. Levine with M. M. Robbins, 77–87. London: T&T Clark International, 2006.
- . "Perpetua and Her Diary: Authenticity, Family and Visions." In *Märtyrer und Märtyrerakten*, edited by W. Ameling, 77–120. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002.
- . Review of "Perpetua und der Ägypter oder Bilder des Bösen im frühen afrikanischen Christentum," by P. Habermehl. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 1 (2006): 34.
- . *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife: The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- . "Why Did Early Christianity Attract Upper-Class Women?" In *Fructus centesimus: Mélanges offerts à Gerard J. M. Bartelink à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, edited by G. J. M. Bartelink, A. A. R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst, and C. H. Kneepkens, 37–47. *Instrumenta Patristica* 19. Steenbrugge: In abbatia S. Petri, 1989.
- Brind'Amour, L & P, "La deuxième satire de Perse et le *dies lustricus*." *Latomus* 30 (1971): 999–1024.
- Bryant, C. "Imperial Family Roles: Propaganda and Policy in the Severan Period." In *Gli imperatori Severi*, edited by E. dal Covolo and G. Rinaldi, 23–30. Rome: LAS, 1999.
- Buonaiuti, E. "Refrigerio pagano e refrigerio cristiano." *Ricerche religiose* 5 (1929): 160–67.
- Burrus, V. *Saving Shame Martyrs: Saints and Other Abject Objects*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Butler, R. *The New Prophecy & "New Visions": Evidence of Montanism in The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*. Patristic Monograph Series 18. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006.
- Campos, J. "El autor de la 'Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis'." *Helmantica* 10 (1959): 358–61.
- . *Passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. Supl. [I.] 2,2. Madrid: Estudios clásicos, 1967.
- Cancik, H., H. Schneider, and A. F. von Pauly, eds. *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–2002.
- Carrié, J.-M., and A. Rousselle. *L'Empire romain en mutation: Des Sévères à Constantin 192–337*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999.
- Castelli, E. A. *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Cobb, S. L. *Dying to Be Men: Gender and Language in Early Christian Martyr Texts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Coello, T. *Unit Sizes in the Late Roman Army*. Oxford: Basingstoke, 1996.
- Colombo, S. *Atti dei martiri*. Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1928.
- Connolly, S. *Lives Behind the Laws: The World of the Codex Hermogenianus*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

- Corbeill, A. *Nature Embodied: Gesture in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Corbier, P., and M. Griesheimer, eds. *L'Afrique romaine*. Paris: Ellipses, 2005.
- Courcelle, P. *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1963.
- Court, J. M. *Revelation*. Sheffield: JSOT, 1994.
- dal Covolo, E. "I Severi e il cristianesimo." In *Gli imperatori Severi*, edited by E. dal Covolo and G. Rinaldi, 189–96. Rome: LAS, 1999.
- Cox Miller, P. *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Cripps, A. S. *Saint Perpetua: Martyr of Africa*. London: Sheldon Press, 1928.
- Danielou, J. *Les anges et leur mission*. Paris: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1953.
- Darling R. Y. *In Procession before the World: Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity*. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2001.
- Davies, J. *Death, Burial and Rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Davies, R. W. *Service in the Roman Army*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989.
- Davis, S. J. *The Cult of St. Thecla*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Delehaye, H. *Sanctus: Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité*. Subsidia hagiographica 17. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1927.
- . "Contributions récentes à l'hagiographie de Rome et d'Afrique," *Anal. Boll.* 54 (1936): 298–300.
- Demougis, S., H. Devijver, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, and J. Poucet, eds. *L'Ordre équestre: Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 257. Rome: École française de Rome, 1999.
- Dixon, S., ed. *Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Dobson, B. "Legionary Centurion or Equestrian Officer? A Comparison of Pay and Prospects." In *Roman Officers and Frontiers*, edited by D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, 186–200. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993.
- Dodds, E. R. *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Dölger, F. J. "Antike Parallelen zum leidenden Dinocrates in der Passio Perpetuae." *Antike und Christentum* 17, no. 2 (1930): 1–40.
- . *Gladiatorenblut und Martyrerblut: Eine Szene der Passio Perpetuae in kultur- und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*. Berlin: Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg, 1923–4.
- . "Der Kampf mit dem Ägypter in der Perpetua-Vision: Das Martyrium als Kampf mit dem Teufel." *Antike und Christentum* 3 (1932): 177–88.
- Dondin-Payre, M. "Dénomination et romanisation en Afrique: Une onomastique africaine?" In *L'Afrique Romaine de 69 à 439*, edited by B. Cabouret and M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, 274–87. Nantes: Éditions du temps, 2005.
- Dowling, M. B. *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

- Dronke, P. *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (+ 203) to Marguerite Porete (+ 1310)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Dunn, G. D. "Roman and North African Christianity" in *The Routledge Companion to Early Christian Thought*, edited by D. J. Bingham. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Epplett, C. "The Capture of Animals by the Roman Military." *Greece & Rome* 48, no. 2 (2001): 216–17.
- Farina, W. *Perpetua of Carthage: Portrait of a Third-Century Martyr*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009.
- Farrar, L. *Ancient Roman Gardens*. Stroud: Sutton, 1998.
- Feichtinger, B., and H. Seng, *Die Christen und der Körper: Aspekte der Körperlichkeit in der christlichen Literatur der Spätantike*. Munich: K. G. Saur, 2004.
- Flower, H. I., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Fontaine, J. "Le culte des saints et ses implications sociologiques: Réflexions sur un récent essai de Peter Brown." *Analecta Bollandiana* 100 (1983): 17–41.
- . "Quatre ans d'archéologie hispanique à L'Institut Archéologique Allemand de Madrid." *Bulletin Hispanique* 69 (1967): 548–60.
- von Franz, M. L. *The Passion of Perpetua*. Toronto: Inner City Books, 2004.
- French, V. "Midwives and Maternity Care in the Roman World." *Helios* 13, no. 2 (1986): 69–84.
- Frend, W. "Blandina and Perpetua: Two Early Christian Heroines." In *Women and Early Christianity*, edited by D. M. Scholer, 87–97. New York: Garland, 1993.
- Fridh, Å. *Le problème de la passion des saintes Perpétue et Félicité*. *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 26. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1968.
- Futrell, A. *Blood in the Arena*. Austin: University of Texas, 1997.
- Gaddis, M. *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Gager, J. G. *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1975.
- Gameson, R. *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200*. London: The British Library, 2008.
- Garnsey, P. *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.
- . "The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors." *JRS* 58 (1968): 51–59.
- Gordon, R. "Mithraism and Roman Society." In *Image and Value in the Graeco-Roman World: Studies in Mithraism and Religious Art*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996.
- Gottlieb, T. *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1890.
- Grabar, A. *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- . *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*. 2 vols. Paris: Collège de France, 1946.
- Grace, F. *Perpetua*. Oberon Modern Plays. London: Oberon, 1999.
- Gradel, I. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2004.

- Green, P. *From Alexander to Actium*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Grig, L. *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*. London: Duckworth, 2004.
- Grmek, M. D. *Diseases in the Ancient World*, translated by M. Muellner and L. Muellner. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1989.
- Gruen, E. S. *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Gusman, P. *Pompeii: The City, Its Life and Art*, translated by F. Simmonds and M. Jourdain. London: William Heinemann, 1900.
- Habermehl, P. *Perpetua und der Ägypter oder Bilder des Bösen im frühen afrikanischen Christentum*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004.
- Hallet, J. P. *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Halporn, J. W. "Literary History and Generic Expectations in the *Passio* and *Acta Perpetuae*." VC 45 (1991): 223–41.
- . "Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis." In *Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries*. Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr College, 1984.
- Hamman, A. "Félicité et Perpétue." In *Les premiers martyrs de l'église*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1979.
- . *Vie liturgique et vie sociale*. Paris: Desclée, 1968.
- Hammond, M. "Septimius Severus, Roman Bureaucrat." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 51 (1940): 137–73.
- Hanson, A. T. *The Living Utterance of God*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983.
- Harland, P. A. *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Hastings, A., ed. *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Haywood, R. M. "Roman Africa." In *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, edited by T. Frank, 4:1–119. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1933–40.
- Heffernan, T. J., and J. E. Shelton. "Paradisus in Carcere: The Vocabulary of Imprisonment and the Theology of Martyrdom in the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*." *J ECS* 14, no. 2 (2006): 217–23.
- Heffernan, T. J. "History Becomes Heilsgeschichte: The Principle of the Paradigm in the Early Christian *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*." In *Interpreting Texts from the Middle Ages: The Ring of Words in Medieval Literature*, edited by U. Goebel and D. Lee, 131–36. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1994.
- . "Nomen Sacrum: God's Name as Shield and Weapon in the *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*." In *Scripture and Pluralism*, 10–28, edited by T. J. Heffernan and T. Burman. Brill: Leiden, 2005.
- . "Philology and Authorship in the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*." *TR* 50 (1995): 315–25.
- . Review of *The New Prophecy & "New Visions": Evidence of Montanism in The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*, by R. Butler. *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007) 1–3.
- Hellerman, J. H. *The Ancient Church as Family*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001.

- Hemelrijk, E. A. *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Elite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Himmelfarb, M. *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Hofer, A. "The Old Man as Christ in Justin's 'Dialogue with Trypho.'" *VC* 57, no. 1 (2003): 1–21.
- Hölkeskamp, K.-J. "Under Roman Roofs: Family, House, and Household." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, edited by H. I. Flower, 113–38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Hopkins, K. "Christian Number and its Implications." *J ECS* 6, no. 2 (1998): 185–226.
———. *Death and Renewal*. Sociological Studies in Roman History, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hoppenbrouwers, H. A. M. *Recherches sur la terminologie du martyre de Tertullian à Lactance*. Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Veegt, 1961.
- Hughes, P. E. *The Book of the Revelation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.
- Hunink, V. "Did Perpetua Write Her Prison Account?" *Listy filologické* CXXXIII 1–2 (2010): 147–55.
- Hunt, E. J. "Demons and Angels." In *Christianity in the Second Century*, 133–36. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Huss, W. "Die Religion." In *Die Karthager*, 366–86. München: C. H. Beck, 1985.
- Jensen, M. P. *Martyrdom and Identity*. London: T & T Clark, 2010.
- Jolowicz, H. F. *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Kajava, M. *Roman Female Praenomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women*. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 14. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 1994.
- Kaser, M. "The Changing Face of Roman Jurisdiction." *IJ* 2 (1967): 129–43.
- Keresztes, P. *Imperial Rome and the Christians from the Severi to Constantine the Great*. 2 vols. New York: Lanham, 1989.
- Kitzler, P. "Passio Perpetuae and Acta Perpetuae: Between Tradition and Innovation," *Listy filologické* CXXX (2007): 1–19.
- Klauck, H.-J. *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity: The World of the Acts of the Apostles*, translated by B. McNeil. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Kleinberg, A. *Flesh Made Word: Saints' Stories and the Western Imagination*, translated by J. M. Todd. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2008.
- Knight, J. M. "Apocalyptic and Prophetic Literature." In *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, edited by S. E. Porter, 487–88. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Kokkinos, N. *Antonia Augusta: Portrait of a Great Lady*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Kraemer, R. S. *Maenads, Martyrs, Matrons, Monastics*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988.
———. *Her Share of the Blessings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
———. and Shira L. Lander, "Perpetua and Felicity." In *The Early Christian World*, edited by Philip F. Esler. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000

- . *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World: a Sourcebook*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Krause, J.-U. *Gefängnisse im Römischen Reich*. Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996.
- Krüger, G. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*. Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften. 2 Reihe, 3 Band. Freiburg: Mohr, 1895.
- Kuefler, M. *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Kyle, D. G. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- . *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.
- Laes, C. "Desperately Different? *Delicia* Children in the Roman Household." In *Early Christian Families in Context*, edited by D. L. Balch and C. Osiek, 298–324. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Lamberz, M. *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*. Vienna, 1907.
- Lampe, G. W. H. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
- Lancel, S. *Carthage, A History*, translated by A. Nevill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Lassère, J.-M. "Société et vie sociale." In *L'Afrique Romaine de 69 à 439*, edited by B. Cabouret and M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, 144–67. Nantes: Éditions du temps, 2005.
- Lazzati, G. "Note critiche al testo della Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis," *Aevum* 30 (1956): 177–89.
- Le Goff, J. *The Birth of Purgatory*, translated by A. Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Leclercq, H. *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'au VIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907.
- . "Perpétue et Félicité (Saintes)." *DACL* 14 (1939): cols. 393–444.
- Leemans, J. ed., *More Than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity*. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.
- Lefkowitz, M. R. "The Motivations for St. Perpetua's Martyrdom," *JAAR* 44 (1976): 417–21.
- Leglay, M. *Saturne Africain, Histoire*. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1966.
- Lelis, A., W. A. Percy, and B. C. Verstraete. *The Age of Marriage in Ancient Rome*. Studies in Classics 26. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2003.
- Leunissen, P. M. M. *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.)*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1989.
- Levenson, J. D. *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Levick, B. *The Government of the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- . *Julia Domna: Syrian Empress*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Levison, J. R. "The Roman Character of Funerals in the Writings of Josephus." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 33, no. 3 (2002): 245–77.

- Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, R. McKenzie, and E. A. Barber. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Lieberman, S. *Texts and Studies*. New York: Ktav, 1974.
- Lindsay, W., ed. *Sexti Pompei Festi: De Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1933.
- Lizzi, R. "Il sesso e i morti." In *La mort au quotidien dans le monde romain*, edited by F. Hinard, 49–68. Paris: De Boccard, 1995.
- Luomanen, A. M., and P. Luomanen. "A Companion to Second-Century Christian 'Heretics.'" In *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- MacDonald, M. Y. *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Marrou, H. *A History of Education in Antiquity*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1956.
- Marjanen, A. and P. Luomanen, *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics."* Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Mathews, T. F. *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Mazzucco, C. "Il significato cristiano della 'libertas' proclamata dai martiri della 'Passio Perpetuae.'" In *Forma Futuri*, 542–67. Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino. Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1975.
- McKay, G. K. "The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days." *J ECS* 7 (1999): 139–61.
- McKechnie, P. "Saint Perpetua and Roman Education in AD 200." *AC* 63 (1994): 279–91.
- Middleton, P. *Radical Martyrdom and Cosmic Conflict in Early Christianity*. London: T & T Clark, 2006.
- Millar, F. "Local Cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic, and Latin in Roman Africa." In *Rome, the Greek World and the East*, edited by F. Millar, H. M. Cotton, and G. M. Rogers, 3:249–64. 3 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Mohrmann, C. *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1961.
- . "Locus Refrigerii." In *L'ordinaire de la Messe: Texte critique, traduction et études*, eds., by B. Botte and C. Mohrmann, 127. Paris: Louvain, 1953.
- . "Locus Refrigerii, Lucis et Pacis." *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 39 (1958): 196–214.
- Mommsen, Th. *Römisches Strafrecht*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1899.
- Monceaux, P. *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*. 7 vols. Paris: E. Leroux, 1901–23.
- Moon, J. L., and S. S. Humenick. "Breast Engorgement: Contributing Variable and Variables Amenable to Nursing Intervention." *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic, and Neonatal Nursing* 17 (1988): 309–15.
- Moss, C. *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Mossman, J. "The Death of Polyxena." In *Wild Justice: A Study of Euripides' Hecuba*, 142–63. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.

- Münter, F. *Primordia ecclesiae africanae*. Copenhagen: Schubothé, 1829.
- Musurillo, H. *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
- Mynors, R. A. B. *C. Plinii Caecili Secundi: Epistularum Libri Decem*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
- Nathan, G. S. *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Nebe, G. "The Son of Man and Angels: Reflections on the Formation of Christology in the Context of Eschatology." In *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, edited by H. G. Reventlow, 117–31. Sheffield: JSOT, 1997.
- Newton, F. *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Nilsson, M. P. "Pagan Divine Service in Late Antiquity." *Harvard Theological Review* 38, no. 1 (1945): 63–69.
- Olshausen, H. *Historiae ecclesiasticae veteris monumenta praecipua*. Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1820.
- Orbán, A. P. "The Afterlife in the Visions of the *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*." In *Fructus centesimus: Mélanges offerts à Gerard J. M. Bartelink à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, edited by G. J. M. Bartelink, A. A. R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst, and C. H. Kneepkens, 269–78. *Instrumenta patristica* 19. Steenbrugge: In abbatia S. Petri, 1989.
- Osborn, E. *Tertullian, First Theologian of the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Osiek, C. "Perpetua's Husband." *J ECS* 10, no. 2 (2002): 287–90.
- Pannewick, F. *Martyrdom in Literature: Visions of Death and Meaningful Suffering in Europe and the Middle East from Antiquity to Modernity*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004.
- Peppe, L. *Posizione giuridica e ruolo sociale della donna romana in età repubblicana*. Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1984.
- Perkins, J. "The Passion of Perpetua: A Narrative of Empowerment," *Latomus* 53, no.4 (1994): 837–47.
- . "The Rhetoric of the Maternal Body in the *Passion of Perpetua*," in *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses*, edited by T. Penner and C. V. Stichele. Leiden: Brill, 1967.
- Perowne, S. *Caesars and Saints*. New York: Norton, 1962.
- Petraglio, R. *Lingua latina e mentalità biblica nella Passio sanctae Perpetuae: Analisi di caro, carnalis e corpus*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 1976.
- Pettersen, A. "Perpetua—Prisoner of Conscience," *VC* 41 (1987): 139–53.
- Pflaum, H. G. *Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire Roman*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1950.
- Pillet, A. *Histoire de Sainte Perpétue et de ses compagnons*. Lille: Librairie de J. Lefort, 1885.
- Platnauer, M. *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918.

- . *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1970.
- Prinzivalli, E. "Perpetua the Martyr." In *Roman Women*, edited by A. Fraschetti, translated by L. Lapin, 118–40. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Quasten, J. "A Coptic Counterpart of a Vision in the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas." *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41): 1–9.
- . "Mutter und Kind in der Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis." *Historisches Jahrbuch: Im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft Herausgegeben von Johannes Spörl* 72 (1953): 50–55.
- . "'Vetus Superstitio et Nova Religio': The Problem of *Refrigerium* in the Ancient Church of North Africa." *Harvard Theological Review* 33, no. 4 (1940): 253–66.
- Rader, R. "The Martyrdom of Perpetua: A Protest Account of Third-Century Christianity." In *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church*, edited by P. Wilson-Kastner, 1–32. Boston: University Press of America, 1981.
- Rapske, B. *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*. Vol. 3 of *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, edited by B. W. Winter. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Rawson, B. *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Rawson, B., ed. *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Richardson Jr., L. *Pompeii: An Architectural History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1988.
- Rives, J. "The Piety of a Persecutor." *J ECS* 4, no. 1 (1996): 1–25.
- Robeck, C. M. *Prophecy in Carthage: Perpetua, Tertullian, and Cyprian*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1992.
- Robert, L. "Une vision de Perpétue martyre à Carthage en 203." *CRAI* (1982): 228–76.
- Ronsse, E. "Rhetoric of Martyrs: Listening to Saints Perpetua and Felicitas." *J ECS* 14, no. 3 (2006): 283–327.
- Rossi, M. A. "The Passion of Perpetua, Everywoman in Late Antiquity." In *Pagan and Christian Anxiety: A Response to E. R. Dodds*, edited by R. C. Smith and J. Lounibos, 53–86. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984.
- Rouselle, R. "The Dreams of Vibia Perpetua: Analysis of a Female Christian Martyr." *Journal of Psychohistory* 14 (1987): 193–206.
- Rowlandson, J., ed. *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Royer, W.S. "The Ancient of Days: Patristic and Modern Views of Daniel 7:9–14." *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 45 (2001): 137–62.
- Ruggiero, F. *Atti dei martiri scilitani: Introduzione, testo, traduzione, testimonianze e commento*. Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1991.
- Rütten, F. *Lateinische Märtyrerakten und Märtyrerbriefe*. 4. Auflage. Aschendorffs Lesehefte. Münster (Westfalen): Aschendorff, 1961.
- Sabatier, P., ed. *Vetus Latina*. Freiburg: Herder, 1953.
- Saggiorato, A. *I sarcofagi paleocristiani con scene di Passione*. Bologna: R. Pàtron, 1968.

- Salisbury, J. E. *Perpetua's Passion: The Death and Memory of a Young Roman Woman*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Salles, C. "Vie culturelle et littéraire dans l'Afrique romaine." In *L'Afrique Romaine de 69 à 439*, edited by B. Cabouret and M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, 257–73. Nantes: Éditions du temps, 2005.
- Saxer, V. *Bible et hagiographie: Textes et thèmes bibliques dans les Actes des martyrs authentiques des premiers siècles*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1986.
- . *Saints anciens d'Afrique du Nord*. Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1979.
- Schwerd, A., ed. *Lateinische Märtyrerakten*. Humanitas Christiana, Lateinische Reihe 1. München: Kösel-Verlag, 1960.
- Sebesta, J. L. "Vibia Perpetua: Mystic and Martyr." In *Women Writing Latin: From Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*, edited by L. J. Churchill, P. R. Brown, and J. E. Jeffrey, 1:103–30. 3 vols. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Seeley, D. *The Noble Death: Greco-Roman Martyrology and Paul's Concept of Salvation*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990.
- Selinger, R. *The Mid-Third Century Persecutions of Decius and Valerian*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004.
- Shaw, B. "The Passion of Perpetua." In *Studies in Ancient Greek and Roman Society*, edited by R. Osborne, 286–325. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Sirks, A. J. B. "Making a Request to the Roman Emperor: Rescripts in the Roman Empire." In *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire*, edited by L. de Bois, 121–35. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2001.
- Smith, L. B. *Fools, Martyrs, Traitors: The Story of Martyrdom in the Western World*. New York: Knopf, 1997.
- Smith, M. *Jesus the Magician*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.
- Snyder, G. F. *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine*. Mercer, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985.
- Solin, H. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1971.
- . *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: Ein Namenbuch*. 3 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003.
- . *Die Städtromischen Sklavennamen: Ein Namenbuch*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996.
- Southern, P. *The Roman Empire from Severus to Constantine*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Southern, P., and K. R. Dixon. *The Late Roman Army*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1996.
- Speidel, M. P. *The Framework of an Imperial Legion*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992.
- Streete, G. P. C. "Women as Sources of Redemption and Knowledge in Early Christian Traditions." In *Women & Christian Origins*, edited by R. S. Kraemer and M. R. D'Angelo, 330–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . *Redeemed Bodies: Women Martyrs in Early Christianity*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009.
- Sumner, G. *Roman Military Clothing, AD 200–400*. London: Osprey, 2003.

- Sussman, L. A. *The Declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus*. New York: Brill, 1994.
- Tabbernee, W. "Eusebius's Theology of Persecution," *J ECS* 5 (1997): 319–34.
- . "To Pardon or Not to Pardon? North African Montanism and the Forgiveness of Sins." *Studia Patristica* 36 (2001): 375–86.
- Thieling, W. *Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika: Der griechische Kultureinfluss in den römischen Provinzen Nordwestafrikas*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911.
- Thomasson, B. E. *Fasti Africani: Senatorische und ritterliche Amtsträger in den römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletian*. Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Rom, 1996.
- Thompson, D. J. "The Ptolemies and Egypt." In *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, edited by Andrew Erskine, 105–20. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Tilley, M. A. "North Africa." In *Origins to Constantine*, edited by M. M. Mitchell and F. M. Young, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 381–96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- . "The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity." In *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Commentary*, vol. 2, edited by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 829–58. New York: Crossroad, 1994.
- . "Sustaining Donatist Self-Identity: From the Church of the Martyrs to the *Collecta* of the Desert." *J ECS* 5, no. 1 (1997): 21–35.
- Treggiari, S. *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
- Trevett, C. *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- van Uytfanghe, M. "Platonisme et eschatologie chrétienne: Leur symbiose graduelle dans les passions et les panégyriques des martyrs et dans les biographies spirituelles (Hé-Vie s.)." In *Fructus centesimus: Mélanges offerts à Gerard J. M. Bartelink à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, edited by G. J. M. Bartelink, A. A. R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst, and C. H. Kneepkens, 343–62. *Instrumenta patristica* 19. Steenbrugge: In abbatia S. Petri, 1989.
- Varner E. R. *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Vermaseren, M. J. *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae*. 2 vols. The Hague, 1956.
- Veyries, A. *Les figures criophores dans l'art grec, l'art gréco-romain et l'art chrétien*. Paris: E. Thorin, 1884.
- Vierow, H. "Feminine and Masculine Voices in the Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas," *Latomus* 58, no.3 (1999): 600–19.
- Volbach, W. F. *Early Christian Art*. New York: Abrams, 1962.
- Waldner, K. "Zur narrativen Technik der Körperdarstellung im *Martyrium Polycarpi* und der *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*," in B. Feichtinger, H. Seng, eds., *Die Christen und der Körper: Aspekte der Körperlichkeit in der christlichen Literatur der Spätantike*, 27–74. München/Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2004.
- Watson, G. *The Roman Soldier*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

- Webster, G. *The Roman Imperial Army*. 3rd ed. London: A. C. Black, 1985.
- . *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.* London: Black, 1969.
- Weitzmann, K., and H. L. Kessler. *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990.
- Welch, K. *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Williams, M. S. *Authorized Lives in Early Christian Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Williams, W. *Pliny: Correspondence with Trajan from Bithynia: Epistles X*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990.
- Wilson, A. I. "Romanizing Baal: The Art of Saturn Worship in North Africa." In *Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art, Zagreb 2003*. *Opuscula archaeologica: Dissertationes et Monographiae*. 403–8. Zagreb, 2005.
- Winter, B. W. *Roman Wives, Roman Widows*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Wypustek, A. "Magic, Montanism, Perpetua, and the Severan Persecution." *VC* 51 (1997): 276–97.
- . "Pagans and Christians around Perpetua and Felicitas: The Study of Pagan Ideas during Persecution at the Turn of the Second Century." *EOS* 85 (1998): 279–83.

INDEX VERBORUM

Compiled by James E. Shelton

This Index Verborum lists all nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, with their location in the text and with a complete parsing of each form. Conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns and demonstratives are omitted. In the case of these words any unusual features are discussed in the notes.

At the beginning of each lemma the word is given in the form in which it would appear in the *OLD*. In the event it is a post-classical usage, the form will follow standard dictionary practice for the period. All occurrences of the word are listed in alphabetical order, and the location of each is given through a cross-reference to the chapter and line number employed in this edition. The parsing of each word is expressed by the appropriate combination of abbreviations taken from the list below. When adjectives or adverbs appear in the comparative or superlative degree, the degree of comparison is indicated by 'cmp' or 'spr'. The absence of such abbreviations indicates that the word occurs in the positive degree. For deponent verbs the abbreviation 'dp' is used, and neither 'act' nor 'pas' is used, because of the possible ambiguity. The small number of Greek words which occur in the *Passio* are presented in transliterated form, identified by the abbreviation 'Gr' and parsed appropriately. For Latin nouns, verbs and adjectives the inflectional ending is printed in bold type and, where appropriate, the tense marking vowel or tense sign, which helps to identify the form, is also printed in bold. Vowel lengths are indicated by macrons where appropriate.

The meanings given for each word, following the initial Latin entry, are based on the translation of the words in this volume and hence may differ from normal classical usage

as would occur in a typical Latin dictionary. Occasionally, when rendering the Latin into English a word is not directly translated. In such cases a standard dictionary translation marked by an asterisk is given in the lemma. Where appropriate, italicized notes are offered which indicate the relationship, or lack of same, between the Latin and Greek lexical items.

Abbreviations used in the Index Verborum

ab. = ablative	inf. = infinitive
ac. = accusative	itj. = interjection
act. = active	ipf. = imperfect
adv. = adverb	loc. = locative
cmp. = comparative	m. = masculine
d. = dative	n. = neuter
dp. = deponent	nm. = nominative
f. = feminine	p. = plural
fp. = future perfect	pas. = passive
fut. = future	pf. = perfect
g. = genitive	plp. = pluperfect
gdv. = gerundive	pr. = present
ger. = gerund	ptl. = participle
Gr. = Greek	s. = singular
Hbr. = Hebrew	sbj. = subjunctive
imp. = imperative	spr. = superlative
ind. = indicative	voc. = vocative

Index Verborum

abeo, -ire, -ii, -itum, “go away”;

abiit – pf. act. ind. 3s X.4.

abominor, abominari, abominatus sum, “hate”;

abominabatur – ipf. dp. ind. 3s XIX.4. *The Greek ἀποστρέφω used here can mean “hate.”*

This use is seen as far back as Aristophanes (Peace 683) and occurs in the NT, as in Hb 12.25.

absentia, -ae, f., “absence”;

absentia, ab. s III.4.

accedo, -ere, accessi, accessum, “get close, come up”;

accedere – pr. act. inf. VII.6;

accessi – pf. act. ind. 1s X.12;

accessimus – pf. act. ind. 1p X.10;

accessit – pf. act. ind. 3s VIII.3, VIII.4, XX.6.

- accerso**, -ere, accersivi, accersitum, “call”;
accersitum – pf. pass. ptl. acc. m. s. XX.10.
- accipio**, -ere, accepi, acceptum, “receive”;
accipere – pr. act. inf. VI.7;
accipiet – fut. act. ind. 3s X.9;
accipietis – fut. act. ind. 2p XIX.1.
- actus**, -us, m., “outcome”;
actum – acc. s X.15.
- acus**, -us, f., “needle”;
acu – ab. s XX.5.
- addico**, -ere, -ixi, -ictum, “hand over”;
addiximus – pf. act. ind. 1p XVIII.5.
- adduco**, -ere, adduxi, adductum, “arrest”;
adducti sumus – pf. pass. ind. 1p IV.5.
- adeo**, “so”;
adeo – adv. XX.8.
- adhaereo**, -ere, adhaesi, adhaesum, “cling to”;
adhaerebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s XX.8. *The Latin seems more vivid than the Greek, as the root of **adhaerebat** means “cling”, while the root of *παρεισθῆκει* simply means “stand”.*
- adhuc**, “thus far, still, until now”;
adhuc – adv. III.1, IV.10, XIV.2, XXI.1, XXI.11.
- adicio**, -ere, adieci, adiectum, “add”;
adicentes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XVI.1.
- adiungo**, -ere, adiunxi, adiunctum, “join to”;
adiungerent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p XXI.7.
- adiutor**, -oris, m., “helper”;
adiutores – n. p X.6; *This is used to refer here to Perpetua’s helpers. In the Greek they are called ὑπηρέται. This is a classical Greek word, going as far back as Aeschylus and occurring a number of times in the NT, as in Lk 1:2.*
adiutoribus – ab. p X.6. *Here where the Latin uses **adiutor** to refer to the helpers of the Egyptian. The Greek changes from ὑπηρέτης to the participle of ὑπουργέω.*
- adloquor**, adloqui, adlocutus sum, “speak to”;
adlocuta est – pf. dp. ind. 3s XX.10;
adloquebar – ipf. dp. ind. 1s III.8.
- administro**, -are, administravi, administratum, “distribute”;
administrans – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s I.5. *There is a textual problem about the Latin here. The Greek διοικῶν (nm. n. s. of the pr. act. ptl. of διοικέω) would favor the conjecture **administrans**.*
- admiratio**, admirationis, f., “admiration, wonder”;
admiratione – ab. s XI.7, XII.5.
- admitto**, -ere, admisi, admissum, “allow to visit”;
admittebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s IX.1.
- admonitio**, admonitionis, f., “warning”;
admonitionibus – ab. p XVI.2.
- adolescens**, -entis, “young” (or as substantive, “young man”);
adolescentes – nm. m. p II.1, X.6.

