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The Hagiography of Chaste Marriage in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*

by

Robert K. Upchurch

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2001

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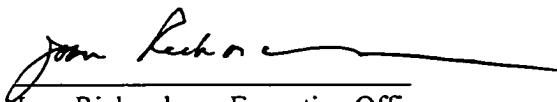
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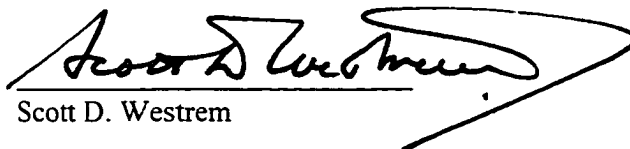
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Abstract

The Hagiography of Chaste Marriage in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*

by

Robert K. Upchurch

Adviser: Professor E. Gordon Whatley

This study undertakes to suggest why the monk Ælfric found particular relevance in hagiographical acts of marital virginity for his patron, the pious Anglo-Saxon warlord Æthelweard, his son Æthelmær, and a wider circle of like-minded lay readers. Attention is given to three legends of virgin spouses that Ælfric includes in the *Lives of Saints*, the collection of hagiographical and homiletic pieces that he composed late in the last decade of the tenth century at Æthelweard's request. One approach to understanding the mind-set with which he read and selected for the *Lives* the stories of Julian and Basilissa, Cecilia and Valerian, and Chrysanthus and Daria, and the point where the dissertation begins, is by surveying his pastoral advice on lay virginity found in his *Catholic Homilies*, two series of forty sermons published prior to the *Lives*. Chapters two through four build on this context to suggest that he found these legends useful vehicles for reinforcing the ideology of virginity articulated in his sermons. Each of these chapters examines an individual legend and contains a brief history of its use in Anglo-Saxon England as a prelude to a close reading of Ælfric's version. In order for the reader to have the fullest understanding of his editorial processes, chapter 5 contains transcriptions of three previously unpublished Latin *passiones* from the Cotton-Corpus legendary, which has been identified as Ælfric's putative Latin source. Paragraphs in the Latin texts are keyed to the corresponding lines in Ælfric's versions, and the sentences that he either translated verbatim or paraphrased have been italicized to facilitate comparisons of the Latin and Old English saints' lives.

Acknowledgments

I arrived in New York City on this day, 1 August, seven years ago, having never heard the word hagiography, never having read a saint's life. Having grown up in a small town in Mississippi largely populated by Protestants, the closest thing to a saint's life that I knew was the biography of Bear Bryant, the legendary football coach at the University of Alabama. My interest in legends and champions of a different sort emerged during my first year at the Graduate School when I had the pleasure of taking seminars with Catherine McKenna, Scott Westrem, and Gordon Whatley. I have yet to encounter another group of scholars whose deep knowledge of their subjects is so richly complemented by personalities that brim with humor, generosity, humility, and kindness. Any success that I have had or may have in the future is due in large part to them.

Catherine McKenna has never failed to express enthusiasm for my work and continually reminds me that scholars can be engaging, witty, joyful, and humane.

Scott Westrem has shown me that to be a teacher and scholar is indeed a high calling. I would not have thought it possible that the man I first called my mentor would have become such an intimate friend.

None has had a greater impact on me as a medievalist than Gordon Whatley. His immense learning is lightly borne and attracts rather than repels. His acumen is matched by a generosity that is often astonishing, and with his critical eye is also found immeasurable patience. He has given unstintingly of himself and has trained me well.

Without Elizabeth Hollow, whom I first met in Catherine McKenna's seminar and who remains a faithful and loving friend, and Bill Pagonis, who is ever-ready to work through the train wrecks of my Latin translations, I would not have survived.

I am also grateful for the support of the Graduate School. The Robert E. Gilleece Fellowship allowed me the luxury of focusing primarily on things medieval for my first few years in school, and a Morton N. Cohen Dissertation Assistance Award enabled me to work first-hand with manuscripts in British libraries.

Ralph and Ann Lake of Memphis, Tennessee kindly offered their flat in London to me on several occasions at no cost, which allowed me to stay longer and visit more libraries than would have been possible otherwise. Friends in England, Caspar Branson, John Carlisle, Adrian and Suzanne Cooke, all kept me well fed and entertained.

It should be evident that in no way would it have been possible to complete this dissertation alone. Linda and Chris Clark have kept my library well stocked with hard to find and much too expensive dictionaries. My family has been a source of the good humor, support, or, in the case of my brothers, sheer ridicule, that contributes to the completion projects like this one. But the person to whom I am most grateful for support is my wife Karen. Amidst the pursuit of her own Ph.D. (and being pursued for the last ten months by our daughter Gabriela) she has read, listened, encouraged, cajoled, and carted enough books from the East to West Village to need a permit for transporting heavy goods. She more than anyone has enabled me to keep this dissertation in proper perspective, and I am deeply thankful for her.

Finally, my mother must have asked me at least twice a month for the last seven years if I'd finished my "paper" yet. It is finished, and it is for her.

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Introduction

In the last decade of the tenth century, at the request of his patron Æthelweard, a West-Saxon nobleman, the monk Ælfric translated into Old English a collection of saints' lives and homiletic pieces known today as the *Lives of Saints*. Having already provided the English laity with the *Catholic Homilies*, two series of forty sermons that include stories of such nationally-celebrated saints as the Apostles, Pope Gregory the Great, and Saint Benedict, Ælfric provides his lay readership in the *Lives* with legends of saints honored by English monks. In addition to its five homiletic pieces, the collection's twenty-seven legends represent a wide variety of saints (martyrs and confessors, lay and religious, male and female).¹ Some of his choices are easier to understand than others.² The stories of military saints, such as George, the Forty Soldiers, and the Maccabees, seem appropriate to a collection written for a devout Anglo-Saxon soldier and royal military adviser, as do the lives of the monk-bishop Basil and the abbot Maurus, which provide prototypes for their English counterparts. More difficult to understand is his decision to give prominence to the legends of the virgin spouses Julian and Basilissa, Chrysanthus and Daria, and Cecilia and Valerian. Only eight female saints are included in the *Lives*: four unmarried virgin martyrs (Eugenia, Agnes, Agatha, and Lucy) and four married virgin spouses, three of whom (Basilissa, Cecilia, and Daria) have husbands who

¹ There are thirty-four items in the *Lives* (nos. 23b, 30, and 33 in Skeat's edition are not by Ælfric). Four are liturgical homilies for the Proper of the Season: no. 1 (Christmas), no. 12 (Ash Wednesday), and no. 13 (Mid-Lent), and no. 17 (Rogationtide, the three days before Ascension Day). No. 16, "On the Memory of the Saints," is for an unspecified occasion. Pope classifies no. 18, "A Sermon from the Book of Kings," and no. 25, The Maccabees, as "non-liturgical narrative pieces" (Pope, I:143). For a list of works in Ælfric's canon see Pope, I:136-45 and on the dating of those works, Pope I:146-50 and Clemoes, "Chronology."

² Lapidge reckons that over three hundred saints were honored in Anglo-Saxon England ("Saintly Life," p. 247).

are also saints. A fourth virgin spouse, though not a martyr, is Æthelthryth, the English wife and nun who maintained her virginity throughout (despite) two marriages. She is not considered here because hers is a story of virginity preserved in spite of her spouses rather than in unanimity of spirit with them.³ This study undertakes to suggest just why Ælfric found particular—even peculiar—relevance in hagiographical acts of marital virginity for the warlord Æthelweard, his son Æthelmær, who was himself a father, and a wider circle of like-minded lay readers.⁴

If we accept the traditional date of 955 for his birth⁵, Ælfric would have been in his late thirties when, in 992, he began the *Lives of Saints* as a monk at Cernel Abbey in southern England; he would have been in his mid-forties when he sent the completed work to Æthelweard six years later.⁶ It was at Cernel that Ælfric, a former monk of Winchester and future abbot of Eynsham (near Oxford), distinguished himself as a grammarian, translator, educator, and moralist.⁷ He had been a student of the powerful bishop

³ A recent, insightful article on Ælfric's reasons for including Æthelthryth in the *Lives* is Jackson's "Purpose." See too chapter 1, note 13.

⁴ On Æthelweard and Æthelmær, see Jones, *Letter*, p. 6; Yorke, "Æthelmær," p. 19; and Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 192 and 209-10. Ælfric wrote works for three other laymen that we know of: (1) Sigeweard, who seems to have convinced him to deliver a sermon at his house, received a digest of biblical history that is commonly referred to both as "Letter to Sigeweard" and "On the Old and New Testament" (Crawford, ed., *Heptateuch*, pp. 15-75, at p. 16); (2) Wulfgeat, who had heard or read an unspecified composition of Ælfric and requested another, received a letter instructing him how to live a model Christian life (Assmann 1, at ll. 3-6); and (3) Sigefyrth, who having told Ælfric of an English anchorite's position that priests were permitted to marry, receives a spirited letter defending clerical celibacy (Assmann 2, at ll. 1-7). Surely Lapidge's assertion that Ælfric's "intention was simply to provide for lay readers an abbreviated legendary containing readings for those saints' days which he judged to be most universal" is reductive ("Sainly Life," p. 258).

⁵ Wilcox suggests a date of ten to fifteen years earlier (*Prefaces*, p. 7).

⁶ Keynes concludes that Æthelweard died in 998, which is about the time that Ælfric finished his commission or soon after (*Diplomas*, p. 192).

⁷ For overviews of Ælfric's life and works, see Greenfield and Calder, *Critical History*, pp. 75-88; and Wilcox's introduction in *Prefaces*. Full length studies include those by Hurt, *Ælfric*; and White, *Ælfric*. On the founding of Eynsham Abbey by Æthelmær, Ælfric's younger patron, see Jones, *Letter*, pp. 5-9, 12-15, 48-49; and Yorke, "Æthelmær."

Æthelwold at Winchester, one of the centers of the monastic (so-called “Benedictine”) reform and cultural flourishing that attended and followed the reign of Edgar (959-975).⁸ His tenure at Cerne (987-1005) coincided with the rule of Edgar’s son Æthelred (978-1016), whom Æthelmær served as adviser.⁹ Yet during a period marked by the political unrest that accompanied Æthelred’s disputed succession following the murder of King Edward, his brother, in 978, the renewal of raids by the Vikings in the 980s, and the subsequent payment of larger and larger tributes to prevent continued foreign invasions, the monastic reform continued to thrive.¹⁰ Ælfric’s specific role within this movement was to provide educational materials that would help the reformers achieve their goals of reviving strict monastic discipline among English ecclesiastics and of instructing the laity in the basic tenets of Christianity.¹¹

Central to the reformers’ visions of a proper social order are ideas of virginity that Ælfric inherited from his acknowledged patristic sources. Among his favorites sources are Augustine of Hippo (355-430), the north-African bishop most famous for his *Confessions* and the *City of God* but in Anglo-Saxon England also valued for his sermons¹², and Bede

⁸ For overviews of the reform, see Farmer, “Progress”; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 31-82; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 433-69; and Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, pp. ix-xxviii. More detailed studies focusing on each of the three leading reformers are found in the following collections of essays: Brooks and Cubitt, *St. Oswald*; Ramsay, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, *St. Dunstan*; and Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*. On Æthelwold’s school at Winchester, see Lapidge, “Æthelwold”; and Gneuss, “Æthelwold’s School.” For comments on Ælfric as the bishop’s pupil, see Clemons, “Ælfric,” pp. 191-92.

⁹ Yorke, “Æthelmær,” p. 19; and Jones, *Letter*, p. 12.

¹⁰ Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 198-200. On the political climate during Æthelred’s reign see, see “Yorke, “Æthelwold”; Stafford, *Unification and Conquest* and “Church and Society”; Campbell, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 192-207; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 372-90; Whatley, “Late Old English Hagiography,” pp. 441-44; and Jones, *Letter*, pp. 42-51.

¹¹ Clayton, “Homiliaries,” pp. 213-16, 234-35. Monastic education had been neglected (or had not been programmatic), and Christianity in tenth-century England was by no means in unity; see the studies cited in n. 8.

¹² CHIII, pp. xlvi-xlix.

(c. 673-735), another major Anglo-Saxon writer of (Latin) prose, who is chiefly remembered today for his exceptional history of the English church and people, but, who, like Ælfric, also wrote several saints' lives and other theological works and had far-reaching educational goals.¹³ Monastic reformers in late Anglo-Saxon England pursued a policy that all bishops were to be monks, and only monk-bishops and abbots of communities that strictly enforced the Benedictine Rule were to serve as advisers to the king. Communities of monks and nuns were to be segregated. Unchaste, unreformed clergy were to be deprived of their properties, privileges, and rights. The laity too were to be held to higher standards of *clænnysse*, an Old English word meaning both "chastity" and "purity," as the Church sought to enforce the ecclesiastical laws regulating marital intercourse¹⁴ and to infuse Anglo-Saxon Christians with its undertaking of religious purity or orthodoxy. The latter was to be accomplished by teaching the laity, for example, the meaning of the Trinity, Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection, the significance of the sacraments, and the proper structure of the liturgical year.¹⁵

Both the *Catholic Homilies* and the *Lives of Saints* represent Ælfric's attempts to incorporate the laity as fully as possible into the reformers' ideology of virginity. Both are didactic of course, but the *Homilies*, because they were intended for public delivery on festival Sundays throughout the Church year, are more specific about exactly how they are to live as model Christians. More particularly this included when couples should or should

¹³ On the patristic sources see, Godden, "Ælfric's Sources" (CHIII, pp. xxxviii-lxii); Pope, "The Sources" (I:150-177); Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus" and "Bede and the Benedictine Reform;" Clemoes, "Ælfric," pp. 185-86; and Greenfield and Calder, *Critical History*, p. 77. For Bede's educational program, which included the translation of the Gospel of John into Old English, see Greenfield and Calder, *Critical History*, pp. 16-22.

¹⁴ See Payer, "Regulations" and *Sex and the Penitentials*.

¹⁵ See n. 5.

not have intercourse and what kinds of celibacy are expected of them. The *Lives*, by contrast, is a text written for devotion, and possibly intellectual entertainment, that would have been read both privately by Æthelweard and Æthelmær and publicly among their families and households: it may also have been circulated among a circle of Christian kinsmen and friends.¹⁶ But other than its stated purpose of “edifying” (*edificando*) the faithful and “renew[ing] those who are more inactive in the faith” (*magis fide torpentes recreare*),¹⁷ the collection offers the reader little guidance about how to interpret the pious deeds featured in the legends of Julian and Basilissa, Cecilia and Valerian, and Chrysanthus and Daria.

How exactly the legends fit into the ideology of virginity that Ælfric articulates in the *Homilies* is, as is mentioned above, the subject of this study, but it is important to have some understanding of the history of the concept—and practice—of chaste marriage in order to appreciate the implications of Ælfric’s redeployment of the concept in late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England. The history of the milieu within which the idea of chaste marriage emerges has been thoroughly documented by Peter Brown and Dyan Elliott.¹⁸

¹⁶ For Ælfric’s expectation that the *Lives* will be read privately and publicly, see LS.Praefatio.4. Members of the clergy, however, appear to have owned the later copies of the *Lives* (Whatley, “Late Old English Hagiography,” p. 449).

¹⁷ LS.Praefatio.3 and 15.

¹⁸ The following discussion is heavily indebted to Brown’s *Body and Society* and Elliott’s *Spiritual Marriage* (hereafter cited only and separately as Brown and Elliott). A convenient bibliography on chaste marriage is that of McGlynn and Moll (“Chaste Marriage,” pp. 119-122). As is evident from glancing at the variety of studies listed there, historians have done most of the work on chaste marriage. Only in Elliott’s *Spiritual Marriage* does the business of men and women living chastely together receive sustained attention. Her investigation bypasses some of the important Latin and almost all the vernacular hagiographical literature that this tradition inspired, although, to be fair, the omission of Aldhelm (the seventh-century West-Saxon hagiographer and the abbot of Malmesbury) and Ælfric from her study, as well as the intermittent recourse to the legendary hagiographies, when she lacks other more “reliable” sources for historical evidence of the practice of chaste marriage, result from her historical focus. This study represents an initial answer to McGlynn and Moll’s call for a more literary approach to the subject (p. 115). I have had the opportunity to consult Liesl Smith’s University of

The idea's origin, or at least the grounds for its defense, resides in the Bible itself, particularly in the epistles of the apostle Paul who urges the Corinthians "who have wives" to "live as though they had none" (1 Corinthians 7:29).¹⁹ But surely most second-century Syrians, Christians and non-Christians alike, would have been puzzled by the Encratites, a group of ascetic zealots, who renounced their marriages, took vows of chastity as prerequisites for baptism, and embraced the doctrine that only the chaste could be saved.²⁰ Encratite communities survived into the fourth and fifth centuries²¹, but the movement and the texts which reflect its theology, such as the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, in which Christ convinces newlyweds to forgo "foul intercourse" for sexual and spiritual tranquility, were condemned as heretical.²²

The idea that chastity warrants extra merit in heaven and that it could be realized in a context in which men and women lived together even found its way into clerical circles as early as the third century. As some members of the priesthood sought to distinguish themselves from the laity by adopting standards of chaste living, many unmarried priests took up residence with consecrated women known by the opponents of the practice in Greek as *syneisaktoi* and in Latin as *virgines subintroductae*, "virgins surreptitiously brought in."²³ The risks to both parties' religious vows are obvious, and syneisaktism was swiftly and roundly denounced, though by no means extinguished, by orthodox authorities

Toronto dissertation (2000). "Virginité and the Married-Virgin Saints in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: the Translation of an Ideal," which came to my attention after the majority of my work was completed.

¹⁹ Elliott, p. 67.

²⁰ Brown, pp. 84-101, and Elliott, pp. 26-30.

²¹ Brown, p. 101.

²² The passage from the *Acts of Thomas*, quoted by Elliott on p. 29, is found in James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 369-70.

²³ The point and translation are Elliott's (p. 32 and note 56).

and was officially forbidden before the year 300.²⁴ While chaste marriages were unacceptable for unmarried priests, married clergymen were ordered as early as 305 at the synod of Elvira to adopt chaste marriages with their wives or lose their privileges, an order whose repetition in subsequent legislation is some measure of its ineffectualness.²⁵

Chaste marriage enjoyed some favor among married laymen in the late antique period and early Middle Ages. It provided a way for pious, ascetically-minded couples to achieve the physical and spiritual purity with which church law demanded they participate in Communion²⁶ and allowed women more latitude socially and sexually.²⁷ To a certain degree the arrangement was endorsed by the Church Fathers. They commonly held that all marriages would eventually evolve into chaste unions since sexual relations between a man and wife would, as they put it, naturally cease once the wife aged beyond childbearing years²⁸, but this slow evolution is quite different from adopting chastity at the outset of marriage. Jerome (c. 345-420), the Doctor of the Church whose translations of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures formed a majority of the Latin Bible known as the Vulgate, favored chaste marriages to procreative ones since “those couples who marry and live chastely together sanctify one another by turning their thoughts to God—a logical extension of Paul’s remarks [1 Corinthians 7:32-34] that the married [in a sexual

²⁴ Elliott, p. 33; McNamara, “Chaste Marriage,” p. 26; and Frazee, “Origins,” p. 157.

²⁵ Barstow, *Married Priests*, pp. 23, 27-28; McNamara, “Chaste Marriage,” pp. 24-26; and McGlynn and Moll, “Chaste Marriage,” p. 106. See the section on “Clerical Chastity” in their bibliography on p. 121.

²⁶ McNamara, “Chaste Marriage,” p. 26; McGlynn and Moll, “Chaste Marriage,” p. 106. For general discussions of abstinence in medieval sexual practice, all of which include considerations of penitentials written in Anglo-Saxon England, see Brundage, “Better to Marry,” Payer, “Regulations” and *Sex and the Penitentials*, esp. pp. 23-28, and Frantzen, *Penance*.

²⁷ Elliott, pp. 55-63 and McNamara, “Chaste Marriage,” pp. 29-30.

²⁸ Elliott, p. 41 and Brown, p. 69.

relationship] must take thought for one another and were therefore less free to take thought for God.”²⁹ Such a position is commensurate for a man whose own friendships with the widowed ascetics Marcella at Rome and Paula at Bethlehem took on overtones of matrimony and whose widely read *Life of Malchus* features a chaste couple.³⁰ But Jerome so tirelessly championed the single virginal state by denigrating marriage that he provoked the monk Jovinian to publish a much-heeded call for monks and nuns to leave the monastery and marry. His celebrated rebuttal “Against Jovinian,” which includes his endorsement of chaste marriage, was so hyperbolic a denigration of marriage that Augustine joined the debate and became, as Elliott calls him, “the architect of spiritual marriage in the West.”³¹ He too believed that all couples would eventually adopt celibacy, and he imagined that a union cemented by affection would be stronger than a bond based on sex. But he singles out for special praise couples who refrained from intercourse before being compelled to do so by their bodies³² and lauds as the “highest perfection of Christianity” the marriage that is preserved in virginity.³³ This conclusion is remarkable because it stresses that the marriage union cannot be dissolved and is most likely to remain if it is not sexual.³⁴

While Augustine set out to assure couples that they were eligible for great

²⁹ McNamara, “Chaste Marriage,” p. 28.

³⁰ For “Against Jovinian,” see Hritzu, trans., *St. Jerome*. For an edition and translation of Jerome’s *Life of Malchus*, see Mierow, *Vita Malchi* and White, *Early Christian Lives*. On Jerome’s life, see Kelly, *Jerome*.

³¹ Elliott, p. 43.

³² Elliott, pp. 47–48. The passage from Augustine reads: “[T]hey are better in proportion as they begin the earlier to refrain by mutual consent from sexual intercourse, not that it would afterwards happen of necessity that they would not be able to do what they wished, but that it would be a matter of praise that they had refused beforehand what they were able to do” (Wilcox, *Good of Marriage*, p. 12).

³³ McNamara, “Chaste Marriage,” p. 28.

³⁴ Elliott, pp. 47–50.

heavenly rewards, he never intended for two people who were committed to chastity to marry; he even condemns as heretical a religious community of virgins who married and adopted children.³⁵

Ideally celibacy should be separate from marriage. Given the lack of official support for lay celibacy adopted at the outset of marriage, it is thus rather surprising that the hagiography featuring such arrangements retains its currency throughout the Middle Ages.³⁶ One of the most famous legends of married celibates, and perhaps the one most familiar to students of English literature, is the late fifth-century legend of Cecilia and Valerian, which was still being retold nearly a millennium later by the Second Nun in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*.³⁷ Obligated to marry by her family, Cecilia, a Christian, is wed to Valerian, a pagan. When they retire to the bedroom to consummate the marriage, she reveals to him that she has dedicated her virginity to God and is guarded by an angel who will kill him should he try to defile her. Valerian converts in order to see this angel (claiming that he will kill them both if he discovers she is feigning virginity to mask a separate relationship) and once he has been baptized and instructed in the faith, agrees to live with his wife as a virgin. After the couple converts Tiburtius, Valerian's brother, all

³⁵ Elliott, p. 48; for Augustine's reservations about chaste marriage among the laity, see pp. 51-63.

³⁶ Over half of the more than twenty legends of chaste marriage surveyed by Badouin de Gaiffier feature couples who marry and live together as virgins. In his other examples, one of the spouses flees before the union can be consummated ("*Intactam Sponsam*," p. 182). See too Elliott's appendices nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6.

³⁷ Benson, *Chaucer*, pp. 264-69. On Chaucer's treatment of the legend see Reames, "Cecilia Legend" and "Recent Discovery." The durability of these legends of chaste marriage in Old English literature will be discussed in full below, but their currency in Middle English literature should not be overlooked. See the entries for Cecilia and "Crisaunt and Daria" in D'Evelyn and Foster, "Saints' Legends," as well as Edward the Confessor, Mary of Oignies, and Bridget of Sweden, who took a vow of chastity after bearing eight children. Important too in Middle English hagiography of chaste marriage is the legend of Alexius, who belongs in the second of de Gaiffier's categories mentioned in the note above. His life survives in nine different Middle English versions, of which one, a version found in the *South English Legendary*, has been newly edited in the forthcoming Whatley, Thompson, and Upchurch, *Saints' Legends*.

three are martyred for their faith. This pattern in which a Christian man or woman who has dedicated his or her virginity to God agrees to marry and then, once married, converts the new spouse to Christianity and celibacy is also played out in Julian and Basilissa, though in this case, the groom converts the bride on the wedding night.³⁸ The legend of Chrysanthus and Daria preserves a slight variation on the theme, as Chrysanthus converts Daria before he marries her. As was true in the story of Cecilia and Valerian, each of these legends can be divided into a *vita* portion that chronicles the “life” of the couple and a *passio* portion, which features their “sufferings” and martyrdoms. In fact, the latter portions of these three *passiones*, as they are called in Latin, can each be characterized as a *passion épique*, Hippolyte Delehaye’s term for the formulaic narratives that move the saints along a prescribed course of interrogation, pious response and prayer, torture, miracles, and, finally, martyrdom.³⁹

From our temporally remote perspective, we may wonder why the motif of chaste marriage was combined with the standard martyr’s *passio* in the legends of Julian and Basilissa, Cecilia and Valerian, and Chrysanthus and Daria. Various reasons will be considered in the chapters that follow. Slightly less remote and more easily discernible, however, is the appeal that these legends of celibate spouses held for Ælfric. The great majority of the nearly sixty hagiographical pieces that he composed in Old English over the course of his career are *passiones*⁴⁰, so it is doubtful that their manners of death

³⁸ More often the man converts the woman (de Gaiffier, “*Intactam Sponsam*,” pp. 164-82; and Glasser, “Marriage,” p. 17).

³⁹ *Les Passions*, pp. 171-226, at p. 171.

⁴⁰ For a complete listing, see Whatley, “Late Old English Hagiography,” pp. 461-72.

attracted his attention. Rather it was their chaste marriages. One approach to understanding the mind-set with which he read and selected these stories for the *Lives*, and the point where this study begins, is by surveying his pastoral advice on lay virginity that we find in the *Homilies*. Chapters two through four build on this context to suggest that Ælfric found these legends useful vehicles for reinforcing the ideology of virginity articulated in his sermons. Each of these chapters examines an individual legend in the order that it appears in the *Lives* and contains a brief history of its use in Anglo-Saxon England as a prelude to a close reading of Ælfric's text. Comparing, for example, treatments by another celebrated West Saxon hagiographer, Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709), who gives prominence to married saints in the *De virginitate*, his treatise on virginity which was an important school text in tenth-century English monastic schools, throws into relief the individuality of Ælfric's own recensions. In order for the reader to have the fullest understanding of his editorial processes, the study concludes with transcriptions of three previously unpublished Latin *passiones* which have been identified as his putative Latin sources. Paragraphs in the Latin texts are marked with the corresponding lines in Ælfric's versions, and the sentences that he either translated verbatim or paraphrased have been italicized so that the reader may visually gain a more immediate sense of his borrowing before pursuing a line by line comparison of the Latin and Old English texts. I admit that I remain unsure if these stories ever significantly altered the behavior of Anglo-Saxon Christians in late tenth-century England, or if they only remained *swide hefigtyme*, "very wearisome," for them to hear. But I hope to show clearly in the pages that follow why Ælfric included the virgin spouses in a work written for the laity. Indeed their

presence in his *Lives of Saints* may say more about his own desires than those of his audience, for they model a literal chastity and a figurative purity of belief, that if practiced among the faithful, would transform Anglo-Saxon England into the holy society Ælfric so eagerly longed to see.

Chapter I

To Understandenne Lichamllice and Gastlice: Ælfric's Ideas on Marital Celibacy

That Ælfric, a monk, would regard *clænnysse*—to employ an Old English word for “chastity” and “purity”—as a distinctive virtue is unsurprising. To deem it the highest virtue for the laity, as he does in a sermon for Christmas Day, is.

[A]nd [we sceolon] ða ðing lufian ðe god bebead. þæt is eadmodnys. and mildheortnys. rihtwisnys. and soðfæstnys. ælmesdæda. and gemetfæstnys. gepylð and clænnys; þas ðing lufað god and huru ða clænnysse ðe he sylf ðurh hine. and ðurh þæt clæne mæden his modor astealde:

(CHII.1.281-85)¹

And [we should] love those things which God commanded: that is, humility and mercy, righteousness and truth, almsgiving and self-control, patience and chastity. God loves these things, and especially chastity, which he himself established through himself and the chaste virgin, his mother.

The importance of lay virginity to Ælfric is evident from the nineteen homilies in which he touches on the subject.² In seven of these he defines chastity *gastlice*, figuratively or

¹ This list of virtues is one of several charges that he gives to the audience at the conclusion of the homily, and it resembles but does not repeat the lists of the fruits of the spirit found in Paul's writings; compare Galatians 5:22-23, Ephesians 4:2 and 5:9, Colossians 3:12-15, and 2 Corinthians 6:6 (the only verse to mention *castitas* or purity). Malcolm Godden, suggests that “Ælfric perhaps has in mind, in these final injunctions, the ways in which the laity normally celebrated Christmas, but the emphasis on chastity as the key virtue at 283-87, though perhaps justified by the earlier discussion of the virgin birth, sounds more like an allusion to his criticisms of the secular clergy” (CHIII, p. 354). In my opinion, *clænnysse* must apply to the laity as do the other virtues in the list. For reasons why Ælfric would apply to the laity a virtue normally reserved for the clergy, see the final pages of this chapter.

Passages in CHI and CHII are cited by series, item number, and line numbers; those in CHIII are cited by page number. All other homilies and the letters are cited by editor, item number, and line numbers. Entries from the *Lives of Saints* (LS) are cited similarly. I have followed the editors' decisions unless otherwise noted, but have expanded the ampersands and contractions in citations in CHI and replaced with a “g” or “gh” the “z” in Assmann and Fehr. The translations are primarily my own; I have consulted Thorpe's translations of the homilies and have, in some instances, reproduced his wording.

² See Hurt, *Ælfric*, p. 59. On the importance of repetition to the process of instilling belief, see Lees, *Tradition and Belief*, pp. 48, 56, and 130-31.

spiritually; twelve treat it *lichhamlice*, physically or literally.³ Among these twelve we may discern two ways in which he credits married couples with being physically *claene*, “chaste or pure.” First, in a passage from a sermon which John Pope called Ælfric’s “most comprehensive treatment of Christian morals,” he suggests that they adopt chastity permanently at the outset of their marriages.⁴ The homily is for Rogation Monday, the first day of the important three-day fast before Ascension Day, forty days after Easter. After explicating Jesus’s First Commandment, “Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind,” and its companion, “Love thy neighbor as thyself,” Ælfric sets out to show how kings, bishops, priests, judges, laymen, children, servants, the rich, the merchants, and the poor and sick should variously serve God in an idealized holy society. In his counsel for married men and women, he first draws on Paul’s advice about mutual fidelity, and the *passio* of Saints Peter and Paul for his counsel about respect between married couples (ll. 153-59).⁵ But the emphasis shifts quickly to the evil of divorce, as Ælfric repeats Jesus’s strictures against unilateral divorce for the purpose of remarriage (ll. 159-66). Next, in a further shift of emphasis, this time to

³ Ælfric’s allegorical treatments of spiritual marriage are: (i) CHI.33.19-27; (ii) CHI.35.40-46; (iii) CHII.1.91-120; (iv) CHII.4.25-36; (v) CHII.39.78-92; (vi) Assmann 3.53-184; and (vii) Assmann 6.89-105. For his use of this allegory in his interpretation of the fifth commandment, “Honor your father and mother,” see Fehr 5, p. 198. Sermons in which he discusses literal types of chastity are: (i) CHI.9.157-60; (ii) CHI.10.169-73; (iii) CHI.11.196-202; (iv) CHI.25.161-63; 166-69; (v) CHII.6.136-38; (vi) CHII.7.22-26; (vii) CHII.12.357-60; 363-64 and, from the *Secunda Sententia de hoc ipso*, ll. 542-44; 548-52; (viii) CHII.15.303-6; (ix) CHII.19.166-75; (x) CHII.23.71-76; (xi) Pope 19.111-15; and (xii) LS12.41-58. For a complete list of works comprising Ælfric’s canon, see Pope, I:136-45.

⁴ Pope, II:749.

⁵ Ælfric credits Paul both with the command from Colossians 3:19 that husbands are to love their wives without bitterness (ll. 153-54) and with the advice from the *passio* of Peter and Paul that the Lord punishes adultery in both partners (ll. 154-57) and that wives should obey their husbands as their own lords (ll. 157-59), although the advice about obedience has more biblical parallels (CHIII, pp. 524-25). Jesus’s establishment of the “first” of all the commandments is recounted in Mark 12:28-31.

celibacy, he says that divorce is permissible for those who prefer “exalted chastity” (healican clænnysse. l. 167) to “pensive lust” (hóhfullan galnysse. l. 168).⁶ Alternatively, and most pertinent to the discussion here, he goes on to say that men and women may hide themselves in wedlock while remaining celibate, if God so directs:

Eac hí magon on sinscipe. hí sylfe bedyglian. and hæmed forgán. gif him
swa god gewissað; (CHII.19.168-69)

Also they may hide themselves in wedlock and forego intercourse, if God so prompts them.

Godden finds no sources for this approval of chaste marriage, but to judge from Ælfric’s use of the *passio* of Saints Peter and Paul for his advice on marital relations, it may be that the legends’ status as sacred texts sufficed for him to sanction the practice of celibate spouses. I wonder if Ælfric suggests chaste marriage because he assumes that families determined to secure their patrimonies for the next generation would have rejected mutual separation. Anticipating that young couples would face pressures to marry not unlike those borne by Saints Julian and Chrysanthus as only sons and Cecilia as potential mother, he recommends an alternative. By hiding themselves in wedlock and adopting chastity, some special couples—emulating these saints—could simultaneously circumvent and meet societal expectations, pleasing their parents and winning everlasting favor with God.⁷

⁶ In his life of St. Thomas the Apostle, LS36.385-89, Ælfric stresses that this must be mutually agreed upon. For the “canons” to which Ælfric probably refers in this passage, see Whitelock, ed., *Councils and Synods* I:467 and note 1. Godden, CHIII, p. 525, finds “no sources or relevant parallels” for the discussion of marriage in ll. 166-85.

⁷ Lees uses the homily to demonstrate Ælfric’s “complex and conflicted attitude toward women” (*Tradition and Belief*, p. 136). In her synopsis of the homily, she mentions both mutual separation and procreative marital intercourse governed by reason but does not comment on Ælfric’s suggestion that married couples adopt chastity at the outset of marriage (pp. 135-36). Peter Jackson’s article, which appeared after my work on this chapter was completed, includes the homily in his enumeration of the sermons that contain Ælfric’s teaching on marriage (“Purpose,” p. 244). He comments that Ælfric “stresses the indissolubility of marriage, while conceding

I write “some couples.” because while Ælfric may have been gratified if some affianced couples heard the Rogation Day sermon and took it at face value, the bulk of his preaching to the laity about chastity was directed at married couples who could not or would not so readily adopt celibacy. But as we will see, he defines *clænnysse* in so many different ways that it is possible for his audience to have adopted less drastic modes of chastity to practice the virtue of purity while producing families.⁸ One form of marital celibacy is periodic abstention from sex. In a passage most likely excerpted from one of Ælfric’s letters, we learn that laymen were expected periodically “to preserve their chastity at holy times, and at the Lenten fast, and at every Emberfast,” a time of prayer and fasting on a Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday that occurred four times during the year.⁹ The church had long sought to regulate marriage by prohibiting sexual intercourse during these periods, and not surprisingly Ælfric’s efforts to foster its regulation of married believers are concentrated during Lent.¹⁰ Besides the Rogation Day homily, of which more will be

that couples who prefer to abstain may separate, or even forgo intercourse throughout marriage if God calls them both to do so.” Ultimately, however, he argues that Ælfric is uncomfortable with this idea of spiritual marriage among the laity: “It is worth noting, perhaps, that though in these discussions Ælfric in no way claims that lifelong virginity is impossible for the laity, he does tend to view it as the special prerogative of priests and monastics” (246). On the whole his argument is incisive and persuasive, but in my opinion his idea that Ælfric was “uneasy” (254, n. 71) with the laity pursuing lifelong chastity is overdetermined. Certainly, Ælfric does not recommend spiritual marriage for all couples, even most, but he appears to endorse the idea wholeheartedly, as my analysis of Ælfric’s lives of the virgin spouses in chapters 2–4 will show.

⁸ This homiletic teaching may also have enabled the laity to identify with the married saints in the *Lives*.

⁹ ...healdan heora clænnysse on halgum timan, and on ðam Leneten-fæstene, and on ælcum ymbren-fæstene (Thorpe, II:608). Ember days were observed in Lent and Pentecost and around September 13 or December 13, dates which fell near the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice. On the adaptation of Ælfric’s letter as a homily, see Pope, I:144. In *De Doctrina Apostolica* (Pope 19), Ælfric encourages laymen to go to church to take Communion on the following feast days and festival Sundays: (i) Sundays during Lent; (ii) the three “days of silence” before Easter; (iii) Thursday of Rogation Week (Ascension Day); (iv) Pentecost; and (v) the four Emberfast Sundays. Pope repeats an earlier editor’s observation that “this is Ælfric’s most explicit recommendation on the frequency with which the holy sacrament should be received by the laity” (II:636, note on II. 119-30).

¹⁰ See Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials*, pp. 23-28. On the political contexts of the church’s efforts to reach the laity, see Whatley, “Late Old English Hagiography” esp. pp. 442-44,

said later, there are eleven other homilies that deal with this more generalized type of marital *clænnysse*. Six are to be delivered during Lent and one at Easter.¹¹ For example, his homily for Quinquagesima, or Shrove Sunday, refers to Lent as a “chaste [or pure] and holy time” (clæne tid and halig, CHI.10.198).¹² In his sermon for the first Sunday in Lent he characterizes the season as a time to “tithe” one’s body, mind, and spirit¹³:

Swa swa godes .æ. us bebyt þæt we scolon ealle þa ðinc þe us gescotað of ures geares teolunge gode þa teoðunge syllan; Swa we scolon eac on ðisum teoðingdagum urne lichaman mid forhæfednysse gode to lofe teoðian; we sculon us gearcian on eallum þingum swa swa godes þegnas æfter ðæs apostoles tæcunge: on miclum gepylde; and on halgum wæccum; on fæstenum; on clænnysse, modes and lichaman, for ði læsse pleoh, bið þam cristenum menn þæt he flæsces bruce: þonne he on ðisre halgan tide wifes bruce:
(CHI.11.196-203)

As God’s law enjoins us that we should give to God the tenth of all the things which accrue to us from our yearly tillage, so should we likewise on these tithing-days tithe our body with abstinence to the praise of God. We should prepare ourselves in all things as God’s thanes after the apostles’ example, with great patience, and with holy vigils, with fasts, and with chastity of mind and body; for it is less perilous for a Christian man to eat meat than at this holy time to have intercourse with a woman.

In his homily for this same Lenten Sunday in the second series, he refers again to the season as a *clænum timan* (CHII.7.26) during which Christians, paradoxically in this

¹¹ The Lenten homilies are nos. ii, iii, v, vi, vii, viii in note 3. The Easter homily is no. xii.

¹² Here we find *clænnysse* named among a list of virtues similar to that in the Christmas Day sermon quoted above on p. 1: ...gif we hine [heofonrice] habban willað; we sceolon luðian mildheortnysse and clænnysse, and soðfæstnysse, and rihtwisnesse, and eaðmodnysse, and habban soðe lufe, to gode, to mann, and to dón ælmyssan be ure mæde and habban gemet on urum bigleofan and gehwilce odre halige þinc began; (CHI.10.169-74) [If we desire to obtain it [the kingdom of heaven], we should love mercy, and chastity, and truth, and righteousnes, and humility, and have true love to God and to men, and give alms according to our means, and be moderate in our nourishment, and observe all other holy things.]

¹³ For another connection between making an offering to God and offering one’s chastity as a sacrifice, see CHII.12 where Ælfric, following Isidore (CHIII, p. 460), explains that just as the Old Testament priests offered a turtledove for a sacrifice at the temple, so may believers offer a turtledove if they “live in chastity” (on clænnysse wuniad, CHII.12.364). Lees, *Tradition and Belief*, pp. 133-53, asserts that chastity is part of an “exchange system” (135) which values its symbolic potential to structure the ways in which men and women relate to one another and to the church as well.

formulation. “nourish [their] bodies with abstemiousness. and soberness. and chastity” (lichaman gereordigan mid fohæfednysse. and syfernysse. and clænnysse, CHII.7.24-25).

Though restrictions on food, drink, and sex are all at issue here, as in the first series he emphasizes the prohibition on marital intercourse, warning “[f]oolishly he keeps the Lenten fast, who at this pure time defiles himself with lust” (Stúntlice fæst sé lenctelic fæsten. se ðe on ðisum clænum timan hine sylfne mid gálnysse befyld; (CHII.7.25-26).

Ælfric’s most heavy-handed effort to urge his audience to practice chastity temporarily is found in his homily for Ash Wednesday preserved in the *Lives*. The sermon was actually meant to be delivered on Shrove Sunday rather than the following Wednesday, since, as Ælfric admits, “there will be fewer men here on Wednesday, than are here now today.”¹⁴ After explaining the symbolism of the sprinkling of the ashes, he takes this opportunity to drub his audience with three stories of men who paid dearly for refusing to heed the Lenten strictures on sex, food, and drink. The first is most pertinent to our discussion since it tells of a man who refused to go to the Ash Wednesday service and “said that he would have intercourse with his wife at the forbidden time” (sæde þæt he wolde his wifes brucan on þam unalyfedum timan, LS12.49-50)¹⁵:

And hit gelamp þæt se gedwola rád on ðære wucan ymbe sum ærende, þa gestodon hine hundas hetelice swyðe. and he hine werode oppæt his sceaft ætstod ætfor him and þæt hors hine bær forð swa þæt þæt spere him eode þurh ut and he feoll cwelende. (LS12.51-55)

And it happened that the fool went on an errand that week, when hounds

¹⁴ “...fordan þe her bið læs manna on wodnes dæg ðonne nu to dæg beoð” (LS12.289-90). Also see Pope, I:138.

¹⁵ The two others feature a man who vomits blood after eating during a Lenten mass and a man who is gored to death by a boar for drinking at will during Lent (LS12.59-64; 65-74).

attacked him very fiercely. and while he was defending himself, his spear-shaft stood erect in front of him. and the horse threw him forward so that the spear ran him through and he fell down mortally wounded.

Ælfric's irony is rarely so sardonic when preaching about lay virginity. and seldom does he resort to threats of this sort. Perhaps he risks offending his audience in the *Lives* because the collection was intended for small circulation among his patrons Æthelweard and Æthelmær. More likely he derives his zeal from the fact that in this sermon he stresses the theological importance of the official beginning of Lent, a preparation for Christianity's most sacred day when "he who will eat the host shall bind up lust (galnysse), and with chastity (clænnysse) receive holy communion."¹⁶

In Ælfric's opinion, married couples must abstain from sex periodically as long as the wife is able to bear children, but when she can no longer conceive, they must adopt chastity permanently.¹⁷ He preaches about this progression in the Rogation Day sermon discussed earlier. and he appears to have arranged the types of lay virginity from least to most pragmatic. Mutual separation (ll. 166-68) is followed by marriage that is secretly unconsummated (ll. 168-69), which is followed by chaste marriage for all couples:

Ne gesceop se ælmihtiga god. men for galnysse. ac þæt hi gestrynon. mid gesceade heora team. and eft on heora ylde. mid ealle þæt forlæton. ðonne ðæs wifes innod. unwæstmbære bið gehæfd. (CHII.19.172-75)

Almighty God did not shape men for lust, but that they might with discrimination beget their family. and afterwards, in their old age, leave all that behind when their wife's womb is considered to be unfruitful.

¹⁶ [S]e ðe wile þæt husel ðicgan hē sceal gewridan þa galnysse. and mid clænnysse ða halgan ðigene onfón (CHII.15.304-06).

¹⁷ Lees notes that Ælfric's emphasis on men alerts us to the way in which the idea of gender in his sermons is subsumed into a discussion of rank and state and, more generally, into the "universalizing discourse" of Christianity (*Tradition and Belief*, pp. 142-46. at p. 146). See too her analysis of Ælfric's Purification homily (CHI.9), pp. 139-141, esp. p. 140, and his "On Apostolic Doctrine" (Pope 19), pp. 143-46, esp. p. 146.

He returns in the sermon to the importance of abstaining from sex periodically (ll. 179-81) and to the prohibition against “sowing the same field twice,” that is, having sex with a pregnant wife (ll. 181-84), but his point is clear.¹⁸ While mutual separation and adopting chastity at the outset of marriage are voluntary, chaste marriage following a period of childbearing is compulsory for all Christian husbands and wives.

The idea that all marriages will evolve into chaste unions can be traced back to Augustine of Hippo’s “The Good of Marriage,” but his idea is that couples are to be praised for refraining from intercourse before they would naturally do so.¹⁹ In no way does he require it of all couples, and there is no verse in Scripture that I know of stating or implying, as Ælfric does, that having intercourse in one’s old age runs counter to God’s design of marriage. Ælfric does cite a written source for a similar comment in “On Apostolic Doctrine,” which focuses on St. Paul’s teaching on marriage and chastity in 1 Corinthians 7. There again intercourse during pregnancy and menstruation is forbidden, and the progression for all couples from periodic to permanent celibacy is mandated, if they are to be “perfected in the layman’s state”:

Nis swapeah hæmed geset for nanum þinge buton for bearnes gestreone,
and æfter þam boclican regole, ne sceolde nan man bearneacnigendum wife
genealæcan, ne monodseocum, ne þam ðe for ylde untymende byð. Se ðe
his healdan mæg, he byð fulfremed on læwedum hade, swa swa we be
manegum mannum rædad. (Pope 19.111-15)

Nor is intercourse established for anything except the begetting of children;

¹⁸ Ne sæwd nan yrðling, ænne æcer túwa, (CHII.19.181-82).

¹⁹ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, pp. 43-50, esp. pp. 47-48. This passage, cited earlier, bears repeating: “[T]hey are better in proportion as they begin the earlier to refrain by mutual consent from sexual intercourse, not that it would afterwards happen of necessity that they would not be able to do what they wished, but that it would be a matter of praise that they had refused beforehand what they were able to do” (Wilcox, *Good of Marriage*, p. 12).

and according to the written regulations, nor should any man approach a pregnant or menstruating wife, nor one who is barren due to old age. He who observes this may be perfected in the layman's state, just as we read about many men.

Despite the reference to "the book's rule" (*þæm boclican regole*), John Pope, who edited this sermon, suggests no source for these lines, but in yet another, similar passage from his sermon for Sexagesima Sunday, Ælfric cites Augustine as his source for his explanation that in the Parable of the Sower the thirty-fold crop yielded by the good seed corresponds to the heavenly rewards due to married couples, who act according to precisely these strictures:

Agustinus [sic] magnus sic docet: Geleaffulle læwede menn þe on rihtum sinscipe lybbað agifað þritigfealdne wæstm. góðra weorca. gif hí heora æwe æfter boclicum gesetnyssum healdað. þæt is þæt hí for bearnes gestreone on alyfedum timan hæmed began. and bearneacnigende wif. and monaðseoc forbugan. and ðonne heo leng tyman ne mæg. geswican hí hæmedes; Sind swa ðeah miccle má ðæra þe be heora agenum lustum lybban willað. þonne ðæra þe ðysre deopnysses cepan: Þis is læwedra manna regol æfter bóclícere gesetnysse.
(CHII.6.117-26)

The great Augustine teaches as follows: Believing laymen, who live in lawful wedlock, yield thirty-fold the fruit of good works, if they keep their marriage according to the written decrees; that is, they engage in intercourse for the procreation of children at permitted times, abstain from a pregnant and menstruating woman, and, when she may no longer reproduce, they should cease from intercourse. There are, nevertheless, many more of those who will live according to their own desires, than those who keep this subtlety. This is the rule for laymen according to the written decrees.

The issue of Ælfric's "reference" is a vexed one, for while Augustine was erroneously credited with composing a sermon equating the three crops in Matthew 13:8 with virginity, widowhood, and marriage and one in which he discourages sex during pregnancy or menstruation, in none of his works or those credited to him does he offer

this definition of “lawful wedlock.”²⁰ Ælfric’s reference to the “written institute” (bóclícere gesetnyse), and, I would add, “the book’s rule” (þæm boclican regole) in “On Apostolic Doctrine,” signals for Godden his familiarity with confessional or penitential texts.²¹ But while those texts routinely forbid intercourse during menstruation and pregnancy, Godden found none that required couples to refrain from intercourse after childbearing age, a fact which led him to conclude that “Ælfric’s heavy insistence on bookish authority for his views suggests that they may have been both unusual and controversial.”²²

Ælfric’s views may have been unusual and controversial, leading him to advance a “written” source for this view where one may not in fact have existed. Thus his willingness to disguise as Augustine’s his demand that all couples adopt celibacy permanently reflects the importance of virginity to his own idealization of the married state. In the Rogation Day homily, periodic followed by permanent abstinence is not an exceptional commitment made by special couples, but a basic feature in God’s design of

²⁰ CHIII, p. 392. The following comments on the sources of this passage depend heavily on Godden’s analysis. He notes that “[f]or the excursus on chastity Ælfric cites both Augustine and Gregory as authorities (lines 117-143), though in neither case has it proved possible to identify a precise source” (CHIII, p. 389). Jackson suggests that Ælfric “most probably had in mind” a genuine Augustinian source for this passage, such as *De sancta virginitate* 45.46, *De bono conjugali* 23.28, *De civitate Dei* 15.26, or *Quaestiones evangeliorum* 13.1.9; see “Purpose,” p. 242, n. 23. For other sermons in which Ælfric preaches about the three states, see CHIII, p. 76, the notes on lines 198-220. One instance that should be added to both Jackson’s and Godden’s list of occasions when Ælfric touches on the theme of the three-fold reward is found in his homily for the Nativity of St. Matthew (CHII.32). We are told that St. Matthew preaches on the three states to Hyrtacus, the Ethiopian king, who is determined to marry the former king’s daughter, an abbess. When Hyrtacus asks Matthew to help him plead his case, “the apostle said to them all what is befitting to wedlock, to widowhood, maidenhood, and what are the duties of every man who with belief continues in God’s church” (se apostol him eallum sæde. hwæt gebyrad to sincipe. hwæt to wyde wan hade. hwæt to mægdhade. and hwæt to ælces mannes deawum þe on godes geladunge mid geleafan wunad.). Hyrtacus departs in anger (CHII.32.150-67, at. ll. 158-60). See CHIII, p. 611.

²¹ For discussions of abstinence in medieval sexual practice, see p. 6, n. 24.

²² CHIII, p. 392.

marriage. In “On Apostolic Doctrine” this progression signals a triumph over lust and earns the couple perfection. In the Sexagesima homily, it is one of the cornerstones of the “lawful wedlock” by which *clænnysse* is imputed to the laity.²³

Ælfric seems to have anticipated that the additional limitations he placed on purposeful, procreative (and already heavily regulated) intercourse would be met with some resistance. In the Rogation Day homily, after following up his demand for permanent chastity with reminders about sexual self-control, he admits that “this is very burdensome for you to hear” and insists that he dare not pass it over in silence.²⁴ There is no indication that I can find that he ever expected his message to have been received gladly, and elsewhere he is not so apologetic. He upbraids any lustful man who “thinks it tedious to hear about the chastity (*clænnysse*) that God loves or about the heavenly preaching which contradict his desire.”²⁵ To the layman who thinks it “foolish” (dyslic, l. 85) to hear about spiritual circumcision, i.e. the need to “diminish his fleshly desires and lusts” (his flæsclican lustas. and galnysse gewanige, l. 87). Ælfric says flatly:

...cide he wið god þe hit gesette; na wið us þe hit secgað; ...be þisum ðinge
ge habbað oft gehyred ac us is acumendlicor eower gebelth þonne ðæs
ælmihigan godes grama. gif we his bebodu forsuwiad;
(CHI.6.85-86; 88-90)

²³ .Elcum menn gedafenad clænnysse.... þæt is þæs læwedan mannes clænnys. þæt he his æwe healde. and alyfedlice for folces eacan beam gestreone (CHII.6.136-38). [Chastity is befitting to every man.... The chastity of a layman is that he preserve his marriage and lawfully, for the increase of people, beget children.] For other sermons in which Ælfric emphasizes the lawfulness of the marriage bond without mentioning chaste marriage. see Assmann 2.138-43 and CHI.9.210-12.

²⁴ CHII.19.184-85, at . 185: þis is swide hefigtyme. eow to gehyrenne. Pope humorously notes in his introduction for this sermon that Ælfric follows his teaching on chastity and marriage with *exempla* from Bede counseling believers not to despair “to forestall a not unfamiliar response to the earlier precepts” (II:613).

²⁵ ...ðincð ædryt to gehyrenne ymbe ða clænnysse de god lufað. oððe ymbe ða heofenlican bodunga. ðe his lustum wiðcweðað (CHII.23.74-75).

Let him chide God who established it, not us who say it. ... You have heard of these things often, but it is easier for us to bear your bellowing than the anger of Almighty God, if we are silent about his commandments.

No matter whether he feels defensive or apologetic or is compelled to hedge his teaching about with claims of bookishness, Ælfric insists on preaching about lay virginity. We will return at the end of the chapter to his reasons for doing so, but for now we can conclude that he at least could count on his audience's familiarity with the topic if not their enthusiastic support for it.

Not all of his preaching about marital celibacy appears to have met with this kind of resistance. Not once in the seven homilies which treat chastity figuratively does Ælfric excuse his exhortations as burdensome or challenge the audience's receptiveness.²⁶ Instead of preaching about church strictures on their bodies, he exhorts them to preserve their spiritual chastity, by which he means their purity of faith and religious orthodoxy. He couches his exhortations within the patristic allegory of the divine spiritual marriage wherein Christ is the bridegroom and his virgin bride is the Church who remains a virgin even as she continually gives birth to new members of the church. Accordingly, the laity are to see themselves as virgins of the faith who remain chaste through steadfast belief. Like the virginal but fruitful Church, they are also expected to produce new believers.

It might seem far-fetched that Ælfric would ask his audience members to understand texts allegorically if it were not for his many exegetical homilies in which he teaches them to do so.²⁷ A good example is his sermon for Epiphany in which the

²⁶ See note 8.

²⁷ Clayton argues that Ælfric directs the literal interpretation of the story of Judith to a lay audience as an exhortation to defend England from the incursions of the Vikings. The figurative interpretations, by contrast, are

shepherds to whom the angels sing *Gloria in excelsis Deo* “symbolized” (getacnodon) the apostles who shepherd Christian flocks and the magi, the heathens who followed Christ.²⁸ Their gold, frankincense, and myrrh represent both Christ’s role as king, God, and man, and Christians’ gifts to God of wisdom, prayer, and continence. Likewise, in his sermon On the Feast-Day of Holy Virgins, he reveals the *deopnysse*, the “depth or subtlety,” of the Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matthew 25:1-13).²⁹ In preparing to discuss how the maidens going out to meet the bridegroom signify all Christians who await the return of Christ, Ælfric, following Augustine, writes³⁰:

Nis na gewunelic þæt mægðhád si gecweden on sinscipe. ac swa ðeah ðær is þæs geleafan mægðhad. þe wurðað ænne soðne god. and nele forligerlice to leasum hæðengylde bugan: Eal seo gelaðung ðe stent on mædenum. and on cnapum. on ceorlum and on wifum. eal heo is genamod to anum mædene. swa swa se apostol Paulus cwæð. to geleaffullum folce; Disponsau i uos uni uiro uirginem castam. exhibere christo [2 Corinthians 11:2]; þæt is on englisc. Ic bewedode eow anum were. þæt ge gearcian an clæne mæden criste; Nis ðis na to understandenne lichamlice. ac gastlice; Criste is se clæna brydguma. and eal seo cristene gelaðung is his bryd. þurh ða he gestrynd ðæghwomlice mennisce sawla to his heofenlican rice; Seo gelaðung is ure modor and clæne mæden. for ðan þe we beoð on hire geedcynnede to godes handa. þurh geleafan and fulluht. (CHII.39.78-92)

Virginity is not usually spoken of in connection with marriage, but, nevertheless, there is a virginity of faith, which worships one true God, and will not adulterously bow to an idol. All the congregation, which consists in girls and boys, husbands and wives, is called a virgin, as the apostle Paul said to the believers: ‘I have promised you to one man so that I might present a chaste virgin to Christ’ [2 Cor. 11:2]. That is in English: ‘I have

directed to cloistered nuns who are to read Judith as a figure of the Church defeating the devil and as a warning against violating their vows of chastity. She advises readers “to take all the interpretations offered by Ælfric as equally valid, but as operating on different levels and therefore not needing to be compatible” (“Ælfric’s Judith,” p. 218). See also her “Homiliaries,” and Szarmach. “Ælfric as Exegete.”

²⁸ CHI.7.55.

²⁹ CHII.39.26.

³⁰ Godden identifies Ælfric’s source for these lines as Augustine’s sermon 93, which he cites in full on p. 657 (CHIII, p. 656).

betrothed you to one man, that you may prepare a pure virgin for Christ.’ This is not to be understood physically but according to the spirit. Christ is the chaste bridegroom, and all the Christian church is his bride, by whom he daily begets human souls to his heavenly kingdom. The church is our mother and a chaste maiden, because we are in her born again to God’s hand through belief and baptism.

The analogies that accrue are complex, and they cut across traditional gender roles in surprising ways by asking men repeatedly to picture themselves as women: believers are to be virgin brides of Christ, children of the Church, and virgin mothers to new believers. Even with Ælfric’s added exhortation that begins with a reminder to read figuratively (gastlice), we may wonder how he might have reasonably expected Christians to understand this set of images.

An earlier departure from his source is indicative of his efforts to increase the audience’s comprehension of these abstract ideas. In Augustine’s sermon 93, a virgin of the faith is a Christian who refrains “from unlawful acts” and who does “good works.”³¹ Ælfric substitutes a concrete example of marital fidelity as a metaphor for spiritual virginity; his virgins must not be unfaithful to their heavenly spouse by “adulterously bow[ing] to an idol.”³² The image of the unfaithful spouse “a whoring after other gods” is biblical in origin, but it has the added advantage for Ælfric of complimenting his preaching about Christian marriage.³³ All Anglo-Saxon Christians would have been expected to be

³¹ Nam ut noverit sanctitas vestra, non importune secundum animam et secundum integritatem fidei, qua etiam fide ab illicitis abstinetur, et bona opera fiunt, unumquemque vel unamquamque animam virginem dici (CHIII, p. 657).

³² Of this substitution Godden remarks that “Ælfric’s justification for the identification of virgins with all Christians (because they do not fornicate with false pagan gods) is strikingly different from Augustine” (CHIII, p. 657).

³³ Judges 2:17 reads, “And yet they would not hearken unto their judges, but they went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves unto them: they turned quickly out of the way which their fathers walked in, obeying the commandments of the Lord (KJV); see also Exodus 31:6 and 34:15-16, Leviticus 20:6, and

familiar with the prohibition against adultery (únrihtmæm) in the fifth of the Ten Commandments, so they would have had little difficulty applying it to their relationship with their heavenly spouse.³⁴ In Ælfric's discussions of lawful marriage, fidelity is usually coupled with fecundity, so it is no surprise to encounter them in another treatment of the union between Christ and the Church³⁵:

Nu syndon ealle cristene men anum naman gehatene. ge weras, ge wif and ða unwittigan cild, seo halige gelaðung. þe gelyfd nu on god. And heo is mæden gehaten for þam micclan geleafan and for þam soðan truwan, þe heo symle hæfd to gode. þæt heo nele forlætan godes geleafan næfre, ne oðerne wer wolice geceosan. ac hylt þone sincipe þæs soðan hælendes on gastlicum þeawum and on gastlicum bearhteame. on clænnysse wunigende swa swa Cristes bryd. (Assmann 3.121-30)

Now all Christian men are called by one name—whether men, women, or unwitting children—[that name is] the holy church, which now believes in God. And she [the Church] is called a virgin on account of the great faith and true belief which she always has toward God, so that she never wishes to forsake God's belief nor perversely choose another man, but that she keeps the marriage of the true Savior in spiritual virtues and in spiritual childbearing, dwelling in chastity as Christ's bride.

This excerpt from his sermon for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary is part of Ælfric's most in-depth examination of the marriage of Christ and the Church. Because the homily was not widely circulated, its influence among the laity presumably would have been limited, but it is useful for demonstrating the consistency with which Ælfric developed this

Deuteronomy 31:16. Israel is personified as the unfaithful wife in Hosea 2:2-5. Lees points out a connection between the discourse about idolatry and the body in late Anglo-Saxon England: "On the one hand, fears of Arianism haunt the period, and the laws (secular and canonical), the penitential, and the homilies all regularly proscribe heresy and heathenism while prescribing chaste heterosexual behavior" (*Tradition and Belief*, p. 107). She is correct that the proscriptions against idolatry and heathenism in civil and ecclesiastical law merit further attention, though they are beyond the scope of this present study.

³⁴ He discusses the fifth commandment at CHII.12.318-20 and condemns adultery and fornication at CHII.19.170 and Assmann 2.138-46, a letter to the layman Sigefyrð in which marital fidelity is presented as one of the cornerstones of lawful marriage. On the adaptation of this letter as a homily, see Pope 1:31 and II:801.

³⁵ See Assmann 2.138-46 and the discussion of lawful marriage on p. X and in note 20?.

allegory.³⁶ Spiritual virginity once again depends both on steadfastness—the “virtues” (þeowum) of “great faith (geleafan)” and an avoidance of spiritual adultery—and on spiritual procreation (gastlicum bearnteame).

As in the sermon “On the Feast-Day of Holy Virgins,” he goes to extra lengths to ensure that his audience could understand Augustine’s personifications of all believers as virgins, regardless of age, gender, or marital status:

Peah ðe sume habbon æfter godes gesetnysse woruldlicne sincipe,
wunigende ætgædere for bearnes gestreone, ac hi beoð swa ðeah on godes
gelaðunge on gastlicum andgite Cristes agene limu, gif hi lybbað rihtlice.
Be þam cwæp Paulus eac to eallum geleafullum: Desponsavi vos uni viro,
virginem castam exhibere Christo. ‘Ic beweddode eow anum clænum
were. þæt ge an clæne mæden gearcion Criste.’ Her ge gehyrað, hu he het
eall folc, þæt is seo gelaðung, ðe on god gelyfd, an clæne mæden, Cristes
sylfes bryd, na on galnysse, ac on gastlicere clænnysse. (Assmann 3.131-
44).

Although some may hold according to God’s ordinance an earthly marriage, living together for the procreation of children, but they nevertheless are in God’s church—in a spiritual sense they are Christ’s own limbs—if they live rightly. About them Paul also said to all believers: ‘I promised you to one man, so that I might present a pure virgin to Christ.’ ‘I betrothed you to a chaste man, so that you might be prepared a chaste maiden for Christ.’ [2 Corinthians 11:2] Here you hear how he called all folk, that is the church who believes in God, a chaste maiden, Christ’s own bride, not out of lust but in spiritual purity.

