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Natalie Watkinson

PhD

The Legends of the Saintly Widows: Paula and Cecilia in Medieval Castilian Prose

Submitted October 2010

This thesis investigates the legends of saintly widows within Medieval Castilian prose, specifically the lives of Saints Paula and Cecilia, in hagiographical works known as Compilation A and Compilation B. These Castilian legends have been reworked from their appearance in the Latin *Legenda aurea* of c. 1264, composed by Jacobus de Voragine. Chapter One works as an introduction to the thesis. It observes the history of the hierarchy of married, widowed, and virginal women, debating which category of female, if any, was able to attain the highest level of eventual celestial purity. Chapter Two concentrates more specifically on manuscript context. It notes the composition of the original Latin *Legenda aurea*, in terms of male and female composition as well as looking at the constitution of different categories of saints. Following this the composition of the Castilian Compilations is discussed, including the purposes for writing these filiations and destined audience type. Chapter Three focuses on the reworking of the legend of Saint Paula from the Latin to Compilation A, commenting principally upon textual omissions, alterations, and other significant modifications. Chapter Four undertakes an in-depth thematic analysis of the legend for the same saint. Chapter Five works in much the same way as Chapter Three, here focusing on Saint Cecilia, and Chapter Six mirrors Chapter Four, again looking at the symbolic significance of Saint Cecilia in Medieval Castilian hagiography. Chapter Seven operates as a concluding section to the work, bringing together the concepts at the heart of the saintly widow, and asking if a common ethos can be established between such apparently disparate legends. In an appendix, complete editions of each text are presented for the first time, along with xeroxes of the manuscripts and their Latin sources.

THE LEGENDS OF THE SAINTLY WIDOWS: PAULA AND CECILIA IN MEDIEVAL CASTILIAN PROSE

PhD

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Department of Hispanic Studies: Durham University

Submission Date: October 2010

Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements 3

Chapter 1

Introduction: Widow, Wife, or Virgin? 5

Chapter 2
Manuscript Context 41

Chapter 3
Paula: Relationship to Voragine 56

Chapter 4
Paula: The *Vita* of a Widow 64

Chapter 5
Cecilia: Relationship to Voragine 96

Chapter 6
Cecilia: Virtuous Widowed Martyr 120

Chapter 7
The Saintly Widow: A Common Ethos? 149

Chapter 8
Critical Editions 191

Appendix 1
Sample Manuscript Xeroxes

Appendix 2
Sample Latin Xeroxes & Editions of Anastasia's Legend

Works Cited 239

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This PhD thesis delves into the world of two saintly widows, Paula and Cecilia, looking specifically at their significance and inclusion in the Castilian reworkings of a thirteenth-century hagiographic compilation entitled the *Legenda aurea*. This composition was finished by Jacobus de Voragine circa 1264. Chapter 1 offers an insight into the nature of medieval womanhood by presenting an extensive historical comparison and contextualisation of the three main types of women: wife, widow, and virgin. This is followed by a consideration of the way in which the legends of the saintly widows in the *Legenda aurea* may have been interpreted from the perspective of the medieval reader, taking into account those prevailing views held in medieval society. Chapter 2 concentrates specifically upon manuscript context, showing how the widow legend fits into the Latin hagiographic compilation from a contextual perspective. An identical study is subsequently conducted regarding the Castilian Compilations A, B, and the revision of Compilation B.

Chapter 3 presents a comparison of the Latin legend of Saint Paula and the Castilian version in Compilation A, noting the content and layout of the legend as it features in the Latin collection, and how this in turn contrasts with its counterpart in Compilation A. It thus comments principally upon textual omissions, additions, and alterations. This is followed in Chapter 4 by a thematic analysis of the Castilian legend, noting which aspects of the legend prove to be the most striking and relevant to her depiction and interpretation from the perspective of the reader. Chapter 5, in contrast, focuses on Cecilia, looking at particular textual omissions, modifications and additions in Compilations A, B, and the revision of Compilation B. Again, this is followed in Chapter 6 by an extensive thematic study. Finally, Chapter 7 examines the extent to which the legends of the saintly widows are imbued with a common ethos. Chapter 8 offers critical editions of the Castilian versions of the legends of

Paula and Cecilia, complete with a section on editorial criteria. The ultimate aim of the study therefore is to judge the relevance and position of the legends of the saintly widows within Castilian literature, specifically here the hagiographic genre. Subsequently, it is to assess whether the latter can be similarly grouped and classified as an entity within themselves, such as that of the virgin martyr or penitential prostitute, or whether indeed historical and textual analysis demand instead greater subdivision between the women.

I give immense thanks to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, without whose financial aid I would not have been able to complete this thesis and for which I am particularly grateful. I also sincerely thank the supportive Department of Hispanic Studies at Durham University, in particular my attentive supervisor Dr Andrew M. Beresford, whose impressive attention to detail, great patience, and ability to calm and reassure were all forever in demand. I feel lucky to have been supervised by someone whose knowledge in this field is so extensive. I also thank my wonderful work colleagues Sarah V. Buxton, Naomi M. J. Hoogesteger, and Rachael V. Matthews for their dedication to keeping my sanity throughout my writing, and for their constant and unwavering support and advice, all of which have proved indispensable.

1

Introduction: Widow, Wife, or Virgin?

Introduction

Medieval Christian women could fall into one of three categories in terms of their sexual or marital status: the widow, the wife, or the virgin. Each occupied a distinct place in society and was afforded varying levels of respect. Caroline Walker Bynum states that 'male characterization of women was usually according to their marital or sexual status – widow, virgin, married woman – rather than their institutional affiliation' (1987: 286). The hierarchical ladder was quite simple: the virgin was the purest model to which a woman could aspire, as manifested through the figure of the Virgin Mary.[1] She was pure, chaste, and innocent – the perfect woman. Below her came the widow. She had been married at one stage, however due to the death of her husband the once present element of sexual threat had been removed. The life of the widow could now be dedicated solely to Christ. The wife stood as the lowest of the three. She still had to answer to her husband, who could prove to be an obstacle on the path of her religious devotion. Her body during her married lifetime did not belong uniquely to Christ. As each led disparate lifestyles, their actions were interpreted in different ways by those around them, which is why the additional decision of the widow, wife, or virgin to become a saint was met with varying reactions. Throughout the Middle Ages one of the primary yardsticks by which to judge a female's sanctity was according to her sexuality, which is why it is relevant to the study undertaken in this work. Within the context of the analysis conducted here, it is necessary to ask which place the widow occupies, amongst numerous virgin and married saints, with a particular view to judging her sanctity in comparison with

[1] See also Mary F. Foskett's discussion of the representation of virginity and its juxtaposition with the figure of the Virgin Mary (2002).

that of her peers. This will be done by looking at the historical significance of the widow and the differences and similarities she held with her two female counterparts.

Widow, Wife, or Virgin?

The Virgin

The complex binary nature of virginity dates back to Roman times and is investigated by Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih who define it as both perfect and monstrous; perfect in its depiction of the superlative state of purity, and monstrous in its semantic ambiguity. It is significant all at once in its absence and its presence in the individual. It is the image of perfection, living one's life in imitation of the angels (2003: 2). A visible distinction in the lives of female saints dating from between the Roman and early medieval periods thus appears between permanent and temporary virginity. A potential incompatibility between the figures of the woman and the virgin is presented, as to be a woman was essentially to perform one's role as wife and mother adequately, whilst to be virginal was in essence to go against everything for which the woman stood. Ideals of virginity are still disputed today (see also Robertson 1990: 40):

> Virgins, by voluntary renunciation, and widows, by a fortuitous act that deprived them of their husbands, occupy much higher rungs on the ladder of authority. Virginity, the highest state, freed the mind of lust, allowing pure, unsullied thought; widowhood, the halfway point, was attracted upward by potential future purity, made possible by an event that freed the mind from carnal desires. (Roberts 1999: 52)

At one end of the scale, virginity was interpreted as a physical state, as the individual would never have experienced sexual relations. Quite simply, the female virgin has never had her hymen broken. Conversely, at the other end of the scale, the virgin was depicted in terms of her moral or spiritual state, with the focus here more on the quality of the spirit or soul of those who wished their primordial relationship to be with God. This then underlined a greater degree of spiritual purity or humility (Salih 1999: 106). The concept of virginity was a paradox for medieval women, urged as a pattern offered to both sexes to emulate. However, for women the situation remained complicated.[2] Women, by their very nature, were primarily defined through the roles they exercised in medieval society, roles which were, principally, sexual.[3] Some saw this as the wife, the widow, or the virgin, some as that of the wife, the mother, and the whore. An active decision on the woman's behalf to remain apart from what was traditionally expected of her, primarily sexual relations with a man, led to a scenario whereby religious women were often pushed out to the borders of their own societies (Chewning 1999: 113).

The hierarchy of chastity was first proposed by Paul, who asserted that chastity was awarded the first rank (or the highest degree) to virgins, the second rank was given to continent widows, and the third to those who were still married. Such a construction could be interpreted as a response to the Church's contradictions on the roles of virginity, marriage, and widowhood. Alcuin Blamires, Karen Pratt, and C. W. Marx cite Saint Jerome as stating that 'Christ loves virgins more than others because they willingly give what was not commanded to

[2] See also Kathleen Coyne Kelly & Marina Leslie 1999 for further investigation into the concept of medieval virginity.

[3] See also Gies & Gies 1978.

them' (1992: 66). Paul asserted how a permanent state of virginity was far superior to any other in many of his letters, particularly in I Corinthians 7:1-10:[4]

> A man is better off having no relations with a woman. But to avoid immorality, every man should have his own wife and every woman her own husband. The husband should fulfill his conjugal obligations toward his wife, the wife hers toward her husband […] if they cannot exercise self-control, they should marry. It is better to marry than to be on fire.

Virginity is thus recognized as the purest state in which an individual can live. This would account for the fact that, as we will see in Chapter 2, the vast majority of the saints in Voragine's compilation are virgins. A lesser number are married, and an even smaller number are widowed. The nature and power of virginity were concepts to be appreciated and respected from an early age, and indeed continued until the time of death where possible:

> However much Christian authors wrote, in Platonic terms, of the innate love for virginity that stirred at the bottom of the heart of every Christian child, such children were seldom free agents. The family decided the fate of its girls. If a girl was to remain a consecrated virgin, she had to be hedged around with a heavy sacral language. The girl who found herself among the 'brides of Christ' was spoken of by the clergy as a human *ex voto*. She was no longer a woman; she had become 'a sacred vessel dedicated to the Lord.' (Brown 1988: 260)

Elliott argues that virginity should also be a vehicle used to transcend the temporal realm and in turn experience something of eternity: it could furthermore be employed to purify and

[4] All biblical quotations are taken from the Authorized King James Version of the Bible (Carroll & Prickett: 1997). A notable distinction between virginity and marriage is thus presented. As D'Avray affirms, 'the Catholic idea of chastity […] considered earthly marriage a more or less unfortunate necessity meant to accommodate human weakness; "It is better to marry than to burn," St. Paul had said, but he made it sound like a close call' (2005: 1). See also Gies & Gies 1987.

modify the marriage bond into something eternal (1993: 69-70). In addition she alludes to, amongst numerous other critics, the Virgin Mary as the epitome of all female aspirations, a vision of purity, holiness, and innocence, particularly in her capacity as a virginal mother: 'Indeed, the example of Mary's motherhood arguably made more obvious inroads into the spirituality of female celibates than did her virginity into that of the married. The cult of the lactating Virgin is one of the more graphic manifestations of Mary's female mothership' (1993: 179).[5] Blamires, Marx, and Pratt reiterate the significance of virginity and underline the figure of the Virgin Mary as the ultimate model of perfection for all females to which to aspire (1992: 13).[6]

Although the unique nature of Mary's motherhood was not feasibly attainable for mortal women, the Virgin nonetheless represented the pinnacle of what medieval stereotypes believed to be the perfect woman and mother (Colwell 2003: 185; see also Brooke 1989: 71):

> Mary had remained a perpetual virgin. Her body not only had been intact at the time that she had conceived Christ through the Holy Spirit (that is, it had not suffered the intrusion and admixture of male seed) but it had also been exempted, in a manner quite as marvelous, from the breaking of the closed boundary of the flesh associated with normal childbirth. Mary's womb stood for all that was unbroken and sacred in the world. (Brown 1988: 354)

[5] See also Mulder-Bakker (1995) and Parsons & Wheeler (1996) for an extensive analysis on sanctity and motherhood.

[6] See also Brown 1988: 359, Dinshaw 1999: 95, and Colwell 2003: 184-85. In particular, Tania Colwell underlines the Virgin Mary's role as the archetypal mother, providing the model upon which secular constructions of motherhood could be based. She alludes to her virginal state and pain-free labour, engendering her acceptance as a maternal symbol. Her function as a mother was linked to that of the bride of Christ, producing an image of female perfection in the construction of medieval Christian ideologies (2003: 184): 'In her incomparable perfection Mary becomes an impossible measuring rod against which women, men and Jews could seem to fail miserably' (Rubin 1998: 216). See also Rubin 2009.

Cindy L. Carlson & Angela Jane Weisl assert that virgins and widows alike were linked through abstinence, which subsequently granted them special access to the divine (1999: 2). The stress placed upon the virgin birth of Christ, found in the Gospel of Luke, indicates a mentality in which prophecy and virginity were powerfully tied (Brown 1988: 67).

Tertullian passes judgement on the female sector of the Christian population, asserting that the most perfect form of sanctity to be found was in the virgin, as she was completely unfamiliar with fornication. The latter was seen as evil, its antithesis virginity as holy and sacred, which is why it was so easy to argue against the benefits of a first marriage (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 1). A virgin could be the unblemished and dedicated servant of God, as well as providing a model of opposition against traditional male hierarchy. Furthermore, the *male element* of ascetic discipline can be expressly linked to the preservation of the individual's chastity (described as the 'male element' because as Eve was considered the original temptress, it was men who had to consciously renounce the physical and sexual temptation presented by the female). Following the abbess Saint Aldegund of Maubeuge's (d. ca. 684) temptation to renounce her ascetic vocation by the Devil, she experienced a sudden vision of an angel. The latter instructed her to 'act like a man' by maintaining her virginity. In turn she would be granted an eternal crown. Chastity was a necessary prerequisite of all early male and female medieval saints, and could be demonstrated, as proves Aldegund's case, through either virginity or chaste widowhood (Smith 1995: 19).

Laypeople were presented with the chance to serve the Church in traditionally orthodox Christian society (one which was conservative in its adherance to mainstream religious faith) by accepting and embracing celibacy. From the early part of the second century, unmarried women and widows were able to opt for lives of public prayer, fasting,

abstinence, and good works. Different orders of virgins and of widows provided models for the community of the perfect Christian life. The literature of the *Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (thought to have been composed circa A.D 160) provides a pertinent example as to the high degree of esteem lay Christians granted virginity. They focus on the Apostle's rejection of matrimony, and the *Acts* go into substantial detail about the successful dissuasion of other followers from marriage and from sexual activity. They feature such celibate heroes and heroines as Thecla, who faced many dangers to maintain her virginity and stay unmarried. It was thus understandably difficult, as time evolved into the third century, for the Church to praise virginity as the correct path to salvation and to promise successful entry into paradise for those married Christians who were sexually active. This was predominantly due to the complex, ambivalent, and changing attitudes held by both society and the Church from the early medieval period onwards, regarding the status of the virgin, wife, and widow (as will be fully discussed in this chapter).

Arguably the virgin had rejected sexuality before even having experienced it, and so her ability to defend herself against external manifestations of seduction was considerably weakened. As a result, the expectation was that virgins should reside in seclusion, in areas such as anchorholds or in the family home. They were expected to complete such tasks as holding holy vigils, praying, observing meekness, fasting, and respecting patience, humility, and obedience. As such, they were completely removed from society and excluded from the community, only to be seen at worship and accompanied solely by virtuous women (such as widows, spiritual counsellors, or family members):

> In the early Church, virginal practice was accorded enormous status, investing virgins with theoretical (if not actual or meaningful) power. Some virgins, however, chose more public means of enacting their

> chastity, leading to Ignatius' recognition of the 'virgins who are called *widows*,' because they joined the Order of Widows to become more active agents of the Church. (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 3)

Numerous pieces of devotional literature and sermons were interspersed with brief and instructive narratives from the early medieval period, also known as *exempla*. These were commonly drawn from the *Vitae Patrum*, or lives of the fathers of the Church. In these exempla, chastity is consistently valued, underlined, and praised (Elliott 1993: 171-72). Abstinence from intercourse came to be a precondition for baptism: 'It is explained on the authority of St. Paul that all good Christians should be chaste virgins prepared to marry Christ [...] It is explained further that through baptism and penance one may attain the purity necessary to a bride of Christ' (Robertson 1950: 156).

However, some argue that 'one is not born, but becomes a virgin', meaning that mothers such as Margery Kempe could regain their virginal status following procreation. Arguably virginity, even if it had been broken, could be miraculously restored (Brooke 1989: 71). Others held a stricter view, believing that virginity, once lost, was irretrievable (Phillips 2003: 80-81 and Brown 1988). Carol Dinshaw (1999) uses the case of Margery Kempe to illustrate a similar argument regarding chastity. Kempe is expected to have children whilst her primary desire is to remain chaste, even virginal, for her celestial husband, Christ. Paradoxes are thus presented within Christianity in terms of one's sexuality. Christ asserts to Margery that he loves wives as much as any other, especially those wives who, given the choice, would stay chaste. In the same speech, Christ declares that the state of virginity is indeed holier and more perfect than that of widowhood, and that the state of widowhood is more perfect than

that of wedlock, however he loves Margery as much as any maiden in the world.[7] 'Distinctions were made according to marital status, and this was perhaps especially the case in a religious context' (Peters 2000: 63).

A possible distinction can thus be made between chastity and virginity, and their subsequent applications to these widow legends. Whereas chastity requires control of one's sexual desires, virginity is a state whereby no desire exists in the first place. With each, more is implied than solely the denial of sexual relations (Brown 1988: XXX), as the state of mind and lifestyle were also crucial (see also McCarthy 2004: 33). D'Avray comments upon the common belief that 'thought or pleasure [was found] in initiation, consent is ratification, deed is consummation' (2005: 58). In addition, Lucas asserts that 'virginity is wealth, chastity is sufficiency, marriage is poverty' (1983: 28) and distinguishes between the three states of virginity, widowhood, and marriage according to medieval perception, asserting that in terms of celestial recompense, marriage is awarded thirtyfold, the widow sixtyfold, and virginity a hundredfold (1983: 23). Virginity clearly takes the lead (see also Brown 1988: LXVI and McCarthy 2004: 11 and 13-15).

The Spouse

Marriage was seen as a powerful union, not only between humans but also between human and divine alike (D'Avray 2005: 17). It was thus generally accepted within the Christian faith. However, the Church's conception of the institution of marriage was complex, as there was no single attitude common to the entire Church (Duby 1983: 23), nor was it constant. In the early

[7] Marc Glasser alludes to the chaste marriage of Bridget of Sweden (whose daughter participated in a virginal marriage), which could 'suggest the ability of married-women saints to exist and thrive in marriage and motherhood' (1981: 27). Here he refers specifically to Chapters 21 and 22 in *The Book of Margery Kempe*.