- adoro**, -are, adoravi, adoratum, “adore”;
 adorat – pr. act. ind. 3s XXI.11.
- adprehendo**, -ere, adprehendi, adprehensum, “grab hold, arrest”;
 adprehendere – pr. act. inf. X.10;
 adprehendi – pf. act. ind. 1s X.11;
fuerat adprehensa – plp. pass. ind. 3s XV.2;
 adprehensi **sunt** – pf. pass. ind. 3p II.1.
- adtendo**, -ere, adtendi, adtentum, “look”;
 adtendens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. or f. s IV.3.
- adtonitus**, -a, -um, “astonished, stunned”
 adtoniti – pf. pas. ptl. nm. m. p XVII.3.
 adtonitum – pf. pas. ptl. ac. m.s X.5.
- aedifico**, -are, aedificavi, aedificatum, “be a teacher, make”;
 aedificati – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. p XII.1; *Here where the Latin uses this in its literal sense of “built” (with reference to walls) the Greek uses οικοδομέω which also literally means “build.” In other contexts both the Greek and the Latin can be used in the non-literal sense of English “edify” or “teach,” as in IV.5.*
 aedificaverat – plp. act. ind. 3s IV.5;
- aedificatio**, aedificationis, f., “edification, building up”;
 aedificationem – acc. s I.1, XXI.11.
- Aegyptius**, -a, -um, “Egyptian” (or substantively “an Egyptian”);
 Aegyptii – g. m. s XVIII.7;
 Aegyptium – acc. m. s X.7;
 Aegyptius – nm. m. s X.6, X.9.
- aemulor**, -ari, aemulatus sum, “match”;
 aemulatus – pf. dp. ptl. nm. m. s XX.1.
- aeque**, “equally, also”;
 aeque – adv. I.1, II.2.
- aer**, aeris, m., “air”;
 aere – ab. s X.11.
- aereus**, -a, -um, “bronze”;
 aeream – acc. f. s IV.3.
- aestimo**, -are, aestimavi, aestimatum, “think”;
 aestimet – pr. act. sbj. 3s I.5.
- aestuo**, -are, aestuavi, aestuatum, “be hot”;
 aestuantem – pr. act. ptl. acc. m. s VII.4. *The Greek here uses the plural participle καυματιζόμενοι with reference to all the inhabitants of this place.*
- aestus**, -us, m., “heat”;
 aestus – n. s III.6.
- aetas**, aetatis, f., “time, youth”;
 aetatibus – ab. p I.3;
 aetatis – g. s V.2.
- afa**, -ae, f., “dust”;
 afa – ab. s X.7. *This is a Latinization of ἀφή. Spelled as **haphe** it occurs in Martial and Seneca. It was used specifically with reference to athletics—the dust with which the athletes rubbed themselves after being anointed with oil. The Greek on the other hand uses the “more general” term (as Amat says) for dust κονιοπτώς.*

- affectio**, affectionis, f., “love”;
 affectione – ab. s III.1. *The Greek author’s choice of εὐσπλαγχνία here may reflect the Biblical and patristic use of this word and of the adjective εὐσπλαγχνος. See I Clem. 14:3 and I Pet 3:8.*
- agape**, (Gr.), “love-feast”;
 agapem – acc. s XVII.1.
- agnosco**, -ere, agnovi, agnitum, “acknowledge, know, recognize”;
 agnoscimus – pr. act. ind. 1p I.5;
 agnovit – pf. act. ind. 3s XIV.3, XVIII.6. *In XIV.3 the Greek διεξήλθεν might seem less effective than agnovit, but Amat suggests that the Greek is an echo of Lk 2:35.*
- ago**, -ere, egi, actum, “do, give”;
 egi – pf. act. ind. 1s III.4, X.15.
- agon**, (Gr.), “match”;
 agone – ab. s X.7.
- aio**, (defective verb), “say”;
 ait – pr. act. ind. 3s III.2, XV.5, XX.8.
- alibi**, “anywhere”;
 alibi – adv. III.9.
- aliqui**, aliqua (or aliquae), aliquod, (aliquis, aliquid if used as pronoun), “some, any”;
 aliquibus – ab. f. p XVI.2;
 aliquid – acc. n. s V.4, XVIII.5, XVIII.9, XXI.9.
- aliter**, “otherwise”;
 aliter – adv. XXI.10.
- alius**, alia, aliud, “another”;
 alia – ab. f. s XXI.1;
 alii – nm. m. p XI.7;
 alio – ab. m. s VI.1;
 alio – ab. n. s III.2;
 aliud – acc. n. s III.1, III.2, III.5;
 alius – nm. m. s XV.6.
- alo**, -ere, alui, altum (or altum), “nourish”;
 alebamus – ipf. pass. ind. 1p XIII.8.
- alter**, altera, alterum, “the other”;
 alteram – acc. f. s XX.2;
 alterum – acc. m. s II.2.
- altitudo**, altitudinis, f., “height”;
 altitudinem – acc. s VII.8;
 altitudo – nm. s XI.6.
- altus**, -a, -um, “high”;
 altiore – acc. m. s cpr. VII.7.
- ambo**, ambae, ambo – “both”;
 ambae – nm. f. p XX.7.
- amen**, (Hbr.), “amen”;
 amen – I.6, IV.9, XXI.11.
- amicus**, -i, m., “friend”;
 amici – nm. p XVII.2.

- amphitheatrum**, -i, n., “amphtheater”;
 amphitheatri – g. s X.8;
 amphitheatrum – acc. s X.4, XVIII.1.
- amplius**, “longer”;
 amplius – adv. VI.8.
- ancilla**, -ae, f., “handmaiden”;
 ancillas – acc. p I.4.
- angelus**, -i, m., “angel”;
 angeli – nm. p XI.7 (bis), XI.10, XII.1, XII.5, XIII.5;
 angelis – d. p XI.7;
 angelis – ab. p XI.2, XI.5.
- angustus**, -a, -um, “narrow”;
 angustam – acc. f. s IV.3.
- anhelo**, -are, anhelavi, anhelatum, “be out of breath”;
 anhelantes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p X.4. *Both the Greek and the Latin say that the martyrs had difficulty in arriving, but only the Latin says that they were out of breath.*
- anima**, -ae, f., “soul, life”;
 anima – nm. s XIV.3;
 animam – acc. s XVIII.5.
- animus**, -i, m., “spirit, pride”;
 animi – g. s XVI.1;
 animos – acc. p V.4.
- annuntio**, -are, annuntiavi, annuntiatum, “announce”;
 annuntiamus – pr. act. ind. 1p I.6. *This is a partial quotation from I Jn 1:1-3. Where the NT uses ἀπαγγέλω the Greek of the Passio changes it to εὐαγγελίζω, perhaps because of the association of this word with the proclamation of the Gospel, as in Acts 8:12.*
- annus**, -i, m., “year”;
 annis – d. p IX.2;
 annorum – g. p II.3, VII.5.
- ansula**, -ae, f., “ring”;
 ansulam – acc. s XXI.5.
- antiquitas**, antiquitatis, f., “antiquity”;
 antiquitatis – g. s I.2
- aper**, apri, m., “boar”;
 apro – d. s XIX.5 (bis).
- aperio**, -ire, aperui, apertum, “open”;
 aperui – pf. act. ind. 1s X.2.
- appareo**, -ere, apparui, apparitum, “appear”;
 apparuit – VI.2 – pf. act. ind. 3s.
- aqua**, -ae, f., “water”;
 aqua – ab. s III.5, VII.7, VIII.3, VIII.4;
 aquam – acc. s VII.8, VIII.2.
- arbor**, arboris, f., “tree”;
 arbore – ab. s XIII.4;
 arbores – ac. p XI.5;
 arborum – g. p XI.6.

- ardeo**, -ere, arsi, “burn”;
 arserunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XI.9.
- arena**, -ae, f., “arena”;
 arena – ab. s X.4.
- argentum**, -i, n., “silver”;
 argento – ab. s X.8.
- argumentum**, -i, n., “argument”;
 argumentis – ab. p III.3. *The Greek renders **argumentum** by μηχανή, reflecting what Amat identifies as the pejorative sense of this word in Late Latin.*
- ascendo**, -ere, ascendi, ascensum, “climb, go up”;
 ascendentes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XI.3;
 ascendentibus – pr. act. ptl. d. m. p IV.4;
 ascenderat – plp. act. ind. 3s XXI.8;
 ascendere – pr. act. inf. IV.3;
 ascenderent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p IV.4;
 ascendi – pf. act. ind. 1s IV.7;
 ascendimus – pf. act. ind. 1p VI.2;
 ascendit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.5, V.1.
- asper**, aspera, asperum, “rugged, cruel”;
 aspera – acc. n. p X.3;
 asperum – acc. m. s III.6.
- aspicio**, -ere, aspexi, aspectum, “look at”;
 aspexit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.9;
 aspice – pr. act. imp. s V.3, V.3, V.3;
 aspicio – pr. act. ind. 1s X.5.
- auctoritas**, auctoritatis, f., “importance”;
 auctoritati – d. s I.2.
- audio**, -ire, audivi, auditum, “hear”;
 audiremur – ipf. pass. sbj. 1p V.1, VI.1;
 audisset – plp. act. sbj. 3s XX.9;
 audivimus – pf. act. ind. 1p I.6, XII.2.
- auditus**, -us, m., “hearing”;
 auditum – acc. s I.6.
- aureus**, -a, -um, “golden”;
 aurea – nm. f. s VIII.3;
 aurea – nm. n. p X.8.
- aurum**, -i, n., “gold”;
 auro – ab. s X.8.
- baptisma**, baptismatis, n., “baptism”;
 baptismatis – g. s XXI.2.
- baptismus**, -i, m., “baptism”;
 baptismo – ab. s XVIII.3.
- baptizo**, -are, baptizavi, baptizatum, “baptize”;
 baptizati sumus – pf. pass. ind. 1p III.5.
- barba**, -ae, f., “beard”;
 barbam – acc. s IX.2.

basio, -are, basiavi, basiatum, “kiss”;

basians – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s V.5. *Here the Greek uses καταφιλέω, which is used in the NT for “kiss”, as in Mt 26.49.*

beatus, -a, -um, “blessed”;

beatissimi – nm. m. p. spl. XXI.11;

beatissimorum – g. m. p. spl. XIV.1.

bene, * “well”;

bene – adv. IV.9, VIII.1.

benedictus, -a, -um, “blessed”;

benedicti – nm. m. p III.7. *The Greek renders this by εὐλογημένοι in III.7, but in XI.1 it renders **benedictus** by μακάριος. The former might recall the use of the pf. pass. ptl. of εὐλογέω in such passages as Lk 1:42 and I Clem 30:5, and the latter might recall such passages as James 1.25, I Clem 44.5, and M Pol 1.1.*

benedictus – nm. m. s XI.1.

beneficium, -ii, n., “benefit”;

beneficia – acc. p IV.2;

beneficio – ab. s III.6, III.8;

beneficium – acc. s I.5.

bestia, -ae, f., “beast”;

bestia – ab. s XIX.5, XX.1;

bestiae – nm. p X.5;

bestiam – acc. s XXI.1;

bestias – acc. p XIV.2, VI.6, X.5, X.14, XVIII.3;

bestiis – d. p XV.5, XIX.2.

bibo, -ere, bibi, bibitum, “drink”;

bibere – pr. act. inf. VIII.3;

bibiturus – fut. act. ptl. nm. m. s VII.7, VII.8.

bonus, -a, -um, “good”;

bonam – acc. f. s XV.3.

buccella, acc. f., “mouthful”;

buccellam – acc. s IV.9. *Where the Latin uses the diminutive of **bucca** (cheek) the Greek uses ψωμίον, the diminutive of ψωμός (morsel).*

cado, -ere, cecidi, casurus, “fall”;

cecidit – pf. act. ind. 3s X.11.

caedo, -ere, cecidi, caesum, “kick, strike”;

caedebam – ipf. act. ind. 1s X.10;

caedere – pr. act. inf. X.11.

caelum, -i, n. “heaven”;

caelum – acc. s IV.3, XVIII.1.

Caesar, Caesaris, m., “Caesar”;

Caesaris – g. s VII.9, XVI.3.

calco, -are, calcavi, calcatum, “tread, trample”;

calcans – pr. act. ptl. nm. f. s XVIII.7, X.11;

calcarem – ipf. act. sbj. 1s IV.7;

calcavi – pf. act. ind. 1s IV.7, X.11.

calx, calcis, f., “heel”;

calcibus – ab. p X.10.

- cancero**, -are, canceravi, caceratum, **“become cancerous”*;
 cancerata – pf. pass. ptl. ab. f. s VII.5. *The Greek is (as Amat says) more realistic with the phrase “ὄψιν γαγγραίνην σαπείς—“with his face eaten by gangrene”.*
- candidatus**, -a, -um, *“dressed in white”*;
 candidati – nm. m. p IV.8. *The Greek version’s use of λευχιμονέω may be intended to echo the root λευκ- in the Book of Revelation, although this verb itself does not occur in the NT. See Revelation 1.14; 2.17; 3.4; 6.2; 14.14; 20.11.*
- candidus**, -a, -um, *“white”*;
 candida – ab. f. s X.2;
 candidas – acc. f. p XII.1.
- cano**, ere, cecini, cantum, *“sing”*;
 canebant – ipf. acc. ind. 3p XI.6.
- canus**, -a, -um, *“white-haired” (adj.) or “gray hair” (substantive)*;
 canis – d. m. p V.2, VI.3;
 canum – acc. m. s IV.8, XII.3.
- capillus**, -i, m., *“hair”*;
 capillis – ab. p XX.5;
 capillos – acc. p XII.3, XX.5.
- caput**, capitis, n., *“head”*;
 caput – acc. s IV.6, IV.7, IV.7, IV.9, X.11, X.11, XVIII.7.
- carcer**, carceris, m., *“prison”*;
 carcer – nm. s III.9;
 carcere – ab. s III. 8, III.9, VI.7, XI.9, XIV.2, XVI.2, XVIII.1;
 carcerem – acc. s III.5, VI.6, VII.9;
 carceris – g. s III.7, IX.1, X.1, XVI.4.
- careo**, -ere, carui, cariturus, *“be free from”*;
 caruissem – plp. act. sbj. 1s III.4. *Instead of directly translating caruissem the Greek version uses the genitive absolute ἀποδημίσησαντος αὐτοῦ, perhaps being influenced by ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ at the end of the sentence.*
- carnalis**, -e, *“in the flesh”*;
 carnalis – nm. m. s VII.5.
- caro**, carnis, f., *“flesh”*;
 carne – ab. s XI.2, XII.7;
 carnem – acc. s I.4;
 carnes – nm. p IV.3;
 carnis – g. s III.5;
 caro – nm. s XIV.3.
- caseum**, -i, n., *“cheese”*;
 caseo – ab. s IV.9.
- castigate**, *“cruelly”*; *Rather than trying to reproduce the castigatius . . . castigaret of the Latin text, the Greek uses the genitive absolute τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἁτινέστερον αὐτοῖς προσφερομένου (“as the tribune was attacking them rather harshly”).*
 castigatius – adv. cmp. XVI.2.
- castigo**, -are, castigavi, castigatum, *“treat”*;
 castigaret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s XVI.2.

castrensis, -e, “military”;

castrensi – ab. s VII.9.

castrensem – acc. s VII.9.

casus, -us, m., “suffering, fate.”

casus – nm.s VI.5

casus – g.s. VII.1.

causa, -ae, f., “purpose”;

causae – d. s I.1.

cavea, -ae, f., “cage”

cavea – ab. s XIX.6.

celebro, -are, celebravi, celebratum, “celebrate”;

celebramus – pr. act. ind. 1p I.5.

cena, -ae, f., “meal”;

cenam – acc. s XVII.1 (bis).

ceno, -are, cenavi, cenatum, “partake”;

cenarent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p XVII.1.

certe, “exactly”;

certe – adv. XIV.3, XXI.1.

certo, -are, certavi, certatum, “argue”;

certantes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XIII.6. *When the Latin has **de factionibus certantes** the Greek has *περι αὐτῶν φιλονεικούντες* without any specific reference to the **factiones**.*

cessatio, cessationis, f., “ceasing”;

cessatione – ab. s VIII.2, XI.6, XII.2.

ceteri, ceterae, cetera, “the others”;

ceteras – acc. f. p. I.5;

ceteri – nm. m. p VI.2, XI.9, XII.4, XII.6, XXI.8;

ceteris – d. m. p XVI.4.

ceteris – ab. m. p XI.7, XXI.6.

cicatrix, cicatricis, f. “scar”;

cicatricem – acc. s VIII.1.

circiter, “about”;

circiter – adv. II.3.

circumspicio, -ere, circumspexi, circumspicere, “look about”;

circumspicere – pr. act. inf. XX.8.

circumsto, -are, circumsteti, circumstatum, “stand around”;

circumstantes – pr. act. ptl. n. m. p IV.8, IV.9.

circus, -i, m., “circus”;

circo – ab. s XIII.6. *Here the Greek has *ἵπποδρομῶν* in the plural.*

civitas, civitatis, f., “city”;

civitate – ab. s V.1.

clamo, -are, clamavi, clamatum, “shout, call”;

clamare – pr. act. inf. X.12;

clamavit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.9.

claritas, claritatis, f., “glory”;

claritas – n. s I.6, XXI.11. *Used here in the sense of the glory given to God and hence rendered in Greek by *δόξα*.*

- clarus**, -a, -um, “radiant”;
 clariores – nm. m. p cmp. XI.7. The Greek is ἐνδοξότεροι, which may have the theological connotation of “more glorious,” because of the root δοξ-. The Latin however may mean “more radiant,” as Amat suggests.
- claudo**, -ere, clausi, clausum, “shut”;
 claudere – pr. act. inf. XIII.7.
- clavus**, -i, m., “stripe”;
 clavos – acc. p X.8.
- clivus**, -i, m., “hill”;
 clivum – acc. s XI.3.
- coepio**, coepere, coepi, coeptum, “begin”;
 coeperunt – pf. act. ind. 3p X.7, XVIII.8;
 coepi – pf. act. ind. 1s VII.2, X.11, X.13;
 coepimus – pf. act. ind. 1p IV.10, X.3, X.10, XI.2, XIII.8;
 coepit – pf. act. ind. 3s VIII.3, IX.1, IX.2, X.12, XIII.4, XX.8.
- cognosco**, -ere, cognovi, cognitum, “recognize”;
 cognoscere – pr. act. inf. XIII.8;
 cognoscitis – pr. act. ind. 2p I.6;
 cognovi – pf. act. ind. 1s VII.2, VII.9.
- cogo**, -ere, coegi, coactum, “force”;
 cogentur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3p XVIII.4
- color**, coloris, m., “color”;
 colore – ab. s VII.4.
- comes**, comitis, m., “companion, accomplice”;
 comitem – acc. s XV.3;
 comites – acc. p XXI.7.
- conmanduco**, -are, commanducavi, commanducatum, “eat”;
 conmanducans – pr. act. ptl. nm. f. s IV.10.
- commeatus**, -us, m., “freedom”;
 commeatus – nm. s IV.1. Whereas the Latin *commeatus* suggests “freedom” the Greek ἀναβολήν used here suggest more of a “deferment” or “delay,” as in Acts 25.17.
- commemoror**, -ari, commemoratus, “remember”;
 commemorata – pf. dp. ptl. nm. f. s VII.1.
- commendo**, -are, commendavi, commendatum, “entrust”;
 commendabam – ipf. act. ind. 1s III.8.
- comminor**, -ari, comminatus sum, “threaten”;
 comminabantur – ipf. dp. ind. 3p XVIII.7;
 comminantes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XVII.1.
- commissio**, commissionis, f., “beginning”;
 commissione – ab. s XIX.3. For *commissione* (referring to the beginning of the games) the Greek uses ἀρχή, which Amat says is “beaucoup plus general.”
- communio**, communionis, f., “sharing”;
 communionem – acc. s I.6. The Greek uses κοινωνία, which occurs also in the NT passage which is quoted here, 1 Jn 1.3.
- comparo**, -are, comparavi, comparatum, “prepare”;
 comparatam – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. s XX.1.

- complector**, complecti, complexus sum, “embrace”;
 complexi **sumus** – pf. dp. ind. 1p XIII.3.
- complures**, complura, “many”;
 complures – nm. m. p VII.4, XII.4.
- compono**, -ere, composui, compositum, “make peace”;
 componite – imp. 2p XIII.2.
- concedo**, -ere, concessi, concessum, “agree”;
 concessit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVIII.6.
- concido**, -ere, concidi, “fall”;
 concidit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.3.
- concurro**, -ere, concurri, concursum, “jostle”;
 concurrentium –pr. act. ptl. g. m. p XVII.1.
- concussura**, -ae, f., “extortion”;
 concussurae – nm.p. III.6. *The Greek has σνκοφαντία, which might echo the corresponding verb used in Lk 19.8.*
- conficio**, -ere, confeci, confectum, “die”;
 confici – pr. pass. inf. XIX.4.
- confirmo**, -are, confirmavi, confirmatum, “strengthen”;
 confirmit – pr. act. sbj. 3p XXI.4.
- confiteor**, -eri, confessus sum, “confess”;
 confessi **sunt** – pf. dp. ind. 3p VI.2. *The Greek uses ὁμολογέω, which is used for “confess” in Biblical and Patristic writing. See Jn 1.20 and MPol 12.1.*
- conforto**, -are, confortavi, confortatum, “comfort”;
 confortabam – ipf. act. ind. 1s III.8.
 confortavi – pf. act. ind. 1s V.5.
 confortetur – pr. pass. sbj. 3s I.1.
- coniungo**, -ere, coniunxi, coniunctum, “join together”;
 coniuncto – pf. pass. ptl. ab. m. s XV.4.
- conlaboro**, -are, conlaboravi, conlaboratum, “join in struggle”;
 conlaboro – pr. act. ind. 1s X.4.
- conmartyr**, conmartyris, m. or f., “fellow martyr”;
 conmartyres – nm. p XV.3.
- conpungo**, -ere, conpunxi, con punctum, “pierce”;
 conpuncta – pf. pass. ptl. nm. f. s XXI.9.
- conscribo**, -ere, conscripsi, conscriptum, “write”;
 conscribi – pr. pass. inf. XVI.1;
 conscripserunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XIV.1;
 conscripsit – pf. act. ind. 3s XI.1;
 conscriptum – pf. pass. ptl. acc. m. s II.3.
- consequor**, consequi, consecutus sum, “obtain”;
 consecuti **essent** – plp. dp. sbj. 3p XVIII.9.
- conserva**, -ae, f., “fellow-slave”;
 conserva – nm. s II.1. *The Greek uses the plural σύνδουλοι, referring to Revocatus and Felicity.*
- conspectus**, - us, m., “gaze”;
 conspectu – ab. s XVIII.8;
 conspectum – acc. s XVIII.2.

- constantia**, -ae, f., “resolve”;
 constantia – ab. s XVI.1, XVII.1, XVIII.4.
- constituo**, -ere, constitui, constitutus, “arrange”;
 constituerunt – pf. act. ind. 3p III.7.
- consuesco**, -ere, consuevi, consuetum, “become accustomed”;
 consueverat – plp. act. ind. 3s VI.7.
- consuetudo**, consuetudinis, f., “custom”;
 consuetudinem – acc. s XX.1.
- consummo**, -are, consummavi, consummatum, “kill, seal”;
 consummarent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p XXI.7;
- consumor**, -ere, consumpsi, consumptum, “wear, devastate”;
 consumo – pres. pass. ind. 1s XXI.1.
 consumptus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s V.1, IX.2.
- contemno**, -ere, contempsi, contemptum, “scorn”;
 contempisti – pf. act. ind. 2s XV.5.
- contestor**, -ari, contestatus sum, “bear witness”;
 contestantes – pr. dp. ptl. nm. m. p XVII.1. *The Greek has ἀνθομολογούμενοι, as in Lk 2.38. The Greek may be stronger than the Latin, with the connotation of “confess publicly.”*
- contingo**, -ere, contigi, contactum, “touch”;
 contigit – pf. act. ind. 3s XV.1.
- continuo**, “immediately”;
 continuo – adv. VII.3.
- contracto**, -are, contractavi, contractatum, “touch”;
 contractavimus – pf. act. ind. 1p I.6.
- contristo**, -are, contristavi, contristatum, “sadden”;
 contristabantur – ipf. pass. ind. 3p XV.3;
 contristatus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s V.6.
- conturbo**, -are, conturbavi, conturbatum, “admonish, disturb”;
 conturbaverunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XIII.6;
 conturbent – pr. act. sbj. 3p XXI.4.
- convalesco**, -ere, convalui, “grow stronger”;
 convalui – pf. act. ind. 1s III.9.
- convenio**, -ire, conveni, conventum, “serve, gather”;
 convenientia – pr. act. ptl. nm. n. p I.1;
 conveniunt – pr. act. ind. 3p XIII.6.
- conversor**, -ari, conversatus sum, “receive”;
 conversatam [esse] – pf. dp. inf. I.5.
- converto**, -ere, converti, conversum, “turn”;
 convertit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.6.
- cor**, cordis, n., “heart”;
 corde – ab. s XXI.1.
- corona**, -ae, f., “crown”;
 coronam – acc. s XIX.2. *Here the Greek uses στέφανος, perhaps echoing 1 Pt 5.4, where there is a similar reference to a crown.*
- corpus**, corporis, n., “body”;
 corpore – ab. s VIII.1, XX.9, XXI.7.

- corrigo**, -ere, correxī, correctum, “rebuke”;
 corrige – pr. act. imp. 2s XIII.6.
- cras**, “tomorrow”;
 cras – adv. XVII.2
- crastinus**, -a, -um, “of tomorrow”;
 crastina – ab. f. s IV.2;
 crastinus – nm. m. s XVII.2.
- creatura**, -ae, f., “creation”;
 creaturam – acc. s IX.2. *Here the Greek uses κτίσις, possibly echoing the NT usage of this word, as in Mk 13.19.*
- credo**, -ere, credidi, creditum, “believe”;
 credas – pr. act. sbj. 2s XXI.1;
 credente – pr. act. ptl. ab. m. s XVI.4;
 credentibus – pr. act. ptl. d. m. p I.5 (bis);
 crediderunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XVII.3;
 credidit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.9.
- cubo**, -are, cubui, cubitum, “lie”;
 cubans – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s IV.4.
- cupio**, -ere, cupivi, cupitum, “want”;
 cupiret – ipf. act. sbj. III.1.
- cur**, “why”;
 cur – adv. I.1.
- curiositas**, curiositatis, f., “curiosity”;
 curiositatem – acc. s XVII.1. *The Greek here uses περιεργία, which suggests “being a busybody.” The related verb περιεργάζομαι is used in this sense in 2 Th 3.11.*
- curro**, -ere, cucurri, cursum, “circulate”;
 cucurrit – pf. act. ind. 3s V.1, VI.1.
- cypressus**, -i, f., “cypress”;
 cypressi – g. s XI.6.
- damno**, -are, damnavi, damnatum, “condemn”;
 damnat – pr. act. ind. 3s VI.6;
 damnatam [esse] – pf. pass. inf. X.5.
- debeo**, -ere, debui, debitum, “owe, ought”;
 debere – pr. act. inf. VII.2;
 debet – pr. act. ind. 3s XXI.11.
- deceo**, -ere, decui, “be right”;
 decebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s XX.5. *The Greek uses πέπω, which goes back as far as Homer, in the sense of “to be conspicuous,” as in Iliad 12.104. In the NT it is used only in the sense of Latin **deceo**, as in Eph 5.3.*
- decerno**, -ere, decrevi, decretum, “promise”;
 decretam – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. s I.3.
- decorus**, -a, -um, “handsome, radiant”;
 decori – nm. m. p X.6, XVIII.1.
- dedecus**, dedecoris, n., “shame”; X.6.
 dedecus – acc. s V.2.
- deficio**, -ere, defeci, defectum, “empty, be weak”;
 defectum – pf. pass. ptl. ac. m.s III.8.
 deficiebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s VIII.3.

- defrico**, -are, defricui, defricatum, “rub”;
defricare – pr. act. inf. X.7.
- defungor**, defungi, defunctus sum, “die”;
defuncti – pf. dp. ptl. g. m. s VI.3.
- dehinc**, “then”;
dehinc – adv. XVIII.8, XX.5.
- deicio**, -ere, deieci, deiectum, * “change mind”;
deicere – pr. act. inf. III.1;
deiceret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s V.1;
deiciendam – fut. pass. ptl. acc. f. s VI.5;
deiciens – pr. act. ptl. nm. f. s XVIII. 2.
- deinde**, “moreover, then”;
deinde – adv. VII.7, IX.1.
- delicatus**, -a, -um, “darling, delicate”;
delicata – nm. f. s XVIII.2; *Delicata dei* is not reproduced in the Greek.
delicatam – acc. f. s XX.2.
- depono**, -ere, deposui, depositum, “give up, put down”;
depone – pr. act. ipv. 2s V.4;
deposuerunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XI.7.
- deputo**, -are, deputavi, deputatum, “assign”;
deputamus – pr. act. ind. 1p I.5;
deputantur – pr. pass. ind. 3p I.2.
- descendo**, -ere, descendi, descensum, “descend”;
descendimus – pf. act. ind. 1p VI.6.
- describo**, -ere, descripsi, descriptum, “describe”;
describendae – fut. pass. ptl. g. f. s XVI.1.
- desidero**, -are, desideravi, desideratum, “desire”;
desideraverat – plp. act. ind. 3s XIX.1;
desideravit – pf. act. ind. 3s VI 8.
- desperatio**, desperationis, f. “despairing”;
desperatio – nm. s I.5.
- deus, dei**, m., “god”;
dei – g. s I.1, I.5, V.6, XVII.1, XVIII.2;
deo – d. s XII.7;
deum – acc. s XXI.11;
deus – nm. s I.1, I.5, V.6, VI.8, XIV.2, XVIII.8.
- devinco**, -ere, devici, devictum, “sate”;
devicta – pf. pass. ptl. ab. f. s XX.7.
- dexter**, dextera, dexteram, “right hand”;
dextera – ab. f. s XII.4;
dexteram – acc. f. s XIII.1, XXI.9.
- diabolus**, -i, m. “devil”;
diaboli – g. s III.3;
diabolum – acc. s X.14;
diabolus – nm. s XX.1.
- diaconus**, -i, m., “deacon”;
diaconi – nm. p. III.7;
diaconum – acc. s VI.7, X.1.

diastema, diastematis, n., “gulf”; *The word occurs in its original form in the Greek version. Its original meaning was “interval” and is seen with that meaning at least as early as Plato (Republic 531 A). Well before the time of Perpetua it had been Latinized.*

diastema – nm. s VII.6.

dico, -ere, dixi, dictum, “say”;

dicebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s V.5, XVIII.5;

dicens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. or f. s IV.2, V.1, V.6, VI.2, XX.10, XXI.1;

dicente – pr. act. ptl. ab. m.s; XVII.1;

dicentem – pr. act. ptl. acc. f.s; XII.2;

dicere – pr. act. inf. III.2, IX.2, XXI.1; XVIII.8.

dicit – pr. act. ind. 3s I.4.

dicto, -are, dictavi, dictatum, “tell”;

dictavit – pf. act. ind. 3s III.5.

dies, diei, m. “day”;

die – ab. s IV.2, VI.1, VII.10, VIII.1, XV.2, XVII.2;

diebus – ab. p I.4, III.4, III.9, VII.9;

diem – acc. s III.6, XV.4;

dierum – g. p III.5;

dies – nm. s IX.2, XVIII.1;

dies – acc. p III.5, V.1, VII.1, IX.1, XIX.5.

differo, differre, distuli, dilatatum, “spare”;

differretur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3s XV.2.

difficultas, difficultatis, f. “difficulty”;

difficultate – ab. s XV.5. *The phrase pro naturali difficultate is rendered in Greek simply by κατὰ φύσιν.*

digero, digerere, digessi, digestum, “write down, set down, proclaim”;

digerantur – pr. pas. sbj. 3p I.1;

digerimus – pr. pas. ind. 1p I.5;

digesta sunt – pf. pas. ind. 3p I.1.

digitus, -i, m. “finger”

digito – ab. s XXI.5;

digitos – acc. p X.11. (bis)

dignus, -a, -um, “worthy”;

dignam – acc. f. s VII.2;

dignus – nm. m. s V.2.

diligenter, “carefully (translated with notate as ‘take a good look’)”;

diligenter – adv. XVII.2.

diligo, -ere, dilexi, dilectum, “love”;

diligite – pr. act. ipv. 2p XX.10. *Rendered in Greek, as would be expected, by ἀγαπάω.*

dimitto, -ere, dimisi, dimissum, “forgive”;

dimittite – pr. act. ipv. 2p XIII.5.

discedo, -ere, discessi, discessum, “leave”;

discedebant – ipf. act. ind. 3p XVII.3.

discinctus, -a, -um, “unbelted robe”;

discincta – ab. f. s X.2; *Where the Latin says that the deacon was wearing an unbelted robe, the Greek says the opposite with περιεζωσμένος. The same is true with regard to discinctis in XX.3 and discinctatus in X.8.*

discinctis – ab. f. p XX.3.