Careful not to disparage marriage (it is, after all, “God’s ordinance”), he acknowledges, at the same time, that its procreative objective would seem to prohibit couples from being credited with *clænnysse*. .Elfric continues his argument by interpreting virginity “according to the spirit” and uses membership in the Church to impute to them the purity

³⁶ The sermon survives in three manuscripts, only one of which is early (see Assmann’s notes on this sermon on pp. 249-50). Pope describes the manuscripts (I:18-20, 59-62, and 67-70). His exploration of the allegory occupies ll. 53-184.

by which they are called “Christ’s limbs.” since according to St. Paul’s teaching Christ is head of the Church and Christians its body (Ephesians 1:22-23). Ælfric’s return to 2 Corinthians 11:2 shifts the metaphor and the focus of the teaching more squarely onto the Church as Christ’s bride, but the point is made. “All folk” can identify with virgins when they exhibit “spiritual virtues” (*gastlicum þeawum*) and “spiritual childbearing” (*gastlicum bearneteame*) that are the marks of the “spiritual purity” (*gastlicere clænnysse*) preserved by all believers in their chaste marriage to Christ.

Though these terms are not encountered frequently in Ælfric’s homilies, they provide us with a useful shorthand way to refer to the ideas of fidelity and fruitfulness which permeate all of Ælfric’s teaching on spiritual marriage. Even if Ælfric presents the allegory in terms that would have been familiar to his audience from his preaching about temporal marriage, questions still arise as to how he might have expected the laity to apply the concepts of spiritual purity to their lives once they grasped them. What did they understand by spiritual virtues and childbearing? What were they actually to do to avoid committing spiritual adultery?

Put positively in terms of both sermons quoted above, they were to keep the *geleafan*, the faith by which they became Christ’s children (“On the Feast-Day of Holy Virgins”) and by which they preserve their virginity (“On the Nativity of Mary”). Thus one figurative meaning of chastity for Ælfric is steadfast belief. To get a fuller sense of the purity or orthodoxy expected of all Christians, we need only to think of Ælfric’s efforts to communicate to the laity the various tenets of the Apostle’s Creed, the structure of the liturgical year, the significance of baptism, the efficacy of the Mass and Confession, and

the obligations of various seasons and feasts.³⁷

Put another way, figurative chastity in both sermons is a refusal to commit spiritual adultery, a resistance to idolatry.³⁸ Ælfric defines idolatry both literally and figuratively in his sermon "On Auguries":

Deofol-gild bið þæt man his drihten forlæte and his cristendóm and to deofollicum hæðenscype gebuge bysmrigende his scyppend. Oðer deofolgild is derigendlic þære sawle ðonne se man forsihð his scyppendes beboda and þa sceandlican leahtras begæð þe se sceocca hine lærd.
(LS17.47-51)

It is idolatry when a man forsakes his Lord and his Christian belief and turns his attention to devilish heathenism, defiling his Creator. Another idolatry, hurtful to the soul, is when man despises his Creator's commands and practices the shameful sins which the devil teaches him.

Ælfric later in the homily specifies precisely what he means literally by "devilish heathenism" when he reproves Christians for practicing "shameful sorceries" (sceandlican wiglunga, l. 100) before choosing a wife, picking a day to begin a journey, starting a new batch of beer, or welcoming a new child into their families (ll. 102-04). He chides those who consult *wiccan* (l.108), "witches," who advise them to offer sacrifices to stones,

³⁷ For Ælfric's translations of the Creed, see Thorpe II.596-598. For sermons that discuss the Virgin Birth, the Trinity, the Resurrection, and Judgment Day, see, respectively, for example, Assmann 3, CHII.20 and Pope 11a (an anonymous compilation of Ælfric's teaching about the Trinity from three different works), CHI.15, and Pope 18. A representative sermon instructing the laity about the course of the liturgical year is Pope 11. For examples of Ælfric's teachings on Baptism, the Mass, and Confession, see respectively, CHII.3, CHII.15 and CHII.21, and Thorpe II.602-08.

³⁸ Before vividly describing the Church's refusal to "forsake God's belief [or] perversely choose another man" in the Nativity of Mary, Ælfric has defined more specifically what he means. The Church, he writes, is "always an unspotted virgin when she remains steadfast in God's belief and does not wish to incline herself in any way to heathenism from the Savior's belief, never from her bridegroom to foul devil-worship, witchcraft, or sorcery, never to heresy from her Lord in any way" [...heo is mæden swa þeah, æfre ungewemmed, þonne heo æfre þurhwunad on godes geleafan and nele abugan to nanum hæðenscipe fram þæs hælendes geleafan, fram hyre brydguman to bysmorfullum deofolgyrde, ne to wiccecræfte, ne to wiglungum mid nanum gedwylde fram hyre drihtne ahwar (Assmann 3.94-100)].

trees, and springs in exchange for their health (ll. 129-35) and condemns women who superstitiously drag their children through the dirt at crossroads (ll. 149-50), abort their babies (l. 151), murder them after birth (l. 152), and concoct love potions to snare husbands for themselves (l. 158).³⁹ The figurative idolatry of the second definition is a willful disobedience of God's commands.⁴⁰ A refusal to repent of "the works of the flesh" (*þæs flæsces weorc*, ll. 23-24) that Ælfric enumerates twice will damn the unrepentant Christian, an idolater, to hell.⁴¹

Steadfast belief in *æne soðne god*, the one true God, is only one of the main components of every believer's figurative chastity. Spiritual *bearnteame*, childbearing, is the other, and it is a metaphor for teaching and bringing converts into the faith. We recall that in the allegory of Christ's spiritual marriage to the Church, every believer is figured simultaneously as a child and a mother. Men, though born in sin, are God's children through their membership in the church. They are children of the Church by virtue of their

³⁹ In his sermon for the Feast of the Lord's Circumcision, he chastises those who seek to prolong their lives or insure their health by participating in superstitious practices on or around the vernal equinox, those who use the moon to judge whether travel on one day or another is more or less auspicious, and those who simply think travel on Monday, *Monandæge*, is unlucky (CHI.16.162-68). He summarily concludes: "That man's Christian faith is naught, who passes his life in devilish sorcery; he is disguised as a Christian man, and is a miserable idolater" (*Nis þæs mannes cristendom naht þe mid deoflicum wiglungum his lif adrihð; he is gehiwod to cristenum menn, and is earm hæþengylda.*, ll. 186-88). Likewise, Ælfric digresses in the middle of his life of St. Bartholomew to warn his congregation that "no Christian is allowed to seek his health from any stone or tree unless it be the holy sign of the rood, nor from any place unless it be the holy house of God: he who does otherwise undoubtedly commits idolatry" (*Nis nanum cristenum men alyfed þæt he his hæle gefecce æt nanum stane; ne æt nanum treowe buton hit sý halig rodetacen, ne æt nanre stowe buton hit sý hali godes hus, se þe elles deð he begæd untwylice hæþengyld.* CHI.31.312-15).

⁴⁰ Other passages which demonstrate Ælfric's figurative understanding of idolatry include CHI.22.243-47 and LS18.473-79.

⁴¹ The list of sins in ll. 23-28 is from Galatians 5:19-21, and those in ll. 33-43 are from 1 Corinthians 6:9-10. Those who persist in these sins "will suffer in eternity, in the unquenchable fire, amidst the worst kind of serpent which shall never be destroyed but shall ever chew the bodies of the wicked in the fire of hell" (*sceal he undances on ecnyse drowian on ðam unadwæscend-licum fyre betwux ðam wyrrestan wurm-cynne þe næfre ne bið adyd ac ceowað symle þæra arleasra lichama on ðam hellican lige*, ll. 31-34).

geleafan and *fulluht*, faith and baptism: she, meanwhile, preserve her chastity/purity by virtue of her abiding devotion⁴²:

Ælc man bið accenned lichamlice of fæder and of meder. ac he ne bið na godes bearn buton he beo eft accenned of þære gastlican meder of cristes bryde....[S]e gefulloda man bið þonne godes bearn gif hé on riht hylt fæder and moder. þæt is crist and his bryd seo ðe dæghwomlice acenð gastlice cild. and hwædere ðurhwunað on clænum mægðháde:
(CHII.1.105-07; 114-17)

Every man is born physically from a father and a mother, but he is not a child of God, unless he be born again of the spiritual mother, of Christ's bride....[T]he baptized man is then a child of God, if he rightly holds to father and mother, that is, to Christ and his bride, who daily bears spiritual children and yet continues in pure maidenhood.

The belief and baptism required to be "born again" (*eft accenned* in the homily above, l. 111) are the essential "genetic material" that Christians pass on when giving birth to *gastlice* children, as is clear in the following passage from Ælfric's explication of Christ's first miracle, his changing water into wine at the wedding feast in Cana (John 2:1-11):

Se láreow beda cwæð þæt drihten hine sylfne gemedemode þæt hé to woruldlicum gifum gelaðod com. and hí mid þam forman tacne his wundra gehalgode. to ði þæt he wolde geswutelian þæt ða giftu beoð herigendlice. ðe for bearnt eame beoð gefremode swiðor þonne for galnyse; Æfter gastlicum andgite drihten com to gifum on ðisum middanearde. for ðan ðe he ða halgan gelaðunge him to bryde geceas. swa swa se apostol to geleaffullum folce cwæð; 'Ic beweddode eow anum were. þæt ge gearcian criste an clæne mæden' [1 Cor. 11:2]; Crist is se clæna brydguma. and his gelaðung þæt is seo geleaffulle menigu is his bryd. seo ðe acenð dæghwomlice ða gastlican cild þurh geleafan and fulluht. and swa ðeah ðurhwunað on clænum mægðháde. (CHII.4.25-36)

The teacher Bede said that the Lord humbled himself to come invited to a earthly marriage, and he hallowed it with the first sign of his miraculous power, for he wanted to make manifest that the marriage is praiseworthy which is made rather for the sake of a family of children than for lust.

⁴² See ll. 87-92 of the Common of Virgins above.

According to its spiritual sense, the Lord came to a marriage in this world because he had chosen the holy church for his bride. as the apostle said to the believing people, 'I have wedded you to a man. that you may prepare for Christ a pure maiden' [1 Cor. 11:2]. Christ is the chaste bridegroom. and his Church. that is. the believing multitude. is his bride. who daily bears spiritual children through belief and baptism, and yet abides steadfastly in pure maidenhood.

The verbal parallels in the descriptions of the Church in the final lines of both passages point to the usefulness that the metaphor of spiritual childbearing held for Ælfric as it permits Christians to identify variously with the Church as children and mothers. He follows Bede's Commentary on Luke for his image of the Church as virgin mother when explicating the story of Jesus resurrecting of the son of the widow of Nain (Luke 7:11-17)⁴³:

*Qui bene filius unicus matri suae fuisse perhibetur quia licet e multis collecta personis una sit perfecta et immaculata virgo mater ecclesia, singuli quique tamen fidelium universalis se ecclesiae filios rectissime fatentur.*⁴⁴

It is fitting that he was said to be his mother's only son. because from one congregation of many people, the church is a perfect and unstained virgin mother; all individuals just the same are most properly acknowledged to be sons of the true, universal church.

While Ælfric relies on Bede for his depiction of the Church as virgin mother, he chooses to underscore the role of believers as mothers not sons. While he does not refer to individual Christians as mothers. he uses the metaphor of corporate virginity—the collection of Christians as a communal whole is one Mother—to impute her purity and fecundity to the individual members of the "believing multitude," and the addition of the image of the

⁴³ CHIII, p. 372. The translation is mine. Godden also shows that Ælfric relies on a homily of Bede for the first sentence of the passage quoted above, and the same homily and another from Smaragdus for the second.

⁴⁴ CHIII, p. 277.

Church “daily bearing spiritual children” reflects his interest in the process by which the Church grows continuously.

To whom Christians are to give birth is not immediately obvious in the homily quoted above, but as we might expect the family or kingroup is the primary locus for spiritual childbearing. Most common perhaps would be the transfer of Christianity to children from their biological parents and godparents during the baptismal ceremony. As Ælfric explains in his sermon for Epiphany, children are baptized “on account of the belief of the father and of the mother...in order that [they] should hold Christianity according to God’s teaching.”⁴⁵ But it is not simply the transfer of belief from adults to children that would have qualified as spiritual childbearing. It is also possible for husbands to become spiritual mothers to their wives and vice versa. In his sermon “On the Apostolic Doctrine” he reminds his audience of St. Paul’s advice to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 7:14-15)⁴⁶:

Gif hwylc gelyfed man hæfd ungeleafful wif, and heo wylle wunian mid him, ne forlæte he hi: þæt ungeleafulle wif byð gerihtwisod þurh þone geleaffullan wer. And gif hwylc geleafful wif hæfd ungeleaffulne wer, and he wylle wunian mid hyre, ne forlæte heo hine: se ungeleaffulla wer byð gerihtwisod þurh þæt [ge]leafulle wif. (Pope 19.94-99)

If any believing husband has an unbelieving wife, and she will live with him, he must not divorce her; the unbelieving wife is made righteous through the believing husband. And if any believing wife has an unbelieving husband, and he will live with her, she must not divorce him: the unbelieving husband is made righteous through the believing wife.

The process of spiritual childbirth is explained in Ælfric’s fascinating sermon “On the Feast-day of a Confessor.” We would expect a sermon written for this feast-day to be

⁴⁵ “...fullodon ðurh geleafan þæs fæder, and ðære meder, and se godfæder...þæt hit heolde þone cristendom be godes tæcunge” (CHII.3.252-55).

⁴⁶ Ælfric reverses Paul’s order and addresses believing husbands first.

more applicable to the clergy than the laity since it would celebrate the life of an exemplary abbot or bishop such as St. Augustine of Canterbury, the monk who Pope Gregory the Great in 597 sent from Rome to Britain as a missionary.⁴⁷ Indeed, Ælfric's choice of the biblical text for the day, the Parable of the Talents (Matthew 25:14-30 is conflated with Luke 19:12.26), is the traditional one. In Matthew's account Jesus tells the parable as part of his long answer to the disciples' question about they will be able to discern the signs of his second coming (Matthew 24:3). In the parable the master of a household who is going on a journey summons three of his servant and gives each of them three huge sums of money. To the first servant he gives five "talents" (more than twenty-five times his yearly wage). To the second he gives two talents and to the third servant one. When he returns after a long absence, he calls the servants to give an account of the money that he left with them. The first servant reports that he earned five talents with the five his master gave him. The second doubled his two, but the third had only the single talent. Because he feared his master's wrath, he had buried the talent. The master rebukes him for his slothfulness and gives his lone talent to the first servant who had earned a total of ten talents. The parable concludes with the moral, "'For to every one who has will more be given, and he will have abundance; but from him who has not, even what he has will be taken away'" (v. 29), and the third servant is thrown out into the darkness.

Ælfric's principal source for his text, Pope Gregory's homily on this same parable,

⁴⁷ CHIII, p. 648. My comments about this sermon are heavily indebted to Godden's commentary, CHIII, pp. 647-48.

figures the three servants as clerics of differing abilities, an interpretation that Ælfric alters in a significant way. For him, the first servant represents laymen, and the second and third servants, good and bad clerics. So when the lord takes the one talent from the third servant, he gives it to the layman, who was initially given only the outer understanding (yttra andgit) of his five senses but now possesses the inner understanding (incund andgit) wasted by the lazy cleric (ll. 141-49). From his explanation of how the layman earns the additional five talents that won him his lord's favor, the process by which spiritual parents gives birth to spiritual children emerges:

Se góda ðeowa þe ða fif pund underfeng. gestrynde his hlaforde þærto oðre fif. for ðan þe sume læwde men sind swa geworhte. þæt hí mid onbryrdnyse þæs upplican edles syllað gode bysne oðrum geleaffullum. and symle tæcað riht þæs ðe hi magon tocnawan be ðam yttrum andgitum. þeah ðe hí ne cunnon ða incundan deopnyse godes lare asmeagan; And ðonne hí on heora flæsclicum lustum gemetegode beoð. and on woruldlicum gewilnungum ne beoð to grædige. and eac wið oðrum undeawum þurh godes ege hí sylfe healdað. þonne sytrað hí eac oðrum mannum ðurh heora lifes rihtwisnyse. and gestrynað gode sume oðerne mannan oððe má. se ðe swa deð. se gebrincð gode tyn pund. of ðam fif yttrum andgitum þe he underfeng. (CHII.38.54-66)

'The good servant, who received the five pounds, gained for his lord other five thereto'; for some laymen are so constituted, that, with desire for the realm above, they give good example to other faithful people, and ever teach rightly what they may know by the other senses, though they cannot comprehend the inward deepness of God's doctrine. And when they are temperate in their fleshly desires and not too greedy in worldly wishes, and also [when they], through awe of God, preserve themselves from other vices, then also will they direct other men by the righteousness of their lives and gain to God some other man or more. He who so does brings to God ten pounds from the five outer senses that he received.

Like Gregory's cleric who uses his talents to curb others (alios...compescunt) from fleshly wantonness, earthly ambition, and a desire for material goods (carnis petulantia; terrenarum rerum ambitu; visibilium voluptate), Ælfric's laymen also restrain (styrán)

other men. But they do so in order to produce (*gestrynan*) devout Christians for God “by the righteousness of their lives.”⁴⁸ The wordplay is his, as is the connection between teaching by good example (*gode bysne*) and producing converts. *Gestrynan* is an interesting choice, for it means both “to acquire” and “to beget” and thus provides an interesting link between spiritual profit and procreation.⁴⁹ The first meaning is distinct in this passage, but the fact that Ælfric uses *gestrynan* in four of his eight discussions of spiritual marriage suggests that he and perhaps some in his audience would have seen in this example a model of spiritual childbearing.⁵⁰ The layman earns his additional five talents by displaying among his spiritual virtues a *stabilitas* that in the allegory of spiritual marriage is represented as steadfast belief. And just as all Christians as “spiritual children” (*gastlice bearn*) “are born to God” (*beoð gode gestrynade*) through Christ our Father and mother Church, so they are mothers who *gestrynað gode* some other men “by the righteousness of their lives.”⁵¹

In this case Ælfric widens the scope of a parable that was primarily interpreted in terms of the clergy to include the laity, but spiritual parenthood was a role traditionally assigned to priests like himself. They were, after all, supposed to be chaste physically as

⁴⁸ CHIII, p. 650, where the passage is quoted in full.

⁴⁹ See the entry for (*ge*)*strēon* in Roberts and Kay, ed., *Thesaurus* and the note on *gestrynan* in CHIII, p. 766.

⁵⁰ CHI.35.40–46, CHII.1.110–20, CHII.3978–92, and Assmann 3.89–92. In Assmann 3 and 6 and Fehr 5, Ælfric uses *acennan*, a synonym for *gestrynan*.

⁵¹ CHI.35.40–46, at ll. 43 and 44–45. The entire passage reads: *Seo halige gelapung is cristes bryd; þurh ða he gestrynað dæighwomlice gastlice bearn; and heo is ealra cristenra manna moder. and þeahhwæpere ungewemmed mæden; ðurh geleafan and fulluhte we beoð gode gestrynade. and him to gastlicum bearnum gewiscede. þurh cristes menniscnyse and þurh gyfe þæs helgan gastes; [The holy church is Christ’s bride, through whom he daily fathers spiritual children, and she is the mother of all Christian men and ever an unspotted maiden. Through belief and baptism we are born to God and in him adopted as spiritual children through Christ’s humanity and the gift of the Holy Spirit.] Godden notes that “[t]he specific points about the church as bride and mother are not in Gregory,” whose homily is Ælfric’s principal source (CHIII, p. 291).*

well as spiritually. In his sermon "On Judgment Day," he elaborates on Bede's personification of ministers as workers in the field, and again he chooses verbs that emphasize the linkage between profit and procreation.⁵² He explains that ideal bishops and priests as "teachers" (lareowas) "shall take care of the Savior's work, so that they will *gestrynan* (gain or beget) many souls of men for the benevolent Savior."⁵³ When they dutifully practice the Christian faith, win converts with their words and deeds, and intercede for their charges (ll. 158-61), then "they will have so much the greater honor the more souls of men they *begytad* (obtain or beget) to the kingdom of heaven."⁵⁴ Ælfric concludes his idealization of the clergy with the reminder that they "will have authority over all the souls that they *gestryndon* (began or gained) to God with their spiritual work."⁵⁵

The role of the clergy in the following excerpt is distinctly procreative because Ælfric follows Bede by interpreting the account of Jesus resurrecting the son of the widow of Naim (Luke 7:11-17) in light of the allegory of spiritual marriage⁵⁶:

Se cniht wæs ancenned sunu his meder. swa bið eac gehwylc cristen man gastlice þære halgan gelapung sunu; seo is ure ealra moder and þeahhwæðere ungewemmed mæden; for þan ðe hire team nis na lichamlic ac gastlic: Gehwylc godes þeow þonne he leornað he bið bearn geciged. eft þonne he oþerne lærd he bið moder: swa swa se apostol paulus be þam aslidenum mannum cwæð: ge sind mine bearn. þa þe ic nu oðre side geeacnie oð ðæt crist beo on eow geedniwod [Galatians 4:19];

⁵² Pope, II:597.

⁵³ Biscopas and mæssepreostas syndon manna lareowas; hi sceolan hogian ymbe þæs Hælendes tilunge, þæt hi manega sawla of manncynne gestrynan þam welwillendan Hælende, þe wile us habban (Pope 18.153-56).

⁵⁴ ...hi swa miclum beoð on maran geþingde, swa hi ma sawla of manncynne begytad to heofonan rice (Pope 18.164-66).

⁵⁵ [A]nd hi habbað ealdordom on þam ecan life ofer eallum þam sawlum þe hy Gode gestryndon mid þære gastlican teolunge (Pope 18.166-68).

⁵⁶ CHIII, p. 277.

(CHI.33.19-27)

The youth was his mother's only begotten son, just as every Christian man spiritually is the son of the holy church, which is the mother of us all, and, nevertheless, an undefiled virgin; for her family is not physical but spiritual. Every minister of God, when he learns, is called a child: afterwards, when he teaches another, he is a mother, as the apostle Paul said of the fallen men, 'You are my children, whom I now a second time conceive, until Christ is renewed in you.' [Galatians 4:19]

He renders Bede's *electus*, those who are elected or chosen, somewhat more narrowly as *godes þeow*, a minister of God, and they who are children of God become spiritual mothers when they teach.⁵⁷ The similarities between Ælfric's descriptions of the procreative activity of the laity and the priesthood are remarkable.⁵⁸ Just as the priest becomes a mother when he "teaches another" (*oþerne lærd*), so the laymen *gestrynad gode sume oþerne* (beget to God some other men) when they "teach rightly" (*tæcað riht*) what they have learned from their outward sense.⁵⁹ The lines between lay and clergy becomes even less distinct when we remember that at the end of the Parable of the Talents the layman is granted the inward sense which the good cleric already possessed.⁶⁰

This leveling is all the more striking considering that Ælfric is a member of the reformed priesthood which was seeking to distinguish itself from the laity, not to mention the married priests and so-called "monks" who, to the disgust of the reformers, were

⁵⁷ CHIII, p. 277. Neither Blaise's *Dictionnaire* nor Neirmeyer's *Lexicon* defines *electus* as a priest or any other member of the clergy but those who have been chosen by God, but Latham's *Word-List* records it as "an abbot or bishop elect" as early as 804. Godden notes that there are 128 examples in the homilies of the phrase *Godes þeow(as)* meaning "God's minister(s)" (CHIII, p. 777).

⁵⁸ Given Ælfric's reading of the first *þeow* as a layman in his interpretation of the Parable of the Talents, this passage in my opinion could just as easily be applied to the laity. The reference to learning would normally imply that a cleric is meant by *godes þeow*, but in light of the circle of learned laymen with which Ælfric was acquainted, "a servant of God" might also apply to members of the laity.

⁵⁹ CHII.38.54-66, at. ll. 64 and 56.

⁶⁰ CHII.38.66-76.

physical parents as well.⁶¹ Following a declaration that “chastity (clænnysse) is befitting to every man.” Ælfric in his sermon for Sexagesima Sunday makes clear that what distinguishes the reformers from laymen and the unchaste clergy was absolute physical celibacy.⁶²:

þæt is þæs læwedan mannes clænnys. þæt he his æwe healde. and alyfedlice for folces eacan bearn gestreone; þæt is dæs gehádodan mannes clænnys þæra ðe gode þeniad. þæt hi eallunge fram flæslicum lustum hí forhabbon. and him gedafenad þæt hí gode gestrynon ða cild þe ða læwedan menn to ðyssere worulde gestryndon; Gemænes hádes preostum is alyfed æfter dæs halgan Gregorius tæcinge. þæt hi syferlice sinscipes bruceon; Witodlice ðam oðrum þe æt godes weofode þeniad þæt is mæssepreostum oððe diaconum. is eallunge forboden ælc hæmed; þreo hund biscopa. and eahtatýne gesetton ðone canon. þæt nan massepreost oððe diacon on his wununge wifhâdes mann næbbe. buton hit sy his moder. oððe sweoster. oððe faðu. oððe modrie; And gif he dearnunge oððe eawunge wifes bruce. þæt he his hádes dolige: Ne heora nan geréfcscire oððe mangunge ne drife. for ðan ðe hí sind gecorene of woruldmannum to godes teolungum. þæt hi ðurh hyra láre. and cristendome þæt læwede folc gode gestrynan; We sceolon eallum

⁶¹ In his second Old English letter to Wulfstan, Ælfric advises priests to train children to help them during the services but warns “not your own children, whom you unjustly fathered, but those alien to you who are your children on account of spiritual teaching” (Ná eower ágene cild. þe ge unrihtlice ge-strynad. ac þa ælfreman. þæt hy eowre cild beon þurh þa gastlican láre, Fehr 5, p. 176). The topic at the end of the tenth century was a contentious one, and Ælfric champions clerical celibacy. In his pastoral letters, which he intends Bishop Wulfsig and Archbishop Wulfstan to deliver verbatim to their clergy, Ælfric chides priests for thinking that absolute celibacy was either strange (*sylic*, Fehr 1, p. 4) or burdensome (*hefelyc*, Fehr 4, p. 102). His words are harshest in the former, when he upbraids the clergy for having “made your crime a custom, as if it were no risk that a priest live like a layman” (...habbad eowre yrmðe swa on gewunan gebroht, swylce hit nan pleoh ne sý, þæt se preost libbe swa-swa ceorl, p. 4). His entire letter to the layman Sigefyrð is a defense of sacerdotal chastity rebutting an English anchorite’s teaching that priests could marry (Assmann 2). In a tirade in the *Preface to Genesis*, as a way to communicate to Æthelweard the pitfalls of misreading the Old Testament, Ælfric lambastes ignorant, half-literate priests who ignore the *gastlice andgit* of the “old law” and use examples from it, such as Joseph, who had four wives, to justify their marriages (Wilcox, *Prefaces*. II. 23–40, at I. 25). Two-thirds of his way through his sermon for the feast of St. Peter’s Chair, when Petronilla, Peter’s daughter, is mentioned, Ælfric digresses to explain that the apostle “after [his conversion] renounced worldly desires and the society of his wife” (wid-cwæd sidðan woruldlicum gewilnungum and wifes neawiste) and that while Mosaic law permitted bishops to marry and have children, the new covenant demanded that priests be chaste because “Christ ordained chastity in the world” (Crist astealde clænnysse on worulde) (LS 10.203–33, at II. 203–05). Ælfric’s tone is usually strident, as is the case in the letter to Sigefyrð when he calls those who refuse to accept sacerdotal celibacy “heretics” (gedwola, Assmann 2.199), but even he admits, as the mouthpiece of Archbishop Wulfstan, that “we may not force you, but we exhort you to preserve your chastity like Christ’s disciples” (We ne magan eow neadian, ac we mungiað eow, þæt ge clænnysse healdan, swa-swa Cristes þegenas..., Fehr 4, p. 102).

⁶² Ælcum menn gedafenad clænnys (CHII.6.136).

godes folce samod þa bōclican lare secgan. þæt ðam gódum þe hit
gehealdan willað ne sy oftogen seo gastlic deopnyss. and þa ðwyran beon
gedfreade. þæt hi æt suman sæle to godes rihte gebugan. (CHII.6.137-57)

The chastity of a layman is that he preserve his marriage and lawfully, for the increase of people, beget children. The chastity of the men in holy orders, those who serve God, is that they abstain entirely from physical pleasures, and it is fitting that they beget to God those children who laymen have begotten in this world. Clerics in lower orders are permitted, according to the teaching of Saint Gregory, to enjoy marriage temperately. But, in truth, others who serve at God's altar, the priests and deacons, are entirely forbidden any intercourse. Three hundred eighteen bishops decreed the canon that no priest or deacon may have any female in his dwelling except it be his mother, sister, paternal aunt, or maternal aunt. And if he secretly or openly has intercourse with a woman, he will forfeit his office. Let none of them pursue any public office or business, because they are chosen from ordinary people for God's labor, so that through their teaching and Christian faith may beget the laity to God. We should declare the teaching derived from books to all of God's people together, so that the spiritual depth will not be taken away from the good people who preserve it and that the wicked may be corrected and turn to the true way of God in time.

He is emphatic that the only children that priests may rightfully beget (*gestrynan*) are the *gastlican* sort. That his sights are set primarily on the married clergy is most evident from the paragraph following the one quoted above. He reminds the audience that although Peter and several of the other disciples had wives "before they turned to Christ's doctrine," they "ceased from all fleshly desires and deeds after [Christ] had chosen them to be apostles." He quotes Peter's declaration to Jesus. "'Behold, we abandoned everything and follow you'" [Matthew 19:27], before concluding that those in breach of the "canonical decree" may either repent and reform or expect "a very severe judgment in the life to come."⁶³ He couples the canon from the fourth-century Council of Nicea, which

⁶³ Se apostol Petrus hæfde wif and cild, and eac sume ða odre apostolas ær hi to cristes lareowdome gecyrdon. ac hi geswicon flæsclibera lusta and dæda. siððan he hi to ðam apostolican háde geceas. swa swa petrus

was originally drafted to stop unmarried male and female ascetics from living together⁶⁴, with this warning about the fate of the married priests who ignore the canon in order actually to suggest that the offending clergymen separate from their wives.⁶⁵

When we consider that in this homily Ælfric advances two unusual requirements related to the virginity of clerics and the laity—that married priests cease to live with their wives and, as we discussed earlier, that married couples should adopt celibacy later in their lives⁶⁶—then one aspect of the importance of spiritual marriage in Ælfric’s preaching

to drihtne gecwæd; Efne we forleton ealle ðing, and ðe folgiad [Matthew 19:27]; Hwæt wille we furðor ymbe ðis smeagan, buton þæt se hæfd þa mede ðe hi gearnað, se ðe tobrecð þa canonican gesetnysse, him is bót alýfed, and geswicenys, se ðe on forgægednysse þurhwunað, hē gemet swide stidne dóm, on ðam toweardan life. (CHII.6.158-66).

⁶⁴ See p. 6 and n. 21 and 22. He cites the canon in his pastoral letters; see Fehr 1, p. 3 and Fehr 4, p. 102.

⁶⁵ This is surprising. I have found only one reference to a sixth-century canon that ordered priests to separate from their wives after ordination, but it was rescinded at a synod of Eastern bishops at the end of the seventh century (Barstow, *Married Priests*, p. 28). Barstow also notes however that Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, wrote a defense of clerical celibacy in which he used as evidence the Council of Nicaea’s prohibition against male and female ascetics cohabiting and its penalty of deposition for an ordained priest who marries (pp. 36-37). Godden notes that Ælfric uses Ratramnus’s *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* for CHII.15 (CHIII, p. lvix). One wonders if he might have known his *Contra Graecorum opposita* (PL 121) as well. Still, as McGlynn and Moll note, there is no legislation in the West suggesting that the marriages of priests and their wives be dissolved (p. 106).

Ælfric is consistent on this point, and his editing of Matthew 19:27-28 is instructive. Peter, as mentioned above, declares to Jesus that the disciples have left “everything” (omnia), and Jesus replies in verse 29: “And every one who has left houses, or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wives or sons or lands for my sake will receive a hundred-fold and will inherit eternal life” (“Et omnis qui reliquit domum vel fratres aut sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit”). Prior to quoting this verse in his first Old English letter to Archbishop Wulfstan, Ælfric writes that that Christ’s disciples and followers “abandoned their possessions and wives and dwelled in chastity, following Christ” (forletan heora æhta and wif and wunedon on clænnyse, Criste foligende, Fehr 4, p. 78). Similarly, in his letter to Sigefýrd, the citation of verses 27-29 is preceded by the following: “Certain apostles, who journeyed with Christ as he taught while he was alive, had abided by the law of Moses. But immediately they forsook their marriages forever after they learned the teachings of Christ” (Sume þa apostolas, þe sibodon mid Criste on his lareowdome, þa þa he her on life wæs, hæfdon him gemacan æfter Moyses æ. Ac hi sona geswicon þæs sincipes afre, syþþan hi Cristes lare geleomodon æt him.... Assmann 2.32-36). Ælfric’s treatment of the subject in the *Lives* comes closest to mirroring the ecclesiastical legislation on the subject when he writes that “Peter had a wife before he was converted to Christ’s household, but he afterwards repudiated worldly desires and the society of his wife...” (Petrus hæfde wif ærðan þe he wære gecyrrd to Cristes hirede, ac he wiþ-cwæd siddan woruldlicum gewilnungum and wifes neawiste.... LS10.202-04). For similar passages which allude to the apostles’ abandoning their wives but which do not quote Matthew 19:27, see Fehr 1, p. 5; Crawford, ll. 29-37, and LS16.186-88.

⁶⁶ See p. 8.

emerges. By incorporating the laity as fully as possible into an ideology of virginity in which absolute chastity is valued above all else, he is able to undercut the authority of the married clergy among the laity. In this and other sermons that discuss literal chaste marriage, he offers married couples a model of asceticism that drastically reduces the differences between the pious husband and wife and the married priest. Both, in theory, would obey church law regarding sex in marriage, and, in the terms of this homily, would be eligible to reap the thirty-fold reward for living chastely in the marriage state. Certainly in Ælfric's opinion, the prayers and masses of monks chaste from birth would be more efficacious than those of men whose attention was divided between their physical and spiritual family, and alms given at a church overseen by the reformed clergy would not be spent to support the priest's biological children. He does not of course articulate these thoughts in this sermon. But his willingness, on the Sunday that marked the beginning of preparations for Lent and Easter, to encourage the laity, in effect, to police the behavior of the married clergy indicates the lengths to which he will go to make his point. Publicly censuring errant priests enlists the laity's support for the reformers and has the benefits of underscoring the absolute chastity of its priesthood and elevating their status as spiritual leaders. At the same time, the call for a greater obedience to lay virginity in this homily (as well as the call to bear spiritual children in other sermons) emphasizes the similarities between the reformed priesthood and their parishioners and also functions to garner support for his cause, both for the greater good of English society, and for practical purposes, i.e. lest the laity be alienated by a new priesthood who were not like them anymore.

This survey of the *Homilies* reveals that Ælfric's pastoral advice on lay virginity is intimately bound up with his vision of a proper social order, his hope for a flourishing English church, his image of his role as pastor, and his concern for the salvation of his spiritual children. Now speculation about his decision to include the legends of chaste marriage in the *Lives* can be advanced with more confidence, for the homiletic context opens the possibilities of reading these stories as compelling dramas capable of inspiring Anglo-Saxon Christians to pursue the kinds of physical chastity and spiritual purity encountered in the sermons. With these interpretations in mind, we turn to Ælfric's *Life of Julian and Basilissa*.

Chapter 2

The Legend of Julian and Basilissa

This chapter offers a detailed examination of Ælfric's *Life of Julian and Basilissa* advancing the argument that he included it in the *Lives of Saints* because he found it a useful vehicle for reinforcing the pastoral advice on lay virginity surveyed in chapter 1. The majority of the analysis will involve a comparison of Ælfric's version with its putative Latin source, since his editorial changes most clearly reveal how he reshapes the story with ideas of *clænnysse* in mind. Another way to understand his approach is through a comparison of other treatments of the legend by Anglo-Saxon authors. Only two survive, the prose and verse epitomes by Aldhelm of Malmesbury, whose seventh-century *De virginitate* was an important school text in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, and the entry by the anonymous author of the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*. Both authors knew a version of the *passio*, which had been translated from Greek into Latin by the seventh century, and a familiarity with its contents will give us a more complete sense of how it was received by these English authors.¹

Chapter 1. The story opens with Julian's parents fearing that the piety of their

¹ The text was edited by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, Ian. I.575-87, and numbered 4529 in their *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. In his entry for Julian and Basilissa in "Acta Sanctorum," Gordon Whatley notes that Aldhelm appears to have used a text more similar to that in the seventh-century lectionary of Luxeuil (Salmon, *Le lectionnaire*, pp. 27-57) than the text from a thirteenth-century legendary edited by the Bollandists (on that legendary, see his "Sources and Resources," p. 11, n. 53). Both versions, however, are listed as BHL 4529. The differences in the texts are not so significant as to affect the summary that follows, so the chapter divisions of the summary and the quotations in the analysis are taken from the more widely available *Acta Sanctorum* edition. For studies on the early history of the legend in the West, see Whatley's "Acta Sanctorum" and his "Introduction," p. 13.

only son may deprive them of grandchildren, and they pressure him to marry. Respectful but resistant Julian asks for seven days to pray before making a decision. Christ appears to him and commands him to take a wife, guaranteeing that she will remain a virgin, that they will be accepted into heaven, and that he will win multitudes of chaste disciples for Him. Julian informs his parents that he will marry, and the arrangements are made for his engagement to Basilissa.

Chapter 2. When after the wedding ceremony Basilissa enters the bridal chamber, she is overpowered by the odor of lilies and roses which, she reports, instantly removes her desire to consummate the marriage. Julian explains the heavenly rewards of chastity, and she agrees to live chastely with him. He prays for confirmation of the spiritual marriage, at which point the ground shakes, light infuses the room, and Christ and Mary descend surrounded by a choir of angels shouting affirmations to the bride and groom. Julian is asked to read aloud their names from the Book of Life, and the couple embarks secretly on a life of chaste marriage. Julian's parents die shortly thereafter, dividing their property between the church and Julian and Basilissa, who immediately establish separate monasteries in Antioch to which thousands of men and women flock.

Chapter 3. When persecution flares up, the saints pray for the safety of their monks and nuns. Christ appears to Basilissa and tells her that she and her nuns will be spared persecution while Julian will be martyred. Basilissa reports this to him and instructs her nuns to prepare themselves. The following day a shining cross appears, proclaiming them worthy to enter paradise. The nuns soon "migrate" to heaven, after which one thousand of them appear to Basilissa in a vision waiting for her to offer them to

Christ. Basilissa dies, and Julian buries her and keeps a vigil at her tomb. Meanwhile his monastery is a model of cenobitic harmony.

Chapter 4. When the persecution erupts even more violently a second time, Julian and his monks are targeted because they refuse to participate in the pagan sacrifices ordered by the state. When the governor, Marcianus, discovers that Julian and his community are hiding in a cave, he sends his adviser to demand their obeisance. Julian confesses Christ and stands firm. When the adviser reports this to Marcianus, he orders the monks to be burned alive and Julian brought to him. Miraculously, the singing of the offices can be heard at the site of the massacre.

Chapter 5. Crowds gather to hear Marcianus interrogate Julian, accusing him of practicing black magic and offering to intercede for him with the emperor on the basis of his nobility. Julian flatly rejects Marcianus's overtures by insulting the emperor, the gods, and the governor.

Chapter 6. Marcianus orders Julian beaten with knotty clubs, during which one of the governor's soldiers loses an eye. Julian challenges the pagan priests to heal the man and then promises to do what they cannot. When the priests go to the temple to ask for divine assistance, the gods admit their helplessness and send them away. Julian tells Marcianus to run to the temple, where he finds the idols smashed to bits, but he consoles himself with the thought that his gods are only being patient. The governor returns to force Julian to make good on his promise to heal the soldier, but not before he drenches the saint in urine to break any spells he might have cast. The urine smells like balsam, however, and Julian heals the soldier who converts, confesses Christ, and is beheaded

straightaway.

Chapter 7. Julian is bound and being paraded around the city when Celsus, the governor's only son, sees a vision of angels ministering to the saint. He converts instantly and confesses Christ to the amazement of his peers and the terror of his tutors. Throwing off his fine clothes and discarding his costly books, Celsus flings himself at the feet of Julian, denies his gods, renounces his father, and confesses Christ again. Marcianus orders Celsus separated from Julian and returned home, but a miracle prevents it. Both are then led before Marcianus and his wife who lament vociferously. Even the servants weep for the loss of their young master. Julian and Celsus remain unmoved, the son denying his gods, renouncing his parents, and confessing Christ a third time as he begs his father to send him to the emperor to be killed if Marcianus cannot do it himself.

Chapter 8. Julian and Celsus are confined in a dungeon full of rotting bodies. When the twenty soldiers guarding them see the light and smell the fragrance of nectar flooding the fetid prison, they convert and fall at Julian's feet confessing Christ. The guards in turn are detained with their prisoners. Julian grows anxious about the soldiers' baptisms, but only briefly. The Lord commands seven Christian brothers and the priest who lives with them to go to the prison so that the priest, Antonius, might baptize the new converts. An angel admits the eight into the prison, and Julian gives thanks while the seven brothers, having been summoned before the governor, pledge themselves to be martyred.

Chapter 9. Marcianus sends a letter asking for advice to the emperor, who suggests a public spectacle at which the Christians would be burned in vats full of pitch

and tar. The governor organizes a tribunal and gives Julian, Celsus, and the others an opportunity to sacrifice before he carries out the emperor's death sentence. As Julian goads Marcianus into action, the governor sees a corpse being carried through the forum on the way to the cemetery. He challenges Julian to resurrect it, which he does. The man recounts his journey to hell, confesses Christ, and is tossed into prison where he is promptly baptized.

Chapter 10. Eventually the punishment is prepared, and the saints are led singing from the prison. In the crowd parents cry for their sons, but Julian hushes them and assures them that the saints will survive unharmed. Marcianus laments and tells his son to pity his mother and servants. Celsus scorns their tears and extracts a promise from his father that he can have three days alone with his mother if he survives the fire. Marcianus cannot bear to see his son burned to death, so he returns home with his wife and servants while an aide ignites the vats. The saints walk unharmed from the fire singing a psalm. The governor's household returns demanding to know what power these people possess, and Julian lectures them on Christian submission and sanctity.

Chapter 11. As he promised, Marcianus grants Celsus three days alone with his mother, Marcionilla. The glory of the Lord appears to them in the prison, a heavenly voice booms that God justifies souls without works, and a delightful odor suffuses the cell. The mother forgets her sorrow and acknowledges Celsus's God as the one true God. Julian gives thanks. Celsus claims her as a true mother, and Marcionilla confesses Christ's sovereignty. Celsus says she must be baptized, and Julian examines her belief. When she utters her final *credo*, another heavenly voice confirms her vow, and Antonius baptizes her

immediately. Learning of her conversion, Marcianus orders that his wife be seized and bound, but the guards apprehending her are blinded. So the governor has the twenty soldiers beheaded, the seven brothers burned, and the rest detained.

Chapter 12. Summoning all before him, Marcianus hears from Antonius how the Lord came to earth to bring division not peace. The saints are again packed off to prison, and the governor orders the temple to be prepared and the sacrifices readied. With crowds assembled to watch the showdown, the saints are led in and given one final chance to sacrifice. Julian feigns his consent. Giddy with victory Marcianus orders all the prisoners to be unbound, though his family refuses to recant. When Julian prays, however, the temple sinks into the earth taking with it a thousand priests and countless pagans. Having been duped and then taunted by Julian, the governor again imprisons them all, needing time to think of creative tortures that will precede their beheading.

Chapter 13. That night the twenty soldiers, seven brothers, Basilissa, and a choir of virgins appear to the company of the faithful and summon them to heaven. Marcianus resumes his tortures: all have their feet and hands burned; Julian and Celsus are scalped; and Antonius and Anastasius, the resurrected man, have their eyes gouged out with hooks. All survive unharmed. The mother's would-be tormentors are once again blinded. Then everyone is hauled to the amphitheater where the wild animals unleashed on them lick their feet. Exasperated, Marcianus orders them mixed among pagan convicts and beheaded. Immediately an earthquake destroys the places in Antioch where idols had been worshiped; hail, lightning, and thunder kill even more pagans. Though he escapes the destruction, the governor's body is found not long after boiling with worms. Christians

appear at night in order to bury their dead over which sit the souls of each saint in the guise of virgins so that their bodies may be distinguished from the pagans. Even their blood does not mix. All are buried in the church where a fountain miraculously springs up and is consecrated as a baptismal font. Miracles of healing occur, foremost among them the healing of ten lepers who are baptized on Epiphany and who, with all present, hear a heavenly voice confirming that saint Julian merited these and even greater wonders.

A detailed analysis of this *passion épique*² is beyond the scope of this chapter, but several general observations about its structure, themes, and implied audience will be useful before we examine how Anglo-Saxon authors handle this material. The structure of the legend is two-fold. Chapters one through three comprise the first part or *vita*, chronicling the life of Julian and Basilissa as a couple and ending with her death. Chapters four through thirteen comprise the second portion or *passio* portion, featuring the martyrdoms of Julian and his company. The conclusion of the prologue offers some clues as to why the work is structured in this way, explaining that “anyone who desires to possess the glory he [Julian] won through martyrdom must first imitate the innocence of his life.”³ This “innocence” certainly fits the *passio*’s emphasis on the young, namely Celsus, the seven brothers, and Julian, whose own youth was spotless. These lines also neatly express one possible meaning of the myriad tortures withstood and triumphant encounters with evil: they are all “glory,” the victory of faith over heathenism and death that is a reward for the blamelessness of an unwavering faith in God.

² Delehay, *Les Passions*, p. 171.

³ ...ut qui cupit gloriam acquirere passionis, primo sequatur innocentiam vitae (I.I).

Throughout the legend God's glory is accessible to a wide range of people, and the legend would seem to appeal to a variety of audiences. For example, the staging of the spiritual marriage itself might lead us to posit an ascetically-minded lay audience for the legend. With God's unequivocal command to Julian to "take a wife" (*Accipe conjugem*, 1.4), he sanctions among the laity chaste marriages conducted in secrecy. Julian's assurance to Basilissa that Christ will guard her "lawful, mutual virginity" (*virginitatem concessam invicem*, 2.6) and that "we will reign with Him in the future and not be separated from one another" (*in futuro cum ipso regnabimus, nec ab invicem separabimur*, 2.6), stresses a permanent, legal bond more appropriate to the laity than the religious. However, the remainder of the *vita* portion of the legend takes an increasingly intimate look at life inside the monastery. Basilissa's two addresses to her "holy sisters" (*sanctae sorores*, 3.13,14) are the clearest examples of material best suited to monks and nuns. Her first address ends with the admonition that "virginity of the flesh is worth nothing where the anger of the heart dwells," and her second reminds them of the eternal rewards their humility and chastity will merit (3.14).⁴ Likewise, the idyllic image of Julian's monastery at the end of the *vita* section is most appropriate for a monastic audience (3.16).

Christians embarking on a life of faith rather than those firmly committed to it would be an appropriate audience for the confessions of faith that are a distinctive feature of the second part of the legend. This supposition is supported not only by the internal evidence which I will discuss in more detail momentarily, but by external evidence as well. The miracles of the lepers being healed in the font that springs up where the saints are

⁴ [N]ihil valet virginitas carnis, ubi habitat iracundia cordis (3.13).

buried is purported to take place on “the day of their martyrdom, that is on the day of Epiphany” (*die passionis eorum, hoc est Epiphaniarum*, 13.64), and their feast-day is attested as 6 January or its eve in some medieval calendars and lectionaries; because it fell on such an important holiday, the feast of Julian and Basilissa was moved to any number of other dates in January and February, even June and August.⁵ However, the late seventh- or early eighth-century Luxeuil lectionary indicates that the *passio* of Julian and Basilissa is to be read at the vigil of the Epiphany in lieu of the usual lessons from Scripture.⁶ The Luxeuil lectionary is a valuable witness to the liturgy of Gaul as it was practiced until the end of the seventh century as well as to similar liturgical traditions in the East, Spain, Italy, Africa, and Ireland, where in the fifth and sixth centuries new converts would have been baptized on Epiphany.⁷ With its preponderance of confessions of faith and baptisms, Julian’s mini “scrutiny” of Celsus’s mother (the questions and response between the priest and new believer prior to baptism), and the healing of the lepers at the baptismal font, this legend would be an appropriate choice for those preparing for baptism the following day, which perhaps explains its appearance in a French massbook designed to be used at a secular church.⁸

Included in the *passio* are ten confessions of faith by five individuals—Julian, the

⁵ Butler, *Lives of Saints*. Their feast day is most commonly celebrated on 9 January in the calendars from early Anglo-Saxon England, but the entry in the Old English *Martyrology* is dated 6 January. See note 25.

⁶ Salmon, *Le lectionnaire*, pp. 27-57, and in note 1, p. 28, comments on the unusual nature of this choice.

⁷ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 293-94. Salmon detects a Spanish influence in the manner in which the title of the legend is illuminated in the manuscript (*Le lectionnaire*, p. 28, n. 1). The specific origins of Gallican Liturgy are disputed, but scholars agree that it bears influences from Spain and the East. On the Gallican Liturgy, see Duchesne, pp. 86-105, 151-61, 189-227, 316-27, 363-75, and 407-18, as well as the many other studies listed by Vogel in *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 107-09.

⁸ Salmon, *Le lectionnaire*, pp. xcvi-xcvii. Salmon does not comment on or attempt to explain the choice of the legend as a preparation for the celebration of Epiphany.

healed torturer, Celsus, Anastasius, the resurrected man, and Marcionilla, Celsus's mother—and one collective affirmation by the twenty soldiers. Over the course of these professions of faith, many of the basic tenets of Christianity are reinforced. Julian's confession to the adviser underscores the Christian's bargain of temporal sacrifice for eternal reward (4.18), while his second to Marcianus teaches about the error of worshiping creations not the Creator (5.21). Celsus also disparages worldly glory in light of eternal life when confessing Christ to his peers (7.27). In his two other confessions, he rejects his gods and parents, acknowledging Julian to be the father of his second birth (7.29). The soldiers' turn from a worship of the gods as darkness, death, and falsehood to belief in God as light, life, and truth (8.34). Anastasius's confession comes after his account of his journey to Hell, which underscores the reality of damnation as well as the power of saintly intercession (9.40).⁹ Celsus's mother, Marcionilla, confesses her belief in the Trinity and praises the eternal glory for which she has traded her present life (11.49). The priest Antonius is summoned by God himself to ensure that the new believers are baptized.

Despite the fact that different parts of the legend seem to have different audiences, a single theme crystalizes over the course of the *passio*: Christians, whether lay or religious, are, as an angel says to Julian and Basilissa, those who "place nothing above the love of the Lord Jesus Christ, not mother, father, wife, sons, lands, properties, or any of

⁹ This speech echoes Basilissa's warning to her nuns about the demons who would try to prevent their ascension to heaven (3.14).

the things which in this world are impediments to the soul."¹⁰ Seven times the theme is articulated: six times we hear the basic refrain "I have placed nothing before Christ's love."¹¹ But the priest Antonius drives home the point when he quotes for the governor, Marcianus, the Scripture on which it is based:

[Christ] said, 'I have not come to bring peace on earth, but the sword. I have come, in fact, to separate the son from the father, the daughter from the mother' [Mt.10.34-35]. And in another place following this he says, 'He who loves father, mother, or sons more than me is not worthy of me' [Mt. 10:37]. (3.12)¹²

This motif underscores the worldly cost of complete submission to Christ, and it also provides the standard by which God judges "innocence" and metes out "glory."

Christians—both seasoned and inexperienced, young and old, lay and religious—who are steadfast in their faith witness God repeatedly breaking into the natural world on their behalf to assure, safeguard, reward, and avenge them. And in its variety of converts, the legend of the virgin spouses Julian and Basilissa offers the image of a new society that transforms the Old Testament injunction to marry and to increase and multiply into its New Testament equivalent, spiritual fecundity.

Aldhelm, a master of selection and compression, preserves this basic element in his summary of the legend in the *De virginitate*, his treatise on virginity that he composed in both prose and verse versions.¹³ His account of Julian and Basilissa is the longest in this

¹⁰ ...super amorem domini Jesu Christi nihil prætulerunt, non patrem, non matrem, non uxorem, non filios, non agros, non facultates, vel cetera quæ in hoc seculo impedimenta sunt animæ (2.7).

¹¹ All are cited below on pp. 13-15.

¹² qui dixit: "Non veni mittere pacem super terram, sed gladium: veni enim separare filium à patre, filiam à matre." Et alio loco consequenter dicit: "Qui amat patrem, aut matrem, aut filios, plusquàm me, non est me dignus" (12.53).

¹³ R. Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 405.1251-413.1449 and pp. 280.8-284.17 (hereafter cited as Ehwald). Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, trans., *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, pp. 99-102 and Michael

treatise on virginity and enjoys the prominence, along with Chrysanthus and Daria, of being placed near the center of both versions. Since the prose version is addressed to the monks and nuns at the double monastery of Barking, where men and women lived together under the direction of Abbess Hildelith, the broader appeal of the *passio* to a wider array of human types, including mothers and sons, is omitted, presumably, as being expendable in this context. Aldhelm preserves Julian and Basilissa's spiritual marriage, and his emphasis on the celibate spouse motif is indicative of his friendships with the nuns at Barking and those which must have flourished among female and male religious in other monasteries.¹⁴ He holds this audience firmly in view when he singles out for comment the regularity of Julian's community (*regulariter vixerunt*) and the "harvest" of Basilissa's preaching (*evangelicae praedicationis*):

In these establishments approximately ten thousand soldiers of Christ practised a regular monastic life, living under the rule of Julian alone and in no way deviating from the right or left on crooked by-ways from the (straight) path of holy religion. And Basilissa, (equally) consecrated to God, reaping one thousand sheaves of the holy harvest with the scythe of gospel preaching, took them to be threshed on the threshing-floor of the executioner and to be stored in celestial granaries.¹⁵

Lapidge and James Rosier, trans., *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, pp. 130-35 (hereafter cited as Lapidge, *Prose* and *Poetic*, respectively).

¹⁴ See Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, pp. 78-79, 93, and 101, and Lapidge, *Prose*, pp. 51-52. Hollis astutely observes that "Aldhelm's weaving together of the portraits of male and female saints, behind which lies the union in virginity accomplished by Christ on the cross, offers an image of the transcendental reality of the Barking double monastery. ... Within the walls, like a garden 'enclosed about,' the double monastery, containing male and female religious united in chaste union, is implicitly a site for the recovery of paradisaic innocence. Aldhelm's nuptial construction of the double monastery is a good deal more hazardous than the familial metaphors to which the organization also lent itself, since ecclesiastical councils held the fall to be irreversible" (Hollis, pp. 110-11). She does not deal with Julian and Basilissa specifically, although the prominence that Aldhelm gives both to these married virgins and Chrysanthus and Daria confirms her supposition. On the dozen or so double monasteries known to have existed in Anglo-Saxon England, see Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 51, Hollis, p. 75, note 1, Bateson, "Double Monasteries," pp. 137-98, and Godfrey, "Double Monastery," pp. 344-50.

¹⁵ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 100; ...*plura monachorum ergasteria...in quibus militum Christi circiter .X. milia sub distincto Juliani regimine conversantia et nequaquam a sanctae religionis tramite per obliquos anfractus dextra*

From the second part of the *passio* Aldhelm omits the public confessions of faith and focuses primarily on Julian's punishments at the hands of the governor Marcianus. He thus shifts the weight of the legend from testimonies about loving God above all else to manifestations of the glory of virginity in action. His rewriting of the scene of Julian's initial beating (6.23) provides a good example of his different emphasis. The *passio* dispenses with the flogging in one sentence, focusing instead on the power of Julian's prayers and the helplessness of the gods. The scene ends with Julian healing the blinded soldier, the soldier confessing Christ, and Marcianus ordering him to be beheaded. Aldhelm ratchets up the punishment—Julian is beaten with cudgels and whips—and adds that he "could not be deflected from the worship of Christ."¹⁶ He then cuts directly to the

laevaue declinantia regulariter vixerunt. Basilissa vero Deo dicata bis quingentos sanctae messis manipulos evangelicae praedicationis falce metens in area tortoris triturandos et horreis caelestibus condendos invexit (Ehwald, pp. 281.20-282.1-6). In the *passio*, there is no mention of the regularity of monastic life observed in Julian's community (2.10). The harvest imagery is found in the *passio* (2.10, 3.12), but Aldhelm adds the emphasis on Basilissa's preaching, a noteworthy addition in light of Stephanie Hollis's remarks, following Godfrey, that women religious in double monasteries were to be involved in pastoral work such as teaching and baptizing but not preaching (*Anglo-Saxon Women*, pp. 77 and 94). When comparing Julian and Basilissa's relative success, the *passio* says only that "Similarly, blessed Basilissa sent to heaven a multitude of maidens and wives, most chaste souls who had been set free from the squalor of the world" (Similiter et B. Basilissa, agmina virginum et mulierum, de squaloribus seculi liberatas castissimas animas praemittebat ad caelum, 2.10).

Basilissa plays a far more prominent and positive role in the prose *De virginitate* than in the verse, and I am puzzled by the sharp contrast. When staging the spiritual marriage in verse, Aldhelm concentrates only on the sin that the couple avoids. With God protecting, Christ exhorting, and the Book commanding, in order not to "blacken their own limbs with sin" (fuscarent...crimine membra), "they restrained the excesses of flesh" (Luxuriam carnis frenantes) (Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 131; Ehwald, 407.1291-92). Instead of highlighting Basilissa's leadership and preaching as he does in the prose account, he writes in the verse that the couple "established lowly cells for (female) celibates" (Virginibus quoque condunt gurgustia cellae) who though "kept separated by the lower order of their sex...were not made separate by the lower rank of their virtues" (Quas licet inferior sexus discriminet ordo / Non tamen inferior virtutum cardo sequestrat) (p. 131; 407.1300-02). I am unable to say what prompted Aldhelm's misogynist stance toward Basilissa in particular and women religious in general. Perhaps the change from prose to verse meant that he was writing for a male and no longer a female audience. Perhaps he anticipated a wider monastic audience for the verse *De virginitate* that would have included more men, who were neither receptive to the camaraderie he shared with women religious nor comfortable with a model of monasticism that lacked clear barriers between the sexes. On the wider audience of the verse see Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 101, Hollis, p. 76, note 44, and to compare the number of early manuscripts for both versions, see Ehwald, pp. 225 (prose) and 349 (verse), to which should be added the two manuscripts mentioned in Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 256, note 11.

¹⁶ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 100; a cultura Christi flecti nequivit (Ehwald, p. 282.13-14).

healing of the soldier (omitting his confession of faith and martyrdom) and adds that Julian destroyed more than five hundred idols. In both versions Aldhelm stresses Julian's steadfastness, compassion, and zeal, and in the verse compares his suffering to Christ's.¹⁷ The exemplary virginal will is best expressed in the midst of struggle, so Aldhelm accentuates tortures that are really afterthoughts in the *passio*. For example, the searing of the saints' hands and feet demonstrates how "divine protection safeguarded these champions of God struggling in the arena of the world like wrestlers."¹⁸ Recalling the masculine, militaristic, and athletic language of the introduction to the *De virginitate*, his choice to represent the saints as "wrestlers" and "champions" and elsewhere "holy soldiers" and "fellow combatants" underscores "virginal glory" for his monastic audience.¹⁹

The only other surviving English adaptation of the legend predating Ælfric's was also directed to a monastic audience. Whether the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology* was written to be read aloud or privately in the monastery or to aid monks ignorant of Latin is unknown²⁰, and because it is not a liturgical text per se, we cannot assume that Julian and Basilissa were actively culted in early Anglo-Saxon England. Still the Old

¹⁷ Julian is beaten "until his purple blood dripped in streams. Thus the servant followed His Lord with devout mind, going by a narrow course to the heavenly citadels, even as before the Master went by a narrow path, removing the sins of the world with His purple blood when He dutifully deigned to ascend the extended wood of the cross (Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 132); Donec purpureo rorarent sanguine rivi: / Sic sequitur dominum devota mente minister / Ad superas arces angusto tramite tendens, / Ut prius angusto tendebat calle magister / Sanguine purpureo demens peccamina mundi / Dum pius in patulum dignatur scandere lignum (Ehwald, p. 408.1313-18).

¹⁸ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 101: anthletas Dei in scammate mundi ritu palestrico agonizantes...divina tutela protexit (Ehwald, p. 284.3-4).

¹⁹ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 99; virginalēm...gloriam (Ehwald, p. 280.8). On Aldhelm's personification of the nuns as men, see Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, pp. 82-97.

²⁰ Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, I:242-43.

English martyrologist knew a version of the *passio*, albeit unidentified, from which he constructed the following entry ²¹:

On ðone ylcan dæg [6 Jan.] bið þæs æþelan weres þrowung se is nemned Sanctus Iulianus. þæs lichoma rested in Antiochia þære ceastre; se sona on his cnihtade ðeowade Gode on clænnesse. Ond his yldran hine þa genyddon on his geogode þæt he onfeng æþele brýd, seo wæs on naman Basilissa. Ond þa þære forman brydniht, þa hi twa wæron on ðæm brýdbúre, þa com þær ærest wundorlic stenc. ond æfter ðæm stence heofonlic leoht. one æfter þæm leohte Crist self þær ætewde mid engla werede. Ond ða for þære gesihðe fægernesse ðe hi gesawon, ond ðæm wordum ðe hi gehyrdon, hi wunedan á clæne, he mid werum ond heo mid fæmnum. Þes Iulianus awehte hæþenne man of deaðe, ond se wæs sidðan gefullad. Se man sæde fram helle sidfæte swylc sárspell swylce næfre ær on men ne becom. ne naht oft sidðan.²²

On the same day [6 Jan.] is the martyrdom of the noble man who is named Saint Julian, whose body lies in the city of Antioch. Early in his boyhood he served God in chastity. And his parents then commanded him in his youth to take a noble bride whose name was Basilissa. And then on the wedding night, when the two were in the bridal chamber, there first came a wonderful fragrance, and after the fragrance a heavenly light, and after the light Christ himself appeared there with a host of angels. And then on account of the beauty of the vision they had seen and the words that they had heard, they always remained chaste—he [remaining] in the company of men and she in the company of women. This Julian aroused a heathen man from the dead, who was baptized afterwards. The man told such a sad story about his experience in hell that had never before been met with among men nor hardly ever since.

Given the stress that the martyrologist lays on the saints' retirements to separate houses, we can only wonder if his reference to the resurrected man's story about hell is meant to be a warning to wayward or wavering monks or nuns, despite the fact that he is "a heathen man." But the early focus on Julian's virginity (clænnesse) as a young man and the way in

²¹ Cross, "Library," pp. 232-34 and Whatley, "Acta Sanctorum."

²² Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II:12-13.

which the entry conflates the couple's spiritual marriage with their entry into separate monasteries makes the passage well suited to a monastic audience.²³ Thus the two versions of the legend of Julian and Basilissa surviving from early Anglo-Saxon England reflect monastic sensibilities and underscore the values of that culture.