Middle Ages the symbolism of marriage was not publically preached to the masses, as it was instead more developed throughout late medieval preaching (D'Avray 2005: 20). The Church's standard teachings on marriage, descending from Augustine amongst others, are that whilst marriage may prove an inferior state to that of virginity, nevertheless it remains an honourable sacrament ordained by God. Through it, Christ was born, with the latter further honouring the marriage ritual through performing his first miracle at a wedding union. Kathryn A. Smith remarks that 'by speaking in terms of *degrees* of chastity and by explicitly linking conjugal chastity with other Christian virtues, notably faith and piety, Novatian assured the married, sexually-active Christian a place in paradise' (1993: 11). [8]

Conor McCarthy refers to the two exemplary biblical marriages in medieval ecclesiastical thinking: that of Adam and Eve, and that of Mary and Joseph. From where comes a dualistic approach to the permissiveness of marriage, with marriage seen as having two different purposes. Primarily, it is instituted in Paradise as a sacrament by God, in his instruction to Adam and Eve to go forth and multiply. Secondly, after the Fall, postlapsarian marriage is treated as a type of remedy for the sin of lust, although this is very much a concession as opposed to a command (2004: 13-15). Clarissa W. Atkinson argues that marriage was seen as a lesser good than virginity, in both a moral and a social sense, but it remained a good nonetheless. She cites the relationship between Mary and Joseph as one which existed honourably and without sexual involvement (1991: 153). If a couple must get married, which would inevitably be the case for the majority of women in view of their familial duty, Mary and Joseph proved the example to emulate if possible (most notably after

[8] Novatian wrote during the third century amidst times of persecution, predominantly for the attention of puritans and heretics. Smith remarks further that, 'Novatian considered Susanna the ideal of continence in all women, one who had successfully "escaped lust and death" and "defended chastity"' (1993: 11).

the twelfth century). Peter Brown's *The Body and Society* offers invaluable information regarding the most notable areas of early Christian marriage. He describes amongst other aspects the notion of the first true marriage, that of Adam and Eve. Sexual desire was seen as the cause for the fall of this original couple, which in turn caused the loss of their immortality. Temptation would always be present, but succumbing to it would only prove acceptable to some degree if the couple in question were acting within wedlock. In addition, whilst marriage should be fruitful in terms of the procreative seed, it should also be monogamous (1988: 33-64).

Direct allusions to the idea of marriage and its positive attributes feature elsewhere in the Bible. The wedding at Cana, for example, is a renowned section depicting a marriage at which Christ was present. He does not merely attend the union but is said in addition to have blessed it. Marriage between spouses was comparable to the relationship of Christ with his Church (Peters 2000: 73), the joining together of the spirit of Christ and the faithful mortal soul. D. L. D'Avray refers to the marriage of Assuerus with Esther, in particular alluding to the importance of the feast and of the acts of eating and drinking in conjunction with the blessing: 'the king made Esther reign in the place of Vashti, and he ordered that a banquet be prepared for the union and marriage with Esther' (2005: 61, citing Esther 2.17-18). The blessing of wine and bread in which the spouses are supposed to share (be it in the church or in the wedding bed) is thought to be representative of their life together and of the miracle at Cana.

The belief that virginity was a spiritually superior state to marriage came about during the early history of Christianity through the Gospel accounts of Jesus' ministry and most explicitly through the teachings of the Apostle Paul. Christ is presented by Matthew as

affirming the place of marriage in society and going past the prevailing Jewish ethical and legal consensus. He strongly condemns adultery on the basis that it is morally reprehensible and also strictly prohibits divorce, except in those cases involving adultery (Matthew 19:3-7). However, a more radical view on the subjects of marriage and continence is attributed to Jesus in Luke's account of his debates with the Sadducees. He talks of how the children of this age marry and are also given in marriage, whilst only those deemed suitably worthy of a place in heaven and future resurrection are not married. Celibacy was thus imperative to the notion of spiritual salvation. Marriage was deemed 'a state of bondage from which the only escape is celibacy' (McNamara 1976: 151). However, from the second century onwards both the consecrated virgin and the consecrated widow were recognized members of the Christian community. Their number indeed increased steadily throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, at which time extremely large communities of such women were beginning to become established. As they were able to practice self-denial in the same format as many other female saints, the reward promised to them was one of social honour, in addition to a guarantee that they would appear first in the rank of saints in heaven (McNamara 1976: 152).

Before the fourth century, the Fathers of the Church had little to say regarding the subject of marriage and the family. It was only after the conversion of the Empire and the establishment of the Church that these became topics of significance in Patristic literature (Goody 1983: 85). Christopher N. L. Brooke notes that 'medieval marriage was a piquant mixture of notions and customs deriving from the ancient world, from the inheritance of Judaism and the early Church, from Rome and the barbarians' (1989: 39):

> In the Latin West, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and others devoted attention to forming the moral character of pious women but, with the exception of the laudatory account of Paula's life which Jerome

> composed after her death, none of this literature took a form approximating to that of the saintly *vita*. The Latin fathers' contribution was instead to ensure that chastity, or preferably virginity, became the central prerequisite for female piety. This emphasis rapidly permeated the martyr literature, for chastity became more central even than martyrdom in the accounts of early women martyrs composed in fifth- and sixth-century Rome. By contrast, neither the Greek tradition of penitent prostitutes nor that of chastity preserved within marriage had much impact in the Latin West in the early Middle Ages. (Smith 1995: 11-12)

Paul interpreted marriage as the sole acceptable option for those individuals unable to abstain from carnal desires. Due to his concern for the moral and spiritual consequences of *porneia*, illicit desire, he clearly endorsed the bond of matrimony, despite his belief that the married state was a powerful distraction from the spiritual one. He upheld the validity of existing social institutions and did not advise those who were married to leave their spouses, although he found virginity and chaste widowhood to be more exalted than the married state (I Corinthians 7:10-11; 17-24). The complexities of living in a world whereby status is judged according to a scale of degrees of perfection are evident. Saint Bridget highlights these complexities in her own teachings on marriage, drawing upon the distinction between the three marital states available for a woman as well as commenting upon the sin that is sexual desire, a longing which becomes ultimately more powerful if one is to acquiesce to it:

> 'Human sexuality, even the fruitful kind […] is not only a distraction […] but is, more problematically, a deflection of desire from its ultimate, properly heavenly goal toward earthly objects […] 'Complete abstinence from carnal acts – as in virgins and widows – is often easier than exercising conjugal rights, just as a fever by drinking, a fire by blowing,

> and an itch by scratching, ultimately became more inflamed.' (Dinshaw 1999: 147-48)

Jo Ann McNamara puts forward numerous arguments in relation to the debate upon marriage and its worth, reinforcing the point that every Christian woman should obey the will of God. However, this did not alter the fact that it was extremely difficult for her to serve both the Lord and her husband, her two masters (1976: 149):

> Thomas of Chobham's comments about the responsibilities of wives towards their husbands seem remarkable in two respects: the high premium that he places on women's capacity for moral persuasion, and the attention that he gives to the wife's role as an independent almsgiver. According to Thomas, wives have a powerful influence over their husbands which can be channeled to the good both of their husbands and of the church. In normal circumstances, men dominated women. [...] Only widows, or wives whose husbands were away on crusade, retained a measure of independence and influence. (Farmer 1986: 518)

The woman was not thought to be made from Adam's foot but from his rib, signifying that she was man's respected inferior, and should obey, be loyal to, and respect her husband. Should Eve have been made from Adam's head, perhaps she would have gained superior status in marriage (Rigby 2000: 144-5). Angela M. Lucas refers to the identification of the Church with the bride in the Song of Songs, the spouse indicative of all mankind and the Church in its entirety, as demonstrated through a loving relationship with God (see also Churruca 2000). Bernard of Clairvaux, at a later juncture in his twelfth-century commentary on the Song of Songs, compares the bride instead to the human soul, juxtaposing human love with a spiritual relationship. As marriage evokes the highest form of love, the human soul is frequently

depicted as being married to Christ (Lucas 1983: 17). Popular view confirmed that the husband acted as the head of the wife, in much the same way as Christ leads the Church, as can be seen in Ephesians 5:23 (Brooke 1989: 41).

Conor McCarthy alludes to Saint Paul in I Corinthians 7, which states that every partner assumed control over his or her spouse's body (2004: 27). McKinley agrees with this assertion and adds that an individual must thus answer to his or her spouse primarily, but also to a higher deity:

> To attain perfection, (the married heroine) must […] lose her husband, abandon her children, and obey the dictates of a male counselor in order to be transformed into God's 'friend and spouse.' (1998: 103)

McKinley alludes to the life of Paula, referring to how God welcomes Paula into heaven towards the end of her life with the words 'My friend, / My spouse' (1998: 103), reiterating the proximity between saint and the celestial. According to McCarthy, in voicing consent to marriage one essentially indicated consent to sexual intercourse. It would be impossible to agree to marry and then refuse to have intercourse following the marriage. Yet this issue remains complex in view of the Church's ambivalent attitude towards sexual intercourse, even within marriage (2004: 19). Augustine accepted the fact that, in theory, neither consummation nor consent to sexual intercourse was necessary for the union of marriage to work (Brooke 1989: 55), as is the case with spiritual marriage.[9] This attitude differs from that predominantly

[9] Philippe Toxé comments upon the grey area between consummation and consent in marriage, as well as the difficulties at the time in deciding which one actually made marriages work: 'des auteurs comme Jean Chrysostome disent que c'est le consentement et non la copulation qui fait le mariage […] Cette solution repose sur une grande tradition juridique et a l'avantage majeur aux yeux des théologiens de pouvoir s'appliquer au mariage de la Vierge Marie […] avec d'autres théologiens de l'école de Paris, [comme] Pierre Lombard […] c'est le *consensus conjugalis societatis* qui fait le mariage. L'acte conjugal n'est qu'une obligation qui naît du contrat de mariage, elle n'est pas nécessaire à sa création. C'est donc l'échange des consentements qui est le sacrement' (2000 : 124). See also Amt 1993.

held after the eleventh century, whereby the wife was instead expected to obey the wishes of her husband and to fulfil her duty as a loyal wife through the act of consenting to intercourse, with a view to procreation.

Any individual who had exchanged marriage vows was encouraged to renounce sexual relations and raise any children they had as virgins (Elliott 1993: 27). Furthermore, the function of marriage was to impose gender roles and ensure male's domination. Man and woman were joined as husband and wife, as a public confirmation of gender assumptions. Man was the head of the house and the head of his wife. The woman was the dutiful wife, appearing alongside her husband as his faithful and obedient other. (Peters 2000: 80). Despite an apparent incompatibility between the life of the wife and mother and that of the saint, neither motherhood nor marriage proved to be an obstruction to sanctity for many women.[10] In Paradise, marriage was ordained to give children to God's service, and following the Fall, it was interpreted as a remedy for lechery and fornication. It symbolized all relations between man and God, as an indissoluble sacrament except by death (Peters 2000: 72). In I Timothy 2:8-15, the pious wife is described as submissive and silent faced with her husband's authority, proving to be modest in dress and submissive also through the act of childbearing, whilst she continues in love, faith, and holiness. Her chastity was essential (Smith 1993: 5).

A widely held opinion is that both procreation and marriage formed part of God's plan for humanity from the very beginning (see Duby 1978). Adam and Eve were believed to have been created as two sexually differentiated beings, formed by God with a particular sexual role. Sexual relations had been amalgamated into God's divine plan for humanity. This meant by consequence that the leading concept of virginity, acting as a state in which men and

[10] See also L'Estrange's discussion regarding holy motherhood (2008), and Schulenberg's analysis of motherhood in conjunction with sanctity (1998).

women could potentially be viewed as equals, lost significant impact. Whilst there is a place for honourable sex in the Garden of Eden, Adam and Eve erred even before the consummation of their union. Such a sinful and despicable act was aptly atoned for through physical punishment on the one bodily part which was needed for procreation: the genitals. Eve obliged all of her female descendants to endure childbirth as an excruciating process, whereas prior to her and Adam's transgression, giving birth was devoid of pain:

> As the woman bred and bore children who would become heirs of Christ, she was then most free to serve God and most preserved from sin. The conception, gestation, and delivery of children were the consequence of God's judgment and grace, and a sign of His blessing. The labor pains were part of the punishment connected with original sin. The female was gladly to suffer these steps of procreation and put her trust in God. Many Puritans, in discussing this, quoted I Timothy 2:25 and observed that since sin came into the world through the female, she could recover her honor by bearing children. (Schnucker 1980: 81)

Whilst Adam and Eve initally enter the Garden of Eden in a state of nonchalance, they later decide to cover their genitalia with fig leaves, having broken God's command. They are ashamed at the sight of their own nakedness. They have in effect rendered nudity a taboo, having construed it as reprehensible and sinful. Sexual activity was tainted by the shameful element of passion, further emphasizing the atrocities of original sin. The human lineage suffered as a result. Sin ensured that the flesh was no longer bound by the commands of the will (Elliott 1993: 45-46). The latter would always be superceded by temptation.

The act of sexual intercourse, whilst necessary in marriage for procreation and creating new generations, remains a carnal act from which pleasure is reaped (see also

Goodich 1995a: 59-60, and Brundage 1990).[11] As Georges Duby argues, marriage itself would be wholly acceptable if all physical joy were able to be removed from it. However such a feat was impossible, as pleasure was only able to be controlled or governed. Marriage would always be a sin of sorts. This is the reason why all laymen, including kings, were subordinate to the priests, who were seen as purer (1983: 114-15). Dyan Elliott cites Augustine as implicitly contrasting the divisive act of sexual intercourse with the unitive transition to chastity. The sanctity of marriage could be found when it had been deflected from its true end. Elliott continues in her assertion that, while Augustine declared that the marital bond is strengthened through a transition to chastity, he was unable to understand exactly how women were helpmates to men other than for reasons of procreation. This in turn arguably undermined the possibilities of a spiritually companionate marriage (1993: 49; see also Brown 1988: 21):

> Sex itself was sinful, but marriage was at worst a moral expedient for the weak and, at best, a 'good use of an evil thing'. The appropriate, 'worthy' motive for conjugal intercourse was procreation, not desire […]. In his treatise *De bono conjugali* (*On the Good of Marriage*) and *De sancta virginitate* (*On Holy Virginity*), both of c.401, Augustine would praise Susanna as the epitome of married chastity, Anna (Luke 2:36) as the model of continent widowhood, and Mary as the paradigm of perpetual virginity. A contemporary pastor would preach to his congregation: 'I say this not to confound you, but rather to warn you; flee youthful desires. Let married women look to Susanna, widows to Anna, maidens to Mary. Do not go out in public in such a way that, desiring to display too much the

[11] On the complexity of the acceptability of sexual intercourse within marriage, see also James A. Brundage (1993: 67) and Elliott (1993: 48).

> flower of your youth to the eyes of men, you seek death in the house of life'. (Smith 1993: 14)

Sexual intercourse was seen as a sin, a mortal sin when classed as fornication. However, it was seen differently in the confines of marriage, in that it was viewed as venial and as an act which could be redeemed. Vern L. Bullough refers to the works of Saint Augustine in supporting the assertion that marriage alone had the capacity to change sinful feelings of lust and desire into more of a knowledge that procreation was a necessary duty expected to continue genealogical development. In the latter situation, sexual intercourse somehow lost a substantial part of its inherent sinfulness. Augustine asserted that celibacy had been proven to be the highest good. He also described the desire behind sexual intercourse as one which could be interpreted as a type of animal lust: uniquely in the case of a marriage was it acceptable for procreation (Bullough 1977: 186-87).

The border between good and evil was distinctly grey, with some arguing that it lay between chastity and wedlock, others asserting that it sat between wedlock and fornication. Augustine vouched for the element of good that was to be found in marriage. Firstly, it gives man the possibility to multiply, meaning that Paradise can eventually be repopulated with another generation of virgins, replacing others who have fallen. Perhaps more importantly marriage is a method of restraining one's sensuality, or more specifically, of restraining women. Paul, who endorses the Roman view of marriage, debates whether the woman in a married couple should be interpreted specifically as an agent of reproduction or as more of a life companion. Paul believed that, for women, the principal aim of marriage was to become a mother. These ideas contrast the patristic writings, which instead upheld a parental as opposed to a conjugal definition of marriage. Christian exegetics had decided by the end of the fourth century that marriage was predominantly for reproduction (Verdon 1988: 491-92). Opinions

regarding the acceptability of procreation within the confines of marriage and the justification behind the desire to procreate vary widely, from both a contemporary and a medieval perspective. This is why it is impossible to assert any one singular view.[12]

According to Augustine, evil came about in Paradise because desire penetrated that part of the soul which should really have been subject to the principle of reason, as is the wife to her own husband.[13] The union of marriage could revert to an original state of hierarchy, whereby the flesh is dominated by the spirit, but only if and when the husband was able to rule over his spouse, proving therefore stronger than the original male, Adam (Duby 1983: 27-28). Conor McCarthy defines any natural sexual act as one which leads to reproduction, and any unnatural sexual act as one which does not (2004: 9). Christian commitment to God was eternal, and should be valued as such. Both Paul and the New Testament present an image whereby marriage can be assessed in terms of procreation, the relationship being undertaken with a specific view to having children, blessed with this gift from God (Verdon 1988: 492): 'defining, defending, and regulating conjugal chastity became one of the most urgent pastoral concerns of the emerging institutional Church' (Smith 1993: 3).

Regarding having sexual intercourse specifically to procreate, there appear to be two main and separate views within medieval Christian society. On the one hand, 'sexual activity and devotion to God are mutually exclusive – it is impossible […] to serve God and to be sexually active because carnality separates and distances an individual from God'

[12] 'Divorce and remarriage were fairly common; remarriage, and marriage itself, were legal obligations for Roman citizens beginning with the *Lex Julia* of 18 B.C.E […]. But the pursuit of pleasure or desire as an end in itself – particularly sexual pleasure – was considered detrimental to a healthy morality. Pleasure and desire originated with passions; sex that resulted from unrestrained desire blocked the proper function of reason' (Smith 1993: 4).

[13] Paul's attitude towards marriage and sexuality is far more severe than that of the later Augustine. The latter appears more tolerant towards the notion of marriage. Development through the ages demonstrates that, whilst the ideal (of chastity, even within marital union) was difficult to strive for, marriage became more and more accepted, begrudgingly, as this was God's will. Evidently as long as no pleasure was taken in the continuation of human lineage (Duby 1983: 27-28).