- discinctatus**, -a, -um, “wearing an unbelted robe”;
discinctatus – nm. m. s X.8.
- discindo**, -ere, discidi, discissum, “rip”;
discissam – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. s XX.4.
- dispergo**, -ere, dispersi, dispersum, “tousle”;
dispersos – pf. pass. ptl. acc. m. p XX.5.
- dispolio**, -are, dispoliavi, dispoliatum, “strip naked”;
dispoliatae – pf. pass. ptl. nm. f. p XX.2.
- dissensio**, dissensionis, f., “disagreement”;
dissensiones – acc. p XIII.5.
- distribuo**, -ere, distribui, distributum, “grant”;
distribuit – pr. act. ind. 3s I.5.
- divinitas**, divinitatis, f., “divinity”;
divinitatis, g.s. I.5. *For the Latin expression **gratiam divinitatis** the Greek uses τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν. The Greek version might seem more effective here since it speaks of two forces, “grace and power,” where the Latin speaks of “divine grace” only.*
- do**, dare, dedi, datum, * “give”;
dare – pr. act. inf. VI.8;
dederat – plp. act. ind. 3s XIX.1;
dederis – pf. act. sbj. 2s V.2;
dederunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XI.7;
dedit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.9.
- doctor**, doctoris, m., “teacher”;
doctorem – acc. s XIII. 1. *The Greek has nothing equivalent to **doctorem**, although the addition of τὸν διδάσκαλον has been suggested.*
- documentum**, -i, n., “act, example”;
documenta – nm. p. I.1; *The Greek here uses παραδείγματα, which may not have exactly the same connotation as **documenta**. Amat translates the Latin as “témoignages” and the Greek as “exemples.”*
documentum – acc. s XVI.1.
- doleo**, -ere, dolui, doliturus, “suffer, grieve”;
dolebam – ipf. act. ind. 1s V.6;
doleret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s XV.5;
doles – pr. act. ind. 2s XV.5;
dolui – pf. act. ind. 1s VI.5, VII.1;
doluit – pf. act. ind. 3s VI.5.
- dolor**, doloris, m., “pain, labor, grief”;
dolore – ab. s VI.8;
dolores – nm. p XV.5;
doloris – g. s XX.4, XXI.9.
- domina**, -ae, f., “lady”;
domina – voc. s IV.1;
dominam – acc. s V.5.
- dominicus**, -a, -um, “Lord’s”;
dominicis – ab. f. p XVIII.9.
- dominus**, -i, m., “Lord”;
dominus – nm. s I.4, I.5, XI.4;
domini – g. s I.6, XV.1, XXI.11;

- domino – d. s III.4;
domino, ab. s I.6, IV.2;
dominum – acc. s VII.2, XI.10, XXI.11, XV.4
- dono**, -are, -avi, -atum, “give”;
donaretur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3s VII.10.
- donativum**, -i, n., “gift”;
donativa – acc. p I.5. *This is appropriately rendered in the Greek as χαρίσματα. Tertullian points out the equivalence of donativa and charismata (Marc. V.8).*
- draco**, draconis, m., “serpent”;
draco – nm. s IV.4, IV.6.
- duco**, ducere, duxi, ductum, “lead”;
ducti essent – plp. pass. sbj. 3p XVIII.4.
- dulcis**, dulce, “sweet”;
dulce – acc. n. s IV.10.
- duo**, duae, duo, “two”;
duos – acc. m. p II.2, X.8.
duorum – g.m. p. II.3.
- duritia**, -ae, f., “cruelty”;
duritia – ab. s XX.7. *Rendered in the Greek by σκληρότης, a classical term for “hardness,” occurring as early as the fifth century, and in the NT in Rm 2.5.*
- ecclesia**, -ae, f., “church”;
ecclesiae – g. s I.5, XXI.11.
- edo**, -ere, edidi, editum, “make known”;
edidit – pf. act. ind. 3s. XI.1.
- educo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “bring up”;
educavit – pf. act. ind. 3s XV.7.
- effundo**, -ere, effudi, effusum, “pour out”;
effundam – fut. act. ind. 1s I.4.
- eicio**, -ere, eieci, eiectum, “stick out”;
eiecit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.7.
- elido**, -ere, elidi, elisum, “crush to ground”;
elisam – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. s XX.6.
- eligo**, -ere, elegi, electum, “choose”;
electi – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. p XXI.11.
- emitto**, -ere, emisi, emissum, “release”;
emissi – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. p III.7.
- enitor**, eniti, enixus sum, “give birth to”;
enixa est – pf. dp. ind. 3s XV.7.
- eo**, ire, ivi, itum, “move, walk, go”;
ibamus – ipf. act. ind. 1p XI.3;
ire – pr. act. inf. X.3, X.13;
ite – pr. act. ipv. 2p XII.6.
- episcopus**, episcopi, m. “bishop”;
episcopum – acc. s XIII.1.
- erro**, -are, -avi, -atum, “waver”;
errantem – pr. act. ptl. acc. f. s XXI.9.

- erubescō**, -ere, erubui, “be flushed”;
 erubuit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVI.4. *Ἐδυσωπήθη* as appears in the Greek version is not a real equivalent, as it does not suggest the color red. It really just means “to put out of countenance” (LSJ).
- eruo**, -ere, erui, erutum, “gouge out”;
 erueret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s III.3.
- evello**, -ere, evulsi, evulsum, “tear out”;
 evellere – pr. act. inf. IX.2.
- evenio**, -ire, eveni, eventum, “happen”;
 evenerat – plp. act. ind. 3s XX.9.
- evertō**, -ere, everti, eversum, “change”;
 evertere – pr. act. inf. III.1.
- evoco**, -are, -avi, -atum, “call”;
 evocavit – pf. act. ind. 3s XIV.2.
- exanimis**, exanime, “unconscious”;
 exanimis – nm. m. s XXI.6. *The Greek changes from the idea of “unconsciousness” in the Latin version to that of “still breathing”* *λοιπὸν ἐμπνέων*.
- exaspero**, -are, -avi, -atum, “anger”;
 exasperatus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s XVIII.9.
- excedo**, -ere, excessi, excessum, “exceed”;
 excederet – ipf. act. sbj. 3s X.8.
- exemplum**, -i, n., “example, deed”;
 exempla – nm. p I.1; *For **exempla** in I.1 van Beek prints δείγματα, which seems likely and would parallel the use of δεῖγμα in Jude 7. However Amat prints δόγματα.*
 exempla – acc. p XXI.11.
- exeo**, exire, exii/exivi, exitum, “come out, die, depart, go out”;
 exeuntem – pr. act. ptl. acc. m. s VII.4;
 exeuntes – pr. act. ptl. nm. p III.8;
 exierat – plp. act. ind. 3s XI.9;
 exivi – pf. act. ind. 1s X.2;
 exivimus – pf. act. ind. 1p XI.2, XIII.1;
 existis – pf. act. ind. 2p XIII.2;
 exivit – pf. act. ind. 3s X.6.
- exhortor**, exhortari, exhortatus sum, “exhort”;
 exhortabatur – ipf. dp. ind. 3s XXI.1.
- exinde**, “then”;
 exinde – adv. XX.10, XXI.6.
- exitus**, -us, m., “death”;
 exitu – ab. s XIV.2;
 exitum – acc. s XIX.1. *Where the Latin speaks of the death (**exitum**) which each one desired, the Greek speaks of the glory (δόξαν) which each one desired.*
- expavescō**, -ere, expavi, “be terrified, become fearful”;
 expavescentes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XI.7;
 expavi – pf. act. ind. 1s III.5.
- exspecto**, -are, -avi, -atum, “await”;
 exspectamus – pr. act. ind. 1p X.3

- expergiscor**, expergisci, experrectus sum, “awaken, wake up”;
 experta **sum** – pf. dp. ind. 1s IV.10, VII.9, VIII.4, X.14;
 expertus **sum** – pf. dp. ind. 1s XIII.8.
- expergo**, -ere, expergi, expergitum, “awaken”;
 expergita – pf. pass. ptl. nm. f. s XX.8.
- experior**, experiri, expertus sum, “know”;
 experta **eram** – plp. dp. ind. 1s III.5, IV.2;
 experti – pf. dp. ptl. nm. m. p XIX.3.
- expolio**, -are, -avi, -atum, “strip naked”;
 expoliata **sum** – pf. pass. ind. 1s X.7.
- exequor**, exequi, executus sum, “carry out”;
 exequimur – pr. dp. ind. 1p XVI.1.
- exuperatio**, exuperationis, f., “overflow”;
 exuperationem – acc. s I.3. *The Latin might seem stronger here since it speaks of the “overflowing” of grace where the Greek speaks of its “increase” (αὐξανόμενη).*
- extasis**, -is, f., “ecstasy”;
 extasi – ab. s XX.8. *Where the Latin speaks of being “in ecstasy” the Greek speaks of “experiencing ecstasy”—ἐκστασιν παθοῦσα (with reference to Perpetua).*
- extendo**, -ere, extendi, extentum, “stretch”;
 extendebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s VII.7.
- extermino**, -are, -avi, -atum, “destroy”;
 extermines – pr. act. sbj. 2s V.4.
- exterreo**, -ere, exterrui, exterritum, “deter”;
 exterrebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s IV.4.
- extraho**, -ere, extraxi, extractum, “drag”;
 extraxit – pf. act. ind. 3s VI.2.
- exululo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “scream”;
 exululavit – pf. act. ind. 3s XXI.9.
- fabulor**, fabulari, fabulatus sum, “speak”;
 fabulari – pr. dp. inf. IV.2.
- facies**, faciei, f., “face”;
 facie – ab. s VII.4, VII.5;
 faciem – acc. s IX.2, X.10, X.11, XII.5, XVI.2;
 facies – acc. p XVII.2.
- facio**, facere, feci, factum, “make, offer, do, become, be”;
 fac – pr. act. ipv. 1s VI.3;
 facere – pr. act. inf. VII.2;
 faceremus – ipf. act. sbj. 1p XVIII.5;
 facies – fut. act. ind. 2s XV.5;
 facta **sum** – pf. pass. ind. 1s X.7;
 factas – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. p X.8;
 factum **est** – pf. pass. ind. 3s XI.5;
 factus **est** – pf. pass. ind. 3s III.9, VI.1;
 feceram – plp. act. ind. 1s VII.6;
 fecerunt – pf. act. ind. 3p VI.8;
 feci – pf. act. ind. 1s VII.10;

- fecimus** – pf. act. ind. 1p XII.6;
fieret – ipf. pass. subj. 3s XVI.4;
fieri – pr. pass. inf. X.11;
fiet – fut. pass. ind. 3s V.6.
factio, factionis, f., “different team”;
 factionibus – ab. p XIII.6.
facultas, facultatis, f., “chance”;
 facultas – nm. s XVI.4.
fastigium, fastigii, n., “height”;
 fastigium – acc. s X.8.
fautor, fautoris, m., “supporter”;
 fautores – nm. p X.6,7, 12.
felicitas, felicitatis, f., “happiness”;
 felicitatem – acc. s XVII.1. *For the Latin term, meaning “happiness,” the Greek uses μακαρισμός, which has the more specific meaning of “blessing,” as seen in Galatians 4.15.*
femina, -ae, f., “woman”;
 femina – nm. s XXI.10;
 feminae – nm. p XVIII.4.
femur, femoris, n., “thigh”;
 femoris – g. s XX.4.
fero, ferre, tuli, latum, “carry”;
 ferens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s X.8;
 ferri – pr. pass. inf. XI.2.
ferox, ferocis, “wild”;
 ferocissimam – acc. f. s. spl. XX.I.
ferramentum, -i, n., “iron implement, iron weapon”;
 ferramentis – d. p IV.3;
 ferramentorum – g. p IV.3.
ferrum, ferri, n., “sword’s thrust”;
 ferrum – acc. s XXI.8. *For the one word **ferrum** the Greek substitutes the expression τὴν διὰ τοῦ ξίφους τιμωρίαν (“punishment by the sword”). Τιμωρία is a classical term for “punishment” and occurs as early as Aeschylus. In Biblical and patristic Greek it is seen in such passages as Hb 10.29 and MPol 6.2.*
fervor, fervoris, m., “inflammation”;
 fervorem – acc. s VI.8.
fiala, -ae, f., “cup”;
 fiala – nm. s VIII.3 (bis).
fideicommissum, -i, n., “sacred trust”;
 fideicommissum – acc. s XVI.1.
fidenter, “confidently”;
 fidenter – adv. IV.2.
fides, fidei, f., “faith”;
 fide – ab. s XX.10;
 fidei – g. s I.1, I.5, XXI.4.
fido, -ere, fisis sum, “trust”;
 fidebam – ipf. act. ind. 1s VII.9.

filia, -ae, f., “daughter”;

filia – voc. s V.2, X.13;

filiae – nm. p I.4;

filiam – acc. s V.5, XV.7.

filiolus, -i, m., “little son”;

filioli – voc. p I.6.

filius, filii, m., “son”;

filii – nm. p I.4;

filio – ab. s VI.2;

filium – acc. s II.2, III.8, V.3, XXI.11.

finis, finis, m. “end”

finē – ab. s XXI.2;

finem – acc. s XVIII.4.

flagellum, -i, n., “whip”;

flagellis – ab. p XVIII.9. *For the expressin **flagellis vexari** the Greek uses the one infinitive μαστιγώῃναι. Μαστιγόω is a classical term occuring as early as Herodotus. In the NT it is used of the scourging of Christ in Mt 20.19. This is probably significant because the very next statement in the **Passio**, in both versions, is that the martyrs rejoiced to have a share in the Lord’s sufferings.*

flexuosus, -a, -um, “winding”;

flexuosa – acc. n. p X.3.

flos, floris, m., “flower”;

florem – acc. s V.2;

flores – acc. p XI.5.

foedus, -a, -um, “foul”;

foedus – nm. m. s X.6 *For **foedus** (“foul”) the Greek uses ἀμορφος (literally “without form” and hence “misshapen” or “ugly”). See 1 Corinthians 12.2, where this word (if it is the correct MS reading) refers to idols.*

folium, folii, n., “leaf”;

folia – nm. p XI.6.

foris, foris, f., “door”;

fores – acc. p XIII.1.

fortasse, “perhaps”;

fortasse – adv. XXI.10.

forte, “by chance”;

forte – adv. XVIII.1.

fortis, forte, “brave”;

fortissimi – nm.m. p spr. XXI.11.

forum, fori, n., “forum”;

fori – g. s VI.1;

forum – acc. s VI.1.

frater, fratris, m., “brother”;

frater – nm. s IV.1, VII.5;

fratrem – acc. s III.8, VII.9, XX.10;

fratres – acc. p II.2, V.3, XIII.8;

fratres – voc. p I.6;

- fratri – d. s IV.10;
fratribus – d. p V.2.
- fundo**, fundere, fudi, fusum, “pour”;
funderet – ipf. sbj. 3s XV.2;
fuderunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XV.4.
- gallicula**, -ae, f., “sandal, shoe”;
galliculas – acc. p X.2, X.8.
- gaudeo**, gaudere, gavisus sum. “rejoice”;
gaudens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. or f. s VIII. 4, XIII.8, XVIII.3;
gavisurus – fut. act. ptl. nm. m. s V.6.
- gaudium**, gaudii, n., “joy”;
gaudio – abs. s XVIII.1. *This is rendered in the Greek by χαρά, a word which occurs a number of times in the NT. For example, in Lk 24.41 those who saw Jesus after his resurrection are said to disbelieve ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς (“because of joy”).*
- gemitus**, gemitus, m., “groan”;
gemitu – ab. s XV.4.
- gemo**, gemere, gemui, gemitum, “groan”;
gemens – pr. act. ptl. nm. f.s VII.10. *The reference is to Perpetua’s prayer for her brother. Where the Latin has feci . . . orationem . . . gemens the Greek has προσευξαμένη μετὰ στεναγμῶν. The latter may be a Biblical or patristic echo. See Rm 8.26; 1 Clem 15.6; and Hv 3.9.6.*
- generosus**, -a, -um, “noble-minded”;
generosa – nm. f. s XVIII.4.
- genus**, generis, n., “kind, sort, family”;
genere – ab. s V.6;
genus – acc. s IV.3, XI.5.
- gesto**, -are, -avi, -atum, “carry, wear”;
gestabant – ipf. act. ind. 3p XI.7;
gestamur – pr. pas. ind. 1 p XI.5;
gestaret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s XIX.2.
- gestus**, gestus, m., “gesture”;
gestu – ab. s XVIII.8.
- gladiator**, gladiatoris, m., “gladiator”;
gladiatoris – g. s XXI.9.
- gladius**, gladii, m., “sword”;
gladii – nm. p IV.3;
gladii – g. s VI.3;
gladio – d. s XXI.7;
gladio – ab. s X.9;
gladium – acc. s XIV.3.
- gloria**, -ae, f., “glory, triumph, credit”;
gloria – nm. s XVI.3;
gloria – ab. s X.13, XX.5;
gloriae – g. s I.6, XVI.1; *For gloriae in I.6 (referring to God’s glory) the Greek, as would be expected, uses δόξα, which is used with this meaning in the NT, as in Rm 1.23.*
gloriam – acc. s I.5, XXI.11.

gloriosus, -a, -um, “glorious”;

gloriosiorem – acc. f. s. cpv. XIX.2.

gradus, gradus, m., “step”;

gradu – ab. s VI.2;

gradum – acc. s IV.7.

gratia, ae, f., “grace, thanks, favor”;

gratia – nm. s XV.1;

gratia – ab. s XIV.2;

gratiae – g. s I.3;

gratiam – acc. s I.5;

gratias – acc. p III.4, XII.7.

gratulor, -ari, gratulatus sum, “rejoice”;

gratulati sunt – pf. dp. ind. 3p XVIII.9. *Here the Greek uses ἀγαλλιάω, which is used in the NT for “rejoice,” as in Jn 8.56. The force of the Latin may be more like “give thanks.”*

graviter, “deeply”;

graviter – adv. XV.3.

gusto, -are, -avi, -atum, “taste”;

gustaret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s XXI.9. *For gusto the Greek uses γεύομαι. Both verbs can mean “taste” in a metaphorical sense. Γεύομαι is used in this way in such NT passages as Mt 16.28.*

habeo, habere, habui, habitum, **“have, treat”;

habeatis – pr. act. sbj. 2p I.6;

habebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s VII.8;

habens – pr. act. ptl. nm. f. s II.2, VII.7;

habentem – pr. act. ptl. acc. m. s XII.3;

habere – pr. act. inf. IV.10;

haberet – ipf. act. sbj. 3s XV.2;

haberi – pres. pass. inf. XVI.4;

habes – pr. act. ind. 2s XII.7;

habetis – pr. act. ind. 2p XIII.5;

habuit – pf. act. ind. 3s VII.4.

habitus, habitus, m., “dress, clothing”;

habitu – ab. s IV.8, XX.9; *Whereas the Latin in IV.8 refers to a man “in the dress of a shepherd,” the Greek refers to a man “having the appearance of a shepherd”—ποιμένοσ σχήμα ἔχοντα. The Greek is thus more general, as it has no reference specifically to the man’s dress. In Hv. V.1 there is a similar reference to a man with the appearance of a shepherd: σχήματι ποιμενικῶ.*

habitus – acc. s XVIII.4.

hamus, hami, “hook”;

hami – nm. p IV.3.

hereditas, hereditatis, f., “legacy”;

hereditatem – acc. s XXI.5.

hic, “here”;

hic – adv. X.4, XII.7.

hilaris, hilare, “happy, cheerful”

hilares – nm. m. or f. p. VI.6, XVIII.1;

- hilarior – nm. f. s. cmp. XII.7;
 hilaris – nm. f. s. XII.7.
- hinc**, “from this point”;
 hinc – adv. II.3.
- hodie**, “today”;
 hodie – adv. XVII.2.
- homicidium**, homicidii, n., “murder”;
 homicidii – g. s. XXI.7.
- homo**, hominis, m., “man”;
 hominem – acc. s. IV.8, XII.3;
 hominibus – d. p. VII.5;
 hominis – g. s. I.1;
 hominum – g. p. V.2, XVI.2;
 homo – nm. s. I.1.
- honeste**, “well”;
 honeste – adv. II.1. *Honeste nata* seems to suggest that she is of good family, and this is supported by the Greek version’s γεννηθεῖσα εὐγενῶς. The adjective from which the Greek adverb is derived occurs in Lk 19.12, when it refers to a nobleman: ἄνθρωπός τις εὐγενής.
- honor**, honoris, m., “honor”;
 honor – nm. s. I.6;
 honorem – acc. s. XI.7.
- honorifico**, -are, -avi, -atum, “honor”;
 honorificat – pr. act. ind. 3s XXI.11.
- honoro**, -are, -avi, -atum, “honor”;
 honoramus – pr. act. ind. 1p I.5;
 honoretur – pr. pass. sbj. 3s I.1.
- hora**, -ae, f., “hour”;
 horis – ab. p. III.7.
- horoma**, horomatis, n., “vision”;
 horomate – ab. s. X.1. A Latinization of the term ὄραμα in the Greek version. The term is used in Biblical and patristic Greek to refer to a supernatural vision, as in Acts 7.31 and Hv. 4.2.2.
- horreo**, ere, horrui, “be horrified, shudder”;
 horruit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVI.4, XX.2. For *horruit* in XVI.4 the Greek uses ἐφριξεν. Both *horreo* and φρίσσω originally meant “bristle” and then “shudder.” Φρίσσω occurs in Biblical and patristic Greek in the sense of “shudder.” See James 2.19 and Hv. 1.2.1.
- hortus**, horti, m., “garden”;
 horti – g. s. IV.8.
- humane**, “humanly”;
 humanus – adv. cpv. XVI.4.
- iaceo**, iacere, iacui, “lie”;
 iacens – pr. act. ptl. acc. n. s. III.1.
- iacto**, -are, avi, atum, “throw, cast, fling”;
 iactabant – ipf. act. ind. 3p XVII.1;
 iactans – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s. V.5;
 iactata est – pf. pass. ind. 3s XX.3.

iam, **“now, already”*;

iam – adv. II.3, III. 8, IV.1, IV.10, V.5, XV.2, XVI.4, XVIII.7, XIX.4, XX.9, XXI.6, XXI.7.

ibi, **“there, then”*;

ibi – adv. III.6, III.9, IV.3, XI.7, XI.9.

ideo, **“for this reason”*;

ideo – adv. III.8, XVIII.5 (bis), XXI.1.

ilico – *“in that very place”*;

ilico – adv. VI.2.

illic, *“there”*;

illic – adv. XIII.8, XV.6, XX.8.

illo, *“there”*;

illo – adv. XVI.3, XXI.1.

illuc, *“there”*;

illuc – adv. XXI.1.

illuceo, *illucere, illuxi, “dawn”*;

illuxit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVIII.1.

immensus, -a, -um, *“enormous, huge, great, endless”*;

immensam – acc. f. s XI.4;

immensus – nm. m. s VI.1;

inmensa – nm. f. s XXI.11;

inmensum – acc. n. s IV.8.

immo, *“or rather”*;

immo – adv. XVI.1.

immobilis, *immobile, “without moving”*;

immobiles – nm. m. p XXI.8.

immundus, -a, -um, *“unclean”*;

inmundo – ab. m. s XXI.10. *The reference here is to an unclean spirit. The Greek renders it by ἀκάθαρτος, which is used of unclean spirits in such NT passages as Mt 10.1.*

imperator, *imperatoris, m., “emperor”*;

imperatorum – g. p VI.3.

imbecillitas, *imbecillitatis, f., “weakness”*;

imbecillitas – nom. s I.5. *Where the Latin uses an abstract noun for “weakness,” Greek personalizes the idea with ἀβέβαιός τις (“any weak person”). The original form βέβαιοσ occurs in Rm 4.16 and MPol 1.2.*

incantatio, *incantationis, f., “incantation”*;

incantationibus – ab. p XVI.2. *For the Latin word for “incantation” the Greek uses ἐπωδή, an old word for “enchantment” or “spell.” In the form ἐπαιδιή it is found in Homer (Od 19.457). It occurs in a passage in Origen (Contra Celsum 2.34) about sorcerers using incantations to loosen chains and open doors. The reference is to the release of Peter and Paul and Silas from prison (Acts 16.25–26).*

incessus, *incessus, m., “step”*;

incessu – ab. s XVIII.2.

inde, **“from there”*;

inde – adv. XVII.3.

indignus, -a, -um, *“unworthy”*;

indigni – nm. m. p XVI.1.

- induco**, inducere, induxi, inductum, “lead into, bring in”;
 inducerentur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3p X.4, XVIII.6;
 induxit – pf. act. ind. 3s X.4.
- induo**, induere, indui, indutum, “put on, cover, dress”;
 induere – pr. act. inf. XVIII.4;
 indutae – pf. pass. ptl. nm. f. p XX.2, XX.3.
- inedia**, -ae, f., “hunger”;
 inedia – ab. s III.8.
- inenarrabilis**, inenarrabile, “indescribable”;
 inenarrabili – ab. s XIII.8.
- infans**, infantis, m. or f., “infant”;
 infans – nm. s III.9, VI.7;
 infantem – acc. s II.2, III.8, VI.7;
 infanti – d. s VI.2;
 infantis – g. s III. 6, III.9, VI.8;
 infantium – g. p VIII.2.
- infantia**, -ae, f. “infant”;
 infantiae – d. s VI.3.
- infelix**, infelicis, “unhappy”;
 infelici – ab. s IX.3. *Here the Greek uses ταλαίπωρος, a word occurring as early as Pindar, and seen in Biblical and patristic Greek, as in Rm 7.24, Rev 3.17, and Hs 1.3.*
- infibulo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “tie up”;
 infibulavit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.5.
- infigo**, infigere, infixi, infixum, “attach”;
 infixum – pf. pass. ptl. nm. n. s IV.3.
- infirmitas**, infirmitatis, f., “weakness”;
 infirmitatem – acc. s VII.5.
- ingemesco**, ingemescere, ingemui, “groan”;
 ingemescere – pr. act. inf. VII.2.
- ingens**, ingentis, “many”;
 ingentem – acc. s X.5.
- inhaereo**, inhaerere, inhaesi, inhaesum, “cling”;
 inhaerent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p IV.3. *This is not found in the Greek, but it has been conjectured that a form of προσκολλάω was there originally. See von Beek’s apparatus.*
- inimicus**, inimici, m., “enemy”;
 inimici – nm. p XVII.2.
- iniustitia**, iniustitiae, f., “injustice”;
 iniustitia – nm. s XVIII.6.
- inlaesus**, -a, -um, “unhurt”;
 inlaesus – nm. m. s XIX.6. *The Greek author seems to intend ὄγυις as the equivalent of inlaesus, although it is positioned slightly differently in the text. Certainly ὄγυις can be used literally in the sense of “unhurt,” as in Hs. 8.3.1. It might be tempting to hear also an echo here of the figurative meaning of “sound,” as in Titus 2.8 (λόγος ὄγυις), since Satorius would have been a man of “sound speech” in his teaching.*
- innocens**, innocentis, “innocent”;
 innocentem – acc. m. s XV.2.