When Ælfric translates this story of the married virgins into Old English for the *Lives of Saints*, he redirects it to the laity. His decision to include Julian and Basilissa in a collection of saints lives and homiletic pieces written for his patron, the West Saxon nobleman Æthelweard, does not appear to be based on the popularity of the saints' cult in late Anglo-Saxon England, even among monks themselves.²⁴ They are included in only five of the twenty-two monastic calendars that survive from the period.²⁵ There is no evidence of any formal devotion to them in the surviving liturgical books, other than their mention in two of the sixty-one litanies published by Michael Lapidge.²⁶ Of course,

²³ Does the Old English martyrologist assume his ideal readers will be so familiar with the *passio* that with just this brief mention they will be able to recall the account for themselves? One only has to remember Bede's stories of various visions or glimpses of hell to understand the appeal (and the intended affect) of, in this case, giant, black (*Æthiopicus*) demons with eyes like furnaces, lions' teeth, eagles' claws, and arms like beams dragging the wicked to hell (9.40).

²⁴ Having provided the English laity with two books of homilies which included stories of such nationally-celebrated saints as the Apostles, Pope Gregory the Great, and Saint Benedict, Ælfric turns his attention in the *Lives* to those saints "whom not the laity but the monks honor in special services" (*quos non uulgus sed coenobite officiiis uenerantur*, LS.Praefatio.9).

²⁵ Wormald, *Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, prints nineteen calendars, Wilson, *Missale*, prints one, and Lapidge indicates the survival of two others that are currently being edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Ms. lat. 7299 and Ms. lat. 10062 ("Ælfric's Sanctoriale," p. 126, n. 7). Kotzor and Zettel note the three entries for Julian and Basilissa in Wormald's calendars, nos. 5, 20, and 8, which are additions in a later hand (respectively, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, I:304, and "Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources," p. 208). Neither scholar records the entries for the pair in calendars nos. 3 and 10; Zettel never states why the notices do not merit his consideration, and Kotzor explains that he omits entries for any feast day that varies more than three days from its traditional observance, in this case, 9 January (I:303). Calendar no. 3 lists the date 20 January and no. 10 as 27 February. See note 5.

²⁶ Lapidge, *Litanies*, nos. xxii and xliv are the only litanies which preserve the names of both Julian and Basilissa. Nine others (nos. v, ix, xvi, xxii, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxii, and xliii) record a Julianus, but I am not certain that he is the saint in question. For a listing of liturgical books that survive from the period, see Pfaff, *Liturgical Books*.

Ælfric's attention to this hagiographic minority has precedent in Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, a text frequently studied in the reformed monasteries of Anglo-Saxon England.²⁷ But even if the presence of the liturgically marginal Eugenia and the consecutive treatment of Agatha and Lucy suggest that Ælfric was influenced directly by Aldhelm's treatise, the works address vastly different audiences in obviously different historical contexts.²⁸ Ælfric appears to have been less interested in recording a sense of harmony among female and male religious implied by Aldhelm's prose treatment of this legend, than to press it into service for a devout laity, reflecting his homiletic teaching about lay virginity surveyed in chapter 1.

A comparison of Ælfric's version of the legend of Julian and Basilissa with its putative Latin source supports the assertion that he chooses and shapes the legends of the virgin spouses for the *Lives* with this teaching in mind. According to Patrick Zettel, the *passio* found in a British Library Cotton manuscript, Nero E. i. is closely related but not perfectly matched to that which Ælfric used.²⁹ The Cotton manuscript preserves part of the so-called Cotton-Corpus legendary preserved in eleventh-century manuscripts but widely accepted as having been in use in England in Ælfric's time.³⁰ Zettel notes that J. H.

²⁷ On the study of Aldhelm in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon schools, see Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 2 and *Poetic*, p. 101, esp. notes 11 and 13; Orchard, *Poetic Art*, p. 68; Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, p. 78; Greenfield and Calder, *Critical History*, pp. 23-32, at pp. 30 and 32; Lendinara, "Anglo-Saxon Learning," pp. 275-77; and Lapidge, "Hermenutic Style," pp. 67-111, at p. 74. On the influence of Aldhelm on Ælfric's teacher, Æthelwold, see Orchard, *Poetic Art*, p. 68; and Lapidge, "Æthelwold," pp. 89-117.

²⁸ Gordon Whatley pointed this out in an unpublished paper. Aldhelm advises that Agatha and Lucy "should not be separated in the sequence of narratives" (*quatenus nequaquam literarum serie sequestrentur*) (Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 108; Ehwald, p. 293.19). Eugenia is item no. 2 in the *Lives*, and Agatha and Lucy nos. 8 and 9.

²⁹ Zettel, "Sources," pp. 201-08, at p. 202. See pp. 304-05 for divergences between Ælfric's translation, the Cotton-Corpus text, and the *Acta Sanctorum* version. All citations from the *passio* are from the eleventh-century Cotton Nero copy of the legend, which is transcribed below in chapter 5.

³⁰ The name Cotton-Corpus legendary denotes a collection, not a particular manuscript, and was coined by Zettel, "Sources" and "Saints' Lives," from the earliest English manuscript copy of the original legendary which

Ott identified the Cotton text of Julian and Basilissa as BHL 4532, a version of the *passio* that lacks the prologue and nearly all of the final chapter of the text printed by the Bollandists (BHL 4529), but he suggests that the Cotton text represents another unidentified version of the legend.³¹

Zettel also notes that the Cotton text “differs markedly” from BHL 4529, but a more thorough analysis of the differences between the two legends was beyond the scope of his study. A more thorough comparison is required here since the purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that Ælfric’s editorial changes can help us determine why he includes this story in the *Lives of Saints*.³² The Cotton text totals approximately 8,800 words. BHL 4529 runs to nearly 11,100. If in order to approximate the length of BHL 4532 (the unedited version that the Cotton text resembles most closely), we subtract the prologue and last chapter from the total number of words in BHL 4529, then we are left with nearly 10,800 words, two thousand more than the Cotton text.³³

survives in Parts i and ii of British Library, Cotton Nero E. i and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9. In “Contents” Lapidge and Jackson describe these manuscripts and provide a list of contents. For a list and description of each of the Cotton-Corpus legendary manuscripts, see Zettel, “Sources,” pp. 9-13. While some scholars like Lapidge refer to the legendary as Ælfric’s source (“Ælfric’s Sanctorale,” p. 121, but see “Sources,” p. 146, n. 20), Whatley warns that given Zettel’s limited sample of manuscripts and sometimes “misleading” interpretations of their variants, the Cotton-Corpus legendary must be used cautiously (“Late Old English Hagiography,” pp. 480-82, and also “Introduction,” at pp. 14-15 and n. 76). Love also urges caution (*Lives*, p. xvii, n. 32). For an example in which Zettel’s claims have been revised, see Magennis, “Ælfric.”

³¹ Zettel, “Sources,” pp. 15 and 201-08. Lapidge and Jackson, indicate that the Cotton text is a hybrid of BHL 4529 and 4532 (“Contents,” p. 135). While Zettel suggests the Cotton version is unique, neither he nor I have surveyed other Continental manuscripts, where analogous abbreviations may well survive.

³² There is no printed edition of BHL 4532, so like Zettel, I will compare the Cotton text to the printed edition of BHL 4529. We can arrive, however, at an approximate “shape” of 4532 by omitting the prologue and last chapter of the printed edition, which I do when calculating the differences in the relative lengths of the texts. An exhaustive collation of copies of the *passio* of Julian and Basilissa preserved in English and Continental legendaries is beyond the scope of the present study but is part of a project I have underway. In the meantime, my analysis of Ælfric’s translation is based on comparisons with the Cotton text, but Zettel’s conclusions, and hence mine, must be regarded as provisional.

³³ The prologue serves a primarily rhetorical function. Its principal trope is based on John 20:29 where Jesus tells Thomas that “Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed,” and is intended to justify the

The plots of the three *passiones* are virtually identical despite their differing lengths. But because half of the omissions that the Cotton scribe makes are from chapters one through three, this tones down the language of asceticism scattered throughout a section that comes increasingly to focus on a monastic idyll. For example, the Cotton-Corpus text makes no mention of Julian's "perfect charity" (*perfecta caritas*) or the fact that he "castrated himself of all worldly vices and fleshly desires," and reports that he "flourished in the grace of holiness" (*gratiam sanctitatis florebat*).³⁴ The longest omission in the first three chapters is his prayer of thanksgiving to God for protecting his chastity and is the only speech the Cotton-Corpus legend omits in its entirety:

I give thanks to you, Lord, examiner of the heart and innermost being, you who made the allures and delights of this world to be far from me; so that with a believing heart, with chastity encouraging and guiding me, I will come to what no eye has seen, nor ear has heard; nor has it entered the heart of man what you have prepared for those who love you³⁵, you who have deigned me to be worthy of life and who are the true way to those who love chastity and delight in the purity of mind and body. Our Lord, because from [this] day which I have been born again in you, even the hour in which you deigned to call me, I have placed nothing before your love. I desire this, truly, that you would affirm that which has proceeded from my mouth: for I believe that then I will begin when I end.³⁶

The Cotton text reports simply that Julian "gave thanks to God" (*gratias deo referebat*), so

work of earlier authors who have written the legend so that those who have not seen may believe. The conclusion reports the posthumous miracles performed at the tombs of Julian and his companions.

³⁴ Ita se ab omnibus vitiis et concupiscentiis carnis mundo castraverat (1.2).

³⁵ The *passio* borrows 1 Corinthians 2:9, but the sentence is difficult to render without punctuating the verse differently that it appears in the Vulgate: Sed sicut scriptum est quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparavit Deus his qui diligunt illum (Weber, *Vulgata*).

³⁶ Gratias tibi ago, Domine, qui es scrutator cordis & renum; qui à me species et delectationes mundi longè fecisti: ut credulo corde, castitate adjuvante & in me regnante, ad id quod nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ praeparasti diligentibus te, perveniam: qui me dignatus es esse viam et iter verum his qui castitatem diligunt, et integritatem mentis ac corporis amplectuntur. Tu nosti Domine, quia ex dia quâ in te renatus sum, usque in horam quâ me accersire dignatus es, nihil praeposui amoris tuo. Hoc enim desidero, ut quod et ore meo procedit, tu confirmes; quia me tunc credo incipere quando finio` (1.4).

by omitting this prayer, with its biblical quotation and triple emphasis on chastity, it reduces our impression that his zeal is monkish. This impression is clearly what is intended in the *Acta Sanctorum* text, for later we see that “father” (pater) Julian “rejoices in the devotion of his sons,” the thousands of monks under his rule.³⁷ Each, we are told, “said that he would begin when he finished” and eagerly awaited the “reward which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, nor has it entered the heart of man what God has prepared for those who love him.”³⁸ In the Cotton-Corpus *passio*, Julian is father of many devoted sons, but they lack this family resemblance, as it were, since neither Julian’s prayer nor these details are included. Also diminished is our sense of Julian’s agency because the Cotton text appears systematically to delete references to the part that his teaching plays in winning disciples for Christ.³⁹ Even though there is little doubt about the exceptional nature of his commitment to chaste marriage and his success as an abbot, he appears to be more a beneficiary of God than his agent.

If the absence of the prayer spoils the symmetry between God’s promise (that many would be saved through Julian) and its fulfillment, it also strips the legend of the

³⁷ *Lætatur Pater in hoc studio filiorum* (3.16).

³⁸ *Tunc unusquisque eorum se dicebat incipere quando finiebat; ...omnes illud expectantes præmium, quod nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit. quæ præparavit Deus diligentibus se* (3.16). This refrain is repeated again in 2.7 where the angels promise Julian and Basilissa this reward.

³⁹ There are three specific references to Julian’s teaching, none of which is preserved in the Cotton text: (i) Appearing to Julian to command him to marry, God promises him that “[m]any young men and maidens, a multitude, will be made acceptable in the heavenly life through your teaching” (*Multi juvenes et virgines per vestram doctrinam in vitam cœlestis exercitus probabuntur*, 1.4). The focus in the Cotton version is solely on Julian’s chastity (*castitas*) through which “many will be dedicated” (*multa... dedicabitur*); (ii) Julian and Basilissa are described as two lamps (*lucernæ*) who flamed or preached “with the heat of the fiery word consuming the thistles and thorns of sins” (*igniferi verbi calore tribulos et spinas peccatorum exurens*, 2.10); (iii) Julian’s instruction is described as so effective that, “[t]here was not one able to hear the words from the mouth of S. Julianus who for any length of time was restrained from being converted to the Lord” (*Nec erat qui posset audire de ore S. Juliani verbum, ut aliquâ morâ retineretur converti ad Dominum*, 2.10).

initial statement of its most dominant theme and does more than any alteration to blunt the uncompromising conviction that nothing, not family, property, or status, ought to be placed above the love of Christ. In fact, the Cotton-Corpus text preserves only four of seven speeches from six episodes of the *Acta Sanctorum* text in which the theme (underlined below) is articulated.

Acta Sanctorum (BHL 4529)

Cotton-Corpus Legendary

1. When Julian thanks God for allowing him to preserve his chastity in spiritual marriage, he prays 'nihil præposui amori tuo.' (1.4)

1. omitted

['I have placed nothing before your love.']

2. An angel tells Julian and Basilissa that names recorded in the Book of Life are those of believers who 'super amorem Domini Jesu Christi nihil prætulerunt. non patrem, non matrem, non uxorem, non filios, non agros, non facultates, vel cetera quæ in hoc seculo impedimenta sunt animæ.' (2.7)

2.

'...qui amori Domini nihil prætulerunt, non patrem, non matrem, non uxorem, non filios, non diuitias, non cetera quæ in hoc seculo impedimenta sunt...'

[...who have placed nothing above the Lord Jesus Christ, not father, not mother, not wife, not sons, not lands, not properties, or any of the things in this world that are impediments to the soul.]

3. When interrogated by his father, Celsus twice tells Martianus, (a) 'Nec possum in vos pius esse, & in me crudelis existere: nec amorem vestrum Dei amori præponere....' (7.32)

3.

(a) 'Nec plus faciam vos quam me: nec amorem vestrum præpono aeternae lititae...'

['I cannot be kind to you and cruel to myself, nor prefer your love to God's.']

(b) ‘Paternum nomen & maternum Christi nomini non præpono.’ (7.32)

(b) [‘I do not place the name of my father and mother before Christ’s name.’]

4. Julian explains to Martianus what makes saints holy: ‘Si quis elaboraverit ut se ab omnibus actionibus seculi faciat alienum, ut solam vocem Domini audiat, imperantis & dicentis: “Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum, & tollat crucem suam, & sequatur me;” nihil amoris Dei præponat; nihil aliud desideret, nisi quod ipse Dominus promittit; non consideret nec patrem, nec matrem, non filios, & cætera, quæ nouerunt intelligentes impedimenta animæ.’ (10.46)

[‘If anyone strives to distance himself from all worldly affairs, so as to hearken solely to the voice of God (commanding and saying “If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me”), he should value nothing higher than the love of God, and long for nothing except what the Lord himself promises; let him consider neither father, nor mother, nor sons, nor any of those things which the understanding have recognized to be impediments of the soul.’]

5. On being recognized by her son as his “true mother,” Celsus’s newly converted mother responds, ‘cognosce fili, quia nil amoris eius præpono, quem tu sic diligis.’ (11.49)

[‘Know my son, that I place nothing before His love whom you love so.’]

(b) omitted

4. Si quis se lauerit ab omnibus actionibus seculi & facit alienum, vt solam vocem Domini audiat, imperantis & dicentis: “Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum;” nihil amoris Christi præponat; nihil aliud desideret, nisi quod ipse Dominus promittit; non consideret patrem, nec matrem, nec cætera, quæ nouerunt intelligentes;’

5. ‘Cognosce me fili, iam nihil amoris eius præpono, quem tu sic diligis.’

6. Antonius, quoting Matthew 10:37, explains to Martianus: ‘Et alio loco consequenter [Christus] dicit: “Qui amat patrem, aut matrem, aut filios, plusquam me, non est me dignus.” Hanc vocem audiens filius tuus, non plus amavit te carnalem genitorum, quam Christum Creatorem suum. (12.53)

[‘And in another place, consequently, he says: “He who loves [his] father, or mother, or sons more than me is not worthy of me.” Your son, hearing this voice, has not loved you, the fleshly parent, more than Christ, his creator.’]

6. ‘Et alio loco “qui plus fecit matrem aut patrem aut uxorem aut filios vel diuitias quam me non potest esse meus discipulus.”* Hanc vocem audiens filius tuus, non fecit te plus carnalem genitorum, quam Christum creatorem.’

* This passage seems to combine the less strident Mt. 10:37 with the more divisive Luke 14:26: “If anyone comes to Me and does not hate his father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters, yes, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple.”

Lacking the initial statement of the *nihil praepono* theme (no. 1) and losing two later iterations, one to substitution (no. 3a), the other to abbreviation (no. 3b), the Cotton-Corpus text is less insistent than its *Acta Sanctorum* counterpart. Given the fact that the plots are nearly identical, the cumulative effect of these editorial decisions is to shift the didacticism from a declarative to a more illustrative mode.

If this Latin legend takes a step toward toning down the *nihil praepono* theme, then Ælfric’s version goes a step farther. Perhaps he found the leitmotif too extreme and uncompromising for his lay audience, for he does not translate verbatim or paraphrase any of the speeches from the Cotton text cited above. He never cites Matthew 10:37 in the homilies, and the one time he quotes Luke 14:26, he disparages the married clergy by reporting that the apostles lived “in chastity” (on clænnyse) because they heeded Christ’s words; as Ælfric puts it in his version, “he who comes to me may not be my disciple

unless he hate his wife."⁴⁰ Rather than emphasize the necessity of Christians' distinctiveness over and against their families and cultural mores, he is concerned in his version of Julian and Basilissa to stress the necessity of steadfast faith. Perhaps this is because he understands the importance of families, households, and kingroups to the successful transmission of orthodox Christian belief. Not only is this evident in the homilies, but he also inherits from Bede models of conversion in which Christianity moves from a wife's household to that of her husband, as is the case of Æthelbert of Kent. Or belief is transmitted from the king's household to an entire kingdom as is the case with Edwin of Northumbria.⁴¹ The reason he stresses different aspects of the legend is more probably that he was attracted to its image of a new society springing from the spiritual purity and fecundity of a chaste couple and recognized its usefulness in reinforcing his teachings about lay *clænnysse* from the homilies.

The evidence to support this hypothesis lies in the numerous, mostly small-scale changes he makes in the story, so before proceeding to a close reading of the text it will be helpful to have a sense of Ælfric's general treatment of the legend. He duly preserves the shape of the entire *passio*, omitting very few episodes but abbreviating most of them.⁴² From the *vita* portion he omits most of the speeches dealing with the behavior of Julian and Basilissa's monks and nuns, as presumably they are expendable in a collection

⁴⁰ The FONTES database lists no citations for Matthew 10:37 in Ælfric's homilies. His edited version of Luke 14:26 is found in his sermon for Ascension Sunday and reads: "Se þe to me cymd ne mæg he beon min leorningniht buton he his wif hatige" (CHI.21.222-23).

⁴¹ On the importance of families to the spread of Christian belief, see p. 18. For the episodes in Bede, see Colgrave and Mynors, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 72-78 and 162-66; 182-88.

⁴² Of the sixty-three paragraphs in the Cotton-Corpus legendary, Ælfric draws on all but eight (3.13-14, 16; 4.18; 5.22; 7.28; 12.53, 56).

destined for the laity. As a result, the couple's spiritual marriage dominates the beginning of Ælfric's retelling. More time will be spent below analyzing his treatment of the *passio* section, but it is important to note that he ignores only five events from this action-packed narrative but drastically scales back its didactic speeches from thirteen to six. The result is a story that reduces the prominence of Celsus's rejection of his family and Celsus's mother's subsequent conversion but that concentrates more narrowly on the absolute necessity of a steadfast faith.

As mentioned in chapter 1, Ælfric, in his sermon for Rogation Monday, recommends spiritual marriage for especially devout couples who faced considerable pressures to marry from their families, urging them to "hide themselves in wedlock and forego intercourse, if God so prompts them."⁴³ These same couples seem to be one possible audience for Ælfric's legend of Julian and Basilissa, as is evident from his apparent concern to avoid the impression that chaste marriage breeds divisiveness among family members. The *passio* in the Cotton-Corpus legendary opens with an account of how Julian has rejected worldly wisdom and embraced Christianity so ardently that his parents become alarmed and worry that he will not provide them with an heir. They remind him that the apostle Paul himself counseled young men to marry and procreate, although a reader who knew the Vulgate well would realize that these parents have tampered with Paul's language, substituting "young men" (*juvenes*) for the original "younger widows" (*juveniores*)⁴⁴:

⁴³ ...on sinscipe. hí sylfe bedyglían. and hæmed forgán. gif him swa god gewissað (CHII.168-69).

⁴⁴ I Tim. 5.11. 14 (my italics): *adulescentiores autem viduas devita cum enim luxuriatae fuerint in Christo nubere volunt ... volo ergo iuveniores nubere filios procreare matres familias esse nullam occasionem dare*

Hunc parentes cum viderent tanta animi intentione Christianis adherere, convocantes eum ad se dixerunt: ‘Audi genitorum tuorum salubre consilium, quo [venerabili]⁴⁵ lege a magistro omnium Christianorum docemur qui dicit: “Volo juvenes nubere. filios procreare. patres familias esse, nullam dantes occasionem maligno.” Pro qua re non solum ut nobis consentias hortamur, sed tantum ut legis divine obediens esse videaris.’ (1.3)

When his parents saw him devoting himself to the Christians with such singleness of mind, they called him to them and said: ‘Listen to the beneficial advice of your parents, which we are taught in the venerable law by the teacher of all Christians who says “I wish young men to marry, to beget sons, to be heads of their households, giving no opportunity to the devil.” On account of this, we urge not only that you agree with us but also that you may be seen to be obedient to divine law.’

In light of their advice Julian asks for a week to pray before deciding if he will marry.

Ælfric simplifies these opening scenes, presenting Julian at the outset as the Christian son of pious parents who have instructed him in Christian doctrine from his youth (LS4.3-4), so there is no indication that they are alarmed by his piety. And although Julian’s father and friends press him to marry because he is eighteen (ll. 5-6), they do not

adversario maledicti gratia (Weber, *Biblia*) [But avoid [giving support to] the younger widows. For when they have become wanton in Christ, they will marry: ... I therefore wish for the *younger ones* (i.e. widows) to marry, bear children, be *heads of households*, giving no occasion to the devil for slander]. Verse 14 in the Greek New Testament (Aland, ed.) has *neoterās* (νεωτερας), a feminine adjective used as a noun for “young female ones,” which the Latin Vulgate translates with the comparative but either masculine or feminine adjective *juveniores* (and the variant *juniores*). But *matres familias* makes the Greek verb *oikidespotein* (οἰχοδεσποτεῖν), “to manage households,” in verse 14 more gender-specific and affirms that Paul is referring to the younger widows (*adulescentiores viduas*) in the preceding discussion. The substitution of *juvenes* for Paul’s *juveniores* occurs in the Greek original of the *passio* (Halkin, *Passio*, p. 246, ll. 8-9, plus apparatus n. 4). The author or scribe has substituted *neous* (νεους), with its unambiguous masculine ending, for the feminine *neoterās* (νεωτερας) of verse 14. When the verse is taken out of context and applied to Julian, his parents appear to ignore Paul’s advice to the unmarried in 1 Corinthians 7:7-9 to remain single if they are able. Also noteworthy is that while verse 14 is followed faithfully for much of the time, its conclusion is altered in both the Greek and Latin texts. Paul encouraged the younger widows to marry so that they might avoid both the disparagement that accompanies oath-breakers, “idlers,” “gossips,” and “busybodies” (vv. 11-13) and the risk of being lured away from Christianity by Satan (v. 15). The legends, by contrast, imply that remaining single would attract Satan’s attention and thus expose young men to his attacks. This too contradicts Paul’s characterization of the unmarried in 1 Corinthians 7:32-35 as those who are able to serve the Lord most devotedly and unwaveringly. I am grateful to Gordon Whatley for solving this conundrum and providing translations of the Greek passages.

⁴⁵ *Acta Sanctorum* text. MS innumerabili

invoke any biblical injunctions to procreate. By not forcing Julian to refuse to have children, Ælfric does not draw attention to the fact that spiritual marriage runs directly counter to the fulfillment of this social obligation, and he avoids leaving us with the impression that Julian needs a revelation from God in order to sidestep Paul's directive.

Instead, Julian's vision of Christ (ll. 11-21) serves simply to dramatize and sanctify the idea of chaste marriage itself, as does the spectacular appearance of Christ, Mary, and a host of angels to confirm the union after Basilissa's conversion in the wedding chamber (ll. 27-74)—all of which recalls the passage in Ælfric's homily where he stipulates that the impulse to such a chaste marriage must be the result of divine prompting, "gif him swa god gewissad" (CHII.19.169). To emphasize the nature of this special marriage bond, Ælfric uses some form of the word *clæne* five times and *mægdhade* ("virginity") twice in the space of fifteen lines (ll. 34-48). He adds that Julian is a "chaste bridegroom" (*clænan brydguman*, l. 34), that Basilissa desires to join with Christ "with preserved chastity" (*mid ge-healdenre clennisse*, l. 38), and that the celibate couple will also "love [Christ] purely" (*hine clænlice lufiað*, l. 44). Missing from the idealized portrait of the marriage, however, is the emphasis on secrecy featured both in the Cotton text and in the Rogation homily. In the Latin Julian and Basilissa are said to have "concealed the mystery of divine grace bestowed on them so that what they were doing was known [only] to Christ the Lord and the holy angels."⁴⁶ Ælfric, on the other hand, seems to make their purity more open, writing "Julian thus kept his bride unpolluted, and they were joined in true chastity (*sodre*

⁴⁶ ...et ita mysterium divine gratiae in se conlatum occultabant, [ut]* a [solo]* domino Christo & sanctis angelis sciretur, quod agebant (2.8, **Acta Sanctorum*).

clænnysse). flourishing spiritually (gastlice þeonde). in testimony to God.”⁴⁷ Unlike Chrysanthus and Daria, who, as we will see in chapter 3, keep silent about their chaste marriage to avoid the wrath of a fiercely pagan father, Julian and Basilissa in his account seem to live more openly. He removes any hint that the saints’ union would have caused any familial dissension: in Ælfric’s hagiographic world, chaste marriage does not need to be hidden from Christian parents.

That the dedicatees of the *Lives*, Æthelweard and Æthelmær, had children of their own discourages a narrow interpretation of the story.⁴⁸ Surely Ælfric aims it at an audience wider than ascetically-minded couples who might adopt celibacy at the outset of marriage, one that he would have expected to understand the more figurative implications of chastity surveyed in chapter 1. Since in the homilies he credits with *clænnysse* monogamous couples who obeyed church law regarding sexual activity in marriage, it is possible for them to have envisaged their regular periods of deliberate chastity as a less drastic parallel to the virginity of these married saints. Such an identification would be productive since Julian and Basilissa also display the same spiritual purity and fecundity that the Church does in her spiritual marriage to Christ. In light of the fact that the virgin pair may have evoked images of the purity of the virgin church in lay readers’ minds, it is possible that Ælfric may have chosen the legend to inspire in the laity the unwavering belief in God that is the mark of every “virgin of the faith.” If so, then what would

⁴⁷ Hwæt þa Iulianus ungewæmmede heold his bryde, and hi wæron gedeodde mid soðre clænnysse gastlice þeonde on Godes gewytnysse (LS4.75-77). To Skeat’s text I have added punctuation and capitalized proper nouns. All translations are my own.

⁴⁸ See Yorke, “Æthelmaer” and Jones, *Letter*, pp. 5-14.

normally be standard hagiographical fare becomes charged allegorically in Ælfric's retelling. Julian and Basilissa's refusals to renounce their Christianity and to sacrifice to pagan gods are refusals to commit spiritual adultery; their steadfastness symbolizes the fidelity of the Church to her bridegroom; and their successive conversions of families, torturers, and ogling crowds represent spiritual childbearing.

For evidence that Ælfric wants his readers to understand this narrative figuratively, we must pay careful attention to the semantics and structure of his translation. We will return later to his selection of speeches and their relationships to the didacticism of this version, but we will look briefly at one speech which suggests that he keeps firmly in view a lay audience capable of reading figuratively. His decision to include the conversion of the twenty soldiers who witness the miraculous light and fragrance that cheer Julian and Celsus when they are jailed is not unusual since Ælfric reports most of the events that are found in the Cotton-Corpus *passio*. However, when we remember that his immediate audience consists of his patron Æthelward and his son Æthelmær who were pious, literate, West Saxon warlords, the episode takes on a greater significance. The soldiers' justification of their conversion is one of only a handful of speeches reported by Ælfric from the *passio* portion of the legend and is noteworthy for the way in which these military men use figurative language:

Ða cwædon þa ceman þe se cwellere gesette þam halgum to weard-
mannum þæra wæron twentig, 'Unrihtlic us bið þæt we æft gecyrron fram
þysum beorhtan leohte to blindum þystrum, fram life to deaðe, fram soðe to
leasunga.' (LS4.216-220)

Then said the soldiers, whom the executioner assigned as guards to the
saints (there were twenty of them), 'It will be wrongful for us if we again
turn from this bright light to blind darkness, from life to death, from truth

to falsehood.’

Even though he depends closely on the Latin in his abbreviation, his decision to include this speech by these rather philosophical military men helps us to discern the type of implied audience he had in mind as he composed.⁴⁹

Ælfric often uses repetition of words or phrases to alert his audience to important parts of his narratives. We noted above that he repeatedly uses the word *clæne* or its cognate *mægðhad* in the episode where Basilissa converts and agrees to live chastely with Julian. One of his three additions suggests that he is tapping into the figurative potential of this chaste marriage in order to make the story more relevant to the Anglo-Saxon laity. In the *passio* Julian explains to his new wife the origin of the fragrance that has overwhelmed her:

‘Odor suavissimus, qui tibi apparuit, nec initium habet nec finem: qui temporibus dat tempora; qui singulis temporibus dat gratiam: ipse est Dominus Christus, qui est amator castitatis, qui integritatem corporis custodientibus vitam reddit æternam. Si huius monita mecum velis suscipere, ut eum amemus et virginitatem concessam invicem custodiamus; efficiemur in hoc seculo vasa eius munda, in quo habitet, et cum ipso regnabimus in futuro, nec ab invicem separabimur.’ (2.6)

‘The most pleasant fragrance which has appeared to you has neither beginning nor end. He who divides time into seasons, He who gives grace to each season, that one is Christ the Lord, who is a lover of chastity, [and] who has granted eternal life to those who protect the wholeness of their bodies. For if you should wish to accept with me His advice, then let us love Him and guard the virginity allowed by each other. We were made His

⁴⁹ ‘Numquid justum est ut de hac luce ad tenebras revertamur, de vita ad mortem, et de odore nectareo ad sanguinis effusionem, et ad talem patrem monentem ad iudicem irascentem, a veritate ad mendacium, a sobrietate ad ebrietatem, a castitate ad libidinem? Turpe est esse quod fuimus, et negligere salutem, quam invenimus’ (8.34). [‘Is it right that we should return from this light to darkness, from life to death, from the fragrance of nectar to the shedding of blood, from such an edifying father to a raging judge, from the truth to a lie, from sobriety to drunkenness, from chastity to lust? It is shameful to be what we were and to neglect the salvation which we have found.’]

clean vessels in this world in which he might dwell, and we will reign with Him in the future and will not be separated from each other.'

Ælfric relies on the *passio* for Christ's epithet (*amator castitatis*) but adds the description of the couple's virginity as with "intact" (*ansundum*)⁵⁰:

'Ðes bræð is of Criste seðe is clænnysse lufigend. Gif wit þurh-wuniad on ansundum mægð-hade and hine clænlice lufiað, þonne cume wit to his rice, and wit ne beoð to-twæmede ac á to worulde blyssiað.' (LS4.43-44)

'This fragrance is from Christ, who is a lover of chastity. If we both continue in intact virginity and purely love him, then we shall come into his kingdom, and we shall not be separated but shall rejoice forever.

He ignores the metaphor of clean vessels (*vasa munda*) and chooses a simpler locution that calls attention to God's demand for a purity of body and soul. If *ansundum mægð-hade* emphasizes the physical nature of the couple's bond, then his addition of *clænlice* to Julian's suggestion "let us love Him" functions as a kind of gloss on the first phrase, and the alliteration of *clænlice lufiað* with the epithet for Christ, *clænnysse lufigend*, permits the stress to fall on the more figurative type of chastity. A similar emphasis is evident in his rendering of the praise the heavenly hosts lavish on Basilissa in the *passio*: "'Blessed are you, Basilissa, who consented to salutary admonitions, and, rejecting the false charms of the world, have moved quickly toward eternal glory.'" ⁵¹ Ælfric renders the Latin *consensisti* ('you have consented') more imaginistically:

'Eadig eart þu Basilissa forþan þe þu *gebygdest þin mod* to halwendum mynegungum and middan-eardlice swæsnyse mid ealle forsiht and þe sylfe gearcost to wuldre.' (LS4.60-61, my emphasis)

⁵⁰ This may have been suggested to him by Julian's preceding description of Christ as "he who has granted eternal life to those guarding their bodily integrity" (*qui integritatem corporis custodientibus vitam reddit æternam*, 2.6).

⁵¹ 'Beata es Basilissa, quæ sic consensisti salutaribus monitis, & fallacis blandimenta mundi respuens, ad æternam gloriam preparasti.' (2.7)

Blessed are you Basilissa because you have *submitted your mind* to salutary exhortations and because you utterly despise earthly blandishment and prepare yourself for glory.’

Just as Ælfric will later stress Julian’s physical purity, which makes him worthy to “be numbered among the undefiled saints (*unbesmitenum halgum*) who never in this life were defiled by women (*besmitene mid wifum*),”⁵² he here stresses the importance of Basilissa’s mental disposition in making her worthy to “be reckoned among the number of the virgins who follow Mary, the mother of the Savior.”⁵³ Once again, he does not diminish the exceptional physical commitment of the couple, but he is insistent on drawing our attention to their spiritual natures.⁵³

If we accept that these adjustments represent an attempt, however subtle, to

⁵² ‘Se þe for minre lufe middan-eard forsihd, he bid soðlice geteald to þam unbesmitenum halgum þe næran on heora life besmitene mid wifum. Basilissa bid geteald to þæra mædena getæle þe Marian folgiað þæs hælendes meder.’ (LS4.68-72). Ælfric has again added wordplay (*unbesmitenum halgum...besmitene mid wifum*) when translating the following passage from the *passio*: ‘...qui pro amore meo mundum contempsit, deputetur in eorum numerum, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati. Basilissa vero deputetur in numerum virginum, quibus virgo mater Domini principatum tenet’ (2.7) [‘Let him who despised the world for my love be reckoned among the number who have not been defiled by women. Let Basilissa truly be reckoned among the number of virgins, among whom the virgin, mother of God, is the first’]. It is interesting to consider how we might read this most literal of Old English sentences figuratively in terms of spiritual purity. We will recall from chapter 1 one of Ælfric’s definitions of idolatry: “Deofol-gild bið þæt man his drihten forlæte and his cristendóm and to deofollicum hædenscype gebuge bysmrigende his scyppend” (LS17.47-48). [Idolatry is that a man forsake his Lord and his Christianity and turn to devilish heathenism, defiling his Creator.] If we think of Ælfric’s metaphor for spiritual adultery where the Church refuses to “choose another man” (Assmann 3) or the Christian “to bow adulterously to an idol” (CH11.39), then Julian, who refuses to be besmirched by women, may be considered a model of spiritual purity who refuses “to defile his Creator” by refusing to choose any woman for his partner.

⁵³ Ælfric’s dual focus is also evident in his versions of Chrysanthus and Daria as well as Cecilia and Valerian. The Cotton-Corpus legend of the former tells how the couple “adopted the bond of marriage so that they both might persist in the fear of God and the glory of chastity” (*nomen conjugii assumpserunt ita ut ambo in Dei timore et castitatis gloria perdurarent*, 1.14). Ælfric alters this to “they were of one mind and dwelled together in feigned marriage preserving their chastity” (*Hi wurdon þa anræde and wunodon ætgædere gehiwodum synscipe and gehealdenre clænnysse*, LS35.123-24). His choice of *anræde* (singleminded) invites us to see that Daria is credited with having a *clænum* (l. 92) mind like Chrysanthus and highlights the couple’s literal and figurative purity. For a full discussion of this passage, see chapter 3. Similarly, in Ælfric’s life of Cecilia and Valerian, when the angel arrives to bless their spiritual marriage, he tells them to guard the crowns he brings from Paradise “with a pure heart” (*mid clænre heortan*, LS34.80), not, as the Cotton text says, “with an unspotted heart and a pure body” (*immaculato corde et mundo corpore*).

maximize the figurative potential of this legend, then we might expect to find more substantial changes that reflect this same aim. Ælfric's repeated usage of both the intransitive verb *gebugan* (to bow, turn, submit) and the transitive *gebigan* (to bend, turn, convert) provides more conclusive evidence that he rewrites this story as an inspiration to spiritual purity, by which he means the preservation of a steadfast, unwavering faith. We will recall that he uses marital fidelity as a metaphor for spiritual purity when explaining the allegorical marriage of Christ and the Church. Just as there is no room for deviation in a worldly marriage, the union of Christ and all believers can brook no "turning aside." Faithful Christians refuse "adulterously to turn (*bugan*) to an idol."⁵⁴ In his sermon "On Auguries" in the *Lives*, the idolater is the inconstant believer who will "turn (*gebuge*) to devilish heathenism" or "submit (*onbugan*) to shameful sins."⁵⁵ Ælfric uses *abugan* (to bow down, turn away) in his homily for Mary's Nativity, in which the Church remains steadfast (*þurhwunad*) by refusing to "turn away to any paganism [or] shameful idolatry."⁵⁶ No wonder Ælfric uses *þurhwunian* twice in the context of narrating Julian and Basilissa's commitment to a spiritual marriage.⁵⁷

But not all inclining or yielding is to be avoided. That much depends on the person, object, or belief that the worshiper submits to. The Trinity is represented in the three thousand who on Pentecost "turned to the faith."⁵⁸ St. Clement is advised by the

⁵⁴ forligerlice to leasum hæðengylde *bugan* (CHII.39.81)

⁵⁵ *gebuge* to deofollicum hæðenscype (LS17.48) or *onbugan* dam bysmorfullum leahtrum (l. 62)

⁵⁶ heo æfre þurhwunad on godes geleafan and nele *abugan* to nanum hæðenscipe...[or] bysmorfullum deofolgyldre (Assmann 3.96-98).

⁵⁷ LS4.43, 46. Ælfric also uses this verb in two other discussions of allegorical chaste marriage: CHII.1.98-101; 114-17 and CHII.4.25-36.

⁵⁸ *gebugon* to geleafan (CHI.22.237-38)

emperor Trajan to “submit to paganism.” but he later “converted all [five hundred pagans] to faith in God.”⁵⁹ In Ælfric’s sermon “On False Gods” the notion of submitting to God is connected explicitly with spiritual purity. When, in one of the homily’s many examples of Christianity’s triumph over paganism, the Egyptian god Seraphis is destroyed by the Christians, the Alexandrians “submitted then to God, as his pure worshipers.”⁶⁰

Ælfric is aware that once Christians turn to God, they will face repeated temptations to stray from their new spiritual lord. They will need to make the choice not to turn away again and again. He also realizes that their spiritual purity is constantly under siege and that the stakes of that struggle are eternal. His repetition of *gebugan* and *gebigan* in Julian and Basilissa thus demonstrates how Ælfric uses this legend to foreground the choice between spiritual purity and impurity and its consequences. The rewards for worshiping God and the punishments for deserting him that we encounter in the story are not original with Ælfric. But it is his decision to link the characters’ choices with these particular verbs when there are no identical words or similar phrases in the *passio* that would have led him to do so.⁶¹

For example, God promises Julian that “‘I will turn the virgin to my love’” (and *þæt mæden ic ge-bige eac to minre luf. l. 18*)⁶², and, as noted earlier, the angels praise her

⁵⁹ *gebugan to hæðengylde* (CHI.37.54) *and ealle to godes geleafan gebigde* (l. 85)

⁶⁰ *gebugon þa to Gode, to his clænum biggengum* (Pope 21.571); Ælfric is translating a passage from Rufinus’s *Historia Ecclesia*, but the association of *clænnysse* with turning from idol worship to faith in Christ is his own: *Unde et plurimi ex his, condemnato errore et scelere deprehenso, fidem Christi et cultum verae religionis amplexi sunt* (Mommsen, *Historia Ecclesia*, II.24) [Whence a great number among these, with the error condemned and the wickedness discovered, gladly accepted faith in Christ and the worship of the true religion]. Cited in part by Pope, II:707, n. on ll. 565-71.

⁶¹ Corresponding Latin passages are given in footnotes following each quotation in Old English.

⁶² ‘Et ipsam quæ tibi fuerit juncta, convertam in meum amorem’ (l.4). [‘And I will convert her who shall be joined to you in my love.’]

saying, “Blessed are you, Basilissa, because you submitted your mind (gebygdest þin mod) to salutary exhortations.”⁶³ By contrast, Martianus demands that Julian and his followers *gebugan* to his idols (ll. 112-13).⁶⁴ And when the saint shatters the idols in his temples, the governor assumes that the gods have allowed themselves to be destroyed in order that they might *ge-bigan* (l. 169) Julian to themselves.⁶⁵ He even complains in a letter to the emperor that the sorcerer Julian has converted (gebygde, l. 252) his son from him to Christ.⁶⁶ Ælfric most clearly makes us aware of the stakes of the choice between “true faith” (soðan geleafan, l. 352) and false gods in the episode in which Martianus sends his wife to their son Celsus in hopes that she might cause him to turn from (gebigde, l. 343) his Christianity.⁶⁷ When the judge discovers that his wife not only fails but converts, he says to his son:

‘Bæde þu forþi þinre modor spræce þæt þu hí *gebigest* to þinum bigenge fram me.’ Se cnapa þancode gode þe hí swa *gebigde* to his soðan geleafan

⁶³ Eadig eart þu Basilissa forþan þe þu gebygdest þin mod to halwendum mynegungum (ll. 60-61). ‘Beata es Basilissa, quæ sic *consensisti* salutaribus monitis...’ (2.7). [‘Blessed are you, Basilissa, because you have consented to beneficial advice...’]

⁶⁴ Tunc iratus Preses...jussit eum conveniri, ut cum omnibus suis secundum decreta principum idolis *immolaret*, ne diversas luerent pænas (4.17). [Then the judge, furious,...ordered them to be interviewed so that Julian with all his followers should sacrifice to the gods in compliance with the decrees of the most invincible authority to avoid suffering diverse punishments.]

⁶⁵ ‘Sed hic deorum patientia laudabilis est: injurias sibi inrogatas sustinent, ut rebelles suos patiendo sibi *subicient*’ (6.24). [‘But the patience of the gods is laudable: they suffer injuries inflicted on themselves, so that they may win over their rebels with patience.’]

⁶⁶ ‘...filium unicum a me *separavit*’ (9.37). [‘Julian divided my only son from me.’] Ælfric uses *awendan*, a synonym for *gebigan* in a parallel episode. Martianus says to Julian, “Alas, you Julian! You turn my son so that he pays no heed to me or his mother” (Eala, þu Juliane! Þe awendest minne sunu swa þæt hé mín ne ræcd ne eac þære meder, ll. 312-13).

⁶⁷ ‘Hæc enim tibi ad omnia parata est [*consentire*]* te ne unicum filium amittat’ (11.47; **Acta Sanctorum*). [‘She is prepared to consent to your every wish, lest she lose you, her only son.’] Just before this passage (ll. 350-52), Ælfric uses *gecyrran*, a synonym for *gebugan*, to describe the mother’s change of heart: “Þa gelyfde heo sona on þone lifigendan god and waꝛð gefullod æt þam fore-sædan preoste and fulllice ge-cyrrad to ðam soðan geleafan (Then she believed at once in the living God and was baptized by the aforesaid priest and was fully converted to the true faith). See also l. 218, where the twenty soldiers *gecyrron* to Christianity.

þæt heo ne losode mid him.⁶⁸ (ll. 356-59. my emphases)

‘You asked to speak with your mother so that you might turn her from me to your religion.’ The young man thanked God, who thus turned her to his true faith that she might not perish with [Martianus].

With his incantatory use of *gebugan* and *gebigan* throughout these passages, Ælfric raises the tension and the stakes of a drama that pits the spiritually pure against the spiritually impure.⁶⁹ Nowhere than in the final scenes of the legend is it more clear that Ælfric wishes to present to lay readers the story of Julian and Basilissa as a narrative featuring the necessity of preserving one’s purity of belief and evoking the abiding fidelity of the virgin Church to Christ her bridegroom.

In the thirteenth chapter of the *passio* in the Cotton-Corpus legendary, after Martianus futilely subjects the surviving saints (Julian, Celsus, his mother, the priest Antonius, and the resuscitated man) to the ravages of wild animals, which only lick their feet (13.60), he orders the prisons to be emptied of all criminals who have committed capital offenses (13.61). They are brought to the amphitheater, and the saints are interspersed among them. Julian praises God. Celsus and his mother tell Martianus to watch as their faces are glorified so that he’ll recognize them when he’s in hell, and the saints are mixed indiscriminately among the other prisoners and beheaded (13.61). Immediately, an earthquake destroys the pagan temples throughout the city; thunder resounds, lightning flashes, and hail batters many unbelievers to death. Martianus escapes

⁶⁸ ‘Matrem tuam sub hac ratione postulasti, ut tibi consentiret...’ Puer respondit: ‘Gratias ago Domini qui voluntatis meæ fructum ita complevit, ut in eternum possideam matrem, and illa me filium.’ (11.51). [‘You asked for your mother under the pretense so that she might consent to you...’ The boy responded: ‘I give thanks to God who fulfilled the fruit of my desires, so that I might have my mother in eternity and she her son.’]

⁶⁹ On Ælfric’s use of repetition as a stylistic device as “a means of promoting coherence and securing emphasis,” see Pope, “Rhythmical Prose,” l:109-10, at p. 110 and p. 112.

with his life but is gravely wounded. He dies days later, his corpse boiling with worms (13.62). The Christians who come to bury the dead cannot recognize the bodies of the saints among the carnage and pray for a miracle. The martyrs' souls in the likenesses of virgins hover over their bodies until the saints are collected and buried in the church where a spring that is subsequently used as a baptismal font bubbles up (13.63-64).

Ælfric, by contrast, moves directly from the miracle of the beasts to the saints' deaths.⁷⁰ In a climactic passage that rings with alliteration, he adds the following catalog of martyrs, who "now all rejoice in heaven with God for eternity" (and hi ealle nu mid gode on ecnyse blyssiad, l. 421)⁷¹:

...and hi þæs fægnodon, þanciende Gode ealra his godnyssa. Iulianus þa and se geonge cniht, Martianes sunu, and his modor samod. Antonius se preost, and se ge-edcucode man wurdon to-somne of-slagene for criste and ferdon mid wuldre to þam welwillendan hælende and to heora geferum þe him fore-stopon, þæt is Basilissa mid hyre beorhtum mædenum, and se halga heap þe on ðam huse for-barn, and þa twentig weard-menn þe se wælhreowa be-heafdode, and þa seofan gebroðra þe he for-bernan hét.
(ll. 408-20)

...and they rejoiced at this [their beheading], thanking God for all his goodness. Then Julianus and the young knight, Martianus's son, and his mother too, Antonius the priest, and the resuscitated man, were together slain for Christ and went with glory to the kind Savior and to their companions who preceded them—that is Basilissa, with her bright virgins, and the holy troop who were burnt in the house, and the twenty guards

⁷⁰ In Ælfric's account of the saints being fed to the wild beasts, Martianus orders "lions and bears" (leon and beran, l. 403) to be brought into the arena. This detail is not found in the Bollandists' edition of the *passio* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 1.575-87, para. 60) or that of Salmon, *Le lectionnaire*, pp. 27-57. This detail is found, however, in both Aldhelm's epitomes of the legend in the *De virginitate* (Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 102 and Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 134). Ælfric may be recalling Aldhelm's work or the detail could point us to another version of the *passio* more similar than the Cotton text to that which Ælfric used as an exemplar.

⁷¹ Perhaps this catalog was suggested to Ælfric by the vision in which the twenty soldiers, seven brothers, Basilissa, and a choir of virgins appear to Julian and his companions to summon them to heaven (13.58). Even if he has transferred the episode, the matter of emphasis stands.

who the cruel one beheaded, and the seven brothers whom he ordered to be burnt.

He then returns to the Latin account and reports the destruction of the heathens, their temples, and their leader (ll. 422-31). He omits the miracles at the amphitheater and the church and says simply that the saints are buried with *blisse* (l. 433).

Ælfric's decision to add the catalog and to omit the final miracles shifts the emphasis of the conclusion. The story no longer ends with one more proof of the martyrs' sanctity. Rather he leaves us with vivid dual images of victorious saints and defeated sinners, not unlike those we might find on a diptych of Judgment Day with the saints ascending to and rejoicing in heaven on one side, while demons drag the damned off to hell on the other. In this case, we witness those who have refused to worship idols, or put more broadly, the spiritually pure, rejoicing in heaven, while the idolaters suffer for their impurity. By placing Martianus's damnation after the catalog of saints, Ælfric caps the narrative with the point that God punishes the heathen who refuse to *gebugan* themselves to him.

The goal of presenting the laity with a story that reinforces his allegorizing of virginity as spiritual purity in the homilies affects others of his editorial decisions. As he tries to tell this *lang-sum* story in the *scortostan wisan* (ll. 138-40) or shortest way, he omits several of the *passio*'s key, if stereotypical, didactic speeches. For example, he omits both Julian's initial confession to Martianus's adviser, which underscores a Christian's bargain of temporal sacrifice for eternal reward (4.18), as well as Celsus's disparagement of idol worship and worldly glory (7.28). Also excised is Julian's sermon about what makes a Christian holy (10.46) and Celsus's mother's long "scrutiny" prior to

being baptized, during which she confesses three times her belief in a triune God and praises the eternal glory she happily trades for her present life (11.49).⁷² In another context these scenes of repeated professions of faith might underscore matters of doctrine and faith.

The six speeches he chooses to include, on the other hand, are all relevant to the theme of spiritual purity.⁷³ When the twenty prison guards convert to Christianity (ch. 8), for example, Ælfric uses *gecyrron*, a synonym of *gebugan* to call to our attention to the mistake of turning back (*æft gecyrron*, l. 218) from light, life, and truth to the darkness, death, and falsehood (ll. 218-20). As we already noted, the rewards and punishments of both choices are then graphically illustrated in the final account of the fates of the saints and the pagans. So strong is the theme of steadfastness that Ælfric omits from the Latin version the account of Julian's feint to sacrifice to his persecutor's gods (12.55).⁷⁴ If this trick in the *passio* increases the dramatic irony and the humor for an audience who sees

⁷² Ælfric also omits the following paragraph (11.50) wherein the prison shakes and a voice from heaven confirms the mother's credo.

⁷³ Thirteen such speeches occur in chapters four through thirteen. Ælfric includes in his translation the six marked in bold below: (1) confronting Martianus's adviser, Julian rejects the orders of the emperor and expresses his willingness to die a temporal death to receive eternal life (4.18); (2) Julian refutes Martianus's charges of sacrilege, **explains he worships Creator not created things** (5.21), refuses his offer of escape, and insults him instead (5.22); (3) **Martianus's idols explain that they, having no sight, cannot restore the sight of the man who was injured while beating Julian** (6.24); (4) Celsus explains to his peers and teachers why it is irrational for rational men to worship stones and wood and why he is willing to trade temporal death for eternal life (7.28); (5) Celsus claims Juilan as the father of his "second birth," renounces his parents and worldly wealth, and explains to the crowd why he confesses his belief in Christ (7.29); (6) Celsus explains that a rose can spring from the thorns and vows that no one can turn him from Christ (7.32); (7) **the twenty soldiers explain why they must believe in God** (8.34); (8) the elder brother explains that he and his siblings want to suffer for Christ because gold must be refined and **a fruit tree must bear fruit** (8.36); (9) **the resurrected man describes hell** (9.39); (10) Julian delivers a sermon explaining what makes Christians holy (10.46); (11) Celsus's mother confesses to her son that she believes in God, and her "scrutiny" by Julian follows (11.49); (12) Celsus explains to his father that he and mother now have no hope in temporal life (11.51); (13) Julian prays to destroy the temple, calling on the living God so that the unbelieving may be converted, after which **he mocks Martianus's gods** (12.57).

⁷⁴ Ælfric is not, as a rule, opposed to such episodes; see his *Life of St. George* (LS14.117-46).

the approaching doom that the heathen judge cannot recognize even after the fact, Ælfric's version at least makes Julian utterly constant, never willing even in jest to *gebigan* his head to the pagan gods.

The elder brother's explanation that the seven brothers have imprisoned themselves lest they resemble the tree "that always sprouts into leaf and never bears any fruit for its Creator" is reflected later in the "fruit" of Julian and Basilissa's chaste marriage displayed in the final catalog of saints.⁷⁵ The monks and nuns mentioned there were the first fruits, or spiritual children, of their *fæder* (l. 84) Julian and *modor* (l. 85) Basilissa, whose marriage had been characterized by spiritual not physical increase.⁷⁶ By portraying the diverse company of saints rejoicing together in heaven, Ælfric more clearly than the Cotton text (l. 4) makes the point that God has made good on his initial promise that "through you both [Julian and Basilissa] the purity of many others shall be hallowed unto me."⁷⁷ The connection between the two scenes is no accident, as an addition to a passage which Ælfric otherwise follows closely suggests.⁷⁸ Moments before her conversion Julian comments to Basilissa,

gif wit þurh-wuniad on ansundum mægd-hade and hine clænlice lufiad
 þonne cume wit to his rice and wit ne beoð to-twæmede *ác á to worulde*

⁷⁵ þe æfre grewð on leafum and næfre nænne wæstm his scyppende ne bringð (LS.4.246-47).

⁷⁶ Ælfric adds to the Cotton text that Basilissa was "modor ofer fæla mynecena" (mother over many nuns, l. 85). Paraphrasing the Latin description of their marriage, *Ceperunt spiritu esse conjuncti, non carne, fructificantes* (2.8) [They began to be fruitful in spirit not flesh], Ælfric writes that Julian and Basilissa "were joined in true chastity, flourishing spiritually in testimony to God" (wæron gedæodde mid soðre clænnysse gastlice þeonde on godes gewytnysse, LS.4.76-77).

⁷⁷ þurh eow me bið be-halgod manegra oðre clennysse (l. 20)

⁷⁸ 'Si huius monita mecum velis suscipere, ut eum amemus et virginitatem concessam invicem custodiamus; efficiemur in hoc seculo vasa eius munda, in quo habitet, et cum ipso regnabimus in futuro, nec ab invicem separabimur.' (2.6) ['For if you should wish to accept with me His advice, then let us love Him and guard our lawful, mutual virginity. We were made His clean vessels in this world, in which he might dwell, and we will reign with Him in the future and will not be separated from each other.']

blyssiad.

(ll. 43-45. my emphases)

‘If we both continue in intact virignity and purely love Him. then we shall come into his kingdom. and we shall not be severed *but shall rejoice forever.*’

An echo of the italicized addition is discernible in the final line of the catalog. *and hi ealle nu mid gode on ecnysse blyssiad* (“and they all now rejoice before God forever.” l. 421). By connecting the couple’s *clænnysse* with the final image of the throng of both layfolk and religious rejoicing together in heaven, Ælfric reinforces the connections between spiritual purity and childbearing so integral to his expositions of allegorical chaste marriage in the homilies.

Just as some of the speeches Ælfric chooses from the Latin throw into relief the rewards merited by the spiritually pure. others reinforce the folly of idolatry so vividly driven home in the conclusion of the legend. Julian’s explanation to Martianus that he and his followers worship the creator, not created things (ll. 132-38), and the idols’ admission that they are powerless to heal the blind soldier (ll. 155-59) are recalled in both the destruction of the temple. priests. and pagans by God in the public showdown between Julian and Martianus (ll. 377-79) and the devastation of the idolaters and their temples by lightning, earthquake. and hail immediately after the saints are martyred (ll. 422-27). These latter episodes seem to provide an emphatic answer to the pointed question that Ælfric adds to the Latin account of Julian’s first interrogation by Martianus (5.21). Julian asks him, “how shall they [your gods] show mercy on them that erroneously honor them?” ([hu magon] þam gemyltsian þe hí mid ge-dwylde wurdiað, l. 138). They cannot.

Julian’s taunting of the governor in the aftermath of the public showdown recalls

his key focus on the futility of idolatry and the reality of a merciless hell that Ælfric previously stressed in the resurrected man's account of his averted damnation (ll. 285-98). After the temple, priests, and worshipers have sunk into ground, Julian asks Martianus.

Hwær is nu seo fægernys þines gefrætowodan temples? Hwær synd þa anlicnyssa þe þu onwuldrodest? Swa swa hí besuncon on ðone sweartan grund, swa sceole ge hæðene on helle grund besincan, þær bið æfre éce fyr and undeadlic wurm þe eowre lichaman cywð, and ge þeah ne sweltað ac bið æfre se lichama ge-edniwod to ðam witum. Þær ge biddað mildsunga ac eow biþ forwyrmed. (LS4.381-88)

'Where now is the beauty of your decorated temple? Where are the images you gloried in? Even as they sank into the dark abyss, so shall you, heathen, sink into the abyss of hell, where there shall be forever eternal fire and the deathless serpent that will gnaw your body, and yet you shall not die, but ever shall your body be restored for the torture. There you shall pray for mercy, and it shall be denied you.'

Ælfric emphatically concludes the account of the governor's gruesome death (his diseased body is found boiling with worms, ll. 429-30), by adding to the Latin that "the impious one departed, with torture to hell" (se arleasa ge-wát mid wite to helle. l. 431).

We have previously encountered a fiery, serpent-inhabited hell in Ælfric's homily "On Auguries," one of the few places in the *Lives* where we can have some sense of how he might have expected Julian and Basilissa to be interpreted by an Anglo-Saxon audience.⁷⁹ That guidance is not explicit, but the parallels between the homily and the legend are suggestive. In the homily an idolater is both the apostate, who "forsakes his Lord and his Christianity (his drihten forlæte and his cristendóm) and turns to (gebuge) devilish paganism," and the unrepentant sinner, who "despises his Creator's commands

⁷⁹ Ælfric offers no real guidance other than his comments in his Latin and Old English prefaces to the *Lives* (LS.Praefatio.3, 39-40 and 71) that he has translated these texts from Latin in order to edify and strengthen the faithful.

and practices the shameful sins which the devil teaches him."⁸⁰ Like the idolater Martianus, both these "will suffer in eternity, in the unquenchable fire, amidst the worst serpent-kind which shall never be destroyed, but shall ever gnaw the bodies of the wicked in the fire of hell" (seal he undances on ecnysse đrowian on đam unadwæscend-licum fyre betwux đam wyrrestan wurm-cynne þe næfre ne biđ adyd ac ceowađ symle þæra arleasra lichama on đam hellican lige, LS17.31-34).

This sermon also features the victory of the spiritually pure, who are depicted as bearing the "fruits of the spirit" (*gastes wæstmas*, l.52); these fruits, it is implied, result from the marriage of Christ and the soul. In fact, the description of these Christians who resist idolatry befits the saints in Julian and Basilissa who "rejoice with God forever" (mid gode on ecnysse blyssiad. l. 421):

...ac da þe cristes...nellad onbugan đam bysmorfullum leahtrum ne đam yfelum gewilnungum ac winnađ him to-geanes ođ þæt hi sigefæste siđiađ to criste, and to đam ecan wuldre for đam sceortan gewinne and *hi blyssiad on ecnysse bliđe mid criste.* (LS17.61-66, my emphasis)

but those who are Christ's...will not yield (onbugan) to shameful sins, nor

⁸⁰ Deofol-gild biđ þæt man his drihten forlæte and his cristendóm and to deofollicum hædenscype gebuge bysmrigende his scyppend. Ođer deofol-gild is derigendlic þære sawle đonne se man forsihđ his scyppendes beboda and þa sceandlican leahtras begæđ þe se sceocca hine lærđ (LS17.47-51). [Idolatry is that a man forsake his Lord and his Christianity and incline to devilish heathenism, dishonoring his Creator. Another idolatry, hurtful to the soul, is when man despises his Creator's commands and practices the shameful sins which the devil teaches him.] Following *De Auguriis*, Ælfric's sermon on the Book of Kings contains a similar distinction. It is composed of vignettes featuring both faithful and wicked kings of Israel, though the latter "who turned from God to shameful idolatry" (þa de fram gode bugon to bysmor-fullum hædenscype, LS18.43) dominate the narrative. Lest the audience fail to see how the stories of such wicked Old Testament kings as Ahab and his sons are relevant to their own lives, Ælfric applies the moral for them: Ne mage we awritan đa mænig-fealdan gerecednyssa ealra iudeisra cyninga on đisum lytlan cwyde ođđe israhela đeode hu hi ealle leofdon; ac we cwedađ to sođan se þe synnum gehyrsumađ and godes beboda forsyhđ nu on þæs godspelles timan þæt he biđ þam cynincgum gelic de gecuron deofolgiid and heora scyppend forwawon (LS18.473-79). [We cannot write the manifold histories of all the Jewish kings in this little treatise or how the people of Israel all lived; but we say in truth, that he who obeys sins and despises God's commands, now in the age of the gospel, is like the kings who chose idolatry, and despised their Creator.]

to evil desires, but will fight against them until they depart victoriously to Christ and to everlasting glory in exchange for that short warfare and *they shall rejoice happily forever with Christ.*

Both the homily and the legend employ language that is familiar to us from Ælfric's discussions of spiritual marriage in the homilies. He does not use the metaphor of adultery that we find in the homilies for Mary's Nativity and the Feast-day for Holy Virgins, but idolatry in "On Auguries" represents acts of unfaithfulness toward God that will destroy the fruits of the marriage between Christ and the soul. Similarly, submitting or yielding in Julian and Basilissa would also destroy the purity of the Church which is symbolized in the chaste couple and the steadfast faith of the converts, both lay and religious. Coupled with "On Auguries" and Ælfric's sermons on spiritual virginity, this comparison of the Old English and Latin versions offers a more confident sense that Ælfric found Julian and Basilissa to be both a compelling drama of *gastlice clænnysse* resisting the adultery of idol-worship and a vehicle to inspire all believers, as "virgins of the faith," never "to forsake God's belief nor perversely choose another man, but [to keep] the marriage of the true Savior in spiritual virtues and in spiritual childbearing, dwelling in chastity (clænnysse) as Christ's bride."⁸¹

Whereas steadfastness is the spiritual virtue that receives the most sustained focus in Julian and Basilissa, its corollary, spiritual childbearing, is the centerpiece of the legend to be considered in chapter 3. The story of Cecilia and Valerian presents the opportunity to witness Ælfric taking another story of celibate spouses and using it to emphasize a

⁸¹ ...forlætan godes geleafan næfre. ne oðerne wer wolice geceosan, ac hylt þone sincipe þæs soðan hælendes on gastlicum þeawum and on gastlicum bearhteame. on clænnysse wunigende swa swa Cristes bryd (Assmann 3.126-30)

different component of the allegorical spiritual marriage between Christ and the Church. But as different as his emphases are, the end result is the same. Whether through a steadfast faith akin to Julian and Basilissa's or the fecundity of Cecilia and Valerian, all Christians are urged to fix their attention on *þat ece lif* that their spiritual *clænnysse* is sure to win them.