(Eisenbichler 2005: 33). A widely-held belief, as noted by Robertson, was that in many hagiographic lives the woman is able to achieve redemption uniquely by recognizing her essential physicality, in her identification with the suffering of Christ. She can also do this by transcending not only any earthly desire she may experience, but in turn by transferring that desire to Christ (1990: 107). Michael Goodich recognized the disparity in belief regarding conjugal intercourse, noting that the sexual act uniquely for the sake of carnal satisfaction and pleasure may be considered sinful; however the one permissible form of sexual expression may be one which encourages the procreation of children (2004: 304-05).[14]

Traditional female behaviour was not abandoned in favour of the pursuit of the spiritual life. Female saints instead brought the activities of motherhood forward into the spiritual realm, perhaps acting, for example, as a mother to a group of spiritual children. The roles were the same. With this emphasis on the maternal behaviour of saints, the role of the mother became far more active whilst she benefitted from greater prestige and stature than has previously been recognized. The Holy Kinship itself, especially as depicted in the pictorial arts, stresses these specific aspects of female activity throughout the late Middle Ages. The Incarnation of Christ, his physical body, came about because of his maternal ancestors. A glorification of his own body suggested a glorification of every aspect of maternal parenting. Late medieval society held in high regard the positive value of motherhood and marriage, as can be supported by Saint Anne's appearance in visions to two female saints. In Bridget's vision particularly, Anne declared herself 'ladi of all weddid folke' (Siegfried Gohr, *Anna Selbdritt*, cited in Sheingorn 2004: 283), putting herself forward as intercessor acting on behalf

[14] With reference to the saints and to childbirth, Brooke asserts that Saint Margaret was the patron saint of childbirth, otherwise known as the dog of fidelity (1989: 283). The dog is the traditional symbol of marital fidelity, their faithfulness aptly reflected in the common dog name 'Fido', originating from the Latin for fidelis, or faithful. As reproduction was expected once the marriage bond had been agreed upon, Margaret proves to be a clear connection when it comes to childbirth (Howells 2003: 21)

of fruitful marriages. Her specific example attests the availability of the spiritual life for married women, putting to one side the emphasis on virginity which had been at the forefront of earlier Christian teaching.

Dyan Elliott argues that 'married women, particularly those who had at one time been sexually active, appear to have made the best penitents' (1993: 205). She refers to the way in which the number of female saints tapers off as from the mid-eighth century, which is similarly the case with representations of spiritual marriage. The reason for this difference in trends can be traced to the Church's intervention in matrimony as well as the relative stabilization of marriage (1993: 92). Attitudes towards marriage evolved with time (see also McClanan & Roscoff Encarnación 2002: 3, and Roush & Baskins, 2005: IX). However, statistics confirm that along with the increase in the percentage of female saints between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries came an increase in the number of married saints, of which women constituted a larger proportion than men (Bynum 1987: 21).

The Widow

The presence of the widow in compilations of saints' lives is a rarity, in view of the general medieval view of sanctity in marriage.[15] The Church's teachings on the condition of widowhood proved to outrank that of those who were faithfully married (Rigby 2000: 148-49). Certain individuals such as Guibert of Nogent (a Benedictine theologian, historian, and author: c.1055-1124) believed that widowhood was an extensively more meritorious state than the

[15] The number of female saints over the years, inclusive of married women saints, had increased (Bynum 1987: 13). Whilst the widowed saint was a rare addition to any compilation, the appearance of her, as well as her married and virginal female saintly peers, increased over the years. She ranges, for example, from a sparse feature in the second and third centuries to a more common attribute in the twelth and thirteenth. Nevertheless, the widowed saint is the least represented of her female counterparts.

married one, although it stood inferior to virginity (Duby 1983: 144). The widow occupied a special role as a model of piety, and had done so from the outset of early Christianity, as argued by figures such as Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. The number of widows increased at a steady rate throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, at a point in which large communities of these sorts of women were becoming established (McNamara 1976: 152). The Church's support of widows could be seen under varying guises (see Verdon 1988: 495). All three types of female were expected to behave differently and possessed varying responsibilities. The innocent lifestyle led by the virgin was comparable to the other roads of holiness taken by the wife and widow (Baernstein 1994: 789-90):

> In French, the word *veuve* ('widow,' from the Latin *vidua*, 'deprived of') is not known to have a parallel masculine form (*veuf*, widower) until the sixteenth century. This straightforward fact of the history of language may serve as a point of departure in the discussion of the condition of women in medieval France. Widowhood was a gendered concept; so was virginity. Both categories were determined by the place women occupied in the male-dominated society, community, and family. The exceptional status of unmarried women is reflected in fiction as well as in codices and compilations of custom law. (Roberts 1999: 25)

A letter from Tertullian to his wife (in *Ad Uxorem*) highlighted the distinction between widow and virgin, and chastity and virginity. It underlines the difficulties with which widows were faced. Whilst he does not enter into the particularities of the classification of women according to their marital or sexual status per se, evidently chastity could be divided into degrees, of which virginity occupied the highest rung. Yet this was not to deny the strong virtue of widowhood. Whilst a virgin may possess perfect integrity, to lead the life of a widow

is inevitably more difficult: it is simple not to desire something of which one is ignorant, and to turn one's back upon that which has never been desired.[16] Chastity is aware of the sacrifice that has been made: the virgin has always possessed that which is good, but the widow has to find it by herself (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 1-2). The widow was encouraged to be continent where possible initially during her marriage, and indeed urged to stay unmarried following the death of her first husband (Brown 1988: 45). The three grades of chastity - virginity, widowhood, and marriage - were widely documented, marked by their respective differences in terms of most acceptable through to least acceptable to a medieval society. This hierarchical distinction can also be recognized throughout these hagiographic accounts. The widow, having been liberated from the bonds of marriage, understands that a strict life of asceticism and chastity awaits her, so that she may attain similar sanctity to her virginal peers.[17] The only condition was that the spouse would most certainly have harder to work and further to prove, spiritually and physically, to attain the saintly status of the virgin, as would the widow:

> Ecclesiastical suspicion of widows finds expression in concern at their status as sexually experienced but unmarried women. It encouraged widows to take vows of chastity rather than remarry, chaste widowhood being granted a status superior to marriage, although inferior to virginity [...]. Chastity in marriage is admirable, but only because it abstains from illicit pleasures; on this score it is not eminently distinct from ordinary chastity. Holy widowhood, however, does strike a distinctive note, although not reaching to the perfection of being wholly untouched by sex-

[16] John H. Arnold discussed the differences between chastity and virginity, seemingly suggesting that the former involves a degree of control, while the latter often indicates that there was no element of desire in the first place (2003).

[17] As an example of the powerful distinction between the orders, 'Letter 24 on Asella, the virgin sister of Marcella, was written at Rome in 384, two days after Letter 23. Jerome felt that he had erred in writing a letter in praise of a widow, who, after all, belonged only to the second order of chastity, while saying nothing of a virgin, who is a member of the first order' (Petersen 1996: 102).

> pleasures. This is proper to virginity, and is the reason why it is set down as a special virtue, surpassing chastity as magnificence does liberality. (McCarthy 1999: 101-02)

The figure of the widow proposed further problems in a society which was based on fidelity, monogamy, and male domination, and the gospels offer little help as to what society should do with widows. Christ struggles to answer the question he is given in Matthew 23, as to which of the sevenfold married widow's husbands in heaven is really wed to her. Saint Paul recommends that every widow capable of abstaining from sin should enter the Church, and this recommendation was upheld by many medieval widows. This suggestion is presumably linked to the overriding view of the traditional widow as dangerous due to her previous sexual experience and economical independence. She would present less of a threat to society behind the walls of the cloisters. Some became nuns or perhendinarias (a form of lay sister), others took a public vow before an abbot or bishop to live chastely. Humanists and puritan divines celebrated the sanctity of family and of marriage, whilst the predicament of the widow became more powerful (Carlton 1978: 128). The argument as to whether the widow was a person to be revered or feared, in view of her current lack of sexual involvement yet economic and emotional independence, was debated more and more within society and the Church, particularly from the fourth and fifth centuries onwards. McCarthy refers to Saint Paul's fear of widows, in his outline as to which particular type of widow was acceptable to the Christian faith (1999: 102). He quotes the First Epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy (5:9-15):

> Let a widow be chosen of no less than threescore years of age, who hath been the wife of one husband. Having testimony for her good works, if she have brought up children, if she have received to harbor, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have ministered to them that suffer

> tribulation, if she have diligently followed every good work. But the younger widows avoid. For when they have grown wanton in Christ, they will marry: Having damnation, for they have made void their first faith. And withal being idle they learn to go about from house to house; and are not only idle, but tattlers also, and busy-bodies, speaking things which they ought not. I will therefore that the younger should marry, bear children, be mistresses of families, give no occasion to the adversary to speak evil. For some are already turned aside after Satan.

The bonds of marriage were deemed a necessity forced upon the saint, bonds from which she is liberated by widowhood (Lawless 2003: 31; see also Herlihy 1985: 22). Married women during their marriage had no control over their property, as all such power was naturally vanquished to the husband (McCarthy 2004: 21).[18] Following the death of the husband, therefore, the widow herself could decide as to where her money would prove to be most beneficial: 'An economic theme may likewise lie behind the insistence upon chastity so often voiced in contemporary hagiography. While many biographers claimed that the saints willingly preferred virginity to marriage, necessity rather than preference may have spurred their devotion to religion […]. Female saints often suffered considerable opposition from their families or spouses when they turned to religion' (Goodich 1981: 24).

A widow could be virtuous and chaste and still, like the virgin, challenge male authority in creating another figure of female power which subverts traditionally gender-assigned roles (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 6). Widows and virgins occupied similar perfected and idealized spaces in Christianity: both were able to achieve sanctity in Christ's celestial realm due to their respective renunciation of sexual intercourse. Carlson & Weisl refer to John

[18] Regarding the legal entitlements of the widow, see Mitchell 2003.

Chrysostom in his justification as to how widows are able to attain such a spiritual state of purification: 'the widow starts off inferior only to the virgin; but at the last, she equals and joins her' (1999: 2). Both virginity and widowhood freed women from all that was carnal in the world. Virginity was forever the ideal, but widows could at least be urged to stay away from all that was vile in marriage. They could instead join forces with their virginal counterparts in the rejection of the traditional stereotype with which they had so frequently been branded, as an enticer of lust in men. By consequence, abstinence in sexuality brought women away from their generic gendered associations and granted them a certain degree of individuality, and thus, independence:[19]

> That the two groups occupied similar idealized and perfected spaces is perhaps best articulated by John Chrysostom […] when he says, 'The female saint, then, had to manifest in her person and behavior the evidence that she had overcome the propensities toward the flesh assumed to be natural to women: first, by maintaining her virginity; then also by manifesting modesty, wisdom, self-control, prudence, and piety.' Cazelles points out that for the female saint, 'virtue takes a superlative form, as the heroine achieves holiness by rejecting any and all of the artifices associated with female vanity […] Indifferent to her own appearance, eager not to provoke unchaste gazing, the female seeks to become invisible.' (McKinley 1998: 98)

Chaste intentions were in themselves thought to be as virtuous as chastity itself (Elliott 1993: 240).

[19] See also Cazelles 1991.

A common belief was that the widow was constantly searching for a replacement sexual partner from the moment her husband was buried: '"Llorar poko: buskar otro" (cry a little and look for another [man]), to cite one example from the Castilian tradition' (Eisenbichler 2005: 25). Similar examples appear in abundance in the traditional lyric.[20] Conor McCarthy similarly alludes to widows as a potential source of difficulty because not only were they sexually independent women, they were also no longer under the threat of their husbands. This subsequently rendered them a potential threat to masculine authority (2004: 11).[21] The exhibition of grief remained an additional area of contention regarding widows, specifically concerning societal belief regarding how a widow should react to the news of her husband's passing, as well as how she should manage her private grief.[22] Stephanie Chamberlain alludes to how public tears were expected from a widow following a recent bereavement. They were interpreted as a type of public performance, a manifestation of the wife's adoration and obedience to her deceased husband. The holy woman was supposed to realize that at the point in which her husband died, she had experienced a horrific loss.[23] Not only has her heart been broken, the warmth and affection she experienced for her husband have been removed from it. In addition, half of her soul has been destroyed, and her entire lifestyle and the way she understood the world to be has been forcefully altered. As a consequence, honest tears, grief,

[20] See Margit Frenk (1987), who gives the following examples: 'Él anoche se murió /ella hoy casarse quiere: / ¡guay del que se muere!' (no.1782a); 'Tres días ha que murió / la viuda casarse quiere: / ¡desdichado del que muere / si a paraýso no va!' (no.1782b); 'Viuda que de luto no cura / poco dura.' (no.1780)

[21] Death of the husband evidently meant an end to the marriage, and end to conjugal control, leaving the widow free to embark upon the life of her choice. The circumstances were ideal. Similarly, 'Margaret of Cortona, Umiliana dei Cerchi (d. 1246), and Angela of Foligno (d. 1309) had to wait for their husbands or lovers to die before they could espouse chastity' (Bynum 1987: 24).

[22] See also Foehr-Janssens 2000, Hockey & Small 2001, Riegel 2005, and Rosenthal 1993.

[23] 'With the devastating loss of a husband comes a loss of identity, which not only justifies but also requires even uncontrollable grief' (Levy 2003: 3). Following the husband's death, the widow traditionally had a duty to his honour and her remaining family. The ideal situation was that the widow continue in a state of holy widowhood and refuse remarriage, although the latter was not formally prohibited (Levy 2003: 4).

and sorrow were acceptable and expected. Perhaps the most powerful piece of evidence that the widow's mind is shameless and cruel is when she does not cry for a husband she has recently lost (2002: 84).

Society would question whether the widow's failure to cry was a demonstration of the absence of her love, or if indeed it denoted another notion, whereby her refusal to accept her loss prevents her from crying: 'An easy flow of tears was held to be a true reflection of genuine movement of the heart towards God; conversely, inability to produce tears when the situation demanded them was regarded with suspicion' (Stevenson 1996: 37). Grief does, evidently, affect individuals in varying ways. Some are determined to continue with their lives and become stronger after their loss for those around them, adamant not to give in to weakness or grief. The shedding of tears could, after all, prove to be a cultural expectation, and it may result in the widow's inability to fulfill the duties expected of her as a widow (Chamberlain 2002: 85). Her strength was measured by her will, with her subsequent rejection of carnality enabling her to reside in a world in which it was rife.

It was believed by most mendicant orders that widows should renounce all types of social contact, retreat into a lifestyle of solitude and consecrate their lives entirely to prayer. Individuals such as Saint Antoninus (1389-1459) and Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498) tried to encourage the 'true widow' to abstain from contact primarily with men and other priests or friars, including blood relatives, family members, and nuns. Within the convents, widows formed a substantial percentage of the inhabitants, despite the widow's biological family frequently competing with the convent to obtain the widow's funds and her loyalty. Convents could also be used to house not only widows and nuns, but also to protect those women in danger, albeit economically, physically, or socially. It was not therefore a unique retreat or

garden of reclusion for the virginal (Baernstein 1994: 787). The convent, however, was still a haven or 'enclosed garden' for all wellborn virgins (Baernstein 1994: 805). The concept of the garden is a well-known topos in hagiographic literature, as well as in numerous other genres. The *hortus conclusus*, or self-generating garden, was representative of the Garden of Eden. It was a Paradise safe for the virginal as it was secure and enclosed, and a location ideal for the avoidance of temptation: 'Ambrose utilized the *hortus conclusus* imagery of *Canticle of Canticles* 4: 12 […] he ranked the form of chastity and explicitly linked the virtues of chastity and piety, here through the idea of paradise' (Smith 1993: 15). Communities provided adequate security and a possible refuge for noble households who may have had, for example, daughters who were uninterested in marriage, in accordance with the religious or spiritual requirements of the period. Therefore monasteries and convents were convenient locations of sanctuary for both widows and repudiated wives (Schulenberg 1989: 271).

The widow who was found to be at once lonely and wealthy found herself capable of being autonomous in methods unavailable to her married, single, or cloistered peers. As such, she was often viewed as a possibly destructive force, in both a social and financial context. True widows (those who aspired to chastity) were expected not only to renounce sexual intercourse, but also to forget their families and former worldly activities so that they may dedicate themselves entirely to prayer (Eisenbichler 2005: 32):

> The most important characteristic of the widowed state was the widow's availability for religious exercises and pious works, a freedom not shared by the married woman, burdened with domestic duties, or the virgin, whose movement was restricted for reasons of honor. Again, Savonarola: 'The widow is not so tied to family management as is the married woman.' The literature of the three states of life […] extends over four

> centuries and deserves deeper study; here we need only note that the various kinds of advice offered to a widow concurred that she should remain in widow's habit, but might disagree on the coexistence, happy or not, of active domestic life with contemplative religious life. (Baernstein 1994: 790)

The widow's lifestyle should reflect her actions of chastisement via intense methods of self-control and a denial of all senses.[24] Touch, hearing, sight, smell and taste may lead to occasions which incite sin, and thus should be avoided where possible (Eisenbichler 2005: 29). If both men and women were capable of keeping their virginity until they were married, and ensured that their souls did not become corrupt via their five senses (by using each of the five correctly), they would be recompensed on the day of judgement. They would be deemed sufficiently worthy to enter the gates of heaven and pass into the eternal marriage chamber of the celestial bridegroom (D'Avray 2005: 31).

The widow was often deemed a threat to society, in view of her power and independence as a formerly married woman, now single. Konrad Eisenbichler refers to Louise Mirrer's view that 'the widow was, par excellence, an ambiguous human sign' (2005: 25). She was not chaste, nor was she married, and could all at once claim special protection from the Church and similar secular institutions, and potentially act of her own accord. Her depiction was generally one of a figure simultaneously as an intimidating enemy of men as well as needful of safeguards against the latter. In both learned and popular texts the ambiguity of the figure of the widow was given particular prominence to underline to what great extent widows

[24] 'Women were invariably identified with the senses. Associated in general with carnality, women were linked more specifically to the myriad appetites and pleasures of the sensorial […]. Such a link worked in two ways: not only were women deemed to possess powerful faculties of sight, hearing, smell, and so forth, but they were also represented as appealing compellingly to the senses of men' (Solterer 1994: 129).

could enjoy their independence. Many believed that they needed continual reminders of the virtues of continence, as they had been liberated from male control and thus ran the risk of overindulgence of sexual desire. Despite the restrictive patriarchal structures within which widows lived, they were capable of bearing significant influence throughout society.

Some widows, however, often found themselves in a position of 'enhanced vulnerability', faced with the problem of their gender and their power. As an example, the text *Diascalia Apostolorum* (originating in third-century Syria and pertaining to church life) explores the battle between those women who were widows and held a semi-official status in society, with those bishops who were attempting to found a church hierarchy.[25] The Church tried incessantly to alienate women, especially widows, from any positions of leadership involved in functions with the congregation (Clark 2001: 399-400). A distinction was made between 'ordinary' widows and those who were 'established'. The former could claim financial relief from the Church, together with their children. The latter, however, was noted more specifically for the fact that she had only ever been married once and had taken, in addition, the express decision never to remarry. Amidst the widows, the ideal for which to strive was the established widow. She was characterized more than anything else by the exemplary nature of her life.

The Church took a strong stance and aversion to the remarriage of both widows and widowers (see Cavallo & Walker 1999). They made their approval of widowhood public, for reasons of financial assurance. Even if their followers did get married, the clergy would still profit financially from their property.[26] Whilst remarriage may be discouraged, the widow was

[25] Institutions of a later period appeared to be more understanding and tolerant of the figure of the traditional widow.