- inpropero**, -are, -avi, -atum, “curse”;
 inproperare – pr. act. inf. IX.2.
- inquam**, (defective verb), “say”;
 inquam – pr. act. ind. 1s III.1;
 inquit – pr. act. ind. 3s III.1, VI.3, VI.4, XI.2, XX.8, XXI.1, XXI.4 (bis);
 inquiunt – pr. act. ind. 3p XVIII.8.
- inrideo**, -ere, inrisi, inrisum, “mock”;
 inridentes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XVII.1.
- insidiae**, insidiarum, f., “ambush, lie in wait”;
 insidias – acc. p IV.4.
- insignis**, insigne, “extraordinary”;
 insigniores – nm. f. p cmp. XIV.1.
- insto**, -are, institi, “draw near”;
 instante – pr. act. ptl. ab. m. s;
- instituo**, instituere, institui, institutum, “educate”;
 instituta – pf. pass. ptl. nom. f. s II.1.
- instrumentum**, instrumenti, m., “instruction”;
 instrumentum – acc. s I.5.
- intellego**, -ere, intellexi, intellectum, “know, recognize”;
 intellegens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s IX.1;
 intellexi – pf. act. ind. 1s VIII.4, X.14;
 intelleximus – pf. act. ind. 1p IV.10.
- interrogo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “question”;
 interrogati – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. p VI.2.
- intersum**, interesse, interfui, “be present”;
 interfuistis – pf. act. ind. 2p I.6.
- intro**, -are, -avi, -atum, “come to visit”;
 intravit – pr. act. ind. 3s IX.2.
- introeo**, introire, introivi, introitum, “enter”;
 introeundi – ger. g. s XVI.4;
 introeutes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XII.1, XII.5;
 introite – pr. act. ipv. 2p XI.10;
 introivimus – pf. act. ind. 1p XII.2.
- invado**, -ere, invasi, invasum, “come upon”;
 invaserunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XV.5.
- invenio**, invenire, inveni, inventum, “find”;
 invenimus – pf. act. ind. 1p XI.9.
- invicem**, “each other, one another”;
 invicem – adv. VII.6, X.10, IX.1, XIII.5, XX.10, XXI.7.
- ita**, “and so, then”;
 ita – adv. I.5, VII.5, VII.6, XV.7, XVI.4, XVII.3, XX.6.
- itaque**, “and, and so”;
 itaque – adv. I.5, I.6, XV.4, XIX.3, XIX.5, XIX.6, XX.2.
- item**, “likewise”;
 item – adv. XVIII.3, XX.1.
- iubeo**, -ere, iussi, iussum, “order”;

- iussit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVI.4;
iussus est – pf. pass. ind. 3s VI.5.
- iudicium**, iudicii, n., “judgment”;
iudicium – acc. s XVII.1. *The Greek here has κρισις, which is frequently used with reference to the divine judgement, as in 2 Th 1.5 and MPol 11.2.*
- iudico**, -are, -avi, -atum, “restrict”;
iudicent – pres. act. sbj. 3p I.3.
- iugulatio**, iugulationis, f., “cutting of throat”;
iugulationem – acc. s XXI.6.
- iugulum**, iuguli, n., “throat”;
iugulum – acc. s XXI.9.
- iungo**, iungere, iunxi, iunctum, “join, cup”;
iunctis – pf. pass. ptl. ab. f. p IV.9;
iunxi – pf. act. ind. 1s X.11.
- ius**, iuris, n., “right”;
ius – acc. s VI.3.
- iustitia**, -ae, f., “justice”;
iustitiam – acc. s XVIII.6.
- iuvenilis**, iuvenile, “youthful”;
iuvenili – ab. m. s XII.3.
- iuvenis**, iuvenis, m. or f., “young man”;
iuvenes – nm. p I.4.
- labor**, laboris, m., “anxiety, suffering”;
labore – ab. s III.9;
labori – d. s VII.9.
- laboro**, -are, -avi, -atum, “suffer”;
laborans – pr. act. ptl. nm. f. s XV.5;
laborare – pr. act. inf. VII.9.
- lacrimo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “weep”;
lacrimans – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. or f. s V.5, VII.10.
- lacto**, -are, -avi, -atum, “nurse”;
lactabam – ipf. act. ind. 1s III.8.
- lancea**, -ae, f., “lance”;
lanceae – nm. p IV.3.
- lanio**, -are, -avi, -atum, “tear in pieces”;
laniaretur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3s IV.3.
- lanista**, -ae, “gladiator trainer”;
lanista – nm. s X.8;
lanistam – acc. s X.12.
- latus**, lateris, n., “side”;
latere – ab. s XI.4, XX.4;
lateribus – ab. p IV.3.
- latus**, -a, -um, “broad”;
lata – ab. f. s XI.8.
- lavo**, -are, lavi, lotum, “wash, bathe”;
laverat – plp. act. ind. 3s XXI.3;

- lotum – pf. pass. ptl. acc. m. s XXI.2;
 lotura – fut. act. ptl. nm. f. s XVIII.3.
- lectio**, lectionis, f., “reading”;
 lectione – ab. s I.1, I.5.
- lego**, -ere, legi, lectum, “read”;
 legere – pr. act. inf. XXI.11.
- lente**, “slowly”;
 lente – adv. IV.7.
- leopardus**, leopardi, m., “leopard”;
 leopardi – g. s XIX.4, XXI.1;
 leopardo – d. s XXI.2;
 leopardum – acc. s XIX.3.
- levo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “raise”;
 levavit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.9.
- libenter**, “willingly”;
 libenter – adv. XVII.2.
- liber**, libera, liberum, “free”;
 liberam – acc. f. s XVII.1 (bis).
- liberaliter**, “liberally”;
 liberaliter – adv. II.1. *The Latin expression **liberaliter instituta**, referring to Perpetua’s education, is not reproduced in the Greek exactly. Instead we find *τραθεῖσα πολυτελῶς*, referring perhaps to her being brought up in a lavish style (see Amat). On the other hand, *τρέφω* can mean “educate”) (as in Plato, *Republic* S340), and *πολυτελῶς* can mean “abundantly” as in Hm 4.2.2, where the reference is to “doing good abundantly.”*
- libere**, “freely”;
 libere – adv. V.4.
- libero**, -are, -avi, -atum, “free”;
 liberati – pf. pas. ptl. nm. m.p. XI.4.
- libertas**, libertatis, f., “freedom”;
 libertas – nm. s XVIII.5.
- licet**, licere, licuit, “be permitted”;
 licet – pr. act. ind. 3s XV.2.
- littera**, -ae, f., “letter”;
 litteris – ab. p I.1.
- locus**, loci, m. or n., “place”;
 loca – acc. p X.3;
 loci – g. s XII.1;
 loco – ab. s VI.3, VII.4, VII.7, XII.3, XXI.6;
 locum – acc. s III.7, VIII.1, XII.1.
- loquor**, loqui, locutus sum, “speak”;
 loquetur – fut. dp. ind. 3s V.4;
 loqui – pr. dp. inf. XIII.4;
 loquimur – pr. dp. ind. 1p XIII.5.
- lucidus**, -a, -um, “shining”;
 lucido – ab. m. s XVIII.2.
- lucror**, lucrari, lucratus sum, “escape”;

lucraretur – ipf. dp. sbj. 3s XIV.2. Certainly **lucror**, of which the original meaning is “gain,” must mean “escape” here—a meaning found as early as Cicero (*Verr.* 1.33). This is supported by the Greek version which uses a word for “gain” followed by a negated articular infinitive: *κερδάνας τὸ μὴ θηριομαχῆσαι* (“gained not having to fight the beasts”).

luctus, luctus, m., “agony”;

luctu – ab. s XV.2.

ludo, ludere, lusi, lusum, “play”;

ludere – pr. act. inf. VIII.3;

ludite – pr. act. ipv. XII.6.

lumbus, lumbi, m., “loins, side”;

lumbos – acc. p XX.3.

lux, lucis, f., “light”;

luce – ab. s XII.1;

lucem – acc. s XI.4.

macero, -are, -avi, -atum, “consume, torment”;

macerabar – ipf. pass. ind. 1s III.6; **Macero** literally means “soften” and thence “torment.” The Greek author’s use of *καταπονέω* here may be more emphatic, since it means “subdue after a hard struggle” (*LSJ*). In VI.8 another form of it is used to translate **macrerar**: *καταπονηθῶ*.

macrerar – ipf. pass. sbj. 1s VI.8.

machaera, -ae, “knife”;

machaerae – nm. p IV.3.

magicus, -a, -um, “magical”;

magicis – ab. f. p XVI.2.

magis, “more, particularly”;

magis – adv. XIX.4, XXI.8.

magnifico, -are, -avi, -atum, “show considerable respect, praise”;

magnificare – pr. act. inf. IX.1;

magnificat – pr. act. ind. 3s XXI.11.

magnitudo, magnitudinis, f., “size”;

magnitudinis – g. s IV.3, IV.4, X.8.

magnus, -a, -um, “great”;

maiora – nm. n. p. cpv. I.3;

magna – ab. f. s IV.1;

magnum – ac. f. s IX.1;

magno – ab. m. s XV.2.

male, “badly”;

male – adv. VII.5, XVI.2.

malo, malle, malui, “want”;

malle – ipf. act. sbj. 1s III.9.

malum, mali, n., “apple”;

mala – nm. p X.8.

mamma, -ae, “breast”;

mammorum – g. p VI.8;

mammis – acc. p VI.7, VI.8;

mammis – ab. p XX.2.

mandatum, mandati, n., “command”;

mandatum – acc. s XVI.1. *The Greek renders this by “ενταλμα, a word not common in the language. Its use here may well echo its three occurrences in the NT: Mt 15.9; Mk 7.7, and Col 2.22 (all of which go back to LXX Is 29.13) or else 2 Clem 17.3.*

manduco, -are, -avi, -atum, “eat”;

manducavi – pf. act. ind. 1s IV.9.

maneo, manere, mansi, mansum, “stay, be kept”;

manere – pr. act. inf. VI.7;

maneret – ipf. act. subj. 3s III.9;

mansimus – pf. act. ind. 1p VIII.1.

manus, manus, f., “hand”;

manibus – ab. p IV.9, V.2;

manu – ab. s II.3, XII.5;

manum – acc. s XX.6;

manus – nm. p XI.2;

manus – acc. p V.5, X.11.

margo, marginis, m. or f., “rim”;

marginē – ab. s VIII.2, 3;

marginem – acc. s VII.7;

marginis – g. s VII.8.

martyr, martyris, m. or f., “martyr”;

martyr – nm. s XI.9;

martyras – acc. p XIII.8;

martyres – nm. p XXI.11;

martyribus – ab. p I.6.

martyra, -ae, f., “martyr”;

martyram – acc. s XX.5. *The Latin feminine form occurs only rarely. See Amat’s note. The Greek uses the usual masculine form with the feminine article: τη μάρτυρι.*

martyrium, martyrii, n., “martyrdom”;

martyrii – g.s. XIX.2;

martyrium – acc. s XXI.8.

masculus, -a, -um, “man”;

masculus – nm. m. s X.7.

matertera, -ae, “mother’s sister”;

materteram – acc. s V.3.

matrona, -ae, f., “wife”;

matrona – nm. s XVIII.2.

matronaliter, “honorably”;

matronaliter – adv. II.1. *Where the Latin says that Perpetua was **matronaliter nupta** the Greek says that she was γαμηθεισα ἐξόχως, “prominently married”), suggesting the Greek author’s ignorance of the technical meaning of **matronaliter**. The adjective from which the Greek adverb is taken occurs in MPol 19.1 (μάρτυς ἑξοχος, “a prominent martyr”) and in 1 Clem 33.4 (τὸ ἐξόχωτατον, “the most prominent thing,” referring to the human race).*

maturus, -a, -um, “early”;

maturiore – ab. m. s cpv. XIV.2.

medius, -a, -um, “middle of”;

medium – acc. n. s X.8.

- meus**, -a, -um, “my”;
 meis – d. m. p V.2.
- melior**, melius, “better”;
 meliorem – acc. m. s III.7.
- memini**, meminisse, “remember”;
 memento – fut. act. imp. 2s XXI.4.
- memor**, memoris, “mindful”;
 memor – nm. f. s XX.4.
- memoria**, -ae, f., “memorial”;
 memoriam – acc. s XXI.5. *The word here refers to the ring which Satorius dipped into his blood. Its translation is perhaps debatable. The Greek author renders it by μνήμη, and Amat translates both the Latin and the Greek by souvenir. Maybe “reminder” would be best here, and sanguinis is not just “blood” but “bloodshed” (as in Musurillo’s translation). Certainly both memoria and μνήμη literally mean “memory,” but it is an easy transition from “memory” to “that which reminds.”*
- mens**, mentis, f., “mind”;
 mentem – acc. s VII.1. *Instead of having Perpetua say that Dinocrates had never come into her mind until then (as the Latin does) the Greek has her say that she had never had a recollection (ἀνάμνησιν) of him until then. Perhaps the author intends his readers to hear at this point an ech of the Biblical use of this word—a kind of remembering which makes the past present. See Lk 22.19 and 1 Cor 11.24, where the reference is to the Eucharist.*
- mensis**, mensis, m., “month delivery”;
 mensis – g. s XV.5.
 mensium – g. p XV.2.
- mergo**, mergere, mersi, mersum, “dip”;
 mersam – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. s XXI.5.
- miles**, militis, m., “soldier”;
 miles – nm. s IX.1;
 militem – ac. s XXI.1;
 militi – d. s XXI.4;
 militum – g. p III.6.
- minister**, ministri, m., “assistant”;
 ministris – ab. p XV.5.
- ministro**, -are, -avi, -atum, “minister”;
 ministrabant – ipf. act. ind. 3p III.7. *The subject is diaconi. In the Latin there is no word play, but it is easy and logical for the Greek author to write διάκονοι οἱ διηκόνουν ἡμῶν, using the noun for “deacon” and the verb for “serve.” The verb διακονέω occurs in such Biblical and patristic passages as Mt 4.11 (where the angels minister to Jesus) and Hs 8.4.1.*
- minor**, minus, “lesser, less”;
 minora – acc. n. p XXI.11;
 minori – d. s I.2.
- mirus**, -a, -um, “great”
 mirae – g.f.s. IV.3, IV.4, X.8.
- miser**, misera, miserum, “pitiable”;
 misera – ab. f. s VI.5.
- mitto**, mittere, misi, missum, “send”;
 miserunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XIII.2;

- missus est – pf. pass. ind. 3s I.5;
mittatis – pr. act. sbj. 2p XIII.3;
mitterem – ipf. act. sbj. 1s X.11;
mitterent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p X.5;
mittit – pr. act. ind. 3s III.3;
mitto – pr. act. ind. 1s VI.7.
- mollis**, molle, “gentle”;
mollem – acc. m. s XI.3.
- mora**, -ae, f., “hesitation”;
moram – acc. s X.11.
- mordeo**, mordere, momordi, morsum, “bite”;
mordeat – pr. act. sbj. 3s IV.6.
- mos**, moris, m., “manner”;
more – ab.s VIII.4.
- morior**, mori, mortuus sum, “die”;
moreretur – ipf. dp. sbj. 3s VIII.3.
- mors**, mortis, f., “death”;
mors – nm. s VII.4.
- moveo**, movere, movi, motum, “move, anger”;
moti sumus – pf. pass. ind. 1p XIII.3;
motus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s III.3;
moverent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p IX.2.
- mulgeo**, mulgere, mulsi, “milk”;
mulgebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s;
mulgentem – pr. act. ptl. acc. m. s IV.8.
- multiformis**, multiforme, “decorated”;
multiformes – acc. f. p X.8.
- multiplex**, multiplicis, “multi-laced”;
multiplices – acc. f. p X.2.
- multo**, “much”;
multo – adv. XXI.8.
- multum**, “much”;
multum – adv. VII.2.
- multus**, -a, -um, “many”;
multi – nm. m. p XVII.2;
multis – ab. m. p III.9.
- munus**, muneris, n., “game”;
muneris – g.s XV.4.
munere – ab. s VII.9.
- narro**, -are, -avi, -atum, “tell”;
narravit – pf. act. ind. 3s II.3. *The Greek uses διηγέομαι. The possible NT echoes might be Mk 5.16 and 9.9, Lk 8.39 and 9.10, Act 8.33, 9.27, and 12.17, and Hb 11.32. The most likely echo, however, probably is of the equivalent noun διήγησις in Lk 1.1, since it refers to an account of events, just as **narravit** here introduces Perpetua’s account.*
- nascor**, nasci, natus sum, “be born”;
nata – pf. dp. ptl. nm. f. s II.1.

- natale**, natalis, n., “birthday”;
 natale – nm. s VII.9;
 natali – ab. s XVI.3.
- naturalis**, naturale, “natural”;
 naturali – ab. f. s XV.5.
- necessario**, “out of necessity”;
 necessario – adv. I.5.
- necessarius**, -a, -um, “compelling”;
 necessaria – nm. n. p I.2.
- neglegenter**, “carelessly”;
 neglegenter – adv. IV.3.
- nervus**, nervi, m., “chains”;
 nervo – ab. s VIII.1. *Here the Greek author simply transliterates the Latin into νέρβω.*
- nescio**, nescire, nescivi, nescitum, * “not to know”;
 nescio – pr. act. ind. 1s IV.10, XX.8.
- nihil**, n., “nothing”;
 nihil – acc. s (indecl.) XIX.4.
- niveus**, -a, -um, “snowy”;
 niveos – acc. m. p XII.3.
- nobilis**, nobile, “noble”;
 nobilissimis – d. m. p spr. XVI.3.
- noceo**, nocere, nocui, nocitum, “hurt”;
 nocebit – fut. act. ind. 3s IV.6.
- nolo**, nolle, nolui, “don’t, refuse”;
 noli – pr. act. imp. 2s X.4;
 noluisti – pf. act. ind. 2s XV.5.
- nomino**, -are, -avi, -atum, “call, cry out the name”;
 nominabat – ipf. act. ind. 3s V.5;
 nominavi – pf. act. ind. 1s VII.1.
- nonnisi**, “only”;
 nonnisi – adv. IV.3.
- nota**, -ae, f., “mark”;
 notas – acc. p XX.9. *Since the reference here is to the marks inflicted on Perpetua by the cow, we might expect an echo here of the wounds of Christ. Such a reminiscence might be intended, but it may also be significant that the Greek author does not use a Greek word associated with wounds—such as the τύπος of Jn 20.25—but rather σημεῖον, which means “a sign by which something is known” or even a “miracle.” Perhaps the Greek author is suggesting here that the wounds of Perpetua now have a theological significance.*
- noto**, -are, -avi, -atum, “take a good look”;
 notate – pr. act. imp. 2p XVII.2.
- nove**, “last of all”;
 novissime – adv. spr. III.6.
- novitius**, -a, -um, “new”;
 novitiora – nm. n. p. cmp. I.3.
- novus**, -a, -um, “new, recent, last”;
 nova – nm. n. p I.1;

- novae – nm. f. p XXI.11;
 novas – acc. f. p I.5;
 novissimiora – nm. n. p cmp. I.3;
 novissimis – ab. m. p spr. I.4.
- noxius**, -a, -um, “condemned”;
 noxiis – d. m. p XVI.3.
- nubo**, nubere, nupsi, nuptum, “marry”;
 nupta – pf. pass. ptl. nm. f. s II.1.
- nutus**, nutus, m., “nod”;
 nutu – ab. s XVIII.8.
- obduco**, obducere, obduxi, obductum, “violate”;
 obduceretur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3s XVIII.5.
- obicio**, obicere, obieci, obiectum, “throw”;
 obici – pr. pass. inf. XIX.2;
 obiecta – pf. pass. ptl. nm. f. s XV.5;
 obiectus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s XXI.2.
- obstetrix**, obstetricis, f., “midwife”;
 obstetrice – ab. s XVIII.3.
- obstipesco**, obstipescere, obstipui, “be shocked”;
 obstipui – pf. act. ind. 1s VII.1. *The Greek renders this with the phrase ἐκθαμβος ἐγενήθην. The adjective ἐκθαμβος (“amazed”) occurs only once in the NT, in Acts 3.11, where the reference is to the astonishment of the people at the healing of a lame man. Here it occurs with γίνομαι. It occurs with γίνομαι in the Apocalypse of Peter 4.11 and in Hv. 3.1.5.*
- occido**, occidere, occidi, occisum, “kill”;
 occidet – fut. act. ind. 3s X.9;
 occidi – pr. pass. inf. XXI.10.
- octavus**, -a, -um, “eighth”;
 octavi – g. m. s XV.5.
- octo**, “eight”;
 octo – g. p XV.2.
- oculus**, oculi, m., “eye”;
 oculatorum – g.p. XVIII.2.
- odi**, odisse, “hate”;
 odistis – pf. act. ind. 2p XVII.2.
- odium**, odii, n., “hatred”;
 odio – d. s VII.5.
- odor**, odoris, m., “fragrance”;
 odore – ab. s XIII.8. *The Latin **odore inenarrabili** is rendered in the Greek by ὄσμη ἀνεκδιγήγητω. Certainly the Greek adjective means “indescribable” in a good sense, as in 2 Cor 9.15, where it refers to the gift of God. Since this passage is in the context of the narrative of a dream, the “fragrance” may have a figurative meaning, as in 2 Cor 2.14 or Eph 5.2, where ὄσμη is used. This might be the fragrance associated with martyrdom, as in MPol 15.2 (although a different Greek word is used there—εὐωδία).*
- oleum**, olei, n., “oil”;
 oleo – ab. s X.7.
- omnipotens**, omnipotentis, “almighty”;
 omnipotentem – acc. m. s XXI.11. *Where the Latin speaks of “the almighty father” the Greek (which is in several ways different in its ending) speaks of “the father of the ages” (τῶ*

πατρι τῶν αἰώνων), which could echo the many occurrences of αἰών in the NT, particularly 1 Tim 1.17: τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων.

omnis, omne, “all”;

omnia – acc. n. p I.5.

operor, operari, operatus sum, “lead to, work, grant”;

operantia – pr. act. ptl. nm. n. p I.1;

operari – pr. dp. inf. XXI.11;

operetur – pr. dp. sbj. 3s I.5.

optio, optionis, m., “adjutant”;

optio – nm. s IX.1; **Miles optio** is not exactly reproduced in the Greek, which simply says στρατιώτης. Likewise in XVI.4 **optioe carceris** is rendered by ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προσετώς (“the one in charge of the prison”).

optioe – ab. s XVI.4.

oratio, orationis, f., “prayer”;

oratione – ab. s VII.1.

oriens, orientis, m., “the east”;

orientem – acc. s XI.2.

oro, -are, -avi, -atum, “pray”;

orabam – ipf. act. ind. 1s VII.9;

oramus – pr. act. ind. 1p VII.1.

os, ossis, n., “bone”;

ossa – acc. p XXI.9.

osculator, osculari, osculatus sum, “kiss”;

osculatus sum – pf. dp. ind. 1s X.13. In X.13 the Greek renders **osculator** by ἀσπάζομαι, which actually means “greet,” but it can be associated with a kiss, as for example in Rm 16.16. In XII.5 the Greek renders **osculator** by φιλέω, which sometimes had the meaning of “kiss” as far back as Aeschylus (Ag. 1540) and in the NT in such passages as Mt 26.48.

ostendo, ostendere, ostendi, ostentum, “show”;

ostendatur – pr. pass. sbj. 3s IV.1.

ovis, ovis, f., “sheep”;

oves – acc. p IV.8.

paciscor, pacisci, pactus sum, “have an agreement”;

pacti sumus – pf. dp. ind. 1p XVIII.5. Here the Greek uses συντάσσω which may not be as specific or as emphatic as the Latin, since it really just means “prescribe” (as in Mt 21.6). See Amat.

pallidus, -a, -um, “pale”;

pallido – ab. m. s VII.4.

papa, -ae, m., “father”;

papa – nm. s XIII.3.

paries, parietis, m., “wall”;

parietes – nm. p XII.1.

pario, parere, pepererit, partum, “give birth”;

peperisse – pf. act. inf. XVIII.3.

pars, partis, f., “neighborhood”;

partes – acc. p VI.1.

partus, partus, m., “childbirth”;

partum – acc. s XVIII.3.

passio, passionis, f., **“suffering”*;

passio – nm. s IV.1;

passione – ab. s V.6;

passionem – acc. s IV.10;

passionis – g. s XVII.1.

pastor, pastoris, m., *“shepherd”*;

pastoris – g. s IV.8. *Here the Greek uses ποιμήν, which inevitably recalls the Biblical depiction of Jesus as a shepherd, as in Jn 10.11 and Hb 13.20.*

pater, patris, m., *“father”*;

pater – nm. s VI.2;

patre – ab. s III.4;

patri – d. s V.2.

patior, pati, passus sum, *“suffer”*;

passi **eram**us – plp. dp. ind. 1p XI.2;

passura – fut. act. ptl. nm. f. s XV.6;

pati – pr. dp. inf. XX.5;

patietur – fut. dp. ind. 3s XV.6;

patior – pr. dp. ind. 1s XV.6 (bis).

paucus, -a, -um, *“few”*;

paucorum – g. m. p III.5.

paveo, pavere, pavi, *“tremble, be afraid”*;

paventes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XVIII.1;

pavere – pr. act. inf. X.4. *Where the Latin says **noli pavere** the Greek says μή φοβηθῆς, which could be an echo of Biblical passages in which someone is being reassured of divine help, as for example in Lk 1.30 and 2.10.*

pax, pacis, f., *“peace”*;

pacem – acc. s XII.6;

pacis – g. s XXI.7;

pax – nm. s X.13.

pectus, pectoris, n., *“chest”*;

pectus – acc. s X.8.

penetro, -are, -avi, -atum, *“penetrate”*;

penetranti – pr. act. ptl. d. m. s XXI.7.

percipio, percipere, percepi, perceptum, *“receive”*;

percepimus – pf. act. ind. 1p XI.4. *Where the Latin has **percepimus promissionem** the Greek uses μεταλαμβάνω with the genitive: μετελήφαμεν τῆς ἑπαγγελίας, which may be more effective, as it conveys the notion of receiving a share in something. See 2 Tm 2.6, and 1 Clem 35.4 (where the reference to “sharing in promised gifts” is very much like the one in the *Passio*).*

percutio, percutere, percussi, percussum, *“beat”*;

fuissem percussa – plp. pass. sbj. 1s VI.5;

percussus est – pf. pass. ind. 3s VI.5.

perfunco, perfundere, perfudi, perfusum, *“cover”*;

perfusus est – pf. pass. ind. 3s XXI.2.

permitto, permittere, permisi, permissum, *“give permission, permit”*;

permisit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVI.1;

permittendo – ger. ab. s XVI.1;

- permittis – pr. act. ind. 2s XVI.3.
- persecutio**, persecutionis, f., “persecution”;
 persecutione – ab. s XI.9. *Here the Greek uses διωγμός, which is a persecution for religious reasons, as in Acts 8.1 and MPol 1.1.*
- persevero**, -are, -avi, -atum, “want”;
 perseveraret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s III.1.
- pertingo**, pertingere, “reach”;
 pertingentem – pr. act. ptl. acc. f. s IV.3.
- pervenio**, pervenire, perveni, perventum, “pass, reach”;
 pervenerunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XVIII.8;
 pervenit – pf. act. ind. 3s IV.6.
- pes**, pedis, m., “foot”;
 pedibus – ab. p XI.8.
- peto**, petere, petivi, petitum, “seek, ask, pray”;
 petendum – fut. pass. ptl. acc. n. s III.5;
 petentibus – pr. act. ptl. d. m. p XIX.1;
 petere – pr. act. inf. VII.2;
 petite – pr. act. ipv. 2p XIX.1.
- pietas**, pietatis, f., “love”;
 pietate – ab. s V.5. *The Greek εἶνoια may not be as effective, since it really means “goodwill.”*
- pignus**, pignoris, n., “pledge”;
 pignus – acc. s XXI.5. *The Greek here uses ἐνθήκη, which was originally a financial term for “investment” or “capital” but here according to Lampe means “keepsake.”*
- pinguis**, pingue, “well nourished”;
 pinguiores – nm. m. p cmp. XVI.4.
- piscina**, -ae, f., “pool”;
 piscinam – acc. s VIII.2.
- placidus**, -a, -um, “calm”;
 placido – ab. m. s XVIII.2.
- plane**, “truly”;
 plane – adv. XXI.3.
- plango**, plangere, planxi, planctum, “grieve”;
 plangere – pr. act. inf. XX.5.
- plebs**, plebis, f., “people”;
 plebem – acc. s XIII.6.
- poena**, -ae, f., “suffering”;
 poena – ab. s VIII.4;
 poenae – d. s XV.2.
- pons**, pontis, m., “bridge”;
 ponte – ab. s XIX.6.
- populus**, populi, m., “crowd, spectators”;
 populi – g. s XX.7;
 populo – d. s XVIII.7.
- porta**, -ae, f., “gate”;
 porta – ab. s XXI.1;
 portas – acc. p XIII.7.

- possum**, posse, potui, “can, be able”;
 possemus – ipf. act. sbj. 1p VII.5;
 possent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p IV.3;
 possum – pr. act. ind. 1s III.2;
 poterit – fut. act. ind. 3s V.2;
 potest – pr. act. ind. 3s III.2;
 potuisset – plp. act. sbj. 3s XXI.10.
- posterus**, -a, -um, “future”;
 posteris – d. m. p I.2.
- postulo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “ask, demand”;
 postulans – pr. act. ptl. nm. f. s VI.7;
 postularet – ipf. act. sbj. 3s XXI.7;
 postulavi – pf. act. ind. 1s IV.2;
 postulavit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVIII.9;
 postules – pr. act. sbj. 2s IV.1.
- potestas**, potestatis, f., “power”;
 potestas – nm. s XXI.11;
 potestate – ab. s V.5.
- praedico**, praedicere, praedixi, praedictum, “predict”;
 praedixi – pf. act. ind. 1s XXI.1.
- praegnans**, praegnantis, “pregnant”;
 praegnans – nm. f. s XV.2;
 praegnantes – acc. f. p XV.2.
- praemium**, praemii, n., “bribe”;
 praemio – ab. s III.7.
- praeparo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “prepare”;
 praeparavit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.1.
- praepono**, praepondere, praeposui, praepositum, “be in charge, prefer”;
 praepositus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s IX.1;
 praeposui – pf. act. ind. 1s V.2.
- praesens**, praesentis, “present”;
 praesens – nm. m. s IV.5;
 praesenti – ab. n. s I.2.
- praesto**, praestare, praestiti, praestitum, “furnish”;
 praestabat – ipf. act. ind. 3s IV.4.
- praesumo**, praesumere, praesumpsi, praesumptum, “be confident, imagine”;
 praesumebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s XIX.4;
 praesumpsi – pf. act. ind. 1s XXI.1;
 praesumptam – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. s I.2.
- praetorium**, praetorii, n., “palace”;
 praetorium – nm. s III.9. *Here we find the Greek form of the Latin word. Παραιτώριον is found several times in the NT, as in Mt 27.27.*
- prandeo**, prandere, prandi, pransum, “eat breakfast”;
 pranderemus – ipf. act. sbj. 1p VI.1. *This is not reproduced in the Greek, unless we accept the emendation ἠριστῶμεν for the ἄριστο of the ms.*
- presbyter**, presbyteri, m., “priest”;
 presbyter – nm. s XIII.3;
 presbyterum – acc. s XIII.1.