Chapter 3

The Legend of Cecilia and Valerian

It was not so unusual for Ælfric to include Cecilia and Valerian in the *Lives of Saints*, but I will show that his rationale for choosing them and Julian and Basilissa was similar. The story of Julian and Basilissa had little hagiographic currency in Anglo-Saxon England, whereas Cecilia and Valerian were each independently venerated throughout the entire period.¹ Cecilia's prominence among the virgin martyrs dates back to the late fifth or early sixth century when her cult exploded in popularity in Trastevere, a quarter of ancient Rome on the right bank of the Tiber.² She was included among the virgin martyrs in one prayer of the Canon of the Mass, the hallowed set of prayers recited in preparation for the consecration of the Eucharist.³ Moreover, the basilica in Trastevere where Cecilia was the patron saint was an important "station" church where the pope would celebrate mass on appointed days during the year. Cecilia's liturgical importance virtually guaranteed that her Latin *passio*, which was composed late in the fifth or early in the sixth century, would also have been known in the other parts of Europe to which the Roman

¹ See the entries for Cecilia and Valerian in Whatley, "Acta Sanctorum."

² For an enlightening, masterful study of the early history of the cult, see Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*, pp. 23-59.

³ Connolly notes that Cecilia is included in the following "definitive form" of the Canon extant in seventh-century Frankish copies of a Roman sacramentary: Felicity, Perpetua, Lucy [sic], Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia. That they were added earlier in Rome is certain, Connolly says, though when is unknown (*Mourning into Joy*, p. 282, note 2). The list of the Canon's virgin martyrs in a modern edition of the Old Gelasian Sacramentary reads as follows: Felicitate, Perpetua, Agathae, Lucia, Agnem, Caecilia, Anastasia (Mohlberg, *Liber Sacramentorum*, p. 186.). On the list of virgins in the Canon of the Mass and Cecilia in particular, see, respectively, Kennedy, *Saints*, p. 67-80, esp. 71 and pp. 183-88. On the prayers of the Canon of the Mass, see Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 161-188.

liturgy spread.⁴ This was true in Anglo-Saxon England, where Aldhelm and his younger contemporary Bede knew the story. The Old English martyrologist knew it, as did later scribes who copied or composed prayers for the mass to be said on her feast day (22 November) or who penned private prayers of devotion to her. Because evidence of how Cecilia's life was read and understood survives from this variety of sources, it will provide ample context for the study of Ælfric's version.

Cecilia's *passio* (BHL 1495) begins with a prologue, two chapters in length, declaring that the memory of the saints causes believers to rejoice and unbelievers, chiefly the devil, to mourn.⁵ It ends with a reminder of the efficacy of saintly intercession.

Chapters three through eight recount the nuptials of Cecilia and Valerian, his conversion, and the couple's decision to live chastely. The narrative proper begins with Cecilia's engagement to the unbelieving Valerian. Both are from noble families, and her fiancé and parents are so eager to set a date for the wedding that Cecilia says nothing about her own wishes to remain a virgin. Instead, she wears a hair-shift under her clothes, fasts, prays, and entrusts her chastity to God. After the wedding, Cecilia and Valerian enter the bridal chamber where she announces that she has for a lover an angel of God who will destroy him if the angel even suspects that he wants to defile her. But, she

⁴ Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*, pp. 46–47. His discussion forms part of an inspired reading of the liturgy that was developed for both the annual station day observed at Trastevere and for Cecilia's feast day on 22 November (pp. 46–54). On the dating of the *passio*, see Quentin's entry for "Cécile (Saint)" in *Dictionnaire*, 2:2712–38.

⁵ Chapter numbers follow the text of the *passio* found in Delehaye, *Étude*, pp. 194–220, cited with others in *Novum Supplementum*. Whatley notes that in the absence of an exhaustive critical edition, these other editions cited in *Novum Supplementum* should be consulted when using Delehaye ("Acta Sanctorum"). All citations from the *passio* are from Delehaye's edition unless otherwise noted. Gratefully I have used Gordon Whatley's unpublished English translation of this text.

explains, the angel will be his lover too if only he will agree to live chastely with her. Valerian demands to see this "angel," threatening that if Cecilia loves another man, he will kill them both. He agrees to convert and be baptized in order to see the angel, so she sends him to pope Urban who is in hiding to avoid persecution. Urban, rejoicing, prays that Christ might open Valerian's heart, at which point an angel appears and has him read a text declaring that there is one God, one faith, and one baptism. Once he confesses Christ and is baptized and instructed by Urban, Valerian returns to find Cecilia praying, guarded by an angel holding crowns made of roses and lilies from Paradise. The angel gives one to each and commands the couple to guard them with pure minds and bodies before granting Valerian one wish. He asks that his brother Tiburtius be saved. The angel praises him, promises that Tiburtius will be saved, and reveals that they will be martyred together.

Chapters nine through sixteen relate Tiburtius's conversion. He arrives to visit the newlyweds and marvels at the odor of lilies and roses filling the room. Valerian informs him that he will see the crowns whose fragrance he inhales if he will believe in God and be baptized. Confused, Tiburtius asks his brother why he insists on these conditions. Valerian, a neophyte, cannot answer him, so Cecilia explains the futility of worshipping idols. Convinced by her arguments, Tiburtius then wants to know who will baptize him. When he discovers that it is Urban, he fears being discovered with him and killed. Cecilia explains that his fear would be rational if life on earth were the only life. Tiburtius's question, whether anyone has experienced the other life, prompts her explanation of the Trinity. Still he wants to know who has come to Earth to show that eternal life exists.

After Cecilia's explanation of Christ's incarnation, atonement, and resurrection, Tiburtius converts. Urban baptizes and instructs him, and the new convert is granted daily visions of angels.

The sixteen chapters of the second half of the legend are devoted to the martyrdoms of Cecilia, Valerian, Tiburtius, and Maximus, the tribune who is assigned to behead them. Eight of those chapters, seventeen through twenty-four, focus solely on Valerian and Tiburtius. Almachius, a prefect of Rome, begins to persecute Christians and orders that their bodies be left unburied. Hearing that the brothers are ignoring his order and giving the martyrs splendid burials, he summons them before him. Tiburtius is the first to explain that it is an honor to bury those who have traded temporal for eternal life. Thinking him mad, Almachius summons Valerian who tells him a parable of rustics who tend their garden during winter so that they might enjoy its fruit in the summer. Almachius fails to understand, and Valerian says plainly that those who weep on earth will rejoice in heaven. Offended both by the brothers' notion that only they possess the truth and by their denigration of Jove, Almachius orders them to sacrifice. They refuse, and Valerian is beaten as he exhorts the onlookers to remain strong and to destroy the idols of Rome. An aide advises Almachius to kill the brothers lest, by delaying, he should give them a chance to distribute all their money and leave none for him. They are turned over to Maximus to be executed, and he weeps over their senseless deaths. They explain that they would not be rejoicing had they not learned of life everlasting. When Maximus admits that he would believe if only he could be sure of this kind of immortality, the brothers promise that God will open his eyes when they die if he would only repent. He

agrees and takes them to his house where that night Cecilia arrives with priests to baptize him, his household, and his retinue. The following day Tiburtius and Valerian are beheaded, and Maximus's testimony that he saw their souls ascending to heaven persuades many to convert. Almachius orders the traitorous tribune beaten to death with lead whips, and Cecilia buries him in a tomb next to her husband and brother-in-law.

In the final eight chapters, twenty-five through thirty-two, Almachius launches an inquiry into the brothers' wealth. When they discover that Cecilia has distributed her husband's and brother-in-law's money to the poor, Almachius's agents pressure her to sacrifice. She refuses and encourages them to obey their orders, since she wishes to suffer for Christ's sake. They plead with her not to choose to die, and when she explains why she is eager to exchange this meager earthly life for the riches of heaven, the agents and the ogling crowds convert. Cecilia postpones her execution until Urban can come and baptize the crowd of more than four hundred people, and that night her house is consecrated as a church. Almachius then summons Cecilia whose impertinence goads him into ordering her to be locked into her steaming bath and suffocated. Cecilia remains miraculously unharmed, and Almachius orders her beheaded. Three strokes from the executioner cannot remove her head, so during the three days she survives, she teaches, divides her possessions, and commits her followers and property into the hands of Urban, who, with his deacons, buries her secretly at night.⁶

Two different but related themes emerge from the *passio*. First, the superiority of

⁶ Some manuscripts say that Urban buried her "among his fellow bishops" (*inter collegas suos episcopos*). Of the impact of this phrase on speculations about the origin of Cecilia's cult, see Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*, pp. 26-27.

spiritual perception over literal sight is highlighted consistently throughout the legend.

For example, Valerian believes and sees the angel who arrives to confirm his faith (ch. 7), and he is granted sight of the angel who guards Cecilia after his baptism (ch. 8). Tiburtius too, once he has been cleansed, sees angels daily (ch. 16), and later he lectures Almachius on the differences between seeing with corporeal eyes (*oculis corporis*), “what seems to exist but does not,” and seeing with the eyes of the heart (*oculis cordis*), “what seems not to exist but does.”⁷ Because he had been baptized the previous night, Maximus is able to see the brothers’ souls ascending to heaven (chs. 23-24).

Each of these visions underscores the fact that there are more things in heaven and on earth than the pagans dream of in their philosophies, and the *passio* drives its second major theme: the illusoriness of earthly life and the reality of an eternal one. Valerian’s announcement to Tiburtius that “we have lived in dreams till now, and only now are we in reality” is the initial articulation of the second leitmotif. This declaration anticipates Cecilia’s rejoinder to Tiburtius, who has expressed his fear of being killed if he is found with Pope Urban: “Since there is a life better than this one, one which can never end, why do we fear to lose this one when, by losing it, we can become possessor of that other?”⁸ Seven more times the *passio* explains the exchange rate of the Christian economy.⁹

When Tiburtius asks whether anyone has experienced the other life, Cecilia delivers an artfully constructed sermon. She recasts Tiburtius’s question in the mouth of

⁷ “...quod uidetur esse et non est...quod uidetur non esse et est” (ch.17)

⁸ Valerian: “In somnis usque nunc viximus. nam modo in veritate sumus et fallacia in nobis nulla est” (ch. 9). Cecilia: “At vero cum sit vita satis ista melior quae numquam finiri potest, ut quid istam perdere timeamus quando per huius perditionem ad illius acquisitionem attingimus?” (ch. 11).

⁹ The theme is biblical of course; see, for example, Matthew 16:25, Mark 8:34, Luke 9:24-25, and John 12:25.

skeptics who doubted Jesus's teachings about the world to come and goes on to provide a lucid synopsis of the gospel, explaining that Christians rejoice in temporal suffering because Christ's resurrection provides proof that eternal life exists (chs. 13-15). Tiburtius explains to Almachius the "madness" of believing in what one cannot see but knows to exist (ch. 17), and Valerian tells a parable of laborers who, to the amusement of many, worked in their garden throughout the winter so that they might enjoy its flowers and fruit in the summer (ch. 18).¹⁰ Like Jesus, he has to explain the parable to the uncomprehending Almachius in plainer terms: "those who in this life sow joy will reap grief and groaning in the other life. Those, however, who have sown tears for a while, in the other life will reap eternal joys."¹¹ Repeating almost verbatim Cecilia's earlier argument to him, Tiburtius tells Maximus that "if we had not learned for certain that there is another life, everlasting, that follows this one, we would not be rejoicing to lose this one"—a point which is driven home by the executioner's vision when the brothers are martyred (ch. 24).¹² Finally, having explained that trading temporal for eternal life is like exchanging pennies for gold, Cecilia converts over four hundred people before she is brought before Almachius to be interrogated and martyred (ch. 26).

The connection between spiritual insight, the reality of eternal life, and the emphasis on marital chastity in the opening chapters is not explicitly clear. By the time the

¹⁰ Almachius thinks that Tiburtius "is not right in his head" (*non est sani capitis*, ch. 18); the merry-makers in Valerian's parable call the laborers, that is the Christians, "madmen" (*insani*, ch. 18), and he reproves Almachius for pronouncing them "utterly insane" (*insanissimos*, ch. 19). Later, Almachius tells Cecilia that she'll have only her "madness" (*dementiae*, ch. 29) to blame when she goes to her death.

¹¹ '[Q]ui in ista vita seminaverint gaudia, in illa vita luctum et gemitum metent. Qui autem nunc seminaverint lacrimas temporales, in illa vita gaudia sunt sempiterna messuri' (ch. 19).

¹² 'Nos nisi pro certo didicissemus alteram vitam esse perpetuam quae isti vitae succedit, nunquam istam amittere gauderemus' (ch. 22).

passio was written, virginity had become associated with incorruption, a transcendence of nature and the grave, a medium for holiness, and a foretaste of eternal life¹³, but why the author borrows the episode of a bride converting a bridegroom from Victor of Vita's *The History of the Persecution of Provincial Africa* in order to portray Cecilia as a married virgin has interested scholars.¹⁴ Thomas Connolly suggests the author is primarily interested in "the new vision of the Christian ideal of chastity," though Connolly never defines the ideal other than to point out that it is marital not individual.¹⁵ He also wonders if the author employs the image of the celibate couple to evoke the mystical union between Christ and the soul.¹⁶ On the other hand, Joseph Grennen postulates that alchemical lore and, to a lesser degree, Gnostic doctrine inform the author of the legend; Cecilia and Valerian's wedding subsequently represents a "chemical" one in which two opposing substances are joined in perfection after passing through a purifying fire.¹⁷ In Sherry Reames's judicious opinion, the *passio* is unified by an ideal of virginity resembling that

¹³ For example, see, respectively, Brown, pp. 60-61, 64, 77, and 84-86.

¹⁴ The episode in which Maxima persuades Martinianus to adopt marital chastity is found in Victor's late fifth-century *Historia* (Petschenig, pp. 13-17). Of fourteen late antique and early medieval Greek and Latin legends involving spiritual marriage, only four, including, Maxima and Martinianus and Cecilia and Valerian, involve a spiritual marriage in which the bride converts the bridegroom (Gaffier, "*Intactam Sponsam*," pp. 164-77).

¹⁵ Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*, pp. 67-69, at p. 67. Could the author of the *passio* have considered the image of the chaste couple and their idealized celibacy to be particularly apt for a pious laity? This possibility seems to be supported by the mention in the prologue (ch. 2) of the *continentes*, married couples who have adopted celibacy, among the lists of saints whose intercession is so beneficial to believers: apostles (apostoli), martyrs (martyres), confessors (confessores), priests (sacerdotes), virgins (vignes), widows (viduae), and the continent (continentes). The author has altered the traditional patristic schema for the three states of chastity—virginity, widowhood, and marriage—by substituting marital celibacy for marriage. Perhaps he does so with a view toward prompting couples to adopt a manner of life that is, in the words of Augustine, "better in proportion as they begin the earlier to refrain by mutual consent from sexual intercourse" (Wilcox, "Good of Marriage," p. 12). The passage is from the section of the treatise in which Augustine discusses the evolution of marital relations. His idea is that all marriages will evolve into chaste unions, but couples who can refrain from intercourse before they are forced to naturally should be praised.

¹⁶ Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*, pp. 64-71.

¹⁷ Grennen, "'Chemical Wedding,'" pp. 469-71.

which Augustine articulates in his treatise “Holy Virginité.” The model virgin, like the Virgin Mary, is both maiden and mother, and her fruitfulness measured in terms of bringing more souls to God. Her virginité is also communal in that she, having been raised by mother Church, nurtures other believers in the faith. And, like Connolly above, Reames notes that ideal virginité represents the soul’s unswerving devotion to its heavenly spouse.¹⁸ For her, the “betrothal” of Cecilia and Valerian is “the legend’s central symbol of Christian perfection.”¹⁹

Given the prominence of their marriage in the *passio*, it is nothing short of astonishing that Cecilia, in Aldhelm’s brief (133-word) eulogy for her in the prose *De virginitate*, never marries.²⁰ Instead she “refused the companionship of a conferred marriage and the betrothal ceremonies of her suitor on the grounds of her chastity, and scorned, despised, and rejected them with laudable spiritual fervour, just as the foul excrement of the latrine.”²¹ By suppressing Cecilia’s marriage to Valerian, Aldhelm presents a Cecilia who behaves more like an unmarried virgin martyr such as Agnes than the young bride of the *passio* who keeps to herself her desire to remain celibate because her parents and fiancée are “so excited about the marriage that she could not reveal...that she loved Christ alone.”²² Nor does Aldhelm mention the angel who guards Cecilia. Rather, he focuses on her solitary, heroic resistance to the enticements of marriage

¹⁸ Reames, “Cecilia Legend,” pp. 40–42.

¹⁹ Reames, “Cecilia Legend,” pp. 47.

²⁰ Ehwald, p. 292.13–23 and Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 107. Lapidge is not cited again to avoid redundancy.

²¹ ...indultae iugalitatis consortia ac pacta proci sponsalia obtentu castitatis refutans velut spurca latrinarum purgamenta laudabili spiritus fervore contempserit, dexpexerit, respuerit; (Ehwald, p. 292.14–16).

²² Parentum enim tanta vis et sponsi circa illam erat exaestuans, ut non posset amorem sui cordis ostendere, et quod solum quod solum Christum diligeret indiciis evidentibus aperire nolebat (1.3).

represented by the organ music to which she listens “as if to the deadly harmonies of the Sirens.”²³ Because she remains unmoved, she converts both her “suitor” (procum) and her “future brother-in-law” (futurum...levirum), “if.” Aldhelm hastens to add, “the condition of virginity were to allow it.”²⁴ Tiburtius may be called her brother-in-law only with qualification because, Valerian and Cecilia were not married. Tiburtius and Cecilia are related only in a sense, owing to the condition of virginity which Aldhelm deliberately underscores. Once the brothers are “reborn” (renatos) through baptism, Cecilia sends to them an angel who delivers particolored wreaths with the same instructions he gave to the newlyweds in the *passio*: “Guard these crowns with an immaculate heart and a pure body, since I have brought them to you from the paradise of God (himself).”²⁵

The impression of Cecilia which emerges from Aldhelm’s compression and rewriting of the legend is that of a resolute, self-reliant virgin who is best remembered for her missionary efforts. Why Aldhelm emphasizes her proselytizing and ignores her marriage and martyrdom is perhaps best discerned by looking at why he is prompted to give Cecilia pride of place among virgins after Mary. He apparently notices the

²³ acsi letiferos Sirinarum (Ehwald, p. 292.17). This is another place in which we may detect an undercurrent of the Pelagian controversy in the *De virginitate* (see chapter 2, note 18).

²⁴ Quamobrem procum proprium et futurum. si virginitatis fortuna pateretur, levirum...(Ehwald, p. 292.19-20).

²⁵ [Cecilia] visibiliter angelicis perfrui conspectibus fecit, [who says to the brothers] ‘Istas, inquires, coronas immaculato (corde) et mundo corpore custodite. quia de paradiso dei eas ad vos attuli’ (Ehwald, p. 292.21, 22-23). In light of the fact that the angel delivers the crowns to the brothers, not to the couple, one wonders if the author of the following collect found in the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century Durham Collectar knew Aldhelm’s account: Deus cui beata Cecilia ita castitatis deuotione complacuit, ut coniugem suum Valerianum affinemque suum Tiburtium tibi faceret consecrari, nam et angelo deferente, micantium odoriferas florum coronas palmamque martyrii perceperunt; quesumus ut ea intercedente pro nobis, beneficia tui muneris percipere mereamur (Corrêa, *Durham Collectar*, p. 198) [God, whom blessed Cecilia pleased by the devotion of her chastity so that she made her husband Valerian and her brother-in-law Tiburtius to be consecrated to you—they, indeed, seized the fragrant crowns of gleaming flowers, which the angel brought down to them, as well as the palm of martyrdom—we beseech you, with her interceding for us, that we might deserve to receive the benefits of your favor].

connection between the saint and the Virgin that Reames does. for he says that her name occurred to him as he was writing about the holy mother “who was a virgin full of grace before receiving the sacred seed, and who remained a virgin of even greater grace after the honour of her divine child-bearing.”²⁶ Aldhelm employs the language often found in patristic equations of Mary and the Church, and the connection between the two virgins appears to be their spiritual childbearing. Cecilia is spiritual mother to her suitor and brother-in-law, both of whom are “born again” (renatos) into eternal life as a direct result of her steadfast virginity.

The equally brief, 144-word verse epitome begins with praise for Cecilia’s evangelizing and constancy.²⁷ We are told immediately that she “turned her [bridegroom] (sponsum) to the teaching of Christ, scorning the sports of carnal excess, since she loved instead the sweet kisses of Christ, embracing His fair neck with her lovely arms.”²⁸ As in the prose account, she abhors the “foul passion” (spurco amore), “shameful sin” (probroso crimine), and “polluted hands” (pollutis palmas) his presence represents, preferring to spurn him rather than to offer him Christ’s love and grace as is the case in the *passio*.²⁹ But there is no mistaking, however, that this bride of Christ also has an earthly husband, for Aldhelm reports that Cecilia and Valerian “went to an inner chamber as the law of

²⁶ quae ante sacri seminis receptaculum virgo favorabilis exstitit et post caelestis puerperii praeconium virgo favorabilior permansit (Ehwald, p. 292.11-13).

²⁷ Ehwald, p. 424.1710-35 and Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 141. Again, Lapidge is not cited hereafter to avoid redundancy.

²⁸ Quae sponsum proprium convertit dogmate sancto / Mella carnalis contemnens ludicra luxus, / Basia dum potius dilexit dulcia Christi / Candida praepulchris complectens colla lacertis (Ehwald, p. 424.1712-15). I have replaced Rosier’s translation of *sponsum* as “betrothed” with “bridegroom,” a more suitable translation given the context. Presumably Rosier is trying to preserve the parallelism with the prose version.

²⁹ Ehwald, p. 425.1727, 1728, and 1730. Cecilia’s promise is quoted in the note above.

marriage permitted.”³⁰ Her autonomous rejection of Valerian in the prose is replaced in the verse by her revelation that she is protected by an angel. Aldhelm breaks the dramatic tension in the *passio* raised by the possibility that Valerian might ignore Cecilia’s warning and defile her, by having her tell him flatly that her “protector” (patronus) “preserves my body continually for all eternity so that no-one inflamed by foul passion can defile my limbs with shameful sin.”³¹ Apparently her boldness converts Valerian, for after her revelation, Aldhelm writes that “[t]hus the devout woman converted her [bridegroom] to God, as well as her [brother-in-law], releasing them from an ancient error...[that] they might obtain the gifts of the baptismal font: suffering tortures of the flesh, they both were made martyrs and became fellow-inhabitants in the highest regions.”³² Though there is no divine confirmation at the end of the verse account or a connection with the Virgin Mary at its beginning, the final focus on spiritual childbearing remains the same in both

³⁰...secreta petunt concessa lege tororum (Ehwald, p. 424.1722).

³¹ patronus...meum iugiter conservat corpus in aevum. / Ut nullus valeat spurco succensus amore / Contrectare mea probroso crimine membra (Ehwald, p. 425.1724-28). The dramatic tension in the *passio* arises from the conditional tense which Cecilia uses to address Valerian: Angelum Dei habeo amatorem qui minio zelo corpus meum custodit: hic si vel leviter senserit quod tu me polluto amore contingas, statim suum furorem circa te exagitat et amittis florem tuae gratissimae iuventutis. Si autem cognoverit quod me sincero et immaculato amore diliges et virginitatem meam integram illibatamque custodias, ite te quoque diligit, sicut et me, et ostendit tibi gratiam suam (Ch. 4). [I have as my lover an angel of God who guards my body with the utmost zeal; if he should merely suspect that you have touched me with defiling love, immediately he would unleash his fury upon you and you would lose the flower of your most gracious youth. If however he sees that you love me with a sincere and unspotted love, and that you will preserve my virginity whole and unharmed, he will love you in the same way as me and he will show you his grace.]

³² Sic devota Deo convertit femina sponsum / Necnon et levirum solvens errore vetusto, / Donec credentes sumpsissent dona lavacri / Facti municipes in summis arcibus ambo, / Martires effecti carnis tormenta luentes (Ehwald, p. 425.1731-35). Rosier adds parenthetically that Cecilia converts her “(future) brother-in-law” (levirum, l. 1732), presumably because Aldhelm says twice that she converts her “betrothed” (sponsum; Ehwald, ll. 1712 and 1731) or because Rosier takes his cue from the prose account which refers to Tiburtius as the “future brother-in-law” (futurum...levirum, Ehwald, p. 292.19-20). The addition here is confusing, since the couple is married, and I have altered Rosier’s translation to reflect that more clearly. Having been converted on the night of their wedding, Valerian, Cecilia’s husband, is still her “bridegroom” (sponsum), or better yet her “spouse,” and Tiburtius simply her “brother-in-law,” as Aldhelm says.

versions.³³ Hence, Aldhelm's handling of Cecilia's chaste marriage in such different ways helps to clarify his preoccupation with her self-reliance and virginal motherhood. It matters little whether or not she is married. In the prose account where she is decidedly single, Cecilia's solitary steadfastness in the face of temptation results in the conversion of her suitor and his brother, which is celebrated with the imagery that had been reserved in the *passio* for Cecilia and Valerian's chaste marriage. In the verse epitome, the married Cecilia is guarded by an angel, but she again treats Valerian's "affronts" with a will so strong that he and Tiburtius are compelled to bow to her God.

Because Aldhelm gives such prominence in both the prose and verse *De virginitate* to the spiritual marriages of Julian and Basilissa and Chrysanthus and Daria, his decision to de-emphasize Cecilia's chaste union in the prose epitome need not arise from any reluctance on his part to use the image as a model for spiritual friendships between men and women religious in double monasteries like Barking. Aldhelm's younger contemporary Bede decidedly does not favor the kind of companionship implied by his treatment of these legends in the *De virginitate* and regards double monasteries with great distrust; he prefers, even idealizes, the enclosure of monastic women in single-sex houses, as Stephanie Hollis convincingly argues.³⁴ Perhaps this explains why, in Cecilia's entry in the *Martyrologium* he composed between 725 and 731³⁵, Bede makes only the briefest

³³ When he is finished speaking of Mary, Aldhelm uses simply *porro*, "now to continue," as his transition (Ehwald, p. 425.1710).

³⁴ Hollis compares Bede's view of women and the double monastery with that of Aldhelm (*Anglo-Saxon Women*, pp. 102-05). On Bede's idealization of enclosure, see pp. 263-70. The locus classicus for Bede's distrust of double monasteries is his condemnation of Coldingham in Book IV, chapter 25 of the *Ecclesiastical History* (Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 420-27). See also chapter 2, note 14.

³⁵ Colgrave and Mynors, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. xxvi.

allusion to her spiritual marriage and focuses almost exclusively on her martyrdom:

Natale Caeciliae. quae sponsus suum Valerianum et frater ejus Tiburtium ad credendum Christo ac martyrium perdocuit: et ipsa deinde martyrizavit, ignem quidem superans, sed ferro occisa, sub Almachio Urbis praefecto.³⁶

The commemorative festival of St. Cecilia, who thoroughly instructed her spouse Valerian and his brother Tiburtius both for belief in Christ and for martyrdom: and she herself finally achieved martyrdom, indeed vanquishing the fire, but killed by the sword, under Almachius, prefect of the city.³⁷

Even from this barest of summaries the image of a deliberate Cecilia emerges, as Bede highlights her persuasiveness with her “bridegroom” and his brother, and her purposefulness as she practices what she preaches.

For the Old English martyrologist, Cecilia is not so much teacher or stalwart as a model of piety:

On þone .xxii. dæg þæs monðes byð Sancta Cecilian þrowung þære halgan fæmnan, seo wæs on hyre geogode æðelum were beweddod, and se wæs hæden and heo wæs Cristen. Heo wæs gegyred myd hæran æt hyre lichaman, and onufan þære hæran heo wæs gegyred myd goldeawefenum hragelum. And on þære nyhte þa heo wæs ingelæded on þone brydbur, þa sæde heo ‘þam’ brydguman þæt heo gesawe engel of heofenum and se wolde hyne slean myd færdeade, gif he hyre æfre onhryne myd unclænre lufon. Þa gelærde heo þone brydguman þæt he onfeng fullwyhte and on God gelyfde. Þa he gefullod wæs and yneode on þone brydbur, þa stod se engel big hyre myd scynendum fyðerum and hæfde twegen beagas on hys handa þa glysnodon hwylum swa rosan blosman, hwylum swa lilian blostman. And þa sealde he oðerne þæra beaga þæra fæmnan and oðerne þam brydguman and cwæð: ‘Healdað ge þas beagas myd clænlicum dædum, forþam ðe ic hig brohte ync of Godes neorxnawange.’ Þeos fæmne geþrowode martyrdom for Cryste. Almatheus hatte Romeburge gerefa, he nydde hig þæt heo Cryste wyðsoce. Þa heo þæt ne gefafode, þa het he hig belucan on byrnendum baðe, on þam heo wæs dæg and nyht, swa heo na ne geswætte. Þa eaode hyre se cwellere to myd sweorde, and

³⁶ Dubois and Renaud, *Edition pratique*, p. 211. On the sources for this entry, see Quentin, *Les Martyrologues historiques*, p. 64.

³⁷ Lifshitz, “Bede,” p. 195.

he hig sloh þrywa myd þam sweorde, and he ne myhte hyre þæt heafod ofaslean, ac heo gebæd hig to þam papan se wæs haten Urbanus, and þa beforan þam papan heo todælde eall þæt hyre wæs and him gesealde and cwæð to hym: ‘Þyssa þreora daga fæc ic me abæd æt Dryhtne þæt ic þe þys sealde, þæt ðu gehalgie myn hus to cyrcan.’ And heo þa onsende hyre gast to Gode.³⁸

On the twenty-second day of this month is the martyrdom of the blessed virgin Saint Cecilia, who in her youth was married to a noble man. He was a heathen, and she was a Christian. She wore a hair shirt on her body, and over the hair shirt she was adorned with clothes woven from gold. And on the night when she was led into the bridal chamber, she said to the bridegroom that she saw an angel from heaven who would slay him with sudden death if he ever touched her with impure love. Then she instructed the bridegroom so that he received baptism and believed in God. When he was baptized and entered the bridal chamber, then an angel with shining wings stood near her and had two crowns in his hands that glistened at times like rose blossoms and at others like lily blossoms. And he gave one of the crowns to the virgin and the other to the bridegroom and said, ‘Preserve these crowns with pure deeds, because I brought them to you from God’s paradise.’ This virgin suffered martyrdom for Christ. The reeve of Rome was called Almatheus, who urged her to renounce Christ. When she would not consent to that, he commanded her to be locked in a burning bath, in which she remained day and night but did not sweat. Then the executioner went to her with a sword and struck her with the sword three times, but he was not able to cut off her head; so she asked for the pope who was called Urban and then divided all that was hers before him and gave it to him and said to him: ‘I asked the Lord for this space of three days so that I might give this to you, so that you might consecrate my house as a church.’ And then she gave up her spirit to God.

For the martyrologist, Cecilia’s marriage is central to an understanding of her virtue. The hair shirt she wears under her wedding finery (a mark of Cecilia’s nobility) is evidence of her devotion to God, the guardian angel in the bridal chamber evidence of her purity, and her effective instruction evidence of her knowledge of Christian doctrine. The life she and Valerian are to live “with pure deeds” (myd clænlicum dædum) is the apotheosis of her

³⁸ Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II:254-55.

piety.

The martyrologist's choice of Cecilia's final act of devotion may be the most revealing about the mind set with which he approaches the legend. The *passio* relates that Cecilia "divided everything she had among [those she had nourished and taught in her belief in the Lord] and committed them into the care of the holy Pope Urban,"³⁹ whereas the martyrologist reports that she bequeathed all her possessions, including her house, to him. Whether this alteration is his own or variant reading cannot be determined with certainty.⁴⁰ Also uncertain is the extent to which historical circumstances impacted this revision. Unlike Bede, who wrote during a period of an unprecedented number of land grants from the king and his nobles to the Church, the martyrologist composes his text in the middle of the ninth century in Mercia, where dynastic instability meant that the king's and hence the Church's landed resources were continually shrinking.⁴¹ This ending may also be a dim reflection of the conflict in Mercia between the church and King Offa over lay ownership of monasteries and may represent a political statement of sorts by the martyrologist.⁴² Whatever his reasons for concluding in this manner, he presents a model of sanctity that was not strictly limited to personal piety but involved one's property as well.

³⁹ Per triduum autem quod supervixit, non cessavit omnes quos nutrierat et quos docuerat in fide dominica confortare; quibus et divisit universa quae habuit et sancto papae Urbano tradidit commendatos; (ch. 31). In the *passio*, Cecilia says that she has asked Urban to come "so that I might consecrate this my house with the name of a church" ("ut... et hanc domum meam ecclesiae nomine consecrarem," ch. 31), while in *Old English Martyrology* she wants him to consecrate her house.

⁴⁰ Whatley, "Acta Sanctorum," notes the incertitude; the details as reported by the martyrologist are absent from the printed editions and the text transcribed in chapter 5.

⁴¹ Campbell, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 138-39.

⁴² Campbell, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 122-28, esp. p. 127.

We find other abbreviations of the legend of Cecilia in the liturgical texts that survive from late Anglo-Saxon England.⁴³ For the most part, the mass prayers for her feast day preserved in Anglo-Saxon sacramentaries record generalized prayers of intercession that show little or no direct knowledge or use of the *passio*. An example is the following Preface, an introductory prayer to the Canon of the Mass, included in the service for Cecilia's feast day found in the late tenth-century Winchcombe Sacramentary⁴⁴:

PRAEFATIO. V[ere] D[ignus] aeternae deus. Qui in infirmitate uirtutem perficis, et humani generis inimicum non solum per uiros, sed etiam per feminas uincis. Cuius munere beata cecilia et uirginitatis propositio et in confessione fidei roboratur, ut nec aetatis lubrico ab intentione mutetur, nec blandimentis carnalibus demulceatur, nec sexus fragilitate deterreatur, nec tormentorum immanitate uincatur. Sed seruando corporis ac mentis integritatem, cum uirginitatis et martyrii palma, aeternam mereretur adipisci beatitudinem, per christum dominum nostrum.

Eternal God is true, worthy. You fashion strength in weakness and defeat the enemy of humanity, not only through men but also through women. Blessed Cecilia is strengthened by his gift in the calling of virginity and in the confession of her faith, so that she is neither deflected from her intention by the transitoriness of the world, nor is she allured by fleshly delights, nor deterred by the frailty of her sex, nor defeated by the cruelty of torments. But preserving the integrity of her body and mind, she is worthy to obtain eternal blessedness, with the palm of virginity and

⁴³ Ortenberg notes that Cecilia has a mass for her feast day in the sacramentaries, an additional vigil mass in the Winchcombe Sacramentary, two collects in the Durham Collectar, an entire office at Worcester, and a devotional prayer in the Arundel 155 psalter (*English Church*, p. 179). Another mass for Cecilia is that in The Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey (Rule, p. 122). An additional private prayer may be found in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (Günzel, pp. 140-41), and benedictions for Cecilia are contained in both *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert* (Wilson, p. 44) and *The Canterbury Benedictional* (Woolley, p. 117), in addition to those discussed below. The collect and the *secretæ* found on ff. 143^r-144^v of the Giso Sacramentary (British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.xviii) are identical to prayers for her mass printed in *The Winchcombe Sacramentary* (Davril, p. 201), and the *post communio* nearly identical to that printed in *The Missal of the New Minster* (Turner, p. 183).

⁴⁴ Davril, *Winchcombe Sacramentary*, pp. 201-02. The prayer originates in the Gregorian Sacramentary that took shape in Rome during the seventh and eighth centuries (Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 79-102 at pp. 79-80). For the prayer, see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, I:558. On the types of sacramentaries that circulated in early Anglo-Saxon England, see Pfaff, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 8-11 and Willis, *Further Essays*, pp. 189-243.

martyrdom, through Christ our Lord.

Though exemplified by Cecilia, the steadfastness and purity lauded here would also be fitting in a prayer for any number of female virgin martyrs, married or unmarried. No part of the prayers borrows directly from or echoes the *passio*, even the apt phrase about her “preserving the integrity of her body and mind” (*servando corporis ac mentis integritatem*).⁴⁵

This is not to imply that these prayers are deficient or inferior. They simply do not help us discern how the legend was being received as clearly as the following benediction, which borrows directly from the *passio*. This rousing blessing from the eleventh-century Canterbury Benedictional, in which I have underlined phrases from the *passio*, would have been recited by the bishop during the Canon of the Mass⁴⁶:

Quatinus a vobis opera tenebrarum procul abicientes ac uosmetipsos uiriliter arma lucis induentes, ueri solis illustrare perfusi imperpetuum fulgeatis & in numero iustorum computati, sicut sol in regno patris eorum fulgentes sine fine gaudeatis. Amen.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The angel tells Cecilia and Valerian to “Guard these crowns with unspotted hearts and pure bodies” (‘Istas coronas immaculato corde et mundo corpore custodite...,’ ch. 8).

⁴⁶ Woolley, *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 117. The three benedictions printed by Woolley are also found on ff. 216^r-216^v of the benedictional (ff. 199^r-222^v) which follows the sacramentary proper in the eleventh-century Giso Sacramentary (Pfaff, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 19-21). The first two blessings in Woolley’s edition focus on the same themes from the *passio* as the blessings from the benedictional found in British Library, MS Additional 28188, which are printed in full and discussed below.

⁴⁷ The *passio* reads: Igitur cum aurora noctis finem daret, facto magno silentio, Caecilia dixit: ‘Eia milites Christi, abice opera tenebrarum et induimini arma lucis (ch. 23). [Therefore when dawn brought the night to an end, amid a great silence, Cecilia said: ‘O you soldiers of Christ, cast away the works of darkness and put on the armor of light.’] The ultimate source for Cecilia’s exhortation is Romans 13.12: *nox praecessit dies autem adpropinquavit abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis* (*Biblia Sacra*). [The night is far gone, the day is at hand. Let us then cast off the works of darkness and put on the armor of light (RSV).] The allusion to Christian souls shining forth like the sun relies on Maximus’s vision of the angels when Valerian and Tiburtius are martyred: ‘Vidi angelos Dei fulgentes sicut sol in hora qua verberati sunt gladio et egredientes animas eorum de corporibus quasi virgines de thalamo:’ (ch. 24). [‘I have seen the angels of God shining like the sun at the moment when they were stricken with the sword and their souls went forth from their bodies like virgins from the bridal bed.’]

Casting far away the works of darkness from you and manfully putting on the armor of light, may you flash forth in eternity flooded with the light of one true sun and be counted among the number of the righteous, so that, like the sun, you, shining, may rejoice in the kingdom of their Father without end. Amen.

This blessing works like many written for a particular feast day, isolating from the legend particular episodes or themes that the author deemed most important or relevant to his audience. It recasts Cecilia's rallying cry to the brothers to seek their martyrdom as a call to the Canterbury monks to act "manfully" as shining soldiers of the faith in order that their souls, like those of Valerian and Tiburtius, will ascend to heaven.

Prayers like this one often represent individual, if abbreviated, readings of the *passio*, and the more prayers we survey, the better our ability to chart the major contours of the interpretative landscape for a particular legend in a particular period. The following blessings from a benedictional written at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century provide a case in point for the legend of Cecilia in late Anglo-Saxon England⁴⁸:

Omnipotens Deus, qui beatam Ceciliam virg[i]nitatis et martyrii est dignatus privilegio decorare, vos angelicæ integritatis et fidei dignetur constantia corroborare atque evangelu Christi sui et colloquiis spiritualibus confirmator sanctificare. Amen.⁴⁹

Et sicut per dilectam unici sui, virginem Cecilam, duos fratres Tiburtium et Valerianum consecravit martyrio, sic vos eorum interventu sui amatores efficiat supernæ beatitudinis desiderio et cum peccatorum venia divini

⁴⁸ Pfaff, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 93-94, at p. 93. These previously unpublished benedictions appear on ff. 158^v-158^r of British Library, MS Additional 28188. Abbreviations have been silently expanded and modern punctuation and capitalization added. Pfaff notes that "[t]he benedictional is remarkable because the vast majority of its 170 blessings are original compositions..." (p. 93).

⁴⁹ Huius vocem audiens sancta Caecilia, virgo clarissima, absconditum semper evangelium Christi gerebat in pectore suo et non diebus, non noctibus a colloquiis divinis et oratione cessabat (ch. 3) [Saint Cecilia, virgin most splendid, heard his voice, and bore Christ's gospel hidden always in her breast, not ceasing by day or night from divine discourse and prayer].

muneris sacro ditet beneficio. Amen.⁵⁰

Ipsorum etiam precibus angelum sanctam vobis Deus amatorem ac nimio zelo vestri custodem deputet. qui, sicut illos odoriferis liliorum coronis, ita et vos virtutum meritis exornet. Simulque in cælesti paradiso cum eisdem æternæ felicitatis diademate glorificet.⁵¹

May omnipotent God, who deigned to adorn blessed Cecilia with the privilege of virginity and martyrdom, think it fitting to strengthen you in constancy of angelic integrity and faith: and may you be affirmed as holy by the gospel of Christ and with spiritual conversation. Amen.

And just as through the virgin Cecilia, beloved of His only-begotten son, He consecrated the two brothers Tiburtius and Valerianus to martyrdom, thus may God by their intercession make you His lovers with an ardent desire for celestial blessedness, and may He enrich you with the holy blessing of divine grace together with the forgiveness of sins. Amen.

By these [saints] may God allot to you a holy angel, as a lover and your guard with great zeal, who, just as he furnished them with fragrant crowns of lilies, might adorn you with fitting virtues. And, likewise, may he glorify you in the celestial paradise with the same crown of eternal happiness.

The first prayer borrows directly from the *passio* as it imputes Cecilia's steadfastness to the audience. The request for "constancy" (*constantia*) of body and mind expressed both in terms of "angelic virginity" (*angelicæ integritatis*) and with the contemplative overtones of a faith strengthened by "divine discourse" (*colloquiis spiritalibus*) would have made this prayer particularly appropriate for the monastic celebrants stationed around the bishop.⁵²

⁵⁰ The first blessing the *Canterbury Benedictional* (and that in the Giso Sacramentary) focuses on Cecilia's conversion of the brothers, though the bishop prays "May God...inflammate you with the fire of heavenly love and strengthen you with her blessing" (Deus...uos igne superni amoris inflammet, et sua benedictione confirmet) (respectively, Woolley, p. 117 and ff. 216^r-216^v).

⁵¹ Tunc illa ait: 'Angelum Dei habeo amatorem qui nimio zelo corpus meum custodit (ch. 4) [Then she said: 'I have as my lover an angel of God who guards my body with the utmost zeal.'] This blessing is similar to the second prayer in *The Canterbury Benedictional* (Wolley, p. 117), the Giso Sacramentary (f. 216^r), and the collect in the *Durham Collectar* (Corrêa, p. 198). The blessings in the Canterbury and Giso benedictionals mention crowns of lilies and roses, while that in the Durham Collectar refers only to "fragrant crowns of gleaming flowers" (*micantium odoriferas florum coronas*).

⁵² On the *vita angelica* and its relationship to contemplation, see Bugge, *Virginitas*, pp. 30-58.

It may also apply to the laity, for, as will be discussed in more detail below, constancy is a favorite theme of Ælfric in the *Lives of Saints*. The second blessing, which does not quote from the *passio*, alludes to Cecilia's role in preparing for the brothers' martyrdom. However, it casts the auditors in the role of God's "lovers" (*amatores*), not through an identification with Cecilia as we might expect, but via Tiburtius and Valerian, who so desired heaven that they went fearlessly to their deaths. The final benediction offers comfort to the communicant in the image of the angel, Cecilia's powerful protector, and its author appears to have in mind the purity of both the saints and the audience when he has the angel deliver crowns of lilies, not roses, the traditional symbols of the blood of martyrdom. What is curious about this benediction—curious indeed about all the prayers examined here—is that they contain no mention of or allusion to Cecilia's spiritual marriage.⁵³ This is despite the fact that the three episodes from the *passio* most often singled out in Anglo-Saxon prayers are Cecilia's devout contemplation just prior to her marriage, her role in the conversion of Valerian and Tiburtius, and the angel's appearance in the bridal chamber with the wreaths from Paradise with the admonition: "'Guard these crowns with unspotted hearts and pure bodies.'"⁵⁴

Many of the same themes found in these benedictions are also present in the long (339-word), private prayer from the Eadui Psalter which was composed in the first half of the eleventh century.⁵⁵ This fascinating prayer begins with generalized pleas for Cecilia's

⁵³ Only the prayer in the *Durham Collectar* refers to Valerian as Cecilia's *coniugem*, "husband" (p. 198).

⁵⁴ 'Istas coronas immaculato corde et mundo corpore custodite...' (ch. 8).

⁵⁵ Campbell edits the prayer ("Prayers," pp. 104-06), and Pfaff discusses the manuscript (*Liturgical Books*, p. 64).

intercession for the forgiveness of the supplicant's sins and concludes with petitions for his bishop and family. Interposed is a section that draws on the *passio*. The petitioner acknowledges Cecilia's success in winning God's favor with her sighs (*gemitibus*), in defeating Almachius with the merits of her prayers (*orationum tuarum meritis*), and in having incited (*provocasti*) Valerian and Tiburtius to martyrdom with her virginity. Then follows this section that quotes from the legend:

Fac me, queso, sancta et precluis virgo, Cecilia piis, orationibus tuis castitatis et imitationis tuae exemplo. Instantis uitae membra mortificare atque evangelium Christi iugiter in pectore habere. Fac etiam me, pia mater Cecilia, Dei virtute non diebus neque noctibus a conloquiis divinis et oratione vacare. Adiuva et me miserum Dei, ut secreti mei provisorem et conscium angelum dei habeam amatorem, qui nimio zelodim, corpus et animam meam in mandatis Dei excitet et custodiat.⁵⁶

Pious Cecilia, holy and celebrated virgin, I ask that by your prayers you in this present life let me mortify my members in example and in imitation of your chastity, and let me hold the gospel of Christ continually in my heart. Also keep me, pious mother Cecilia, by the power of God, not to depart from divine conversations and prayer by day or by night. Help me, a wretched one of God, to have a lover, a lookout for my solitary place and a knowing angel of God, who with exceeding zeal rouses and guards my body and soul in the commandments of God.

The focus on Cecilia's virginity, knowledge of the Scriptures, devotion, and contemplation are familiar from the benedictions surveyed above, but this prayer is the only one to acknowledge her spiritual fecundity. This address to "pious mother Cecilia" (*pia mater Cecilia*) is in fact the second recognition of her maternity; in the first, she is referred to as "holy mother" (*sancte matri*). In the early parts of the prayer, the author also asks Cecilia to intercede on his behalf with "the mildest mother's sweetness" (*mitissime matris*

⁵⁶ Campbell, "Prayers," p. 106. I have added punctuation and capitalization.

dulcedine) and at the end prays that the bishop would be strengthened “with the comfort of [her] maternal love” (*maternae dilectionis consolatione*). Though the prayer never mentions Cecilia’s chaste marriage to Valerian, the author clearly understands the legend to present her as a spiritual mother, not only of the converts in the *passio* but of himself and other Anglo-Saxon religious as well: she whose “bridegroom” (*sponsi tui*), he says earlier in the prayer, is “our Lord” (*Domini nostri*) is also their mother.

These prayers enhance the interpretative landscape into which Ælfric’s reworking of the legend of Cecilia and Valerian may be placed. The love language in the Exeter benedictions, which seems to anticipate a more affective, Anselmian mode of feeling, can actually be detected in Ælfric. The concentration on Cecilia’s constancy in the Canterbury benediction and motherhood in the private prayer look back past him to Aldhelm, even to Augustine, so that Ælfric’s attention to the same can be viewed in proper perspective. But what makes him different from the authors of the prayers surveyed here is that he does not elide Cecilia and Valerian’s chaste marriage but chooses this story for the *Lives* because it features this very arrangement.

The Latin version of the legend of Cecilia from which Ælfric worked has been identified by Patrick Zettel as the *passio* found in the eleventh-century Cotton-Corpus Legendary, a version of the legend quite similar to that identified by the Bollandists as BHL 1495 and edited in the modern edition by Hippolyte Delehaye summarized above.⁵⁷ As is customary, Ælfric duly follows the plot of the legend but abbreviates or excises most

⁵⁷ Zettel, “Sources,” pp. 257-58. All citations are from the Cambridge manuscript transcribed in chapter 5, but the paragraph numbers correspond to those of Delehaye’s edition.

of its longer speeches.⁵⁸ For example, he cuts entirely Cecilia's explanation to Tiburtius that believing in idols is foolish (ch. 10) and reduces it to less than sixty words (ll. 177-82) Cecilia's eight hundred-word sermon (chs. 13-15) on the meaning of Jesus's incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection. He omits both the lively exchange between Tiburtius and Almachius about "what seems to exist but does not" and "what seems not to exist but does (ch. 17)"⁵⁹ and Valerian's lengthy parable of the rustics who work their garden in winter in order to enjoy it in the summer (ch. 18).

Still, Ælfric's Cecilia teaches the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith and is an effective evangelist. Tiburtius and Valerian too are eloquent proponents of the reality of a Christian afterlife, a theme which Ælfric adopts from the *passio*. Yet his initial articulation of this leitmotif comes in the opening lines of the story when he describes Cecilia's fervent devotion to God, much earlier than in the Latin text. The Cotton-Corpus text says she "bore Christ's gospel hidden always in her breast, not ceasing by day or night from divine discourse and prayer."⁶⁰ Ælfric provides the motivation for her zealotry: "This holy woman had in her breast so great love of the eternal life (ecan life) that she, day and night, meditated on the Lord's gospel and on God's teaching with faith" (ll. 5-9).⁶¹ Later, the

⁵⁸ Ælfric's omissions total over 2,500 words or forty percent of the *passio*. Cecilia is most affected by the changes as Ælfric's audience does not hear the bulk of her teaching. Still, Ælfric presents her as a skillful and effective orator, and the omissions, when taken together, do not radically alter the amount of space devoted to Cecilia and the brothers.

⁵⁹ quod videtur esse et non est...quod videtur non esse et est (ch. 17).

⁶⁰ Cecilia...absconditum semper evangelium christi gerebat in pectore et non diebus non noctibus a colloquiis divinis et oratione cessabat (ch. 3) [Saint Cecilia, virgin most splendid, heard his voice, and bore Christ's gospel hidden always in her breast, not ceasing by day or night from divine discourse and prayer].

⁶¹ þeos halige fæmne hæfde on hire breoste swa micle lufe to þam ecan life þæt heo dæges and nihtes embe drihtnes godspel and embe godes lare mid geleafan smeade and in singalum gebedum hi sylfe gebysgode (LS34.5-9) To Skeat's text I have added punctuation and capitalized proper nouns. All translations are my own.

angel promises Valerian that Tiburtius will “be born through you into eternal life” (to þam ecan life. l. 96) rather than “be redeemed” (lucrabitur. ch. 8) as in the Latin text. In Cecilia’s answer to Tiburtius’s question, “Is there any other life?,” he replaces a reference to “that life which follows this life”⁶² with the more direct echo of these earlier lines. Cecilia explains that rewards and punishments will be meted out “in the *ecan life* which comes after this one” (on þam ecan life þe æfter þysum cymd. l. 151). Only when Tiburtius tells Maximus that he and Valerian approach their deaths joyfully because they are certain to go to *þam ecan life* (l. 233) is Ælfric actually translating verbatim from the Latin (vitam...perpetuam. “life everlasting,” ch. 22). This time he adds that it is also a “better life” (beteran life. l. 232.)⁶³

As was observed in the previous chapter, this kind of repetition is characteristic of Ælfric’s didactic narrative style; it is an effective way to ensure that an audience does not miss a key point due either to hearing the story read aloud or to reading it in an abbreviated format.⁶⁴ As was the case in Julian and Basilissa, the importance of a steadfast faith (*geleafa*) is central to his understanding of the legend of Cecilia and Valerian.⁶⁵ The Christian’s choice to believe is also important in this story. The verbs for turning to the

⁶² Illa autem vita que isti vite succedit (ch. 11).

⁶³ The passage in the Latin reads: “Nos nisi pro certo didicissemus alteram vitam esse perpetuam. quæ isti vitæ presenti succedit. numquam istam nos ammittere gauderemus” (ch. 22); [‘If we had not learned for certain that there is another life, everlasting, that follows this one, we would not be rejoicing to lose this one.’] Ælfric renders this: ‘Noldon we efstan to deaþe mid swa mycelre blisse gif we to beteran life soðlice ne becomon siððan we ofslagene beoð to þam ecan life. swa swa we leomodon to soþan’ (ll. 230-33); [‘We would not wish to hasten to death with such great happiness if we truly were not going to a better life after we are slain, even to eternal life just as we have learned is true.’]

⁶⁴ Pope, “Rhythmical Prose,” I:109-10.

⁶⁵ He uses *geleafa* (belief, faith), *gelyfan* (to believe, have faith), or *geleafful* (believing) twenty-two times (ll. 8, 40, 43, 50, 55, 60, 65, 67, 70, 90, 91, 92, 120, 172, 189, 255, 263, 266, 276, 278, 302, and 358).

faith are repeated with some frequency, but in this case *gebugan*, *gebigan*, or *gewendan* are used only positively to signify a coming to Christianity not an offer to leave it.⁶⁶ But instead of exploring steadfastness as a cornerstone of religious purity and orthodoxy, here he concentrates on the transfer of belief qua spiritual motherhood and childbearing, a focus that will help to explain his repeated emphasis on eternal life in this story.

As noted in the survey of the homilies in chapter 1, Ælfric uses spiritual fecundity as a metaphor for teaching and making converts to the faith, and this fruitfulness is integral to every believer's religious orthodoxy or spiritual purity. In the patristic allegory of Christ's spiritual marriage to the Church, Christ is the bridegroom and his virgin bride is the Church who remains a virgin even as she continually gives birth to new members of the church. These members or children are to remain chaste through steadfast belief and hence are virgins of the faith. And like the ever-virgin but fruitful Church, they are also expected to produce new believers. These ideas are succinctly expressed in Ælfric's exegetical homily for the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost in which he allegorizes the account of Jesus resurrecting the son of the widow of Nain (Luke 7:11-17):

Se cniht wæs ancenned sunu his meder. swa bið eac gehwylc cristen man
gastlice þære halgan gelapung sunu: seo is ure ealra moder and
þeahhwædere ungewemmed mæden: for þan ðe hire team nis na lichamlic
ac gastlic; Gehwylc godes þeow þonne he leornað he bið bearn geciged. eft
þonne he oþerne lærd he bið moder; (CHI.33.19-27)

The youth was his mother's only son, just as every Christian man spiritually is the son of the holy church, which is the mother of us all, and, nevertheless, an undefiled virgin; for her family is not bodily but spiritual. Every servant of God, when he learns, is called a child; afterwards, when

⁶⁶ See ll. 53 (ge-beah), 92 (gebiged), 120 (gewende), 126 (beah), 244 (buge), and 275 (gewendon).

he teaches someone else, he is a mother.

The most direct evidence that Ælfric translated Cecilia's *passio* with these ideas in mind is found in his revision of the episode in which the angel grants Valerian's request that Tiburtius be saved (ch. 8). In the Cotton-Corpus text their conversation is marked by metaphors of redemption:

‘Hoc solum omnibus petitionibus meis antepono et deprecor ut fratrem meum Tiburtium sicut me *liberare* dignetur et faciat nos ambos in sui nominis confessione perfectos.’ Audiens hæc, angelus, letissimo vultu, dixit ad eum: ‘Quoniam petisti quod melius Christus implere delectat, sicut te per famulum sua[m] Ceciliam *lucratus est* Dominus ita per te quoque tuum *lucrabitur* fratrem et cum eodem ad martirii palmam attinges.’

(my emphases)

‘This one alone I make before all other requests and pray that you would deign to *deliver* my brother Tiburtius like me and make us both perfect in confessing His name.’ Hearing this, the angel, with a look of great joyfulness, said to him: ‘Because you asked for this the more is Christ pleased to grant that just as Christ *has redeemed* you through his handmaid Cecilia, so likewise through you your brother *will be redeemed* and with him you will win the palm of martyrdom.’

Ælfric adds to Valerian's request that his brother be delivered (*liberare*) a plea that he be “inclined to the faith” (to *geleafan gebigde*), a favorite phrase in his treatment of spiritual purity in Julian and Basilissa. More important, he replaces the metaphor of payment that he finds in the *passio* with one of generation:

‘Þas bene ic bidde þæt min broþor Tiburtius beo alysed þurh god and to geleafan gebigde, and he do unc begen him to beggengum.’ Þa cwæð se engel eft mid blisse him to: ‘Forþan-þe þu þæs bæde þe bet gode licað *þin broðor tiburtius bið gestryned þurh þe to þam ecan life swa swa þu gelyfdest on god þurh cecilian lare and git sceolan begen* (þu and þin broðor) beon gemartyrode samod.’ (ll. 91-98, my emphasis)

‘This request I ask, that my brother Tiburtius be saved through God and *inclined to the faith*, and that He make us both his worshipers.’ Again the angel said to him with joy: ‘Because you asked for this, the more God is

pleased that *your brother Tiburtius shall be born to eternal life through you, just as you believed in God through Cecilia's instruction; and you both (you and your brother) shall be martyred together.*'

As in his remarks on the widow's son quoted above, Ælfric also links spiritual generation with teaching. In the Latin text quoted above, the brothers' conversions are connected verbally: Valerian has been redeemed (*lucratus est*) and Tiburtius will be redeemed (*lucrabitur*). The *passio* also specifies that Christ is the catalyst for redemption. Ælfric, by contrast, focuses squarely on the human participation in another's conversion. He retains the correlative clauses but foregoes the verbal parallels, making synonymous Tiburtius's second birth through Valerian and Valerian's salvation through Cecilia's instruction (*lar*). This rewriting has two effects. First, it projects the metaphor of generation back into the narrative, casting as spiritual childbearing Cecilia's conversion of Valerian on their wedding night. Second, it prepares the reader to understand in this light the conversions that occur later in the narrative and highlights the fact that the couple will be the parents of a family much larger than any literal family could ever be.

Ælfric early on makes an adjustment to the story which directs the readers' attention to the couple's interaction rather than Valerian's reaction to Cecilia's announcement. When, in the Cotton-Corpus text, Cecilia carefully and gently reveals to Valerian that she has God's angel for a lover, we are initially unsure how he will react (ch. 4). Though he consents to her wishes to visit Pope Urban, Valerian's threat to kill her hangs in the air until his return.⁶⁷ When Ælfric introduces Valerian into his story, we are

⁶⁷ 'Si vis ut vere credam sermonibus tuis, ostende michi ipsum angelum; et si probvero quod vere angelus sit, faciam quae hortaris. Si autem virum alium diligis, et te et illum gladio feriam' (ch. 5); ['If you wish me to believe your words, show me this angel; and if I am sure that it truly is the angel of God, I will do what you urge.

told immediately that Cecilia is to be married “to a noble youth, who was not yet a Christian, called Valerian, who is now a holy saint.”⁶⁸ Having removed any suspense about the outcome of their conversation in the bridal chamber, Ælfric hones in on the process of Valerian’s conversion rather than its probability.

His treatment of Cecilia and Valerian as a married couple is fascinating, not least for the place he gives to love and allurement in this nascent union. The *passio* reports that when they “entered upon the silent secrets of the bed-chamber,” she addresses him as “sweetest and most beloved young man” before revealing she is guarded by an angel of God.⁶⁹ Ælfric, remarkably, recasts this initial encounter as a pillow talk:

Hi wurdon þa gebrohte on bedde ætgædere, and Cecilia sona þæt snotere mæden gespræc hire brydguman and þus to Gode tihte: ‘Eala, þu min leofa man, ic þe mid lufe secge, Ic habbe Godes encgel þe gehylt me on [lufe]...’ (LS34.28-32).

They were then brought into bed together, and Cecilia, the wise virgin, spoke to her bridegroom and thus allured him to God: ‘Oh, my beloved husband, I tell you with love [that] I have an angel of God who guards me in love...’

By setting this scene in the bridal bed, he forestalls the reader who might imagine Cecilia withdrawing a step from Valerian as they entered the bridal chamber in order to reveal her secret threateningly. Now, she essentially “makes love” to him with her beauty, wisdom, and language. Cecilia’s true affection for Valerian is expressed verbally as she, not pope Urban (as is the case in the *passio*), “instructed the youth for a long time until he believed

But if you are in love with another man, I will put you and him to the sword.’]

⁶⁸ ænum æþelan cnihte se næs Cristen þæ git Ualerianus gehaten sé is nú halig sanct (ll. 11-12). The *passio* reports only that “she had a fiancé, a young man named Valerian” (haec Valerianum quendam juvenem habebat sponsum, ch. 3).

⁶⁹ Sed cum hæc agerentur, venit nox, in qua suscepit una cum sponso suo cubiculi secreta silentia et ita eum alloquitur: ‘O dulcissime atque amantissime juvenis...’ (ch. 4)

in the living God.”⁷⁰ This of course is the moment Ælfric refers to in the passage quoted earlier when he equates as being “born to eternal life” the moment of Valerian’s completed conversion and Tiburtius’s future one. It is little wonder then that this woman, who possesses “so great a love for the eternal life,” and this man, who is born through her into eternity, are favored with the appearance of an angel since, in Augustine’s words, “virginal integrity and freedom from all carnal relation through holy chastity is an angelic lot.”⁷¹ A love of eternal life and the motif of allurements are both part of the complex of images relating to spiritual generation.

Over the course of events leading up to Tiburtius’s conversion, the chaste couple evokes images of the Church. She is one maiden made up of “husbands and wives” joined in a “virginity of faith, which worships one true God, and will not adulterously bow to an idol.”⁷² Valerian has “bowed to God” (ge-beah to Gode, l. 53) and confessed his belief in *Unus deus, una fides, unum baptisma*.⁷³ Cecilia and Valerian have agreed to keep the crowns that the angel brings from paradise “with a pure heart” (mid clænre heortan, l. 80). If Ælfric’s copy of the *passio* required them to keep the crowns “with an unspotted body” (immaculato corpore, ch. 8), his decision to require of them a *clænre heortan* suggests that he wanted to downplay their exceptional physical commitment and to emphasize their spiritual bond.⁷⁴ And just as the Church preserves her virginity in steadfast belief, so

⁷⁰ Seo fæmne þa lærde swa lange þone cniht oð þæt he ge-lyfde on þone lifigendan God...” (ll. 49-50). In the *passio*. Urban is depicted “teaching him all the rules of the faith” (edocens eum fidei omnes regulam, ch. 7).

⁷¹ McQuade, “Holy Virginity,” p. 155. Reames points to this passage as an explanation for the couple’s friendship with angels (“Cecilia Legend,” p. 40. n. 9).

⁷² CHII.39.78-83

⁷³ In his confession Valerian quotes Ephesians 4:5.

⁷⁴ The Hereford text reads “with an unspotted heart and a clean body” (immaculato corde et mundo corpore). Ælfric makes it clear that Valerian must preserve Cecilia “in chaste virginity” (in clænnum mægd-hade, l.