[26] 'Moreover, as female converts became widows (a frequent occurrence), the community of the faithful could not risk being seen to remarry heathens, therefore discussing remarriage, even advocating celibacy […] Indeed,

often also encouraged not to devote the rest of her life to the memory of her deceased husband.[27] Her only option was to erase him from her memory and dedicate herself entirely to loving her spiritual husband, Christ, instead:

> At that time, the *fides* that Romans occasionally expected a woman to show even to her dead husband, by refusing to remarry, was transformed into a perpetual loyalty to Christ, which good Christian widows were expected to show for the rest of their lives (Brown 1988: 149)

Society upheld the denial of remarriage for widows, as the latter was seen as remaining faithful to the deceased husband whilst rejecting marriage and thus conjugal sin.[28] From a financial perspective, husbands became worried at the prospect of their wife remarrying after their death. This can be seen in numerous wills made by the husbands stating that the wife may only enjoy her inheritance (by this, an annual income or general legal right to his estate is implied) if she lives in a chaste and honorable manner, keeping her widow's habit and residing in the family home. As long as the wife's dowry remained in the family capital, her financial future was secured. If she removed it, she became somebody else's responsibility (Baernstein 1994: 789).

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by prohibiting marriage between close kin, adoption, concubinage (or polygyny) and divorce, the Church was in fact excluding the most important strategies of heirship, and indirectly *encouraging heirlessness*' (Verdon 1988: 490).

[27] 'Widows who eschewed remarriage, especially during the later Middle Ages, could wield considerable power and could assert their independence from men's economic control and control over their bodies' (Abend Callahan 1999: 252-53).

[28] 'It is thus all the more interesting to observe, from the third century and culminating in the fourth century, the Fathers of the Church taking an increasingly intolerant stance, not against this or that type of remarriage, but against the remarriage of widows *per se*' (Verdon 1988: 493). See also Brundage 1995.

Conclusion

Each category of woman had both the potential and the capacity to attain sanctity, despite the evident sexual hierarchy and how each was viewed disparately by both society and the Church. The pure and virginal state was not the sole state in which a female would be accepted and revered in the Christian faith. Both the consecrated virgin and the consecrated widow, from the second century onwards, were established and recognized members of the Christian community. However, as McCarthy points out, abstinence from sexual union altogether is held in higher esteem even than marital intercourse conducted purely for means of procreation (2004: 32). Evidently wives and widows alike would have further to climb to attain an equal saintly status to their virginal peer. A woman was able to be married, a mother, or indeed both, and still be permitted into the realm of sainthood. The question of whether one could attain true saintly status dependent on one's sexual 'rank' posed numerous problems. The Church never explicitly requested that all laypeople should remain celibate; however, those groups of celibate followers such as ascetics and consecrated virgins were too important and heroic a part of Christianity to be brushed aside. The married individual remained the largest component of society; however he or she must be assured a valid place in heaven and within the Christian network for religion to be publicly successful (Smith 1993: 5-6).

It could be argued that the leaders of the Church frequently saw women for their sexual potential and sexual intercourse for its procreative potential, bringing the two essential yet dangerous notions together through the institution of marriage (Elliott 1993: 4). The ultimate distinction between partaking in intercourse for sexual gratification or with a unique and ultimate view to procreate would forever remain one impossible to assess. An idealistic emulation of the Virgin Mary, or indeed, within marriage, an imitation of the union between

either Adam and Eve, or Mary and Joseph, was admirable yet unrealistic. The creation of offspring was necessary to continue human lineage, ensuring that the average lay female could initially perform her motherly function and still be accepted by God should she live out the remainder of her life in a chaste manner. The figure of the widow, equally, provided a potential figure to which a woman could aspire. Whereas she was initially viewed with caution, she became more and more accepted by society and by the Church as time progressed. An average widow therefore, particularly after the eleventh and twelfth centuries, could rest assured that following the death of her husband she had the space and capacity to devote herself to Christ. The Church's views on widowhood represented a way of neutralizing the potential threat represented by widows.

The distinction between the various female forms can thus be related to the literature discussed within this work. Elliott refers specifically to the *Legenda aurea* in a section dealing with the hagiographic statistics of marriage. She asserts that the compilation is undeniably one of the period's most popular collections of saints' lives, and that within the work the increasing reputation of chaste marriage numerically reinforces the link between both spiritual and physical salvation, and chastity. She states that solely twelve days in the *Legenda* are dedicated to saints married expressly to Christians, and to whose spouses direct references are made. Of these twelve, half benefitted from spiritual marriages.[29] In addition, Elliott notes how all saints who partook of normal marital relations were martyred, with the exception of Elizabeth of Hungary (although she refers to Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, here she has erroneously excluded Paula). Elizabeth's unwillingness to marry and her vow of eternal

[29] '[Spiritual marriage] has frequently been applied to syneisaktism: the domestic relations under which two self-processed ascetics of different sexes decide upon chaste cohabitation. It has also been used for a number of different allegorically charged scenarios. The bishop's marriage with his sex, Christ's union with the church, or the mystical marriage of God with the soul are all described as spiritual marriages' (Elliott 1993: 3). See also Bullough & Brundage 1996.

chastity should she survive her husband are made quite clear by Jacobus de Voragine, as are these aspects in numerous other saintly legends. Four of those six couples participating in spiritual marriage were instead spared a violent death, living out their lives as confessor saints. Elliott alludes to the thirteenth century as marking an alteration in perceptions of sanctity whereby saintliness and marriage are not necessarily incompatible (1993: 173-74).[30] Whereas in early Christianity virginity was the principal acceptable model to which laywomen should aspire, as time progressed the Church realized the necessity of accommodating the figures of both spouse and widow, due to their inevitable feature in the majority of women's lives.[31]

[30] Some well-known hagiographical couples are stated as being married as well as chaste. Such examples are those of Julian and Basilissa, Riticius / Rheticius the bishop of Autun and his virginal spouse, and Amator, the bishop of Auxerre, and his wife Martha (Elliott 1993: 68-69). David Herlihy also discusses the life of Saint Amator (1985: 13-14).

[31] A potential explanation for this change in attitude may also concern the decline of monastic life and the development of town life and mendicant orders in medieval Europe.

2

Manuscript Context

Introduction

To understand the relative position of saintly widows in Castilian hagiographic literature, it becomes necessary to examine the composition of the *Legenda aurea* and subsequently how it was reworked into two distinct Castilian compilations, A and B. It will then be possible to assess how the widow legends fit into each.[1] This can be undertaken by noting which saintly legends feature in the Latin, and consequently how these were represented in the Castilian reworkings. It is also necessary to observe the supposed respective audiences for each filiation and the predominant purposes for the writing of each text.

Composition of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*

Jacobus de Voragine (1230 - 1298/99) was an Italian chronicler as well as the archbishop of Genoa. Born in Varazze, Liguria, he was the compiler of a highly popular legendary collection of saints' lives from the medieval Church, called the 'Legenda aurea.' This hagiographic compilation was completed circa 1264 with the probable intention of being used as sermon or preaching material, in view of its often repetitious and highly religious nature.[2] Voragine's

[1] 'James of Voragine's work was widely copied and modified, sometimes with additions, sometimes in fragmentary form' (Mula 2003: 186).

[2] For further information concerning the sermons given using the material produced by Jacobus de Voragine see Sherry L. Reames 1985: 101-14. She notes: 'the stories in the *Legenda* […] seem to have been produced specifically, even exclusively, for use with an unsophisticated segment of the public, an audience quite distinct

Legenda aurea, edited by Graesse (1846), is composed of 182 canonical chapters. This Latin compilation features an additional 60 chapters which were included at a later date. 25 of the additional chapters are devoted to religious feasts, rather than individual and groups of saints.[3] These deal with the celebration of various broad religious themes including the two major events in the Christian calendar, Easter and Christmas. As such, they are a separate category from hagiographic legends. In addition, several further chapters prove difficult to categorize. For example, Chapter 181 deals with the Lombards rather than Pelagius himself, while Chapter 145 discusses the archangel Michael.

The remaining 155 accounts in Voragine are devoted to the legends of particular named saints, as opposed to the aforementioned religious feasts. These feature either singularly (125), in pairs (19), or in groups of more than two (11). Although female saints appear collectively with certain men elsewhere in Voragine's compilation, in many cases these legends have been classified under the name of the more highly renowned male. Of the 155 hagiographic legends, 128 are dedicated primarily to men, and 27 to women. Noting firstly the composition of the male saints, 87 are martyred and 41 are ascetics. 16 of the 128 are married, and only two are widowed: Hilary (17) is married with one child, while Peter (89) is married with no children. Whereas bishop Hilary dies naturally, Peter is imprisoned and suspended from a cross, and thus martyred.

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from both the clergy who would teach them and the educated laity assumed by Jacobus's model sermons' (1985: 103).

[3] All Latin quotations are henceforth cited by chapter number (in brackets), taken from Graesse's edition of *Legenda aurea* (1846). There are two other, and newer, editions of the Legenda aurea, namely the 'Leyenda de los santos (que vulgarmente Flos santorum llaman): agora de nuevo empremida, y con gran estudio y diligencia extendida y declarada, y a la perfeción de la verdad traýda, y aún de las siguientes leyendas augmentadas. Conviene a saber: La vida de sant Joseph, la de sant Juan de Ortega, la Visitación de nuestra Señora a santa Elisabet, el Triunfo o vencimiento de la cruz, la historia de sancta Anna. Flos sanctorum' [Sevilla, Juan de Varela, 1520-21] / [Beato Iácopo da Varazze O.P.], and 'Iacopo da Varazze: Legenda Aurea', ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. Sismel: Florence Italy, 1998. However, Graesse is the copy used and owned by most scholars, which is why it is the edition used within my own work.

To build an accurate profile of the social spectrum of sanctity in the *Legenda aurea*, it is interesting to note the composition of married and unmarried saints. Five male saints are married without children: Gordianus (74), Alexis (94), Adrian (134), Dionysius (153), and James the Dismembered (174). Only Alexis dies naturally, while the others are martyred. There are six male married saints who are either expressly the child of a saint or who have children themselves. These are Vitalis (61), Philip the Apostle (65), Quiricus and Julitta (83), Felicity and her Sons (91), Eustace (161), and Saturninus, Perpetua, Felicity, and their Companions (173).[4] All are martyrs. Two male saints partake in sexual relations out of wedlock: Boniface (71) and Augustine (124). Boniface has no children and is martyred, whereas Augustine has an illegitimate son and dies of natural causes. Finally, two further accounts of male saints, Germain (107) and Chrysanthus and Daria (157), disguise the union of marriage in some form. Germain and his wife cohabit as brother and sister, while Chrysanthus and Daria deceptively pretend to be married. In both scenarios, no children are conceived. Germain dies naturally, whereas both Chrysanthus and Daria are martyred.

The remaining 27 legends are dedicated to female saints. Evidently, female sanctity was considerably under-represented in comparison with that of men.[5] As Thomas Head notes:[6]

> The recognition of, or more importantly the failure to recognize, women as saints betrays many of the misogynist traits typical of medieval society

[4] I have here classified Felicity and Perpetua under the category of male saint as the majority of saints alluded to within the legend are male (three separate men named Saturninus, one Satyrus, and one Revocatus). In addition, Felicity and Perpetua both give birth to a son before their martyrdom.

[5] Yet the reverse is true for the level of sophistication of the body of criticism.

[6] Head also notes the importance of female martyrs with reference to Cecilia in particular: 'Many of the most familiar female martyrs – including Cecilia of Rome, Margaret of Antioch, and Catherine of Alexandria – were the inventions of hagiographers writing in the seventh century or later' (1999: 2). Cecilia is evidently considered, by Head amongst numerous other scholars, as one of the most reputable female martyrs of her time, potentially because of the unusual circumstances surrounding her life and martyrdom. The latter adds further weight to the justification as to her inclusion in this analysis.

> and culture. While most medieval theologians conceded a theoretical equality between men and women in their ability to be saved, they almost uniformly saw men as more likely to practice the virtues necessary for salvation. (1999: 1)

25 of the 27 female legends refer to a single saint, the other two more specifically to a group of women, namely the legends of Saint Sophia and her Three Daughters (48), and the Eleven Thousand Virgins (158). 15 female saints are martyrs, and the other 12 die of natural causes. The martyrs are Lucy (4), Anastasia (7), Agnes (24), Agatha (39), Juliana (43), Sophia and her Three Daughters (48), the Virgin of Antioch (62), Apollonia (66), Margaret (93), Christina (98), Euphemia (139), Justina (142), the Eleven Thousand Virgins (158), Cecilia (169), and Catherine (172). The ascetics are Paula (29), Mary of Egypt (56), Petronilla (78), Marina (84), Theodora (92), Praxedes (95), Mary Magdalene (96), Martha (105), Pelagia (150), Margaret (151), Thais (152), and Elizabeth (168). Of the 15 martyrs (18 if including the three daughters of Sophia), 14 are virgin martyrs, the only exception to this being Saint Sophia.

Those women dying of natural causes can be further subdivided into the following groups. There are five female ascetics, four prostitute or harlot saints, and four transvestite saints. The five female ascetics are Paula (29), Petronilla (78), Praxedes (95), Martha (105), and Elizabeth (168).[7] Only four give in to sexual pleasures out of wedlock, namely Mary of Egypt (56), Mary Magdalene (96), Pelagia (150) and Thais (152). These four are often catalogued as the prostitute or harlot saints, their sexual sins out of wedlock eventually accounted for by the years of penance that follow.[8] Finally, this leaves four transvestite saints: Marina (84), Theodora (92), Eugenia (136), and Margaret (151). Regarding female ascetics,

[7] Praxedes appears in most literary accounts as a virgin martyr, however this is not specifically the case in the narrated legend in Graesse.

[8] For further information see Ruth Mazo Karras 1996 and 2005.

Head proposes that, 'according to contemporary theologians such as Athanasius and Jerome, women could make up for their natural inferiority to men through leading a life vowed to virginity as an ascetic bride of Christ' (1999: 2). For a harlot saint such as Mary of Egypt, this redemption would take considerably longer to achieve, in view of the corruption of her virginity. Such a conversion to Christianity required dramatic acts of asceticism.

The overwhelming majority of 21 of the 27 women in Voragine thus maintain their virginity: Lucy (4), Anastasia (7), Agnes (24), Agatha (39), Juliana (43), The Virgin of Antioch (62), Apollonia (66), Petronilla (78), Marina (84), Theodora (92), Margaret (93), Praxedes (95), Christina (98), Martha (105), Euphemia (139), Justina (142), Margaret (151), the Eleven Thousand Virgins (158), Elizabeth (168), Cecilia (169), and Catherine (172). Only two women have children, with Paula (29) having given birth to five and Sophia (48) to three. Both are married. The continual emphasis on chastity throughout the collection is undeniable. Five women are married with no children, these being Anastasia (7), Theodora (92), Margaret (151), Elizabeth (168), and Cecilia (169). Anastasia, Theodora, Elizabeth, and arguably Cecilia are all married against their will. Of these five women, three are widowed: Anastasia, Elizabeth, and Cecilia. Together with Paula, who is classified as a married saint with children, this makes a total of four widows in the *Legenda aurea*.

Taken in conjunction with the two male widowers in the compilation, Peter and Hilary, a total of six saintly individuals lose their spouses before their own deaths, either through natural causes or martyrdom. Of the 155 accounts, therefore, the personal circumstance of widowhood for any saintly individual is far from common.[9] Regarding the

[9] Widowhood is an evident category in this hagiographic collection in which the women outnumber the men: it would be intriguing to see how the gender ratio differs throughout all other categories of saint. Benoît-Michel Tock comments on the appearance of so few saintly widows in hagiographic literature (1993: 45).

deaths of these widows, Paula and Elizabeth of Hungary die peacefully, whereas Anastasia and Cecilia are martyred, respectively burned alive and beheaded.[10]

Voragine and Compilation A

Voragine's Latin was later reworked into two separate Castilian Compilations, A and B, which have been the subject of much scholarly discussion.[11] The two exhibit differing characteristics, suggesting that they were compiled for different purposes as well as distinct audiences. Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh (1986-87) comment on the Compilation A filiations, which they date between the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and the problems in offering definitive observations on the Compilation as a whole. They note that

> None of the manuscripts contains even half of the readings of the complete compilation, and when all of the manuscripts are collated it is evident that not all the readings of the original have survived. Furthermore, no reading for a particular saint is conserved in all four manuscript-copies (though several survive in three copies, and numerous texts in two copies), so that it is impossible to offer a comparative sample transcription of these related texts (18).

Whilst each manuscript deserves to be considered in its own right, connections between the five are undeniable.[12] Andrew M. Beresford notes further important characteristics of the texts

[10] Chapter 7 goes into further detail regarding the precise deaths of Anastasia, Cecilia, and Paula.

[11] For further reading and specific observations regarding individual manuscripts as well as the overall Compilations themselves, see also Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua 2000, Beresford 2001 & 2010, Buxton 2010, Deyermond 1990, and Thompson & Walsh 1977 and 1986-87.

[12] Thompson & Walsh (1986-87) and Beresford (2010: 17) show that five manuscripts constitute the Compilation A family: Biblioteca Nacional 780, Biblioteca Nacional 12688, Biblioteca Nacional 12689, Escorial h-II-18, and Escorial h-III-22. 'Thompson & Walsh count BNM 12688 and 12689 as one manuscript rather than two, arguing that the latter (in terms of its treatment of the liturgical-sanctoral calendar) is a continuation of the

in Compilation A, making salient remarks regarding the audience of each. He argues that Compilation A

> was almost certainly produced in a monastic environment and is characterized by the use of oral formulas, suggesting that it could have been designed with the requirements of oral delivery in mind, perhaps for the benefit of monks as they ate in the refectory. Its lucid and engaging quality has not been explored in satisfactory detail, and only a handful of its two hundred or so sections have been edited or subjected to analysis. Preliminary research, however, has shown that it is probably the finest narrative collection to have been composed in Spain during the Middle Ages, and that its content was by no means slavishly compiled, with a significant number of Voragine's accounts replaced by older (and usually longer) versions. (2010: 3)

Compilation A used Voragine's compilation as a source for the Castilian reworking, although the reason for its production is arguably disparate from that of the original Latin. The latter is believed to have been written for the educated ecclesiastical individual to read at his discretion, whereas the Castilian was arguably intended for oral delivery, potentially to be delivered as preaching or sermon material. This can be seen through the distinctions in formulaic construction within the legends themselves, the style of language employed, and the various choices of saint included within the respective compilations, often denoting a distinctive emphasis in hagiographic tone.

An important distinction between the Latin and Castilian at this point is the overriding preference for national saints in the latter filiations (collection of manuscripts in

former. It is, however, worth noting that as neither manuscript provides coverage of the period from April to July, the relationship between them is not as close as it first appears' (Beresford 2010: 17).

Compilation A), such as Leocadia of Toledo, Vincent, and Ildephonsus, in addition to Franciscans like Claire of Assisi (Beresford 2010: 16).[13] This, in addition with sporadic tampering with the original layout and ordering of the Latin, strengthens an argument in favour of Compilation A moving further from Voragine's original to a different compilation for audience purposes, while arguably retaining much of the previous Latin. The purpose of Compilation A is one of oral delivery, to be used in the confines of a public and controlled preaching environment, in view of the emphatic scriptural expansions upon the Latin. The general tendency in the reworking from the Latin to the Compilation A texts is one of embellishment and elaboration. The appearance of Paula and Cecilia in the Castilian reworkings can thus be seen in this light, as both legends appear in an enriched state in the Compilation from that in the Latin. Paula appears solely in Compilation A, that is to say manuscripts BNM 12688 and Escorial h-III-22. Conversely, Cecilia features, within the Compilation A filiation, in Escorial h-II-18 and BNM 12689.