- primus**, -a, -um, “first”;
 primo – ab. m. s XI.4;
 primum – acc. m. s IV.7.
- procedo**, procedere, processi, processum, “march”;
 processerunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XVIII.1.
- proconsul**, proconsulis, m., “proconsul”;
 proconsulis – g. s VI.3.
- procurator**, procuratoris, m., “procurator”;
 procurator – nm. s VI.3. *Here the Greek uses ἐπίτροπος, a classical term which means “steward” and occurs as early as Pindar. It is used in this sense in the NT in Mt 20.8. It can also have the meaning of “procurator.” It possibly means this in Lk 8.3, and it certainly has this meaning in Plutarch 2.813 E.*
- prodeo**, prodire, prodii, proditum, “go in, leave”;
 prodeo – pr. act. ind. 1s XXI.1;
 prodire – pr. act. inf. XIX.6.
- produco**, producere, produxi, productum, “bring forth, bring out, throw to”;
 producatur – pr. act. sbj. 1p XVI.4;
 producebantur – ipf. act. ind. 3p XX.2;
 producimur – pr. act. ind. 1p XX.8.
- proficiscor**, proficisci, profectus sum, “come, leave”;
 profecta est – pf. dp. ind. f. 3s VII.1;
 profectus est – pf. dp. ind. m. 3s III.3.
- profiteor**, profiteri, professus sum, “declare”;
 profitebatur – ipf. dp. ind. 3s XIX.2. *No equivalent of this word appears in the Greek text, but the addition of ἔλεγεν has been suggested, and van Beek prints it in brackets.*
- proicio**, proicere, proieci, proiectum, “throw to ground”;
 proici – pr. pass. inf. VI.5.
- promissio**, promissionis, f., “promise”;
 promissionem – acc. s XI.4. *Here the Greek uses ἑπαγγελία, which basically means “announcement” but later came to mean “promise,” a meaning which it has a number of times in Biblical and patristic Greek, as in Acts 2.39 and 1 Clem 26.1.*
- promitto**, promittere, promisi, promissum, “promise”;
 promittebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s XI.4.
- pronuntio**, -are, -avi, -atum, “pronounce sentence”;
 pronuntiat – pr. act. ind. 3s VI.6.
- prophetia**, -ae, f., “prophecy”;
 prophetias – acc. p I.5.
- propheto**, -are, -avi, -atum, “prophecy”;
 prophetabant – fut. act. ind. 3p I.4.
- prosecutor**, prosecutoris, m., “prosecutor”;
 prosecutoribus – ab. p III.1. *The Greek does not directly translate this, but it renders cum **prosecutoribus essemus** by the genitive absolute ἡμῶν παρατηρουμένων.*
- prosterno**, prosternere, prostravi, prostratum, “throw”;
 prosternere – pr. act. inf. IX.2.
- prosum**, prodesse, profui, profuturum, “help”;
 profuturam [esse] – fut. act. inf. VII.9.
- proveho**, provehere, provexi, provectum, “raise”;
 provexi – pf. act. ind. 1s V.2.

proximo, -are, -avi, -atum, “draw near”;

proximavit – pf. act. ind. 3s IX.2.

psallo, psallere, psalli, “sing hymns”;

psallebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s XVIII.7; *Here the Greek uses ψάλλω, from which the Latin verb is taken. However in X.12 the Greek uses γαυριᾶω, which perhaps is not really as appropriate. It is a classical word occurring as early as Xenophon, meaning “to bear oneself proudly.” it occurs in LXX Judith 9.7 and Hv 1.1.8.*

psallere – pr. act. inf. X.12.

pudor, pudoris, m., “modesty”;

pudoris – g. s XX.4.

puella, -ae, f., “young woman”;

puellis – d. p XX.1. *Whereas in the Latin this noun is not modified, the Greek adds an adjective for “blessed”: μακαρίαίς νεάνισιν.*

pugno, -are, -avi, -atum, “fight”;

pugnaremus – ipf. act. sbj. 1p X.1;

pugnaret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s XVIII.3;

esse pugnaturam – fut. act. inf. X.14;

pugnaturi – fut. act. ptl. nm. m. p VII.9;

pugnaturis – fut. act. ptl. d. m. p XVI.3;

pugnaturus – fut. act. ptl. nm. m. s X.6.

pugnus, pugni, m., “punch”;

pugnos – acc. p X.10. *Where the Latin says mittere pugnos the Greek uses the “technical term” (as Amat calls it) παγκρατιάζειν, which means to perform the exercises of the παγκράτιον, which included both boxing and wrestling.*

pulpitum, pulpiti, n., “scaffold”;

pulpitum – acc. s XIX.3. *The Greek has γέφυρα, which really is a bridge. Then there is a reference to a **pons** (bridge) in the Latin version of XIX.6 although there is no corresponding reference in the Greek at this point.*

pulso, -are, -avi, -atum, “knock”;

pulsare – pr. act. inf. X.1.

purpura, -ae, f., “purple garment”;

purpuram – acc. s X.8.

quaero, quaerere, quaesivi, quaesitum, “ask”;

quaerebamus – ipf. act. ind. 1p XI.9.

rapio, rapere, rapui, raptum, “rush off”;

rapti sumus – pf. pass. ind. 1p VI.1.

recens, recentis, “recently”;

recentem – acc. f. s XX.2.

recipio, recipere, recepi, receptum, “receive, take”;

receperunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XXI.8;

recipimur – pr. pass. ind. 1p III.5.

reclamo, -are, -avi, -atum, “roar”;

reclamaverit – pf. act. sbj. 3s XXI.2.

recognosco, recognoscere, recognovi, recognitum, “recognize, notice”;

recognoscatis – pr. act. sbj. 2p XVII.2;

recognovisset – plp. act. sbj. 3s XX.9.

- redeo**, redire, redii, reditum, “return”;
 redeuntes – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. p XIII.6.
- reduco**, reducere, reduxi, reductum, “draw up”;
 reduxit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.4.
- refero**, referre, retuli, relatum, “tell”;
 retuli – pf. act. ind. 1s. IV.10.
- refrigero**, -are, -avi, -atum, “be refreshed, rest”;
 refrigerandi – ger. g. s XVI.4;
 refrigerantem – pr. act. ptl. acc. m. s VIII.1;
 refrigerare – pr. act. inf. XVI.3;
 refrigeravi – pf. act. ind. 1p III.4;
 refrigerent – pr. act. sbj. 3p XIII.5.
- relevo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “relieve”;
 relevata sum – pf. pas. ind. 1s III.9.
- relinquo**, relinquere, reliqui, relictum, “leave, leave behind”;
 relinquens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s XXI.5;
 relinquerent – ipf. act. sbj. 3p XV.3;
 reliquistis – pf. act. ind. 2p XIII.2;
 reliquit – pf. act. ind. 3s II.3.
- rememoror**, -ari, -atus sum, “be reminded”;
 rememoremini – pr. dp. sbj. 2p I.6.
- renuntio**, -are, -avi, -atum, “tell”;
 renuntiabo – fut. act. ind. 1s IV.2.
- repraesentatio**, repraesentationis, f., “imitation”;
 repraesentatione – ab. s I.1.
- repraesento**, -are, -avi, -atum, “make present”;
 repraesentari – pr. act. inf. XV.2.
- repromitto**, repromittere, repromisi, repromissus, “promise”;
 repromisi – pf. act. ind. 1s IV.2;
 repromisit – pf. act. ind. 3s I.5;
 repromissas – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. p I.5.
- repugno**, -are, -avi, -atum, “resist”;
 repugnavit – pf. act. ind. 3s XVIII.4.
- reputo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “consider”;
 reputanda – fut. pass. ptl. nm. n. p I.3.
- requiro**, requirere, requisivi, requisitum, “request”;
 requisita – pf. pass. ptl. ab. f. s XX.5.
- res**, rei, f., “deed”;
 rerum – g. p I.1.
- respicio**, respicere, respexi, respectum, “see”;
 respiciens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s XX.2.
- retiarius**, retiarum, m., “net-bearing gladiator”;
 retiarium – acc. s XVIII.3.
- reticulum**, reticuli, n., “net”;
 reticulis – ab. p XX.2.
- retro**, “before”;
 retro – adv. VIII.1.

revelatio, revelationis, f., “revelation”;

revelationum – g. p I.5.

revertō, revertere, reverti, “return”;

revertenti – pr. act. ptl. d. m. s XXI.2.

revoco, -are, -avi, -atum, “call back”;

revocatae sunt – pf. pas. ind. 3p. XX.3, XX.7.

revocatur – pr. pass. ind. 3s XIX.6.

rosa, ae f. “rose.”

rosae – g.s. XI.5, XIII.4.

rumor, rumoris, m. “rumor.”

rumor – nm.s. V.1, VI.1.

sacer, sacra, sacrum, “sacrifice”;

sacrum – acc. n. s VI.3. *For the idea of “sacrifice” the Latin uses here the phrase **fac sacrum**. The Greek uses the imperative of ἐπιθύω, a verb which occurs in MPol 4 and 8.2, in contexts very similar to this one. In XV.5, however, the Latin uses **sacrificare** and the Greek uses the uncompounded θύω, which occurs in the NT in such passages as Acts 14.18 and 1 Cor. 5.7.*

sacerdos, sacerdotis, m., “priest”;

sacerdotum – g. p XVIII.4. **Sacerdos**, which refers to a pagan priest and for which the Greek equivalent is ἱερεύς, occurs only here in the Passio. In this text a Christian priest is always **presbyter**, or πρεσβύτερος in the Greek version.

sacrifico, -are, -avi, -atum, “sacrifice”;

sacrificare – pr. act. inf. XV.5.

sacro, -are, -avi, -atum, “priestess”;

sacratarum – pf. pass. ptl. g. f. p XVIII.4.

saeculum, saeculi, n., “time”;

saeculi – g. s I.3.

salus, salutis, f., “health”;

salute – ab. s VI.3.

saluto, -are, -avi, -atum, “greet”;

salutate – pr. act. imp. 2p XI.10,

salvus, -a, -um, “safely, saved”;

salvam – acc. f. s XVIII.3;

salvus – nm. m. s XXI.3. *Here the Greek has ὁ γιής (just as in XVIII.3 **salvam** was rendered by the phrase ἐπὶ τῇ ὀγείᾳ). It is possible that the Latin author had in mind both the literal meaning of **salvus** (“unhurt”) and the figurative and theological meaning (“saved”). Something similar could have been intended by the Greek author in the use of ὁ γιής, although in this case the figurative meaning seen in religious texts is not so much “saved” as “sound” or “correct,” as in Titus 2.8 and Hs 8.6.3.*

sanctus, -a, -um, “holy”;

sanctis – ab. m. p I.6;

sanctissimae – g. f. s spr. XVI.1;

sanctus – nm. m. s XVI.1.

sanguis, sanguinis, m., “blood”;

sanguinis – g. s XXI.5.

satio, -are, -avi, -atum, “satisfy”;

satiabat – ipf. act. ind. 3s XIII.8; *Here the Greek uses χορτάζω, which could echo such NT passages as Lk 6.21 and Mt 5.6. The οὐκ before ἐχόρταζεν perhaps should be emended to οὐν.*

satiatus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. s VIII.4.

satis, n. indecl., “enough”;

satis – n. s XVII.2.

scala, -ae, f., “ladder”;

scalam – acc. s IV.3.

scandalizo, -are, -avi, -atum, “loose heart”;

scandalizemini – pr. pas. sbj. 2p XX.10. *Here the Greek uses σκανδαλιζω, from which the Latin is directly taken. The basic meaning of the Greek verb in the active voice is “to make to stumble,” “to give offense or scandal,” or “to cause to sin,” as in Mt 5.29. In the passive it means “to be made to stumble” or “to take offense,” as in Mt 26.33. In the context of approaching martyrdom Perpetua’s statement may echo such passages as these.*

scelero, -are, -avi, -atum, “criminal”;

sceleratos – pf. pass. ptl. acc. m. p XV.2.

scio, scire, scivi, scitum, “know”;

scito – fut. act. ipv. 2s V.6.

scribo, scribere, scripsi, scriptum, “write”

scribat – pr. act. sbj. 3s X.15.

secundus, -a, -um, “second”;

secundi – g. n. s XXI.2.

sedeo, sedere, sedi, sessum, “sit”;

sedit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.4.

segrego, -are, -avi, -atum, “lead”;

segregavimus – pf. act. ind. 1p XIII.4.

senex, senis, m., “old man”;

senes – nm. p I.4;

seniores – nm. p. cpr. XII.6 (bis).

sensus, sensus, m., “words”;

sensu – ab. s II.3.

sentio, sentire, sensi, sensum, “feel”;

sensi – pf. act. ind. 1s XXI.1. *The Greek might be more vivid here as it changes nullam . . . bestiam sensi to οὐδὲ ἐν θηρίον ἠψατο μου (“no beast touched me”).*

separo, -are, -avi, -atum, “separate”;

separatos – pf. pass. ptl. acc. m. p XIII.1.

septem, indecl., “seven”;

septem – g. p VII.5.

sequor, sequi, secutus sum, “follow”;

sequebatur – ipf. dp. ind. 3s XVIII.2.

sermocinor, -ari, -atus sum, “speak”;

sermocinabantur – ipf. dp. ind. 3p XIX.2.

servus, servi, m., “servant”;

servos – acc. p I.4.

sexus, sexus, m., “sex”;

sexui – d. s XX.1.

silentium, silentii, n., “silence”;

silentio – ab. s XXI.8; For **silentio** the Greek substitutes the adverb ἀσμένως (“joyfully”).

This change might be considered quite effective, as it presents the martyrs as gladly submitting to their execution, while the Latin gives more the impression of passive acceptance.

silentium – acc. s X.9.

simpliciter, “simply”;

simpliciter – adv. XVIII.6.

simul, “at the same time”;

simul – adv. XXI.5.

singulus, -a, -um, “one at a time”;

singuli – nm. m. p IV.3.

sinister, sinistra, sinistrum, “left”;

sinistrā – ab. f. s XII.4;

sinistram – acc. f. s XIII.1.

sino, sinere, sivi, situm, “let”;

sinite – pr. act. imp. 2p XIII.5.

sitio, sitire, “thirst”;

sitientem – pr. act. ptl. acc. m. s VII.4.

socia, -ae, f., “companion”;

sociam – acc. s XV.3. The Greek may be more effective here, since where the Latin has **sociam** and **comitem** it has συνεργόν and συνοδοιπόρον, which contain the roots for “work” and “travel.”

Συνεργός may be an echo of such NT passages as Rm 16.3 and 1 Th 3.2.

soleo, solere, solitus sum, “be accustomed”;

solent – pr. act. ind. 3p X.7;

solito – pf. dp. ptl.ab. m. s XXI.6.

sollemnis, sollemne, “ritual”;

sollemnia – acc. n. p XXI.8. Where the Latin speaks of completing the “martyrdom” through the ritual of peace (**per sollemnia pacis**), the Greek speaks of completing the “mystery” διὰ τῶν οικείων τῆς πίστεως. The Latin seems to refer to the “kiss of peace.” But to what does the Greek refer? Amat translates it “par les rites propres à la foi.” It might more likely however mean “those who belong to the household of faith,” which is the meaning of τοὺς οικείους τῆς πίστεως in Gal. 6.10. The fact that the martyrs have just kissed each other might support the idea that οικείων refers to people and not to rites. And substituting “mystery” (μυστήριον) for “martyrdom” suggests a more exalted theological concept.

sollicitudo, sollicitudinis, f., “worry”;

sollicitudine – ab.s III.9.

sollicitudines – ac.p III.9. The Greek may be more effective here, since where the Latin says **tales sollicitudines . . . passa sum** it has περιλυπος οἶσα (“being very sad”). The Greek adjective is emphatic and is seen in such passages as Mt 26.38, Mk 14.34, and Hn 3.10.6.

sollicitus, -a, -um, “in my worry”;

sollicita – nm. f. s III.9.

solummodo, “only”;

solummodo – adv. XIX.5.

solus, -a, -um, “alone”;

solam – acc. f. s XV.3;

solus – nm. m. s V.6.

- somnio**, -are, -avi, -atum, “dream”;
 somniabunt – fut. act. ind. 3p I.4.
- somnium**, somnii, n., “dream”;
 somnia – acc. p I.4.
- somnus**, somni, m., “sleep”;
 somno – ab. s XX.8.
- sonus**, soni, m., “sound”;
 sonum – acc. s IV.10.
- sordidus**, -a, -um, “covered with dirt”;
 sordido – ab. m. s. VII.4. *Here for the Latin **sordido vultu** the Greek uses ἐσθητα . . . ῥυπαράν, which seems to have been directly borrowed from Js 2.2.*
- spargo**, spargere, sparsi, sparsum, “dishevel”;
 sparsis – pf. pass. ptl. ab. m. p XX.5.
- spatium**, spatii, n., “space”;
 spatia – acc. p I.3;
 spatium – ab. s III.5.
- species**, speciei, f., “appearance”;
 specie – ab. s X.6.
- specto**, -are, -avi, -atum, “look”
 spectanti – pr. act. ptl. d. m. s XVIII.7.
- spes**, spei, f., “hope”;
 spei – g. s XV.3.
- sponte**, “freely”;
 sponte – adv. XVIII.5.
- stadium**, stadii, n., “park”;
 stadium – acc. s XI.8.
- statura**, -ae, f., “height”;
 statura – nm. s VII.7.
- stillo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “drip”;
 stillantibus – pr. act. ptl. ab. f. p XX.3.
- sto**, stare, steti, statum, “persist, stand”;
 staret – ipf. act. sbj. 3s VI.5;
 state – pr. act. imp. 2p XX.10;
 stemus – pr. act. sbj. 1p XII.6;
 steterunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XX.6.
- stola**, -ae, f., “robe”;
 stolas – acc. p XII.1. *Here the Greek uses the original form στολή, which occurs as early as the tragedians. Its use here may echo such NT passages as Mk 16.5 and Rev 6.11.*
- stupeo**, stupere, stupui, “amazement”;
 stupentibus – pr. act. ptl. ab. m. p XX.8.
- subfodio**, subfodere, subfodi, subfossus, “gore”;
 subfossus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s XIX.5.
- sublevo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “lift up”;
 sublevaverunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XII.5.
- subligo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “tie”;
 subligaverat – plp. act. ind. 3s XIX.5.

sublimitas, sublimitatis, f., “sublimity”;

sublimitate – ab. s XVI.1.

subministro, -are, -avi, -atum, “offer”;

subministraretur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3s XIX.5.

substringo, substringere, substrinxi, substrictum, “tie”;

substrictus esset – plp. pass. sbj. 3s XIX.6.

subtraho, subtrahere, subtraxi, subtractum, “carry off”;

subtraheretur – inf. pas. sbj. 3p XVI.2.

sufferentia, -ae, f., “endurance”;

sufferentiam – acc. s III.5. *The Greek author renders **sufferentia** by ὑπομονή, an important word in NT and patristic vocabulary, as seen for example in Lk 21.19 and MPol 19.2.*

summa, -ae, f., “summary”;

summam – acc. s XXI.1.

summitto, summittere, summisi, summissum, “lower”;

summisso – pf. pass. ptl. ab. m. s VIII.2.

supervenio, supervenire, superveni, superventum, “arrive”;

supervenit – pf. act. ind. 3s V.1.

supinus, -a, -um, “on our backs”;

supini – nm. m. p XI.3.

supplementum, supplementi, n., “completion”;

supplementum – acc. s XVI.1.

supplico, -are, -avi, -atum, “offer sacrifice”;

supplica – pr. act. imp. 2s. *The idea that **supplicare** here is used in the sense of “offer sacrifice” is supported by the Greek author’s use of ἐπιθυσον as an equivalent.*

surgo, surgere, surrexi, surrectum, “get up”;

surrexerunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XXI.8;

surrexit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.6.

suscipio, suscipere, suscepi, susceptum, “receive”;

suscepta – pf. pass. ptl. nm. f. s XX.8.

suscito, -are, -avi, -atum, “help up”;

suscitavit – pf. act. ind. 3s. *Here **suscito** is used with reference to Perpetua’s helping Felicity up, but there may also be an overtone of “resurrection,” as the Greek author uses ἐγείρω, which is used in this sense in such passages as Jn 5.21 and I Mg 9.3. Latin **suscito** can also be used in this sense, as in the Vulgate of Jn 5.21.*

sustineo, sustinere, sustinui, sustentum, “wait for”;

sustinebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s XXI.8; *The fact that the Greek version here renders **sustinebat** by ἀναμένω and **sustineo** (in IV.6) by παραμένω suggests that **sustinere** is used in this text in its post-classical sense of “wait for.”*

sustineo – pr. act. ind. 1s IV.6.

tabesco, tabescere, tabui, “suffer”;

tabescebam – ipf. act. ind. 3s III.8. *Where the Latin uses **tabesco** twice in the same sentence (**tabescebam** and **tabescere**) the Greek varies the vocabulary by using first τήκω and then λυπέω. Both **tabesco** and τήκω basically mean “waste away,” and λυπέω means “grieve.” The repetition of the same verb in the Latin may make it the more effective version. The verb is vivid, suggesting a decomposition of the person, and it links Perpetua with the others who are also wasting away.*

tabescere – pr. act. inf. III.8.

- tango**, tangere, tetigi, tactum, “touch”;
tangebant – ipf. act. ind. 3p XI.2.
- tantus**, -a, -um, “such great”;
 tantae – g. f. s XVI.1;
 tanto – ab. m. s XXI.2.
- tegnon**, Gr., “child”;
 tegnon – voc. n. s IV.9.
- tempus**, temporis, n., “time”;
 tempore – ab. s I.2;
 temporum – g. p I.3.
- tenebrae**, -arum, f., “darkness”;
 tenebras – acc. p III.5.
- tenebrosus**, -a, -um, “dark”;
 tenebroso – ab. s VII.3.
- teneo**, tenere, tenui, tentum, “take”;
 tenuit – pf. act. ind. 3s X.3.
- tertius**, -a, -um, “third”;
 tertium – acc. m. s XV.4.
- testificor**, -ari, -atus sum, “testify, witness”;
testificantia – pr. act. ptl. nm. n. p I.1. *Where the Latin has **gratiam testificantia** the Greek has δόξαν φανεροῦντα, which is perhaps more effective, since it seems to suggest an almost visible display of the divine glory. The Greek author may have had Jn 2.11 in mind here, where φανερώ is used with δόξα with reference to the manifestation of the glory of Jesus at the wedding at Cana. The question still remains as to whether the correct reading of the word which φανεροῦντα modifies is δόγματα, which Amat prints from the MS, or δέγματα, the conjecture which van Beek accepts. The former might seem to be more consonant with the Greek author’s tendency to elevate the theology of the Latin.*
testificentur – pr. dp. sbj. 3p XXI.11.
- thronus**, throni, m., “throne”;
 thronum – acc. s XII.5.
- timeo**, timere, timui, “fear”;
 timebatur – ipf. pass. ind. 3s XXI.10;
 timens – pr. act. ptl. nm. m. s IV.7.
- timor**, timoris, m., “fear”;
 timore – ab. s XVIII.1.
- tirunculus**, tirunculi, m., “novice”;
 tirunculi – g. s XXI.9. *Where the Latin has **tirunculi gladiatoris** (“novice gladiator”) the Greek has ἀπειρον μονομάχου, using the adjective for “inexperienced” and employing the adjective μονομάχου (“fighting in single combat”) substantively. This adjective occurs as early as Aeschylus, and Lucian in the 2nd century C. E. used it substantively for “gladiator” (**Demonax** 57).*
- trado**, tradere, tradidi, traditum, “surrender, give”;
 tradiderat – plp. act. ind. 3s IV.5;
 tradidit – pf. act. ind. 3s XX.6.
- traho**, trahere, traxi, tractum, “draw, drag”;
 trahebat – ipf. act. ind. 3s VIII.2;
 tractus est – pf. pass. ind. 3s XIX.5.

transfero, transferre, transtuli, translatum, “free, move, guide”;

translatum esse – pf. pass. inf. VIII.4;

transtulerunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XXI.8;

transtulit – pf. act. ind. 3s XXI.9.

tristis, triste, “sorrowful”;

tristes – acc. m. p. For **tristis** the Greek uses *περίλυπος*, which is really a stronger term (“very sad”). It occurs in the NT and the Apostolic Fathers in such passages as Mk 6.26, Lk 18.23, and 1 Clem 4.4.

tunica, -ae, f., “tunic”;

tunicam – acc. s XX.4.

turba, -ae, f., “mob”;

turbarum – g. p III.6.

uber, uberis, n., “breast”;

ubera – acc. p II.3.

ultimus, -a, -um, “last”;

ultima – acc. n. p I.4;

ultimam – acc. f. s XVII.1.

umbilicus, umbilici, m., “navel”;

umbilicum – acc. s VIII.2.

unio, unire, univi, unitum, “unite”;

unitam – pf. pass. ptl. acc. f. s XII.2;

unito – pf. pass. ptl. ab. m. s XV.4.

universus, -a, -um, “all, itself”;

universam – acc. f. s IX.2;

universi – nm. m. p III.8.

unus, -a, -um, “one”;

unius – g. m. s I.3.

unusquisque, unaquaeque, unumquodque, “each one”;

unicuique – d. m. s I.5.

urceolus, urceoli, m., “small water pitcher”;

urceolum – acc. s III.1. The Greek does not translate this word. For **urceolum sive aliud** it substitutes *ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιοῦτων*. For Latin **vas** it uses *σκεῦος*.

ursus, ursi, m., “bear”;

urso – ab. s XIX.3;

ursum – acc. s XIX.4, XIX.6;

ursus – nm. s XIX.6.

usurpo, -are, -avi, -atum, “obtain”;

usurpavi – pf. act. ind. 1s III.9. Here the Greek has *αἰτέω* (“ask”). **Usurpare** really means “use,” but it came to have the meaning of “obtain,” as here. If the Greek author was not familiar with this development of meaning then the change to the idea of “asking” is understandable, perhaps being intended as a correction of the Latin.

uterque, utraque, utrumque, “each”;

utrique – d. f. s I.1.

vaco, -are, -avi, -atum, “seek some time”;

vacabant – ipf. act. ind. 3p III.8.

valde, “very”;

valde – adv. VII.3.

valeo, valere, valui, “farewell”;

vale – pr. act. imp. 2s XXI.3. *Here the Greek uses ὑγιαίνω which is directly equivalent in meaning to **valeo** (“to be strong”). As early as Aristophanes its imperative (like that of **valeo**) was used as an expression of farewell. It might be conjectured that there is also a suggestion here of the figurative use of ὑγιαίνω in the NT, as in Titus 1.13, where the idea is that of “being strong” in the faith.*

validus, -a, -um, “stifling”;

validus – nm. m.s. III.6

vanus, -a, -um, “devious”;

vanissimorum – g. m. p spr. XIV.2. *This is expressed in the Greek by the adverb ματαιῶς (“idly”), which really does not convey the meaning which **vanus** has here (“devious”).*

vas, vasis, n., “vase”;

vas – acc. s III.1. *Here the Greek has σκεῦος, which is certainly equivalent to **vas**, but there could also be an echo of the figurative use of σκεῦος in Acts 9.15, where Paul is referred to as a “chosen vessel.”*

vehementer, “loudly”;

vehementer – adv. X.1.

velamentum, “covering”;

velamentum – acc. s XX.4.

venator, venatoris, m., “hunter”;

venator – nm. s XIX.5;

venatorum – g. p XVIII.9.

veneratio, venerationis, f., “respect”;

venerationem – acc. s I.2.

venio, venire, veni, ventum, “come”;

veni – pr. act. imp. 2s X.3;

venimus – pf. act. ind. 1p XII.1;

venisse – pf. act. inf. X.1;

venisset – plp. act. sbj. 3s VII.1;

venisti – pf. act. ind. 2s IV.9;

venite – pr. act. imp. 2p XI.10;

veniunt – pr. act. ind. 3p X.6;

ventum est – pf. pass. ind. 3s VI.2.

verbum, verbi, n., “example, name”;

verbi – g. s III.1;

verbis – ab. p III.1;

verbo – ab. s III.3.

vere, “truly”;

vere – adv. XXI.11.

vereor, vereri, veritus sum, “fear”;

verebatur – ipf. dp. ind. 3s XVI.2.

verutum, veruti, n., “dagger”;

verruta – nm. p IV.3.

vestio, vestire, vestii, vestitum, “clothe, dress, wear”;

vestierunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XII.1;

vestitum – pf. pass. ptl. acc. m. s VIII.1;

vestitus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s X.2.

- vetus**, veteris, “old”;
 veteres – acc. m. p I.5;
 veteribus – ab. n.p. XXI.2
- vexatio**, vexationis, f., “physical violence”;
 vexationis – g. s XX.9.
- vexo**, -are, -avi, -atum, “whip, charge, alarm”;
 vexari – pr. pass. inf. XVIII.9;
 vexati **sunt** – pf. pass. ind. 3p XIX.3;
 vexavit – pf. act. ind. 3s III.3.
- via**, ae, f., “path, road”
 via – ab. s XI.8.
- vicinus**, -a, -um, “neighborhood”;
 vicinas – acc. f. p VI.1.
- victoria**, -ae, f., “victory”;
 victoriae – g. s XVIII.1;
 victoriam – acc. s X.14.
- video**, videre, vidi, visum, “be careful, see, appear, understand”;
 vide – pr. act. imp. 2s IV.6;
 videbunt – fut. act. ind. 3p I.4;
 videretur – ipf. pass. sbj. 3s XX.5.
 viderint – pf. act. sbj. 3p I.3;
 viderunt – pf. act. ind. 3p XI.7;
 vides – pr. act. ind. 2s III.1;
 videtis – pr. act. ind. 2p XVII.2;
 vidisset – plp. act. sbj. 3s XX.6;
 visum est – pf. pass. ind. 3s XIII.7.
- viginti**, indecl., “twenty”;
 viginti – g. p II.3.
- vigor**, vigoris, m., “intensity”;
 vigore – ab. s XVIII.2. For **vigore oculorum** the Greek uses ἐρηγγόρω ὀφθαλμῶ, which suggests “watchfulness” where the Latin suggests “intensity.”
- vinco**, vincere, vici, victum, “defeat”;
 victus – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. s III.3.
- vir**, viri, m., “man”;
 vir – nm. s X.8;
 viri – nm. p XVIII.4.
- virga**, -ae, f., “rod”;
 virga – ab. s VI.5;
 virgam – acc. s X.8.
- viridiarium**, viridiarium, n., “garden”;
 viridiarium – ab. s XI.7.
- viridis**, viride, “green”;
 viridem – acc. s X.8.
- vivo**, vivere, vixi, victum, “live”;
 vivere – pr. act. inf. V.3.
- vivus**, -a, -um, “alive”;
 vivi – nm. m. p XI.9.

- vix**, “with great difficulty”;
 vix – adv. X.4.
- voco**, -are, -avi, -atum, “call”;
 vocant – pr. act. ind. 3p XVII.1;
 vocati – pf. pass. ptl. nm. m. p XXI.11.
- volo**, velle, volui, “want, will”;
 vis – pr. act. ind. 2s XII.7;
 voluisset – plp. act. sbj. 3s XXI.10.
- voluto**, -are, -avi, -atum, “roll”;
 volutantem – pr. act. ptl. acc. m. s X.7.
- votum**, voti, n., “desire”;
 voto – ab. s. XIX.2.
- vox**, vocis, f., “voice”;
 vocem – acc. s XII.2;
 vocis – g. s IV.10;
 vox – nm. s VII.1.
- vulnus**, vulneris, n., “wound”;
 vulneri – d. s XXI.5.
- vultus**, -us, m. “face.”
 vultu – ab.s XII.3.

This page intentionally left blank

INDEX NOMINUM

- Artaxius**—An otherwise unknown African martyr who was burned to death in a persecution preceding the one described in the *Passio*. *Passio*, XI.8
- Aspasius**—Identified as a Greek-speaking priest and teacher. *Passio*, XIII.1
- Dinocrates**—A younger brother of Vibia Perpetua who died as a child of a disfiguring disease. *Passio*, VII.1
- Felicitas**—Slave, catechumen and possible consort (?) of Revocatus who gives birth to an infant girl while in prison. *Passio*, II.1
- Geta (Publius Septimius Geta Augustus)**—The younger son of Septimius Severus, brother of Caracalla and co Emperor with his father and brother from 209. The games in which the martyrs died were celebrated on his birthday. *Passio*, VII.9
- Hilarianus**—Likely one P. Aelius Hilarianus, a member of the *equites* class from Aphrodisias in Caria; procurator of Carthage and acting as prosecutor in the trial of the catechumens. *Passio*, VI.3
- Jocundus**—An otherwise unknown African martyr who was burned to death in a persecution preceding the one described in the *Passio*. *Passio*, XI.8
- Minicius Timinianus**—Recently deceased Proconsul of Africa Proconsularis. He was a descendant of an earlier proconsul for Africa, one T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus ca. 123, PIR⁵ M 623. *Passio*, VI.3
- Optatus**—Identified as a Greek-speaking bishop, whose diocese is never mentioned. *Passio*, XIII.1
- Pomponius**—A Christian deacon who ministers to the catechumens in prison. *Passio*, III.7, VI.7 and X.1

- Pudens**—Pudens is a soldier and holds the rank of *optio*, which, if he were a field officer serving in the army, would make him a junior officer usually subordinate to a centurion. *Passio*, IX.1
- Pudens**—Identified simply as *miles* but a different individual from the man with the same name in *Passio*, IX.1. This Pudens is a Christian, or at the very least someone who believed completely in the righteousness of Saturus and the cause of the martyrs. *Passio*, XX.III
- Quintus**—An otherwise unknown African martyr who was burned to death in a persecution preceding the one described in the *Passio*. *Passio*, XI.8
- Revocatus**—Slave, catechumen and possible consort of Felicity. *Passio*, II.1
- Rusticus**—A catechumen and an unidentified intimate of Perpetua's present at the martyrdom. *Passio*, XX.8
- Saturus**—Freedman, teacher of the catechumens and possibly a native Greek speaker. *Passio*, IV.5
- Secundulus**—Freedman and catechumen who died in prison and not in the amphitheatre with the others. *Passio*, XIV.2
- Saturninus**—Freedman, catechumen and martyr who died in the amphitheatre with Perpetua. *Passio*, II.1
- Saturninus**—An otherwise unknown African martyr who was burned to death in a persecution preceding one described in the *Passio*. *Passio*, XI.8
- Tertius**—A Christian deacon who ministers to the catechumens in prison. *Passio*, III.7
- Vibia Perpetua**—Author of chapters III through X; educated and well-born Roman matron and mother of unnamed boy who she is still nursing. A member of the large and prominent family *Vibii*, attested both in North Africa and in Italy, and a family of some distinction, *Passio*, II.1.