Valerian and Cecilia refuse to commit spiritual adultery by sacrificing to idols.⁷⁵

Ælfric's substitution of a metaphor of generation for one of profit makes explicit what remains a tacit assumption in the Latin version: spiritual generation is a much more productive phenomenon than literal parenting. The most prominent connection in his mind between this legend and the allegory of spiritual marriage is the image of a Church who "keeps the marriage of the true Savior...in spiritual childbearing."⁷⁶ Thus unfolds the story of mother Church (here the chaste couple) giving birth to new members who in turn become mothers to more sons when they teach them the faith. Cecilia and Valerian beget Tiburtius (ll. 99-127); Tiburtius and Valerian beget Maximus (ll. 225-73); and Maximus begets the pagans who hear him tell of his vision of the brothers' souls ascending to heaven (ll. 274-76). The cycle returns to Cecilia, who converts four hundred pagans just before her death (ll. 293-307). Ælfric depends primarily on the metaphor of spiritual fecundity to mark these events with figurative significance, but there are other moments which bolster the theme. For example, Cecilia's answer to Tiburtius's question asking if there is anyone who can describe "the other life" focuses on the generative activity of God: "The creator of all created things begat a son and brought forth from himself the comforting spirit. Through the son he created all created things that exist and endowed them with life through the living spirit."⁷⁷ As God animates otherwise lifeless creations with his spirit, so are the souls of Christians quickened by the Holy Spirit when they are

36: *virginitatem ...integram*, ch. 4).

⁷⁵ See ll. 223 and 333.

⁷⁶ Assmann 3.128-29.

⁷⁷ 'Ealle ge-sceafta scyppend ænne sunu gestrynde and forð-teah þurh hine sylfne þone frofer gast. þurh þone sunnu he gesceop ealle gesceafta þe syndon and hi ealle gelyffæste þurh þone lifigendan gast' (LS34.157-60).

converted. Accordingly the procreative processes of the chaste couple resemble that of God when through them the spiritually dead Tiburtius is “born into eternal life.” This power to give life is exactly what Cecilia rebukes Almachius for falsely claiming to have: “You said that you had the power to kill and to bring again to life, but I say that you may kill the living but that you may not give life again to the dead. You lie openly.”⁷⁸

Certainly Cecilia is referring to God’s power to resurrect Jesus as well as Jesus’s power to raise the dead to life on earth and his promise of everlasting life.⁷⁹ But it is also possible that she is referring to herself, her husband, his brother, and Maximus, all of whom give birth, and thus life, to the converts they leave behind.

If Ælfric’s attempts to draw the reader’s attention to the allegorical implications of the legend’s successive conversions are successful, then the same will be true of his efforts to highlight the spirit in which members of the church become mothers of the faith. As mentioned earlier, Cecilia “allured” (tihte, l. 30) Valerian to Christianity with loving words. Likewise, Ælfric supplies the word in other instances throughout the story where there is no equivalent in the *passio*. Valerian and Tiburtius approach Maximus with “incitements” (tightinge, l. 234) to believe in God. Ælfric substitutes for the Latin *dicit* (“she says”) *heo tihte* (“she allured” or “incited”) to characterize Cecilia’s confirmation of the crowd’s faith just before her death.⁸⁰ And he concludes the legend with the same

⁷⁸ ‘Pu cwæde þæt þu hæfdest to acwellene anweald and to edcucigenne, ac ic cwæde þæt þu miht þa cucan adydan and þam deadan þu ne miht eft lif forgifan. Ac þu lyhst openlice’ (LS34.238-331).

⁷⁹ This is the gist of Cecilia’s sermon to the four hundred who convert (ll. 293-301).

⁸⁰ ‘Heo tihte þa swa lange þa ungeleaffullan hædenan oð þæt hi ealle cwædon mid anre stemne þus: ‘We gelyfað þæt criste godes sunu soðlice god is...’ (ll. 300-02) [Long she taught the unbelieving heathen until they all said with one voice, ‘We believe that Christ, God’s son, is truly God.’] In the Cotton-Corpus text, after her speech about why she is willing to exchange her earthly life for an eternal one, Cecilia is reported to have “mounted the stone near her feet and said to them all: ‘Do you believe what I have said?’” (ascendit super lapidem qui erat juxta

image of her. Whereas the Latin text reports that she “did not cease to strengthen” her disciples during the three days that she survives after being struck by the executioner, Ælfric writes simply that she “exhorted” (*tihte*, l. 358) the faithful.⁸¹ It is appropriate, I think, to characterize as loving or amiable the way in which Cecilia and Valerian approach Tiburtius, the way the brothers address Maximus, and the way Cecilia speaks to the crowds who beg her not to die, for St. John, Ælfric writes, *tihte* (allured, incited, exhorted) the unbelievers in Asia “with pleasing words” (*mid geswæsum wordum*) to leave the devil’s temple.⁸² The love that marks the martyrs’ discourse is rooted in a desire for the *ecan* or eternal life against which any physical passion or craving for worldly delights pales in comparison. The result is a chaste couple and their spiritual children who represent a Church that speaks in love, not as noisy gongs or clanging cymbals, but, as Tiburtius attributes to Cecilia, with the tongues of angels.⁸³

pedes eius et dicit omnibus, ‘Creditis haec que dixi?’, ch. 26).

⁸¹ ...non cessavit...confortare (ch. 31). The Cotton-Corpus text describes her disciples as “those she had nourished and taught in their belief in the Lord” (*quos nutrierat et quos docuerat in fide dominica*, ch. 31).

⁸² And *iohannes mid geswæsum wordum þæt folc tihte þæt hi ufor eodon from ðæm deofles temple* (CHI.4.204-05).

⁸³ LS34.173-74

Chapter 4

The Legend of Chrysanthus and Daria

As was the case with Julian and Basilissa, Ælfric may have used the legend of Chrysanthus and Daria in the *Lives of Saints* because of its prominence in Aldhelm's *De virginitate*. Once again the purpose of Ælfric's treatment of the story will be more clear by comparing it to Aldhelm's and other Anglo-Saxon version. The *De virginitate* itself is evidence of the earliest date that the *passio* was known in England, but it appears to have been known much earlier in the West.¹ Historical evidence suggests that Chrysanthus and Daria may have been among the Christians martyred in the sand pits near the New Salarian Way in the middle of the third century.² During the time of Pope Damasus I (366-84) their walled-in crypt was discovered and left intact with its skeletons and communion vessels visible through a window. The prominence of the cult in the late fourth century would make feasible a late-fourth or early fifth-century date for the original Latin *passio*, but the earliest written record of it survives in Gregory of Tours's late sixth-century *Gloria Martyrum*. The full version of the *passio* that both Gregory and Aldhelm might have used was edited by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum* (BHL 1787) and is summarized below.¹

Chapter 1. Chrysanthus's father Polemius arrives in Rome to take a seat in the

¹ On the early history of the *passio*, see Whatley's entry in "Acta Sanctorum." Following Allard (see reference in next note), he explains that Chrysanthus and Daria may have been martyred during the reign of the Roman emperor Valerian (253-260), not, as the *passio* states, during that of Numerian (283-84).

² Allard, "Chrysanthe et Daria," *Dictionnaire*, p. 1561.

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. XI.469-84 and the entries in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* and *Novum Supplementum*. The chapter numbers included in the summary are from this edition.

Senate and has his only son trained in the liberal arts. Having exhausted all branches of learning, Chrysanthus studies the Gospels and converts. He then seeks out the priest Carpophorus who instructs and baptizes him. When Polemius's friends hear his son confessing Christ publicly, they remind him that his inheritance and head are at stake. He imprisons Chrysanthus only to discover that Christians welcome earthly punishments because they will merit heavenly rewards. Advised that marriage will make the boy forget his Christianity, his father has Chrysanthus dressed regally and brought into a lavishly decorated banquet hall full of delicacies and beautiful virgins, whom Polemius threatens with bodily harm if they fail to persuade his son to marry. Though the virgins are as vipers to him, Chrysanthus fears the "beast of desire" and prays for deliverance. God sends a deep sleep over the virgins whenever they are in the room with him. When he hears of this, Polemius weeps. Another of his friends then accuses Chrysanthus of practicing black magic and advises him to summon Daria, a beautiful and wise vestal virgin who can restore his son to him and win a husband for herself. She agrees and approaches the young man.

Chrysanthus reproaches her for wooing him when she might have an eternal spouse. Claiming to be offended by his assumption that she is physically attracted to him, Daria says that she has acted only out of pity for his father. They agree to a civil debate which Daria begins by noting that the worship of gods is sensible for cultured people, especially since the gods protect their worshipers. Chrysanthus replies that the images need protecting since they are easily stolen. Daria counters that the masses need images in order to see what they have been taught to fear mentally. Belittling the gods by recalling

their follies, Chrysanthus challenges Daria to find any good in Juptier, Mercury, Hercules, Apollo, Juno, and Venus. If they are so wretched, he asks, how much more so are their worshipers. Daria changes her tack, suggesting that they skip the poets and move directly to the philosophers who knowingly use gods as figures of speech. Chrysanthus rejects her arguments on the grounds that it is silly to personify time, earth, or fire since they are always present to us anyway. When Daria gloats that Chrysanthus inadvertently has confirmed her point of view that educated people worship those elements for which the ignorant have images, he explains that men too often make the mistake of worshipping created things rather than the creator of all. Eventually, Daria converts and agrees to live chastely with him while pretending to be part of a consummated marriage. When Chrysanthus is finally free of his father, she is baptized, instructed in Scripture and doctrine, and takes the veil. Inflamed with a passion for the Holy Spirit rather than with carnal desire, the couple inspires multitudes of men and women to convert to Christianity.

Chapter 2. So many young women and men vow chastity that public pandemonium erupts in Rome. Summoned to discover the causes of the upheaval, the prefect Claudius orders the couple to sacrifice to the gods or be tortured. Chrysanthus is summarily bound with fresh rawhide, jammed into stocks, soaked in urine, enclosed in a fresh ox skin and exposed to the noonday sun, and thrown into prison in chains. He remains unharmed. Claudius then interrogates Chrysanthus, who insults him. When he is beaten for his insolence, the cudgels becomes soft as feathers. Amazed, Claudius recounts the miracles he has witnessed and converts, along with his wife Hilaria, his sons Jason and

Maurus, his friends, his household, and his garrison of seventy soldiers. All are baptized on the same day. Hearing of their treason, the emperor Numerian orders Claudius to be rowed out to sea and dumped overboard with a rock tied around his neck and his soldiers and sons to be beheaded. Christians bury the soldiers, and Hilaria buries her sons in a single tomb, where she is later arrested while keeping vigils. The soldiers allow her to finish her prayers before hauling her off, and she dies before they can kill her. Two maidservants left behind build a church over her tomb and a house for themselves nearby. Meanwhile, Numerian orders Chrysanthus thrown into a dark, fetid prison, but God sends light and the fragrance of nectar into the dungeon to comfort him. Daria, on the other hand, is tossed into a brothel, where an escaped lion makes obeisance to her and pounces on the man sent to defile her. Daria orders the lion to free the man, whom she chastises for not worshiping God. Scared out of his wits, he begs Daria to release him so that he can tell the people of Rome that she is God's servant. She does. Others then come to kill the lion but are captured by it instead. Daria exhorts them to convert, which they do, and they are in turn released to proclaim Christ throughout Rome. Numerian sends the new prefect Celerinus to dislodge Daria and the lion, which now roars its fears of death. Daria guarantees its safety, and the lion exits unharmed through the crowd. Celerinus orders Chrysanthus and Daria, who have been reunited, to sacrifice to the gods. When they refuse, Celerinus orders Chrysanthus tied to a rack (which bursts) and burned with torches (which go out). The men who seize Daria are themselves seized with paralysis. Finally, the emperor has them buried alive together in a sand pit. When Numerian hears that crowds are flocking to the tomb to witness the miracles occurring there, he has his

soldiers wall in the entrance to the crypt and crush the crowd of worshipers with a huge rock.

A detailed analysis of this legend is beyond the scope of this chapter, but several comments about its structure, theme, and audience will be useful for comparative purposes. Each of the two chapters focuses on a particular theme and the two-part structure is reflected in the following passage from the prologue: “God wishes that the story of previous saints be known for our edification, not that we might nourish with mortal praises those whom he refreshes with immortal feasts, but that they by their example might teach us to despise the blandishments of this present world (*præsentis sæculi blandimenta contemnere*) and not to fear pain and momentary difficulty (*labentes momentaneam angustiam non timere*) in the acquisition of celestial glory.”² Thus the *vita* portion (chapter 1) is primarily concerned with Chrysanthus’s rejection of his father’s cajolery and the couple’s decision to forego the delights of marriage. The *passio* portion (chapter 2) chronicles the couple’s fearless march through various tortures on their way to martyrdom. There is no particular refrain, such as the *nihil praepono* leitmotif of Julian and Basilissa, that is repeated throughout the *passio*; rather, the saints’ rejection of worldly allurements and courage under duress are illustrated throughout each chapter.

There are striking similarities and differences between the narratives proper of Chrysanthus and Daria and Julian and Basilissa. The two men, Julian and Chrysanthus, are

² *Historiam priorum sanctorum ad ædificationem nostram Deus voluit pervenire, non ut laudibus mortalium pasceret eos, quos immortalibus dapibus reficit; sed ut nos exemplo eorum doceat præsentis sæculi blandimenta contemnere, et ad acquisitionem supernæ gloriæ labentes momentaneam angustiam non timere (Præfatio).*

both beaten with clubs, doused with urine, and thrust into rank prisons. The conversion of family members (Celsus and his mother in Julian and Basilissa; Claudius, his wife, and sons in Chrysanthus and Daria) is vitally important to both legends. By contrast, Daria plays a much more central role than does Basilissa; she survives until the end of the *passio*, and the brothel episode features her alone. However, neither these similarities nor these differences help very much to decipher the implied audience or audiences of the *passio*. Its second chapter reads like the *produit industriel* that Hippolyte Delehayé designates every *passion épique*, and workmanlike it moves the saints, particularly Chrysanthus, through the programmatic interrogations, tortures, conversions, and martyrdoms, offering no clues as to who the “us” of the prologue might be.³ Chapter one, which occupies the majority of the story, is more suggestive however.

It lacks the clear indications about an implied audience that can be gleaned from the *vita* portion of Julian and Basilissa, but the distinctive role that learning plays in the debate between the saints provides some clues. This is not to say that their exchange has no “industrial” traits, for it includes the standard mockery of the pagan gods, their images, and their mythologies.⁴ But the reference to Virgil (1.11) and the many literary allusions woven into the debate, especially such brief ones as those to Ganymede’s abduction (1.10), Hercules’s tasks (1.11), and the squabbles of Juno and Venus (1.11), imply a literate, learned audience.⁵ The same is true of the register of the exchange, which is

³ Delehayé, *Les Passions*, p. 171.

⁴ Delehayé, *Les Passions*, p. 195.

⁵ These learned references also perhaps imply the late-antique controversy over the place of secular literature (in particular the lax character of pagan texts) in a Christian culture. All references are cited by chapter and paragraph numbers from the *Acta Sanctorum* edition of the *passio*.

decidedly high as it moves from the figments of poets (*poetarum figmenta*) to the allegories (*allegorica*) of philosophers (*philosophos*) (1.12). The couple's discussion of the need for idols among the "basely-born masses" (*ignobile vulgus*, 1.9 and *vulgus*, 1.11) also hints at an audience that was both well to do and well educated.

If we allow that the legend could have been written as early as the late fourth century, when Chrysanthus and Daria's crypt was unearthed and their tomb honored by Pope Damasus, then the *passio* would have been circulating during the same time that Ambrose (ca. 339-97), bishop of Milan, was preaching that continence was as integral to the Christian life as baptism and in which the heretofore feminine ideal of virginity was being pressed upon Roman males with unprecedented exigency. Calls for clerical celibacy were also intensifying to such a degree that Pope Siricius (384-98), Damasus's successor, decreed that priests, who were being drawn from "powerful, worldly, noble classes," must be committed to lifelong virginity.⁶ The *vita* portion contains some of these strains. Many Romans were Christians without being chaste, of course, but there is at work the assumption that converting to Christianity involves a vow of chastity. Chrysanthus does not provoke his father by refusing to marry or by breaking off an engagement because he has pledged his virginity to Christ. His vow of chastity is revealed only when he prays to God to protect him from the alluring virgins (1.6), well after Polemius has been advised to seduce his son to marry (1.4). The association of Christianity with virginity appears to

⁶ Brown, *Body and Society*, pp. 356-62, at p. 359. According to de Gaffier, the legendary chaste spouse genre has its earliest roots in the Apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, which circulated in the second and third centuries ("*Intactam Sponsam*," pp. 164-65). See also Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 29, and Brown, *Body and Society*, pp. 97-98.

have been common enough not to merit any comment from Polemius or his friends, and they assume that the best way to undermine Chrysanthus's belief is to entice him to enjoy sensual pleasures. Daria too is sent to attack Chrysanthus's faith by attempting first "to incline him to his own pleasure" ('eum...ad suos libitus inclinare,' 1.7) so that she may then "call [him] back to a worship of the gods" ('deorum revocare culturæ,' 1.9). There is nothing explicitly masculine about this connection between asceticism and belief (Daria adopts Christianity and chastity simultaneously), but when we encounter it in the context of Chrysanthus's temptations, it seems likely that males would have formed part of the implied audience.⁷ Daria after all is a vestal virgin, so her commitment to chastity is not so remarkable. That a man should be called to this kind of life is much more extraordinary.

Accordingly, chapter one focuses exclusively on the threats posed to Chrysanthus's chastity, a storyline usually encountered in the lives of the female virgin martyrs such as Juliana (whose father and suitor imprisoned and tortured her for refusing to marry), Thecla (who before running away is begged by her parents, suitor, servants, and friends to agree to marry), Agatha (whose pagan suitor ordered her to spend a month in a brothel because she will not marry), and Agnes (who was accused of being a Christian by the suitor she continually rejected and was sentenced to a brothel).⁸ The greatest threat to

⁷ See Brown, *Body and Society*, p. 350, for the story of Verecundus a Milanese teacher who thought that he was disqualified from baptism because he was married. He notes too that Augustine of Hippo was deterred from converting because celibacy seemed to be a requirement of the Christian life.

⁸ For Juliana see. *Acta Sanctorum* Febr. II.873-77 (BHL 4523); for Thecla, Gebhardt, *Passio S. Theclae Virginis* (BHL 8020); for Agatha, Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, I:37-40; and for Agnes, *Patrologia Latina* 17.735-42 (BHL 156). Relatively full summaries of all the legends but Juliana can be found in Butler's *Lives of Saints* according to their feast day: Juliana (16 February), Thecla (23 September), Agatha (5 February), and Agnes (21 January). For abridged versions of the legends of Juliana, Agatha, and Agnes in Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* (Ryan, *Golden Legend*, II:160-61, I:154-57, and I:101-104, respectively).

male chastity in this story is not prison or brothel but marriage, which neither represents for Polemius the prospect for higher status or greater wealth nor is presented as a moral obligation for Chrysanthus, as Julian's parents made it seem. It is simply another weapon in the arsenal of tactics devised to force him to renounce his Christianity, thereby sparing his father's life. Polemius is advised: "If you would deliver your son from this undertaking, busy him with great delights and pleasures and give him in marriage to some wise and elegant girl, so that when he is pledged to be a husband, he will forget that he is a Christian."⁹

This treatment of marriage as a lure, when coupled with Chrysanthus's fascinating, misogynist prayer for protection from the virgins, suggests that the implied audience might have been clerics as well, although the distinction between lay and religious was admittedly blurred in the late fourth century. Chrysanthus prays to overcome the "war of desire" (*libidinis bellum*, 1.6) within him, compares his own struggle to escape sexual desire with Joseph's flight from Potiphar's wife (*Genesis* 39), and remarks that "perfect chastity" (*castitem perfectam*) is what enables the soul to attain paradise.¹⁰ Desire (*libido*) is personified initially as an "evil beast (*bestia maligna*) ...which is incited by flesh and the

⁹ "Si filium tuum ab hac usurpatione conaris eripere, magnis eum deliciis et voluptatibus occupa et cuicum que elegantissimæ puellæ atque prudentissimæ in conjugium trade; ut cum didicerit esse maritus, obliviscatur esse christianus" (1.4).

¹⁰ Chrysanthus's war against desire is reminiscent of Paul's war against his flesh that he discusses in *Romans* 7: 21-25. Chrysanthus refers in his prayer to the man whose scrupulous comportment is at odds with his inner appetites in this reflexive, though third-person reference: "Errat qui se putat castitatem perfectam suis viribus obtinere: nisi enim tuo imbre flammæ fuerint hæ corporales extinctæ, non potest animus pervenire quo pergit" (1.6). ['He errs who thinks that he preserves perfect chastity with his own might; unless these bodily passions are extinguished by your rain showers, the soul is not able to reach its goal.'] For an analogous passage from the legend of Julian and Basilissa, see where Basilissa exhorts her nuns to make sure that their hearts are as pure as their bodies before they depart to heaven (*Passio Iuliani et Basilissae*, 3.13).

devil to devour souls in the forest of this world”¹¹, but the comparison becomes increasingly misogynist. Later, when Chrysanthus recalls Joseph’s seduction, Potiphar’s wife is personified as the “evil beast” (*bestia maligna*, 1.6) who “like a lioness then hooked him in her claws” (*quasi læna. ita eum suis unguibus arpagavit*, 1.6). In the climactic description of the seduction, desire is personified as all three—a beast, the devil, and a woman:

Libido enim erat bestia maligna, per quam contra eum diabolus et mulier luctabantur. Ibi caro et sanguis, ibi juvenus et pulcher aspectus, ibi pubertas et irritatio oculorum, ibi potestas dominationis, ibi delectatio obscenitatis, ibi inuitamenta potestatis, ibi ornamenta suadentis, oculos; ibi caput auro et gemmis instructum; ibi ordoramenta exhalantia; ibi amplexus ipsi devorationi et morti jam proximus. Inter hæc omnia et solum invenit læna et tenuit. (1.6)

Desire was a malicious beast through which the devil and a woman were struggling against him. There was flesh and blood. There were youth and beauty. There virility and the incitement of eyes. There the power of domination. There the pleasure of moral impurity. There the attraction of power. There ornaments of one who persuades the eyes. There a head arrayed with gold and gems. There perfumes wafting. There the embrace that is close to death and devouring. Among all those things the lioness discovered him alone and seized [him].

Daria too at first plays the role of devil. She comes to Chrysanthus “under the guise of encouragement” (*sub specie consolationis*, 1.8), and he “repelled the arrows of the devil with the shield of his faith” (*sagittas diaboli scuto suæ fidei repellebat*, 1.8). Thus when he overcomes the “desires” (*voluptatibus*, 1.4) which were to undo him and the “bodily passions” (*flammæ corporales*, 1.6) which threatened to consume him, the beast of desire

¹¹ *Libido enim est bestia maligna, quæ in sylva hujus sæculi ad devorandas animas (per carnem et diabolium) incitatur* (1.6).

has been tamed, and Daria qua devil is vanquished. Now she who was promised to Christ as a husband (1.8) becomes a nun, taking the “the veil of sanctity in holy virginity” (*sanctæ virginitati velamen sanctitatis*, 1.14). She is then “joined with Chrysanthus, not by the heat of the body, but united in the fervor of the Holy Spirit.”¹² Admittedly, this chaste marriage poses difficulties for an implied audience of clerics who had been forbidden from entering into “spiritual marriages” with consecrated virgins early in the fourth century.¹³ Yet from the same period the married clergy had been forbidden to have sex with their wives, but the proscriptive canons were promulgated so frequently that a considerable gap seems to have existed between theory and practice.¹⁴ Many of the clergy, however, were still married, so perhaps the *passio* has them especially in view, since recommending this arrangement for priests would run directly counter to the Church’s unequivocal condemnation of the practice among consecrated men.¹⁵ On the other hand, the spiritual marriage poses no difficulty if we assume that some males in the implied audience are members of the laity. Such a rigorous asceticism would be idealistic of course but commensurate with a climate in which Christianity and continence were often linked.

Over two hundred years later, Aldhelm decides not to reproduce the misogynist passages in his epitomes of the *passio* in the *De virginitate*, a choice that allows him to avoid insulting the women among his friends at Barking.¹⁶ The omission of Chrysanthus’s prayer, for example, also has the advantage of reinforcing one of the *De virginitate*’s

¹² *Erat tamen juncta Chrysantho non calore corporeo, sed Spiritus sancti fervore sociata* (1.14).

¹³ See p. 6

¹⁴ Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, pp. 75, 110-13.

¹⁵ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, pp. 31-50, at p. 49; see also McNamara, “Chaste Marriage.”

¹⁶ Ehwald, pp. 276.23-280.7 and pp. 400-05.1123-1250. Lapidge, *Prose*, pp. 96-99 and Lapidge, *Poetic*, pp. 127-30.

primary themes. the glory of the exemplary virgin will in action. In the *passio* Chrysanthus acknowledges his need for God's help. such as Joseph had. in combating lust, and God rescues him by causing the virgins to fall asleep whenever they are in his presence. In the prose *De virginitate* by contrast, "the iron resolve of the youth" (*ferrea iuvenis praecordia*) is never shaken.¹⁷ Aldhelm's soldier of Christ is neither weak nor fearful or uncertain of his ability to withstand temptation, and he neither needs nor asks for divine intervention. He simply is "not overcome by the sweet richness of the feast, nor is he deflected from the rigour of his attention by the alluring beauty of the women" as "he avoids the girls' soft lips" (*nec mulsa epularum sagina superatur nec formosa virginum venustate a propositi rigore reflectitur, sed mollia puellarum labra...declinat*).¹⁸

The saint's resolve is thrown into greater relief because Aldhelm summarizes in two sentences the debates that occupy nearly one-third of the *passio*. This foreshortening accelerates Chrysanthus's progress from triumph to triumph over temptation and quickens the narrative momentum as we move into the litany of tortures and miracles in part two of the legend. The ordeals occupy half of Aldhelm's account, thus strengthening our impression of both Chrysanthus's steadfastness and the glory merited by his virginity. The man whose fortitude was such that he did not need to call on God for assistance finds himself protected "through divine command" (*caelesti nutu*) or "by some invisible power"

¹⁷ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 97; Ehwald, p. 278.6.

¹⁸ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 97; Ehwald, p. 278.7-8. See too Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 128 and Ehwald, p. 401.1154-402.1160 where Aldhelm handles the episode similarly. Aldhelm's consistent emphasis on the importance of the saint's will in overcoming adversity may be the faintest of eddies which signal the presence of an undercurrent of the Pelagian controversy.

(invisibili...potestate) and "sustained by the favor of Christ" (Christi suffragio fretus).¹⁹

Aldhelm also underscores Daria's glory by transforming her trip to the brothel from an opportunity to make converts to a demonstration of the value of virginity to God. In both versions he replaces the obliging lion who assists Daria's proselytizing with a savage one sent to protect her by devouring any man who should wish to defile her. The verse is more emphatic:

Si quisquam cuperet sacrum temerare pudorem
 Gestibus obscenis contrectans corpus honestum,
 Arcam ceu quondam probrosus contigit Oza,
 Protinus oppeteret confusus fronte petulcus
 Rictibus et rabidis. corrosus dente leonis,
 Ultricem poenam sentiret morte ferina.²⁰

If anyone should desire to dishonour her holy chastity by violating her pure body with illicit actions, as once the infamous Oza touched the ark, immediately the lewd man, his face confused, would die by fierce jaws and, gnawed by the lion's teeth, he would feel an avenging punishment in meeting (such a) savage death.

Again, perhaps out of deference to the nuns at Barking, Aldhelm minimizes the misogyny directed toward Daria and focuses on her more positive traits, in this case her intelligence and vast learning. She still tempts Chrysanthus, but far from associating her with the devil, Aldhelm actually admires her intellectual prowess. We are told in the *passio* that Daria is "so wise that those orators themselves do not challenge [her]"

¹⁹ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 98; Ehwald, p. 279.4, 5, and 12. The same is true of the verse account where "Almighty God released the evil ropes." (Omnipotente Deo restes solvente nefandos), "the Ruler of Olympus clove the stocks." (cippum findit regnator Olympi), and "the holy judge broke loose the closely-bound knots" (Ecce repente pius nodatos arbiter artus / Eripit) (Lapidge, *Poetic*, pp. 129-30; Ehwald, p. 403.1194, 1197 and 1213-14).

²⁰ Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 130; Ehwald, p. 405.1237-42. For the corresponding passage in the prose, see Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 99; Ehwald, p. 280.2-3. In 2 Samuel 6:6-7 (II Reg. 6:6-7 in the Vulgate), Oza (or Uzzah), a member of King David's retinue, is struck down by God for touching the ark of the covenant while trying to steady it.

(‘sapiens. ut nec illi ipsi oratores occurrant.’ 1.7) and that she brings to bear her “elegant vocabulary” (elegantia sermonis. 1.8) and “the skill of her abilities” (ingenii sui arte. 1.8) in the debate with Chrysanthus. In the prose *De virginitate*, she addresses Chrysanthus with “the polished eloquence of her speech” (urbana verborum facundia),²¹ but Aldhelm adds that

eo quod Daria dialecticis artibus imbuta et captiosis sillogismi conclusionibus instructa fuisse ferebatur ita dumtaxat, ut disertissimi oratores tam sagax virginis ingenium alterno experire conflictu verentur.²²

Daria was said to have been so well trained in the dialectical arts and so well versed in the sophisticated procedures of the syllogism that even the most eloquent orators feared to test the sagacious intellect of the young girl in an argument.

His apparent rationale for highlighting Daria’s intelligence and education is that they are most useful to her when she converts to Christianity. She “abandon[s] at once the disciplines of dialectic” (Mox relictis dialecticorum disciplinis), but her skills have prepared her to study the “canonical writings and exegetical commentaries” (canonicis scripturis et commentis spiritalibus), her knowledge of which, when coupled with her eloquence, enable her effectively to make converts through her teaching (magisterio), a detail not included in the passio.²³

²¹ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 97; Ehwald, p. 278.14.

²² Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 97; Ehwald, p. 278.17-19.

²³ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 97; Ehwald, p. 278.23; 24. Aldhelm makes the same point in the verse *De virginitate*: Daria amazes her teachers with her “knowledge of books” (ingenium biblorum), and she is “sure in writing and quick in reading” (tenax scripti...veloxque legendi), but after her conversion, she “rejected the lessons of ancient books and followed the doctrines of the four-fold Gospels” (veterum sprevit documenta librorum / Et sequitur Christi quadratis dogmata biblis (Lapidge, *Poetic*, pp. 128-29; Ehwald, p.402 | 168-69, | 182-83). About making converts, Aldhelm writes: “Nor could one enumerate in a list or compute in any way by any system of reckoning what a great multitude of either sex would flock in crowds from the fanatical superstition of pagan shrines to the catholic faith as a result of *the instruction of (Chrysanthus and Daria)* [nec laterculo dinumerari nec calculo computari ullatenus valet, quanta multitudo promiscui sexus *illorum magisterio* a fanatica delubrorum superstitione ad fidem catholicam catervatim confluerit] (my emphases; Lapidge, *Prose*, pp. 97-98; Ehwald, p.

Chrysanthus also progresses from secular to sacred learning to preaching and teaching, a fact to which Aldhelm's embellished description of Chrysanthus's education draws our attention. The *passio* records that he was instructed in "all the liberal arts" (omnibus liberalibus studiis. 1.2) and the study of philosophy (philosophorum studii. 1.2), but Aldhelm writes:

Igitur consummatis grammaticorum studiis et philosophorum disciplinis, quae .VII. speciebus dirimuntur, id est arithmetica, geometrica, musica, astronomia, astrologia, mechanica, medicina, cum ad sacratissimos evangeliorum apices venisset, quantocius cuncta Stoicorum argumenta et Aristotelicas categorias, quae .X. praedicamentorum generibus distinguuntur, dicto citius despexit, dum solerter animadverteret, quantum caelestis philosophiae dogma mundi disciplinas et mortalium commenta praestaret[.]

When, therefore, the studies of the grammarians and the teaching of the philosophers—which are divided into seven kinds, that is, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, mechanics and medicine—having been completed, he came to the most holy scripture of the Gospels, without delay and quicker than the telling of it he rejected all the arguments of the Stoics and the Aristotelian categories—which are distinguished by ten kinds of predication—as soon as he shrewdly perceived how much the doctrine of celestial philosophy excelled the teachings of the world and the fictions of mortals.²⁴

Having been baptized and then instructed in the basic tenets of Christianity, the "neophyte" (neofitus discipulus) becomes "an outstanding teacher" (dogmatista praecipuus) whose secular learning serves him well in his "very lengthy verbal debate and a reciprocal exchange of ideas" (satis prolixa sermonum concertatio et reciproca sententiarum disputatio) with the girl whom the orators feared.²⁵ Chrysanthus converts

278.24-27).

²⁴ Lapidge. *Prose*, p. 96; Ehwald, p. 277.3-9.

²⁵ Lapidge. *Prose*, p. 96, 97; Ehwald, pp. 277.11; 278.16.

Daria “not by an argument of deception, but through a demonstration of reason” (non fraudis argumento, sed ratiocinationis documento). Having been joined “together under the simulated intercourse of marriage” (simulato hymenei commercio simul), the pair converts “a great multitude of either sex as a result of [their] instruction” (quanta multitudo promiscui sexus illorum magisterio).²⁶

The making of converts in the context of a literal spiritual marriage recalls the spiritual childbearing that characterizes the allegorical marriage of Christ and the Church. Apparently Aldhelm has in mind this allegory when he describes Chrysanthus’s conversion from paganism to Christianity, from secular scholar to Christian *dogmatista*:

cumque regenerantis gratiae vulva conceptus et fetosis batisterii partibus editus in venerandis ecclesiae cunabulis nutriretur...neofitus discipulus efficitur dogmatista praecipuus...

And when, having been conceived in the womb of regenerating grace and having been brought forth by the fertile delivery of baptism, he was nourished in the reverend cradle of the Church, straightaway the young neophyte...becomes an outstanding teacher...²⁷

Aldhelm does not allude to this metaphor when Daria is transformed by baptism from erudite pagan to learned Christian, but their similar patterns of conversion encourage us to see that when the couple is joined in physical purity, both have also been purified

²⁶ Lapidge, *Prose*, pp. 97, 98; Ehwald, p. 278.20, 22, 25-26. The *passio* does not mention the couple’s teaching: “And as great a multitude of men through Chrysanthus as innumerable women through Daria flocked to the grace of Christ” (Et tam per Chrysanthum multitudo virorum, quam per Dariam feminæ innumerabiles ad Christi gratiam confluebant, l.14).

²⁷ Ehwald, p. 277.9-11; Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 96. Aldhelm does not mention specifically the allegorical spiritual marriage between Christ and the Church in the verse *De virginitate*, but he alludes to it, albeit with a slightly different formulation. Rather than a child of Christ and the Church, Chrysanthus is personified as Christ’s bride when being seduced by the virgins: “The ‘honey-sweet lips’ did not, as the poet [Claudian] sang in the betrothal song, ‘cling to his rosy lips’, but rather Christ’s sweet lips lingered upon his” (Non, sicut cecinit sponsali carmine vatis, / Mellea tunc roseis haerescunt labra labellis, / Dulcia sed Christi lentescunt labra labellis), Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 128; Ehwald, p. 402.1158-60.

spiritually by forsaking their secular learning and focusing wholly on the Scriptures.

The emphasis on the couple's learning and their physical and spiritual purity in Aldhelm's abridgement of the first part of the *passio* is commensurate with the spiritual friendships that he enjoyed with the nuns at Barking, and those that may have existed between learned monks and nuns in the double houses that dotted the monastic landscape of early Anglo-Saxon England.²⁸ First, in the opening passages of the *De virginitate*, Aldhelm compliments the nuns for their "rich verbal eloquence" (*uberimamque verborum facundiam*) and a "remarkable mental disposition" (*mentis ingenium*), both gifts reminiscent of Chrysanthus and Daria's.²⁹ He compares them to athletes "traversing the spacious courses of the Scriptures" and bees "plumbing...the divine oracles of the ancient prophets; ...scrutinizing...the hidden mysteries of the ancient laws...; exploring wisely the fourfold text of the evangelical story, expounded through the mystical commentaries of the catholic fathers...; rummaging through the old stories of the historians and the entries of chroniclers...; and inquiring into the rules of the grammarians and the teachings of experts on spelling and the rules of metrics...."³⁰ Second, Aldhelm invites the nuns to identify with these saints, especially Chrysanthus, since earlier in the *De virginitate* he describes them as children of the spiritual marriage between Christ and the Church, that is "as adoptive daughters of regenerative grace brought forth from the fecund womb of

²⁸ See chapter 3, note 35.

²⁹ Lapidge, *Prose*, pp. 59, 61; Ehwald, pp. 229.15, 232.10.

³⁰ Lapidge, *Prose*, pp. 59, 61-62; ...nunc divina priscorum prophetarum oracula ...investigando; ...antiquarum arcana legum...digesta: ...nunc quadrifaria evangelicae relationis dicta mysticis catholicorum patrum commentariis exposita...solerter indagando, nunc priscas historiograforum fabulas et cronograforum seriem...rite rimando, nunc grammaticorum et ortograforum disciplinas...[uel metricae artis regulas]...sagaciter inquirendo (Ehwald, p. 232.11-26).

ecclesiastical conception through the seed of the spiritual Word—growing learned in divine doctrine through (the Church’s) maternal care.”³¹ And just as he makes a point to show that the saintly couple was joined with a purity of minds and bodies, he praises these “most reverend virgins of Christ...celebrated not only for the distinction of (their) corporal chastity...but also on account of (their) spiritual purity.”³²

Fourth, and finally, Aldhelm’s abridgement in both versions ends with the burial of the saints, rather than the inglorious death of the men, women, and children who came to venerate them (1.27). In its description of the saints’ martyrdoms, the *passio* emphasizes their indissoluble bond, recording that God allowed them to be buried alive together “so that the youths who persisted in virginity together, together might attain the crown of eternal life” (ut qui simul juvenes in virginitate durantes, simul pertingerent ad coronam sine fine viventes, 1.26). Aldhelm skips the parallel drawn in the *passio* between the couple’s marriage bed and the pit in which they were entombed, presumably as inappropriate for his immediate audience, and he alters his description of their deaths to anticipate their resurrection together: Chrysanthus and Daria “died as martyrs, put to rest together (*pariter*) in one crypt in the company of saints, ready to receive together (*simul*) the rewards for their merits, just as they had shared together (*simul*) their torments.”³³ We might imagine that Aldhelm aims to conclude his epitome with a more comforting image

³¹ Lapidge, *Prose*, pp. 59-60: ...immo adoptivas regenerantis gratiae filias ex fecundo ecclesiasticae conceptionis uter spiritalis verbi semine progenitas per maternam viderit sollicitudinem divinis dogmatibus erudiri... (Ehwald, p. 230.2-5). The identification of the nuns with the male saints is unproblematic given that Aldhelm’s language of virginity is overwhelmingly male.

³² Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 59. Reverentissimas Christi virginibus...non solum corporalis pudicitiae praeconio celebrandis. ...vervm etiam spiritalis castimoniae gratia glorificandis...(Ehwald, p. 228.1-4).

³³ Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 99. ...pariter in una crypta martirizantes occubuerunt in consortio sanctorum simul percepturi praemia meritorum, sicut simul participes extiterunt tormentorum (Ehwald, p. 280.5-7).

than the *passio* by projecting the continuation of this spiritual marriage and his spiritual friendships into the next life. This seems to be the case in the concluding lines of the verse *De virginitate* where he appears to continue the thought that he had begun in the prose: "...they who were tormented in life by bloody punishment rest buried together in a crypt in the sand. When the earth spontaneously splits open and mankind emerges from dark tombs, we believe that He who releases the world from bondage will awaken to (everlasting) peace from the depths of the grave those who are rightly gathered in blessed throngs."³⁴ The allusion to the reward of the just in terms of the opening of the "dark tombs" and the awakening from the "depths of the grave" is appropriate to Chrysanthus and Daria, but the virginal pair united in suffering and in glory, buried alive then exhumed and translated in glory is perhaps to be taken as symbolic of righteous communities, such as those made up of Aldhelm and his monks and their friends at Barking.³⁵

The *Old English* martyrologist was also attracted to the image of the chaste couple united in heaven. Whether he depends on Aldhelm for his conclusion is not clear, but he did rely on the prose *De virginitate* for the references to seven, rather odd, liberal arts in his entry, the only other surviving English adaptation of the legend predating Ælfric's³⁶:

On þone ylcan dæg byð Sancti Crisantes tyd þæs æðelan weres; þone hys

³⁴ Lapidge, *Poetic*, p. 130. ... / Et simul in cripta pausant sablone sepulti, / Quos simul in vita vexavit poena cruenta. / Credimus, ut faustis glomeratos iure catervis / De gremio tumuli, cum tellus sponte dehiscit / Et genus humanum tumbis emergerit atris, / Suscitet ad requiem, mundum qui laxat habenis (Ehwald, p.405.1245-50).

³⁵ The awakening could also apply to the torturer Claudius, his household, and his soldiers, who upon converting to Christianity are, in Aldhelm's account, martyred together and buried in a crypt (Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 98; Lapidge, *Poetic*, p.130; Ehwald, pp. 279.22-23, 405.1225). Aldhelm uses *catervis* or "throngs" to refer to the group of monks with which he was traveling to an episcopal convention when he received the nuns' writings that prompted the *De virginitate* (Lapidge, *Prose*, p. 59; Ehwald, p. 229.7-8).

³⁶ See Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II:372 and Whatley, "Acta Sanctorum."

yldran befæston on hys cnythade to Alexandria ceastre sumum woruldwysan men þæt he æt þæm leornode þa seofon cræftas on þam beoð gemeted ealle weoruldwysdomas — þæt ys ærest arithmetica, þæt is þonne rymcræft. and astraloia. þæt ys þonne tungolcræft. and astronomia, þæt ys tungla gang. and geometrica. þæt ys eorðgemet. and musica, þæt ys dreamcræft. and m[ec]hanica. þæt y[s] weoruldweorces cræft. and medicina. þæt ys læcedomes cræft. Ða he þas cræftas ealle hæfde þurhsmeade. þa com he to sumum mæssepreoste; þa lærde se hyne godcunde gewrytu. þa forlet he þa woruldgewrytu and lufode þa godcundan gewritu and onfeng fulwyhte and Gode þeowde on clænnysse. Ða he þa wæs on þære iugode. þa ongunnon hys yldran hyne lapan to brydþyngum. Ða wyðsoc he þam. Ða het se fæder gefrætewian sum hus myd mycelum fægernysseum. and het beran on þæt hus manegra cynna symbel, and het þone cnyht lædan on þæt hus, and het fif mædenu swyðe geglengede gangan on þæt hus. Ða onhylde se halga cnyht hys ansyne on dune and nolde hig na geseon þe ma ðe .v. næddran crupon on þæt hus. And þa sona eode slæp on þa mædenu, and hig slepon dæg and nyht, swa lange swa hig on þam huse wæron. Ða het se fæder hym gelædan to swyðe gleawe. seo wæs gefrætwod myd golde and myd gymmum, þæt seo sceolde hys geþoht oncyrran; þære nama wæs Darie. Ða gelærde he þa to Crystes geleafan, and hig lyfedon hym þa samod on clænnysse, and samod hyra lyf geendodon on martyrdome, and samod restað on anre byrgene, and þa gastas samod gefeod on anum wuldre, and God dyde þurh hig manege wundru. ge þurh lifigende ge þurh forðfarene.³⁷

On the same day [28 October] is the feast day of Saint Chrysanthus, the noble man: his parents entrusted him in his youth to certain learned men in Alexandria so that he might learn from them the seven arts, in which all worldly wisdom is found — that is first arithmetic (which is computation), and astrology (which is the knowledge of stars), and astronomy (which is the courses of stars), and geometry (which is the measure of the earth), and music (which is the art of music), and mechanics (which is the art of worldly works), and medicine (which is the art of healing). When he had investigated all these arts, then he came to a certain mass-priest who instructed him in the divine scriptures. He then abandoned worldly wisdom and delighted in the divine scriptures and received baptism and served God in chastity. When he was in his adolescence, his parents began to ask him to marry. He refused in this. Then his father ordered that a certain house be adorned with many beautiful things and ordered that a feast of many dishes [lit. sorts] be carried into the house, and ordered the youth to be led into the house, and ordered five, well adorned virgins to go into the house.

³⁷ Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II:258-59.

Then the holy youth bent his eyes downward and would not look at them, as if five snakes had crept into the house. And immediately sleep came over the virgins, and they slept day and night, as long as they were in the house. Then his father ordered him to be led to a wise [woman] who was adorned with gold and jewels, in order that she should turn his mind. Her name was Darie. Then he converted her to belief in Christ, and they lived together in chastity, and together they ended their lives in martyrdom, and together rest in one grave, and the spirits together rejoice in one glory, and God did many miracles through them, both in life and in death.

The martyrologist's interest in Chrysanthus's studiousness and steadfastness gives the impression that this encapsulation was intended for a monastic audience. The explanations of the Latin words for each of the liberal arts hint that the readers or auditors of this entry might not be fully literate in Latin (not a contradiction among monks and nuns in the ninth-century) and the expansion seems educational.³⁸ His depiction of the saint's steadiness in the face of temptation bears what appears to be a personal imprint. In the *passio*, the saint falls face down in prayer, and in the *De virginitate* he avoids the virgins' lips. But the martyrologist prefers the expressive gesture of having Chrysanthus lower his eyes to avoid looking at the women. As in his entry on Julian and Basilissa, he stresses that Chrysanthus serves God in chastity (*Gode þeowde in clænnysse*) during his youth and then lives *on clænnysse* with Daria, but intriguingly he omits any overt reference to the couple's marriage. In fact, by having Chrysanthus's parents ask him to marry rather than having his father force him to, the martyrologist alters Chrysanthus's dilemma from one based in the antagonism between a fiercely pagan father and a Christian

³⁸ On the possible connection of the Old English Martyrology with King Alfred's monastic and educational reform, see Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, I:243. It is interesting that the martyrologist in the dark days of English monasticism seizes upon the liberal arts passage with enthusiasm, whereas Ælfric, the product of sweeping reform, barely mentions it (LS35.13-16).

son to that between anxious parents and an only child with different ideas about the primacy of social and religious obligations. Although we are told that Chrysanthus refused to marry and that the couple “lived together” (*lyfedon...samod*), we cannot be sure that Chrysanthus and Daria ever married. But the importance of the couple’s union, signaled by the repetition of *samod* (together), is clear; the bond shared by this chaste man and woman survives death and the grave, and the couple will spend eternity together rejoicing. The circumstances surrounding the composition of the *Old English Martyrology* are vague, and it is difficult even to hazard a guess whether nuns or monks or both were intended to hear or read this entry.³⁹ But for the monks or nuns who lived in double houses or neighboring monasteries, or who simply imagined themselves as part of a larger community of ascetics of both sexes, this conclusion might have been comforting.⁴⁰

Ælfric too uses the legend of Chrysanthus and Daria to encourage his lay audience to imagine themselves as part of the larger Christian community of saints, but his retelling can hardly be considered so reassuring. Before turning to a close reading of his version of the legend, however, we can look to some contemporary liturgical texts to see other ways in which the legend was received and to prepare us thoroughly for an appreciation of Ælfric’s handling of the story.

It is unlikely that active cults of Chrysanthus and Daria existed in late Anglo-Saxon England. They are attested in only eleven of the twenty-two calendars of the period, twice

³⁹Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 1:242-43.

⁴⁰ One wonders if the martyrologist’s omission of the manner of Chrysanthus and Daria’s death would have also been a comfort. Might Aldhelm’s decision to emphasize the general resurrection of the Last Days in verse *De virginitate* be seen as an attempt to allay this the archetypal human fear of being buried alive?

as often as Julian and Basilissa but half as often as Cecilia and Valerian.⁴¹ Their names appear together in only two of the forty-six litanies published by Michael Lapidge, although Chrysanthus appears alone in three others and Daria in two.⁴² There are several Anglo-Saxon massbooks that preserve prayers for their feast day. The late tenth-century Winchcombe Sacramentary and the late eleventh-century Giso Sacramentary preserve generalized prayers of intercession that show no direct knowledge or use of the *passio*.⁴³ Only one of the four prayers found in the eleventh-century Missal of New Minster isolates what were considered to be its essential themes, and though it does not quote directly from the *passio*, this abbreviated “interpretation” indicates how the legend was received in at least one religious community in late Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁴ The first prayer, a

⁴¹ See chapter 2, note 25. Kotzor notes the entries for Chrysanthus and Daria in Wormald, *Kalendars*: nos. 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, and 20, and in the calendar of the *Missale of Robert of Jumièges* (*Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 1:311).

⁴² Lapidge, *Litanies*, nos. xxi and xxiii are those where the saints appear together. Chrysanthus is also listed in ix, xvi, and xxii, and Daria in xxvii and xliv.

⁴³ Pfaff, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 14-15 and 19-21, respectively. The prayers are found in *The Winchcombe Sacramentary* (pp. 203-04). The massbook indicates that these prayers are to be said on the feast day of “the saints Saturninus, Chrysanthus, Marus, and Daria” (Scorum Saturnini, Crisanti, Mauri, et Dariae), and the Preface (item no. 1392) focuses solely on Saturninus, the first bishop of Toulouse, who was martyred in the third century. Since his feast day fell on the Vigil of the feast day of the Apostle Andrew, it appears that his feast day was moved to the day after Andrew’s and was conflated with Chrysanthus and Daria’s. The collect (item no. 1389) seems to have no parallel in the printed editions of the Old and New Gelasian Sacramentaries. However, three of the five prayers (item nos. 1390, 1391, 1393) are very like those found in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary (Mohlberg, *Liber Sacramentorum*, p. 164). On the origins and date of this Roman liturgy preserved in a Frankish book, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 64-70, and on the Gelasian sacramentary’s presence in early Anglo-Saxon England, see Pfaff, pp. 8-11, and Willis, *Further Essays*, p. 230. The three prayers in the Giso Sacramentary appear in the massbook proper (ff. 1-198) on f. 145^v of British Library, Cotton Vitellius MS A.xviii, and they too are copies of the prayers preserved in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary. There are no blessings for Chrysanthus and Daria in the benedictional which follows on ff. 199^r-222^v.

⁴⁴ Pfaff, pp. 28-30, at p. 30. The prayers are printed in *The Missal of the New Minster* (Turner, p. 188). The *secretæ*, or quiet prayer recited over the elements when the priest approaches the altar, is a general prayer asking God to bless the Eucharist and to allow for the prayers of the saints to be efficacious. The Preface (labeled *postcommunio* in the manuscript) is perplexing. This introductory prayer to the Canon of the Mass, the hallowed set of prayers around which communion is structured, discusses how Chrysanthus and Daria passed “through the fire of the most noble martyrdom” (per ignis passionum nobilissime), how God allowed the saints “to be martyred in the furnace” (in fornace martyrii decoqui), and how angels transported them “among the glowing gems of the celestial sanctuary” (inter rutilos caelestis sanctuarii lapides). The “glowing gems” is presumably an allusion to

“collect” with which the priest would begin Mass after the congregation had “collected.”

initially focuses on Chrysanthus and then on the couple:

Deus qui per sancti crissanti eloquentium beatam uirginem dariam
conuertisti concede ut quibus mens una castæ uiuendi et pro te fuit
moriendi. inmansit pietas maiestatem tuam pro nobis intercedere. per.

God, who converted the blessed virgin Daria through the eloquence of
Saint Chrysanthus, grant that [their] goodness, in whom was the resolve to
live chastely and to die for you, might remain to intercede on our behalf
with your majesty.

The prayer is most noteworthy in its appeal for single-mindedness based on a singular
example of it. Chrysanthus and Daria—a man and a woman—are the one mind that
brought about acts of chastity and martyrdom, both of which entitle them to intercede
(one understands with one mind) for “us,” presumably that we too might be of one mind.

Ælfric himself is attracted to this legend as a vehicle for promoting a purity and
unity of mind and body, but his interest in the story of Chrysanthus and Daria seems more
likely to derive from a familiarity with Aldhelm’s *De uirginitate*, an important school text
in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁵ Like Aldhelm, Ælfric softens the misogyny of
the *passio*, and though he summarizes and even quotes from Chrysanthus’s biased prayer,
he never compares women with the devil. It is also possible that Aldhelm’s description of
Chrysanthus’s conversion in terms of the spiritual marriage between Christ and the church

the “coals” their bodies produced in the flames of the furnace. Pfaff notes that the book bears both Continental and English influences and raises the possibility that some of the masses for the English saints included in the book may reflect “original liturgical composition” (pp. 29-30, at p. 29). Whether this preface is an original composition by an author who did not know the *passio*, which seems unlikely given the collect discussed above, or whether the details about the saints’ martyrdom by fire points us to another version of the legend is unclear. The *post communio*, the prayer of thanksgiving recited “after communion,” asks God that the communicants’ hearts and bodies be purified (“Lord, having shared in the divine feasts, let there be a purification of our heart and flesh (sit nobis domine cordis et corporis purificatio), but this is the formulaic language of prayer, not specific to the *passio*.

⁴⁵ See chapter 2, note 27.

may have piqued Ælfric's interest in spiritual fruitfulness that we will discuss below in more detail. Ælfric's version, of course, differs greatly from Aldhelm's not only for the fact that his scope is much larger but because he is writing for a lay audience.

Both authors, however, probably relied on similar versions of the legend. Patrick Zettel identifies Ælfric's putative source as the *passio* of Chrysanthus and Daria contained in the eleventh-century Cotton-Corpus legendary.⁴⁶ According to Zettel, the Cotton-Corpus text is "on the whole very similar" to the version printed by Bonius Mombritius (BHL 1787), which differs primarily in matters of phrasing not plot from a similar text printed by the Bollandists in *Acta Sanctorum*.⁴⁷ Ælfric follows closely the plot of the *passio* as it appears in the summary at the beginning of the chapter.⁴⁸ However, he drastically reduces the debate between Chrysanthus and Daria, presumably because it is too cumbersome for a didactic entertainment in the *Lives*, and retains only the discussion in which Chrysanthus demonstrates the utter lack of goodness in Saturn, Jove, and Hercules.⁴⁹ Thus the time that elapses between Chrysanthus's successful resistance to the virgins and his conversion of Daria is greatly reduced. The effect of this narrative acceleration is to de-emphasize his intelligence and to underscore his steadfastness in the face of two challenges to his chastity that follow swiftly upon one another. As he moves from the *vita* to the *passio* portion of the legend, Ælfric makes far fewer alterations, but

⁴⁶ Zettel, "Sources," pp. 258-59; All citations are from Cambridge copy, which is transcribed below in chapter 5.

⁴⁷ Zettel, "Sources," p. 259; Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, pp. 271-78; *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. XI.469-84. See the entry for "Chrysanthus et Daria" in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* and *Novum Supplementum*. Neither Zettel nor I have surveyed Continental manuscripts.

⁴⁸ He omits outright only the circumstances surrounding Claudius's wife's burial (2.21).

⁴⁹ LS35.89-118. The debate totals over twelve hundred words in the Latin and just over two hundred in the Old English.

his earlier changes accentuate the connection between Chrysanthus and Daria's physical and spiritual purity in the first part and their evangelizing in the second.⁵⁰

Though most of his editing consists of abbreviation, he does add a lengthy postscript to the legend. And while it may seem odd to begin a close reading of Ælfric's version with its concluding lines, an analysis of this passage will clarify the attraction that this legend had for Ælfric and will provide a more specific context for the discussion of his more numerous subtle adjustments that follows. The legend concludes abruptly with the worshipers who come to venerate the saints being crushed by a boulder propelled by the emperor's soldiers (ll. 322-40). "Perhaps," as Gordon Whatley suggests in an unpublished paper, "this grimly negative ending to the *passio* prompted Ælfric's somber epilogue":

We wurþiad godes halgan, ac wite ge swa-þeah þæt þæm halgum nis nan neod ure herunge on þam life. Ac us sylfum fremað þæt þæt we secgað be him: ærest to gebysnunge þæt we þe beteran beon, and eft to þing-rædene þonne us þearf bið. Mycel ehtnys wæs þa ða hí wæron gemartyrode, ac git cymð earfoþre ehtnys on Anticristes tocyme. Forþan-þe þa martyras worhton manega wundra þurh god, and on Anticristes timan ateoriað þa wundra, and se deofol wyrceð þonne wundra þurh his scin-cræft mid leasum gedwimorum to dweligenne þa geleaffullan. Mycel angsumnys bið þam arwurðum halgum þæt se feondlica ehtere fela tacna wyrce, and hi sylfe ne moton swa þa martyras dydon, wundra æteowigende on þam wyrstan timan. Hi beoð swa-þeah ge-healdenne þurh þæs hælendes mihte gif hí heora geleafan gehealdað oð ende on þam earfoðum ehtnyssðum þæs arleasan deofles. swa swa se Halend cwæð on his halgan godspelle, se þe þone Antecriste eafelice fordeð. Þam sy wuldor and lof á to worulde. (LS35.341-61)⁵¹

⁵⁰ The *passio* reads: Erat tamen iuncta Chrisanto non calore corporeo sed spiritus sancti feruore sociata. Et tam per Chrisantum multitudo vivorum. quam per Darem femine innumerabiles ad Christi gratiam confluebant (1.14). [Nevertheless she was joined with Chrysanthus, not by the heat of the body, but united in a passion for the Holy Spirit. And because of Chrysanthus, a multitude of men, and because of Daria, innumerable women flocked together for service to Christ.]

⁵¹ To Skeat's text I have added punctuation and capitalized proper nouns. All translations are my own. Zettel suggests that Ælfric used the following lines of the Latin prologue for the first sentence (ll. 341-45): Hystoriam priorum sanctorum ad edificationem nostram deus uoluit peruenire, non ut laudibus pasceret eos quos

We honor God's saints, but know, however, that the saints have no need of our praise in this life. But what we say about them is for our own benefit, first, as an example so that we might be the better, and second, for intercession when we are in need. There was much persecution when they were martyred, yet a more painful persecution comes with Antichrist's arrival. Nevertheless the martyrs performed many miracles through God, but in the Antichrist's time miracles will cease, and the devil then will perform miracles through his sorcery, with false illusions to lead astray the believers. It will be great anguish to the honorable saints that the devilish persecutor will perform many signs, and they themselves may not do as the martyrs did, revealing miracles in the worst times. They however will be kept safe through the Savior's might if they keep their belief until the end in the painful persecutions of the wicked devil, just as the Savior said in his holy gospel, he who easily will destroy the Antichrist. To him be glory and praise forever.

Apparently the destruction of the worshipers at the saints' tomb reminds Ælfric of the helplessness of Christians in the Last Days. The prospect of a time without divine intervention and the promise of demonic persecution steers the audience away from the miracles that protected Chrysanthus and Daria toward the example (*gebysnunge*) of their steadfast faith that made them worthy to be preserved by God for eternity. Likewise, all Christians will be "the better" (*þe beteran*) in difficult times for their constancy, a train of thought which he sums up with a bit of wordplay: those who steadfastly keep (*gehealdad*) their faith until the end, he declares, will be kept (*ge-healdenne*) by God.

The importance of both this postscript and Ælfric's decision to include the legend in the *Lives* is thrown into greater relief when we realize that these lines were originally meant to conclude the entire collection as Ælfric had originally conceived and would have

immortalitatis dapibus reficit, sed ut nos exemplo eorum doceat presentis sæculi blandimenta contempnere et ad inquisitionem sempiternæ gloriæ labentem et momentaneam angustiam non timere (l.1). [God wishes that the story of previous saints be known for our edification, not that we might nourish with mortal praises those whom he refreshes with immortal feasts, but that they by their example might teach us to despise the blandishments of this present world and not to fear pain and momentary difficulty in the acquisition of celestial glory] ("Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources, p. 258, n. 164).

produced it had Æthelwerd not “obstinately” (obnix) insisted that he include the Life of St. Thomas.⁵² Arguably then his choice to include a legend of two saints who do not appear to have been liturgically central in late Anglo-Saxon England indicates that this legend held some other attraction for him.⁵³ The chaste spouses in my opinion presented Ælfric with an image of physical and spiritual purity that fully embodied for a layperson the Christian life lived *æfter riht*, “according to what is right” (LS13.135), as he remarked in his mid-lenten homily in the *Lives*. In other sermons, right living for lay believers demands that Christians live in lawful marriages with one’s spouse and one’s savior. Believers “live in lawful marriage (riht sincipe)...if they keep (healdad) the marital law according to the written institutes,” and they are expected to “keep the marriage (hylt þone sincipe) of the true Savior in spiritual custom and spiritual childbearing.”⁵⁴ Both acts of faithfulness earn believers the badge of *clænnyse*, the virtue that lies at the heart of Ælfric’s notions of an idealized holy society, no better encapsulation of which can be found than in the Lenten sermon mentioned above: “If the religious keep God’s service at

⁵² In an unpublished manuscript Gordon Whatley suggests, surely rightly, that this postscript is “the author’s formal closure to the collection” since Ælfric is pressured by his patron Æthelweard to include the Life of St. Thomas. In his Latin preface to that legend, he says he translates it “just as the venerable lord Æthelwerd obstinately asked us” (sicut æþelwerdus uenerabilis dux obnix nos præcatus est” (LS36.12).

⁵³ Lapidge argues that liturgical concerns guide Ælfric’s selection of texts: “Ælfric composed his collections or homilies and saints’ lives with a sharp awareness of how the individual items would fit into the overall pattern of the liturgical year and whether they pertained to the *temporale* or *sanctorale*” (“Ælfric’s *Sanctorale*,” p. 116). Lapidge’s efforts “to reconstruct the liturgical calendar...that represents Ælfric’s liturgical use” (p. 119) put him in the somewhat awkward position of explaining Ælfric’s inclusion of a rarely attested feast like that of Julian and Basilissa and, I would add, of Chrysanthus and Daria, with the suggestion that “Ælfric was here following a liturgical source unknown to us” (p. 123). It seems to me unnecessary to posit that he was primarily guided by a liturgical text such as a calendar in his choice of texts for the *Lives*. Rather, his selections demonstrate his independence from such texts and his creativity in providing the laity with stories of saints who, by “edifying [his readers or auditors] in the faith” (edificando ad fidem, LS.Praefatio.3), will be seen in different ways “as a strengthening for men” (mannum to getrymninge, LS.Praefatio.71).

⁵⁴ CHII.6.118-20 and Assmann3.128-30.

the established times and live purely. and if the laity live according to what is right, then we know for certain that God will provide for prosperity and peace among us and, in addition to that, give us eternal bliss with him.”⁵⁵

Ælfric repeatedly links ideas of steadfast religious faith, which is the cornerstone of national unity in the Mid-Lent homily, to notions of *clænnysse*. Since his avowed purpose in writing the *Lives* is “to renew those who are more inactive in the faith” (*magis fide torpentes recreare*), it is not altogether surprising that his final effort to rekindle in the laity a “listless faith” (*fidem...languentem*) with the *passiones* of the martyrs would end with the story of a chaste couple.⁵⁶ Chrysanthus and Daria could inspire readers or auditors to pursue more ascetic lifestyles. They live secretly together in “feigned marriage” (*gehiwodum sincipe*, l. 123) in the same way as the couples in Ælfric’s Rogation day homily who are advised to preserve their chastity “by hiding themselves in wedlock” (*on sincipe hi sylfe bedyglian*, CHII.19.168). Supporting this possibility is Ælfric’s omission of any reference to the “public disturbance” (*interpellatio publica*) and “seditious confusion” (*siditiosa confusio*) that we find in the *passio* (1.15). He silences the pandemonium which erupts in Rome when so many youths decide to reject marriage in imitation of the saints that their fiancées and husbands run pell-mell throughout the streets shouting that they have lost their brides, wives, and future sons and reports simply that “some men stirred up strife” (*sume men astyfodon sace be þysum*, l. 133) about the new

⁵⁵ Gif ða gehadodan menn healdað godes ðeowdom on gesettan timan and syferlice libbað and gif ða læwedan menn libbað æfter rihte, þonne wite we to gewissan þæt God wile fore-sceawian ure gesundfulnysse and sibbe mid us, and ðærto-ecan us syllan ða ecan myrhðe mid him (LS13.133-38).