Voragine and Compilation B

Compilation B is constituted by the following manuscripts: Escorial h-I-14, Escorial K-II-12, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (in addition to an eighteenth-century closely-associated manuscript Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 5548), Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo 8 and 9, and Escorial M-II-6. The appearance of such additional accounts as that of Brigit in Compilation B

[13] Due to the inclusion of Castilian material 'reworked from the writings of the Franciscan priest, Francesc Eiximenis (*ca.* 1340-1409), Thompson and Walsh argued that "the earliest date for such a translation would have to be around the second half of the fourteenth century" (1986-87: 19). However, this may be ultimately indecipherable when taking into account the fact that the time between the start date of the translations and the subsequent evolution of readings is currently undetermined' (Beresford 2010: 17-18).

reveals a great deal regarding the increasing importance of the inclusion of female monastic saints, as an example of a figure not originally present in Voragine's Latin. Head remarks

> The bulk of hagiography written from the eighth to the eleventh centuries concerned such figures (as martyred bishops or founding abbots), and few of those were female. The major exception was the development in the Latin west of the traditions of virgin martyrs. Even the lives of those contemporary female saints […] tended to have a restricted circulation. Few survive in more than a handful of manuscripts and few of these women were included in liturgical calendars outside the regions in which they had lives. Female sanctity was a strictly controlled form of charisma in the earlier middle ages. (1999: 5)

In contrast, female piety and sanctity flowered in the thirteenth century. Regarding Compilation B, the manuscripts featuring an account of the legend of Saint Cecilia are Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 (fols 50^{rb}–52^{ra}), Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (fols 144^{va}-147^{ra}), and Escorial h-I-14 (fols 302^{ra}–304^{va}).

Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 contains the fewest of saintly hagiographic accounts of all three Compilation B manuscripts. The general consensus as to the dating of this manuscript is that it is a fifteenth-century copy of an earlier original, as Fernando Baños Vallejo and Isabel Uría Marqua argue (2000: 19). Beresford argues that BMP 9 is a highly problematic manuscript,

> principally because its text has deteriorated to such an extent that in a good number of places it is now all but impossible to decipher. This for the most part has been caused by the weathering of its upper and right-hand margins, particularly with fols 1-16 and 54-63, where a significant portion of the text has been lost, and with fols 36-38 and 47-48 where a

> similar problem affects the lower right-hand margin. In its present state the manuscript contains sixty-three folios which are written out on paper, initially in single (fols 1^{r}-17^{v}) and then in double columns (fols 18^{ra}–63^{rb}). (2008: 5)

Beresford notes the frequent feature of incomplete readings in the form of lacunae in the Castilian manuscript, as can be seen in the appearance of partial accounts of such saints as Paul the Apostle (90), Martha (105), All Souls (163), and Martin of Tours (166). He supports his observation that the manuscript is severely damaged in noting an omission of the significant portion of the liturgical-sanctoral cycle between fols 14 and 16, the latter folio offering the final seven lines of a reading for the Ascension (72) followed by the Holy Spirit (73). However, as he points out, whilst this omission could be deliberate, this liturgical section concerns some of the most salient events in the Christian calendar such as the Passion (53) and the Resurrection (54), readings which are present in all other manuscripts in the Compilation. Whilst omissions in BMP 9 are frequent, such substantial omissions such as this are not (in press: 6-8).[14] Regarding the ordering of the chapters featured in this Castilian Compilation B manuscript, 11 chapters appear out of the Latin system of ordering. Otherwise, the ordering of BMP 9 remains largely faithful to that of Voragine. Such disparities in the ordering, as Beresford (2008: 7) and Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua (2000: 19-23) have suggested, may indicate that BMP 9 derives from a similar ancestor, one such critics argue is a stage removed from the archetype.[15]

[14] Anastasia, Paula, and Elizabeth have been excluded from this manuscript.

[15] BMP 9 is described by Beresford as being the closest manuscript, together with BMP 8, to the archetype, suggesting that it has been copied from a mostly complete, however now unavailable, intermediate manuscript. The latter alters the positioning of Julian and adds a reading for Mamés. These discrepancies, whilst present in the first half of FLG 419 but in none of the other Compilation B manuscripts, demonstrate a direct line of textual descent as well as the loss from BMP 8 and 9 of numerous folios by the time of their use as an amalgamated foundation (2008: 11). FLG 419 is the script with the sole complete versions of the original Latin legends. Whilst

Cecilia also features in Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419. This manuscript dates from between 1450 and 1475, comprising 221 folios (Beresford 2008: 9). Four apocryphal accounts have been added only to the FLG 419 filiation in Compilation B. One of the main discerning features of the structure of FLG 419 is in the ordering, however, in that the Castilian manuscript can be divided into two sections. Although the distinction is not visibly related to a disparity in religious feasts or saintly accounts, it does notably occur after Chapter 82 of 140 in FLG 419. Each half follows the logical ordering displayed in Voragine, albeit with occasional exceptions, however the second half of FLG 419 returns back to the beginning of Voragine, progressing through the Latin as if constituting another section with many of those legends omitted from the first half of the Castilian. The reason for ordering the manuscript in this manner is not immediately clear, although Beresford argues that this distinct break in ordering may display some bearing on its textual provenance (2008: 10).

The final Compilation B manuscript recording an account of the life of Saint Cecilia is Escorial h-I-14, which offers the most radical reworking. The manuscript contains a total of 322 folios, and is in some senses deeply paradoxical. The total number of vernacular accounts is 151, which shows that it diverges from the 161 chapters of the totality of Compilation B by only 10. In the majority of cases, the ordering in Escorial h-I-14 faithfully reproduces that which is encountered in Voragine's Latin, with only four accounts disrupting the traditional ordering. In this sense it is close to the Latin, for as Beresford recognizes: 'with 150 extant readings, it is the most comprehensive of the Compilation' (2008: 20). However, in terms of textual detail, Escorial h-I-14 deviates most notably from its Latin source, as it moves away not simply from styling of Voragine's Latin, but – in view of its tendency to reword and

these are later copies, some potentially contaminated, in view of the poor state of the BMP 9 manuscript, little choice is left but to rely on FLG 419.

modify – from the content of earlier recensions in the Compilation. This can be seen most noticeably in its relationship to FLG 419 and BMP 9, which present a series of less embellished Castilian texts, which, by implication, offer a more authentic insight into the content of the now lost archetype of the Compilation as a whole (see Beresford 2008: 22).

Compilation B comprises a highly problematic set of manuscripts, much more so than Compilation A.[16] Both Beresford and Buxton emphasize the lacuna in scholarly attention regarding the understanding of this Compilation, noting predominantly the lack of knowledge of its purpose, scope, and orientation (Beresford 2010; Buxton 2010). One observation which has yet to be disproven is that Compilation B, similar to Compilation A, was designed predominantly for oral delivery. However, a substantial distinction appears between the two in that Compilation A was destined for a monastic setting, constituting texts designed to be read aloud as sermons or elevated moralizing material.[17] Yet the feature of more basic, oral constructions, the lack of etymologies, and the absence of deified and scriptural embellishments would suggest that it could be predestined for oral delivery or indeed for individual reading. What is certain, however, is that the reader or audience would have been of a lower class than that of Compilation A. The lack of complex structures and the overall simple story-telling tone of the Compilation B texts here indicate that the recepient was more likely to be a layperson, or one perhaps of the lower ranks of the clergy. Intellectual capabilities are not necessarily primordial for the scrutiny and comprehension of these texts, as the prerequisite of having a sufficient level of literacy 'would otherwise have provided an

[16] For an extensive discussion of the manuscripts in Compilation B, see particularly Beresford 2010, Buxton 2010, and Thompson & Walsh 1986-87.

[17] 'Le style et la langue de la *Vita* sont exemplaires, malgré la répétition du "topos" habituel de la modestie de l'auteur […] Il s'agit donc d'un récit tout imprégné de culture universitaire, mais aussi d'un ton très moral, destiné à faire passer un message, à édifier les foules' (Dubreucq 2000 : 56). See also Schulenberg: 'the alleged purpose or express end of all saints' lives was didactic: to edify the faithful, to teach Christian virtue, and to strengthen Christian resolve' (1990: 286).

impediment to comprehension' (Beresford 2010: 59). Beresford continues to highlight disparities between the Compilations, whilst maintaining that one Compilation does not derive from the other:

> Compilation B offers a more conceptually demanding challenge, for while an appreciation of translation methodology in Compilation A involves rigorous scrutiny of the transition from Latin to Castilian, in this instance the process is extended, with the Castilian texts being reworked first from the Latin, and then evolving from one another. (2010: 60)

Conclusions

The formation of each manuscript filiation, in comparison with the content and ordering of accounts in Voragine's original Latin, leads to some significant conclusions regarding the position of the saintly widow in each case. Whilst the Latin contains four instances of saintly widows, those of Anastasia, Paula, Elizabeth of Hungary and Cecilia, Anastasia has been omitted from the Castilian BNM 12689, Escorial h-I-14 and Escorial h-II-18, FLG 419, and BMP 9. Elizabeth is absent from Escorial h-III-22, BMP 9, FLG 419 and Escorial h-I-14. Paula is absent from Escorial h-II-18, BNM 12689, BMP 9, FLG 419 and Escorial h-I-14. Cecilia, however, is absent only from Escorial h-III-22 and BNM 12688. The saintly widow is less prominent in Compilation A than in the Latin source, and even less visible in the Compilation B manuscripts, indicative of how her reception would alter depending on the audience of each Compilation. Her significance and role arguably diminish in the Compilation B manuscripts. It is the female martyr Cecilia who presides in the majority of the manuscripts in both Compilations A and B. The ascetic Elizabeth is absent from four filiations in A and B. Yet the

martyr Anastasia and the ascetic Paula are absent from the largest number of filiations in A and B, this being five each.[18]

To take a couple of examples in the disparities between the appearance of women saints in each Compilation, early versions of Saint Mary of Egypt, for example, place emphasis on later repentance, appealing to the popular audiences. The Compilation A filiations offer a longer, scholarly account, further expanding the theme of humility notably within monasticism, whilst the four extant Compilation B texts produce shorter, pithier versions. In addition, whilst Saint Praxedes appears in Compilation A, not B, the remaining virgin martyr narratives can be encountered in both Compilations (Beresford, in press: 4-7). Additions of female figures such as Barbara, 'who can be found in Compilations A and B, as well as Vivian and Martina, who appear exclusively in Compilation A, expand the scope of Voragine's original with reference to popular European traditions. Others, however, are more local, familiar examples being Eulalia of Merida and Leocadia of Toledo, whose legends appear in both Compilations, and Eulalia of Barcelona, who appears uniquely in Compilation A' (Beresford, in press: 5). The Compilation A manuscripts included in this analysis are Escorial h-III-22 and Biblioteca Nacional 12688, which both feature accounts of the legend of Saint Paula, and Escorial h-II-18 and Biblioteca Nacional 12689, which include accounts of the legend of Saint Cecilia. Compilation B in this study comprises Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 and Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419, exhibiting only an account of Cecilia, and the revision of Compilation B encompasses Escorial h-I-14, also featuring solely Cecilia. The choice in excluding one widow over another is and will remain unknown. Despite this, the fact that she

[18] For a comparison of the lives of those saints who die naturally and those saints who are martyred for their religious beliefs, and thus the disparities between hagiographic *vitae* and *passiones*, see Elliott 1987: 16-17.

is included within these Castilian compilations underlines her contribution to the literature, as another type of figure to be emulated and to whom medieval women should aspire.

The main justification for this discrepancy between the Compilations, with the Compilation A filiation differing relatively little from one another, and the Compilation B family producing a series of abbreviated versions which differ more markedly from one another, is arguably a distinction in tone and intended audience or reader. Compilation A contains a sermon-like tone, with more rigid constructions than can be seen in Compilation B. Perhaps the former was destined for more public, controlled preaching in contrast to the latter, which may have been further destined to be read or heard in the privacy of one's environment. In view of the vast discrepancies between Compilations A and B, therefore, there is no genetic relationship whatsoever between the two, each proving to be instead fully independent. What does need to be examined more specifically, however, is precisely how the Latin version of each legend was reworked into Castilian. This will facilitate a greater understanding, on the basis of these hagiographic legends, of the widow's representation in medieval society.

3

Paula: Relationship to Voragine

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the extent of the relationship between the legend of Saint Paula as she features in Voragine's Latin in comparison with the Castilian reworkings in Compilation A.[1] Through observation of significant variants, such as textual omissions, additions, and other variants between the two versions, I shall consider explanations for these discrepancies, with particular consideration being given to the potential readership in each case. Due to the limitations of space, only the most prominent modifications have been noted in this chapter, due to the impracticalities of numerating them in their entirety.

Omissions

Textual omissions are frequent and prove to be the most marked disparity between Voragine and Compilation A. The most noticeable is the distinction in narrative voice. The figure of the narrator is visibly more prominent in the Latin. This can be seen in a consistent appearance of the subjective and first person perspective, in such phrases as 'Quid ultra differo?' and 'Referam quod expertus sum' (139), which are subsequently ignored in the Castilian.[2] The difference in effect is striking. The reader is informed in the opening lines of the Latin of the

[1] Unlike Cecilia, who appears in all three Castilian reworkings (Compilations A, B, and the revision of Compilation B), Paula's legend appears solely in Compilation A.

[2] Quotations from the Latin are taken from Graesse's edition of the *Legenda aurea* of c.1846 (135-40), while those in the Spanish derive from the critical edition of Compilation A for the legend of Paula, as it features in Chapter 8.

role that Saint Jerome assumes as narrator. Whilst a first person narrator is also employed in the Castilian incipit, it often omits the Latin's tendency to intersperse first person narration within events in the body of the legend. In Voragine, these signposts are indicative of Paula's *vita* being divulged from a specifically private perspective, with the narrator wishing to engage with his individual reader. The narrator assumes a more distant and elusive role in the Castilian, to the extent that, in some instances, the reader could almost be persuaded of his disappearance from the legend entirely. The relationship between narrator, protagonist, and reader is largely more accentuated in the Latin, as can be seen in 'et providendum esse, ne quod libenter faceret, semper facere non posset' (138). The narrator employs the linguistic technique of direct speech to urge Paula to use more foresight or she will be left with nothing. Yet this is absent from the Castilian reworking. This distinction could indicate a potential disparity in the respective readership of the two texts. Compilation A proves to be the more rhetorically elaborate of all of the Castilian reworkings in the majority of cases. Digestion of the Latin *Legenda aurea* would probably be through the written form, in a private manner, with the obvious insertion of the narrator indicating a strong relationship between narrator and reader, as is wont of most texts. The reader here is most likely to be an educated member of the clergy, one highly proficient in the reading of Latin.

Elsewhere, phrases or entire sections of the legend also occasionally disappear from the Castilian. Voragine clarifies Paula's virtuosity, affirming that she hid but was not hidden, in 'Latebat et non latebat' (136). However, as this short phrase appears in a lengthy description of Paula's virtues (11-18), it is possible that a scribe unintentionally passed over it in transcription. In addition, the narration of the Latin often includes information perhaps deemed insignificant to the legend's outcome by the Castilian scribe. As a consequence, phrases such

as ‘labens carina sulcavit’ (139) are omitted. Jerome speaks of the metaphorical ship sailing through the events of the legend up to the present moment on still and calm waters, demonstrating that Paula has not yet been threatened with danger. The Latin also reveals how the ship has ploughed through the deep sea, evoking an image of a ship sailing through deep waters which is comparable to that of the reader having already travelled through the majority of the legend. This subsequently hints at the imminent closure of the text. Whilst this signpost may prove metaphorically useful, it is not deemed essential to the understanding of the story, nor does it contribute anything to the developing events, which explains its omission in translation.

Additions

The main distinction between the Latin version and the Compilation A revision of the legend of Saint Paula appears in the numerous textual expansions of the latter. It can be argued that these embellishments were due to the fact that the intended reader of the Castilian text was different from that of the original. In the Castilian text, a deliberate accentuation of the religious perspective can be seen, which indicates its posssible use in sermons. This is demonstrated most clearly in the final few paragraphs of the legend, where there is significant divergence between Voragine and Compilation A. As Paula refers to the physical and visual splendour that is heaven, the Latin gives:

> domine dilexi decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis gloriae tuae et quam dilecta tabernacula tua domine elegi abjecta esse in domo Deo mei. (140)

The Castilian provides a more glorifying account, embellishing every detail whilst depicting Paula as a more emotional character:[3]

> ¡O q*uá*ntos son amables, señor, de la tu cavallería celestial las moradas de la tu cibdat! Escogí más padre perdurable ser despreciada en la casa del mi señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o que <u>morar en los g*ra*ndes palacios de los pecadores en el siglo.</u> (161-64)

The passion diffused throughout the Castilian speech is striking, with additional references to 'morar en los g*ra*ndes palacios de los pecadores en el siglo', the 'cavallería celestial', as well as the 'padre perdurable.' This also demonstrates the more overt ecclesiastical imagery present in the Compilation A text, which exists to a more notable extent than in the Latin. Voragine completes the legend with an exclamation directed uniquely to God, in 'Vale o Paula et cultoris fui ultimam senectutem orationibus juva' (140). Compilation A, however, not only reproduces this, it adds the scripturally embellished: 'Aquí acaba la vida de Santa Paula a onrra e gloria del Nuest*ro* Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, el qual bive e reyna por todos los siglos. Amén' (181-82). Such an ending reinforces both the presumed oral delivery and morally religious emphatic stance taken throughout. It assumes the form of a prayer or blessing, which in turn suggests dissemination in the context of the liturgy.

Other embellishments reveal a greater emphasis on Paula's sexuality in the Castilian version. 'Deum' (137), often exemplified in Compilation A as 'mi rede*n*ptor onbre e Dios', or 'mi Dios e Señor' (70-72), illustrates not only a stronger emphasis on religion but also one of a more personal relationship with God in the latter version. The tautologous repetition employed in both nouns in the expression 'Dios e Señor' (71-72), combined with the presence of the

[3] Underlined quote is my own emphasis. Interpolation in Compilation A highlights preference in the latter text for additional biblical allusions.

personal pronoun ‘mi’ (70) and the qualification of God as Paula’s ‘rede*n*ptor’ (71), emphasize the increased biblical overtones assumed in Compilation A. That Christ is Paula’s saviour and redeemer in the Castilian reworking highlights a personal and presumably intimate relationship between saint and celestial guardian, as demonstrated through possessive pronouns and the casting of God in the role of saviour.

In the Latin, the description of Christ as an ‘infantem’ (137) contrasts distinctively with the use of ‘onbre’ (71) in the Spanish. The former characterizes Christ in his youth, denotating innocence and purity. The latter creates a disparate image of experience and sexuality, potentially reflecting Paula’s idealization of Christ as a husband in her interpretation of their relationship. The overtly masculinized Spanish renders the predominant role of Christ as male protector, with the additional four-fold personal possessive pronoun ‘mi’ in Compilation A (70-72) also ensuring Paula’s claim on her celestial prize is made all the more prominent.