INDEX BIBLICUS ET PATRISTICUS

The books of the Old Testament, followed by those of the New Testament, are listed in Biblical order, with the abbreviations following those in the Preface. Arabic numerals are used for the citations. The chapters and sentences of the Latin *Passio* in which the cited Biblical verses are quoted, or echoed, are listed directly across on the right in roman numerals for the chapters and arabic numerals for the sentences. Direct quotations, of which there are few, are marked with an asterisk.

Old Testament

Gn.
2.21 XX.8
2.8-9 IV.8
3.14 X.7
3.15 IV.4, 7; X.10; XVIII.7
28.12 IV.3
Ex.
3.8 IV.8.
Ezr.
9.3 IX.2
Pss.
16.8–11 I.4
110.1 I.4
Is.
25.8 XII.5

63.11 IV.8
Ez.
7.15 XVI.3
Dn.
7.9 IV.8
Jl.
3.1–2 I.4

Deuterocanonical Books

2 Mc.
7.18 XI.7

New Testament

Mt.
2.6, 31, 33 XX.10

7.13–14 IV.3
 Mk.
 14.27, 29 XX.10
 14.62 I.3
 Lk.
 2.35 XIV.3
 16.26 VII.6
 Jn.
 10.11 IV.8
 11.45 XVII.3
 12.15 X.4
 12.42 XVII.3
 13.34 XX.10
 14.6 XV.3
 15.12, 17 XX.10
 16.24 XIX.1
 19.5 XI.7
 20.25 XX.9
 Acts.
 2.17–18 I.4
 4.4 XVII.3
 5.41 VI.6
 7.21 XV.7
 14.22 XX.10
 16.18 IV.6
 Rom.
 12.3 I.5
 1 Cor.
 12.4–11 I.3
 12.11 I.5
 15.57 XII.7
 16.13 XX.10
 2 Cor.
 2.14 XII.7
 Gal.
 5.1 XVIII.5
 1 Thes.
 4.9 XX.10
 2 Tm.
 4.8 XVII.2
 Heb.
 10.19–25 XV.3
 13.20 IV.8
 13.21 I.6
 1 Jn.
 1.1–3 I.6.
 4.7 XX.10

Jude.
 7 I.1
 Rv.
 1.10 XX.8
 1.14 IV.8; XII.3
 2.7 X.8
 3.20 X.1
 4.4 XII.4, 5
 4.8 XII.2
 5.8 XII.4
 5.13 XXI.11
 6.9 IV.8, 10
 7.9 XII.5
 7.9–14 IV.8, 9
 7.12 XXI.11
 7.13 IV.10
 7.17 XII.5
 9.17 I.5
 11.16 XII.4
 12.3 IV.4
 12.9 IV.4
 12.13 IV.7
 13.1 IV.4
 17.14 XXI.11
 21.18, 21 XII.1
 22.1–10 I.3

Patristic Texts

Did.
 10.1–6 IV.9
1 Clem.
 5.4 I.5
 17.5 X.6
 Barn.
 9.5 X.6
 Ign.
Eph.
 13.1 IV.9
Pol.
 7.3 V.6
Phild.
 9.1 X.1
Rom.
 4.3 XIX.1
 10.1 III.5
 Herm.
 Vis.

1.1.3 X.3
 1.1.8 X.12
 4.1.6 IV.4
 5.1 IV.8
 1.1.3 X.12
 1.1.8 X.12
 Mart. Pol.
 14.2 XX.1
 2.2 I.5
Gosp Mary.
 5.2 X.7
 Justin.
1 Apol.
 14 XVI.2
 66 IV.9
2 Apol.
 7.1 XV.6

Dial.
 69 XVI.2
Ltr. Chr. Lyons and Vienne.
 1.23 X.4
 5.22–24 X.6
Scill. Mart.
 1 VI.2
 Iren.
Haer.
 5.26 I.3
 Clem. Al.
Strom.
 6.14 VII.4
 Hipp.
Trad. ap.
 1 I.3

This page intentionally left blank

GENERAL INDEX

- Aaron, 203, 257
Abbot, T. K., 418
abbreviations
 editing expressions, 103
 manuscript names and sigils, 369*t*
 selected editors, 103
 sources, xv–xxv
Abercius (bishop of Hieropolis), 210
Abraham (Abram), 145, 173, 191, 216,
 350
absolution of sin, by martyrs, 41, 43, 57
abstinence, 175, 329
Acasius (saint), 390
Achelous, 269
Achilles, 215, 347
Acta ad Instantiam, 422
Acta Fructuosi, 179
Acta martyrii, 144, 178
Acta Martyrum, 204, 210, 437, 440, 442
Acta martyrum selecta (Gebhardt), 436
Acta Pauli et Theclae, 253
Acta Perpetuae, xi, 80–81, 148, 370–71, 417,
 431, 435, 441
 Passio and, 442–43
Acta Primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta
 (Ruinart), 433
Acta proconsularia Sancti Cypriani, 438
Acta sanctorum, 431
Acta SS. martyrum Numidarum, 97*n*22, 192
Actele Martirice (Ramureanu), 440
Acts and Paul (Rapske), 231, 315, 319
Acts of John, 223
Acts of Justin and Companions, 8
Acts of Paul and Thecla, 207
Acts of Peter, 288
Acts of St. Cyprian, 245–46
Acts of the Apostles (Acts), 13–14, 139, 141,
 145, 205, 254, 310, 350
The Acts of the Christian Martyrs (Musurillo),
 439
The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and
 Felicitas: The Original Greek Text
 (Harris and Gifford), 435
Acts of the Martyrs, 140, 161
Adam, 37, 41, 66, 169, 284
ad bestias condemnation, 24, 28, 40, 52
Additions to Esther (Add Est), 139
Adeodatus, 243

Ad Herennium, 10

Ad Martyras (Mart.) (Tertullian), 21, 57,
71–72, 161, 166, 194, 196–97, 230, 241,
245, 249, 274, 275, 284, 305

adolescentes, 21, 67, 149, 262, 374, 415

Ad Scapulam (*Scap.*) (Tertullian), 84,
200

adult baptism, 154–55

adultery, 339, 344

Ad Uxorem (*Ad Ux.*) (Tertullian), 23, 328

Adversus Judaeos (*Adv. Jud.*) (Cyprian), 175,
213, 275

Adversus Marcionem (*Marc.*) (Tertullian),
37n52, 143–44, 162, 256, 312

Aedes Vestae, 33

aedificationem, 104, 124, 139–40, 367

Aelius Hilarianus, P. *See* Hilarianus

Aeneas, 215

Aeneis (*Aen.*) (Virgil), 68, 189, 215–17, 223,
233, 239

Aeschylus, 346

Aethiopica (*Aeth.*) (Heliodorus), 261

Africa. *See* Roman Africa

Africa Proconsularis, 85, 87, 220, 330

afterlife. *See also* Hades

Elysian Fields, 236, 239, 298

hell, 214, 223

proto-purgatory, 53, 214, 222

purgatory, 54, 209, 236

underworld, 68, 223

Agape (daughter of Sophia), xi

agape banquet, 158, 181, 320–22

Agathonice, 282

Agnes (saint), 347

agon, 94, 245, 262–63

agriculture, 25

Agrippa, 317

Agrippina Maior, 151, 247

Agrippinus (bishop), 12, 40, 55–56, 293

Akkermans, Arie, 441

Albinus (saint), 390

Alexander to Actium (Green), 53, 212

allegorical themes, 93, 168, 249–50, 274, 296,
344

Christian, 149, 239, 271, 275–76

in names, 149, 305

alliteration, 189, 269, 272, 322, 328, 329

negative parallel, 360

oxymoronic, 317

Amat, Jacqueline (Am.), xi–xii, 80, 100–101,
137, 139–40, 143, 162, 178–79, 181–82,
277, 279, 290, 310, 348, 367, 369, 371,
436, 439, 441

Ambrose, 173, 191, 216, 244, 347

Ambrosiana C 210 manuscript (MS A)

description of, 381, 381–85

references to, 91, 101, 102, 199, 231, 279,
372, 434, 442

Amen, 183

amphitheatres, 75–77, 86, 224–25, 362

in dream, 229, 248, 251

Gate of Victory, 271

gates of life and death, 130, 134, 249, 251,
254, 271, 342, 348, 352, 356

Porta Libitinensis, 271, 356–57

Porta Sanavivariam, 113, 122, 271, 348,
356–57

in Roman Carthage, 138, 161, 209, 259, 271,
282, 324, 337, 340, 356

amphora, 304

amulets, magical, 361

anacoenosis, 10

Analecta Bollandiana, 384

anathema, 196, 199

Anchises, 215

The Ancient Church as Family (Hellerman),
67n22

Ancient of Days, 288

angels, 239. *See also specific angels*

hierarchy of, 280

of Jacob's ladder, 173

as Nike/Victory syncretistic imagery, 276

of Sator's dream, 130–31, 273–74, 276–77,
280, 284–86, 373

Anguipede, 361

animus, 91, 189, 231, 363

Annales Nicholai Trevet a Rege Stephano, 414

annulment, 148

anointing, with oil, 159, 263

Ante Pacem (Snyder), 158

anthypophora, 11–12

anti-female faction, of Christianity, 262

Antigone, 215

Antonia Augusta, 32

- Antonia Minor, 151
 Antonine Baths, 198, 221
 aorist tense, 144, 161, 173, 333, 337
Apocalypse of Moses, 280, 439
Apocalypse of Peter, 139, 216, 296, 435
 apocalyptic imagery, 93, 180–81, 184, 285, 287
Apologeticum (Apol.) (Tertullian), 198, 211, 217, 226, 245, 304, 316, 319, 322, 326, 332, 337, 351
Apologia (Apol.) (Apuleius), 282, 361
1 Apologia (1 Apol.) (Justin Martyr), 155, 157, 270, 289, 316, 334, 363
2 Apologia (2 Apol.) (Justin Martyr), 309
 apostasy, 184, 248, 272, 300, 302, 308, 352
 Apostles' Creed, 146
apostrophe, 13, 250
 Apuleius (Apul.), 15, 312
 Apologia (Apol.), 282, 361
 Metamorphoses (Met.), 33n45, 214, 216, 217, 237, 261, 273, 286, 331, 360
Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 385
 Arians, 275
 Aristarchus, 246
 Aristides, 312
 Aristophanes, 263
 Aristotle, 9
 cosmology of, 277
 Arrianus, 264
 Arrius Pudens, L., 357
 arsonists, 282
 Artaxius, 54–55, 131, 281
 Artemidorus, 27, 53
Ascension of Isaiah, 439
Ascent to Heaven (Himmelfarb), 277
 Asclepius, 347, 360, 361
 Ashburnham House, 372–73, 408, 417
 Aspasius (priest)
 in commentary, 182, 291, 294, 297
 in English translation, 131
 overview of, 12, 23, 42–43, 55–58, 80n4
 Aspasius of Biblus, 57
 Aspasius of Ravenna, 57
 Astarte, 331
 Atalanta, 266–67
 Attic figure pottery, 263, 269
Atti dei martiri (Caldarelli), 440
Atti dei martiri (Vannutelli), 438
 Attis cult, 350
 Auerbach, Erich, 74
 Augustine (saint), 45, 144, 335
 City of God, 288
 Confessions, 4, 15, 166, 213, 363
 Contra Faustum (Faust.), 255
 De Anima et eius Origine (Orig. An.), 222, 233
 Ennarationes in Psalmos (Enn. Ps.), 97n22, 382
 gender roles and, 6
 mention of martyrs of *Passio* by, 49n70, 82, 138
 Sermones (Serm.), 143, 159, 170, 179, 203, 365
 Augustus (emperor), 95, 256, 339
Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Philologische, 384
Ausgewählte Märtyreracten (Knopf), 436
 authority
 charism over, 291–93
 church, 11–12, 56–57
 civil vs. spiritual, 310–21
 of martyrs, 291–92
 Pauline, 57
 Perpetua's public assumption of, 237–48
 spiritual, 262
 autograph version, of *Passio*, 374, 375f
 Azariah, 283

 Baal, 33n45, 304, 326
 Baal-Hammon, 330–31
 Bacchus, 322
 Balbina, xi
 Balling, Jakob, 441
 baptism, 49, 58, 72, 149, 159
 of adults, 154–55
 of blood, 359
 by immersion, 221, 263
 Paul on, 160
 baptismal fonts, 221–22, 234
 baptisteries, 155
 Bardo Museum (Tunis), 24n24, 155, 266
 Bar-Joseph, 316
 Barlow, Thomas, 411
 Barnes, Timothy D., 55, 67, 201, 307, 441
 Barton, Carlin A., 268, 325, 332
basiare, 190

- Bassius, 365
- Bastiaensen, A. A. R. (Bas.), xi, 80n4, 100–101, 141–42, 146, 235, 359, 363–64, 438–41
- Bastiaensen, Toon, 441
- Bauman, Richard A., 63n9, 92n16, 201
- Baylie, Richard, 411
- bears, 133–34, 335, 337–38, 433
- beatissimum*, 116, 300–301
- Bechetus, James, 382, 384
- Becker, Gustav, 442–43
- Bell, William, 411
- benedicti*, 48
- Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Corneille, 373, 394–95, 434
- Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall, 370, 385
- Beneventan script, 371, 375, 380
- Bethesda pool, 221, 233
- Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum manusccriptorum nova* (Montfaucon), 384
- Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Hemidecas ad Eminentissimum Principem* (Boscha), 384
- Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, 417
- Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, 384
- Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 17626 manuscript (MS P)
description of, 394–98, 395, 433
references to, 101, 102, 173, 199, 218, 259, 263, 279, 286, 298, 373
- Bidstrup, Ulla Morre, 441
- Bieler, Ludwig, 398
- bilingualism, 296
- Bindley, T. Herbert, xi, 436
- Birley, Anthony R., 62n6, 84n7, 89, 200, 243–44, 318
- bishops
Council of Carthage, 13, 40n56, 55–56, 293–94
role of, 12, 56, 183, 294
- Blaise, A., 67n20, 234
- Blandina, xi, 283, 327, 335, 345
- blood
baptism of, 359
sacrifice, 300, 359, 361
sports, 29, 69, 306, 339
- BN Latin 17626 MS. *See* Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 17626 manuscript
- Bodleian Library, 370, 411–12
- Bollandists, 372, 382, 384, 417, 431, 435
- Bomgardner, D. L., 68n24, 349, 362
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, 4
- Boniface (pope) VIII or IX, 390
- Book of Enoch*, 274, 276
- Book of Henoch*, 439
- Borromeo, Federico, 385
- Boscha, Petrus Paulus, 384
- Bradley, Keith R., 205
Roman Family, 19n16, 21n18, 22n21, 27n32, 164
Slaves and Masters, 19n15
- Brammung, Torben, 441
- Braun, R., 141, 347, 350
- breast-feeding, 194
by Felicity, 339
by Perpetua, 20, 44, 126, 147, 151, 154, 164, 196, 205–7
wet nurses, 147, 164, 205
- Bremmer, Jan M., 81, 175, 187, 191, 347
- bribery, 48, 126, 154, 163, 342
- bronze, 127, 173, 185, 258
- Brown, Colin, 296
- Bruckner, Albert, 388, 390, 394
- Brutus, 10
- bull imagery, 176, 269, 344–45
- Bureba, 174, 180
- burial customs, 240
- Byrsa Hill, 52–53, 194, 198, 258–59, 324
- caduceus, 258
- Caesar. *See* Julius Caesar
- Caldarelli, Giuliana, 440
- calendars, 64n10, 373
anomalies in, 407–8, 417
liturgical, 385, 399, 404–8, 410, 413–14, 418, 423
Philocalian, 65
rubricated, 390
- Calixtus, 180
- Cambridge University Library, ix
- Campos, Julio (Cam.), 439
- cancer, 68, 128–29, 209–10, 218–20
- cannibalism, 85
- canon
compared with prophecy, 10–15, 136–37

- of Mass, 254
 scriptural canonicity, 11–14
- Cantarella, Eva, 442
- Canterbury Lit. E. 42 manuscript (MS C), 102, 103, 222, 263
 description of, 418–26, 419
 Modern Conservation of, 375, 422, 425
- capital crimes, 24, 49, 204, 339
- Caracalla (emperor), 49–51, 69n26, 73–74, 226, 307
 edict of 212 by, 51, 63n9, 68, 86–87, 201
 elevation to Augustus, 73, 77, 86
- Caroline script, 370, 375, 380, 381
 Italian, 384
- Carthage. *See* Roman Carthage
- Carthage Museum, 138
- Cassius Dio (Cass. Dio), 69n25, 69n27, 70, 87, 226, 237, 318
- castra*, 224, 245
- catacombs, 173, 210
 of Calixtus, 180
 of Domitilla, 251
 Priscilla, 95, 256–57, 265
 of St. Sebastian, 266
 on Via Salaria Nova, 265
- Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Becker), 442–43
- Catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts* (Smith, T.), 416
- Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Library* (Planta), 417
- Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Smith, T.), 408, 417
- catasta*, 97, 187, 194–95, 198–99, 202, 205–6, 433
 to display slaves, 97n22, 174, 191–92
- catechumens, of *Passio*, 19, 21–22, 57, 147, 149
 house arrest of, 4, 35–36, 99, 153–55, 159–60, 163, 178, 186
- Catholicism, of Roman Africa, 14, 16, 148, 290
- Cato, 26, 335
- Catullus, 187, 190
- Celerinus, 231, 275, 318
- Celsus, 39, 218, 237, 316
- cena libera*, 320, 322
- centurions, 52, 88, 226, 243
- Ceres, 33, 133, 326, 331, 345
- Ceruti, A., 384, 385
- Chaldean Oracles, 312
- charism, over authority, 291–93
- charisma, 245
 gift of, 42, 57
 prophecy and, 10, 12, 14, 273
- Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem* (Clark), 430
- cheese, 127, 169, 182–83, 270, 436
- cherubim, 276
- Chiarini, Giachino, 440
- children
 custody of, 27–28, 31n41, 165, 304–5
 obedience of, 26–27
 of slavery, 306–7
- chiliarch, 89, 224, 243, 315
- Christian allegorical themes, 149, 239, 271, 275–76
- Christiana/us sum*, 65, 109, 202
- Christian diaspora, 237
- Christian identity, 28, 35, 37, 39–40, 43
- Christianity
 anti-female faction of, 262
 Catholicism, of Roman Africa, 14, 16, 148, 290
 conversion to, 49, 61, 64, 70, 71, 95, 148, 171, 184, 303
 gender roles in, 39–43
 prayer in, 208, 211
 as *religio illicita*, 29, 39, 46, 85
 in Roman Africa, 16, 39–40, 137
 in Roman Carthage, 28, 192–93, 238, 329
- Christianity and Western Thought* (Brown), 296
- 1 - 2 Chronicles (1 - 2 Chr), 279, 297
- Chrysostom (Chrys.), 267, 427
- chthonic forces, 174, 269
- church authority, 11–12, 56–57
- Church of the Holy Sepulcher Library, xii
- Cicero, 15, 44, 143, 150, 158, 163, 236
De Re Publica (Rep.), 90, 228, 230, 273
- Cintinus, 282
- Cipriani, Renata, 384
- circular stocks, 231

- Circumcellions, 290
citizenship, 51, 63n9, 149, 201, 204
City of God (Augustine), 288
civil service, Roman, 15
civil vs. spiritual authority, 310–21
civitas sine suffragio rank, 24, 51, 63n9, 201
Clark, Kenneth W., 430
Clarke, Graham, 54
Claudia, 243
Claudius (emperor), 69n25, 226, 318, 342
Claudius Hermes (saint), 266
Claudius Marcellus, M., 245
Clement of Alexandria, 216, 248, 267
Clement of Rome, 267
Codex Hierosolymitanus. *See* Jerusalem 1
manuscript
Codex Oxoniensis Fell, 370
Codici Miniati dell' Ambrosiana, 384
Codicum casinensium Manuscriptorum cura et studio Monachorum S. Benedicti, 381
cognitio extra ordinem procedure, of Roman
Empire, 50, 64n11, 92, 157, 195
cognomen, 19–20, 48, 149–50
cohabitation, 176
Colin, J., 69n25
Colker, Marvin L., 418
Colosseum, 323
Colossians (Col), 153, 246, 267, 332
Columella, 161, 178, 231
Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis (*Comm. Jo.*) (Origen), 264
Commodianus, 159, 218
Commodus (emperor), 69n28, 196, 225, 337
Das Commune Sanctorum in den Missale-Handschriften und vortridentinischen Drucken der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln (Lang), 394
communio sanctorum, 146–47
Concordius, Fl., 158
confession, of faith, 154, 155
public, 97n22, 185, 192–93
Confessions (*Conf.*) (Augustine), 4, 15, 166, 213, 363
conlaboro, 112, 260
conscientia, 27
conserua (slaves), 19, 25, 142, 147, 149
consolation, literature of, 4, 137
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (emperor), 430
constricto, 91, 231
Contra Celsum (*Cont. Cel.*) (Origen), 39, 351
Contra Faustum (*Faust.*) (Augustine), 255
conversion
to Christianity, 49, 61, 64, 70, 71, 95, 148, 171, 184, 303
dangers of, 302
of Felicity, 303
of guard, 319
to Judaism, 61, 64, 70, 71, 171
of Perpetua, 25, 27, 36–37, 40, 45–46, 51, 187, 214, 238
of Rusticus, 349
Corbeill, Anthony, 247, 267
1 Corinthians (1 Cor), 16, 82, 139, 144, 146, 149, 154, 209, 216, 246, 322, 332–33, 350, 351
2 Corinthians (2 Cor), 82, 213, 218, 277, 298, 350
Cornelia, 150
Corpus Inscriptionum (Vermaseren), 176
Corti, Maria, 441
cosmology, Aristotelian, 277
Cotton, Robert, 372, 399, 404, 409, 413–14, 418
Cotton Nero E.1, pt.1 manuscript (MS N), 100–102, 213, 412, 420, 426
description of, 398–409, 399
Cotton Otho BL D.viii manuscript (MS O), 100–103, 203, 372–73, 397
description of, 413, 413–18
Council of Carthage, 40n56, 55–56, 293–94
Courcelle, P., 258–59
cow, mad, 58, 134, 176, 271, 338–39, 344
Cox Miller, Patricia, 142, 174, 216, 248
Craster, H. H. E., 412
crastina die, 106, 172–73, 197
Cratylus (*Cra.*) (Plato), 26, 38, 156
cremation, 279, 326
Creon, 215
Crito, 347
Cronus as Saturn syncretism, 330–31
crucifixion
as punishment, 145, 150
symbolism of, 261, 271, 304, 309

cults

- of Attis, 350
- of Isis, 350
- of martyrs, 335
- mystery, 174
- Punic, 33n45, 326, 330–31
- of saints, 139
- of Tanit, 304, 326, 331
- women and, 33

Cuperi, Gisberti, 338, 433

curiales, 24, 26, 35

custody, of children, 27–28, 31n41, 165, 304–5

cypress tree symbolism, 279

Cyprian (Cyp.), 40n56, 154, 162, 171, 179

Adversus Judaeos (Adv. Jud.), 175, 213, 275*De Lapsis (Laps.)*, 145, 217*De Laude Martyrii (Laud. Mart.)*, 317*De Unitate Ecclesiae*, 56*Epistulae (Ep.)*, 55, 97n22, 231, 275, 294, 301, 318, 337, 359, 366–67, 375

Cyril of Jerusalem, 160

Cyrus (bishop), 294

dalmatic, 95, 256

damnatio memoriae, against Geta Caesar, 68, 69n26, 86–87, 226

Daniel, 215, 318

Daniel (Dn), 139, 180, 254, 283, 285, 287–88, 296

dates

- of composition of *Passio*, 66–67, 78, 137
- of *Passio* manuscripts, 60–62
- of *Passio* martyrdoms, 62–65, 78
- of R, 67

David, 247, 303

Davies, J. G., 48

Dea Caelestis, 331

Deacon Apollonius (saint), 390

deaconesses, 41

deacons, 48, 162

Dean, R. J., 418

De Anima et eius Origine (Orig. An.)
(Augustine), 222, 233*De Antichristo*, 391

death

- without fear, 338–52
- martyrdom and, 268, 284

pallor of, 229

salvation and, 184–85, 193

De Baptismo (De Bapt.) (Tertullian), 57, 149, 154–55, 167, 222, 329, 336, 359

Deborah, 250

de' Cavalieri. *See* Franchi de' Cavalieri, Pius

Decian persecution, 196

Decius, 72n38, 138

De Corona Militis (Cor.) (Tertullian), 169, 183, 202, 216, 281, 294–95, 352*De Cultu Feminarum (De Cultu Fem.)*
(Tertullian), 40–42*decuriones*, 88, 150, 243, 282*De Die Iudicii*, 391*De Exhortatione Castitatis (Exh. Cast.)*
(Tertullian), 41, 178*De Fuga in Persecutione* (Tertullian), 159, 161–62, 178, 276, 329*De Ieiunio (Iei.)* (Tertullian), 66, 270, 349–50

Deinokrates of Rhodes, 53, 212

De Lapsis (Laps.) (Cyprian), 145, 217*De Laude Martyrii (Laud. Mart.)* (Cyprian), 317

Delehaye, Hippolyte, 140

delicata, 119, 121, 325, 328, 345

Delisle, Leopold, 396, 398

De Martyribus Hyacinthi et Eugeniae, 382

Demeter, 331

Demetrius, 361

demonic influence, 29, 259, 268–69, 298, 316, 344, 366

De Monogamia (De Monog.) (Tertullian), 159, 216, 329*De Mortibus Persecutorum* (Lactantius), 432

den Boeft, Jan, 187, 191

Denholm-Young, N., 412

Deogratias (bishop), 290

De Oratione (Or.) (Tertullian), 308, 336, 363–64*De Origene*, 391*De Pallio (De Pal.)* (Tertullian), 264, 268–69*Depositio Martyrum*, 65, 318*De Pudicitia (Pud.)* (Tertullian), 180, 317, 360*De Re Publica (Rep.)* (Cicero), 90, 228, 230, 273*De Resurrectione Carnis (Res.)* (Tertullian), 239

- Desiderius (abbot), 371
De Spectaculis (De Spect.) (Tertullian), 179, 246, 259, 269, 366
De Testimonio Animae (De Anim.) (Tertullian), 42, 62, 66–67, 87, 142, 152, 159, 169, 192, 253, 297, 301, 307, 317, 331, 431
De Unitate Ecclesiae (Cyprian), 56
 devil imagery, 94, 249, 261–62, 344–45
De Vita Actibusque Sancti Bonifacii Archiepiscopi, 387
De Vita vel Miraculis Venerabilis Benedicti, 396
Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo (Dial.) (Justin Martyr), 255
diastema, 110, 221
 Dickey, Eleanor, 170, 182, 301
 Dido, 233
dies lustricus, 206
 Dinocrates
 in commentary, 152, 164, 207, 208, 228–30, 233–34, 236, 238–41, 247, 308, 319
 in English translation, 128–29
 overview of, 22–23, 28, 53–54
 Perpetua's dreams of, 68–69, 74–76, 172, 207, 209–12, 214–23, 228–30, 255, 290, 371, 436
 Dio Cassius. *See* Cassius Dio
 Diocletian (emperor), 55
 Diodorus Siculus, 348
Diseases (Grmek), 220
Divi Caecili Libellus unus Fortunatum, 379
 divorce, 27, 30–31, 148, 165, 185, 442
Divus Augustus (Aug.) (Suetonius), 225, 256
Divus Iulius (Iul.) (Suetonius), 266, 323
Divus Vespasianus (Vesp.) (Suetonius), 265
 Docetists, 145
 Dodwell, Henry, 432
 Dölger, F. J., 179, 216, 217, 359
dominam, 108, 170, 190
domina soror, 170
dominica potestas, 165
 Domitian (emperor), 50
 Domitilla, catacombs of, 251
domus, in Roman Carthage, 19–21, 30
 Donaldson, James, 437, 438
 Donatists, 290
 Donatist Circumcellions, 366
 Donatus (bishop), 294
 Dorothy (saint), 390
 double accusative, 256, 286
 dowry, 24, 27, 31
 doxologies
 liturgical, 183, 287
 narrative, 139, 183, 336, 356, 366, 434
draco, 107, 176, 178–79, 261
 dragon
 of dream, 174, 265
 of Revelation, 168, 176, 179, 261, 279
 Drake, H. A., 47
 dreams
 amphitheaters in, 229, 248, 251
 dragon of, 174, 265
 Good Shepherd in, 167, 169, 180–84, 287
 Jungian dream interpretation, 248–49, 438
 as narrative, 167–69
 Perpetua's dream of wrestling match, 129–30, 248–72, 332
 Perpetua's dreams of Dinocrates, 68–69, 74–76, 172, 207, 209–12, 214–23, 228–30, 255, 290, 371, 436
 Perpetua's ladder to Paradise, 47, 127, 167–69, 173–81, 184–85, 210, 252, 264, 269, 355, 364
 Saturus's, angels in, 130–31, 273–74, 276–77, 280, 284–86, 373
 Saturus's, of heavenly city, 130–31, 272–85
 serpent of, 127, 174, 176, 178–79, 199, 269–70
 time of day for, 92, 227–28
 visions and, 272–73
Dreams (Cox Miller), 142, 174, 216, 248
 Dronke, Peter, xi, 440
 Drusus, 151
 dualism, 297
 Du Cange, C. du F., 159

The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200 (Gameson), 419
The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library (Tite), 409, 418
ecce sunt, 114, 280
 Ecgwin (saint), 400, 402, 406
 ecstasy, 134, 212, 233, 343, 349, 364
 ecstatic prayer, 312, 350
 ecstatic prophecy, 14, 30, 41–42, 57, 350