⁵⁶ LS.Praefatio.14-17, at. ll. 15, 16-17.

converts who “renounced marriage and pleasant desires” (forlætenum synscipe and geswæsum lustum, l. 132). Moreover, in Ælfric’s calmer retelling, the saints’ chaste marriage is a catalyst for widespread conversion and *clæne* living (l. 129), not deep social division. Likewise, couples who attempted to observe church strictures on marital intercourse might have found encouragement in these celibate spouses. Ælfric’s editorial decisions indicate, however, that the image of spiritual purity these saints provided made this legend a compelling choice for his conclusion to the *Lives of Saints*.

As concluded in chapter one, steadfast belief is one mark of the spiritual purity that allows all Christians to be “virgins of the faith,” and constancy is expected from the moment one embraces the *geleafa* or “faith,” a word used so often in this text that it lends an incantatory quality to Ælfric’s didactic narrative style.⁵⁷ Constancy is also determined by a Christian’s ability to avoid turning away from the faith or, put differently, to avoid committing spiritual adultery.⁵⁸ Both these notions guide Ælfric, and he begins to reshape the legend along these lines by portraying from the outset the ideological gulf between Polemius and Chrysanthus more starkly than the Latin legend. Polemius, a most celebrated man (*vir illustrissimus*, l. 1) in the Cotton-Corpus text, is in Ælfric’s retelling simply an *hæþengilda* (l. 4), an idolater. Chrysanthus is the boy “who loved chastity” (þe ða clænnysse lufode, l. 70). Polemius does not have him instructed in all the liberal arts (omnibus liberalibus studiis) but in the “worldly wisdom” (woruld-wisdome, l. 9) found in “heathen books” (hæðenan béc, ll. 11, 15). Chrysanthus rejects the “faithless books”

⁵⁷ Ælfric uses the noun *geleafa* fourteen times (ll. 28, 120, 129, 137, 207, 209, 217, 228, 232, 242, 286, 332, 340, and 357) and the verb *gelyfan* five times (ll. 210, 223, 284, 289, and 291).

⁵⁸ CHII.39.78-92 and Assmann 3.126-27.

(ungeleaffullan béc. l. 17) and converts, thinking to himself that “I will not be wise if I turn (cyrrre) to darkness from the true light” and vowing to “hold fast (healdan fæst) to that beautiful gold-hoard.”⁵⁹ This of course fuels the attacks on his Christianity, and Ælfric repeatedly uses the metaphor of turning to illustrate the saint’s steadfastness.⁶⁰

In the Cotton-Corpus text, Polemius’s companions are ready with advice when prison fails to dissuade Chrysanthus: “if you would attempt to deliver (eripere) your son from this unlawful activity (ad usurpatione), rather than busy him with delights and pleasures...”⁶¹ Ælfric instead has them offer advice on how “to call your son away (geweman) from Christ” (ll. 40-43) He then adds to the Latin account Polemius’s charge to the five virgins “to turn (awendan)...his thoughts from Christ” (ll. 53-54). In the *passio* Polemius threatens to harm them if they fail to separate (seperaveritis, l.5) Chrysanthus from his faith. In Ælfric’s rewriting Polemius promises punishment “if they did not turn (bigdon) his mind” (ll. 54-55). When they fail, Polemius’s friends enlist Daria’s help in hope that she “might restore a son to [Polemius] and receive a husband for herself” (et tibi filium reddat et sibi maritum accipiat, l.7), but Ælfric shifts the focus from Polemius and Daria to Chrysanthus by calling attention to his steadfastness: the friends beseech Daria that “she would lead him away (gewemde) from Christ with speech and have him as her

⁵⁹ “...ic snotor ne beo gif ic cyrrre to þeostrum fram þam soðan leohte. Uton healdan fæste þone fægeran gold-hord” (LS35.19-21).

⁶⁰ Ælfric has followed the Latin fairly closely: Non est prudentiae ut ad tenebras redeamus a lumine [It is not wise that we return to the darkness from the light]. But his preference for the metaphor of turning instead of returning becomes readily apparent.

⁶¹ Si filium tuum ab hac usurpatione conaris eripere, magis eum deliciis et uoluptatibus occupa... (l.4) The juridical metaphor stems from the friend’s earlier question: Quis enim audeat ista presumere, nisi qui se aut sine rege aut sine lege romana agere credat impune? (l.4) [Who dares to take this for granted, unless he believes that he acts with impunity outside of Roman law?].

husband afterwards” (ll. 87-88).⁶²

It is Daria, however, who “turned (ge-wende) to God by forsaking the error of the worship of devils,” whereas the Latin reports simply that she believed (credit, l. 14).⁶³ Like the collect in the Missal of the New Minster, Ælfric highlights her constancy by describing the couple as *anræd*, “single-minded,” a favorite word he uses elsewhere in the *Lives* to translate the Latin *constans*.⁶⁴ He adds the word here, for the *passio* tells how the couple “adopted the pretense of marriage so that they both might persist in the fear of God and the glory of chastity.”⁶⁵ Ælfric alters this to “they were of one mind (anræde) and dwelled together in feigned marriage preserving their chastity.”⁶⁶ Characterizing Daria as being of one mind with him, he shows us that in turning from her idolatry to God she is also credited with having a mind or spirit like Chrysanthus, which Ælfric has said earlier is *clænum* (l. 92). Chrysanthus has already promised Daria that if she desired to remain a virgin and were as attractive in mind or spirit (on mode, l. 98) as in form, then she “might have the savior as [her] bridegroom” (mihtest habban þone hælend to brydguman, l. 95).⁶⁷ United in chastity of mind and body, this virgin pair evokes an image of the Church “which consists in maidens and in youths, in husbands and in wives” joined

⁶² Ælfric may be translating the following advice of Polemius’s friends who are certain that Daria “‘poterit eum ad tuum arbitrium et ad suum libitum inclinare” [‘will be able to turn him to your wishes and his own pleasure’] (l. 7). Even so, Ælfric maintains a steady focus on Chrysanthus.

⁶³ heo ge-wende to Gode forlætenum gedwylde deoflicra biggenga, (LS35.120-21).

⁶⁴ Gordon Whatley brought this to my attention. See also line 229, which is discussed below. In his *Life of Agnes* (LS7), Ælfric once translates the Latin *constanter* (PL17.17.742A) as *anrædlice* (l. 274) and twice translates *constantia* (4.737B; 7.739B) as *anrædnysse* (ll. 88 and 122). See also his *Cecilia* (LS34.156, 325-25), the *Maccabees* (LS35.41, 143, 232, and 307), *Agatha* (LS8.65), and *Edmund* (LS32.16).

⁶⁵ nomen coniugii assumpserunt ita ut ambo in dei timore et castitatis gloria perdurarent (l. 14).

⁶⁶ Hi wurdon þa anræde and wunodon ætgædere gehiwodum synscipe and gehealdenre clænnysse (LS35.123-24).

⁶⁷ Ælfric jettisons all the divine benefits that Chrysanthus offers to Daria except the marriage to Christ (l. 8).

in a “virginity of faith, which worships one true God, and will not adulterously bow to an idol.”⁶⁸

Ælfric continues to make editorial decisions that strengthen the couple’s associations with the Church. As mentioned in chapter 1, all members of the Church as virgins of the faith can be considered Christ’s brides, and, at the same time, spiritual children of the Church and mothers to other believers.⁶⁹ Teaching is integral to being born again and to giving birth, and an essential component of the Church’s role in the world: “...every Christian man spiritually is the son of the holy Church, which is the mother of us all, and, nevertheless, an undefiled virgin, for her family is not physical but spiritual. Every servant of God, when he learns, is called a child: afterwards, when he teaches another, he is a mother.”⁷⁰ Believers teach, not only by instructing their children or households in the tenets of the faith embodied in The Lord’s Prayer or the Apostles’ Creed, but by example:

And ðonne hí on heora flæsclicum lustum gemetegode beoð. and on woruldlicum gewilnungum ne beoð to grædige. and eac wið oðrum undeawum þurh godes ege hí sylfe healdað. þonne sytrað hí eac oðrum mannum ðurh heora lifes rihtwisnyse. and gestrynað gode sume oðerne mannan oððe má. (CHII.38.54-66)

And when [laymen] are temperate in their fleshly lusts and not too greedy in worldly desires, and also [when they], through awe of God, preserve themselves from other vices, then also will they direct other men by the righteousness of their lives and gain to God some other person or more.

Ælfric adds instances of teaching to his portrayal of Chrysanthus and Daria’s

⁶⁸ CHII.39.78-83

⁶⁹ See chapter 1, pp. 21-26 and the following homilies: CHI.33.19-27; CHII.3.245-55; CHII.4.25-36, and CHII.38.54-66.

⁷⁰ ...eac gehwylc cristen man gastlice þære halgan gelapung sunu; seo is ure ealra moder and þeahhwædere ungewemmed mæden; for þan ðe hire team nis na lichamlic ac gastlic; Gehwylc godes þeow þonne he leornað he bið bearn geciged. eft þonne he oþerne lærd he bið moder (CHI.33.20-24)

marriage and ministry with the result that the allegorical potential and complexity of their image in the legend increase. In the *passio*, Daria is baptized when Chrysanthus is free from his father's control. at which point,

Facta est sacratissima virgo Christi, ut intra dies paucos omnes scripturas divinas arriperet. et sancte virginitatis sue velamenta sanctitatis aptaret. Erat tamen juncta Chrisanto non calore corporeo. sed Spiritus Sancti fervore sociata. Et tam per Chrisantum multitudo virorum, quam per Darem femine innumerabiles ad Christi gratiam confluebant. Igitur cum multæ virgines, relicto amore sponsorum Christo traderent, nunc juvenes relicto voluptatum studio et carnali commertio se castimonio mancipient. Excitata est in urbe seditio, et Celerino prefecto urbis administrante interpellatio publica exhibetur. (1.14-15).

She became a most blessed virgin of Christ, so that within a few days she both seized eagerly all the divine scriptures and was fitted with the holy coverings of her virginity. Nevertheless, she was joined with Chrysanthus, not by the heat of the body, but united in the fervor for the Holy Spirit. And as large a multitude of men through Chrysanthus as innumerable women through Daria flocked together for service to Christ. Then, while many virgins having abandoned a longing for engagements devoted themselves to, so too young men, having relinquished enthusiasm for sensual pleasure and carnal commerce, gave themselves over to chastity. Dissension was stirred up in the city, and Celerinus, the prefect of the city, was shown the public disturbance.

After she is baptized in Ælfric's account, Daria does not take the veil, an expendable detail since he is preaching to the laity, and he rewrites the passage above:

[Daria] godes béc leornode æt þam gelæredum cnihte, and hire mod gestrangode on mægðhade wunigende. Wurdon þa on fyrste fela men gebigde þurh heora drohtnunge fram deolfles biggengum to Cristes geleafan and to clænum life. Cnihtas gecyrdon þurh Crisantes lare and mædenu þurh Darian, manega to drihtne, forlætenum synscape and geswæsum lustum oppæt sume men astyrodon sace be þysum...(ll. 127-33)

[Daria] learned God's books from the learned youth, and strengthened her mind, continuing in virginity. Then in time many men were turned (gebidge) from the devil's worship to Christ's faith and to a pure life. Young men through Chrysanthus's instruction and young girls through Daria's, many turned to the Lord, renouncing marriage and pleasant

desires, until some men stirred up strife about these things...

It is surprising that he replaces the Latin's neatly turned, alliterative sentence characterizing the couple's rejection of corporeal pleasure for union in the Holy Spirit with the image of Chrysanthus teaching Daria. But if he wants this virgin pair to represent the Church, then the Latin locution is less desirable because it suggests a different symmetry for the spiritual marriage. According to the formulation of the *passio*, Chrysanthus could represent Christ, with Daria as his bride, the Church. Instead Ælfric has Chrysanthus, who "learned his faith" (leornode his geleafan, l. 28) from Pope Urban, convert and teach Daria, who then, with him, uses the example of her life (drohtnung, l. 128) and her instruction (lar, l. 130) to turn (gecyrran) others to Christianity. Both teaching and taught, these fruitful celibates can, in terms of the homily cited above, represent "the holy Church, which is the mother of us all, and, nevertheless, an undefiled virgin, for her family is not physical but spiritual." Ælfric reinforces this familial connection by adding verbal echoes which link Daria's conversion, the couple's chaste marriage, and the conversion of the multitudes. She "turned to God by forsaking the worship of devils" (ll.120-21); both preserved their *clænnysse* (l. 123); and because of their "manner of life" (drohtnung), the multitudes "turned from the devil's worship to faith in Christ and to a *clænum* life" (ll. 127-29).⁷¹ By adding this last phrase, *to clænum life*, Ælfric widens the Latin text's focus on those who "renounced marriage" just enough that these converts can function as one of the narrative's ideal audiences.

⁷¹ heo ge-wende to gode forlætenum gedwylde deoflicra biggenga (LS35.120-21); Wirdon þa on fyrste fela men gebigde þurh heora drohtnunga fram deofles biggengum to cristes geleafan and tó clænum life (ll. 127-29).

The Romans “read” Chrysanthus’s and Daria’s lives as an inspiration “to a pure life” in the very way Ælfric wanted many in his audience to understand the story as he tells it, continually linking to it the idea of religious faith in the homilies.

The alterations to the first part of the legend provide a context for the action of the second part to be understood metaphorically. Each commonplace refusal to sacrifice to the gods represents the fidelity of the Church to her bridegroom; each case of divine intervention Christ’s faithfulness to his earthly spouses; and each conversion more spiritual childbearing. Still Ælfric continues to make subtle verbal alterations that reinforce these possibilities. In the *passio* for example. Claudius, the prefect responsible for trying to force Chrysanthus to sacrifice to the gods, tells him that “[i]f you would kindly make the sacrifices owed to the all powerful gods, then I would return you to your family from the contemptible superstition of Christian foolhardiness....”⁷² Ælfric, by contrast, has Claudius attempt “to turn” (awende, l. 180) Chrysanthus from his faith, which, when he fails, underscores the saint’s constancy. After witnessing the saint’s imperviousness to his tortures. Claudius wishes to convert. Chrysanthus then “instructed (lærde) them [Claudius, his wife, sons, and soldiers] until they believed in God,” at which point they submitted (gebugon) to baptism (ll. 210, 213). All then “eagerly learned (leornodon) their faith from Chrysanthus” (l. 216), so that when the soldiers were summoned before the emperor and given one final chance to renounce their faith, “they all hurried single-mindedly (anrædlice) to death” (l. 229). The *passio* contains both references to

⁷² ...contempta superstitione christiane temeritatis...reddam te generi tuo, et diis omnipotentibus debita sacrificia clementer exhibeas (l.17)

Chrysanthus's teaching, but Ælfric employs the key words underlined here to alert us to the pattern of steadfastness, conversion, teaching, and single-mindedness that earlier has characterized the celibate saints.⁷³ Though Ælfric omits none of the conversions that we find in the *passio*, his decision to retain those of the soldiers (*cempan*) and their lord (*ealdre*), his kinsmen (*maga*), and family, helps us to see how the image of the growing Church reflected in the chaste couple and their progeny makes this story relevant to the circle of devout lay lords that formed the primary audience of the *Lives of Saints*.

The theme of conversion merges with the importance of purity when Daria is cast into the brothel where the lion comes to protect her. We have already seen God intervene to protect Chrysanthus's chastity, but this episode contrasts the *clænnysse* of the "believing virgin" (*geleaffulle mæden*, l. 256) and the *galnysse* (lust) of the "unbelieving youth" (*ungeleaffullan cniht*, l. 266). In the *passio* Daria says to her captive audience: "Behold, the fierce lion hearing the name of Christ, gives reverence to God, and you, a rational man, are busy in so many crimes that you, wretched one, glory in that which you ought to deplore" (l.24).⁷⁴ In Ælfric's version, she says "Behold this cruel lioness now glorifies God, and you, a rational man, condemn yourself, and you rejoice, wretched one, in your foul lust (*galnysse*) through which you shall weep and suffer torment" (ll. 270-73).⁷⁵ In addition to contrasting purity and lust, one of his favorite oppositions, Ælfric

⁷³ Chrysanthus teaches (*docente*) Claudius's household and when all are baptized they "heard the teaching of truth" (*eruditionem ueritatis...audiebant*) from him (l.19). These are also words that we find clustered in his treatments of lay virginity, both literal and figurative, in the homilies.

⁷⁴ *Ecce ferocitas leonis audito Christi nomine dat reuerentiam deo, et tu homo rationabilis in tantis criminibus exeres, ut etiam in hoc, quo miser lugendus es glorieris* (l.24).

⁷⁵ *Efne þeos reþe leo arwurðað nu God, and þu, gesceadwisa man þe sylfne for-dest, and þu fægnast, earmincg, on þinre fulan galnysse, þurh þa ðu scealt weopan and wite þrowian.*

adds an allusion to hell to remind his audience of the ultimate stakes of preserving one's purity.⁷⁶ Eternal condemnation can be avoided if one has belief, a point he drives home by repeating the words *geleafa* and *gelyfan* in the following scene where Daria converts the "heathens" who come to capture the lion (ll. 283-92).

After miraculously surviving a spate of tortures and converting their enemies in the process, Chrysanthus and Daria are said to have "departed in *clænnysse* from the world to glory to dwell with Christ,"⁷⁷ and we witness those who preserved their purity (gehealdenre clænnysse, l. 123) being eternally preserved by God. As the postscript makes clear, it is not the saints' miracles that his audience will need or should expect, but their unshakable faith (*geleafa*). This is the virtue that Ælfric believed would provide them in the short term the peace and prosperity that was being threatened by the Vikings and that would give them in the long term the only true assurance that could survive.⁷⁸

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This study has shown that the legends of chaste marriages in the *Lives of Saints* are more relevant to their lay audience than they appear at first glance. Seen within the context of Ælfric's homiletic teaching on virginity, these stories become vehicles for reinforcing the merits of marital chastity of varying degrees. The idealized hagiographical spouses can represent the couples Ælfric idealizes in his sermons: those who undertake to live together

⁷⁶ For homilies in which Ælfric contrasts *clænnysse* with *galnysse*, see, for example, CHI.9.157-60, CHI.25.161-63, CHII.4.25-36, CHII.6.210-15, CHII.15.303-06, and CHII.19.166-75.

⁷⁷ hi mid clænnysse ferdon of worulde to wuldre to wunigenne mid Criste (LS35.328-29).

⁷⁸ Whatley finds in Ælfric's work "an undercurrent of anxiety and sense of urgency generated in part by the Viking invasions, which were gathering momentum in the 990s, and also by the approaching of the millennium with its threat of heresies and religious apostasy" ("Late Old English Hagiography," p. 443). For an historical account of the invasions, see John, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 192-201; and Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 372-79.

without consummating their marriage, who practice celibacy periodically in obedience to church law, or who adopt chastity permanently during old age. Ælfric's demand that all Christian spouses pursue this last course of celibacy is a reminder that he does not slavishly follow his acknowledged patristic sources and that his is a political, social, and ecclesiastical agenda rooted firmly in the reform movement's ideology of virginity. Understood in this light, the legends of the celibate spouses become political statements of sorts, driving a wedge between the married clergy and their congregations as well as enlisting the laity's support for the monastic priesthood championed by Ælfric.

More explicit is the usefulness these lives had for Ælfric as a means of illustrating that, figuratively, all Christians are virgins married to a heavenly spouse. Each of the stories to some degree is an allegory of religious orthodoxy and effective evangelism, but the Life of Julian and Basilissa underscores the necessity of steadfast belief, the Life of Cecilia and Valerian the love and knowledge needed for spiritual childbearing, and the Life of Chrysanthus and Daria the hope of the eternal reward for spiritual fidelity. Taken together, these stories leave the impression that Ælfric was concerned about the English church and its laity. They, when coupled with his pastoral advice on the topic, bring more sharply into focus the image of Ælfric as a spiritual parent. Whether his spiritual offspring heeded his advice cannot be known, but he undoubtedly wished they had. Should his children keep their faith, God would forever keep them, those virgins of the faith who "never [wished] to forsake God's belief...but [kept] the marriage of the true Savior in spiritual virtues and in spiritual childbearing, dwelling in *clænnysse* as Christ's bride."⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Assmann 3.126-30.

Chapter 5

Transcriptions of the Lives of Julian and Basilissa, Cecilia and Valerian,
and Chrysanthus and Daria in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary

The three texts transcribed below belong to a collection of hagiographical texts known as the Cotton-Corpus legendary. Patrick Zettel, whose dissertation demonstrated to Ælfric scholars the importance of the collection, coined the name from the manuscripts that preserve the earliest (third quarter of the eleventh century) English copy of the original legendary.¹ “Cotton” derives from two British Library manuscripts: Cotton MSS Nero E. i. Parts 1 and 2. “Corpus” refers to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 9. One partial English copy and several derivatives also survive.²

It is not known exactly when or where the collection was originally composed. Evidence based on the contents, however, shows that it must have been compiled no later than the late ninth century on the Continent, probably in the north of France.³ When the Cotton and Corpus manuscripts mentioned above are considered together, the collection is of considerable size, containing 165 items.⁴ Of the nearly sixty hagiographical pieces that

¹ Zettel, “Sources,” p. ii; see also his “Saints’ Lives.”

² Zettel, “Sources,” pp. 9-13 and 35-39. The four copies are: (i) Salisbury Cathedral Library MSS 221 and 222 (formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Fell 4 and Fell 1), which were written towards the end of the eleventh century. MS 221 preserves legends of January through June, and MS 222 from July through October; (ii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 354, which was written in the second half of the twelfth century and preserves mainly legends of November and December.; (iii) Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 224 (formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fell 2), which dates to twelfth century but is one of two “variant forms of the legendary;” and (iv) Hereford Cathedral Library, MS P 7 vi, which was composed around 1150 and preserves only saints from November and December.

³ Zettel, “Sources,” p. 9; Whatley, “Late Old English Hagiography,” p. 475; Jackson and Lapidge, “Contents,” p. 134; CHIII, p. xlii.

⁴ Jackson and Lapidge describe the manuscripts and list their contents (“Contents”). For another description, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 182-85.

Ælfric wrote⁵, twenty-seven rely on texts that are found in the Cotton and Corpus manuscripts of the legendary.⁶ Much of the value of Zettel's work lies in the fact that some of the Cotton-Corpus legends correspond much more closely to Ælfric's versions than printed editions indicate, but there are also instances in which Ælfric prefers another source for a text included in the legendary.⁷ Zettel never claims that the collection is Ælfric's source, so neither it nor the lives edited here should be treated as such.⁸ In the absence of critical editions of the legends of Julian and Basilissa, Cecilia and Valerian, and Chrysanthus and Daria that take into account both English and Continental textual traditions, these should be regarded as a guide to the kinds of texts that are similar to those Ælfric knew.⁹

I chose to transcribe the legends from the Cotton and Corpus manuscripts because these manuscripts preserve the earliest copy of the legendary and because it is the only copy that contains all three texts. Each is preceded by a short paragraph listing the printed

⁵ For a complete list, see Whatley, "Late Old English Hagiography," pp. 461-72.

⁶ These items are listed in calendar order and by collection. In the *Catholic Homilies* are: (i) Fursey (CHII.20); (ii) Gregory (CHII.9); (iii) Nativity of John the Baptist (CHI.25); (iv-v) James the Greater and the Seven Sleepers (CHII.27); (vi) Stephen (CHII.2); (vii) Lawrence (CHI.29); (viii) Bartholomew (CHI.31); (ix) Martin (CHII.34 and LS31); and (x) Clement (CHI.37). In the *Lives of Saints* are: (i) Julian and Basilissa (LS4); (ii) Sebastian (LS5); (iii) Agnes (LS7); (iv) Vincent (LS37); (v) Agatha (LS8); (vi) Forty Soldiers (LS11); (vii) George (LS14); (viii) Mark (LS15); (ix) Petronilla and Felicula (in Peter's Chair, LS 10); (x) Gallican, John and Paul (in Agnes, LS 7); (xi) Apollinaris (LS22); (xii) Abdon and Sennen (LS24); (xiii) Exaltation of the Cross (LS27); (xiv) Denis (LS29); (xv) Cecilia (LS35); (xvi) Longinus (in Exaltation of the Cross, LS 27); (xvii) Chrysanthus and Daria (LS35). This lists relies on a comparison of the texts and sources found in Lapidge and Jackson, "Contents," pp. 135-44 and in Whatley's article cited in the note above. Zettel counts a total of forty-nine items from all the manuscripts of the legendary ("Sources," p. 156). Godden says twenty-four Cotton-Corpus legendary texts are used as sources for the Homilies (CHIII, p. xliii).

⁷ Whatley, "Late Old English Hagiography," pp. 476-79.

⁸ For one example of a scholar who is quick to claim that Ælfric used the legendary as his source and for several who urge caution, see chapter 2, note 30.

⁹ I am in the process of preparing editions of the Lives of Julian and Basilissa and Chrysanthus and Daria that take into account all English manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus legendary as well as important witnesses in Continental collections.

versions that Zettel concludes are most similar to them as well as other copies of the Cotton-Corpus legendary in which the legend is found.¹⁰ To assist the reader in comparing the Cotton-Corpus texts to published versions, I have followed chapter and/or paragraph divisions of an accessible printed edition. Each paragraph begins with those numbers in parentheses. The parentheses are followed by footnote number; each footnote contains the line numbers of Ælfric's text which correspond to each paragraph. Within the body of each paragraph are italicized those words, phrases, or sentences which Ælfric has paraphrased or translated verbatim. This feature is in no way meant to diminish or replace the sourcing of these texts from printed editions that Rohini Jayatilaka posted on the *Fontes Anglo Saxonici* database (<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk>). Rather, it is intended as a complement to her invaluable contribution.

All spellings have been retained except that i/j and u/v have been normalized. Abbreviations, including ampersands, have been silently expanded, and modern punctuation and capitalization is supplied. However, errors, grammatical or those from eye skip, have not been corrected. Angular brackets—〈〉—indicate an addition or correction to the manuscript. Foliation appears between square brackets, and hyphens are provided for words broken across folia.

¹⁰ For other important English manuscripts of each legend, see the entries for each of these saints in Whatley, "Acta Sanctorum."

The *Passio* of Saints Julian and Basilissa

This *passio* is found in British Library. Cotton MS Nero E. i., part 1, ff. 77v-85v. According to Zettel, the Cotton-Corpus text resembles most closely the text printed in *Acta Sanctorum* (BHL 4529)¹, and I have followed its chapter and paragraph numbers below. The only other Cotton-Corpus copy is found in Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 221 (formerly Bodleian Library Fell 4) on ff. 34r-47r.

[f. 77v] Incipit passio sanctorum martyrum Juliani et Basilisse .v. Idus Ianuarius

(1.2)² *Beatus Julianus nobili familia* inlustri in seculo erat; quem parentes unicum pignus viscerum suorum dulcem susceperant sobolem. Omni doctrina et omni scientia *eum imbuerunt*. Non dialecticam, non rethoricorum fugiebat ingenium omnium auctorum mundi sapientia *eum* imbuerant. quasi bonus athleta Christi sic utebatur mundo quasi non uteretur. Legerat enim magistrum omnium Christianorum apostulum Paulum dicentem: "Preteriit enim figura huius mundi" [1 Corinthians 7:31]. Et ne cum ipso mundo inmundus periret, sic se Deum carum exhibebat, ut sapientiam mundi stultitiam reputaret. Optabat enim semper pretereundo sine sollicitudine esse cum Christo. Erat enim amator fidei, et ecclesie sancte adherens sanctorum ergastulis, nullum intermittebat diem quo sanctos Dei non videndo properaret. Quasi bonus negotiator thesaurum reponebat in corde, omnium electorum imitans actus, studens in singulorum virtute, gratia sanctitatis florebat.

¹ Zettel, "Sources," pp. 201-08. at p. 202. The text in *Acta Sanctorum* is found in Jan. 1.575-87. For divergences between Ælfric's translation, the Cotton-Corpus text, and the *Acta Sanctorum* version, see "Sources," pp. 304-05. Lapidge and Jackson indicate that the Cotton text is a hybrid of BHL 4529 and 4532 ("Contents," p. 135), and Whatley points to BHL 4531 and 4532 ("Late Old English Hagiography," p. 475). See the related discussion in chapter 2. Other printed editions that should be consulted include Salmon, *Lectionnaire*, pp. 27-56 and Fábrega Grau, *Pasionario*, pp. 118-44.

² LS4.1-4.

(1.3)³ Hunc parentes cum viderent tanta animi intentione Christianis adherere, convocantes eum ad se dixerunt: "Audi genitorum tuorum salubre consilium, quo innumerabili lege a magistro omnium Christianorum docemur qui dicit: 'Volo juvenes nubere, filios procreare, patres familias esse, nullam dantes occasionem maligno.'⁴ Pro qua re non solum ut nobis consentias hortamur, sed tantum ut legis divine obediens esse videaris." Julianus respondit: "Non voluntatis, nec aetatis tempus est, ut faciam quae hortamini." Parentes dixerunt: "*Annorum es decem et octo, quomodo excusare te poteris ne conjugio sociæris? Nolumus ut de tempore causeris. Volumus enim te unius mulieris esse virum, et consessa procreatione letari possis cum patre fueris.*" Agebant enim parentes, quomodo aut qualiter eorum semen resuscitaretur. Cumque parentum et amicorum molestias non sufferret, ait: "Nec promittendi mihi facultas est, nec denegandi potestas. *Hoc quod hortamini potestati Dei mei committo.* Pro qua re septem diebus inducias peto, et quod ipse dignatus fuerit aspirare, hoc a me responsum accipietis." Hoc audientes parentes erant nimio tedio afflicti, et cogitationibus tabescebant, quousque dies statutus veniret, quo responsum filii reciperent.

(1.4)⁵ Puer vero spatium dierum exigit et die noctuque in orationibus pervigilans, postulabat a Domino ne virginitatem promissam qualibet occasione violaret. *Octava enim die noctu corpus maceratum jejuniis soporans apparuit illi Dominus, consolatur fidelem servum, probatam sibi mentem corroborat; et juxta præcepta ut faciat jubet, et ita eum*

³ LS4.5-8.

⁴ Compare 1 Timothy 5: 11-14, and see chapter 2, note 44.

⁵ LS4.9-21.

adloquitur: “Surge, ne timeas suasiones verborum, nec voluntatem parentum perhorrescas. *Accipies enim virginem. que non polluendo te a me separet, sed per te virgo perseveret, et te et ipsam in cęlis virgines recipiam. Multorum enim mihi per vos castitas dedicabitur. Adero tibi, ut omnes voluptates carnis et hostis libidinis conterantur; et ipsam quę tibi fuerit juncta, convertam [f. 78r] in meum amorem, tuamque sequipedam faciam. Ibi que me in cubiculum preparatum videbitis.*” Et Dominus tetigit eum et dixit: “Viriliter age et confortetur cor tuum.” His virtutibus corroboratus, Julianus exurgens gratias deo referebat.

(1.5)⁶ Et completa oratione egreditur letus de cubiculo, et ait parentibus: “*Ecce sicut desiderastis, quia ex divino precepto conjugium mihi non esse peccatum sed gratie, faciam q̄(uæ)⁷ hortamini.*” Inquiritur quę illi similis esset, et preparante misericordia Domini *invenitur puella*, et facultate locuples et *nobilis genere Basilissa*, que unica parentibus esse dinoscitur. Ordinantur nuptię. Julianus vero ita diem nuptiarum expectabat, quasi bonus athleta devicta libidine regi cęlorum placere studebat. Venit dies statutus, sonant plateę organorum fremitus, diverse voces musicorum resultant, multitudo virginum aureis ornamentis crispantes crines, ad quarum suavissimas voces, si homo ferreus esset, resolveretur delectamento luxurie. Julianus autem occulta cordis nulli manifestabat nisi Domino, a quo spem promisse victorę tenebat.

⁶ LS4.22-26.

⁷ (e) superscripted over the ‘q.’

(2.6)⁸ Suscepit sponsam letus, et in corde suo psallebat *Domino dicens*: “*Ure renes meos et cor meum, ne in me antiquissimus serpens libidinis suscitatur bellum.*” Adpropiat hora, qua thorum conjugii prepararetur. Traditaque sibi virgine certus de Deo cubiculum ingreditur, in quo oratione facta, *talis odor lilyorum et rosarum apparuit, ut videretur virgini locus in quo solent lilia et rosæ vernantes tempore suo suavitate propinare.* Facto silentio noctis. *Dixit virgo ad juvenem*: “*Miram rem sentio, quod et tu sentis, ne mihi neges.*” Cui Julianus respondit: “*Que sentis fideliter enarra.*” Dixit virgo: “*Dum tempus sit hiemis, et omnem rosarum et lilyorum naturam terra nondum parturiam, ita in hoc cubiculo odor mihi omnium famulatur, ut his suavissimis odoribus satiata, horream et nunc penitus desiderem redemptoris conjunctionem.*” Cui Julianus respondit: “*Odor suavissimus, qui tibi apparuit, nec initium habet nec finem.* Qui temporibus dat tempora, qui singulis temporibus dat gratiam, *ipse est Dominus Christus, qui est amator castitatis, qui integritatem corporis custodientibus vitam reddit aeternam. Si huius monita tecum velis suscipere, ut eum amemus et virginitatem concessam invicem custodiamus, efficiemur in hoc seculo vasa ejus munda in quo habitat, et cum ipso regnabimus in futuro, nec ab invicem separabimur.*” Basilissa respondit: “*Quid melius nisi virginitatem custodiendo vitam æternam adipisci? Quod credendo ita esse ut p(†)otestaris, opto tibi consentiens esse, ut possideam æternum sponsum Dominum Ihesum Christum.*” Hęc ea dicente, *procidit in orationem Julianus et clamabat*: “*Confirma hoc Deus quod operaris in nobis.*” *Hęc videns virgo similiter fecit.*

⁸ LS4.27-52.

(2.7)⁹ *Et subito fundamenta cubiculi commota sunt, et lux emicuit, ita ut luminaria, quę preerant illius luminis magnitudine velarentur. Fit in cubiculo spectaculum magnum spiritale. Ex una parte sedebat rex ęternus, Dominus Christus, cum multitudine candidatorum, et ex alia parte innumerabilis multitudo virginum, quarum principatum virgo gloriosa Maria tenebat. A parte regis clamabatur: "Vicisti, Juliane, vicisti." A parte reginę clamabant: "Beata es Basilissa, quę sic consensisti salutaribus monitis, et fallacis blandimenta mundi respuens ad eternam gloriam preparasti." Iterum a parte Regis clamabant: "Milites mei, qui vicerunt antiqui serpentis libidinem, de pavimento leventur, et intento corde in thoro quod eis preparatum est, librum vite aeternę superpositum legant." Ea voce ex utraque parte sedentes responderunt, "Amen." Et venerunt duo in albis induti, habentes circa corpora zonas, et singulas coronas [f 78v] in manibus, elevaverunt eos, dicentes: "Surgite, quia vicistis, et in numero anglorum computati estis. Aspiciate quod videtis in thoro vestro. Legite et cognoscite, quia fidelis est Dominus in verbis suis et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis." Et tenentes eis manus adplicuerunt eos. Et superpositus erat liber septies splendidior argento, litteris aureis scriptus, et in circuitu thori.iiii.seniores, habentes in manibus suis fialas aureas plenas aromatibus, diversis odorem reddentes. Et respondens unus ex his dixit: "Ecce in his quattuor fialis continetur perfectio vestra. Ex his enim in conspectu Dei suavitatis odor ascendit. Pro qua re beati estis, qui seculi blandimenta respuistis, properantes ad illud, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit.[I Corinthians 2:9] Accede nunc Juliane et lege, quod una Trinitas jubet." Et cepit legere, "Qui pro amore mundum contempsit, deputetur*

⁹ LS4.53-72.

in eorum numerum, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati. Basilissa vero deputatur in numerum virginum, quibus virgo mater Domini principatum tenet.” Iterum dixit ad eos: “In hoc libro scripti sunt veraces et sobrii. misericordes. humiles et mansueti. caritatem habentes non fictam. adversa tolerantes. in tribulatione patientes. qui amoris Domini nihil pretulerunt. non patrem. non matrem. non uxorem. non filios. non divitias. non cetera que in hoc seculo impedimenta sunt.¹⁰ Qui nec ipsas animas suas dubitaverunt tradere in mortem pro anime ejus. in quo numero et vos esse meruistis.”

(2.8)¹¹ Et statim visio ab oculis eorum ablata est. Tunc exultantes in Domino beate virginis reliquum spatium noctis per vigiles in hymnis et canticis peragunt. Quid multa? *Ceperunt spiritu esse conjuncti non carne fructificantes*, et ita mysterium divine gratie in se conlatum occultabant, a Domino Christo et sanctis angelis sciretur, quod agebant.

(2.9)¹² Ita Dominus procuravit ut *in paucum tempus, utrorumque genitores de hac vita migrarent. Relinquens idoneos superstites*, per quos celorum regna non fraudarentur. *Fuerant enim parentes et ipsi Christiani*. Tunc beate virgines spatium temporis letę suscipiunt licentię suę possessuri victorię palmam, quo possent patrimonium terrenum migrare in superna celorum.

¹⁰ See Luke 14:26 and Matthew 10:37.

¹¹ LS4.73-77.

¹² LS4.78-80.

(2.10)¹³ *Fit consensus. quo non solum de sua salute solliciti. sed multorum animarum curam suscipiant. Dividuntur domicilia. et undique vox illa suavis Domini per os eorum omnes invitabat dicens: "Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam"* [Matthew 11:28]. Instituunt sancta monasteria, in quę missis animabus seculi penis et tribulorum suffocatione rapiebant. Relinquebant uxores, filii parentes, sponsi sponsas. Divitias contemnentes viam angustam arripiebant, nec quisquam eorum manu in aratro posita respiciebat retro. *Erat autem Julianus circiter decem milia monachorum pater.* Et sicut scriptum est: "Generatio vadit et generatio venit" [Ecclesiastes 1.4]. Quanti migrabant *(ad)* cęlum, tanti convertebantur ad Dominum. *Similiter et beata Basilissa.* agmina virginum et mulierum, de squaloribus liberabat castissimas animas premittebat ad cęlum. Erantque cum sancto Juliano virorum sanctorum commercia. Et per sanctam Basilissam fulgebat in virginibus in mulieribus victorie palma, et qualiter de hoc seculo ad celestia regna migraverunt sequens declarat lectio.

(3.11)¹⁴ *Temporibus Diocliciani et Maximiani furor persecutionis invasit Syriam et Egypti vincinia.* Qua opinione conperta sancti virgines in invicem se adloquuntur, et talem *precem fundunt* in conspectu Domini: "Domine Deus, qui es occultorum cognitor et mentium testis, scrutator cordis et renum, deprecamur ut letum super nos inluminis vultum, et pium et exaudibilem prestes auditum. Non dormis neque dormitas, qui custodis nostre castitatis imaginem, in quo tu ipse Christe letari. Ne patiaris [r. 79r] gregis tui

¹³ LS4.81-87.

¹⁴ LS4.88-90.

integritatem vitari. nec habeat potestatem insatiabilis, gregi sancto semper infestus, in nullo habeat licentiam ad dissipandum morum vigores. et signum fidei quod in servos et ancillas tuas sequipedas contulisti. Cura sit tibi Christe de nobis et de illis, quia plus valet dextera tua ad erigendum. quam fortitudo persecutoris ad deiciendum. Considera et scrutare singulorum corda. et secundum prescientiæ tuę donum. omnes perduc ad illam regionem vivorum, ubi nulla est sollicitudo moriendi, sed regnat beatitudo vivendi. Et in die illa, qua venturus es magnus et manifestus, presta Domine ut omnes famulos et famulas tuas, quos per nos tibi militare fecisti, integros utrosque in conspectu tuo constitue, ut recte exultantes dicamus. "Ecce nos, et pueri quos dedisti nobis, nemo perit ex eis."

(3.12)¹⁵ Et cum finem orationis coplessent. redierunt ad propria domicilia. Ea die quies advenit. et beata Basilissam ita per visum adloquitur Dominus: "*Basilissa*, nominis tui digna. *quæ orasti, hoc implere me delectat*; ut omnia vasa, quas commendavi tibi cum ad huc es in hac vita, tu ea permittas ad cęlum. Habebis dimidium temporis spatium, quo possis ex omni loco, triticum colligere, et recondita messe laboris tui tu ipsa me sequaris, claves acceptura horrei pleni pinguedinem animarum. ex quo cotidie odor suavitatis ascendit ad cęlum in conspectu sanctorum angelorum. Julianus vero ut bonus athleta pugnabit et vincet. Nec aliquando vinci poterit, in quo castitas regnat. Erit enim mihi multitudo adinquirendarum animarum. Multa enim eum oportet pati pro nomine meo, multasque virtutes et signa ostendam in conspectu inimicorum ejus. Priusquam invocet me, dicam:

¹⁵ LS4.91-95.

‘Ecce adsum.’”

(3.13) Hęc audiens Basilissa evigilans letabatur in Domino. et convocans multitudinem virginum dixit ad eos: “Vos omnes. gaudium et corona capitis mei, sancte virgines, Domino nostro vitam reddamus. et sacrificium laudis in corde contrito, hostiam jubilationis immolemus, qui dignatus est revelare misterii. Viam et tempus acceptum terminavit, qui castas animas illi consignemus, dilatione concessa, ut unaquęque considerans cellaria cordis sui, id est habundantiam bonorum operum eructuantia ex hoc in illud. Hoc est, si de hoc seculo peregrinantes, recte de hac vita migremus ad ęternam, ut nullum in nobis habeant vel cognoscant ille potestates peccatum, quę animas pergentes ad celum retinent et scrutantes et nihil inventientes suum revereantur. Et timeant, videntes nobiscum sanctum adiutorium pergentem, spiritum castitatis congaudentem. Considerate et scrutamini archana pectoris vestri, ut dum tempus habemus, liceat animam ab omni vitio culparum defecatam, splendidi liquoris actum conprobatam retribuere creatori. Hanc enim optinuimus a Domino petitionem, ut *omnes vos ante persecutionem inimici immaculatas premittam ad regna cęlorum*, ubi est sponsus castitatis Dominus Jesus Christus. Pro qua re hortor vos, sanctę sorores, ne quid malitię fermentum cordis remaneat, sed omnes donate vobis invicem. si qua habet adversus aliam aliquid, ut perfectam coronam animę et corporis vestri recipiatis, meque matrem integro numero salutis vestrę victricem reddatis: hoc scientes, quia nihil valet virginitas carnis, ubi habitat iracundia cordis.”

(3.14) Hæc prosequente Basilissa, locus in quo erant, commotus est, et columna lucis in conspectu eorum apparuit, super se titulum aureum habens scriptum, et vox de columna processit, cum splendore et odore suavitatis. Et signum crucis emicuit dicens: “Basilissa, nominis auctrix, quod scriptum vides, lege.” Tituli autem scripturę hæc erat: “Hęc dicit primus et novissimus, ‘Omnes iste virgines, quibus tu ducatum prebes, vasa munda et accepta sunt oculis meis, nec quicquam in eis reprobum [f. 79v] inveni, quas tu olim cum igne juste probationis, velut aurum purissimum, exhibuisti. Venite ad premia vobis parata.’” Et his lectis, visio ab oculis eorum ablata est. Tunc omnes gratias referebant Domino, qui testimonio suę maiestatis animas sanctas declarasset. Beata Basilissa exultans in Domino, dixit: “Gratias tibi Domine Ihesu Christe, qui pugnas carnales vicisti.” Et adiecit dicens: “Insulto tibi diabole, quia perfecta querentes, nullis artibus, nullis machinis, valuisti retinere. Tu solus tua poena letare. Vides enim predam de tuis dentibus ereptam, ad cęlorum regna ascendere, unde tu cecidisti. Gaudete me cum quia regnant in nobis regna virtutum. Contemptus mundi regna cęlorum accepit. Renuntiatio parentum, consortium sumpsit angelorum. Parva temporis tribulatio aeternam meruit letitiam. Et humilitas, sicut cedrus Libani et sicut cypressus in montibus Hermon. Devicta libidine castitas fecunditas sola est, de inimicis nostris audacia que parentum animas retinent. Omnes ille potestates erubescant, quia nihil suum cognoscent in nobis.”

(3.15)¹⁶ Haec cum gaudio dicens, cepit vineam Domini rore justitię maturatam recondere.

Ita divina providentia adimplevit, ut intra tempus promissum omnes migrarent ad

¹⁶ LS4.96-103.

Dominum. Beata vero Basilissa secunda de reposito thesauro. hora sexta in oratione constituta separata est. Et vidit multitudinem virginum circiter mille. niveis cycladibus indute, regalibus zonis cincte, crucem Domini in manibus gestantes. ad Basilissam dixerunt: “Hoc responsum accepimus. Ecce, expectamus te, ut tu nos offeras Christo.” Evigilans Basilissa partus sui gloria letabatur. Haec referens sancto Juliano, simul gaudebant in Domino. Ita completum est, ut constitutis illis in oratione *beata Basilissa migraret ad Dominum.* *Quam tradidit sanctus Julianus sepulturae dignissime, die noctuque memor ejus excubias spirituales adimplendo.*

(3.16) Sanctus vero Julianus florebat in Domino, gratia Domini concessa, ut nullus esset inferior, qui non alterum prederet in virtutibus. Nullius iracundiam ibi sol invenit aut reliquit, ut ad solet aliquis cuiquam in verbo superbus non accipiebat cibum, sed humilitati et fletui insistentes, quoadusque caritatem renecterent. Letabatur in hoc studio filiorum. Tunc se unusquisque dicebat incipere quando finiebat.

(4.17)¹⁷ *Hęc agebantur in civitate Antiochia, que est metropolis Ægypti. Adveniente autem Marciano Præsides*¹⁸ *in eandem civitatem, ita in furorem sacrilegus exarsit, ut non villa, non vicus remaneret ubi non idolum poneret. ut si quis emere vel vendere vellet, primum idolis immolaret. Cum urgeretur jussio Præsidis, ut unusquisque imaginem Jovis*

¹⁷ LS4.104-117.

¹⁸ The scribe uses multiple spellings for *præsides*, using both *preses* and *præsides*, where the *ę* represents the digraph *æ* (*præsides*). I record the word *preses* when it appears in the manuscript and *præsides* when the scribe uses *ę* or abbreviates it as *p̄ses* (by placing a bar over the ‘p’).

erigeret. *Cumque de fide sancti Juliani audisset. et multos secum de hac religione haberet socios*, qui pararent se ad mortem magis quam idolis immolare. Tunc iratus Præses convocans Assessorem suum iussit eum conveniri. ut cum omnibus suis secundum decreta principum idolis immolaret. ne diversas luerent pænas. Assessor vero cum Principe et corniculario pergunt ad Julianum. ad quem multitudo sacerdotum et levitarum vel omnis ministri aecclesię confugerant. rabiem persecutoris declinantes. Tunc nuntiatur sancto Juliano Adsessorem et Principem cum primario civitatis advenisse. Dixit <qu>od ad eos qui erant congregati: “Nunc, fratres, quia adpropiaverunt persequentes nos, qui querunt velut aqua absorberet nos. Armati fronte vexillo et scuto fidei firmato pectore.” Jussit eos ingredi. et qui erat prioris civitatis filius digne honorabat eum ordo civitatis.

(4.18) Dixit ei Assessor: “Puto non latere, Juliane, Principum statuta, ut una sit apud nos omnis deorum cultura. Nam Præses audiens nativitatem tuam nobili stirpe ortum, hoc decrevit, ut secundum moderationem legum, cum gratia conveniaris. Quam legem pre manibus habeo tibi recen- [f. 80r] sændam, ex quibus veritatem conperta, reddas te genitore tuo, ut proprio bono tuo fruaris et principum amicitiam consequaris.” Julianus respondit: “Sapientiam tuam non credo fugere, quia serpens non movetur ex propria sede, nisi ex ore incantantis vera cognoverit carmina. Nam sicut proficit, nec prevalet movere serpentem, qui carmina nescit; ita nec decreta Principum, nec philosophia iudicis, qui in temporibus temporalis cognoscitur, valere poterit Christi colas mentes ad demonum culturam declinare.” Assessor dixit: “Ergo contemnis Principum jussa?” Julianus respondit: “Audiunt principum jussa qui ipsis militant. Nos autem, qui regem habemus in caelo,

terrenorum Principum jussa non audiemus.” Assessor dixit: “Et potes hoc gestis dicere?” Julianus respondit: “Ipsis gestis prosequantur, qui in hac vita spem habent. Nobis autem, quibus crucifixus est mundus, quid nobis cum istius multitudinis quam tibi adgregasti miserere.”¹⁹ Julianus respondit: “Istius multitudinis voluntas simul mecum pendet in Dei arbitrio. Nam qualem me vides, loquentem, tales sunt omnes isti tacentes. Unus Dominus, quem confitemur, qui est filius Dei vivi.” Assessor dixit: “Hęc quę prosequeris, renuntio Præsidi.” Julianus respondit: “Quę cognovisti, occultare non debes. *Nos vero parati sumus temporalem suscipere mortem, ut in eternum vivamus quam vitam temporalem eterne vitę mancipemur.*” Assessor dixit: “Audio etiam episcopum et omnem clerum adgregatum tecum, numquid et ipsi discipuli tui sunt? Respondit: “Non sunt discipuli, sed parentes. Per illos enim veram nativitatem suscepimus. Pro qua re dignum est, ut filii cum patre pergant ad regna cælorum.”

(4.19)²⁰ *Rediens ad Præsidem Marcianum Assessor, quę gesta sunt intimavit. Tunc Marcianus*

consilio diaboli armatus, talem dedit auctoritatem Julianum solum suis obtutibus audientię reservari. Illos autem omnes jussit in eodem loco, in quo erant igne copioso cremari. Impletur ergo jussio Præsidis, et omnes sancti ibidem consumpti sunt. In quo loco divina gratia concessit, ut usque in hodiernum diem omnibus ad venientibus tempore

¹⁹ The scribe has evidently combined Julian’s response with the Assessor’s following rebuttal, and thus Julian speaks twice in succession. The *Acta Sanctorum* texts reads: Julianus respondit: ‘Ipsi gestis aliquid prosequantur, qui in hac vita spem habent; nobis autem, quibus crucifixus est mundus, quid cum foro?’ Assessor dixit: ‘Vt video, de te despertasti, ne viuas; vel istius multitudinis, quam tibi aggregasti, miserere.’

²⁰ LS4.118-126.

psallendi tertiam, sextam, nonam, vespertinos, et matutinos, ita audiant multitudines psallentes, sicut in corpore manentes. ut *si quis his temporibus æger advenerit, quacumque fuerit ægritudine oppressus, sanus abscedit in nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi.*

(5.20)²¹ Finitum martyrium sanctorum in nomine Domini postea quam sancti martyres, velut aurum per ignem probati, migrassent ad regna cælorum, nuntiatur Præsidi Martiano impleta esse omnia quæ preceperat, et Julianum autem custodia retineri. Tunc iussit in foro preparari sibi tribunal, et concurrat undique omnis aetas, omnisque sexus advenit, ut beatum Julianum, in cuius amore pendeat, videret cum diabolo dimicantem. Tunc Præses sub voce terribili iussit eum intromitti. Quem cum vidisset Præses dixit: “Tu es Juliane, preceptorum Principum rebellis et divinorum numinum contumax? Tu es qui innocentium multitudinem magicis artibus tibi congregas et omnium mentes inmutas?” Ad hæc Julianus studebat silentium. Ad quem iterum Præses dixit: “Ut video, reatu tuo obpressus, nihil ad ea, que te interrogo, respondes.” Julianus respondit: “Ego rebellis nec sacrilegus umquam fui; sed legi divine, in qua regula vitæ continetur, semper parvi. Quod autem me studentem silentium miraris, tecum loqui confundor, quem video mendacio et fallacia sic involutum. Nam horum Imperatorum lex quomodo poterit esse sacra qui sacrilegium operatur?” Præses dixit: “Doleo super te, quod sic magicis artibus occupatus sis, ut non intelligas quantam vim habeant Principum jussa, per quæ oboediens consequitur laudem et imperatorum meretur amicitias. Contemptor autem sicut tu dinosceris, pena subjacet et

²¹ LS4.127-131.

tormenti, et mortis heres [f. 30v] efficitur. *Nam audio te nobili familia ortum, ut adhuc natalibus tuis parcere videar: pro qua re hortor te ut filium meum, ad laudem generis tui diis tura offerre letus propera.*”

(5.21)²² *Julianus dixit: “Malitia tua cecatus es; ideo non recte ordinem prosequeris, ut non intellegas quæ sit laus generis mei. Tu mihi false blandiendo suades, ut diis quos colitis tura offeram, ut amicitiam principum merear adipisci. Vos estis multorum deorum dearumque cultores, nos vero Trinitatis unice vere sumus cultores. Dii vestri aut lapidei sunt aut aeriei. Si aeriei sunt satis meliores sunt illis cucumę, quę ad usus hominum ex ipso metallo fiunt. Si lapidei sunt, respuendi sunt, quia ex ipsis lapidibus plateæ sternuntur ad evadendum lutum. Et cum sicut omnes, quos colitis imagines vanę, ex quolibet metallo aut conflati aut sculpti, dicitis eos sacrificiis cęlestibus placari, ut per hæc sint propitii his qui eos colunt. Nos autem, qui vivum Deum colimus, qui est in cęlis, dicitis nos magicis artibus occupatos. Pro qua re torqueri nos jubetis verum Dominum confitentes. Un(de) debes scire quod nescis, quia sicut non est societas luci et tenebre, iam non potest fides nostra subjugari imperio vestro vel demoniis vestris.” Preses dixit: “Mihi non verbis jussum est agere tecum, sed audi quid jubeant invictissimi Principes, ut ex eorum lege cognoscas, quid te agere oporteat.”*

(5.22) *Julianus respondit: “Quid jubeant audivi, quid autem oporteat me facere consilio salutari definivi. Turpe est enim grege præmisso pastorem minime sequi.” Preses dixit:*

²² LS4.132-40.

“Illi, quos memoras, pro errore suo dignam consecuti sunt mortem. Tu autem ut evadas tormenta, quæ contemptoribus debentur et generi tuo et natalibus tuis restituaris, hoc elaboro.” Julianus respondit: “Labora pro te vel pro tuis, quos ita sibi fecit heredes diabolus. Pro me autem ille sollicitus est Dominus Ihesus Christus, qui me ex limo terre formavit.” Preses dixit: “Sic tecum agere debeo, quasi cum infirmo medicus, usque dum sanitatem recipias. Quod si te sanum et divinorum deorum cultorem reddidero, magnum mihi agonem et honorum apud Principes conlocabo. Nam ipsi Domini rerum multum tuę vesanię condolent.” Julianus respondit: “Numquam auditum est ut cecus inluminet videntem, et morbidus curet sanum, et qui errat possit corrigere recto itinere gradientem.” Preses dixit: “Ergo ut dicis cecus sum et morbidus et errans, qui saluti tuę cupio consultum. Et tu solus optines sanitatem?” Julianus respondit: “Hæc omnia in te dominantur. Quod si velles te agnoscere et ex toto corde requirere salutem tuam, non te horreret medicus noster, per quem omnes Christiani verissimam optinent sanitatem. Quos autem colitis, demones sunt liberare non possunt.”

(6.23)²³ Tunc Præses iratus exclamat tortoribus: “Extendatur ad verbera, ut vel sic stultitia ejus manifestetur.” Julianus respondit: “Non est justitia, Deum nosse sed gloria. Tu autem secularibus oppressus inlecebris, quid sit congruum non agnoscis.” *Preses dixit: Extendite eum, et fustes rigidos afferte, et omnia membra ejus dissipate.* Et cum ita facerent, cedentibus unus ictu percutientis oculum amisit, qui erat necessarius Præsidi et Imperatoribus notissimus. Haec videns Præses, fremuit, dicens: “Tantum valuit magica

²³ LS4.141-52.

ars tua ut nihil sentias et aliis oculos evellas?” Julianus respondit: “Vides, Marciane, quia hoc est, quod superius dixi, cecus, morbidus, et errans. Tandem amota sevitia tua, qua in me bacharis, audi quæ propono.” Preses dixit: “Si pro salute tua, audiam libentissime.” *Julianus respondit: “Convoca omnes deorum dearumque probatissimos sacerdotes, et invocent omnes deos suos super oculum evulsum, ut restituant cultori suo visum. Cum ergo non valverint, ego nomen Domini mei Ihesu Christi invocabo, et non solum oculum evulsum sed et cordis inluminabo oculos.”*

(6.24)²⁴ Tunc Marcianus jubet omnes [f. 81r] pontifices adesse et dixit eis: “Ite et immortales deos sacrificiis optimis honorate, ut huic²⁵ rebeli suo Juliano ostendant virtutem suam, et homini necessario oculum reformantes, et ipsum suę culturę inclinent.” Ingrediuntur lapides ad lapides, jussum lapidis implentes. *Qui cum ritu illo nequissimo demonia appellarent, ita accipiunt responsum in templis: “Discedite a nobis, quia igni perpetuo mancipati sumus. Nam tantum valet Juliani deprecatio ad Deum, ut a die quo ad hanc passionem est comprehensus nobis pœna contuplicata²⁶ est. Cum in te (ne)bris clausi retineamur, quomodo lumen reddimus, quod non habemus?”* Tunc egrediuntur sacerdotes falsa promittentes. *Sanctus autem Julianus, quem nihil latebat, oratione facta dixit ad Presidem: “Festina celeriter ingredi templum vocant te dii tui.”* Tunc Marcianus licet non voluntate sed invitus pererit ad templum. *Cumque ingredi templum, vidit omnia simulacra cristallina, et electrina, et aurea, et ex omni metallo, quę*

²⁴ LS4.153-71.

²⁵ Ms. uhic

²⁶ <d> superscripted over the ‘t’

amplius quingenta dinoscebantur. *ita comminuta et in pulverem redacta*, ut quia fuerant omino nonparent. Preses ita videns cęcatus a diabolo clamabat: “O maleficia! Sic prevalentes carmina ut virtutes deorum superent, et pretiosa numina in pulverem redigerent? *Sed hic deorum patientia laudabilis est; injurias sibi inrogatas sustinent, ut rebelles suos patiendo sibi subicient. Nunc autem magnum videamus si pollicitationis sue impleat effectum, ut oculum ictu percutientis extinctum, sola invocatione Dei sui restituat.*”

(6.25) Et dixit ad Julianum: “Patientissimos deos te superrasse gloriaris, quorum pietatem circa te minime cognoscis. Nunc sopito multi loquio promissum ad imple. Sed ne hoc magicis artibus exerceas, lotio te perfundi jubeo per quod omnes malefici fugantur.”

Julianus respondit: “Hoc quod facturus es non ad injuriam meam, sed ad laudem Domini mei protinet, ut oculum pristinę sanitatis restituat et lotium in odorem nectareum convertat.” Cumque eum perfunderent, ita completum est, ut dixerat, ut non lotio sed balsamo aut cinnamomo eum putarent perfusum. Ad quod miraculum, licet incredulus, Martianus tabescebat.

(6.26)²⁷ *Tam sanctus Julanius super oculum extinctum crucem Salvatoris faciens, statim ita restitutus est oculus, quasi nihil fuisset passus. Sed hęc omnia non Dei virtute facta esse credebat Martianus. Ille vere oculum recipiens clamabat: “Vere Deus est Christianorum, ipse solus adorandus. Dii autem tui vere demonia manifestantur.” Qui*

²⁷ LS4.172-180.

cum talia prosequeretur jussit eum Martianus gladio interimi. Quem nullus dubitet, quod rosei sui sanguinis perfusum rub[er]e. Dominus Ihesus Christus sibi martyrem consecravit, ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui. Amen.

(7.27)²⁸ *Sanctum vero Julianum jussit impius Marcianus diversis penis afflictum, et vinculis ferreis per omnes artus oneratum, sub voce preconia circuire civitatem, dicens: "Hoc merentur rebelles deorum et Principum contemptores." Cumque venisset ad locum ubi filius Presidis studebat, tunc puer ad condiscipulos suos dixit: "Rem video inauditam." Qui dixerunt: "Quid vides?" "Reum illum Christianum, quem ducunt ore frenato, video multitudinem albatorum cum illo loquentem, et coronam de lapidibus pretiosis super caput ejus, cuius splendor aeris lumen obtundit, et alios tre viros, cum comis, aureis qui vultum, in similitudinem aquilarum, super eum excubias celebrantes. Et mihi dignum videtur quia oportet huic tali deo credere, qui sic suos cultores tuetur. Et credite mihi, quia in ejus confessione delector, et talia pati desidero si volverit Deus ejus esse Deus meus."*

(7.28) *Hæc audientes condiscipuli ejus vel magistri turbati sunt valde. Quem blando sermone corripientes, ab intentione revocare volebant. Timebant autem, quia unicus erat patri. Dixit puer: "Vere magnus est Deus Christianorum, quem credere consilio salutari decrevi. Ipse est verus Deus, qui credentes [r. 81v] in se non deserit. Talis est enim gloria vitæ huius? Sicut*

²⁸ LS4.181-88.

uter vento extensus plenus apparens et intus est vacuus. ita et gloria seculi huius, in qua nos temporalem habemus letitiam et æternam Dei potentiam non agnoscimus. Volumus elati dominationem exercere, et dominorem verum, qui est in celis, corde incredulo non agnoscimus. Quanto meliora nobis sunt pecora, jumenta, et canes, qui vocem dominorum suorum cognoscunt? Nos vero facti rationales Creatorem nostrum colendo lapides et ligna non agnoscimus. Sufficiat mihi hucusque errasse, iam itaque²⁹ non errabo. Quod mihi defuit, ostensum est. Mihi tempus acceptum inveni. Quare non laborem et accipiam tempus sine tempore, fruar sine fine? Contempnendo divitias laudabiles aeternas adquiram. Nam impedimenta huius mundi separant a Deo. Potestas vero temporalis, vel quælibet dignitas successione finitur, et vita ipsa temporalis quibus libet casibus subjacet et morte finitur. Illi debeo credere Deo vero et vivo Christo, cui si milita vero, nullus mihi veniet successor. Cuius aeternitati si sociatus fuero, casibus malignis non subjacebo, nec mortem pertimesco. Hęc est vera gloria et nobilitas generis mei pro tali Deo pati. Quem cum torqueor, numquam amitto. Quem dum confessus fuero, bono non derelinquor, et pro ipso in me omnia tolerare non dubito.”