Compilation A also stresses Paula’s familial situation. The Latin narrator cites Paula as providing a moral example to others, in view of the fact that ‘cum saecularis esset’ (138). In Compilation A, further information is divulged: ‘Ca aún seyendo seglar e casada’ (91). This is the second reference to her marital status (see also 19), with no similar marital evidence to date in the Latin. Her married position is emphasized from the outset and can be potentially interpreted as an obstacle to the attainment of complete sanctity. Her virtuosness in abstinence heightens her claim to purity, however, with the depiction of her acts as an ‘exemplum’ in the Latin given additional significance in the Castilian. She is here, in addition, an ‘enxienplo de castidat e hon*e*stad’ (91-92). Whilst she may not be virginal in the physical sense, her powerful emotional desire to refrain free from intercourse renders her spiritually chaste.

Paula's reluctance to partake in acts of conjugal union and refusal to have sex following the birth of her son remain unjustified in the Latin, whilst the Castilian lays the blame at the door of her husband. The given explanation is not because of 'el deleyte carnal mas por satisfazer al deseo del marido, que deseava aver fijo varón' (26-27). Paula is here forced to conform to the sexual and lustful desires of her husband until the conception of a male child. The construction is such that it is clear that the husband is to be held largely more responsible for the loss of his wife's virginity, implicitly absolving her from any blame in the conception of her children.

A final addition in Compilation A remains intriguing as to its justification. Epiphanius, a bishop in the Latin (139), is instead bishop 'de la cibdat de Salamina la de Chipre' (32 & 133-34). The expansion leads one to question the origins of such a pointed geographical location as 'Salamina de Chipre'. Scribal prerogative is here the most likely explanation, whereby the scribe felt at liberty to add personal knowledge into his version of the legend. Scribal expansion, such as is clear between the *Legenda aurea* and Compilation A, is common and happens elsewhere within hagiography: indeed it can also be seen in numerous other saintly legends (see, for example, Beresford 2010 regarding the legends of Saints Agatha and Lucy). Scribes were not obliged to remain completely faithful to their base texts. They were instead at liberty to elaborate somewhat upon the original according to their particular taste, imposing more of their own style and exhibiting differences in individual narrative perspective.

Other Modifications

Minor textual modifications appear sporadically, although there are none that significantly alter the delivery of the legend. The main disparity between the texts concerns the narration, which is largely more heavy-handed in Voragine. This modification results in a similar distinction in narration to that seen previously with the omissions between the Latin and Compilation A. The narrator in the Latin constantly includes himself in, and offers his opinions on, the unfolding action, whilst in Compilation A his presence is felt to a lesser degree. The Latin 'Quid ergo referam' (136), for example, sees the narrator asking his audience what there is to say about the abundance of treasures in Paula's dwelling. The Compilation A text ignores this first person perspective, using instead a third person construction to compensate for this difficulty in translation, in 'E como oviese noble casa' (29). This more distant and omnipresent narrator engineers a shift in the narrator-audience relationship, rendering it more impersonal than that which is established by the Latin. In fact, the focus remains instead to a greater degree on Paula and surrounding events in her life, proving of greater interest to the average audience.

Conclusion

The Latin and Castilian versions of the legend of Saint Paula differ only slightly. In terms of context, the texts exhibit numerous similarities. The extent of omissions and other modifications in the Castilian are few; the main distinction appears in the glorifying expansions which feature in the later version. It can thus be inferred that there was a significant difference in audience between the Latin and the Castilian versions of the legend of

Paula. With the Latin, the audience was likely to have been of a monastic or highly religious nature and sufficiently educated in the reading of Latin. The purpose of the Compilation A texts in turn differs from that of the Latin, the former potentially being used as moralizing sermon material to be read aloud. Its intended audience would probably have been either that of a selection of monks or possibly even a fairly educated lay audience. Listeners could reap significant lessons from the various legends to try and enhance their own level of virtue through emulation of the actions of the saint. The simplified narration and inclusion of minor details in Compilation A not originally found in the Latin text, added to the numerous religious embellishments, support this distinction.

4

Paula: The *Vita* of a Widow

Introduction

A critical edition comprising a transcription of the two Castilian manuscripts of the legend of Saint Paula, those of Escorial h-III-22 and BNM 12688 (both pertaining to Compilation A) is included in Chapter 8, and provides the basis for a linear thematic analysis of her legend in this chapter. The analysis will focus specifically on the themes of virginity, sexuality, and marriage, regarding how the nature of each subsequently impacts upon the status of Paula as both a widow and a saint. The decision to concentrate predominantly on the themes of virginity, sexuality, and marriage was taken in view of the fact that women in medieval society were primarily categorized according to their sexual status. Through a discussion of these most central concepts of the legend the reader is also able to see how the themes of nobility, virtuosness, sanctity, and the scriptural, all tie in to her portrayal.[1]

Virginity, Sexuality, and Marriage

Paula has five children during the course of her marriage, which could demonstrate how she has forgone the precious virtue of chastity. However, as deliberated in Chapter One, a woman could arguably redeem her previous chaste status having fulfilled her conjugal duty to procreate, should she renounce sexual relations altogether after the birth of all of her children.

[1] All Castilian quotations are henceforth cited by line number.

Renunciation of coitus proves to be a frequent requirement for the attainment of sanctity. From the outset, therefore, her struggle to achieve such a status will be thwarted by obstacles. Her familial situation infers that she must work harder than the virgin saint to reach a status of purity, through redemption for previous sexual sins.[2] The gender ratio of Paula's children is a point worthy of note, as her four girls outnumber the one boy. The narrator, Saint Jerome, ventures initial selective pieces of information concerning Paula's four daughters, with Eustochium for example depicted as a precious pearl of the Church and Rufina's death is stated as occurring at an early age. Conversely, no information is divulged concerning her son, Toxotius. He is merely added to a list of her children, together with no additional description of either his character or his reputation.

Notably the decision to stop procreating is taken after the birth of Toxotius. 'Toxic' itself comes from the Latin 'toxicum', meaning poison, with the Latin 'toxicus' denoting the adjective, poisonous. The relationship between the latter and Paula's son is connoted by the eponym Toxotius, therefore. The reader is informed that it is Paula's husband who desired a son, which in turn minimizes Paula's responsibility not only for the birth of her son, but also for that for all five children. Her anonymous husband is credited as the reason behind the decision to have so many children, thus rendering him automatically the one to assume the greatest degree of responsibility for them.

[2] At a later point, further allusions appear to the notion of atonement for severe sin. Paula prays all day and night, and 'llorava los pecados livianos como si fueran unos males muy graves' (81-82). In addition, she is described as having worn make-up and having given her body to carnal pleasures in the past. Atonement is now desirable, therefore: 'Menester es q*ue* sea turbada la cara que se afeytó muchas vezes contra el mandamiento de Dios con diversas aguas e con alvayalde e arrebol e alcóhol, e que sea atormentado el cuerpo que se dio lue*n*gamente a deleytes e que la lengua risa sea atormentada de lloro perdurable' (84-87). The pleasure that she once took in material and carnal sin, as well as wider bodily pleasures, for the purposes of pleasing others, is transformed into something for which Paula can do penance. Her severe ascetic lifestyle compensates through excessive self-punishment for all of the pleasures she took previously to please her peers. The only person she must please now is Christ.

The decision to stop procreating was taken after the only son was born, which suggests that the latter was the primary desirable outcome of the sexual relations. The first four daughters could be interpreted as the first four attempts at obtaining a son and heir. Indeed, as Mary Martin McLaughlin argues, sons were almost always held in higher esteem than their female counterparts.[3] Consequentially, as the husband desired offspring until a son was born, this in large part excuses Paula's participation in sexual relations, which in turn increases the chances of her eventually becoming a saint.

The narrator is quick to point out that Paula's obligation to her married status is merely out of duty. She did not partake in sexual intercourse because of any 'deleyte carnal' (26), but through the need to satisfy the desire of the husband. As a subordinate female, she must serve not only Christ in preparation for celestial marriage but also her husband in her mortal one. The actions of a dutiful wife, out of obedience for the wishes of her husband, would in turn excuse her from any carnal sin. Conversely, these actions would have been unacceptable should the decision have been her own. The husband is keen on acquiring a son and heir, his sinful desire mainfested in: 'E después que ovo avido estas fijas e este fijo cesó de parir porque entiendas que non servía al oficio del casamiento por el deleyte carnal mas por satisfazer al deseo del marido, que deseava aver fijo varón' (25-27). [4] Similarly, the last son, Toxotius, is the only offspring to be given a pejorative name. A link is suggested between the act of sexual

[3] The preference for female rather than male offspring is attested elsewhere. Mary Martin McLaughlin confirms that it was frequently the case that young girls were preferred by and indeed held dearer to their mothers than young boys (2004: 61). However Sally McKee disagrees with her from a legal perspective. She states: 'While the law viewed children of both sexes as the natural heirs to their mother's property, women demonstrate in their wills a marked preference for their sons and not their daughters' (2004: 360).

[4] Whilst left anonymous in both the Latin and the Spanish reworkings, Paula's husband bears the same name as the son of the couple, 'Toxotius', in other sources, for example in Burrus 2004: 61-62. This could be indicative of how Paula sees mortal men as a poison, keeping her distant from her celestial goal.

intercourse and the resulting son. The consequence of the carnal sin of sexual intercourse could not be made more explicit.

Whilst Paula has borne children, this does not render the sexual act acceptable, only necessary, within marriage. As Virginia Burrus (2004) notes, 'the problem for Christianity is not (as it was in classical antiquity) penetration or domination but rather the physical "erection", which is to say, desire itself' (4).[5] Fault could not be attributed to penetration or domination, but instead to erection, or the desire behind the act (see also McCarthy 2004: 60). Arguably it was not so much the act which was reprimanded, but the desire behind it, and this is why Paula's situation is most definitely redeemable. Michael Goodich presents a similar argument, asserting that 'conjugal intercourse purely for the sake of carnal satisfaction may be sinful, and thus the only permissible form of sexual expression is that which encourages the procreation of children' (2004: 304-05, see also 1995: 59-60). From this, the married status is perhaps not as reproachable as once thought. Whilst there was a certain element of shame regarding sexual relations in marriage (Bynum 1987: 206), the production of children was not deemed sinful. Indeed a vow of chastity could be taken after the conception of the final child, as is the case with Paula.[6]

In addition to Toxotius, Paula is also mother to Eustochium, Rufina, Blesilla, and Paulina. Regarding Eustochium, numerous biblical references are evoked in the text to the saintly city of Bethlehem. These, added to the various allusions to her chaste status, highlight the justification for her interpretation as a 'perla muy preciosa de la eglesia' (23). This vivid

[5] 'Giving in to the sins of the flesh is one thing, but being troubled by the flesh is another. In one case, sin is committed, in the other a burden is endured' (McCarthy 2004: 34). Similarly, regarding the resistance of sexual urges, Elizabeth of Thuringia is cited by Atkinson as being conjoined with a spouse in obedience to her father's wishes and also to procreate as was God's wish, and not through any desire of pleasure (1991: 166). Dyan Elliott's *Spiritual Marriage* (1993) is an invaluable source regarding this semantic field. See also Sarah Salih (2003: 20), who discusses sexuality in conjunction with erection and the fallen state.

[6] For more information on the shame of sex within marriage, see McCarthy 2004.

visual imagery of the pearl echoes an earlier reference to Paula as a precious stone or gem amongst other stones of lesser value. The juxtaposition of mother and daughter through this identical description thus reinforces Eustochium's qualities, depicted through imagery pertaining to the precious and pure pearl, to be both transferrable and identical to those of her mother. It is feasible to suppose that whichever qualities apply directly in the text directly to Eustochium also pertain to Paula's own character. Equally, the qualities held by the mother have evidently been passed on to the daughter. There appears, here and elsewhere, a constant disparity between celestial and mortal wealth, and the evocation of the pearl is highly significant, reflecting the salience of heaven and purity (see also Bogdanos 1983, Fletcher 1994, and Clark 1986). Numerous passages in the Bible allude to the symbol of the pearl, rendering the latter one of the most recognized images in conjunction with purity and celestial perfection: 'the Pearl represents those who are free of heresy and sin and are thus suitable brides of Christ' (Robertson 1950: 156). Matthew 13:44 and 13:45, for example, refer to the parables of the hidden treasure and the pearl, comparing the kingdom of heaven to a treasure hidden away in a field, more precious than any worldly goods.[7] Pearls can, however, demonstrate unnecessary mortal wealth, as is the case in Timothy 2:9, Revelation 17:4, and Revelation 18:12; 'the contemptible riches of the merchants and the whore of Babylon' (Apoc. 17:4, 18:12) as well as immodesty and indecency (I Tim. 2:9)' (Earl 1972: 1). In the life of Pelagia of Antioch, the female saint is covered in earthly riches and finery, stating that it was because of beauty and

[7] See also Robertson 1950: 155-60. The former argues that the pearl of the parable in the Bible and the pearl of the popular poem, *The Pearl*, a Middle English alliterative poem written in the late fourteenth century, are two aspects of one symbol. The pearl of the poem could thus prove a useful tool in the analysis of the image of the pearl in this text. Indeed, Robertson ventures the idea that the Pearl itself represents those who are free of sin and heresy, thus proving to be suitable brides of Christ (156). Whilst the timescale between the Middle English poem and the eleventh and twelfth century Castilian reworkings is notably different, the image of the pearl remains unaltered throughout.

these luxuries that men were lured to stare at her appearance (Burrus 2004: 138).[8] However, the more traditional view is that associated with spiritual wealth and purity.

Earl continues in his depiction of the importance of the pearl, citing the two relevant scriptural passages of the parable of the *homo negotiator* and the *pretiosa margarita*. He refers to how various critics have interpreted its symbolism. He cites the themes of maidenhood, the innocence of childhood, the Eucharist, the contemplative life, the soul, material wealth, the Kingdom of Heaven, and perfection, all as elements which feature together with the figure of the pearl (1972: 2):

> Hagiography, the liturgy, and exegesis had all contributed to the image of a virgin *sponsa Christi*, who is figured as a pearl, who is associated with the parable of the *homo negotiator* and *pretiosa margarita*, and who acts as an intercessor for us in the Heavenly Kingdom. (1972: 7)

Earl also employs Saint Margaret, the virgin martyr of Antioch, as an example of a figure related to the image of the pearl maiden. With regard to the poem of *The Pearl*, he writes that the very fact that the pearl is symbolic of the virginity and purity of the maiden originates mainly from the legends of Saint Margaret. He points out that the passage from the *Legenda aurea* regarding the life of Margaret acts as a demonstration of how complex the pearl appears to be as a symbol, in that the maiden does not represent virginity uniquely. Instead, it shares in the numerous virtues of both saint and pearl (1972: 3). Marie Padgett Hamilton also comments upon the interpretation of the pearl as eternal felicity (1955: 805), the double metaphor for the soul as equally jewel and bride of Christ (1955: 810), and significantly the '*pretiosa margarita* of Matthew XIII: 45-46, the gem of eternal life and beatitude, which is the maiden's distinctive

[8] For further information, refer in addition to A. M. Beresford's study of Pelagia (2007). The name 'Pelagia' in Greek translates as 'of the sea', and so relevance to the pearl here is undeniable.

endowment and adornment as a bride of Christ, a soul in grace' (1955: 806). The tie between purity and the divine is thus reinforced through the image of the pearl, the significance of the latter emphasized elsewhere throughout the life of Paula through repetition of adjectives such as 'Santa' (1, 4, 20, 23, 58, 64, 73, 151, 154, 172, 181); 'Santo' (21, 78, 135), 'Sant' (31, 62, 106).[9] The incessant allusions to sanctity to this legend are irrefutable.

The death of Paula's husband is narrated soon after the mention of Toxotius, juxtaposing the two characters to a certain degree, particularly as father and son. The husband appears to have little bearing on the development of the female protagonist, particularly in view of the fact that he is not even directly mentioned in the legend. In addition, Paula is widowed at an early stage, which could prove in itself to be of some significance. The early departure of her mortal husband leaves the path completely free for the prioritised celestial one.[10] Whilst this early death of a spouse cannot be accorded to the majority of the other saints in Voragine's compilation, certain similarities can be ascertained between various legends in the Castilian collection.

If the reader were to compare the life of Paula with that of Saint Alexis (Chapter 94), for example, certain similarities would be visible. Whilst the two lives are representative of separate genders in terms of sanctity, many arguments which apply to the legend of Paula are also applicable to that of Alexis. This consequentially suggests that the notion of separation from one's family cannot be isolated by the specificity of one's gender. To support this theory, one only has to note the fact that Alexis too deems it necessary to flee from his family to

[9] The legend in its entirety contains references to various biblical connotations, through such expressions as 'Palestina' (47); 'la cibdat de Bedleén' (57); 'la cueva ado nasció el Salvador' (57-58); 'la virgen santa' (58), and other, more embellished expressions, such as: 'Dios te salve, Betleém, casa de pan ado nasció el pan q*ue* descendió del cielo. Dio*s* te salve, Efrata, tierra abondosa ado nasció el Salvador verdadero onbre e verdadero Dios' (65-67).

[10] See in addition Louise Mirrer's 'Upon my Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe' (1992).

embark upon a new and spiritual lifestyle. Both Paula and Alexis are tied by the bonds of marriage, neither union depicted as being entered into voluntarily. Alexis is described as finding himself together with his spouse in the silence of the wedding chamber, preaching the virtue of chastity to his mortal partner. Whilst Alexis is a virgin, and Paula is no longer chaste, both choose to leave via water, by boarding a ship to leave their familiar life behind them, and subsequently to embark upon one which is spiritual. The connections between the two lives are striking. This proves to be a useful yardstick, therefore, in that with both male and female saint, a complete disconnection from one's family and from the mortal life is needed to start the celestial journey.[11]

As is wont of an obedient and respectful wife, Paula initially grieves at the death of her husband to such an extent she desires to die soon after him. Yet this desire is short-lived: 'E desque el marido murió asý lo lloró que poco menos murió ella con él. E así se tornó por virtud a Dios que parescía q*ue* le deseara la muerte' (27-29). This speech can be interpreted as expressing Paula's desire to experience the same type of death as God, if taking the indirect object pronoun 'le' to refer to God. The Latin reads 'Postquam vir ejus mortuus est, ita eum

[11] Elliott also refers to Alexis in her work, this time proposing a comparison between the latter and the legend of Cecilia. Both Cecilia and Alexis are coerced into marriage. However, Cecilia manages to convert her spouse and subsequently remains with him in a state of virginal purity, whilst Alexis flees even before the marriage has the opportunity to be consummated. Elliott perceives this as a distinction in gender between the respective legends: 'women stayed, men fled' (1993: 65). However, the argument of gender distinction is challenged in view of the fact that the female Paula also flees, albeit after her vow of chastity has been foregone. Elliott correctly points out that 'the Cecilia legend possesses three irreducible elements that are common to most hagiographical depictions of virginal marriage: reluctance to marry, conversion of the spouse on the wedding night, and a secret resolve to preserve virginity [discretion which, Elliott confirms, many *vitae* contain, in a revelation of one's secret desire to stay chaste, invariably occurring in the bedroom or nuptial chamber on the wedding night]' (1993: 65-66). Furthermore, I Corinthians 7.14 states that the unbelieving husband would be sanctified by his believing wife (and vice-versa), and this certainly applies here, in a situation whereby two spouses are able to live together 'without contravening the right to the conjugal debt. Women are more frequently presented as the instrument of the process of sanctification. In the case of Cecilia and Valerian this end was soon realized, first in baptism, then ultimately in martyrdom' (Elliott 1993: 67).

planxit, ut prope ipsa moreretur, ita etiam se convertit ad Dei servitutem, ut mortem ejus quasi videretur optasse' (Graesse: 136), which would favour this supposition. Immediately having grieved, she turns to the fear of God, so much so that she could be argued to have desired her own death. As one husband leaves, the path is now clear for Paula to join together with her celestial husband. As Bynum notes, a frequent tendency in the lives of the female saints, was that 'it was the presence, not the absence, of a prospective bridegroom that activated desire for perpetual chastity' (1987: 20). Paula's grief for her husband is soon replaced by the exploration of her own interests. The normal grieving period for the medieval widow, or indeed the duration of mourning deemed as acceptable, was considerably lengthy. The grief experienced by Paula is intense, although short-lived, amidst her realisation that a more suitable husband awaits her: 'Grief is figured as erotic resistance; grief itself is resisted (but not utterly overcome)' (Burrus 2004: 103). Saints are strongly encouraged to develop a personal relationship to connect with the suffering Christ. In this way, the motivation for the reformation of the sinner is demonstrated as friendship and alliance with Christ, proving to be not merely a fear of damnation (Ross 1997: 13).