- editing expressions, abbreviations for, 103
 editors, abbreviations for, 369*f*
 education
 of Perpetua, 32, 36, 38–39, 150–51, 182, 212
 in Roman Africa, 15
 of women, x, 23, 32–34, 150–51, 156
 Egyptian wrestler imagery, as Satan, 249, 252, 261, 332
 Einsiedeln 250 manuscript (MS E), 137, 286
 description of, 389, 389–94
 Elagabalus (emperor), 98, 227
 Eleazar, 145
 Elect, 155, 158, 185, 315, 367
Elegiae (Eleg.) (Tibullus), 217
 Elihu, 215
 Elijah, 209, 361
 elite women, 30–31, 33, 47, 164, 237
 Elpis, xi
 Elysian Fields, 236, 239, 298
 emperor
 genius of, 86, 171, 196, 199, 202, 298
 as synecdoche for Empire, 202
 worship of, 157, 163, 195–96, 201–2, 309
Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta (HA) (Syme), 19n15, 69n26, 70, 71
Emperor Worship (Gradel), 196
encomium, 28, 57
 encratic culture, 175
 end times, 42, 137
 Ennabli, Lilliane, 138
Ennarationes in Psalmos (Enn. Ps.) (Augustine), 97n22, 382
 Enoch, 276
 Epaeetus (bishop), 40n56, 294
 Ephesians (Eph), 96, 332
 Epictetus, 335
 Epicureans, 214
 epideictic rhetoric, 9, 250, 340
 episcopacy, monarchial, 11–12, 40, 48, 56
Epistle of Polycarp, 334
The Epistle of the Gallican Churches: Lugdunum and Vienna (Bindley), 436
Epistle to Diognetus, 139
Epistola Chromati, et Helidori, ad Ierominum, 391
Epistola Herodis, 391
 epistolary tradition, 4, 7
Epistulae (Ep.) (Cyprian), 55, 97n22, 231, 275, 294, 301, 318, 337, 359, 366–67, 375
Epistulae (Ep.) (Seneca the Younger), 267, 362–63, 365
Epitoma Chronicon (Prosper of Aquitaine), 65
equites (equestrian class), 61, 84n7, 95, 97, 150, 256, 265, 331
 Ermann, J., 51n78, 63n9, 201
erotema (question), 10–11
 erotic imagery, 93–94, 251, 262–63, 345
 Esau, 173
 eschatological imagery, 47, 93, 141, 167, 184, 230
 eternal life, 10, 29, 168, 175, 271
 eternal present, 173
 Eucharist, 58, 149, 181, 183, 270, 294, 320
 Euodia, xi, 237
 euphemisms, 190, 213
 Euripides, x, 346, 347
 Eusebius, 64, 71–72, 327, 433
 Eve, 41, 179, 269, 280, 284, 377
 evil, 176, 178–79, 249–50, 261
 eye, 363
 spirits, 270, 316, 366
 Eward, Susan, 412
exempla, 138–40, 146
Exhortatio ad Martyrium (Exh. Mart.) (Origen), 270, 272, 359
exitus illustrium virorum, 4, 250
 Exodus (Ex), 254, 257, 261
exomis, 95, 256
 exorcism, 263, 270, 312
 by Jews, 316
 Paul and, 366
exordium, 8–16, 250
exerior, 183, 271
Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord (Papias), 314
 extortion, 126, 162–63
 eye symbolism, 363
 Ezekiel (Ez), 261, 276, 279, 318
 Ezra (Ezr), 247
 Fabian Laws, 50
 Fabius Rusticus, 342

- faith, through hearing, 146
 Falconilla, 207
familia, 19–23, 27
 family, as impediment to salvation, 46
 Fannius, 214
Fasti Africani (Thomasson), 63n8, 201
 fasting, 154
 father of Perpetua, 22–28, 35–38, 51, 97–99
 beaten by Hilarianus, 26, 98, 128, 150, 196,
 202–4, 242, 372
 in commentary, 138, 148, 151–58, 164–65,
 174, 180–92, 195–96, 199–208, 211,
 237–38, 241–50, 328
 in English translation, 126–29
 as synecdoche for *mos maiorum*, 185
 Felicity
 breast feeding by, 339
 in commentary, 142, 147, 149, 172, 176,
 253–55, 260, 299, 302–10, 317, 320,
 323–25, 331, 338–45, 347–48, 353, 355,
 358, 364
 conversion of, 303
 in English translation, 126, 132–34
 manuscript issues, 373, 427, 429, 431,
 436–38, 440
 overview of, 6, 8, 17–20, 24
 pregnancy of, 19, 22, 132, 302–4, 306, 373
 slave status of, 25, 142, 147, 302–3, 307
 as synecdoche for empowerment, 303
 Fell, John (Fel.), 370, 410–12, 432–33
 Ferrari, Merrile, 385
Festa Salvatoris Nostri, 391
 Festus, 317
fiala, 111, 156, 234–35
fideicommissum, 117, 310, 314
 figure pottery, 263, 269
filoli, 14, 67, 104, 137, 146, 319
 first-person authorship, 5
 Flaccus, C., 307
 Flavian, 166
 Flavius Philostratus, Lucius, 32
 Focus (saint), 390
 Fontaine, Jacques, 140, 174
 Formisano, Marco, 141, 170, 182, 270
 La passione di Perpetua e Felicita, 81n4, 442
formula, 64n11, 92–93, 195
 forty martyrs of Sebaste, 270
 forum, in Roman Carthage, 198
 Fox, R. Lane, 80
 Franchi de' Cavalieri, Pius (Fra.), 100, 101, 174,
 435–39
fratres, 14, 67, 137, 146, 218, 319
 freedmen, 20, 46–47, 150
Frescoes (Weitzmann and Kessler), 175
 Fridh, Ake, 47, 80n4, 151, 290
 Fructosus (bishop), 283
Frühchristliche Apologeten und Märtyrerakten,
 436–37
 funeral banquet, 220
 funeral depictions, 24, 95, 173, 185, 277, 279

 Gabriel (angel), 285
 Gaius, 204
Gaius Caligula (Calig.) (Suetonius), 69n28,
 213, 225, 261, 337, 338
 Galatians (Gal), 142, 262, 315
 Galen, 218
 Galerius Maximus, 246
 Gallandius, Andrea, 412, 434
 Gallican liturgy, 287
gallicula, 94, 111–12, 257–58, 266
 Gallienus (emperor), 138
 games, 29
 for Geta's birthday, 68–70, 72, 75–78,
 84–85, 87, 129, 132, 137, 210, 225–26,
 317, 333, 356
 gladiatorial, 69, 175, 224–26, 249
 Pythian, 80n4
 traditional, for emperors' birthdays, 69n25
 Gameson, Richard, 409, 419–21, 424, 426
 *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral:
 Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200*,
 419
 The Manuscripts of Early Norman England,
 409, 418, 426
 gangrene, 68, 218, 220
 Garamantes, campaign against, 70, 87, 225
 Garden of Eden, 274, 276
 Garnsey, Peter D., 63n9, 150, 201
 gates, of amphitheaters
 Gate of Victory, 271
 of life and death, 130, 134, 249, 251, 254,
 271, 342, 348, 352, 356
 Porta Libitinensis, 271, 356–57

- Porta Sanavivariam*, 113, 122, 271, 348, 356–57
- Gates of Heaven, 291, 293, 297
- Gates of Hell, 223
- Gaudentius of Thamugadi, 366
- Gebhardt, Oscar V. (Geb.), 436, 441
- Gehenna, 217
- gender roles
- Augustine and, 6
 - in Christianity, 39–43
 - gendered transformations, 94
 - prophecy and, 41
 - in Roman Carthage, 32–35
 - soul and, 41
- Genesis (Gn.), 41, 139, 173, 350
- serpent of, 168, 176, 179, 252, 269
- Gengaro, Maria Louisa, 384
- genius, of emperor, 86, 171, 196, 199, 202, 298
- gens, 21
- Genseric (king), 275
- Germanicus, 151
- Germanus of Paris, 287
- Gesta Sancti Germanii Episcopi*, 388
- gestures, 133, 242, 247, 326, 332–33, 347
- Geta Caesar (Septimius Geta, Publius), 62, 68–78
- damnatio memoriae* against, 68, 69n26, 86–87, 226
 - elevation to Augustus, 73, 77, 86
 - in English translation, 129
 - games on birthday of, 68–70, 72, 75–78, 84–85, 87, 129, 132, 137, 210, 225–26, 317, 333, 356
 - Septimius Severus and, 69n26, 86, 201, 210, 225
- Geyer (Gey.), 103
- Gifford, S. K., 435
- gladiatorial games, 69, 175, 224–26, 249
- gladiators, 322, 329, 338, 364–65
- oath of, 332
- gladius*, 112, 123, 267–68, 365
- glossators, 403–4
- glossolalia, 139, 312
- Gnosticism, 16, 157, 239, 249, 253, 262, 297
- God
- as Ancient of Days, 288
 - intuition from, 222, 229, 260
 - throne of, 4, 131, 181, 276, 280–81, 284, 286
 - transcendent, 30, 288
- golden apples, of Hesperides, 94, 265, 267
- golden bowl symbolism, 235
- Goliath, 303
- Good Shepherd
- of dream, 167, 169, 180–84, 287
 - Jesus Christ as, 94–95, 256
 - milking anecdote, 182–83, 436, 438, 440, 441
- Gorgias, 223
- Gospel of Mary (Gosp Mary)*, 262
- Gospel of Peter*, 323
- Gospel of Thomas*, 262, 287
- Gottlieb, Theodor, 443
- Grabar, Andre, 266, 277
- grace
- divine, 144
 - special, 207, 230
 - state of, 213, 233
- Gradel, Ittai, 196
- Grapte, 45
- Greco-Roman religion, 95, 249
- Greek culture, 23
- Greek language
- Passio* in. See Jerusalem 1 manuscript
 - Perpetua's fluency in, 23, 26, 131, 182, 292, 296
 - in Roman Carthage, 23, 26, 38, 47, 182
 - text of *Passio*, 445–55
- Green, Peter, 53, 212
- grief, 242, 247
- Grmek, Mirko, 220
- Gusman, Pierre, 91n14, 231
- Guthlac (saint), 405
- HA. See Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta*
- Habermehl, Peter, 174, 347, 431, 441
- Hades, 28, 53–54, 66, 68, 214
- classical, 215
 - Gehenna, 217
 - Sheol, 215–16
- Hadot, Pierre, 175
- Hadrian (emperor), 49, 57, 84n7, 199, 306
- Mausoleum of, 227

- hagiographies, ix–x, 83, 365, 442
 normative, xi
 Halporn, J. W. (Hal.), 80n4, 182, 225, 290, 322,
 350, 365, 440
 Halsall, Paul, xi
 Hamman, A. G., 80n4, 159, 344, 358, 439
 Hananiah, 283
 hands. *See* scripts
Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek
 St. Gallen (von Scarpatetti), 389
 Harris, J. Rendel (Har.), 61, 61n4, 79–80, 435
 Hassett, M., 294
 healing ministry, 42, 221, 227, 361
 heavenly city, Satorus's dream of, 130–31,
 272–85
 Hebrews (Heb), 203, 263, 276, 308, 359
Hecuba (Euripides), x, 348
Heinrich von Ligerz Bibliothekar von
 Einsiedeln im 14. Jahrhundert (Meier),
 394
 Hekhaloth literature, 276
 Heliodorus, 261
 Heliogabalus (emperor), 266
 Helios, 235
 hell, 214, 223
 Hellenes, 212
 Hellenism, 212, 221
 Hellenophiles, 208, 212
 Hellerman, J., 67n22
 Helva, 156
 Hera, 174
 Hercules, 94, 235, 265, 267, 269, 337
 Hermas. *See* Shepherd of Hermas
 Hermes, 94, 257–58, 266
 Hermogenes, 26, 156
 Herod, 96, 257
 Herodian, 73, 86, 337
 Hesiod, 330
 Hesperides, golden apples of, 94, 265, 267
hetairia, 16, 72
Hierosolymitike Bibliothek etoi Katalogos ton
 en tais Bibliothekais (Papadopoulos-
 Kerameus), 430
 Hilarianus (P. Aelius Hilarianus), 16, 18, 24, 61,
 64, 72, 75
 background of, 49–50, 62n6, 84n7, 85,
 92–93, 200
 beating father of Perpetua, 26, 98, 128, 150,
 196, 202–4, 242, 372
 in commentary, 172, 192, 196, 199–204,
 222, 237, 261, 326, 332–33, 355–56
 in English translation, 128, 133
 Himmelfarb, Martha, 277
 Hippolytus (Hipp.), 11, 40n56, 67n20, 145,
 149, 154, 263, 270, 289, 294, 329
 Hippomenes, 267
History of Barlaam and Josaphat, 281
A History of the Ambrosiana (Paredi), 385
 Holder, Albert, 442
 holocaust offerings, 313, 363
 Holstenius, Lucas (Hol.), 100, 371–72, 412,
 431–36
 Holy Spirit, 329
 gifts of, 30, 41–42
 intercession by, 308
 mandate for writing of text, 132, 310, 314
 ministry of, 136
 ongoing revelation of, 11–14, 42, 54, 77, 136,
 367
 holy trust, 310–12
 Homer, 32, 215
Homiliae in Exodum (*Hom. Ex.*) (Origen), 142
honestiores class, 21, 24, 35, 147, 149–50
 Honos, 245
 Hoppenbrouwers, Henricus, 170
 Horace, 196, 360
 horizontal stocks, 231
horomate, 111, 254–55, 275
 house arrest, of catechumens, of *Passio*, 4,
 35–36, 99, 153–55, 159–60, 163,
 178, 186
 house churches, in Roman Carthage, 10, 12,
 42–43, 45, 56–57, 67n22, 303
 human agency, x
 human sacrifice, 326, 330
humiliores, 19, 150, 282, 357
 Hunink, Vincent, 441
 husband, of Perpetua, 24–25, 147–48, 165, 175,
 185, 328, 442
 Hyde, Thomas, 411
 hymns, 130, 133, 252, 270, 283, 326, 332
hypommema, 4, 7, 74
 iconic syncretism, 94

identity

- Christian, 28, 35, 37, 39–40, 43
- political, 29
- religious, 152–55
- Roman, 35
- social, 30–31, 33–34, 333

idolatry, 155, 196, 259, 297

Ignatius of Antioch, 8n3, 48, 56, 335, 367

- Letter to the Philadelphians (Phild)*, 10, 256
- To the Romans (Rom.)*, 284, 336
- To the Trallians (Trall.)*, 162, 296

illiteracy, x, 32

imitatio Christi, 335

immersion, baptism by, 221, 263

immolation, 54, 131, 282, 298

immunes, 52n81

incantations, of magic, 132, 311–12, 316

incense, 196, 298

Incipit cena nuptialis facta a Cecilio Cypriano, 376*Incipit Epistola Cipriani ad Silvanum et Regianum*, 376*Incipit Epistola Cipriani ad Silvanum et regionem in Mettallo Constitutos*, 379*Index Nominum in L'Ordre équestre*, 150

infanticide, 304

infant mortality, 23, 164

ingenui (born free), 20, 46

inheritance laws, 31

in manu marriage, 27–28, 30–31, 165*in potestate patris*, 185, 189*insinuatio*, 9*Institutio oratoria (Inst.)* (Quintilian), 151, 218

intercessory prayer, 221, 229, 236, 295, 308

intuition, from God, 222, 229, 260

Inventario Ceruti: Dei Manoscritti dell Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 385*Inventory of Western Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Jordan and Wool), 385*invicem*, 110–12, 116, 122–23, 246, 351

Iphigenia, 346–47

Irenaeus, 56, 157

iron implements, 127, 174–76

Isaac, 145

Isaiah (Is), 82, 279, 284, 327

Isis cult, 350

Italian Caroline script, 384

Item de sancto Dyonisio Episcopi, 385

Iulia Agrippina, 150, 151

Iulia Drusilla, 150

Jackson, P., 408, 418

Jacob's ladder, 168, 173, 175

Jairus, 258

James (Jas), 140, 160, 189, 327, 336, 350

James (son of Mary), xi

James, Richard, 399–400, 403–7, 414

Jason of Cyrene, 212

Jensen, R., 222

Jeremiah, 146

Jerome (saint), 143, 216, 257, 305, 335, 400

Jerusalem 1 manuscript (MS H), 60n3, 61n4, 79, 81, 100, 138, 298, 370, 372, 427

compared with Latin texts, 83–99

description of, 427–30

Jesus Christ, 46

body of, 145, 153, 183, 239, 312, 351

Christ as Orpheus syncretistic imagery, 251

as the Good Shepherd, 94–95, 256

Gospel depictions of, 7

Herod and, 96

lanista as Christ-athlete-Savior syncretistic imagery, 264

Paul and, 156

redemptive sacrifice of, 304

Second Coming of, 169, 239, 297

talismanic utterance of name of, 178, 336

transfiguration of, 277, 286

Jesus Justus, 246

Jesus the Magician (Smith, M.), 316

Jews, 247, 261, 286

as exorcists, 316

prophecy and, 142

in Roman Carthage, 285

in Roman Empire, 70n34, 71, 195, 212

Job (Jb), 91, 215, 231, 254

Jocundus, 54–55, 131, 281

Joel (Jl), 13–14, 137, 141

1 John (1 Jn), 351

John (apostle), 96, 148, 176, 277, 413

John (Baptist), 167

John (Jn), 221, 246, 280, 314, 323, 334, 336, 368

- Jolowicz, Herbert F., 164, 200
- Jordan, Louis, 385
- Josaphat, 281
- Joseph (father of Jesus), 215
- Joseph (son of Jacob), 317
- Joses, xi
- Jucundus, 55
- Judaism
 - blood sacrifice in, 359, 361
 - conversion to, 61, 64, 70, 71, 171
 - exemption from Roman sacrifice, 195–96
 - leprosy and, 219
 - martyrdom in, 144–45
 - Talmudic literature, 71, 285
- Judas, 366
- Judas Maccabees, 146, 223
- Jude (book), 139, 322
- Judith (Jdt), 270
- Julia (daughter of Julius Caesar), 151
- Julia Domna, 32–33, 86, 237
- Julian (saint), 429
- Julius Caesar, 151, 196
- Julius Caesar* (Shakespeare), 10
- Jungian dream interpretation, 248–49, 438
- Junia Theodora, 237
- Junkyôsha gyôden* (Toki and Toki), 440
- Juno Caelestis, 33n45
- Justinian (emperor), 297
- Justin Martyr (Justin), 160, 298
 - 1 *Apologia* (1 *Apol.*), 155, 157, 270, 289, 316, 334, 363
 - 2 *Apologia* (2 *Apol.*), 309
 - Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* (*Dial.*), 255
- Juvenal, 32, 39, 234, 329
- Juvencus, 255
- Kajava, Mika, 21, 149
- Kaser, Max, 64n11, 195
- Kataloipa cheirographon Hierosolymitikes bibliothekes* (Koikylides), 430
- Kaufmann, C. M., 418
- Kelibia baptistery, 155
- Ker, N. R., 408–10, 412, 418–20, 424, 426
- Kessler, Herbert L., 175
- King, Martin Luther, Jr., 4
- kiss of peace, 252, 259, 270, 285, 288–89, 316–17, 354, 363
- Kitzler, Petr, 441
- Klauck, Hans-Josef, 316
- Knopf, Rudolf, 436, 438
- Koikylides, Kleopas M., 430
- Kosingas (prophet-king), 174
- Kyle, Donald G., 320, 344, 349, 362
- kylix*, 263
- Labor*, 223
- Lactantius, Lucius Caecilius, 432–33
- lacunae, 83–85, 225, 306, 315, 348, 403
- ladders
 - Jacob's, 168, 173, 175
 - Perpetua's dream ladder to Paradise, 47, 127, 167–69, 173–81, 184–85, 210, 252, 264, 269, 355, 364
- Ladon, 265
- Laes, Christian, 328
- Lamberz, M., 46
- Lampe, G. W. H., 92, 155, 232, 346
- Lanfranc, 400, 402, 406
- Lang, Otto, 394
- lanista*, 94, 249, 252–54, 259, 264, 266–69, 288, 315, 332, 346
- Lapidge, M., 408, 418
- Latinity, 9, 17, 147, 374
- Lazarus, 216
- Lazzati, G. (Laz.), 80n4
- Leclercq, H., 62n7, 257, 266
- legal formula, of Roman Empire, 92–93
- legenda sanctorum*, 370, 385, 390, 394–95, 435
- Leges* (*Leg.*) (Plato), 140
- Legio III *Augusta*, 70, 115, 223–25, 315, 330, 333
- legis actio*, 64n11, 195
- Leglay, Martin, 330
- Le Goff, Jacques, 159, 222–23
- Leo (pope), 381
- Leonides, 64, 65, 86, 196
- leprosy, 219–20
- Lesser Entrance, 287
- “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.” (King), 4
- Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*, 4, 8–9, 91, 145, 302, 335, 341
- Letters and Papers from Prison* (Bonhoeffer), 4
- Letter to the Philadelphians* (*Phild*) (Ignatius), 10, 256
- leucoderma, 219

- Levi (apostle), 262
 Levinson, W., 408
 Leviticus (Lv), 219
Lex Fufia Caninia, 19
Lex Iulia et Papia, 339
 Libanius, 15
Liberalia (17 March), 69–70, 225
libertini (manumitted), 20, 46
 Library of the Patriarchs (Jerusalem), 79
 Liddell, H. G., 92
 Lieberman, Saul, 174
Life of Apollonius (Flavius), 32
Life of Gerdrudis, 393
Life of Saint Gertrudis the Virgin, 421
Life of Saint Gordian, 406
Life of Saint Martin, 402
Life of Saint Pancratius, 406
Life of Saint Philip the Apostle, 404, 407
Life of Saint Swithun (Lanfranc), 400, 402
 liminal space, 194, 242, 442
 Linder, A., 70n34
Lingua Latina (Petraglio), 159
 Linus, 243
 lions, 333
 literacy, of women, 5
 literature
 of consolation, 4, 137
 Hekhaloth, 276
 of martyrdom, xi, 38, 204, 318–19, 334, 360, 363
 Talmudic, 71, 285
 liturgical calendars, 385, 399, 404, 406–8, 410, 413–14, 418, 423
 liturgical doxology, 183, 287
 Livia (empress), 156
 Livy, 90–91, 231
 Lo Bue, F., 235
locus amoenus, 239–40, 290
 Logos, 309
 love feast, 132
 agape banquet, 158, 181, 320–21, 322
 Lowe, E. A., 376
 Lucian, 23, 247, 275, 318
 Lucilius, 363
Ludus Gladiatorius of Pompeii, 91, 231
 Luke (Lk), 96, 216–17, 257, 300, 329
 luncheon meal, 197
 Lunia, xi
 Maccabees, 145–46, 223
 1 - 4 Maccabees (1 - 4 Mc), 145–46, 209, 223, 280
 Maecius Laetus, Quintus, 86
 magic, 156, 261, 313
 amulets, 361
 incantations of, 132, 311–12, 316
Magic and Paganism (Klauck), 316
 Maitland, Sara, 440
 majuscules, 370, 378, 380, 383, 404, 414–15, 421
 Malinowski, Andrzej, 440
Mandates (Herm. Man.) (Shepherd of Hermas), 10–11
The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton: The Panizzi Lectures 1993 (Tite), 418
 manuscripts, of *Passio*, 60, 369t, 375–430
The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (Gameson), 409, 418, 426
 Marcan, 307
 Marcellinus, 251
 Marcia, 156
 Marcion, 188, 239
 Marconites, 297
 Marcora, Carlo, 385
 Marcus Aurelius (emperor), 24
 marginalia, 61n4, 379, 388, 393, 397, 403, 430
 Marian (saint), 279
 Mark, 246
 Mark (Mk), 173, 240, 257
 Mark Antony, 10
 marriage
 in manu, 27–28, 30–31, 165
 pragmatic aspect of, 165
 sine manu, 27–28, 30–31, 148, 165, 328
 usus, 306
 Martial, 190, 234, 243
 Martina (saint), 404
 martyrdom
 as consecratory ritual, 29
 dates of, in *Passio*, 62–65, 78
 death and, 268, 284
 in Judaism, 144–45
 literature of, xi, 38, 204, 318–19, 334, 360, 363

- martyrdom (*continued*)
 narratives of, 8n3
 as public witness, 18, 29, 144–45, 283–84
 as victory, 29, 130, 133, 327
 volitional, 13
- Martyrdom of Isaiah*, 145
- The Martyrdom of Perpetua* (Maitland), 440
- Martyrdom of Polycarp* (*Mart. Pol.*), xi, 8, 139, 290
- Martyrdom of Saint Agatha*, 429
- Martyrdom of Saints Ptolemaeus and Lucius*, 8
- martyrs
 absolving sin, 41, 43, 57
 authority of, 291–92
 cult of, 335
 in heaven, 66, 169
 of Sebaste, forty, 270
- martyrs, of *Passio*
 Augustine's mention of, 49n70, 82, 138
 overview of, 17–22
 sentencing of, 64, 192–93, 204, 210
 Tertullian's mention of, 137–38, 297, 307
- Martyrs of Lyons*, 260, 264, 291
- Mary (mother of James and Joses), xi, 281
- Mary (Virgin), 41, 179, 281, 300
- Mary Magdalene, xi, 262, 277
- Mary of Egypt, 405
- Mass, 234, 254
- matrona Christi*, 119, 175, 179, 328
- matrona Dei* status, 29, 35–43, 173
- matrona* status, 29–30, 32, 34, 39, 42
- Matthew (Mt), 166, 171, 188, 223, 248, 254, 285, 364
- Mausoleum of Hadrian, 227
- Maxentius (emperor), 433
- Maximilla, xi, 11, 42, 208
- Maximus of Madaura, 55, 282
- Mazzucco, Clementina, 440
- McInerny, Constance and Ralph, 385
- McIntyre, E. A., 408
- McKechnie, Paul, 32n43, 151
- meal of the dead, 158–59
- Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (Ker), 418
- Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Ker), 412, 419, 426
- meditative prayer, 208
- Medjerda river, 25
- Meeks, Wayne, 39
- Meier, P. Gabriel, 394
- Mela, 308
- Mercury, 94, 255, 257, 266, 277, 361
 as psychopomp, 258
- meretrix*, 32
- Messalina (empress), 69n25, 226
- Messianic banquet, 255
- Messianic salvation, 219
- Metamorphoses* (*Met.*) (Apuleius), 33n45, 214, 216, 217, 237, 261, 273, 286, 331, 360
- Metamorphoses* (*Met.*) (Ovid), 269
- metanoia*, 250, 283
- metempsychosis, 253
- Michael (angel), 285
- Midrashic tradition, 285
- Migne, J.-P., 434, 437
- miles*, 52
- miles Christi*, 94, 143, 225, 251–52, 269, 326
- miles optio*, 61n3, 88–90, 240, 243–44, 319, 357, 360
- military nomenclature, Roman, 52–53, 87–90
- military prison, 6, 52–53, 62n3, 74–76, 210–11, 223–24
- milking anecdote, of Good Shepherd, 182–83, 436, 438, 440, 441
- mime shows, 333
- Minicius Opimianus, T. Salvius Rufinus, 50, 63n8, 201
- ministrae*, 237
- Minucius Italius, Gaius, 50
- Minucius Opimianus, 50–52, 63–64, 200
- Minucius Timinianus, 50, 62, 63n8, 84, 128, 200, 282, 332
- Mishael, 283
- Mithraic mysteries, 174, 176, 249
- mixed marriages, 23, 289
- Modern Conservation, of MS C, 375, 422, 425
- Mohrmann, Christine, 159, 260
- Mommsen, Theodore, 65n14, 319
- Monceaux, P., 32n43, 293–94
- Monica, 45
- Montanism, 66–67, 148, 171–72, 238, 262, 271, 295, 432, 438
 proto-Montanism, 171, 292, 297
- Montanism* (Trevett), 142

- Montanus, 148, 212, 318, 390
 Monte Cassino 204 manuscript (MS M)
 as base text, xii
 description of, 375–81, 376, 434, 437, 443
 references to, 68, 100–103, 136–37, 141, 143,
 256, 279, 281, 298, 358, 371–72, 374
 Montfaucon, de Bernard, 384
 mosaics, 94, 265, 365
 of Ravenna, 180
 Moses, 215, 310, 327
mos maiorum, 17–18, 27, 29, 34–35, 85, 185,
 241, 302
 mother of Perpetua, 22, 25–26, 43–46, 153
 in English translation, 126, 127
 Mount Ida, 298
 MS A. *See* Ambrosiana C 210 manuscript
 MS C. *See* Canterbury Lit. E. 42 manuscript
 MS E. *See* Einsiedeln 250 manuscript
 MS G. *See* Saint Gallen 577 manuscript
 MS H. *See* Jerusalem 1 manuscript
 MS M. *See* Monte Cassino 204 manuscript
 MS N. *See* Cotton Nero E.1, pt.1 manuscript
 MS O. *See* Cotton Otho BL D.viii manuscript
 MS P. *See* Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 17626
 manuscript
 MS S. *See* Salisbury Cathedral 221 manuscript
 Muncey, R. Waterville, xi, 437
 Munding, P. Emmanuel, 388
 municipal prison, 53, 160, 210, 243
 Muslim conquests, 374
 Musonius Rufus, 156
 Musurillo, Herbert (Mus.), xi, 80n4, 91, 157,
 182, 286, 346, 439
 Mynors, Roger A., 157
 mystery cults, 174
 mystical body, 146

 Naman the Leper, 219
 Namphamo, 55
 Narbor (saint), 390
 narrative doxologies, 139, 183, 336, 356, 366,
 434
 Nartzalus, 282
Naturalis Historia (HN) (Pliny the Elder), 234
Nature Embodied (Corbeill), 247, 267
 Nebuchadnezzar, 283
 negative parallel alliteration, 360

 Neo-Platonism, 350
 Neoptolemus, 347
 Nero (emperor), 69n28, 197, 214, 225, 308,
 342, 433
Nero (*Ner.*) (Suetonius), 69n28, 143, 197, 225,
 263, 318
nervus, 91–92, 231–32
 Nestorius (saint), 390
 New Prophecy movement, 10–14, 45, 57, 82,
 139
 ideology of, 16, 41–42, 66, 77, 136–37,
 141–42, 368
 Newton, Francis, 376, 381
 Niermeyer, J. F., 189, 255, 257
 Nike/Victory, 276
nomen, 19, 88, 149
 non-Christian motifs, ix
 normative hagiography, xi
 normative social standards, 5–6, 38
 Numa Pompilius, 163
 Numbers (Nm), 215, 235
 Numbers Rabbah, 285
nutrix, 20
 nymphaeum, 227

obsequium, 26
 Oedipus, 363
 Onesiphorus, 209
 onomastics, 38, 178, 305
 Opimianus. *See* Minicius Opimianus,
 T. Salvius Rufinus; Minucius Opimianus
 Optatus (bishop of Carthage)
 in commentary, 182, 291–94, 297
 in English translation, 131
 overview of, 12, 23, 42–43, 55–57, 80n4
 Optatus (bishop of Milevis), 294
optio. *See* *miles optio*
optiones convalescentium, 88
optiones custodiarum, 88, 243
opto, 56
 oracles, 238, 312, 350
 oral tradition, 7, 146, 272, 285, 341
orans figure, 95, 256
 Origen, 140, 276, 289, 298, 351
 Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis
 (*Comm. Jo.*), 264
 Contra Celsum (*Cont. Cel.*), 39, 351

Origen (*continued*)

Exhortatio ad Martyrium (*Exh. Mart.*),
270, 272, 359

Homiliae in Exodum (*Hom. Ex.*), 142

Leonides and, 64, 65, 86, 196

Orosius Master, 288

Orphic-Pythagorean ideas, 215, 236

Osborn, Eric, 66n18, 67

Osborne, Robin, 61n4, 348

osculari, 190, 288

Osiek, Carolyn, 47, 273, 328

Otho (Suetonius), 214

out-of-body visions, 5, 350

Ovid, 269

Owen, E. W. C., xi, 437–38

oxymoronic alliteration, 317

Oxyrhynchus fragments, 262

Pachomius, 257

paedagogus, 46, 295

paganism, 240, 303. *See also* Roman religion

pallidus, 110, 217

Pancratius (saint), 406

pankration contests, 80n4, 93, 249, 252, 264,
266, 268–69

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios, 430

Papae Leonis de Translatione Sancti Iacobi, 382

Papias, 314

Paraclete. *See* Holy Spirit

paradise, prelapsarian, 180, 276

Paredi, Angelo, 385

paronomasia, 162

Parousia, 255, 323

Pasiphae, 344

Passio Cyriaci, 396

Passio Druthperti Heremite, 390

Passio Felicis et Fortunati, 387

passionale, 370, 372–73, 385, 407, 413, 418

La passione delle SS Perpetua e Felicità (Sola),
437–38

La passione di Perpetua e Felicità (Formisano),
81n4, 442

The Passion of Perpetua (von Franz), 438

*The Passion of S. Perpetua: An English
Translation with Introduction and Notes*
(Muncey), 437