(7. 29)³⁰ *Hęc cum dixisset et filius Præsidis projecit volumina doctorum, et ipsas vestes quibus indutus erat, jactavit a se et dixit: “Cum pollutione vestimenti mei ad Dei hominem properare non est necesse est. Nudum me mater huic seculo deuterio suo fudit quod mundi est, mundo relinquam.”* Et per plateas civitatis cursus arripuit, usque dum ad locum

²⁹ *Ms.* is difficult to read.

³⁰ LS4.189-192.

ubi Sanctus Julianus torquebatur veniret, quia jusserat impius, ut per omnes plateas et vicos civitatis diversis pena pateretur. Tunc puer prostratus pedibus sancti Juliani clamabat: “Te agnosco patrem secunde nativitatis, quem mihi Dominus Christus, sic clarificatum ostendit. Marcianum vero genitorem meum, inimicum veritatis, Dei cultor persecutorem, abnego et despicio. Tibi adherens, opto pro Christo Salvatari meo, quem usque modo ignoravi, simili modo pati que et tu.” Hæc videntes qui illum torquebant milites contremuerunt statim sermo eorum de sensu defecit. Doctores vero studiorum fugere. Tota quoque civitas utriusque sexus ad spectaculum tante rei cognoscende concurrebat omnis Præsidis filium sancto Juliano adherentem, talia proclamantem: “O universi populi agnoscite. quia ego sum Præsidis filius, qui cum patre Sanctorum veneranda corpora, paterne potestaris elatus despiciebam. Sed hæc, que miramini, inmutatio dextere excelsi laudabilis est. Hæc feci ignorans Dominum. Audivi cognovi Dominum, immo cognitus sum ab eo. *diis abrenuntio*, patrem et matrem abnego, divitias superfluas respuo, *Christum confiteor*. beati Juliani me sequipedem testor. Quid tardatis ministri vel milites? Ite, nuntiate parentibus meis, me Deum vivum cognovisse, demonia execro.”

(7.30)³¹ Parentes vero hæc audientes, ut cera in igne tabescunt. Confluxerat enim innumerabilis multitudo populi, jubent filium suum a Julanio segregatum sibi restitui. Domini vero misericordia ad fuit, ut *si quis vellet manum suam mittere ut eum separaret a complexibus sancti Juliani, statim contrahebantur manus et brachia ejus.*

³¹ LS4.193-94.

(7.31)³² Jubet eos simul ad se perducī, et dixit ad Julianum: “Tu es qui spei meę fructum magicis artibus auferre contendis? Qui tenerum pectus inlicitis carminibus alienasti, et genitorum affectum negare conpellis?” *Huc pater pueri et mater advenit cum omni familia sua utriusque sexus, circiter quinque milia crinibus solutis, uberibus nudatis, lacerato pectore, voces dabant ad cęlum. Tunc Preses hęc videns, scidit vestimenta sua lacerata facie clamabat ad Julianum: “Juliane crudelis aspice dolorem patris et matris. Aspice tante familię planctum, et a magicis artibus absolve innocentem, et ut nobis unicum reddas filium et tante familię dominum, ut et ego pro te Imperatoribus suggeram et culpam bacchantem abscidas.”* Julianus respondit: [f. 82r] “Suffręgia tua opus non habeo, nec ab imperatoribus tuis dimitti desidero. Sed hoc rogo Dominum Ihesum Christum, ut una cum isto agno de luporum visceribus nato, vel omnibus qui credituri sunt martyrio completo, suscipiar in eorum numero, quos tu in innocentia igne consumpsisti. Nam iste qui ex te natus fuerat, modo mecum renatus est credendo. Aetatem habet, ipse pro se tibi responsum det, ipse genitricis aspiciat lacrimas, ipse uberibus, quibus nutritus est, doleat.”

(7.32)³³ *Celsus puer dixit: “Contingere solet, ut de spinis rosę nascantur. Nec amittit odorem suavissimum rosa nata de spinis. Nec frondes, quę genuit rosam spinarum remittit aculeos. Ergo ut consuestis parentes pungite, et odorem suavitatis credentibus prepare. Vobis oboediant, qui perire parati sunt. Me imitentur, qui de tenebris ad lucem*

³² LS4.195-201.

³³ LS4.202-08.

transire contendunt. *Hoc scire debetis, quia ego pro Christo Domino meo nego vos parentes. Et vos vero propter deorum vestrarum culturam, filium tormentis affligite.*

Credo enim per ista tormenta et temporalem mortem, vitam aeternam acquirere. Nec plus faciam vos quam me, nec amorem vestrum prepono aeternae lætitiæ. Quid moram differtis? Accede tu Marciane quasi incredulus et credelis pater, non quasi vere pater Abraham, adprehende gladium Christo filium victimam offer. *Sed si te viscerum pietas vincit, dirige me ad sevissimum Principem tuum, ut ego pro Domino meo Ihesu Christo, ornamenta martyrii poenis adimpleam.*”

(8.33)³⁴ Hæc audiens Præses dixit: “Custodia privata recludantur, et quæ necessaria sunt ministrentur eis.” Julianus respondit: “Hæc quæ preparari jubes, tibi et consentientibus timi impende.” Hæc audiens Præses, fremit ut leo. Estimans eos poena terreri, quos blandimentis obtinere non valuit, *jussit eos in carceris ima concludi, ubi de dampnatorum membra diurni temporis consumpta horribilium vermium examina bulliebant et odor pessimus. Quidam introducti essent. Gratia Domini precedens eos locum horrendum delectabilem reddidit. Tenebras convertit in lumen, exhibens cereorum officia, nectareum odorem reddens. Ebuliens vero pena evanuit.*

(8.34)³⁵ Hæc videntes *milites* circiter viginti, qui eos custodiæ mancipaverunt omnes ad invicem *dixerunt*: “Pudoris est ut ferreum possideamus pectus. *Numquid justum est ut de*

³⁴ LS4.209-15.

³⁵ LS4.216-24.

hac luce ad tenebras revestamur. de vita ad mortem. et de odore nectareo ad sanguinis effusionem. et ad talem patrem monentem ad iudicem irascentem. a veritate ad mendacium, a sobrietate ad ebrietatem, a castitate ad libidinem? Turpe est esse quod fuim[us] et negligere salutem quam invenimus.” Haec vero dicentes. *ad pedes sancti Juliani se volutabant, laudantes et confitentes Christi nomen.* Tunc Julianus et puer gratias Domino referebant. Audiens itaque hoc Martianus, preponit custodes crudelissimos, quoadusque tormenta preparentur et omnibus penis inferret. *Sanctus vero Julianus sollicitus pro salute eorum, quos Christo adquisierat, orabat Dominum qualiter procuraret ut baptismi gratiam consequerentur.* Nec hoc silebo.

(8.35)³⁶ Aliud magnum miraculum in eadem civitate concessum. Ante tempus persecutionis, Imperatores Dioclicianus et Maximianus Priorem civitatis unice diligebant, quia de genere Carini Imperatoris descendebat. Hoc defuncto Christiano cum uxore sua, *septem filios Christianos reliquerunt. Quos Imperatores retinentes amore patris eorum, jusserunt eos sine aliqua persecutione Christiane religioni deservire. Hi habuerunt secum presbiterum, qui eis mysteria sancta celebrabat. Isti visitantur a Domino et jubentur ut una cum presbitero carcerem peterent, ut baptismi gratiam venerabilis puer Celsus et milites consequerentur. Statim ad carcerem veniunt nocte, et vident angelum Domini ante se precedentem, qui mox ut tetigit januas omnia claustra aperta sunt. Quibus orantibus, ingressi septem fratres una cum presbitero Antonio videntibus*

³⁶ LS4.225-39.

splendorem Domini clamaverunt dicentes: "Adsumus. Dominus nos huc direxit cum sacerdote suo. ut baptismi gratiam om[n]i consequantur. et nos tyrones per te pater Juliane veraces milites Christo militemus." Tunc Julianus dixit: "Gratias tibi ago Christe Ihesu, [f. 82v] qui dignatus es ita implere desiderium meum, ut, quos per me acquisiti, per baptismi gratiam et veram fidem membra confirmentur. Et hi, quos impietas Imperatoris, quasi agnos inter tanta agmina luporum, reliquerat. ad tui nominis confessionem adgregasti."

(8.36)³⁷ *Nuntiatur hoc factum impio Martiano. septem germanos sine aliqua persecutione. Juliano sociatos optantes pro Christo mori. Quod jubet educi de custodia, dicens ad eos:*

"Quid vobis contulit infantuli, quos ita Principes tuentur et diligunt, ut arbitrio nostro essetis et fidei vestre cultores? Qui patimini sine aliqua persecutione optantes mori. quibus concessum est vivere? Si ergo maleficiis filium amisit. et nescio quibus carminibus militum mentes mutate sint; quare vos, qui in vestro estis arbitrio constituti? Audite me, et estote securi." Respondens frater senior dixit: *"Massa auri naturę suę claritatem continet et nisi per manum artificis, et per ignem et malleum partibus secretur et ipso metallo auri. industria artificis diversarum margaritarum et lapidibus pretiosis, componitur diadema, ita enim sumus et nos de Christianis. Sed ipsa nativitas nisi in publico fuisset manifestata, in occulto non potuit coronari. Et nisi sancti Juliani vestigia immaculato calle secuti fuerimus, in diadema regis esse non possumus. Satis horrenda est arbor, quę foliis vernat, et*

³⁷ LS4.240-48.

creatori suo poma non affert.” Et jussit eos Praeses in custodia recipi duci.

(9.37)³⁸ *Et fecit suggestionem imperatoribus. dicens: “Piissimi Principes, subvenite legibus vestris, et divinis numinibus qui remanserunt prebete munimen. Et Julianum magnum vestris obtutibus presentate, qui magicis artibus amplius quam quingenta deorum simulacra, per quos floret mundus, comminuit. Filium unicum a me separavit. Militum mentes nescio qua magica arte inmutavit. Nam et septem fratres, quos clementia vestra jusserat esse legis suę cultores, ad se persuasit et beneficiis vestris fecit esse ingratos, quos jussu vestro determinetis decernite.” Tunc Imperatores hanc dederunt licentiam Marciano, “ut si Julianus cum sociis suis in hac obstinatione maneret, ad exemplum omnium convocata universa provincia, singulis insingulas cupas replet aspice, sulphure, et bitumine concremare. Quod si adversus hæc magicis artibus prevaleret carmina, habeas licentiam qualicumque velis eos affligere poena.”*

(9.38)³⁹ *Accepta auctoritate Præses jussit sibi in foro sedem parari et accersito Juliano cum sociis suis dixit ad eos: “Nihil de vestra salute tanto temporis spatio cogitastis?” Julianus respondit: “Cogitatus noster, qui fuit ab initio, in quo cepit in hoc finiuit. Sed si aliquid excogitasti penarum, exerce.” Praeses dixit: “Audistis quid de vobis determinaverunt invictissimi Principes?” Puer Celsus respondit: “Audisti nec dicende pater, poenam quam preparavit Deus diabolo et vobis qui effecti estis angeli ejus?” Et*

³⁸ LS4.249-262.

³⁹ LS4.263-67.

Julianus respondit: “quod jusserunt Principes tu exerce.”

(9.39)⁴⁰ *Cumque hoc diceret, corpus ferebatur per plateam ad sepulchrum. Tunc Præses cæcato corde, jussit revocari corpus, et in medio foro deponi. Et dixit ad Julianum: “Magister vester Christus antequam crucifigeretur dicitur mortuos suscitasse. Hic parebit, si vere Deus est, si vos istum mortuum suscitaveritis ad vitam.” Julianus respondit: “Quid prodest cæco, quando sol oritur?” Preses dixit: “Parce fabulis, et si quid prevalet aut Deus tuus, istum mortuum suscitet.” Julianus respondit: “Licet infidelitas vestra hoc non mereatur a Domino, sed quia tempus est, ut manifestetur virtus Domini nec impossibile est. Fidele promissum habeo ad Domino, credens quia quicquid eum peto, non mihi negabit.” Statim autem Julianus oculos in cælum defigens per unius hore spatium, facies ejus mutata est et facta est sicut nix, et his verbis coram omnibus videntibus fudit orationem ad Dominum: “Domine Ihesu Christe, qui es verus filius Dei vivi, qui in principio natus es de Patre et in novissimo mundi [c. 83r] carnem de virgine adsumpsisti sine semine. aspice de sumitate cælorum, et ad confusionem inimicorum tuorum ad corroborandam fidem credentium in te et quæ operatus es positus in terris, exaudi nunc in celis, et suscita hunc mortuum, ut vivi non moriantur, sed mortui reviviscant.” Et completa oratione dixit ad mortuum: “Tibi dico, terra arida, in ipsius nomine qui quatruiduanum Lazarum suscitavit, ipse tibi imperat, surge super te.” Et cum dixisset, surrexit mortuus et clamabat: “O acceptabilis oratio et immaculata virginitas. Ubi ducebar, et unde reductus sum?”*

⁴⁰ LS4.268-82.

(9.40)⁴¹ *Inridebat eum Præses: "Unde reductus es expone." Respondit qui resurrexerat: "Ducebar a nescio quibus Æthiopibus. quorum status erat ut gigas aspectus horridus, oculi ut fornacis ignis ardentis, dentes eorum ut dentes leonum, brachia sicut trabes, ungues ut aquilarum, in quibus nulla misericordia est. Hi ducebant me in infernum.*

Etiam prope putei abyssum cum essem, adhuc expectabatur, ut caro mea terre redderetur, ex qua sumpta est. At ubi fecisti corpus meum revocari, et beatus Julianus orationem fudit ad Dominum, infernus omnis turbatus est, et vox de throno Dei audita est, dicens: 'Propter dilectum meum reducatur, quia in nullo eum volo contristari, in quo sic et Pater et ego et Spiritus letamur.' Et advenerunt duo albis induti, et tulerunt me de dominatu eorum, et huic luci reddiderunt, ut per eum qui me suscitavit agnoscam verum Deum post mortem, quem ante denegabam." Hæc audiens Præses turbatus est. Ita ut diffensio fieret iussit eum cum sanctis recludi et claustra anulo suo signari. Quem Julianus fecit baptismi gratiam consequi.

(10.41)⁴² *Marcianus vero fecit poenam, quam Imperatores jusserunt, preparari.*

Ordinantur cupe triginta mediantur pice, bitumi(n)e, adgregantur onera lignorum et sarmentorum.

(10.42)⁴³ *Et cum educerentur de custodia Julianum et filium Præsidis unum vinculum tenebat, ceteri vero oneratis vinculis catenis trahebantur. Ad hoc expectaculum omnes*

⁴¹ LS4.283-300.

⁴² LS4.301-05.

⁴³ LS4.306-07.

una voce ymnum cantabant: "Bonum mihi quod humiliasti me Domine, ut discam justificationes tuas." Quorum aspectu omnis etas novas pulchritudines mirabatur. quorum mentes ad fletum conversa pietas inclinabat. Clamabatur ab omni aetate inconfuse. Viri clamabant: "O injustitia impietatis!" et "nos filios habemus!" Mulieres solutis crinibus clamabant: "O gemitus amarior felle. ut quid jubentur tales igne cremari? O potestas cæca, que nec vivis parcit, nec mortuos resurgentes audit!" Tunc Julianus petit silentium et dixit ad populum: "Videte ne prohibeatis fieri. Sinite nos splendidiore auro per ignem. Hoc scientes, quia videbitis nos omnis creduli et increduli igne consumatos, sicut nunc vidisti."

(10.43)⁴⁴ *Quibus dixit Preses: "O desperata voluntas, per quam decus juventutis ad interitum properat. Nescio quo carmine sic alienate mentes. Convertimini, et si tandem pro vestra salute diis immortalibus, qui laborant pro vobis, cervices flectite. Quod si voveritis, ego obtinebo ab Imperatoribus, sine aliqua persecutione religionis vestre esse cultores. Tantum ne unicum mihi filium dulcem, cum talibus ac tantis, in ipso flore vernantes igne cremari."* Et dixit: "O insanabilis dolor pectori meo! Quem primum plangam, cum omnium decora sint corpora? Filii dulcissimi plus considero vultum. *O Juliane omnium malorum magister, quam multa bona tecum trahes, ut filium per te negando patrem nec matrem agnoscat?"* Et ad filium conversus dixit: "Vel antequam pereas, fili dulcissime, ex ore tuo verbum audiam. *Ecce venit et mater, que partus sui dolores quos non speraverat invenit. Ecce et innumerosa familia, que te sibi dominum*

⁴⁴ LS4.308-16.

gaudebat, funeri tuo valedicturi advenerunt.”

(10.44)⁴⁵ *Audiens puer Celsus dixit: “Lugeant te et se. Nos autem, quos conspicitis ad regna celorum pergere, lugere non debetis. Nam nos omnes [1.83v] transibimus per ignem, et inlesi vobis apparebimus. Demones vero quos colitis, et illos quos Imperatores dicitis, ac si purgamenta despiciamus.” Preses dixit: “Ipsa est contumax audacia vestra, quæ vos non dimittit vivere.” Celsus puer dixit: “Quod totulo intrepido corde petitioni meæ tribuas effectum.” Preses dixit: “Quicquid voveris pete.” Celsus puer respondit: “Cum videris inlesum deigne exire permitte ad me venire matrem meam, ut habeam cum ea consilium triduo dilatione concessa et forsitan nec me nec illam amittis.” Hæc audiens mater urgebat fieri. Impius Preses dixit ei: “Si igne inlesus exieris, quod fieri non credo, faciam quod desideras.”*

(10.45)⁴⁶ *Quidum non poterat tolerare nec videre incendium filii sui, assessorem reliquid qui iussa impletet. Ipse vero scissis vestibibus, cum uxore prope mortua domum reversi sunt. Fit luctus ingens. Lugebant parentes filium. Servi dominum nec erat qui consolaretur. Assessor vero munus sibi injunctum adimplet. Jussit singulos in singulas cupas deponi. Puer vero Celsus, qui a latere Juliani nunquam fuerat dejunctus, dans illi pacem, ad preparatum supplicium properabat intrepidus. Cumque mitterentur in cupas, supposita stuppa et accenso igne eructuabat flamma excelsior obolisco amplius cubitos*

⁴⁵ LS4.317-328.

⁴⁶ LS4.329-340.

triginta. De medio igne. ita multitudo psallentium resonabat. quasi vox aquarum multarum. *Consumptas autem cupas in igne subito apparent sancti sicut aurum rutilantes, canebant: "Transivimus per ignem et aquam, et induxisti nos in refrigerium"* [Psalm 66.12]⁴⁷ Ignis vero ardens atque coruscans vim virtutis suæ oblitus ne sanctos Dei lederat Domino adjuvante.

(10.46)⁴⁸ *Hæc audiens Præses*, quia igne consumpto nullus de sanctis lesus est, *cum uxore et familia ad spectaculum properat exitum rei cognoscere*. Et dixit ad Julianum: "Obtestor te per Deum tuum, unde tantam virtutem maleficiorum nosti?" Julianus respondit: "Quia per Deum meum me adjuratus es. qui est horum morabilium auctor, referam qualiter possint discere qui talia maleficia. desiderant sicut ego ut huius carminis sancti efficiantur auctores. Si quis se laverit ab omnibus actionibus sæculi et facit alienum. ut solam vocem Domini audiat, imperantis et dicentis: 'Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum' [Luke 9:23]. Nihil amoris Christi preponat. Nihil aliud desideret, nisi quod ipse Dominus promittit. Non consideret patrem, nec matrem, nec cetera, quæ noverunt intelligentes. Ante omnia vero qui pauperum curam sollicite agunt, qui contenti sunt esurire, ut alii saturentur. Satis Deo acceptum est munus, quo indigens saturatur, quod ira non perficitur. et malum pro malo non redditur, qui non dicitur sanctus antequam sit. Multi enim dicuntur quod non sunt. Et multi sunt sancti (et non de his dicitur quod sunt), sed humilitate et gratia ab omnibus se [s]cire nolunt, ut ab illo recipiant mercedem

⁴⁷ Ps. 65.12 in the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*.

⁴⁸ LS4.341-342a.

qui novit quod sunt. Hi tales a caritate quem ego novi discere possunt. Non solum in hoc corpore degentes hanc merentur gratiam. sed eternam cum Domino conlocant amicitiam, qui primum edocti a Christo, aliis subministrant donum in se conlatum, se primum lucrantes, deinde proximis. Facientes quæ dicant, qui inlatam sibi injuriam pro laude putant. Qui injurię tempus non refervant; qui reconcilians sed proximo obtinent, quod est culmen omnium bonorum.” Præses dixit: “Ut quid ita insipiens est, ut huius vitę letitiam fugiat, ut ad tantam injuriam semetipsum inclinēt?” Julianus respondit: “Dominus noster paratus est omnibus dare, sed pauci dignos se exhibent dona ejus accipere.” Preses dixit: “A te, Juliane, meus sermo finem accipiet.” Julianus respondit: “Hoc ergo semper optavi.”

(11.47)⁴⁹ *Tunc Preses ad filium suum dixit: “Ecce matrem tuam do tibi sicut postulasti. Triduo cum ea habeas induciam. Hęc enim tibi ad ominam parata est, te ne unicum filium amittat.”* Celsus respondit: “Isto triduo matre mihi concessa, nulli licebit interesse.” Preses dixit: “Sicut visita concedo. *Recludantur in custodia privata.*” Tunc sancti recluduntur custodia cum matre pueri. *Sancti vero, hanc orationem fundunt ad Dominum:* “Tu Domine. [r: s+r] qui prescius es futurorum, qui transacta velud presentia conspicis, qui mentes probas non etatem, tu Domine aperi oculos cordis ejus et acceptabiliem fac terram, ex qua suscepisti fructum, in quo letari dinosceris.”

⁴⁹ LS4.342b-45.

(11.48)⁵⁰ *Et statim commotus est locus, in quo erant sancti orantes, et fulgor argenti septies splendidior emicuit, nec odor defuit sanctis, ut vox psallentium in aere sonabant: "Vere pius Deus, qui justificat animas peccatrices pro quibus operibus." Hæc videns mulier, clamabat: "Numquam in diebus meis hunc tantum suavissimum odorem sensi. Nam sicut liliorum et rosarum et croceos nectar balsami et nardi redundant. His tantis suavissimis odoribus ita sum refecta. Nec aliquid aliud in corde meo cognosco nisi ipsum Dominum verum fateor, pro quo filius meus agonizatur."*

(11.49) Hęc audiens beatus Julianus dixit: "Beata tu credentibus arbor dinosceris, quę sic fructui meo medicinam celeriter conqueris. Nam talis et medicus est, qui tuam suscipit sanitatem, ut non secundo vulnera tua curet sed probando." Celsus puer sub secutus dixit: "Veram te matrem modo profiteor. Veram genitricem agnosco. Nec tu amittis filium, nec ego matrem, si una mecum ad illum contendas." Respondit mulier, cuius intima pectoris divina gratia iam inluxerat: "Cognosce me fili, iam nihil amoris eius prepono, quem tu sic diligis. Pro qua re quicquid necessarium salutis meę agnoscis exerce." Respondit puer: "Corde creditur ad justitiam, et quia ore confessio fit ad salutem, hoc deest, ut purificationem baptismi accipias, per quod possis esse habitaculum spiritus sancti." Respondit mulier: "Ecce nos omnes claustra obtinent, et militum custodie circumvallant. Nec introitus nec exitus permittitur. Quomodo inveniemus hunc talem hominem, qualem mihi proponis?" Julianus respondit: "Hic habemus sanctum et verum Christi Sacerdotem, qui te purificet. tantum est ut tu abneges deos patrię tuę, et unum credas qui regnat in

⁵⁰ LS4.346-50.

cęlis, qui est unus in trinitate, et trinus in unitate. Sub cuius imperio imperant principes, cuius gratia confirmantur duces. cuius tremore contremiscunt gentes, cuius imperio operiuntur cęli nubibus et dant terre pluviam. ipsius splendore inluminantur ceci. tenebre incredulitatis fugantur.” Mulier respondit: “Qui hęc non ita credit, ferreum possidet pectus; nec humanum sensum gerit, sed pecudum.” Tunc sancti gratias referebant Domino, qui dignatus est de luporum faucibus ovem perditam liberare. Cui iterum Julianus dixit: “Ita credis, ut audisti.” Respondit mulier: “Ipsum vivum Deum credo, quem per tuam predicationem cognovi, qui certis limitibus fixit mare, qui cęlum suspendit. Ipse est Dominus Ihesus Christus. quęm relicta vanitate credo, cupiens hac vita temporali carere, ut ad illam eternam vitam merear vobiscum attingere.”

(11.50)⁵¹ Cumque hęc dixisset mulier, locus in quo erant contremuit, et audita est vox in aerę dicens: “Credidi propter quod locutus sum.” Responderunt omnes sancti, “Amen.” *Tunc beatus Antonius presbiter baptizavit eam, quam venerabilis Celsus filius suscepit, et pater ejus in baptismi gratia factus est, prestante Domino nostro Ihesu Christo. Cumque baptizata fuisset, et omnes de salute ejus gauderent, vox de cęlo audita est dicens: “Viriliter agite, et confortetur cor vestrum in Domino.” Hęc audiens sanctus Julianus dixit: “Vox, quę intonvit auribus nostris, pronuntiat nobis futuram passionem, et diversa genera tormentorum, quę adversus nos cogitat inimicus. Pro qua re fidei nostre cursum Domino commendemus, qui potens est fidem nostram servare, ut cursu consummato, repositam coronam recipiamus.”*

⁵¹ LS4.351-52.

(11.51)⁵² *Cumque hoc factum cognovisset impius Marcianus uxorem suam martyribus sociatam, jubet illos intra domum exhiberi. Et dixit ad Celsum: "Matrem tuam sub hac ratione postulasti, ut tibi consentiret quid gestum sit agnoscere cupio." Puer respondit: "Gratias ago Dominio qui voluntatis meę fructum [f. 8+v] ita complevit, ut in eternum possideam matrem et illa me filium. A modo cognoscat nos pro amore Christi in hac vita spem non proponimus. Pro qua re nec ego te agnosco patrem nec illa maritam." Tunc Preses ira repletus jussit comprehendi mulierem. Ad quem cum adpropiassent ministri, facti sunt cæci. Audiens autem hæc Marcianus, jussit eos in ima carceris recludi.*

(11.52)⁵³ *Alia vero die sedens pro tribunali, jussit viginti milites adduci et tradidit decollandos. Septem vero fratres igni tradi precepit. Quod cum factum fuisset, martyrium consummaverunt in pace, cum gaudio et exultatione pergentes ad Christum. Sanctum vero Julianum cum Antonio presbitero, et matrem cum filio, et puerum quem infernus reddiderat, suo iudicio reservavit.*

(12.53) *Et sedens pro tribunali in foro, jussit eos adduci et conversus Præses ad Julianum dixit: "Tecum Juliane sermonem penitus non habeo." Et iterum dixit ad Antonium: "Tu es Antonius, quem isti papam suum esse testantur? Constat te huius magice artis esse auctorem." Beatus Antonius dixit: "Gratias ago Domino meo Ihesu Christo, qui huius gratiæ suæ me fecit esse ministrum." Preses dixit: "Vel tu mihi dic que sit magica vestra,*

⁵² LS4.353-61.

⁵³ LS4.362-68.

ut sic conjugia separetis. et filios a(c) parentes dejungatis. bona ipsa vita abnegare et horrere persuadetis, dii immortales per vos blasphemantur? Quę est audacia vestra qui tantum pervaluistis ad decipiendum populum, ut et gloriemini vos mortuum suscitasse et innocentum pectora inretitis?" Antonius presbiter respondit: "Optaveram quidem, ut ducem huius agonis nostri Julianum tibi provocares. et ab eo acciperes responsum, sed quia unus est Dominus Ihesus Christus, qui tangit organa cordis nostri, percunctatus es, quę volvisti. Audi nunc et a me quę inquiris. Magister et auctor huius magicę, quam a nobis dicis exercere, hoc nobis dedit preceptum, 'ne margarit(e) pretios(e) a nobis ante porcos mittantur' [Matthew. 7:6]: 'Qui non venit mittere pacem sed gladium venit autem separare filios a parente'⁵⁴ [Matthew 10:34-35]. Et alio loco, 'qui plus fecerit matrem aut patrem aut uxorem aut filios vel divitias quam me non potest esse meus discipulus' [Luke 14:26]. Hanc vocem audiens filius tuus. non fecit te plus carnalem genitorem, quam Christum creatorem. Similiter et quam dicis tuam uxorem, hac voce conperta contempsit te mortalem et horum temporalem, ut per Christum immortalem aeternam requiem consequatur. Ecce nihil tam verius cognoscerit poteris." Haec audiens Preses iussit eos recludi.

(12.54)⁵⁵ *Et convocans ad se sacerdotes et dixit ad eos: "Ornate venerandum locum Jovis, cuius est consuetudo semel in anno patefieri, ubi veneranda nomina dinoscuntur Jovis, Junonis veneris et Minerve, ex vitro puro constructas imagines, quibus Cupido*

⁵⁴ 'ib;' superscripted over the 'e.'

⁵⁵ LS4.369-72.

delectamenta ministrat. et incensa preparat.” Hæc audientes consuetas preparant hostias, et patefacto templo universa multitudo convenit ad miraculum. Talem enim erat fabricæ, ut non marmoreis, tabulis sed argenteis, parietes et pavementum stratum splendere, auro purissimo vel margaritis et lapidibus pretiosis crispantes.

(12.55) Ingressus Marcianus templum iussit Sanctos Dei adduci. Quibus dixit: “Ecce nun(c) Juliane, et tu Antoni, tempus advenit ut et vos et socii vestri salutem consequamini. Hoc enim eligite pro vestra salute, ut in isto templo deorum tam terribili immortalibus numinibus tura incendatis. Quod si adhuc in ipsa contumacia perseveratis, abnegantes deos, diversis tormentis vos afficiam. Pro qua re, Juliane, quia te constat esse auctorem huius sceleris, accedere propitia tibi deos immortales.” Julianus respondit: “Tu iam nomen haberes, sed quia video tempus ut et nos salutem consequamur, et numina a nobis honorentur, fac omnes deorum sacerdotes intus adesse, ut cogoscant quale sacrificium illis offerimo.” Et iterum dixit: “Bene valeas obtime Præses, [f. 35r] qui tale tempus nobis laudem et gloriam accepturi persuades, et omnibus in uno commanentibus diis vestris precipis immolare, quod nos facere non pigeat. Nam ideo distulimus, ut in isto templo mirabili quod habetis, magnum sacrificemus.”

(12.56) Tunc Præses quo ordine diceretur non intellegens dixit illis: “Gaudeo quod etsi tarde respuistis, vanitatem diis immolantes.” Tunc iussit omnium sanctorum vincula auferri dicens: “Turpe est vinculis teneri, quia dii ceperunt esse propitii.” Cumque

exonerati fuissent vinculis. dixit ad Celsum et matrem ejus: “Accidite et repropitiate vobis deos.” Respondit mulier: “Non mihi faciat Deus verus, quem cognovi, ut ultra tecum colloquium habeam. Hæc autem quæ dicis per ignorantiam feci.” Preses dixit: “Est hora si vultis.” Sanctus Julianus dixit: “Adpropiemus ut salutem consequamur, et sit in notitia seculi super venturi que facturi sumus hodie.” Ingressi autem in templo, vexillo crucis armata⁵⁶ fronte. Et ait Julianus: “Quid precipis? Omnibus diis offerimus sacrificium?” Preses dixit: “Omnes, quos videtis, immortales sunt et presentes sunt in virtute, et non invident sibi in cultoribus suis.”

(12.57)⁵⁷ *Tunc sanctus Julianus et Antonius presbiter, fix(is) genibus talem fundunt orationem ad Dominum:* “Deus qui es ab initio, sine fine, sine tempore, quia aeternum possides nomen, qui non in manufactis hominum delectaris, requiescis in corde mundo, qui per Prophetam dixisti: ‘Omnes dii gentium demonia’ [Psalm 96:5].⁵⁸ Deus autem tu solus Deus Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, qui in sapientia tua fecisti celos, fundasti terram, congregasti aquam, mari terminum posuisti, quem non transgreditur, quem murmura undarum sua voce conlaudant, quem diversarum volatilium garrulæ suavi voce laudantes, qui in Christi arbitrio creasti universa, aspice nunc in subversione profani huius, et ad tantas demonum tegas, et tantorum injustorum cultoribus frange audaciam, *et ad nihilum redigantur hæc omnia in quibus gloriantur, ut te solum agnoscant et glorientur in te*, qui credunt nomini tuo et Ihesu Christo filio tuo, quem cognoscimus tibi coaequalem et

⁵⁶ (o) superscripted over the ‘a’

⁵⁷ LS4.373-391.

⁵⁸ Ps. 95.5 in the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*

coeternum in unitate Spiritus sancti et in secula seculorum.” Cumque dixissent omnes Christiani. “Amen.” *Statim templum submersum est. et qui ad fuerat non pareret. Et multitudo sacerdotum circiter mille cum templo dimersi sunt, et maxima pars paganorum s[im]ul interiit. Ignis vero eructuans usque in hodiernum diem. Tunc beatus Julianus dixit ad Præsidem: “Ubi sunt manufacte imagines demonum, in quibus gloriabaris? Ubi templi pulchritudo? Invocato nomine Christi, hec omnia in terra dimersa sunt. Sicut illa uterus terre recepit, ita et vos et imperatores vestros, et omnes cultores demonum perpetuum accipiet infernus, ubi ignis æternus et vermis non moritur, ubi corpus ad poenam semper renovatur, ubi misericordia queritur et non invenitur. Vos et auctorem vestrum diabolum hic talis locus expectat.” Preses dixit: “O virtus et carmina magiæ, sic prevalere, ut etiam terre sinus aperiat, et tanta bona auferat? Iam non miserebor. Iam non parcam. Antequam gladio pereant, de eorum poena me satiabo.”* Jubet impius sanctos Dei in carcere cludi.

(13.58) Et cum in laudibus epulentur, ipso medio noctis silentio ad venit multitudo sanctorum cum sacerdotibus, qui iam martyrii palmam triumphant, omnes stolis albis induti. Inter quos viginti milites et septem germani fratres et beata Basilissa cum choro virginum, in qua multitudine sola vox “Alleluia” declarabatur. Tunc sancta Basilissa alloquitur ad sanctum Julianum dixit: “Regna cęlorum patefacta sunt. Et hoc preceptum accepimus a Rege aeterno, ut hodie te cum sociis tuis recipiat. Cum patriarcharum et apostolorum gloriosus chorus in numero sanctorum cum perpertua letitia conlocabit. Et tertio “Alleluia” et visio ab oculis eorum ablata est.

(13.59)⁵⁹ Alia die sedit in foro et excogitat nequissimus serpens nova et infinita genera tormentorum. [f. 85v] *Jubet, ut eis digitos demanus et pedes licinio et oleo infuso ligari et igne subponi precepit. Cumque factum fuisset, licini consumptis, immaculata permanebat sanctorum caro.* Tunc impius Marcianus jussit sancto Juliano et Celso filio suo cutem capitis auferri, Antonio vero Presbitero et Anastasio, quem infernus reddiderat, oculos effodiri. Sanctam autem matrem Celsi, quam Deus sciebat tolerare non posse, cum juberetur aculeo applicari, si quis volvisset de ministris ad eam attingere manus, efficiebatur. *Sanctos autem suos Dominus ita inluminavit et curavit, ut omnibus apparerent quasi nihil passi fuissent.*

(13.60)⁶⁰ *Tunc vidit se vinci Marcianus fecit amphiteatrum preparari et jubet sanctos intromitti et dimitti multitudinem ferarum, quæ nullus ex eis ledentes, sed singule currentes pedes sanctorum lingeant.*

(13.61)⁶¹ *Hæc videns Marcianus, convocans magistratus civitatis, et jubet omnes custodia perscrutari, et personas iam morte dignas in amphiteatro induti, et sanctos Dei inter sacrilegas personas decollari.* Tunc sanctus *Julianus dixit: "Gloria tibi Christe, qui nos usque in hac hora salutis perduxisti."* Et venerabilis puer cum sancta matre sua ad Presidem dixit: "Nota tibi facies nostras, quas in hoc seculo per gratiam Christi si vides inmutatos, perpetuam enim perfida tua fuit. ita te nobis conaberis inponere. Gratia vero et

⁵⁹ LS4.392-98.

⁶⁰ LS4.399-407.

⁶¹ LS4.408-21.

pietas Christi inuit nos magnam gloriam cum decore, ut illa die cognoscas nos in gloria cum tu fueris in infernum.” Tunc Marcianus iussit eos inter noxios commisci, et intromisso spiculatore iussit eos decollari.

(13.62)⁶² *Cumque factum fuisset, factus est terre motus, ut prope tertia pars civitatis a fundamento subverteretur. Nec qualis cumque locus permissus est stare, ubi idolum colebatur. Fulgura et tonitrua et grando intolerabilis extiterunt, qui maximam partem incredulorum consumpsit. Ipse autem impius simus semi vivus evasit. Qui non post multos dies vermibus ebuliens expiravit.*

(13.63)⁶³ Eadem nocte venerunt *populi Christiani et sacerdotes*, ut corpora sanctorum colligerent. Et pre multitudinem cadaverum sanctorum corpora non cognoscebantur. Positis genibus oratione completa, apparverunt in speciæ virginum anime sanctorum, et unaqueque eorum super corpora veneranda resedit. Sancte reliquie collecte sunt. Domino adjuvante ita, ut sanguis eorum, quasi lacteus panis, circa suum aperire ad sanguinem recipiendum. *Sepulti sunt autem in ecclesia* sub sacro altare. Ex quo loco Dominus fontem indeficientem prodere precepit, ex quo sanctum baptisterium inundetur.⁶⁴ Passi sunt autem Idus Januarias regnante Domino Ihesu Christo, qui est gloriosus in secula seculorum. Amen.

⁶² LS4.422-431.

⁶³ LS4.432-34.

⁶⁴ This sentence is taken from 13.64.

The *Passio* of Saint Cecilia

This *passio* is found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 9, pp. 323-36. Zettel affirms that Mombritius's text is useful for comparison,¹ but I have followed the chapter numbers in Delehaye's edition, which is based on the earliest surviving (ninth-century) English copy of the legend.² Delehaye also records in the apparatus variants from a tenth-century manuscript from Chartres with which this Cotton-Corpus text agrees.³ I have followed Delehaye's chapter numbers below. Other Cotton-Corpus copies of the legend are found in: (i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 354, ff. 108r-116v and (ii) Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P 7 vi, ff. 73^v-80^r.⁴

[p. 323] Incipit passio Sancte Cecilie quod est X Kalendas Decembres

(1.) Humanas laudes et mortalium insulas vidimus aut ere inciso conscriptas aut auro radiantibus litteris ad posteritatis memoriam commendatas. Et ista attendentes, miror quare non erubescimus militum Christi victorias silentio tegere et non, ad laudem imperatoris eorum, qualiter pugnaverint contra hostes et vicerint scedulis [p. 324] saltem vilibus tradere et ad incitandos animos bellatorum diligentius explicare. Multa bona talium narrationum scripta convertant. Laus Dei est cum ista leguntur: memoria sanctorum excolitur, aedifica(cio) mentibus traditur, honor martiribus exhibetur, hinc infidelibus nascitur meror, incredul(is) livor, indisciplinatis angustia, et sanctis omnibus cum Christo gaudentibus. Solus diabolus ingemiscit qui videt pugnam suam eo usque armis celestibus debellatam, ut ex ipsa pugna ille melius victor existeret qui putatus est victus. Denique putabat se tunc hostis sanctos Dei occidendo vincere, illa autem melius occisi vincebant,

¹ Zettel, "Sources," p. 257. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, pp. 332-41.

² Delehaye, *Étude*, pp. 194-220.

³ Whatley, "Acta Sanctorum."

⁴ Zettel demonstrates that the Hereford copy preserves "a few more precise parallels" than the other texts but later shows that it is not an exact match ("Sources," pp. 257-58; 314). Whatley notes that close attention to the variants in the second edition of Mombritius's *Sanctuarium* (1:332-41) undermines Zettel's suggestion that the Hereford copy is unique in the English tradition ("Acta Sanctorum").

interrogati ilico confitebantur, damnati gratias referebant. Sic denique legimus antiquas Domini victorias celebratas. quando dixit inimicus: "Persequens comprehendam, partibus spolia. replebo animam meam. interficiam gladio meo, dominabitur manus mea" [Exodus 15.12]. Sed extendit dexteram suam et devoravit eos terra, et populum suum sanguinis sui pretio liberavit.

(2.) Denique jacet nunc sub sanctorum pedibus inimicus et dans mugitum, per lunaticos et energuminos clamat et poenas incendii quas patitur indicat atque se flammaram atrocitate aduri commemorans approbat quod omnes sancti, quos pro Christi nomine persecutus est, regnant. In tantum denique non sunt mortui, ut vitam moritur(i)s donent, tristibus gaudium exhibeant, languentibus prebeant medicinam, a[t]que ipsum humani generis inimicum ex obsessis corporibus proferentes, in ipsa revocant tormenta que passi sunt. Et illi quidem momentaneum perpassi laborem aeternam gloriam tenent. Illum vero numquam finiendis a gentem incendiis vi [sic] perpetue ignominie mancipatum. Clamat se ardere diabolus, ut tu intelligas quia bene refrigerat sanctos. Clamat se saluatum infirmus, ut tu intelligas sanctos Salvatori conjunctos. Sic enim ad Patrem dixisse legimus ipsum Dominum Salvatorem: "Pater, volo ut ubi sum ego et isti sint mecum" [John 17:4] Excitatur ergo per hęc animus ad medelam quando sue restorationis attendit indicia. Patulum enim sui pectoris prebet auditum, dum sue salutis probamenta per eos qui vere sunt saluati esse cognoscit. Hanc fidem tenuerunt apostoli, quo se vestigio exercitus victorias suas ad regem victoriosissimum reportarunt. Ipse enim triumphali crucis sue lauacro usque hodie antecedit omnium in se credentium mentes. Hunc secuti sunt priores

apostoli, post apostolos martires. post martires confessores. post confessores sacerdotes, post sacerdotes virgines. post virgines vidue. post viduas continentes. Omnibus patent Christi vestigia. Ideo denique omnibus clamat: “Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et honerati estis. et ego vos requiescere faciam” [Matthew 11:28].

(3.)⁵ Huius vocem audiens Cecilia, virgo clarissima, *absconditum semper evangelium Christi gerebat in pectore. et non diebus non noctibus a conloquiis divinis et oratione cessabat. Hęc Valerianum quendam juvenem habebat sponsum.* Qui juvenis in amorem virginis perurgens animum, diem constituit nuptiarum Cecylia vero *subtus ad carnem cilicio induta*, desuper auratis vestibus tegebatur. Parentum enim tanta vis et sponsi circa illam erat exestuans, ut non posset amorem sui cordis ostendere, et quod solum Christum diligeret indiciis evidentibus aperire. Quid multa? Venit dies. in quo thalamus collocatus est. *Et cantantibus organis. illa in corde suo soli Domino decantabat dicens: “Fiat cor meum et corpus meum [p 325] immaculatum ut non confundar.”*⁶ Et biduanis ac tricuanis jejuniis orans, commendabat Domino (quem) timebat. *Invitabat angelos precibus et lacrimis* interpellabat apostolos, et sancta omnia Christo famulantia exorabat ut suis eam deprecationibus adjuvarent. *Suam commendantem Domino pudicitam.*

(4.)⁷ Sed cum hęc agerentur, venit nox, in qua *suscepit una cum sponso suo cubiculi*

⁵ LS34.5-27.

⁶ Psalm 118:80 in the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* reads: “fiat cor meum perfectum in praeceptis tuis ut non confundar” [“May my heart be blameless in thy statutes, that I may not be put to shame” (Psalm 119:80, RSV)].

⁷ LS34.28-37.

secreta silentia et ita eum alloquitur: “O dulcissime atque amantissime juvenis, est mysterium quod tibi confitear si modo tu juratus asseras tota te illud observantia custodire.” Jurat Valerianus sponsus se illud nulla prodere ratione, nulla necessitate detegere. Tunc illa ait: “*Angelum Dei habeo amatorem* qui nimio zelo corpus meum custodit. Hic *si* vel leviter senserit quod *tu polluto amore me contingas, statim* circate suum *furorem exagitat* et amittes florem tue gratissimæ juven(tu)tis. *Si autem* cognoverit quod *me* sincero *animo diligas* et *virginitatem meam integram* illibatamque *custodias, ita te quoque diligit sicut et me, et ostendet tibi gratiam suam.*”

(5.)³ *Tunc Valerianus* nutu Dei *timore correptus* ait: “*Si vis ut vere credam sermonibus tuis, ostende michi ipsum.* Et si probavero quod vere angelus sit, faciam (que) hortaris. *Si autem virum alium diligis, et te et illum gladio feriam.*” *Tunc beata Cecilia* dixit ad eum: “*Si consiliis meis promittas te purificari fonte per(h)enni et credas unum Dominum in celis vivum et verum, poteris eum videre.*” *Dicit ei Valerianus:* “*Et quis est qui me purificet ut ego angelum Dei videam?*” Respondit ei *Cecilia:* “*Est senior qui novit purificare homines ut mereantur videre angelum.*” *Dicit ei Valerianus:* “*Et ego ubi hunc senem requiram?*” Respondit ei *Cecilia:* “*Vade intertium miliarium ab urbe, via que Appia nuncupatur, illuc invenies pauperes a transeuntibus petentes auxilium. De his michi semper cura fuit et optime huius mei conscii sunt secreti. Hos tu dum videris, dabis eis benedictionem meam dicens: ‘Cecilia me misit ad vos ut ostendatis mihi sanctum senem Urbanum, quoniam ad ipsum habeo secreta mandata que perferam.’ Hunc tu cum videris,*

³ LS34.38-50.

indica ei omnia verba mea. Et dum te purificaverit. induet te vestibus novis et candidis cum quibus. mox ut ingressus fueris. videbis angelum sanctum, etiam tui (amatorem) effectum et omnia que ab eo poposceris impetrabis.”

(6.)⁹ Tunc *Valerianus perrexit*, et secundum ea signa que acceperat, invenit sanctam *Urbanum* episcopum, qui iam bis confessor factus, inter sepulchra martirum latitabat. Cui cum dixisset omnia verba Cecilie, gavisus est *gaudio magno* et ponens genua sua in terra expandit manus suas ad celum et cum lacrimis dixit: “Domine Ihesu Christe, seminor casti consilii, suscipe seminum fructus quos in Cecilia seminasti. Domine Ihesu Christe, pastor bone. Cecilia famula tua quasi ovis¹⁰ tibi argumentosa deservit. Nam sponsum, quem quasi leonem ferocem accepit, ad te quasi agnum mansuetissimum destinavit. Iste huc, nisi crederet, non venisset. Aperi ergo, Domine, cordis ejus januam sermonibus tuis, ut te creatorem suum esse cognoscens, renuntiet diabolo et pompis ejus et idolis ejus.”

(7.)¹¹ Hęc (et his similia) orante sancto Urbano episcopo, *subito ante faciem ipsorum apparuit* senior indutus niveis vestibus, tenens titulum in manibus. *aureis litteris scriptum*. Quem videns *Valerianus*, *nimio terrore correptus et cadens in terram factus est quasi mortuus*. [p. 326] *Tunc senior elevavit eum* dicens: “*Lege* huius libri textum ut purificari merearis et videre angelum cuius tibi aspectus Cecilia virgo devotissima repromisit.” Tunc *Valerianus respiciens intra se legere coepit*. Scriptura autem tituli hęc erat: “*Unus Deus*,

⁹ LS34.51-55.

¹⁰ The word ‘*ovis*’ has been erased but is still visible.

¹¹ LS34.56-71.

una fides, unum baptisma. unus Deus et pater omnium, qui super omnia et in omnibus nobis."¹² Cumque hoc intra se legisset, dicit ei senior: "*Credes ita esse, an adhuc dubitas?*" Tunc Valerianus voce magna clamavit dicens: "Non est aliud quod verius possit credi sub celo." *Cumque hæc dixisset Valerianus, ille senior ab oculis eorum elevatus est.* Tunc sanctus *Urbanus baptizavit e(um) et edocens eum*¹³ *fidei omnem regulam remisit eum ad Ceciliam diligenter instructum.*

(8.)¹⁴ Veniens igitur Valerianus indutus candidis vestimentis, *Cecyliam intra cubiculum orantem invenit, et stantem juxta eam angelum Domini pennis fulgentibus alas habentem et flammeo aspectu radi(a)ntem. Duas coronas ferentem in manibus coruscantes rosis et liliis albentes, quique unam dedit Caecilie alteram Valeriano dicens: "Istas coronas immaculato corpore custodite, quia de paradiso Dei eas attuli ad vos. Et hoc vobis signum erit: numquam marcidum aspectu sui ad hibent florem, numquam sui minuunt suavitatem odoris, nec ab aliis videri poterunt, nisi ab eis quibus castitas placuerit, sicut et vobis probata est placuisse. Et quia tu, Valeriane, cum sensisti consilio castitatis, misit me Christus filius Dei ad te ut quam volveris petitionem insinues."* At ille audiens *adoravit et dixit: "Nihil michi dulcius in ista vita existit quam unicus mei fratris affectus, et impium michi est ut, me liberato, germanum meum in periculo perditionis aspiciam. Hoc solum omnibus petitionibus meis antepono et deprecor, ut fratrem meum Tiburtium sicut me liberare dignetur et faciat nos ambos in sui nominis confessione perfectos."* Audiens

¹² Valerian's confession quotes in part Ephesians 4:5.

¹³ A 'ū' in a different hand replaces an 'i.'

¹⁴ LS34.72-98.

hęc angelus. letissimo vultu dixit ad eum: “*Quoniam petisti quod melius Christus implere delectat. sicut te per famulam sua[m] Ceciliam lucratus est Dominus ita per te quoque tuum lucrabitur fratrem et cum eodem ad martirii palmam attinges.*”

(9.)¹⁵ His itaque finitis sermocina(tionibus), Tiburtius, Valeriani frater, ad venit, et ingressus quasi ad cognatam suam, osculatus est caput sanctę Cecilie et ait: “*Miror hoc tempore roseus hic odor et liliorum unde respiret? Nam si tenerem ipsas rosas aut ipsa lilia in manibus meis, nec sic poterant odoramenta tante mihi suavitatis in fundere. Confiteor vobis, sum reffectus ut putem me totum subito renovatum.*” Dicit ei Valerianus: “*Odorem iam meruisti me inter pellante suscipere. Modo te credente promereberis etiam ipsum roseum aspectum gaudere et intelligere, cuius in rosis sanguis florescit et in liliis corpus albescit. Coronas enim habemus quas tui oculi videre non prevalent, flore colore et niveo candore vernantes.*” Dicit ei Tiburtius: “*In somnis hęc audio an in veritate ista tu loqueris, Valeriane?*” Respondit Valerianus: “*In somnis nunc usque viximus, nam modo in veritate sumus et fallacia in nobis nulla est. Dii enim quos colimus ad omnem fidem demonia comprobantur.*” Dicit ei Tiburtius: “*Unde hoc nosti?*” Valerianus respondit: “*Angelus Dei docuit me, quem et tu videre poteris, si purificatus fueris ab omni sorde idolorum.*” Dicit ei Tiburtius: [p. 327] “*Et si potest fieri ut videam angelum Dei, que mora est purificationis?*” Valerianus respondit: “*Nulla. Hoc tantum tu michi sponde, quod omnia idola deneges et crede unum esse Deum in celis.*” Tiburtius respondit: “*Non intelligo quia intentione ista prosequeris.*”

¹⁵ LS34.99-125.

(10.)¹⁶ Cecilia dixit: “Miror ut non intelligas figuras fictiles cypseas, aereas, ligneas atque lapideas. vel cuius cumque metalli [de]os esse non posse, quas araneę texunt et aves stercorant, in quorum capitibus solerit ciconie nidos instruere, quos damnatici faciunt. Nam ad omne metallum pro criminibus damnatici mittunt. Ergo a damnaticiis initium accipiens quomodo possunt dii vel ęstimari vel credi? Inter mortuum quoque et simulachrum nulla distantia est. Sicut enim mortuus omnia membra habet, flatum tunc nec vocem non potest habere nec sensum. Sic et ista vana numina omnia quidem membra habent, sed omnia fatua et caduca noscuntur et deteriora quam homines mortui comprobantur. Quia hominum membra, dum viverent, et oculis viderunt et auribus audierunt, ambulaverunt pedibus, ore locuti sunt, manibus palpaverunt et odorem naribus assumerunt. Isti autem a morte coeperunt et in morte perdurant, quia numquam nec vixisse nec posse vivere comprobantur.” Tunc cum omni alacritate Tiburtius ait: “Qui ita non credit pecus est.” Hęc dicente Tiburtio. sancta Cecilia osculata est pectus ejus et dixit: “Hodie te fateor ęsse meum cognatum. Sicut enim majorem Deus michi fratrem tuum conjugem fecit. ita te mihi cognatum contemptus faciet idolorum. Unde quia paratus es ad credendum, vade cum fratre tuo ut purificationem accipias, per quam merearis angelicos vultus aspicere et omnium tuarum veniam invenire culparum.”

(11.)¹⁷ Tunc dicit fratri suo Tiburtius: “Obsecro te, frater, ut dicas michi ad quem me ducturus es.” Valerianus respondit: “Ad magnum virum *Urbanum nomine*, in quo est

¹⁶ LS34.126-27.

¹⁷ LS34.128-53.

aspectus angelicus, veneranda canicies, sermo verus, et sapentia conditus.” *Dicit ei Tiburtius*: “Tu illum Urbanum dicis quem papam suum Christiani nominant? Hunc ergo audio iam secundo dampnatum et iterum pro ipsa re qua *dampnatus est latebram sui fovendo* predicare. Iste si inventus fuerit, sine dubio atrocibus dabitur flammis, et ut dici solet, certe et *nos simul cremabimur si cum illo fuerimus inventi, et dum querimus divinitatem in celis latentem*, incurrimus furorem exurentem in terris.” *Dicit ei Cecilia*: “*Si ista una esset vita et non esset alia, juste istam perdere timeremus*. Si autem est vita satis ista melior et que numquam finiri potest, ut quid ista perdere timeamus quando per huius perditionem ad illius inquisitionem attingimus?” *Tiburtius respondit*: “Adhuc hoc numquam audiui. *Ergo est altera vita preter istam?*” *Dicit ei Cecilia*: “Et hoc quod (in) isto mundo vivitur vita est? quod humores humidant, *dolores extenuant, ardores exsiccant*, aures morbidant, esce inflant, (jejunia macerant), (joea) solvunt, tristitie (consumunt), *sollicitudo coartat*, securitas evertat, *divitię jactant, paupertas deicit*, *juventus extollitur, senectus incuruat, frangit infirmitas, meror consumit, et his omnibus mors furibunda succedit, et ita universis gaudiis carnalibus finem inponit* et, cum esse desierit, nec fuisse putetur. Pro nichilo enim [p. 328] computatur iam omne quod non est. *Illam autem vitam que isti vite succedit, aut perpetuis tribulationibus datur injustis, aut aeternis gaudiis justis offertur.*”

(12.)¹⁸ *Respondit ad hęc Tiburtius dicens*: “*Et quis ibi fuit et inde huc veniens nobis hoc potuit indicare ut merito possimus ista afferentibus credere?*” *Tunc beata Cecilia erigens*

¹⁸ LS34.154-174.

se. stetit et cum magna constantia dixit: "Caeli terręque. maris et hominum ac volucrum reptantium. pecudumque creator ex se ipso antequam ista omnia faceret genuit filium et protulit ex virtute sua spiritum sanctum: filium et crearet omniam; spiritum ut vivificaret universa. Omnia autem quę sunt, filius ex patre genitus condidit, universa autem que condita sunt ex patre procedens spiritus sanctus animavit." Dicit ei Tiburtius: "Certe unum Deum esse in cęlis credendum asseritis. Quomodo nunc tres esse testaris?" Respondit Cecilia: "Unus Deus est in majestate sua, quem ita in sancta trinitate dividimus ut in uno homine dicimus esse sapientiam unam. Quam sapientiam dicimus habere ingenium, memoriam, et intellectum. Nam ingenio ad invenimus quod non didicimus; memoria tenemus quod docemur; intellectu advertimus quicquid vel videre vis contingere vel audire. Quid modo faciemus? Numquid non ista tria una sapientia in homine possidet? Si ergo homo in una sapientia tria possidet nomina, quomodo non Deus omnipotens in una deitate sua Trinitas obtineat majestatem?" *Tunc Tiburtius prostratus in terra coepit clamare dicens: "Non michi vicedur humana lingua rationem reddere, sed puto quod angelus Dei per os tuum loquitur."* Et cum multas gratias ageret quod breviter unum Deum esse in tribus personis evidentius ostendisset, conversus ad fratrem suum dixit: "De deo unum satis mihi factum esse confiteor; insuper ut ad inquisitionem meam ut coeperat sermo percurrat."

(13.)¹⁹ Cecilia dixit: "De his mecum loquere quia tironici tempus fratrem tuum tibi prohibet dare responsum. Me autem quam ab ipsis cunabulis Christi sapientia docuit ad

¹⁹ LS34.175-82.

quamcumque causam querere voveris. inparatam habere non poteris.” Dicit ei Tiburtius:

“Hoc inquisivi: quis inde huc veniens aliam vobis quam judicatis vitam ostendit?”

Cecilia dixit: “Unigenitum filium suum de cęlis pater per virginem misit ad terras, qui stans super montem sanctum clamavit voce magna dicens: ‘Venite ad me omnes populi.’

Cucurritque ad eum omnis sexus, omnisque aetas, omnisque condicio. Tum omnibus dixit. ‘Poenitentiam agite pro ignorantia vestra, quia appropinq(ua)bit regnum Dei quod auferat regnum hominum. Regnum autem suum Deus vult participare credentibus in quo eo sit excelsior quisque, quo fuerit constantior. Ibi peccatores aeternis cruciatibus et his consumuntur sempiternis incendiis. Isti vero perpetuę glorię splendorem accipiunt et gaudiis que nullo fine poterunt concludi succenduntur. Nolite itaque, o filii hominum, istius vite gaudia fugitiva querere, ut illius vitę gaudia ęterna teneatis que isti vite succe(dit). In ista enim vita paucis tempore vivitur, in illa autem dabitur in eternum.’

Audiens hec increduli populi omnis una voce dixerunt: ‘Quis ibi fuit et quis inde huc veniens potuit docere vera ęsse que asseris.’ Tunc filius Dei dixit eis: ‘Si ostendam vobis mortuos qui surrexerunt ignorantes quod mortui fuerint, non credetis veritati. [p. 329] Ite ergo nunc et mortuos quantos inveneritis afferte ut resurgentes ipsi vobis asserant verum es(se) omne quod dixi.’ Tunc populi attulerunt infinita corpora mortuorum, que illę, quasi dormientia, sola voce excitans suscitabat, clamabatque omnibus dicens: ‘Si verbis non creditis, vel virtutibus credite.’ Denique vel occasionis vestigium dubietate remaneret, cum populis a sepulchra pergebat. et triduanis atque qua triduanis ac fetentibus mortuis, vitam quam amiserant revocabat. Transmeabat Maria, super undas ambularis pedibus siccis, imperabat ventis, tempestates acerbat, atque sevientes procellas ac turbines

compescebat resituebat cecis visum, mancis inpendebat dextras, claudi cantibus gressum. mutis vocem dabat et surdis auditum. paraliticos verbo sanabat. leprosos verbo mandabat. infirmos curabat, lunaticos restaurabat, et demones expugnabat. Sed quia hunc impii zelati sunt eo quod ipsos populi relinquentes ejus vestigia sequerentur, stementes vestimenta sua ante pedes ejus et clamantes. 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.' [Matthew 21:9] Inflati adversum eum pharisei. Cuidam Pilato eum presidi tradiderunt magum enim esse et sceleratissimum asserentes. Atque tumultuosa seditione egerunt ut eum crucifigerent.

(14.) "Quod ille previdens mundo proficere ad salutem, permisit se et teneri et illudi et verb(era)ri pariter et occidi. Scivit enim non nisi per passionem suam diabolo cativitatem inferre et in mundis spiritibus ardua irrogari supplicia. Ideo denique ille tentus est qui peccatum non fecit, ut dimitteretur genus humanum, quod tenebatur vinctum in nodo peccati. Benedictus maledicatur, ut nos a maledictionibus tolleret. Illudi se passus est, ut nos ab illusionem demonum, qui in hoc mundo versatur, auferret. Spineam in capite coronam accepit ut sententiam capitalem que ex spinis peccatorum nobis debebatur eriperet. Fel in escam suscepit, ut dulcem gustum primi hominis, unde mors mundum invaserat, commutaret. Aceto potatus est ut acerbiter quam sanguis noster efferverat in se susciperet. et ipse liberet passionis calicem qui nostris passionibus debebatur. Expoliatus est, ut nuditatem parentum nostrorum, quam serpentis consilio factam doluerat. niveo vestimentorum tegmine operiret. In ligno suspensus est, ut ligni prevaricationem ligno sue tolleret passionis. Mortem quoque ad se venire permisit, ut eam adversus se conluctantem prosterneret et que per serpentem regnum invenit cum ipso serpente

prostra(to) fieret captiva per Christum. Denique, cum universa elementa creatorem suum in cruce levatum aspicerent, terrore nimio tremuerunt. Nam ex uno latere terra movebatur, ex altero templa findebantur et saxa. Fugit dies, sol expavit et fuscatus est et lugubrem totum prebuit mundum. Luna pallidos sui luminis vultus sanguinea nube [con]textit. Stelle sidereo radiantes aspectu omnes pariter migraverunt. Dedit mugitum terra et quasi parturiens coepit multo sanctos parere de sepulchris, qui darent testimonium hoc quod descensus Salvatoris ad inferos diabolo regnum eripuit et moriendo mortem tenuit et edomuit et ligavit et suorum subdidit pedibus famulorum. Inde est quod pro nomine ejus verberati gaudemus, et in persecutionibus gloriamur quia vitę nostrę isti caduce et misere [p. 330] aeterna vita succedit illa quam Dei filius resurgens a mortuis suis apostolis demonstravit; quibus videntibus ascendit in celos. Hoc si trium testium doceret assertio sapientium mentes dubitare non poterant. At vero cum non solum xii discipulis sed plusquam quingentis simul se demonstravit. dignatus est ambiguitatis nulla poenitus vestigia derelinqui. Hi autem qui hęc in universum mundum predicare missi sunt set signis et virtutibus magnis sua dicta firmabant. Nam omnes egritudines in ejus nomine curaverunt, effugaverunt doemonia. Et vitam mortuis reddiderunt.

(15.) "Nihil puto tibi remansisse quod queras nisi ut istam vitam animo et corde despicias et illam vehementius et fortius queras. Qui enim filium Dei crediderit et preceptis ejus adhererit, dum deposuerit corpus, a morte non tangitur sed a sanctis angelis in gremio suscipitur et ad paradisi perducitur regionem. Inde est quod ipsa mors cum diabolo a(g)it ut diversis occupationibus hominum obliget mentes et variis incautos necessitatibus

occupet. Et nunc de damno timidat, nunc de lucro incitat, nunc de sepulchro illicitat. nunc de gula exagitat et diverso genere suasionis de ista sola vita facit homines miseros cogitare ut eos exeuntes de corpore inveniatur nudos nichil secum preter peccata portantes. Haec tibi breviter explicavi. Si quid tibi <de>esse consideras, quere.”