Paula, having grieved for the loss of her husband, subsequently turns her attentions to her overpowering love for God. One husband is substituted by another, just as Paula has abandoned her material wealth in favour of spiritual nobility. Eisenbichler rightly asserts that, for many, 'the "true widow" was a woman who had renounced the world and contracted a spiritual marriage with the ultimate husband: the resurrected Jesus waiting for her in their heavenly home' (2005: 35). Burrus also argues that Paula's uncompromising severity can be ascribed, according to Jerome, to the very passion of her mind and the desire of her believing soul. She rightly asserts that Paula is depicted as veering from one extreme to another. She is

defiant and rigid in her faith, although she is also easily moved to sorrow and is devastated at the loss of her family. The two facets of her reaction bring to light an inconsistency in the expression of her grief. 'Having revived the theme of Paula's maternal grief, [Jerome] now specifically associates it with both her emotional intensity and her physical weakness, thus restoring consistency to Paula's portrait without clearly contributing to her credit' (Burrus 2004: 64-65). Paula is able to grieve for a God of whom she is concerned that she will not be worthy, however she seems reluctant to grieve for her mortal husband in the proper manner. Her prioritisation between the two is irrefutable. Robertson affirms that the woman, in many of the hagiographical lives, is able to obtain redemption uniquely through the recognition of her physical self, through identification with the suffering of Christ (1990: 107).

The death or absence of one individual is required to make full room for another. Subsequently, widowhood could be deemed as acceptable. If the mortal husband dies, a celestial union is eventually permissible: 'For women the experience of Christ is not a transcendence of the desires of the flesh, but rather a transference of those desires to Christ' (Robertson 1990: 67). The reduction of the role of the earthly husband within the text to its barest minimum conversely increases the role and influence of Christ to its greatest extent, emphasizing how the significance of Paula's faith is prioritized over and above her mortal duties as a housewife. As an example, the verb 'se tornó' (28) suggests a physical shift in her love, in a movement, quite literally, from one man to the other. After the death of her husband, Paula takes her purity to extremes, as if to compensate in some format for past misdemeanours[12]:

> E desque el día que murió su marido fasta que ella murió nunca comió con onbre alguno por santo que fuese, aunque fuese obispo, ni*n* usó de

[12] These objects are all identifiable with those predominantly kept by the female within the sphere of housekeeping.

> baños salvo con gra*n*t perigro de enfermedat, e non tenía en la cama ropa mollida e blanda, aun en enfermedades muy grav*e*s. (77-80)

The pleasure once given to the mortal husband is now translated to the celestial: 'e que se esfuerce a plazer a Jh*es*u C*hrist*o la que se es*f*orçó a plazer al mundo e al marido' (88-89). As a widow, Paula has lost her mortal husband and has acquired a new one, in a distinct process of substitution:

> Paula's own bottomless suffering, the scars of her converted desire for children and husband, the searingly pleasurable pain of her love's deferral. [...] material wealth funds an ambitious erotic economy that defies all balance sheets, peregrinations extend desire beyond any destination, and the severity of physical disciplines pushes mortal flesh toward the divine perfection worthy of a lover of Christ whose (anti-Origenistic) anticipations of the afterlife are sublimely carnal. (Burrus 2004: 68)

Paula goes down to the harbour accompanied by her relatives and children, with the intention of boarding a ship and leaving her family.[13] A visual and physical barrier is created in the text between land and water, with Paula exiting one physical space to embark onto another. This act of venturing out into the sea could be interpreted as a second baptism, the latter imperative in becoming one with faith. According to Paul in Romans 6.4, baptism is the participation in both Christ's death and resurrection (Jensen 1991: 58). Baptism was representative of the death of an individual from one life, 'escaping a secular world populated by demons and ruled by Satan, and like Adam or Eve was reborn in the restored Eden, the

[13] 'When married women were incorporated into hagiography, their sanctity was ensured by their corporeality. The fifth-century Saint Paula, a historical figure commemorated by St. Jerome, chose to part from her children in order to travel to the Holy Land; she also endured physical suffering' (McKinley 1998: 100).

second creation, and the Kingdom of God, where life was eternal. In baptism the Christian at once received a new life, a new identity, and the promise of salvation' (Jensen 1991: 9-10). The image of water is evocative of liminality, in much the same manner as it figures in the poem of the *Pearl*. The fact that pearls themselves come from the sea originally could also prove to be of significance. A crossing of the sea's water aims to strengthen the bond between Paula and Christ, as she gradually approaches the divine. The heavenly connotations of the pearl (or treasured gem, to which Paula has been previously compared) therefore, encountered in this sacred water, are unlikely to be coincidental.

The water of the sea acts as a barrier between Paula's previous life and the celestial reward awaiting her, symbolic of the journey she must face into her new life: 'the waters embody both meanings: the annihilating action of the Flood and the purifying effect of Christian baptism [...] the river functions as barrier in the medieval romance and other world visions or journeys. It usually separates two different modes of existence' (Bogdanos 1983: 61; see also Larry Paul Jones 1997). The act of baptism is frequently interpreted as a second birth, figuring the role of the Church as the mother. As a ritual, it cleanses original and personal sin. The water used in baptism is juxtaposed with the waters of nature, the latter linked to both Christ's redemptive passion (water is understood as the source to the original wound in his side) and the flowing rivers and fountains in the gardens of Eden (Jensen 1991: 289). The ship goes further and further out to sea, during which all those on the shore-side are described as praying.[14] The increasing distance between Paula and her family as the ship moves further and

[14] Sylvie Beguin in her article reflects upon an iconographic representation of Paula which could depict the scene in which the saint leaves her family behind her on the shore-side, alluding specifically to the following header: 'Sainte Paula quittant la côte d'Italie pour se rendre en Palestine et laissant à terre son fils et sa fille qui tendent les mains vers elle' (1955: 82). Such a note further reinforces the physical and literal separation between mother and children, and the desperation felt by Paula's children at the loss of their mother.

further out to sea mirrors the increasing pain of the mother for the separation from her children. Bernard Ribémont furnishes numerous examples of the imagery of water during the Middle Ages. It is principally seen, as mentioned previously, as the water of baptism, the water of Redemption (1996: 97). In addition to this, water evokes the notion of the frontier, a marking of a separation between two worlds: that of the mortal and that of eternal life. It could suggest adventure, a meeting point, and an area evocative of a search or a journey: 'l'eau sépare les mondes, introduit vers l'ailleurs, le géographique, celui de l'exotisme et du merveilleux, de l'inconnu, celui de l'imaginaire, des possibles infinis et mythiques. L'eau initie la quête, l'autorise, la favorise, en ponctue les réussites et les échecs' (1996: 98). This in turn refers back to the notion of water proving to be a symbol of liminality. It provides the original source of life: it fertilises, purifies, reflects, and is inextricably linked with the feminine, a two-sided coin symbolic of both virginity and sexuality (1996: 103). Jean R. Scheidegger contributes even further upon this point, affirming that the sea is as deep as the pain between two separated lovers, on the verge of a reunion (1996: 127). Paula and Christ correspond perfectly with this interpretation.

The evocation of the element of nature, with the ship travelling on God's great ocean, is not the only allusion made to nature in the text. Other references, particularly through light as well as water, serve to highlight the purity of Paula's character. An image occurs in the incipit of the legend. Paula is depicted as the brightest light, the sharpest ray featuring amongst stars shining less powerfully, as well as being described as the most precious stone gleaming amongst other, less valuable stones. Her ability to shine, in terms of virtuosity, due to the extent of her humility, means that she in turn emits the most powerful of lights. The evocation of light is also linked to how the sanctity of the celestial is consistently highlighted and contrasted with

the dullness of mortality (see also Bernau 2003: 219). The imagery of the light of God provides a binary opposite to the darkness of sin.

The narrator aptly incorporates a metaphor of navigating a ship through calm waters to parallel the movement through the legend so far with little disruption. The storm is thus to follow, in both senses of the expression. The narrator, explicitly given as Saint Jerome (2) in the Castilian manuscripts, is directly involved and influential within the account, assuming an active and participatory role in unfolding events. He is able to divulge an outside perspective of Paula's qualities. He involves the reader in the progressive action, subsequently providing a close relationship between protagonist and reader. It is possible that his role as narrator is here explicitly set apart from occurring events to capture the reader's attention efficiently. This transition in Paula's life, from mother to saintly follower, is one of the most important in the legend, and attention needs to be drawn towards its significance. Directly incorporating the narrator at this juncture to hail this progression is a cogent manner of doing this. His role, for example, appears imperative in the consoling of two members of Paula's family after the event of her death. The distance between narrator and saint is consequentially diminished. Their link is reinforced to such an extent that the narrator states that he physically experiences the pain of the death of the protagonist: 'E por non alongar más el dolor deteniéndome en ot*ra*s cosas verrié a dezir lo que come*n*çé a escrevir' (156-57). He manipulates the written language to suggest that, whilst all has been calm so far, events, like the journey of the ship, are about to take a different turn. The reader becomes more involved in the action and is also more inclined to believe the validity of Paula's existence, in view of its first hand discussion and interpretation from the point of view of such a recognized and established figure as Saint Jerome: 'Indeed, Jerome again expertly interrupts the narrative line before the thought can be completed' (Burrus

2004: 29). He even presents a personal opinion on the visible extremes presented throughout Paula's life (Burrus 2004: 64).

At an earlier juncture, Paula is depicted as expressly licking the cave in which Christ once lay, 'así como sy beviera aguas muy deseadas' (54). Her thirst for Christ is comparable to a physical thirst. Such a craving can only be halted by metaphorical water or, more specifically here, baptism. Her alteration in lifestyle occurs in the presence of her family. The difficulty she experiences as a mother, at the prospect of leaving her children, is displayed as all too evident. Her young son, Toxotius, is depicted on the shore, his arms outstretched whilst he begs his mother not to leave them. Her desire for her children to witness this excruciating departure defines her determination to conduct this sacrifice in lifestyle to the full. The visual pleading of Paula's son, with his arms outstretched, mirror exactly the same actions Paula uses to implore Christ, when she raises her hands to the skies and pleads for his help. Paula must ignore the cries of Toxotius to implore another, further supporting the theory that widows and mothers may have a greater amount in their lives to sacrifice to prove their saintly worth.[15]

Rufina begs and weeps greatly, pleading with her mother in the hope that she will delay her departure until her daughter's wedding day. For as much as Rufina weeps, Paula does not even shed a tear, possibly because she does not interpret this moment as a loss:

> Jerome tells us that Paula's 'eyes were dry' as she left her children behind on the shores of Italy. He thereby focuses attention on Paula's (unshed)

[15] Abandonment of one lifestyle in favour of one more suitable and celestial occurs on numerous occasions throughout hagiography, the legend of Thecla being a case in point. Shelly Matthews refers to the Acts of Thecla specifically, which exhibit some similarities to Paula's own legend: 'The elite heroine in the Acts of Thecla listens day and night to the ascetic teachings spoken by the Apostle Paul. [...] Converted by this teaching, Thecla spurns her betrothed, pursues Paul on his journeys, endures the torments put upon her by the city's nobility whose welfare is threatened by her ascetic choice, performs a rite of self-baptism, and ultimately receives […] commission from Paul […]. The focus on the highborn woman who courageously defies the social order by opting for ascetic Christianity is a common motif in the Apocryphal Acts of the second and third centuries C. E.' (2001: 39). For further information regarding the abandonment of children, see Boswell 2004: 234-72.

> tears. Her family members, gathering at her departure, were 'eager by their demonstrations of affection to overcome their loving mother'; Paula, for her part, 'overcame her love for her children by her love for God.' In the end, however, she was almost undone by the battle of loves. (Burrus 2004: 61)

Paula fixes her eyes upwards, towards the skies. Her new destination lies here, indicating an awareness of the awaiting great celestial rewards.[16] Yet the two lifestyles of mother and saint could still be disputed to be mutually compatible. Upon Rufina's premature death, Paula's heart as a mother is depicted as being physically broken, which could imply that the latter is able to enjoy a strong bond in the maternal, as well as the celestial, sense.[17] This may in turn suggest a mutually binary existence of the two sides. There appears a brief suggestion that they could potentially coexist, thus rendering it possible for both married individuals and parents to find a place in their heart for mortal obligations whilst fulfilling the overriding celestial one. Ultimately, however, Paula grapples with her maternal feelings in a desperate attempt to erase them completely from her memory, in the knowledge that she is forced to forget her maternal and married life should she wish to pursue her celestial one. Paula is obliged to show cruelty to her children to exhibit piety towards God, to such a degree that she must forget her role as a mother and assume her new one as a servant of Christ.[18] Clarissa W. Atkinson refers specifically to how Paula is 'abandoning her children to do God's work' (1991: 99). Her

[16] The Christian understanding of love was frequently based upon pain and sacrifice (Davis 2003: 13).

[17] Burrus suggests that all of Paula's children, with the exception of Eustochium, who accompanied her mother until the very end, died before Paula. None of the Latin or Spanish reworkings confirm this definitively, as only Rufina's death is made explicit in these texts. The death of her youngest four, however, would account for only Eustochium accompanying her mother on her saintly voyage. As the precise facts remain uncertain, nothing can be definitively ascertained: 'Earlier [Jerome] has recalled Paula's sorrow at the deaths of Blaesilla, Paulina, and Rufina ("whose untimely end overcame the affectionate heart of her mother"), as well as her husband ("when he died, her grief was so great that she nearly died herself")' (2004: 4-5).

[18] 'The saint as servant perhaps best embodies the Church's ambivalent attitude toward womankind, at once idealized as Mary, mother of God, and disdained as Eve the temptress' (Goodich 1995b: 135)

priorities are visibly displayed to the reader, the justification for these appearing in the form of an eternal reward. However, for as much as Paula desires this new life, she is unable to forget her role as a mother. The reader is presented with a structure of chiasmus. Paula originally served her family, whereas she now wishes to serve God. In the Bible, occasional passages highlight the significance of the prioritisation of the celestial over the familial. Matthew 10:34-37, for example, affirms:

> Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to turn 'a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law - a man's enemies will be the members of his own household.' Anyone who loves his father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; anyone who loves his son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.

Similarly, Matthew 19:29 adopts a comparable stance, iterating God's promise to any individual who should choose him over the members of the family that they will inherit one hundred times as much, as well as eternal life, in heaven. Paula's heart is metaphorically depicted as increasing in size through the hope of a celestial gift. Her heart must forget the love for her children to make room for the new priority in her life, as expressed in the use of the verb 'despreciava' (43). Once more, the text is rife with images of exclusivity through the employment of constant comparisons of binary extremes. Burrus highlights the visibility of these opposites, citing Jerome's Paula as a woman of excess, one who is defined all at once by her grief and by her love. Whilst immensely wealthy, her voluntary poverty supersedes this.

The love for her family contrasting her love for Christ is vastly unparalleled, a difference described by Burrus as 'obscene' (2004: 62).[19]

Paula's unique familial consolation is in her one companion on her journey, her daughter Eustochium. Arguably from this perspective, therefore, she has not cut herself off entirely from her previous existence.[20] In the majority of discussions and iconographic representations of Paula, if she is accompanied by anyone, it is her daughter Eustochium. Eustochium is the only one of five children alluded to as being chaste. A veritable 'perla muy preciosa de la eglesia' (23), Eustochium is ostensibly the most saintly of the five (apparent in her status as a well recognized saint), which could account for Paula's choice as to her being her only companion on her saintly journey. Mother and daughter are compared on more than one occasion, the consistent depiction of both as being in close proximity to the divine. When elucidating the emotions experienced by Paula regarding physical separation from her children, her physical torment is depicted in quite some detail. The expression 'seyendo atorme*n*tadas las sus entrañas e asý como apartadas de los mienbros peleava con el dolor' (40-41) highlights this clearly. Her entrails are literally tormented with this pain, she feels separated from her children as if separated from a part of herself:

> Physical suffering has often been viewed as the primary corrective to female sexual temptation. As Marina Warner writes, 'The particular focus on a woman's torn and broken flesh reveals the psychological obsession

[19] See also Marris 1958.

[20] Abandonment of one lifestyle in favour of one more suitable and celestial occurs on numerous occasions throughout hagiography, the legend of Thecla being a case in point. 'The elite heroine in the Acts of Thecla listens day and night to the ascetic teachings spoken by the Apostle Paul. [...] Converted by this teaching, Thecla spurns her betrothed, pursues Paul on his journeys, endures the torments put upon her by the city's nobility whose welfare is threatened by her ascetic choice, performs a rite of self-baptism, and ultimately receives […] commission from Paul […]. The focus on the highborn woman who courageously defies the social order by opting for ascetic Christianity is a common motif in the Apocryphal Acts of the second and third centuries C. E.' (Matthews 2001: 39).

> of the religious with sexual sin.' In these lives, what we see is not just the obsession of the religious with sexual sin, but specifically the obsession of male religious writers with female sexual sin. Their portrayal of torture is excessive if not sexually perverse. In the saints' lives, the female saints must overcome their inherent feminine weakness through the twin processes of physical identification with Christ's suffering and the endurance of extreme physical torture [Saint Margaret is given here as an example]. (Robertson 1990: 96-97)

Just as Eve's transgressions ensured that future mothers would suffer horribly during childbirth, Paula's suffering could equally be identified as an act of redemption for her previous unchaste manner of living. Internally, Paula's body parts seem to be fighting with pain, identifiable of how they, like Paula's mind, are struggling to make the best decision. Yet she is guided by her extreme faith, and thus able to force herself against her natural instincts physically. An example illustrating this point features with the use of the verb 'esforçávase' (42), demonstrating to what extent this decision is an effort for Paula. Maternity was both frequently and traditionally juxtaposed with intense suffering. It was therefore readily identifiable with the pains suffered by Christ and indeed the Virgin Mary: 'in the genre of hagiography, the female body is a theological trope for figuring Christ to the world' (Ross 1997: 95).