The Passion of S. Perpetua (Robinson), 435

Passion of Saint James, 405

Passion of Saint Martin, 400

Passion of Saint Martina, 404

Passion of Saint Phillip, 405

*The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicity: A New
Edition and Translation* (Shewring), 438

*Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis die Nonarum
Martiarum*, 137–38, 161, 256

Passio S. Bonifatii, 431

Passio sanctae Eullalie Virginis, 390

Passio Sanctae Gerdrudis Virginis, 390

Passio Sanctae Iulianae virginis, 390, 392

Passio Sanctae Magre Virginis, 390

Passio Sanctae Martinae, 400, 410

Passio Sanctarum Marie et Marthe et Valentini,
390

Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis
(*Passio*). *See also* martyrs, of *Passio*;
Redactor of *Passio*

Acta Perpetuae and, 442–43

authenticity of, 7–8

authorial voices of, 82

authorship of, 3–6

autograph version of, 374, 375f

catechumens of, 19, 21–22, 57, 147, 149

contradictions in, 93–96

date of composition of, 66–67, 78, 137

date of manuscripts, 60–62

dates of martyrdoms in, 62–65, 78

editions of, 431–43

English translation of, 125–35

Greek and Latin texts compared, 83–99

in Greek language. *See* Jerusalem 1
manuscript

Greek text of, 445–55

house arrest of catechumens of, 4, 35–36,
99, 153–55, 159–60, 163, 178, 186

Latin text of, 104–24

manuscripts of, 60–62, 369f, 375–430

Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis (van
Beek), 438

*Passio Sanctarum Virginum Fidei, Spei, et
Caritatis*, 391

Passio sancti Felicis, 391

Passio Sancti Iacobi, 406–8

Passio Sancti Meginradi heremite, 385

Passio Sancti Nestorii Episcopi et Martyris, 396

- Passio sancti Peregrini Episcopi*, 388
Passio sancti Phylippi apostoli, 399, 407
Passio Sancti Pimenii Presbiteri, 390
Passio Sancti Quiriani Episcopi, 391
Passio sancti Stephani martyris sub Galieno Imperatore, 407, 408
Passio Sancti Thrutberti Martyris, 388
Passio Sancti Valenti Episcopi, 390
Passio sanctorum Iohannis & Pauli, 404
Passio sanctorum Mariani et Iacobi, 95, 97n22, 235, 256, 259, 266, 278, 279
Passio sanctorum Montanii et Lucii, 161, 166, 213, 278, 309
Passio Sanctorum Quadriginta Militum, 390, 392
Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum, 202
Passio Sanctorum Septem Fratrum Filiorum Sanctae Felicitatis, 391
Passio sanctorum vii dormientium, 406, 408
Passio SS. Martyrum Tarachi, Probi et Andronici, 431
paterfamilias role, x, 19–20, 24, 26, 31, 190
patria potestas, 242, 328, 442
 Patricius, 15
 Patroclus, 215
Patrologia Latina, 434
 Paul (saint), xi, 4, 39, 40n56, 96, 142–46, 153, 172, 177, 216, 237
 on baptism, 160
 exorcism and, 366
 Jesus and, 156
 on prophecy, 139
 on suffering, 309
 Pauline authority, 57
 Pauline Stoicism, 315
 Paulus, 306
 Pelagius, 144, 391
 Peleus, 266
Penates, 190
Penitentia sanctae marie neptis eius, 391
 Peppe, Leo, 63n9, 201
peroratio, 250
 Perpetua (Vibia Perpetua)
 biography of, 28–35
 breast-feeding by, 20, 44, 126, 147, 151, 154, 164, 196, 205–7
 brothers of, 43–46
 conversion of, 25, 27, 36–37, 40, 45–46, 51, 187, 214, 238
 dream of ladder to Paradise, 47, 127, 167–69, 173–81, 184–85, 210, 252, 264, 269, 355, 364
 dream of wrestling match, 129–30, 248–72, 332
 dreams of Dinocrates, 68–69, 74–76, 172, 207, 209–12, 214–23, 228–30, 255, 290, 371, 436
 education of, 32, 36, 38–39, 150–51, 182, 212
 father of. *See* father of Perpetua
 Greek language fluency of, 23, 26, 131, 182, 292, 296
 husband of, 24–25, 147–48, 165, 175, 185, 328, 442
 metamorphosis of, 283–91
 mother of, 22, 25–26, 43–46, 126, 127, 153
 mother's sister, 22, 46
 as prophetess, 29–30, 43, 159, 167, 170–71, 179, 238, 311
 public assumption of authority by, 237–48
 perpetual virginity, vow of, 176
 “Perpetua's Husband” (Osiek), 47, 273, 328
 Perpetua und der Ägypter (Habermehl), 174, 347, 431, 441
 Pertinax, 73n43, 196
 Peter, 243, 262, 288
 Petraglio, Renzo, 159, 275
 Petronius (Petron.), 150, 234, 268, 277, 322
 Petronius Fortunatus, 52
 Phaedrus (Phdr.) (Plato), 274
 pharaoh, 261
 daughter of, 310
 Pharisees, 262, 358
 phiala, 234–35
 Philippians (Phil.), 4, 246, 277, 278, 290
 Philo, 350
 Philocalian calendar, 65
 Phlegethon river, 217
 Phoebe, xi, 237
 Phoenicians, 331
 pietas, 26, 28, 190, 195
 pietate, 108, 190
 pigments, 371

- Pilate, Pontius, 96, 257, 280, 299, 311, 313, 391
pillory, 92, 232
Pionus (saint), 390
piscina, 110, 221, 233–34
Pistis, xi
pius epithet, 26n31
Planta, J., 408, 417
Plato, 37, 208, 347
 Cratylus (*Cra.*), 26, 38, 156
 Leges (*Leg.*), 140
 Phaedrus (*Phdr.*), 274
 Republic, 273
Platonism, 16, 153, 172, 215, 253
 Neo-Platonism, 350
Plautianus, 69n27
Plautilla, Fulvia, 69n27
Plautus, 171
Pliny the Elder, 234
Pliny the Younger, 16–17, 49, 72, 75, 85, 157,
 162, 196, 213–14, 237, 322
Plotinus, 312, 350
pluralism, 293
Plutarch, 156, 218, 339, 348, 361
poena, 111, 117, 217, 236, 306
political identity, 29
Polochronia (saint), 390
Polycarp, 145, 202, 252, 282, 298, 334, 367
Polyneices, 215
polyonymy, 21
Polyxena, x, 341, 346–47
Pompeii (Gusman), 91n14, 231
Pompey, 71, 151
Pomponius
 in commentary, 153, 162–63, 196, 205,
 250–52, 254–60, 269, 346
 in English translation, 126, 128, 129
 overview of, 48–49
 as psychopomp, 93, 95–96, 251
Pomponius Atticus, Titus, 163
Pontius, 365
Pontius Pilate. *See* Pilate, Pontius
Poppaea, 266
Porphyry, 330
Porta Libitinensis, 271, 356–57
Porta Sanavivariam, 113, 122, 271, 348, 356–57
Porta Triumphalis, 323, 348
positivism, 248–49
Possinus, 100, 434
post-Lombardic script, 380
potestas, 19, 27, 31, 248
 dominica, 165
 patria, 242, 328, 442
praenomen, 21, 48, 149
praetorian guard, 166, 315
praetorium, 166, 287
prayer
 in Christianity, 208, 211
 for dead, 214
 ecstatic, 312, 350
 intercessory, 221, 229, 236, 295, 308
 meditative, 208
pregnancy, of Felicity, 19, 22, 132, 302–4, 306,
 373
prelapsarian paradise, 180, 276, 284
presbyters, 12, 56, 294
principales, 52n81, 88, 243
Prisca, xi, 148, 237
Priscilla, 11, 42, 208
Priscilla Catacombs, 95, 256–57, 265
prison conditions, 152, 161, 163, 313
prophecy. *See also* New Prophecy movement
 charisma and, 10, 12, 14, 273
 compared with canon, 10–15, 136–37
 ecstatic, 14, 30, 41–42, 57, 350
 gender roles and, 41
 Jews and, 142
 John (Baptist) and, 167
 ongoing revelation of Holy Spirit, 11–14, 42,
 54, 77, 136, 367
 Paul on, 139
 Perpetua as prophetess, 29–30, 43, 159, 167,
 170–71, 179, 238, 311
 visions and, 142
prophetic leadership, 4
Prosopographia Imperii Romani (PIR), 62n6,
 200
Prosper Tiro Aquitanus (Prosper of
 Aquitaine), 65, 68n24
proto-Montanism, 171, 292, 297
proto-purgatory, 53, 214, 222
proximavit, 111, 246, 247
Psalms (Pss), 191, 192, 227, 270, 283
Psalms of Solomon, 262–63
Pseudepigrapha, 297

- psychopomps
 Mercury as, 258
 Pomponius as, 93, 95–96, 251
- Ptolemy, 277
- public confession, of faith, 97n22, 185, 192–93
- public shame, 16, 27, 99, 190, 242, 248
- public witness, martyrdom as, 18, 29, 144–45, 283–84
- Pudens
 in commentary, 237, 240–44, 264–66, 313, 319, 337, 352–53, 357–58, 360–62
 in English translation, 129, 134
 overview of, 52–53, 61n3, 88–90
 sainthood of, 242
- pudicitia*, 30
- pudor*, 27
- pugno*, 112, 225
- Punic cults, 33n45, 326, 330–31
- Punic language, 55, 151, 281–82
- Punic War, Third, 198
- purgatory, 54, 209, 236
 proto-purgatory, 53, 214, 222
- Purgatory* (Le Goff), 159, 222–23
- Pythagoreans, 214, 236
- Pythia, 350
- Pythian Apollo, 249
- Pythian games, 80n4
- quaestio*, 64n11, 195
- quaestor parricidii*, 200
- Quantin, Jean-Louis, 432
- Quartillosa, 213, 235
- Quasten, Johannes, 179, 220, 307
- Quintilian, 15, 151, 218, 253, 260
- Quintus
 in commentary, 281–82
 in English translation, 131
 overview of, 54–55
- Quirinus, 196
- Quodvultdeus, 138, 374
- R. See Redactor of *Passio*
- Rader, R., xi, 439
- Ramsey, H. L., 380
- Ramureanu, Ioan, 440
- Raphael, 274, 285
- Rapske, Brian, 231, 315, 319
- Rauschen, Gerhard, 436–37
- Ravenna, mosaics of, 180
- Rawson, B., 34n48, 205, 206
- Redactor of *Passio* (R)
 argument of, 9–15, 136–37
 biography of, 15–17
 dates of, 67
 interpolations of, 75–77
 rhetoric of, 8–15
 Tertullian and, 17, 437–39, 441
- redemptive sacrifice, of Jesus, 304
- refrigerium*, 158–59, 163, 220–21
- refrigero*, 233, 246, 296
- Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, 442
- Reifferscheid, August, 380, 384
- religio*, 28
- religio illicita*, 64
 Christianity as, 29, 39, 46, 85
- religious identity, 152–55
- Republic* (Plato), 273
- resurrection
 promise of, 29, 41, 298
 salvation and, 169
- Revelation (Rv), 82, 96, 148, 180, 235, 273, 284, 287
 dragon of, 168, 176, 179, 261, 279
- revelation, ongoing, of Holy Spirit, 11–14, 42, 54, 77, 136, 367
- Revocatus
 in commentary, 147, 149, 299, 305, 317, 335, 337, 352, 371, 374, 394, 397
 in English translation, 126, 133
 overview of, 18–21, 25, 46
 slave status of, 25, 147
- Richardson, Lawrence, Jr., 91n14, 231
- Rives, James B., 49, 62n6, 84n7, 200
- Robert, Louis, 80n4, 81n5, 175, 249, 365
- Roberts, Alexander, 437, 438
- Robinson, J. Armitage (Rob.), xi, 61n4, 79, 100–101, 276, 279, 281, 328, 332, 347, 358, 384, 432, 434–39
- Roman Africa, 359–61
 Catholicism of, 14, 16, 148, 290
 Christianity in, 16, 39–40, 137
 education in, 15
- Roman Carthage, xi

Roman Carthage (*continued*)

- amphitheaters in, 138, 161, 209, 259, 271, 282, 324, 337, 340, 356
- bishops' council of, 13, 40n56, 55–56, 293–94
- Christianity in, 28, 192–93, 238, 329
- domus* in, 19–21, 30
- forum in, 198
- gender roles in, 32–35
- Greek language in, 23, 26, 38, 47, 182
- house churches in, 10, 12, 42–43, 45, 56–57, 67n22, 303
- Jews in, 285
- Tophet in, 304, 326, 330–31

Roman Empire

- cognitio extra ordinem* procedure of, 50, 64n11, 92, 157, 195
- emperor as synecdoche for Empire, 202
- Jews in, 70n34, 71, 195, 212
- legal formula of, 92–93

Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190

(Kaufmann), 418

Roman Family (Bradley), 19n16, 21n18, 22n21, 27n32, 164

Romanianus, 15

Roman identity, 35

Romanitas quality, 28, 35

Roman Law (Jolowicz), 164, 200

Roman military nomenclature, 52–53, 87–90

Roman Questions (Plutarch), 348Roman religion, 33n45, 190–91. *See also* cults

- emperor worship, 157, 163, 195–96, 201–2, 309
- genius, of emperor, 86, 171, 196, 199, 202, 298
- Greco-Roman religion, 95, 249
- mos maiorum*, 17–18, 27, 29, 34–35, 85, 185, 241, 302
- vows, to gods, 278

Romans (Rom), 39, 40n56, 141, 160, 162, 172

Roman values, 6

Rossi, I. B. de, 158

Rousseau, P., 45

rubricated calendar, 390

rubricating practices, 371

Ruinart, Theodorici (Rui.), 8n4, 100, 433–35

Rusticus

- in commentary, 340–43, 349, 351, 360
- in English translation, 134
- overview of, 58–59

sacred bull, 176

Sacred Orations (Aristides), 312sacrifice. *See also* emperor worship

- blood, 300, 359, 361
- holocaust offerings, 313, 363
- human, 326, 330
- infanticide, 304
- redemptive sacrifice of Jesus, 304
- self-sacrifice, 33n45, 144–45, 307, 350

Saint-Corneille, Benedictine Abbey of, 373, 394–95, 434

Saint Gallen 577 manuscript (MS G), 60, 83,

102, 148, 176, 369t, 370–71, 436

description of, 385–89, 386

Saint-Nazare 510 manuscript, 442–43

saints, cult of, 139

Salisbury Cathedral 221 manuscript (MS S),

102, 138, 235, 370, 408

description of, 409, 409–13, 432

misidentification as Salzburg MS,

434, 435

Sallust, 15

Salome, xi, 281

Salonius (Sal.), 103

salus imperatorum, 195

salvation

- death and, 184–85, 193
- family as impediment to, 46
- history of, 356
- Messianic, 219
- resurrection and, 169

Samaritan woman, 265

1 - 2 Samuel (1 - 2 Sm), 247

Sanctus (Delehaye), 140*Sanctus* (martyr), 309

sandals, 93–95, 129, 255, 257–58, 264, 266

Sarapis, 361

sarcophagi, 94, 174, 180–81, 265

Satan, 96, 203, 269

Egyptian wrestler as, 249, 252, 261, 332

renunciation of, 155

Saturn, 326, 330–31

- Saturninus, 18, 20–21, 46, 54–55, 65, 281, 335
- Saturus
- angels of dream, 130–31, 273–74, 276–77, 280, 284–86, 373
 - in commentary, 142, 149, 165, 167–70, 177–78, 237–38, 285–88, 290–95, 297, 299, 301, 307, 321–23, 328, 335, 337–39, 342, 349, 352–55, 357
 - dream, of heavenly city, 130–31, 272–85
 - in English translation, 127, 130, 131, 133–35
 - overview of, 3–5, 12, 19, 46–47, 54–57, 61, 66, 74, 81–82
 - voluntary surrender to authorities, 47, 177
- Satyricon* (*Sat.*) (Petronius), 150, 268, 322
- Saxer, Victor, 80n4, 344, 439
- sceleratos*, 117, 304, 307
- Schermann, T., 80n4, 436
- Scherrer, Gustav, 388
- Schlunk, Helmut, 174
- Scillitan martyrdoms, 17, 45, 47, 55, 85, 281–82, 292
- Scillitan Martyrs*, 8–9, 71, 99, 144–45, 367, 435, 438
- Scipio, 273
- Scorpiace* (*Scorp.*) (Tertullian), 165, 192, 276, 329
- Scott, R., 92
- scribal emendation, 102
- Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral* (Weber), 413
- Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica* (Bruckner), 388, 394
- The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino* (Newton), 381
- scripts
- Beneventan, 371, 375, 380
 - Caroline, 370, 375, 380, 381
 - Italian Caroline, 384
 - post-Lombardic, 380
- scriptural canonicity, 11–14
- Sebastian (saint), 266
- Sebeste, xi
- Second Coming, of Jesus Christ, 169, 239, 297
- Secundulus
- in commentary, 299–302, 305
 - in English translation, 126, 131
 - overview of, 18, 20–21, 46, 54
- sedition, 85, 195
- sedition suicide, 29
- self-sacrifice, 33n45, 144–45, 307, 350
- senatorial class, 49, 256, 331
- Seneca the Younger, 267, 335, 362–63, 365, 366
- sentencing, of martyrs of *Passio*, 64, 192–93, 204, 210
- Septimius Geta, Publius (brother of Septimius Severus), 73n43
- Septimius Geta, Publius (son of Septimius Severus). *See* Geta Caesar
- Septimius Severus (emperor), 49–50, 64, 69–72, 86–87
- in commentary, 148, 196, 201, 226, 361
 - Geta and, 69n26, 86, 201, 210, 225
 - Mercury and, 258
 - Pertinax and, 196
- sermo cottidianus*, 235
- sermo humilis*, 74, 173
- Sermones* (*Serm.*) (Augustine), 143, 159, 170, 179, 203, 365
- serpent
- of dream, 127, 174, 176, 178–79, 199, 269–70
 - of Genesis, 168, 176, 179, 252, 269
- Serrai, Alfredo, 431
- Seruilius Pudens, Q., 357
- Severan period, 21, 33, 86–87, 226, 331
- Severus. *See* Septimius Severus
- Severus, Alexander, 57, 69, 225
- sexual abstinence, 175, 329
- Shakespeare, William, 10
- shame, 58
- public, 16, 27, 99, 190, 242, 248
- Shaw, Brent, 61n4, 80n4, 147, 182, 440
- sheep, 127, 169, 180–82, 257, 360
- Sheol, 215–16
- Shepherd of Hermas, 46, 56, 82, 435, 441
- Mandates* (*Herm. Man.*), 10–11
 - Visions* (*Herm. Vis.*), 45, 92, 176, 180, 255, 258, 273, 276, 439, 441
- Shewring, Walter Hayward (She.), xi, 182, 286, 381
- sigils, 100–101, 137–38, 369t
- Simeon, 300
- Simeon Metaphrastes, 430
- Simplicius, 323

- sine manu* marriage, 27–28, 30–31, 148, 165, 328
- Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and His Legacy* (Wright), 409
- skepticism, 5
- slavery
catasta to display slaves, 97n22, 174, 191–92
 children of, 306–7
conserua, 19, 25, 142, 147, 149
 jurisdiction of, 20
 slave status of Felicity, 25, 142, 147, 302–3, 307
 slave status of Revocatus, 25, 147
- Slaves and Masters* (Bradley), 19n15
- Smith, Morton, 316
- Smith, Thomas, 408, 416, 417
- Snyder, Graydon F., 158
- social identity, 30–31, 33–34, 333
- Socrates, 26, 38, 156, 291, 341, 347, 432
- Sola, Giuseppe (Sola), 437–38
- solemnitates togae*, 318
- Solomon, 279
- Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs* (Owen), 437–38
- Son of Man imagery, 96, 286, 287
- Sophia, xi
- sophrosyne*, 156
- souls
 created, corporeal nature of, 169
 eternity of, 253
 gender roles and, 41
 of just, 274
- Souter, A., 143, 178, 212, 213, 232, 244, 260
- Southern, Pat, 225, 315
- Spartianus, 71n34, 72
- Spectacles of Death* (Kyle), 320, 344, 349, 362
- spectaculum*, 306
- spiritual authority, 262
 civil vs., 310–21
- spiritual songs, 332
- spoliarium*, 271, 348, 354, 362–63, 365
- stade, 281
- Statius, 187
- stelae*, 24, 158, 185, 227, 325, 326, 331
- stemma, 375f
- Stephen (martyr), 139, 145
- Stephen (pope), 378
- stocks, 60n3, 90–92, 129, 209, 227–32, 246
 horizontal and circular, 231
- Stoicism, 16, 156, 169, 204–5, 215
 Pauline, 315
- Stoics, 214, 366
- Strabo, 195
- suavium*, 190
- Suetonius (Suet.)
Divus Augustus (Aug.), 225, 256
Divus Iulius (Iul.), 266, 323
Divus Vespasianus (Vesp.), 265
Gaius Caligula (Calig.), 69n28, 213, 225, 261, 337, 338
Nero (Ner.), 69n28, 143, 197, 225, 263, 318
Otho, 214
Tiberius (Tib.), 166
- suffering, Paul on, 309
- suicide, 261, 300, 335, 366
 seditious, 29
- sui iuris*, 31, 165
- superstitio*, 64, 75, 85, 158
- Susanna, 296
- Swain, Merrill, 296
- Swithun (saint), 400, 402, 406
- Sylwetki diakonów w “Acta martyrum”* (Malinowski), 440
- Syme, Ronald, 19n15, 69n26, 70, 71
- syncretism, 94–95, 257, 260
 angel as Nike/Victory, 276
 Christ as Orpheus imagery, 251
 Cronus as Saturn, 330–31
lanista as Christ-athlete-Savior, 264
- synecdoche
 emperor for Empire, 202
 father for *mos maiorum*, 185
 Felicity for empowerment, 303
- Syntyche, xi, 237
- Tacitus, 85, 247, 308, 342
- talismanic utterance, name of Jesus as, 178, 336
- Talmudic literature, 71, 285
- Tanit (moon goddess), cult of, 304, 326, 331
- Tantalus, 216
- Tartarus, 236
- technical terms, 90

- Teoderius presbyter (saint), 390
 Terence, 139, 171
Tersanctus, 286
 Tertius
 in commentary, 153, 162–63, 255, 322
 in English translation, 126
 overview of, 48–49
 Tertullian (Tert.), x, 11, 29, 37n52, 45
 Ad Martyras (Mart.), 21, 57, 71–72, 161, 166, 194, 196–97, 230, 241, 245, 249, 274, 275, 284, 305
 Ad Scapulam (Scap.), 84, 200
 Ad Uxorem (Ad Ux.), 23, 328
 Adversus Marcionem (Marc.), 37n52, 143–44, 162, 256, 312
 Apologeticum (Apol.), 198, 211, 217, 226, 245, 304, 316, 319, 322, 326, 332, 337, 351
 De Baptismo (De Bapt.), 57, 149, 154–55, 167, 222, 329, 336, 359
 De Corona Militis (Cor.), 169, 183, 202, 216, 281, 294–95, 352
 De Cultu Feminarum (De Cultu Fem.), 40–42
 De Exhortatione Castitatis (Exh. Cast.), 41, 178
 De Fuga in Persecutione, 159, 161–62, 178, 276, 329
 De Ieiunio (Iei.), 66, 270, 349–50
 De Monogamia (De Monog.), 159, 216, 329
 De Oratione (Or.), 308, 336, 363–64
 De Pallio (De Pal.), 264, 268–69
 De Pudicitia (Pud.), 180, 317, 360
 De Resurrectione Carnis (Res.), 239
 De Spectaculis (De Spect.), 179, 246, 259, 269, 366
 De Testimonio Animae (De Anim.), 42, 62, 66–67, 87, 142, 152, 159, 169, 192, 253, 297, 301, 307, 317, 331, 431
 mention of martyrs of *Passio* by, 137–38, 297, 307
 R and, 17, 437–39, 441
 Scorpiace (Scorp.), 165, 192, 276, 329
 Tetragrammaton, 361
Texte und Arbeiten Erzabtei Beuron, 388
Texts and Studies (Lieberman), 174
 textual tradition, 370–75
 Theagenes, 261
 Thecla, 207, 214, 253, 277, 376
Theogony (Hesiod), 330
 Thomas, 350–51
 Thomasson, Bengt, 63n8, 201
 throne, of God, 4, 131, 181, 276, 280–81, 284, 286
 Thurburbo Maius, 15, 224, 412
 Thurburbo Minus, 138, 148, 224, 294, 431, 435, 437, 439, 442
 Thyestian banquets, 85
Tiberius (Tib.) (Suetonius), 166
 Tibullus, 217
 Tilley, Maureen A., xi, 49n70, 71n34, 290
 Timianus. *See* Minucius Timinianus
 1 - 2 Timothy (1 - 2 Tm), 139, 142, 159, 209, 218, 263
tirocinium fori, 69, 225
 Tite, Colin G., 409, 418
 Titus (Ti), 141, 297
 toga
 solemnitates togae, 318
 toga praetexta, 317
 toga pura, 69n28, 225
 toga virilis, 69, 69n27, 225, 317–18
 of tribune, 315
 Toinard, Nicholas, 432
 Toki, Kenji, 440
 Toki, Shōsaku, 440
 Tophet, in Roman Carthage, 304, 326, 330–31
 Torah, 144–45
 torture, 92, 192, 300
To the Romans (Rom.) (Ignatius), 284, 336
To the Trallians (Trall.) (Ignatius), 162, 296
traho, 199, 234
 Trajan (emperor), 16–17, 49, 85, 157, 162, 196
 trances, 92, 172, 273, 312, 350
 transcendence motifs, 287, 292, 302, 327
 transcendent God, 30, 288
 transfiguration, of Jesus, 277, 286
 treason, 282
 Tree of Life, 180, 268
 Treverensis manuscript, 442
 Trevett, Christine, 142
 tribune, 53, 310–13, 315–19, 326, 332, 345
tribunus laticlavus, 315
tribunus militum, 89, 224, 243–44
 Trinity, 159, 352, 367–68
Trisagion, 286–87

- Tryphaena (queen), 207
Tsara'at, 219
 Tullianum, 163, 282
 tunic, 93–95, 256–57, 265, 346
The Twelve Tables, 282

Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken (Gottlieb),
 443
 Ulpian (Ulp.), 50–51, 63n9, 201, 203, 282, 306
 umbilical cord symbolism, 234
 underworld, 68, 223
 unguents, 42, 234, 263
 universal Christian spirit, 153
urceolus, 36, 105, 153, 156, 171
 Uriel (angel), 285
 Urtexts, 66, 374
 Ussher, James, 370, 411
 utopianism, 85, 285

 Valentinians, 297
 Valerian (emperor), 138
 Valerius Constantius (emperor), 300
 Valerius Pudens, Gaius, 357
 Valois, Henri de, 371, 431–35
 van Beek, Cornelius Johannes Maria Joseph
 (Be.), xi–xii, 79, 100, 179, 222, 298, 348,
 369, 438–42
 Vandals, 275, 374
 Vannutelli, Primo, 438
 Vegetius, 88, 243, 309
venatores, 326, 333, 334, 337
 Venus, 267, 360
 Verecundus, 260
 Vergil. *See* Virgil
 Verschuur, Elisabeth van Ketwich, 441
Verzeichniss der Handschriften der
 Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen (Scherrer),
 388
 Vestals, 33
 Vetus (Vet.), 91, 159, 160, 175, 189, 203, 212,
 231
 Via Salaria Nova catacombs (Rome), 265
 Vibia gens, 21, 150
 Vibia Perpetua. *See* Perpetua
 Vibius Crispus, Lucius Iunius Quintus, 21,
 150
 Victor of Vitensis, 217, 301

 Villa Guglielmetti, Gemma, 384
vincula, 90
 Virgil, 15, 32, 76, 187, 196, 236
 Aeneis (*Aen.*), 68, 189, 215–17, 223, 233, 239
 virginity, vow of perpetual, 176
virtus, 245
 visions
 dreams and, 272–73
 out-of-body, 5, 350
 prophecy and, 142
Visions (Herm. *Vis.*) (Shepherd of Hermas),
 45, 92, 176, 180, 255, 258, 273, 276, 439,
 441
Visio Pauli, 181
Vita Beatae Euphrasie, 396
Vita Cypriani (Pontius), 365
Vita sanctae Euphrasiae, 170
Vita Sanctae Walpurgae Virginis, 390,
 392–93
Vita sancta Marie Aegyptiae, 405
Vita Sancti Abraham heremite, 391
Vita Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis, 405
Vita sancti Arbogasti Episcopi, 391
Vita Sancti Athansii Episcopi, 391
Vita Sancti Augustini Episcopi: Scio item non
 solus, 388
Vita Sancti Cassiani, 387
Vita S[anc]ti Ecgwini, 406
Vita Sancti Ermenlandi Abbatis, 385, 387
Vita Sancti Gregorii, 417
Vita Sancti Gregory papae, 417
Vita sancti Guthlaci, 402, 405
Vita sancti Hieronimi presbyteri, 400, 404
Vita Sancti Iuuenalis Episcopi, 391
Vita Sancti Leonis Pape, 390, 393
Vita sancti Oswaldi Ebor, 399–400, 406
Vita Sancti Patricii, 396
Vita Sancti Pirminii, 388
Vita S[an]cti Suithini Epi[scope], 406
Vita Sancti Syri et Niuentii Episcoporum,
 390
Vita Sanctorum Alexandri et Athansii
 Episcoporum, 393
Vita Sci Ecgwyni Episcopi, 402, 406
Vita vel Obitus Sancti Vodoali cognomento
 Benedictus, 396
volgarismi, 141

- volitional martyrdom, 13
 von Franz, Marie-Louise, 174, 248–49, 438
 Von Scarpatetti, B. M., 389
 vows, to gods, 278
 Vulgate (Vulg), 142, 159, 175, 189, 203, 212

 Wallis, R. E., xi, 182, 437
 Weber, Teresa, 413
 Weitzmann, Kurt, 175
 wet nurses, 147, 164, 205
 Wilken, R. L., 72n40
 Willibald, 387
 Winwaloe (saint), 417
 witchcraft, 312
 Witherington, Ben, 39
 women
 anti-female faction of Christianity, 262
 cults and, 33
 education of, x, 23, 32–34, 150–51, 156
 elite, 30–31, 33, 47, 164, 237
 legal status of, 186
 literacy of, 5
 status of, 30–31, 237
Women Writers of the Middle Ages (Dronke),
 440
 Wool, Susan, 385
 wrestling match, Perpetua's dream of, 129–30,
 248–72, 332
 Wright, C. J., 409

 Xenophon, 156, 263, 432

 zealots, 193, 271, 334
 Zechariah (Zec), 173, 235
 Zeno, 291, 360
 Zephyrinus (bishop), 11
 Zettel, P. H., 410, 412
 Zeus, 234, 258, 330