(16.)²⁰ Tunc *Tiburtius* pedibus ejus prostratus cum ingenti fletu et *lacrimis* dixit: “Si de ista vita ulterius vel mente tracta vero vel cogitatione quesiero, in illa vita non inveniar. Habebant stulti lucrum labentis temporis. Ego qui usque hodie sine causa vixi, iam non sit sine causa quod vi<v>o.”²¹ Et his dictis ad fratrem suum conversus ait: “Miserere mei, frater karissime, et erumpe moras quarum nexus compatior. Dilationes timeo. Pondus ferre non possum. Obsecro te, perduc me ad hominem Dei, ut me purificans illi vite participem facia.” Tunc *Valerianus* perduxit fratrem suum ad papam *Urbanum*. Cui cum narrasset universa que fuerant dicta vel facta, gratias referens Deo, suscepit Tiburtium cum omni gaudio et *baptizans eum*, secum esse precepit quoad usque albas deponeret. *Quem perfectum doctrina sua per vii<tem> dies*, Christo militem consecravit. *Tantam denique gratiam consecutus est Domini, ut angelos Dei videret cotidie et omniamque poposcisset a Domino protinus eveniret effectus*. Verum quia multum est ut omniam per ordinem prosequamur que et quanta *per eos Dominus mirabilia fecerit* conscribamus, ad gloriosas passiones eorum articulum revocemus.

²⁰ LS34.183-95.

²¹ Corrected to `v` by later hand.

(17.)²² *Turcius Almachius, urbis prefectus, sanctos Domini fortiter laniabat et inhumata jubebat eorum corpora derelinqui. Tiburtius vero et Valerianus ad hoc vocabantur ut pretiosas martirum facerent sepulturas elemosinis et pietatibus insistentes. Interea, ut solitum est, bonos odiunt mali et indicant universa Almachio quæ per eos Dominus circa ageret, vel quam studiose quos ille occidi jusserat sepelirent. Tenti ab apparitoribus Almachio presentantur. Quos Almachius his protinus aggressus est verbis: "Cum vos nobilitatis titulus clarissimos fecerit nasci, cur nuper nescio qua superstitione in felices vos et degeneres exhibetis? Nam facultates vestras vos audio in nescio quas viles personas expendendo consumere ac pro sceleribus suis punitos cum omni gloria tradere sepulture. Unde datur [p. 331] intelligi quod consci(i) vestri sint quibus pro conjuratione honestas traditis sepulturas." Respondit Tiburtius dicens: "Utinam dignentur nos ut servos suos computare, quorum tu aestimas nos esse collegas, qui contempserunt quod videtur esse et non est et invenerunt illud quod videtur non esse et est?" Almachius prefectus dixit: "Quid est quod videtur esse et non est?" Tiburtius dixit: "Omnia que in isto mundo sunt que invitant homines ad mortem perpetuam per letitiam temporalem." Almachius dixit: "Et quid est quod non videtur non esse et est?" Tiburtius dixit: "Vita que futura est justis et poena que debetur in justis et utroque latere verum novimus esse quod veniant et infelici dissimulatione, quod oculis cordis nostri scimus videre oculis corporis nostri subdicimus ut, contra conscientiam nostram, que bona sunt malis sermonibus obumbremus et que mala sunt bonis sermonibus adornemus." Almachius dixit: "Non puto quo mente tua loquaris." Tiburtius dixit: "Non mea mente loquor sed ejus (quem) in visceribus mee*

²² LS34.196-213.

mentis accepi.” Almachius dixit: “Numquid tu ipse scis qua(s) loqueris?” Tiburtius respondit: “Et novi, et didici, et credo, quod universa que a me dicta sunt, ita ut dicta sunt, permanebunt.” Almachius dixit: “Et ego, quare non adverto quo ordine ista prosequeris?” Tiburtius dixit: “Quia animalis homo non percipit que sunt spiritus. Spiritualis autem iudicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine iudicatur.”[1 Corinthians 2:15]

(18.) Tunc ridens prefectus iussit ammoveri Tiburtium et applicari Valerianum. Cui et dixit: “Quoniam non est sani capitis frater tuus, tu saltem poteris sapientia dare responsa.” Dicit ei Valerianus: “Auditus tuus errorem patitur, quia viam sermonis nostri non poteris intueri.” Prefectus dixit: “Nullus sic erat sicut et vos erratis. Qui relictis rebus necessariis et utilibus inepta sectamini et odium, respicientes gaudia, execrantes letitiam, atque contempnentes omne quod vite blandimento concessum est illud tota, mentis aviditate suscepistis quod saluti contrarium inveniri potest et gaudiis inimicum.” Valerianus ad hæc respondit: “Jocantes et ridentes et variis deliciis affluentes vidi glaciali tempore transire per campos in quibus campis stabant rustici pastinantes et cum omni studio armenta pangentes atque spinosa surcula rosarum animose et cautissime componentes. Alii quoque taleas inserebant; alii radicitus noxia queque truncabant cunctique ruri opera labore nimio excolentes. Tunc illi qui deliciabantur et epulabantur, ceperunt laborantes irridere ac dicere: ‘Infelices et miseri istum superfluum laborem abscite et nobiscum gaudentes deliciis vos et voluptatibus exhibete. Quare sicut insani duro labore deficitis et vite vestre tempora tristissimis occupationibus fatigatis?’ Et hæc dicentes solvebantur super eos risus et dabant plausus manuum, multis increpationibus insultantes. Hæc illis agentibus imbriferis atque

algidis mensibus, serena tempora successerunt. Et ecce floribus roseis vernantes campi, nemoribus pampineis ornabantur et crispas butrorum sertas exhibebant suo partu sarmenta et vario genere tabus arborum melliflua poma gigneabant in quibus vidimus usque hodie habundare et gratiam et fructum pariter et decorem. Tunc gaudentibus illis qui putabantur vani, coeperunt flere qui videbantur vani. Et qui in sua fuerant sapientia gloriati in nimia pestilentia [p. 332] perierunt, et sera poenitudine mugitum sui ut hii gemitumque reddentes sibi invicem loquebantur: "Isti sunt quos habuimus in derisu. Laborem ipsorum putabamus obprobrium. Vitam eorum exerabamus indignam et conventum eorum sine honore. Isti autem sapientes et nos [probamui] miseri tunc fuisse et insipientes et vani quedum nec ipsi laboravimus nec laborantibus auxilium pro labore prestitimus. Quinimmo eos in diliciis positi risimus et credidimus dementes quos fulgentes nunc aspiciamus et florentes."

(19.) Ad hęc prefectus ait: "Sapienter te quidem video prosecutum sed non ad interrogationem meam videris desisse responsum." Valerianus dixit: "Stultos nos et insipientes esse dixisti. quod facultates nostras egentibus damus, advenas suscepimus, viduis opem ferimus, orphanis subvenimus, inhumata corpora tegimus, et honestas Dei martiribus tradimus sepulturas. Insipientes nos esse et insanissimos iudicas quod non cum letantibus letamur neque cum voluptuosis diliciis resolvamur aut ignobilis vulgi oculis nos illustres et nobiles ostendimus. Veniet tempus in quo fructum huius nostrę tristitie colligamus et nobis gaudentibus lugeant hi qui in suis nunc gaudiis excolluntur. Tempus enim seminandi modo est. Qui in ista vita seminaverunt gaudia, in illa vita luctum et gemitum metunt. Qui autem nunc seminaverunt lacrimas temporales, in illa vita sunt

gaudia sempiterna mansuri.”

(20.) Prefectus dixit: “Ergo et nos et invictissimi principes aeternum habebimus luctum vos vero perpetuum possidebitis gaudium?” Valerianus respondit: “Quid enim estis vos, quid principes vestri? Humunciones estis tempore vestro nati, tempore vestro expleto morituri, tantum Deo reddituri rationem quantum vobis tradidit summam potestatis.”

Almachius dixit: “Quid verborum circuitu immoramur? Offerte diis libamina, et abscedite illesi.” Responderunt ambo: “Nos non diis sed Deo cotidie sacrificium exhibemus.”

Almachius dixit: “Quis est Deus cui vestrum vos dicitis tradert famulatum.” Responderunt ambo: “Et quis est Deus alius, ut de eo nos interroges? Est enim alius preter unum?”

Almachius dixit: “Ipsum unum quem dicis, nomen ipsius edicito.” Valerianus respondit:

“Nomen Dei non invenies, etiamsi pennis volare possis.” Almachius dixit: “Ergo Jovis Dei nomen non est?” Valerianus respondit: “Nomen est hominis corruptoris. Homicidam illum vestri auctores commemorant et criminosum littere vestre demonstrant. Hunc tu deum miror quo fronte locutus es, cum Deus dici non posse nisi ab omni peccato alienus sit et sit omnibus virtutibus plenus.” Almachius dixit: “Ergo omnis mundus errat, et tu cum fratre tuo verum Deum nosti?” Valerianus respondit: “Innumerabilis multitudo Christianitatis sanctitatem suscepit, et magis vos pauci estis qui sicut astule de manu naufragio remansistis ad nichil aliud nisi ut in igne mittamini.”

(21.)²³ *Tunc iratus Almachius jussit eum fustibus cedi. Ille autem statim ut exutus est,*

²³ LS34.214-15.

coepit gaudere dicens: “Ecce hora quam semper obtavi. ecce dies omni mihi festiva(te) jucundior.” Cumque cae(ē)derent eum. vox preconia super eum clamabat dicens: “Deos et deas blasphemare noli.” Ille autem clamabat populo dicens: “Cives Romani, videte ne vos a veritate ista mea plaga revocet. Set state viriliter et deos lapides quos colit Almachus in calcem convertite, quia in aeterna tribulatione erunt omnes qui colunt eos.”

(22.)²⁴ Tunc assessor prefecti Tarquinius [p. 333] Lacca dixit prefecto: “Invenisti occasionem. Tolle eos. *Nam si moras feceris et de die in diem protraxeris, omnes facultates suas erogabunt et punitis eis tu invenies nichil.*” Tunc jussit carnificibus ut ab eis duceretur ad pagum ubi erat statu vinculus Jo(v)is et jussit ut si noluissent sacrificare, ambo fratres pariter sententiam capitalem susciperent. Tunc gloriosi martires, tenti a Maximo, corniculario prefecti, ducebantur ad pagum. Qui Maximus coepit flere super eos dicens: “O juventutis flos purpureus, O germanus fraternitatis affectus, quia impiam diffinitionem volentes ammittere et quasi ad epulas festinatis.” Tunc Tiburtius dixit: “Nos nisi pro certo didicissemus alteram vitam esse perpetuam quę isti vitę presenti succedit, numquam istam nos ammittere gauderemus.” Dicit ei Maximus: “Et que potest esse altera vita?” Respondit Tiburtius: “Sicut vestitur vestimentis corpus ita vestitur anima corpore. Sicut expoliatur vestimentis corpus, ita expoliatur anima corpore. Et corpus quidem quod terrenum semen per libidinem dedit terreno ventri redditur, in pulverem redactum sicut fenix futuri aspectus luminis resurgat. Anima vero ad paradisi dilicias, si sancta est, perferatur, ut in diliciis affluen, tempus sue restorationis expectet.”

²⁴ LS34.216-33.

(23.)²⁵ *Dicit ei Maximus: "Optarem et ego contempnere vitam istam, si poteram certum apud me habere que loqueris."* Dicit ei Valerianus: "Quia nichil tibi dicis super esse, nisi ut probes vera esse que dicimus, in hora qua nos Dominus faciet istam corporis tunicam in gloriosam nominis sui confessionem deponere. *aperiet Dominus oculus tuos et faciet te videre cum quanta gloria illa vita suscipitur, si tamen promittas nobis quo ex animo ad penitentiam erroris tui venias.*" Tunc Maximus devotabat se dicens: "*Fulmineis ignibus consumar si ex hac hora non illum solum Deum conf(ite)ar qui alteram vitam facit isti vite succedere. Hoc tantum vos michi quod promisistis ostendite.*" *Dicunt ei ambo fratres: "Impetra a carnificibus ut ad domum tuam nos ducant et hodierni diei inducias explica, ita ut custodiant nos in domo tua. Illuc ad te venire faciemus purificatorem qui te ista nocte statim ut purificaverit faciet te videre hoc quod tibi promisimus."* Quo Deum impetrasset Maximus, *duxit eos in domum suam. Ad quorum predicationem et ipse Maximus cum omni domus sua et ipsi carnifices crediderunt.* Tunc sancta Cecilia venit ad eos nocte *cum sacerdotibus, et universi baptizati sunt. Igitur cum aurora noctis finem daret, facto magno silentio, Cecilia dixit: "Eia milites Christi, abicite opera tenebrarum, et induimini arma lucis. Certamen bonum certati estis, cursum consummastis, fidem servastis, ite ad coronam vite, quam dabit Dominus vobis justus iudex, non solum vobis sed omnibus qui diligunt adventum ejus."*

(24.)²⁶ Locus igitur pagus .iiii. miliario ab urbe situs, in quo per templi januam transitus

²⁵ LS34.234-65.

²⁶ LS34.266-84.

erat, ut omnis qui ingrederetur, si Jovi tura non poneret, puniretur. Venientibus ergo sanctis, offeruntur tura et recussant recussantes. Ponunt genu; *feriuntur gladio*. Proiciunt corpus temporale et martirium suscipiunt sempiternum. *Tunc Maximus iratus asserebat dicens: "Vidi angelos Dei fulgentes sicut sol in hora qua verberati sunt gladio et egredientes animas eorum de corporibus quasi virgines de thalamo; quas in gremio suo susipientes angeli remigio alarum suarum ferebant ad celos."* Ita cum lacrimis narrante Maximo, plurimi crediderunt, et ab idolorum cultura plurimi conversi se suo creatori reddiderunt. [p. 334] *Igitur cum pervenisset ad Almachium quod Maximus cornicularius cum suis omnibus factus fuisset Christianus, jussit eum tam diu plumbatis tundi quam diu spiritum redderet. Quem sancta Cecilia juxta ubi Tiburtium et Valerianum sepelierat, in novo sacrophago sepelivit. Et jussit ut in sarcophago ejus sculperetur fenix, ad indicium fidei ejus, qui resurrectionem inventorum fenicis exemplo suscepit.*

(25.)²⁷ *Factum est autem post hec coepit Almachius querere facultates amborum. Pro qua inquisitione sanctam Ceciliam quasi Valeriani conjugem precepit artare. Que cum universa que remanserant ex eorum facultatibus pauperibus fideliter tradidisset, ipsam quoque ut tura poneret coepit impelli. Tunc apparitoribus qui eam hoc facere compellebant, dixit: "Audite me, cives et fratres, vos ministri estis judicis vestri et videtur vobis quod ab ejus impietate aleini esse mereamini. Mihi quidem gloriosum est et valde obtabile omnia pro Christi nomine preferre tormenta, quia cum hac vita numquam dignata sum habere amicitias. Sed vestra satis doleo juventute quam sollicitudine gerentes facitis*

²⁷ LS34.285-92.

quicquid vobis fuerit ab injusto iudice imperatum.” *Tunc illi dabant fletus et voces quid tam eligans puella et tam sapiens et nobilis etiam optare occidi.* Et rogabant eam dicentes ne tale decus imitteret, ne tantam pulchritudinem versaret in mortem.

(26.)²⁸ Quibus flentibus atque animum ejus revocantibus, ita *respondit*: “Hoc non est juventutem perdere sed mutare. *Dare lutum et accipere aurum. Dare habitaculum vile et accipere domum amplissimam* ex lapidibus pretiosis et auro constructam. *Dare angulum brevem et opacum et accipere forum lucidum margaretis celestibus coruscans.* *Dare rem perituram et accipere que finem nescit et mortem ignorat. Dare lapidem vilem* qui pedibus conculcatur *et accipere lapidem pretiosum* qui in diademate regio vibrante resplendet aspectum. Hodie si vobis aliquis offerret solidos, ita ut parem summam a vobis numorum granter offerret oblatam, numquid et vos curreretis gaudentes ad tale mercatum et omnes parentes et notos affines et propinquos et caros et amicos faceretis vobiscum currere? Quicumque autem vos lacrimis revocaret, eo quod omnis nummos daretis intrepidi, numquid non irridetis eos ut ignaros et nescios? Vos autem curreretis exultantes quod vestros daretis ad commutationem auri pretiosi aeramentum vile et nullius sum jacturam et pondus ad pondus accipere gratulamini; Deus autem non dat pondus ad pondus, sed quod simplum accipiet centuplum reddet, insuper et vitam eternam.” Et his dictis ascendit super lapidem qui erat juxta pedes ejus et dicit omnibus: “Creditis hec que dixi?” At illi omnes una voce dixerunt: “*Credimus Christum filium Dei verum Deum esse qui te talem possidet famulam.*” Dicit eis Cecilia: “Ite ergo et dicite infelici Almachio

²⁸ LS34.293-303.

quod ego inducias petam ut non urgeat passionem meam. Et huc intra domum meam faciam venire qui vos omnes faciat vite aeternae participes.” Et ita Domino procurante completur.

(27.)²⁹ Tunc veniens papa sanctus Urbanus *baptizavit intra domum* ejus amplius quam *quadringentos* promiscui sexus et conditionis et aetatis, inter quos unus clarissimus vir erat nomine Gordianus. Hic sub umbrationem nominis sui domum sanctae Cæcilie suo nomine titulavit, ut in occulto ex illa die [p. 335] ex quo ibi baptisma Christi celebratum est ecclesia fieret, ita ut etiam papa urbis Urbanus illic moraretur et licet occulte, cotidie tamen redemptionis Christi ibi crescerent lucra, et *infinita fierent diaboli detrimenta*.

(28.)³⁰ *Sed cum hæc agerentur, Almachius Cecyliam sibi presentari jubet.* Quam interrogans ait: “Quod tibi nomen est?” Respondit: “Cecilia.” Almachius dixit: “Cuius conditionis es?” Cecilia respondit: “Ingenua, nobili, clarissima.” Almachius dixit: “Ego te de religione interrogo.” Cecilia respondit: “Interrogatio tua stultum sumpsit initium, que duas responsiones una putat inquisitione concludi.” Almachius dixit: “Unde tibi tanta presumptio respondendi?” Cecilia respondit: “De conscientia bona et fide non ficta.” *Almachius dixit: “Ignorans cujus potestatis sis?”* Cecilia respondit: “Tu ignoras cuius sis potestatis. *Nam ego si me interrogas de tua potestate, verius tibi assertionibus manifestem.*” Dicit ei Almachius: “Dic, si quid nostis.” Cecilia respondit: “*Omnis*

²⁹ LS34.304-07.

³⁰ LS34.308-19.

potestas hominis sic est quasi uter vento repletus, quem si una acus pupugerit omnis rigor cervicis ejus mollescit, et quicquid in se rigidum habere cernitur.” Almachius dixit: “Ab injuriis coepisti et in injuriis perseveras.” Cecilia respondit: “Injuria non dicitur nisi quod verbis falla cybus inrogatur. Unde autem injuriam doce si falsa locuta sum aut te ipsum, corripe calumniam inferentem.”

(29.) Almachius dixit: “Ignoras quid domini vestri invictissimi principes jusserunt ut qui se non negaverint esse Christianos puniantur qui vero negaverint dimittantur?” Celia respondit: “Sic imperatores vestri errant sicut et nobilitas vestra. Sententia enim quam ab eis prolatam esse testaris vos sevientes et nos innocentes ostendit. Si enim malum esset hoc nomen, nos negaremus. Vos vero ad confitendum suppliciis urgeretis.” Almachius dixit: “Pro pietate sua hoc voverunt statuere ut quomodo vitę vestre possit esse consultum.” Cecilia respondit: “Nichil tam pium nihilque tam innocentię inimicum quam ut reis omnibus tormenta adhibeatis ad confitendam qualitatem sceleris. Locum, tempus, conscios socios omni examinatione perquiritis. nobis vero quos innocentes scitis nominis tantum crimen inpingitis. Sed nos scientes sanctam nomen omnino negare non possumus. Melius est enim feliciter vivere. Nos enim vera dicentes vos torquemus qui mendacium elaboratis audire.” Almachius dixit: “Elige unum e duobus: aut sacrificia aut negate Christianam esse, ut copiam evadendi suscipias.” Tunc ridens beata Cecilia dixit: “O judicem necessitate confusum. Vult ut negem me esse nocentem, ut ispe me faciat innocentem. Si vis damnare, cur hortaris negare? Si vis absolvere, quare non vis inquirere?” Almachius dixit: “Accusatores presto sunt qui te Christianissimam esse

testantur. Si negaveris compendiosum dabis accusans finem. Si negare nolveris, demencie tuę reputabis quando sententię subjacebis.” Cecilia dixit: “Horum mihi accusatio votiva est et tua poena victoria. Noli me ut dementem arguere sed te ipsum increpa, qui Christum me aestimas denegare.”

(30.)³¹ *Almachius dixit: “Infelix, ignoras quoniam mortificandi et vivificandi mihi ab invictissimis principibus potestas est data? Ut quid cum tanta superbia loqueris?”*

Cecilia respondit: “*Aliud est esse superbum, aliud est esse constantem.* [p. 336] *Ego constanter locuta sum non superbe, quia superbiam et nos fortiter execramus.* Tu autem si verum audire non times. iterum docebo te falsissime nunc locutum.” Almachius dixit:

“Que sum falsissime prosecutus?” Cecilia respondit: “Hoc quod principes tuos vivificandi et mortificandi tibi tradidisse asseris potestatem.” Almachius dixit: “Ergo mentitus sum?”

Cecilia respondit: “Contra veritatem publice. si Jubes. probabote esse mentitum.”

Almachius dixit: “Doce.” Cecilia respondit: “*Dixisti principes tuos vivificandi et mortificandi tibi copiam tribuisse, cum solam mortificandi tibi scias traditam potestatem.*

Vitam enim viventibus tollere potes. Vitam dare non potes mortuis. Dic ergo quia

imperatores tui mortis ministrum te esse voverunt. Nam si quid plus dixeris, videberis

frustra mentitus.” Almachius dixit: “*Depone jam audaciam tuam et sacrifica diis.*”

Cecilia respondit: “Nescio ubi tu oculos amiseris. Nam tu deos dicis, et ego et omnes qui oculos sanos habent saxa videmus esse et eramentum et plumbum.” Almachius dixit:

“Meas injurias phylosophando contempsi, sed deorum ferre non possum.” Cecilia dixit:

³¹ LS34.320-41.

“Ex eo quo os aperuisti. non fuit se[r]mo quem non probarem injustum, stultum, et vanum. Sed ne quid de esset etiam exterioribus oculis te cecum ostendis, cum quod omnes lapidem videmus esse et saxum in utile hoc tu Deum esse testaris. Do, si jubes, consilium. *Mitte manum tuam et tangendo disce saxum hoc esse, si videndo non nosti.* Nefas est enim ut totus populi de te risum habeant. Omnis enim sicut Deum in celis esse. Istas autem figuras saxeas per ignem melius in calcem posse converti qui modo sui vitio pereunt et neque tibi pereunti neque sibi poterunt subvenire.

(31.)³² *Tunc iratus vehementer Almachius jussit ad domum suam duci et in sua sibi domo flammis balnearibus concremari. Cumque fuisset in calore balnei sui in clusa et subter incendia nimia lignorum pabula ministrarent, die integro et nocte tota quasi in loco frigido inlibata perstitit sanitate, ita ut una pars membrorum ejus saltim sudoris signo lassesceret. Quod cum audisset Almachius, misit qui eam ibidem in ipso balneo decollaret. Quam speculator tertio ictu percussit et caput ejus amputare non potuit. Sic autem seminecem eam cruentus carnifex dereliquit. Cujus sanguinem omnes bybleis linteaminibus populi qui per eam crediderant et tergebant. Per triduum autem quod super vixit, non cessavit omnes quos nutrierat et quos docuerat in fide dominica confortare. Quibus et divisit universa que habuit et sancto papæ Urbano tradidit commendatos. Cui et dixit: “Ad huc triduanas michi poposci inducias ut et istas tuę beatitudini traderem et hanc domum meam in aeternum aeccliesię consecrare.”*

³² LS34.342-61.

(32.)³³ Tunc sanctus *Urbanus* corpus ejus auferens cum diaconibus nocte *sepeluit eam* inter collegas suos episcopos ubi omnes sunt confessores et mastires collocati. *Domum autem ejus in eternum sanctę aecclesię nomini tradidit in qua beneficia Domini exuberant* ad memoriam beatę Cecylię usque in hodiernum diem. Explicit passio sanctę Cecylię.

³³ LS34.363-364.

The *Passio* of Saints Chrysanthus and Daria

This *passio* is found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 9, pp. 379-89. Zettel concludes that this text is close to that of Mombritius (BHL 1787)¹, which shows only minor differences from the edition in *Acta Sanctorum*.² The chapter and paragraph numbers below follow the *Acta Sanctorum* text. Other Cotton-Corpus copies of the legend are found in: (i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 354, ff. 136^r-143^r and (ii) Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P 7 vi, ff. 119^r-124^v.³

(1.1)⁴ [p. 379] *Historiam priorum sanctorum ad edificationem nostram Deus voluit pervenire, non ut laudibus mortalium pasceret eos quos immortalitatis dapibus pascit, sed ut nos exemplo eorum doceat presentis sæculi blandimenta contemnere et acquisitionem sempiternæ gloriæ labentem ac momentaneam angustiam non timere.*

Omnis enim dolor aut levis est et sufferri potest, aut gravis est et finem inponit. Sed si uterque timendus est, ratio est ut ille qui eternus est non contemnatur. Si enim isti dolores, qui hodie minantur et cras vacuantur, qui hodie exardescunt et cras refrigescunt qui hodie oriuntur et cras finiuntur tam diri tam sævi sunt. Quam graves erunt illi dolores, qui sic inchoant, ut crescant cotidie, sic initium capiunt, ut omnino finiri non possint? Hanc denique imaginem tenent, qui se permittunt aut secari a medicis, aut igniri cauteriis aut amarissimis potationibus sauciari: Mortis enim timore perterriti et amaritudines appetunt, et ignes non metu(u)nt et ferrum non perhorrescunt. Si ergo amore huius vitę, quę fidem servare non novit amantibus se. auro comparantur dolores ignes et amaritudines. Gratulandum est gratuitis passionibus. quæ ultro venientes faciunt nos

¹ Zettel, "Sources," p. 259; Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, pp. 271-78.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. XI.469-84.

³ Zettel lists one variant from the Hereford manuscript which is "marginally closer" to Ælfric's text than the other manuscripts ("Sources," p. 259). He lists two divergences from the Hereford text on p. 314.

⁴ LS35.341-45? See Zettel, "Sources," p. 258, n. 164.

temporaliter humiles. ut in perpetuo exaltemur. Faciunt nos amaritudines momentaneas incurrere, ut sempiternas dulcedines capiamus. Faciunt nobis ardores fugitivi incendii, ut refrigerii nos faciant participes sempiterni. Hoc intuitu omnes martyres Christi, ut triumphum ex hostibus caperent, omnium passionum genera ridendo potius quam metuendo perpassi sunt. Credentes quod gloriam sempiternam acquirerent et temporalem respuendo et eternum ignem evaderent presens incendium perferendo. Horum itaque delectatione respuamus mundum cum omnibus delectamentis suis et sanctorum gesta absque incredulitatis nub(e) serenissima recitemus historiamque Chrisanti, tam nobis qui credimus, quam omnibus qui credituri sunt profuturam.

(1.2)⁵ *Polemius vir illustrissimus Alexandriae urbis, honoratus et primus, ad urbem Romam cum filio Chrisanto veniens, a Romano senatu susceptus est. Et magnis honoribus a Numeriano imperatore illustratus, cathedram in curia Romana suscepit. Hic filium suum unicum Chrisantum cum omnibus liberalibus studiis tradidit. Erat enim ardentis ingenii, ita ut omnia quaecumque ei ab oratoribus aut a philosophis fuissent tradita, capax animo fortiter retineret. Cujus prudentiae cujusque fuerit intelligentiae, rerum exitus docet. Nam universa librorum volumina cum animo curiosius discuteret, ad evangelicos apices pervenit. Et figens curiositatis suae cursum ad semetipsum ait: "Tamdiu te docuit, Chrisante, per librorum tenebras curarum tuarum frena laxare, quamdiu ad lumen pertingeres veritatis. Non est prudentiae ut ad tenebras redeamus a lumine. Perdimus quod laboravimus si fructum laboris amittimus. Fructus laboris hic est,*

⁵ LS35.1-23.

quem a Deo datum querentibus legimus. Sic enim legimus Deum hominibus præcepisse. ‘Quærite [p. 380] et invenietis’ [Matthew 7:7]. Si quod quesivimus et invenimus dimiserimus, erimus fatui et stultissim(i)s comparandi. Teneamus ergo quod tenendum est animo. et omnia que respuenda sunt relinquamus. Si enim jactura laboriose inquisitionis meæ, si non teneam viriliter quod inveni: Diu laboravi querens. Inveni aurum. Inveni argentum. Inveni lapides pretiosos. Si ideo quesivi, ut invenirem. Ideo inveni ut teneam. Iam non patiar mihi eripi quod inveni. *Teneam*, utar, perfruar, quia hæc erit summa laboris mei. *Quam si amittere, videbor sine causa vixisse, sine causa quæsisse.*”

(1.3)⁶ Et hæc dicens *cepit querere* quis esset divinarum litterarum expositor. Et sicut audierat ante grammaticos et oratores magistros, sic desiderabat rusticos doctores et pastores acquirere. Legerat enim dixisse apostolum: “Ubi sapiens, ubi scriba, ubi conquisitor huius sæculi?” Et quia per sapientes mundus displicuit, placuit Deo per insipientes salvos facere credentes in se. Hæc cotidie secum revolventi animo et cotidie Christi famultis requirenti. occurrit qui diceret nosse se quendam Carpoforum nomine virum per omnia eruditum, Christianum, et sanctum, sed persecutionis atrocitate seivente in quodam montis speleo collocatum, vix posse a paucissimis ac fidelissimis visitari. Audiens hæc Chrisantus coepit enim ferventior et genibus referentis, fuis precibus advolutus, etiam cum lacrimis. postulabat ut ad ejus mereretur notitiam pervenire. Fit, providente Deo, qui ex fidei desiderio flagitabat et *perveniens* ad sanctum Carpoforum, quintae regionis *presbiterum*, intra paucos menses omnibus *divinis litteris inbuitur*. Et ita coepit esse *diligenter instructus*, ut statim post .vii. dies baptismatis sui *Christum Ihesum*,

⁶ LS35.24-30.

filium Dei, voce publica prædicaret.

(1.4)⁷ *Tunc affines ejus, viri nobiles et potentes, comprehendentes patrem ejus Polemium, ceperunt eum arguere dicentes: “Periculo patrimonii tui et capitis sui iste juvenis contra deos deasque nostras vociferat clamoribus vanis. Dicitque nescio quem Christum verum Deum esse. Quem si audierit imperator ista prosequentem, nec tibi proderit nec nobis postest esse consultum. Quis enim audiet ista presumere, nisi qui se aut sine rege aut sine lege Romana agere credat inpune?” Tunc iratus pater ejus Polemius fecit eum in tenebroso et squalido loco claudi et vespertinis horis parvissimo cibo refici. Hoc autem vir Dei Chrisantus magis ad exercitationem sibi quam ad supplicium dicebat inferri. Cumque hoc factum publica confabulatio detexisset, dicit patricius unus ex audientibus: “Si filium tuum ab hac usurpatione conaris eripere, magis eum deliciis et voluptatibus occupa et cujuscumque elegantissime puellæ atque prudentissime conjugio trade, ut cum didicerit esse maritus, obliviscatur esse Christianus. Nam istas tenebras et afflictiones, quæ tu ad supplicium illi te credas inferre, Christiani hæc ad laudem et perpetuam gloriam sibi æsti(mant) evenire.”*

(1.5)⁸ Audiens hæc Polemius jubet *triclina vestibus syricis strata preparari. Ipsum quoque auferens de squalido* [p. 381] *loco illo et tenebrosa habitatione, induit vestibus pretiosis, et ponens eum in triclino, elegit .v. pulcherrimas virgines ex ancillis suis. Et*

⁷ LS35.31-46.

⁸ LS35.47-62.

adcuratissimis vestibus et ornamentis composuit. et simul cum Chrisanto constituens, jussit cotidiana convivium *fluentissimis dapibus exhiberi. Puellis autem interminatus est dicens: "Nisi eum jocos vestris et amplexibus ab intentione Christianitatis separaveritis, diversis vos faciam interire suppliciiis."* Agitur inter hæc ludibria vir Dei immobilis animo, et dilicias quasi stercora contemnebat. *Puellas autem virgines quasi viperas perhorrebat. Jacebat autem in oratione immobilis.* Et amplexus earum et oscula quasi sagittarum ictus scuto suæ fidei excipiens, clamabat ad Dominum dicens:

(1.6)⁹ "Exsurge Domine in adjutorium mihi. Dic anima meæ, 'Salus tua ego sum.'¹⁰ Quis enim istam pugnam a diabolo excitatam vincere prevalet, nisi tua pro eo fuerit dextera dimicata? Errat qui se putat castitatem perfectam suis nisibus obtinere. Nisi enim tuo imbre flamme fuerint corporales extinctæ, non potest animus pergere quo pergit. Libido enim est bestia maligna quæ in silva huius sæculi ad devorandas animas per carnem et diabolum incitatur. Qui ejus morsus evaserit. tibi Deo gratias referet, quia tuum est, quod evasit. Sicut beatissimus famulus tuus Joseph, quem plangebat pater suus dicens: 'Bestia maligna rapuit illum. Bestia mala rapuit Joseph.' Et nolebat poenitus consolari in eo. Certe hic est Jacob famulus Domini sui. 'Agnosce si tunica filii tui est.' Numquid manifestasti ei quod fallerent eum? Sed ideo dissimulasti, quia patriarchas prophetico sermone patrem alloqui providisti. Denique occurrit ei bestia maligna, et quasi leaena ita eum suis unguibus arpebat. Et quod peius est insidiabatur, ut solum eum inveniret et

⁹ LS35.63-66.

¹⁰ This is the preface to many texts in psalters throughout the Middle Ages.

unicum. Sed solus non erat, quia patris ejus lacrimis iam fuerat appellatus. Ideo eum permisisti lugere et mugitum intimi cordis emittere, ut jussisti eum adiutoriis sublevari. Libido erat bestia maligna, per quam contra eum diabolus et mulier luctabantur. Ibi caro et sanguis. Ibi juvenus et pulcher aspectus. Ibi pubertas et irritatio oculorum. Ibi potestas dominationis. Ibi delectatio obscenitatis. Ibi incitamenta potestatis. Ibi ornamenta suadentis oculos. Ibi caput auro et gemmis instructum. Ibi odoramenta exaltantia. Ibi amplexus ipse devorationi et morti iam proximus. Inter hæc omnia solum invenit læna et tenuit. Hunc tua manus, Domine, iam interiorum positum liberavit. Unde et nuntiantibus quod filius ejus viveret. Jacob dixit, ‘Mirum mihi est Joseph filius meus vivit.’ Quasi qui diceret, ‘Mirum mihi est, si bestiam illam malignam, sic evasit ut viveret.’ Quare? Quoniam Deus inquit erat cum Joseph, et omnia quęcumque faciebat. Deus benedicebat in manibus suis. *Et ego, Domine, te confiteor, et a te consilium contra istas ut feras deprecor, ut sicut serpentes obdormiscunt ad vocem incantantis, ita et iste obdormiscant in conspectu meo. Et nullum in me libidinis excitent bellum, quia te didici, verum Dominum, qui in hominibus [p. 382] in te credentibus operaris virtutem, quę poenitus vinci non possit.*”

(1.7)¹¹ Igitur dum *complesset Chrisantus orationem, ita gravi somno correptę sunt virgines, ut nisi fuissent foris de triclinio ejecte, poenitus excitari non possent.*

Evigilabant autem foris et capiebant cibum. Statim autem ut ingressę fuissent, ubi orabat Chrisantus, sopore nimio artabantur. Nuntiantur hæc patricio ab his, quorum fuerat cure

¹¹ LS35.67-88.

commissum, *et coepit eum quasi iam mortuum flere. Tunc dicit ei quidam ex amicis ejus: “Hic artem magicam a Christianis didicit. Et adversus puellas simplicissimas facile prevaluit incantando. Sed si eruditam aliquam miseris ad eum, poterit eum ad tuum arbitrium et ad suos libitus inclinare.”* Dicit ei Polemius: “Et ego ubi inventurus sum talem feminam, quæ hæc possit implere?” Respondit ei amicus ejus: “Est inter virgines quæ deæ veste inserviunt quædam virgo supra omnes pulchritudine, eligantior, et *ita sapiens*, ut illi nec ipsi oratores occurrant. Hęc iam ad nobiles annos, quantum aetas ostendit, admittit. Et necesse erit ut quicumque eam nobililis sortiatur uxorem. Hanc itaque nos, ut consuetudo est, per supplicationem mereamur, et agamus cum ea quatinus *et tibi filium reddat et sibi eum maritum accipiat.*” Facta sunt omnia, quæ isti consilio erant necessaria, et ad consensum virginis pervenitur.

(1.8)¹² Tunc *virgo* veste nomine *Daria, gemmis et auro radians, repente Chrisantum quasi sol radians, constanter ingreditur.* Et quasi sub specie consolationis, *tanta eum eligantia sermonis alloquitur* tantaque ingenii arte interserit ut si esset ferro durior, flamma mollior redderetur. Sed Chrisantus Domini auxilio fretus sagittas diaboli scuto fidei repellebat. Et medium inter se atque illam Sanctum Spiritum postulans, alloquiis suis hoc initium dedit: “Si mihi mortali homini per temporales conubii, *tantam tuæ pulchritudinis eligantiam exhibes*, tantamque dulcedinem melliflui sermonis ostendis. *ut etiam ab intentione proposita animum meum revocare credas* aliis moribus occupatum et cogas mentem velle quod non vult, quanto magis amantem te et desiderantem inmortalem

¹² LS35.89-98.

regis filium poteris si voveris obtinere? *Nam si animam tuam in corporis tui integritate custodias, sicut corpore pulchra es (ita eris et mente.* Et sicut extrinsecus gemmis et auro resplendes ita intrinsecus in tuis visceribus peromeris. Erunt de te proximi angeli laudantes, archangeli paranimphi, apostoli amici, martyres, Christus sponsus qui tibi thalamum in cęlo construit aeternis margaretis instructum, tradat tibi possessiones paradisi, dotem tibi sempiternam tribuat, constituat tibi incomparabiles redditus, et flores in te gratissime renovet juventutis.”

(1.9)¹³ *Ad hęc Daria conpuncta respondit: “Nulla mecum O juvenis petulantis animi cum his vestibus ad te signa perdux(ere). Sed patris tui miserata lacrimas, cupio te et patri reddere et ad deorum revocare culturam.”* Crisantus respondit: “Si nosti aliqua, que vera mihi ratio manifestet, ponam [p. 383] animum, et diligenter auscultem ita ut ex alterna disputatione libenter exaudias et loquaris.” Daria respondit: “Inter omnia que humanis commodis necessaria novimus, nihil tam utile tamque primum quam divinitatem excolere et supernas vires eorum nequaquam per contentum ad iracundiam concitare.” Crisantus ad hęc dicit: “O virgo prudentissima, quam putas idoli exhiberi culturam?” Respondit Daria: “Hanc. que nobis faciat esse custodes.” Crisantus respondit: “Quomodo nobis possunt esse custodes, qui nisi custoditi fuerint a canibus, nocte rapiuntur a furibus? Et ne ab aliquo dejciantur impulsu, vinculis ferreis coartantur et plumbo?” Daria respondit: “Si vulgus nobile posset et absque his imaginibus deorum cęlebrare culturam, nulla esset necessitas similitudinis exhibendo. Hęc autem imaginis in aere et in marmore et in auro

¹³ LS35.99-106.

atque argento funduntur, et oculos suos cultor attendat eumque doceat tormenta excolere et timere.” Respondit Crisantus: “Inquiramus ergo quorum sunt iste ipse imagines, et videamus si his merito honorem debeamus exhibere culture. Deus enim non potest nec estimari nec credi, nisi qui omnem sanctitatem omnemque supergreditur majestatem.

(1. 10)¹⁴ “*Quæ ergo bona Saturnus falcifer habuit, qui proprium filium, quoties cumque nascebatur occidit, ut non dicam comedit. sicut ejus cultores scribunt? Quæ bona in Jovem fuisse estimas, qui quot dies vixit. tot inaudita ingesta, tot adulteria, tot homicidia perpetravit, enervator, maritorum adulter, sororum maritus, usurpator imperii, magorum adinventor, transfiguratione arbitrer, massa demonum, metator morti, et omnium inauditorum criminum perpetrator? Hunc talem esse non credas, si non eorum de eo ista scripta sunt, quorum testimonium dii memoratur, et reges nati tamen leguntur et mortui, tempore quorum deos homines putabant, quoscumque fortes in prælio comprobassent. Nam quid in Jove divinum esse potuit, qui omni castitate ita usque ad mortem exstitit inimicus, ut aerem ipsum in Ganimidem polluît, et terram in suis, ut dixi sororibus inquinavit? Quid etiam in Mercurio divinitatis inventum putas, cujus capitales aspectus sycofaticum indicat monstrum, cum in ejus vertice simul cernimus et capillos et pinnas? Hic maleficiis suis absconditas terræ pecunias repperebat, et incantationibus suis serpentium iras mitigabat ad virgam.*

¹⁴ LS35.107-11.

(1.11)¹⁵ Hęc autem patricidio demonum perpetrabat. quibus porcinum ficatum cotidie sacrificabat et gallum. *Quae autem in Herculem sanctitas, qui vicinorum suorum omnium interfectione fatigatus, etiam ipse vivum se nutu dei ignibus tradidit concremandam et arsit miser simul cum mathera, quam gestabat et pelle. Et licet leonem necaverit, hydrum truncaverit, canem infernalem ligaverit, ipse tamen redactus in cinerem nusquam omnino comparuit, sed periit. Quę in Apolline sanctitas cum mysteriis Dyonalibus et inebrietis confusionibus et divinationibus*

[p. 384] Delficis et luxuriis poculorum? Nam si ad reginam Junonem et castissimam Venerem veniamus, inveniemus eas idcirco inter se acriter litigantes, quia ad usus turpes una altera precedebat. Clamabant omnium poetarum et oratorum et historiographorum scripta iudicium Paridis spreteque injuria forme. Quid enim illa indignata est, quid illa letata, nisi quod illa impudicitę usibus aptior pastoris iudicio edigitur, alia denegatur? His itaque divinitates honores subpulis, quibus divinitatis privilegium imperitum indicat vulgus? De ceteris eorum minoribus sileamus. Unum enim caput est, quod universa sequitur compago membrorum. Quicumque enim Deus, quęcumque dea se jactatur, Saturno, Juoni, Jovi, et Veneri non erit preponenda. *Si enim privilegia tenentes tam miseri probantur et turpes, quanto miseriores sunt, qui inferiores eorum annuntiant esse cultores.*"

(1.12) Ad hęc Daria respondit: "Quoniam poetarum figmenta nulla sunt virtute subnixta, ad philosophos eamus quorum ingenia universa vit(ia) desecant et virtutibus colla submitunt.

¹⁵ LS35.112-118.

Qui licet varia interpretatione de mundi machina disputare videantur, deorum tamen ista nomina allegorica interpretatione distingunt. Saturno denique tempus ostendunt. Si quidem “Chronos,” quod est ejus in Greco vocabulo, non aliud possit quam tempus intelligi. Jovem vero substantiam fervidam. Junonem vero aerem vocant, Vestam ignem, Neptunum mare, Mater Magna terra, et ceteras deorum dearumque personas his et huiuscemodi asserunt velaminibus cooperta.” Chrisantus ad hęc respondit: “Illorum, “inquit,” effigies per simulachrum aliquod representari solet, quid possunt aliquando non esse presentes. Terra vero que ab esse numquam potes, et ignis qui in presenti semper est, et aer qui aperte omnium oculis patet. Cur per nescioquas effigies coli juste putetur, ignoro. Nec omnino considero quare magis imago eorum sit colenda quam veritas. Numquid est in regibus aut in iudicibus, qui se ipsum jubeat relinqui et suam imaginem honorari? Quid si nulla hoc ratio patitur, restat ut iste effigies non sint ylementorum potius sed defunctorum et mortuorum magis hominum quam deorum imagines comprobentur.”

(1. 13) Ad hęc Daria respondit: “Dictis meis assertio tua promeritis exhibuit. Docuisti enim, ut si imperiti imagines colunt, nos ipsas res quorum illic colunt imagines adoremus et unicuique honorem majestatis suæ sapientius quam alii exhibent prebeamus.” “Optime,” ait Chrisantus, “ad clausulam meae diffinitionis attingit. Adducamus ergo ante oculos elementorum omnium diversa voluntate cultores. Et colat unus terram ut deam, sed ut deam tantum, ob(s)ecrationibus sacrificiis atque omni cultura, quod eadem convenit promereri. Cesset vero ab aratri et ratri cultura. Alter e contra negans eandem deam,

solam vomeris cultu illam ostendit et rastrine. cui sacerdos venerando eam excolat sed ut rusticus operando. Cui magis fructum proferre credenda est? Illi qui sine dubio eam ut terram colverit tantum, non enim qui eam quasi deam vanissimam fuerit superstitione veneratus. Si enim vere dea esset, illi potius ubere(s) [p. 385] fructus, qui eam religionis titulo honorabat, afferret. Similiter et alius Neptunnum, id est mare, divino cultu veneretur. Et aut tempestivo tempore naviget aut copias ejus ac si religiosus cultor exspectet. Alius vero quasi exanime ylementum omne divinitatis reverentia arbitretur indignum. Et hic non nisi certo et oportuno tempore se fluctibus credat, et marinas copias non adorando sed piscando perquirat. Quem ex his duobus aut felicius navigare aut piscium dapibus abundare existimas? Illum procul dubio. qui haec rationabiliter procuravit, non illum qui vanissimo ritu hæc spiranda credit. Hoc etiam de ceteris elementis credendum est, quod nihil se colentibus prestant quia, non suo motu sed divino jussu, hominibus vivis famulantur. Jussu vero Dei, calores terre cupiunt, aeris temperiæ pariunt, caeli uberibus nutriuntur, qualitate temporum coalescunt. Ille tamen veneratione dignus est qui prestat ea. non per quæ prestantur. Neque enim qui litteras discunt, tab(ulis) et codicibus potius grates referunt quam magistro; aut aegrotantes liberati a medico ferramentis aut medicamentis ejus honorem quam ipsi medico estimant repen(den)dum.

(1.14)¹⁶ Hæc et his similia prosequente, Chrisanto credit Daria. Et quasi s(i)mulata voluntate inter se et Chrisantum habens consilium, *nomen conjugii assumpserunt*, ita ut ambo in Dei timore *et castitatis gloria perdurarent*. At ubi Chrisantus libenter paterne

¹⁶ LS35.119-29.

voluntatis <decretum> accepit, *fecit baptizari Dariam* intra domum suam. Et ita facta est sacratissima virgo Christi. ut intra dies paucos *omnes scripturas divinas arriperet* et sancte virginitatis sue velamenta sanctitatis aptaret. Erat tamen juncta Chrisanto non calore corporeo. <sed> spiritus sancti fervore sociata. *Et tam per Crisantum multitudo virorum quam per Darem femine innumerabiles ad Christi gratiam confluebant.*

(2.15)¹⁷ Igitur cum *multę virgines* relicto amore sponsorum Christo traderent. Nunc *juvenes relicto* voluptatum studio et carnali commertio se castimonio manciparent. Excitata est in urbe seditio. et Celerino prefecto urbis administrante. interpellatio publica exhibetur. Juvenes clamabant. “Sponsas nostras per Dariam ammittimus.” Viri clamabant: “Uxores amittimus per Chrisantum, etiam filios non habemus.” *Et erat interpellantium varia et seditiosa confusio. Jubentur itaque a prefecto ambo constringi et diversis poenis interfici si sacrificiorum cerimonias contempsissent.* Traditur itaque tribuno Claudio Chrisantus. qui Claudius tradidit eum septuaginta militibus dicens. “Ducite eum extra civitatem ad sanum invicti Herculis. ibi si sacrificare nolverit, diversis eum poenis agite quousque consentiat.”

(2.16)¹⁸ *Tunc milites nodosis eum nervis adstringunt*, ut sensim siccantibus nervis ad ossa ejus vix pertingeret ligamentum. *Statim autem ut constrictus est, ita omnia sunt in manibus ejus ligamenta resoluta, ut non occurrerent oculi videre celeritatem resolutionis*

¹⁷ LS35.130-40.

¹⁸ LS35.141-69.

eorum. Et quasi luctantes contra ligaturas et diverso modo diversi eum milites constringebant nodis et exquisitis ingentibus. Mox autem ut manus ligantes cessassent a vinculo, citius quicquid ligaverant solvebatur. Tunc irati milites mittunt eum in cyppo nouo et nodosissimo, ita ut in tertio puncto ejus tibia(s) coartarent. Igitur cum starent [p. 386] ante eum et insultarent ei, ita putrefactum est lignum totius cyppi ut in cinerem converteretur. Tollentes autem Chrisantum perfundunt eum lotio humano dicentes: “Maleficia tua modo amittis.” Statim autem ut perfusus est lotio putentissimo, ipsa aqua putens ita est in nectareum odorem conversa, ut putares eum lotio sed rosa fuisse perfusum. Auferentes autem eum ex eodem loco, excoriaverunt vitulum, et corio recenti cingunt eum nudum, et posuerunt eum ad solem. Sed per totum diem in aestu nimio et in flagrantissimo sole, nullam omnino potuit calefactionem sentire. Sed eadem, qua fuerat viriditate perdurans, corium in nullo potuit Dei famulum violare. Item posuerunt in collo ejus catenas ferreas, sed simul manus ejus et pedes constringentes, clausurunt eum in obscurissimo loco. Statim autem in manibus ejus soluta sunt vincula, et tanta lux infulsit loco, ut putarentur illic esse lampades multe fulgentes.

(2.17)¹⁹ *Nuntiant omnia hæc .lxx.²⁰ milites Claudio tribuno suo: Et veniens ad locum videns lumen immensum, et jus(sit) eum ad se egredi (et) dixit ei: “Quæ ista tanta vis maleficiorum tuorum est, ut ista perficias? Nam omnes magos, et hierofantes, et Chaldæos, et ariolos, et incantatores secta domui, et adhuc istam potentiam in maleficiis*

¹⁹ LS35.170-193.

²⁰ Superscripted is (septuginta).

non inveni. Omnibus tamen imperavi quod volui, et eorum consensum ad meos libitus inclinavi. Nunc vero te virum nobilem et sapientem ad hanc solam partem accepi, ut contenta superstitione Christiane temeritatis, de qua murmur populi Romani et seditio excitata est, reddas te generi tuo et diis omnipotentibus debita sacrificia clementer exhibeas. Cui respondit Chrisantus et ait: "Si esset in te vel scintilla prudentiae, cognosceres me non maleficiorum argumentis sed divinis amminiculis adjuvari. Sed sic ad me respice sicut ad deos, quos colere injusto iudicio comprobas. Si enim oculi tui sapienter aspicerent, viderent quia dii tui non vident. Si aures tuę veritatem respicerent, adverteres illos voces clamantium audire non posse. Si interiora tua intellectum alicujus prudentię caperent, considerare istos in interioribus suis nihil habere aliud preter argillam et plumbum."

Tunc tribunus Claudius jussit eum fustibus cędi. Statim autem ut allate sunt virgę durissimę, coeperunt in manibus cedentium quasi pluma mollescere. Denique dum tenerentur, quasi ferreae essent ita erant nodosę et solide. Dum vero percuterent, quasi ex papiro essent, ita molissimi reddebantur et lenes.

(2.18)²¹ *Tunc Claudius tribunus jussit eum erigi et indui vestimentis suis, et conversus ad milites suos, omnes hac voce alloquitur: "Bene nostis me et incantatores et magorum deprehendisse fastigia. Hic humanę artes penitus non sunt ubi virtutum divinarum potestas apparet. Nam vincula nervorum sponte soluta cesserunt, ligni fortitudo repentina defectione conputruit. Corii virid(it)as in solis nimio ardore eadem, qua de vitulo ablata*

²¹ LS35.194-209.

fuerat novitate permansit. Catenarum quoque nexus invisibilis exsolvit. Tenebrarum locus nimia illustratione perfulsit. Fustes in manu tenentium rigescunt, in inferientes ictu mollescunt. In aspectu patientis ista sinceritas [p. 387] apparet in verbo etiam ipso rationabilis veritas comprobatur. *Quid superest, nisi ut omnes huius hominis genibus advoluti veniam postulemus sceleris, et rogemus ut nos quoque talem Deum faciat colere, qui cultores suos in omni faciat pugna vincentes?* Ecce enim et nos et iudices et omnes qui contra eum venerunt, numquid non eos ita superat ut probastis.” Igitur cum hæc et talia fuisset militibus prolocutus, *cum universis militibus ipse Claudius genibus ejus advolutus orabat dicens: “In veritate probavi, quia Deus tuus Deus verus est. Peto itaque ut facias me cognoscere eum et ad notitiam culturę ejus aliqua ratione pertingere.” Cui Chrisantus dixit: “Ad notitiam pervenire desideras, non pedibus tibi est sed corde pergendum. Tantum unicuique presens efficitur, quantum eum fide mentis et cordis integritate quesierit.”*

(2.19)²² *Hęc et his similia docente Chrisanto credidit Claudius tribunus. Credidit Illaria uxor ejus. Credunt duo filii ejus Jason et Maurus. Credunt omnes amici et familiares ejus. Credunt omnes illi .lxx. milites cum suis et universis eorum. Eodem die baptizati per singulos dies a sancto Chrisanto eruditionem veritatis desiderantissime audiebant, et verbum Christi cum omni reverentia et timore capientes, optabant pro Dei nomine adversa perferre. Verum quia longum est mirabilia quę Deus per eos fecerit enarrare rerum exitum intinemus.*

²² LS35.210-21.

(2.20)²³ *Cum omnes credidissent Deo et imperator Numerianus audisset, jussit Claudium tribunum ingenti saxo constrictum in medio mari precipitem (dari). Cum autem milites singillatim audiret, quicumque se negasset Christianum dimitti, qui vero negare noluisset capite amputari. Tantam gratiam Dominus credentibus secessit, ut primus Jason et Maurus, filii Claudii, etiam non interrogati Christum se colere dicerent ei pro ejus nomine confessionem mortem libenter optare. Hos mitantes omnes unanimiter intra unam horam martyrium Domino consecrarunt. Erat autem in loco ubi decollati sunt cuniculus antiquus. Hunc emundantes per noctanter Christiani simul in unum omnia corpora sepelierunt non longe ab urbe quę Salaria nuncupatur. Corpora autem filiorum suorum collegit sancta Hilaria, relicta martyris Claudii et singillatim condiens (id est Mauri et Jasonis) in sarcophagis singulis collocavit.*

(2.21)²⁴ *Quę dum assiduis obsequiis circa sanctorum confessionem oraret Deum, tenta est . Quę dum traheretur, rogavit eos qui se trahebant dicens: “Obsecro vos permittite me prius orationem meam implere, et veniam quocumque voveritis.” Igitur dum fixisset gradum, accepit sacramentum Domini et expandit manus suas dicens: “Domine Ihesu Christe. quia te toto corde confiteor, modo me associa cum filiis meis, quos ex utero meo ad tuum martyrium convocas(ti). Et hæc dicens projecit se in orationem et dum oraret, emisit spiritum. Tunc illi ipsi qui eam tenerant dolentes super repentinum obitum ejus, reliquerunt duas ancillas ejus quę cum ea erant. Ille autem sepelierunt eam diligentissimę,*

²³ LS35.222-33.

²⁴ LS35.234-39.

et super eam brevissimam aecclesiam fabricaverunt. Quia locus in quo defuncta fuerat ejusdem erat hortus Hilarie. et ex quo [p. 388] sancti passi fuerant, ibidem sibi mansionem collocavit.

(2.22)²⁵ *Interea Chrisantum jussit infernali²⁶ retinere custodia, ut simul cum Daria diversis tormentorum generibus ageretur.²⁷ Erat igitur una custodia in carcere Tulliano unde fetor horribilis ascendebat, quia cloactrum cuniculi digesta a domibus stercora illic jugiter decurrebant. Et in hoc decursori, ut diximus, erat una et lutea et ita tenebrosa custodia, ut penitus luctifluus aer nec signum ibi diei nec vestigium aliquod lucis ostenderet. In hac ergo habitatione ferro <ligatur> Chrisantus mittitur nudus. Daria vero datur ut ponatur in publico contubernio meretricum. Sed diversis his sanctorum passionibus diverso genere Christus occurrit. Nam Chrysantho lux divina et odoramenta sancta prestantur. Darię autem leo fugiens de cavea amphiteatri dirigitur, qui ingressus cellam illam in qua Daria prostrata in oratione jacebat. Ipse quoque leo prostravit se iuxta eam protinus ut videretur etiam ipse illam adorare qui suam presentiam deprecanti virgini exhibebat .*

(2.23)²⁸ *Nescientes itaque leonem intus esse, miserunt ad eam quendam turpissimum qui in scelere corruptionis opinatissimus habebatur. Qui ut ingressus est, insilvit in eum leo,*

²⁵ LS35.239-56.

²⁶ Superscripted is <carcerali>.

²⁷ Superscripted above 'ager' is <neca>.

²⁸ LS35.257-65.

prosternens eum sub pedibus suis. coepit ad faciem virginis Christi Dariæ respicere quasi interrogans eam quid juberet. Quod intelligens beata Daria dixit: "Adjuro te per filium Dei. pro quo martyrii passiones libenter amplector. ne eum in aliquo ledas, sed permitte eum sermonem meum absque terrore suscipere."

(2.24)²⁹ *Tunc leo, relinquens eum, posuit se in ipso introitu, ut nec ille remissus copiam fugendi arriperet nec alius posset intrare. Tunc dicit ad eum: "Ecce ferocitas leonis audito Christi nomine dat reverentiam Deo. Et tu homo rationalis in tantis criminibus exerces. ut etiam in hoc quo miser lugendus es glorieris." Tunc ille prosternens se ante eam. cepit clamare dicens: "Jube me hinc egredi sanum ut et ego clamem omnibus Dei filium Christum. quem colis, ipsum solum verum esse Deum." Tunc Daria jussit leoni ut ammoveret se ab ingressu. Qui cum fuisset egressus clamare cepit, et per totam civitatem currere dicens: "Sciatis omnes Dariam deam esse." Igitur diversi veneratores et diversi populi ad leonem capiendum pergerent. Hanc Deus virtutem leoni concessit, ut omnes caperet, et quasi manu tenens ita comprehensos sine aliqua lesione, ante pedes sancte Darię poneret.*

(2.25)³⁰ *Tunc Daria omnes alloquebatur: "Si promiseritis vos Christo credituros, illesi poteritis abscedere; sin alias nescio si dii vestri auxilientur vobis." Tunc illi omnes una voce clamabant: "Qui non credit Christum verum Deum esse, vivus hinc non exeat." Et*

²⁹ LS35.266-82.

³⁰ LS35.283-306.

hec dicentes, coeperunt omnes egredi una voce clamantes: "Credite populi Romani non esse alterum Deum preter Christum." Tunc prefectus Celerinus nomine jussit ignem accendi copiosum in ingressum cellę in qua erat Daria cum leone. Quod cum fieri videret, coepit leo expavescere et rugitum dare. Cui beata Daria ait: "Noli timere. Nec incendio cremaberis, neque caperis, neque interfici poteris, sed morte tua morieris. Egredere securus et vade. [p. 389] quia ille quem in me honorasti ipse te liberat." Tunc inclinato capite, leo egreditur per medias turbas populorum. Nullus eum umquam coepit. Umquam ne minem lesit. Hii autem qui ex ore ejus incolomes evaserant universi baptizati sunt.

(2.26)³¹ *Nuntiata sunt omnia Numeriano prefecto et jussit ut ambo id est Chrisantus et Daria, si non consensissent sacrificiis, diversorum tormentorum cruciatibus punirentur. Igitur cum cogeret eos prefectus nomine Celerianus ad sacrificandum et diversa diceret et audiret, jussit sanctum Chrisantum eculeo ingenti suspendi. Cumque inponeretur eculeo Chrisantus, ligna omnia eculei comminuta sunt. Vincula vero universa disrupta sunt. Lampades quoque que erant lateribus ejus amplicande extincte sunt. Quicumque mittebant manum ad sanctam Dariam, stupebant nervi eorum et pro doloribus gemitum cordis red(d)ebant. Videns itaque haec Celerinus prefectus vehementer expavit, et cursu rapidissimo ad imperatorem properans, cuncta que gesta fuerant enarravit. Tunc Numerianus imperator non virtutibus divinis haec sed maleficiis imputans, jussit eos duci in via Salaria atque in arenario deponi simul et illic utrosque (id est Chrisantum cum*

³¹ LS35.307-329.

Daria) vivos terra et lapidibus obrui. Tunc beatus Chrisantus cum beata virgine Daria deponuntur in fovea, psalmis et orationibus insistentes. Facta est in passione socia sanguinis, sicut fuerant mente etiam conjuges, quasi in uno lectulo ita in una fovea in una voluntate durantes. Talis fuit passio, que magis sepulturam Dei famulis intulit quam poenam ingessit. Accepit autem Deus hostiam viventem, cujus gratia hoc factum est ut qui simul fuerant in virginitate durantes simul pertingerent ad coronam.

(2.27)³² Igitur cum multa beneficia Deus venientibus ad eorum sepulchra prestaret, et venit ut dies natalis eorum infinita populi multitudo concurreret. Viri simul ac mulieres pariter infantes et innupte puellę et juvenes. Hoc cum fuisset Numeriani auribus intimatum, jussit ut introitu quo introierant in cripta paries levaretur. Quod cum fuisset impletum, de super adsublonem super eos montem dejecit. Omnes ergo pariter dum communes sacramenta perciperent et martyrium gloriam celebrarent, ipsi quoque ad coronam martyrii per(re)xerunt. Inter quos erat Diodorus presbiter, et diaconus Maurianus, et plurimi clericorum. Populi autem multitudo, nec numerus nec nomina collecta sunt, quia et latinitiosum esse et superfluum judicavimus.

(2.28) Hęc omnia sicut gesta sunt, scripsimus Virinus et Armenius fratres a sancto Stephano papa Romano in sede apostolica facti presbiteri. Et direximus ad omnes aecclesias per orientem et occidentem, ut sciat omnis mundus quia martyres suos Dominus Chrisantum et Dariam cum multis triumpho martyris et gloriam perpetue corone suscepit.

³² LS35.330-341

Works Cited

ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
ns	New Series
os	Original Series
SPCK	Society for Promoting of Christian Knowledge
ss	Supplemental Series

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