Of all the passengers aboard, only Paula moves her eyes elsewhere, anything to avoid seeing what she is leaving behind. The emphasis on 'ella sola' (45) reiterates her necessary distinction from those around her. Such references as to the 'dolor de la su carrne' (46) and 'atorme*n*tadas sus entrañas' (40-41) evoke a powerful image not just of pain, but also of childbirth. As referred to previously, Paula's entrails are depicted as being physically removed from her in this separation process, which is as painful, if not more so, than the process of

childbirth. The *Cantar de Mio Cid* (mid twelfth-century) reflects a similar concept, emphasizing the extent of the pain and grief experienced through the separation of family members. The description of the parting between the Cid and Ximena is perhaps most aptly expressed in the poem via the following expression:

> Llorando de los ojos, que non viestes atal,
>
> asis parten unos d'otros commo la uña de la carne. (Smith 1972: 13 [lines 374-75])

The tears expressed here are so great that the pain is comparable to a fingernail being ripped from the flesh. The agony of losing a part of oneself is similarly depicted in this legend. Whilst a new process of Paula's life is being born, something else must be painfully lost in the process. Her capacity to remove herself physically from this scene of separation, despite her pain, is an admirable testament to her religious devotion. Kathleen Biddick reiterates the significance of the maternal, regarding the powerful connection exhibited between both mother and offspring (1993: 397), which is why losing those to whom you have given birth is rendered all the more excruciating. Elizabeth Robertson takes a similar line of argument, alluding in particular to Aristotle. The latter's medical views were interpreted as highly significant to the developing medieval views of female spirituality, as he defined women predominantly through their bodies. The reproductive theory held by Aristotle associated women with matter (and thus childbirth), which fits in with the role of the mother investigated in the legend of Paula. Robertson states in addition that the generally held belief was that Eve was created from Adam's rib, thus associating her and women generally predominantly with the body rather than with the head. She was perceived as naturally inferior to men (1990: 34-36).

Once at her site of devotion, Paula kisses the stone which the angel once used as a door to the tomb of Christ, licking the area in which once lay his body (as referred to previously). The removal of the door to the cave could be a new beginning to Paula's sexuality.

The enclosed cave, perhaps originally representative of chastity, is opened by Paula, as she commences her life with Christ; a life which is arguably sexual (see Burrus 2001: 453). The actions depicted here are both physical and sensual: 'One recalls Hilarion at Antony's cell: "Hilarion would lie upon the saint's bed and as though it were still warm would affectionately kiss it"' (Burrus 2004: 62). The act of kissing the stone could potentially be indicative of Paula's thirst for the blood of Christ, as during the process of communion.[21] She physically attempts to consume his body, reinforcing the concept of the celestial lover. Taste, as well as the other four senses, often features in medieval literature.[22] C. M. Woolgar offers the idea that a kiss represents a bond, unity in proximity, through a visual form of physical contact: 'Kissing objects conveyed an intention of reverence or respect and beyond this at least a desire for the transfer of further powers. There was here a close connection between the spirit of the person kissing and the virtue or power of the objects kissed' (2006: 41). The intensely proximate relationship between saint and celestial is underlined, especially through the contextual positioning of the two figures and via the use of the personal pronoun. Paula is described as being protected by the angels of Christ, her own celestial bodyguard indicative of the extent to which she is special and must be protected from evil and sin. The personal pronouns interspersed within the text further denote possession and highlight the relationship between celestial and saint, in expressions such as 'mi rede*n*ptor onbre e Dios' (70-71), 'mi Dios' (71), and 'mi Salvador' (72).

Vivid imagery incorporating the sense of taste strongly evokes here a concept of desire, one which is at once religious and sexual: 'así como sy beviera aguas muy deseadas'

[21] 'A key text was Psalm 33.9, "Taste and see that the Lord is sweet,"' (Woolgar 2006: 114).

[22] Cynthia Hahn remarks further upon the juxtaposition of senses with the occurrence of miracles: 'Shouts, prayers, and hymns might have greeted a miracle, and a wondrous odor confirmed the presence of an incorrupt body; but in most miracle stories it was "things seen" that turned the heart toward faith' (1997b: 1079).

(54). The idea of Christ as both sensual and sexual lover is difficult to dismiss. Christ and all Jerusalem bear witness to the excessive tears shed by Paula at the tomb of Christ, somewhat reminiscent of her pain at the separation from her children. The contrast in values between the two sides of her life is consistently underlined. Indeed, 'La muchedunbre de los gemidos que dio e de la gra*n*deza del su dolor' (56) further reiterates her pain in not being able to get as close to Christ as she would like. This pain is disputably greater than that of losing her children. She is accompanied at this point in the text by a 'muchedunbre de v*ír*gen*e*s' (75), which implies, by association, the reinforcement of her own purity amongst a multitude of virgins, despite the fact that she has already had five children. This could hint at the beginning of a new and chaste lifestyle for the female protagonist.[23]

The systematic deliverance of complementary and binary extremes throughout the legend echoes the vast modification in life that Paula has managed to undertake. For example, through a distribution of all of her riches amongst the poor and her express desire to reside in a humble 'casilla pequeña' (49) during her stay in Palestine, rather than the extravagant 'palacios' (48) which have been prepared for Paula by the prefect of Palestine and his servants, the reader understands that the female saint does not require luxuries to be comfortable.[24] Such characteristics as her 'vileza de vestidura' (76) and the 'humildat de palabra e de todos sus

[23] Furthermore, Paula declares that she was witness, 'con ojos de la fee' (58-59), to a vision of the infant Jesus. Following this statement, a large biblical section appears within the text recounting, amongst others, the birth of Jesus, the activities of Herod, and the role of the Virgin Mary. From the point of the reader, this section is both highly informative and moralizing. It ensures that the reader is aware, through Paula's recital, of both the significance and actuality of events within the Bible. Such a miracle was a frequent feature of hagiography.

[24] Nobility appeared to be a frequent preface to achieving sanctity, although evidently not a prerequisite in every case. However, the notion of spiritual and moral perfection seemed all that more deserved having given up one's initial material wealth. 'Even if the saint came from humbler origins (and this was rare), she still enjoyed a unique, divine empowerment enabling her to achieve purity and sanctity in this world; but most often this distinctive status was accompanied by a conscious effort to repudiate the world. Yet such a special dispensation of divine grace, which guaranteed her sanctity and perfection, did not also protect her from the tribulations of the world' (McKinley 1998: 95)

gestos' (76-77) contrast greatly with Paula's original material wealth, successfully demonstrating the distinction between celestial and mortal. As Burrus comments, 'the unconverted remainder of materiality represented by corporeal existence itself regularly caused Paula to burst into tears, "for as long as she was in the body she was absent from the Lord"' (2004: 61). Such contrasts occur in abundance, as with, for example, an earlier textual allusion to Paula's argument that she is devout uniquely for the divine to the extent of insanity (112–14). She explains that celestial madness is more knowledgeable than the intelligence of man, proving to be, yet again, a further binary distinction between celestial and mortal. The following example also highlights the exact same opposition:

> E que non quería despender el dinero en las piedras que perescían con este mundo pasadero más en las piedras bivas que andan sobre la tierra e sufren mucha mengua, de las quales segunt el Apocalipsi Sant Johan es hedeficada la cibdat del rey celestial. (105-08)

Paula fully grasps the significance of her priority: 'E cerró los ojos, asý como sy despreciase las cosas terrenales e desease solamente las celestiales' (167-68). Celestial wealth is also expressed as superior to the material in the incipit of the legend through the imagery of body parts, allusions which designate that spiritual virtuosity cannot be depicted in corporeal terms. It is too powerful. Through a structure of chiasmus, the extent of Paula's eventual poverty renders her all the more spiritually wealthy in the next life. Such comparative structures continually emphasize her superiority, with superlatives and comparatives proving to be a consistent textual feature. Further binary oppositions occur in the distinctions between 'pequeña' (15) and 'mayor' (15), 'ensalçada' (16) and 'abaxava' (16), 'fuyendo' (17) and 'corre' (16), and 'desprecian' (18) and 'desean' (18). By reason of her humility, Paula becomes the lowest of the low, the poorest of the poor. The narrator is keen to reiterate the veracity of the

legend, eager to reassure his reader or listener not to have exaggerated any one detail: 'no*n* podría yo dezir cosa digna de las virtudes de Santa Paula' (4-5). This subliminally highlights the superiority of Paula over her peers.[25]

The decision Paula takes to form one monastery for monks and three convents for women reiterates how her charitable deeds have reinforced the devotion and veracity of her sanctity. The fact that she decides to keep the genders separate emphasizes in itself the necessity of there being a reduced level of temptation: 'The formal convent became ever more the enclosed garden of wellborn virgins' (Baernstein 1994: 805). Men and women are kept apart for working and eating, but they remain together for prayer, indicative of how they are one in front of God.[26] Throughout her time as instructor of these religious premises, Paula is able to diffuse disputes with her calming words as well as aid and encourage others to fast. She possesses an intrinsic desire for their stomachs to hurt more than their hearts.[27] Paula attempts to imitate the teachings of Christ, placing her in turn in the similar role of instructor. The only distinction between her and those who looked to her for guidance was that she was far more severe regarding her own actions and punishments than of those around her. This reiterates her insistence on reducing herself to the lowest level possible, or on being the one who has suffered to the greatest extent. Her sole aim is to achieve the highest grade of sanctity. She digests no oil or meat except for on feast days, and in addition ingests no wine, fish, milk, eggs, or honey. This form of food deprivation is associated to an abstention of all things pleasurable, with a

[25] 'In the prologue the biographer also attempts to bolster the *vita*'s credibility by carefully identifying the various sources of information. The alleged purpose of the *vita* and protestations of incompetence on the part of the author are also found in the prologue' (Schulenberg 1990: 293).

[26] Julia M. H. Smith delves into the strict and regemented separation of men and women in times of prayer, food, and adherence to general religious lifestyle within the convent, including those circumstances in which it was acceptable for each gender to merge: for example, that of illness (1995: 32-33).

[27] 'Physical suffering was the primary corrective to sexual temptation. Through fasting, a woman's sinful body could be controlled: "Fasting, like chastity, was prescribed for both sexes; but, like virginity, fasting has a particular character in women that enhances the symbolism of wholeness and purity"' (Robertson 1990: 41).

certain gratification in ingesting food linked to other, further sensual, pleasures (see Counihan & Van Esterik 1997; and Carlin & Rosenthal 1998).[28]

Biddick believes that desire for God himself is expressed in the form of an insatiable hunger, a nourishment craved by many (1993: 395-96). The role of food in such texts is an undeniable and prominent one. The example of the Eucharist supports this assertion: salvation was only possible through Christians eating their God through the act of communion (Bynum 1997: 138). The role of the medieval woman was to feed others, as the preparers of food, themselves often abstaining in eating to do so. Marriage was interpreted as the food of death, with death potentially representing the food of life. The act of marriage arguably led to the couple in question moving further from God, if one agreed with the assertion that the unmarried virgin secured the closest position to him. Conversely, death was seen as a release from the sinful prison of temptation that was life, and thus enabled the individual to become closer to God. In both situations, one scenario nourishes or gives way to the other. Food itself, however, was not simply a metaphor for interaction with the divine. It was also at the very heart of religious practice. Women traditionally fasted so that they could physically prepare themselves for Christ's body and his blood (Bynum 1987: 116-17). The female body itself was seen as food, in view of the fact that breast milk was the first element of nourishment for humans, a substance deemed as essential to survive (Bynum 1987: 269-70). Women also became food in the eyes of their admirers, perceived as a form of sexual nourishment. Yet they chose instead to

[28] Thomas Head comments on medieval aspects that he discerns as being specifically feminine: 'In addition to the visions which had long been characteristic of female sanctity, these women focused their devotions on the reception of the Eucharist, often rejecting all other forms of food in fasts of heroic – even mortal – length. They thus developed a form of piety which centered on food, whose preparation had always been the work of women in medieval society, and which was replicated in the practices of few male saints. At the same time, this piety illuminates the dependency of religious women on male clerics, for only a priest could consecrate the Eucharist or provide the sacrament of confession. The lived lives of these women created a new model of female holiness which the works which recorded those lives transmitted to new audiences and new generations. Most of those works were written by male confessors who held a position of authority over them' (1999: 6).

consume God. Not only did they focus their pangs of hunger on the Eucharist, they also managed to reverse the cultural stereotype of them as food preparers and abstainers conversely to that of the consumer (Bynum 1987: 206-07). Food abstention therefore, as was the case for the ancient Hebrews, was an expression of grief and repentance, a request for deliverance, and a manner of preparing to meet God: 'These women harmed their bodies to conjoin with Christ. "Their blood became a healing effluvium that recapitulated the wounded body of Christ." Late medieval Christians emphasized fasting, suffering pain, bleeding wounds, and re-enacting the crucifixion to spiritually fuse with Christ. Regularly performing the Eucharist emblemized this fixation' (Meyer 2005: 195). Through the fast, the Christian was able to be joined with Christ, a figure who in both the garden and on the cross, had maintained the rule of abstinence which Adam himself had violated in paradise (Bynum 1987: 35). Food was often associated with lust, therefore, and abstinence from it was interpreted as a manner of curbing sexual desire.[29]

Sexual desire was strongly linked to hunger, the pleasures of the stomach, and food. This is why in all of the widow legends the elements of nourishment and fasting play invaluable roles. There was a heavy medieval distrust of the female as flesh. The female body was thought to embody the incarnation of sin, as well as to threaten their own spiritual well-being in addition to that of every man that they encounter.[30] Paradoxically, the very same bodies could be the origin of their salvation should they be willing to succumb to forms of extreme punishment

[29] 'It was originally doctors, not ascetics, who advised on reducing sexual desire by means of a diet designed to cool and dry the body: dietary abstinence reduced the body's moisture, and thus sexual desire, which was understood to arise from superfluity' (Stevenson 1996: 38; see also Lavery 1996). For a thorough explanation of the religious significance of food, see Bynum 1997.

[30] 'Analogies [are] drawn between the enclosed, heavily-defended castle that resists invasion and the enclosed chaste female body that resists sexual penetration. The impregnable castle, indeed, was a common symbol for the pure body of the Virgin Mary herself. Taking possession of a castle, then, logically came to be a ubiquitous metaphor for a man's sexual conquest of a woman' (Smith 2003: 78-79).

(McKinley 1998: 105). Cecilia, for example, fasted for two to three days at a time, further underlining her continual and incessant devotion evoked throughout her legend:

> All the food that man introduces into his body is dead food, destined for a brief spell in the human flesh. It is a poor substitute for the living food which is inevitably 'represented by the body of Christ. This food, being the best possible, must necessarily sustain whoever eats it in the best possible manner, and be very beneficial to him. The purpose of food as such is to maintain the body in life. This food, because it is the best possible, can not only sustain the body, but also give life to the soul together with the body for blissful eternity'. (Camporesi 1994: 159)

Caroline Walker Bynum (1987) and Rudolph M. Bell (1985) prove invaluable in linking the importance of abstention from food to abstention from sexual relations and temptation. Equally with the disorder of anorexia, the element of control over food is frequently linked to the control of sexual desires. Abstention from nutrition, as well as the pleasures derived from it, is linked to abstention from sexual contact and the subsequent pleasure derived from this contact: ultimately, a control of pleasure. Fasting was deemed the most painful form of renunciation. Arguably, sin only entered the world at the point in which Eve ate the forbidden fruit.[31]

Paula gives to others out of a love for Christ: 'Ca mi deseo es morir a tan pobre q*ue* lo oviese de andar a demandar e non oviese logar de dexar a mi fija Eustochium un solo dinero a demandar en limosna la sávana en que me oviesen de enbolver para enterrar' (99-102). She would die rather than leave anyone wanting for more. Despite her married status, the narrator argues that Paula provides an admirable example of chastity: 'Ca aún seyendo seglar e casada

[31] 'Recent work by André Vauchez, Richard Kieckhefer, Donald Weinstein, and Rudolph M. Bell demonstrates that, although women were only about 18 percent of those canonized or revered as saints between 1000 and 1700, they were 30 percent of those in whose lives extreme austerities were a central aspect of holiness and over 50 percent of those in whose lives illness (often brought about by fasting and other penitential practices) was the major factor in reputation for sanctity' (Bynum 1997: 140).

fue enxienplo de castidat e hon*e*stad a todas las dueñas romanas' (91-92). This provides proof that even married saints, even widows, can attain sanctity. Paula's family is mentioned yet again at the moment in which Paula is on her death-bed, as a final indication of her remembrance of the pain of losing each of her family members. The transition between lifestyles is explicitly signalled. To combat her pain Paula makes the sign of the cross over her stomach, or perhaps more implicitly her womb, as if seeking protection from Christ. Cynthia Hahn points out that the 'sign of the cross was recommended as a renewal of the seal and as a prophylactic against demons used with the trinitarian profession, "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost"' (1997a: 23).[32] In addition, Ross comments upon the significance of making the sign of the cross with reference to Catherine of Alexandria and eruptions of the divine. She describes the latter two as ready to die for the love of their Christian God, and as such they each make the sign of the cross over their bodies, in remembrance of Christ. They are then cast into the fire, the flames purifying their bodies without physically harming them. The sign of the cross signifies a welcoming of death for the love of God, in addition to preserving the flesh from the burning flames (1997: 105).

Paula's faith is the unique aspect allowing her to keep fighting, despite the pain she experiences. She recites a few lines of the Scriptures just before she dies referring in addition to such concepts as the 'cavallería celestial' (162), the beauty of heaven, how lucky mortals are to have Christ in their lives, the 'padre perdurable' (162), and the 'g*ra*ndes palacios de los pecadores en el siglo' (163-64).[33] All of these allusions further reiterate her comprehension and appreciation of the divine, as well as her powerful connection to it. She has achieved her

[32] 'The cross, for instance, can stand today for Jesus' sufferings, for Christianity, for the church, for the truth, for good as opposed to evil, and so forth' (Bloomfield 1958: 76).

[33] Paula is aware here that her biblical knowledge will support and guide her during the transition to her heavenly dwelling, and this in turn helps her embrace death. 'Scripture can become food to sustain one on the way' (Stiver 1996: 121).

ultimate goal, to become one with Christ and live alongside him in the divine palace that is heaven. Her final words serve only to reiterate how important devotion to the faith has been throughout her life. It is a grave illness which finally takes Paula from the mortal realm, heavily emphatic of her choice to leave one way of life for the next: 'Conviene saber dexar a nos e ayu*n*tarse al Señor' (155-56). She is ready to leave this world, finding it a relief to enter the world for which she has longed for such an extensive period of time, and leave behind the pain, troubles, and temptation of the mortal one. A textual distinction is made between the 'frías' (158) Paula experiences all over her body, and the fever she suffers, with only 'un poco de calor en el pecho' (158-59). Paula's sole source of heat in an otherwise cold body occurs next to her heart, the area in which she feels her love for Christ. This heat does not solely originate from Paula's heart but also, and perhaps more significantly, her breast, sexualizing the desire she feels for Christ. She is literally hot with passion:

> Redemption is viewed as possible not only through the purgation of excess feminine moisture, but also through heat, the heat brought about through sexual union with Christ. While heat, or the fire of love – the *incendium amoris* – is a motif that pervades twelfth-century affective works, the centrality of heat here reinforces the notion that a woman by nature seeks heat. (Robertson 1990: 69)

The desire for virtuosness and sanctity is frequently depicted linguistically through words denoting heat, passion, and desire. Constructions such as 'fuesen a Roma encendida ella por deseo de remedar las sus virtudes' (32-33), 'E co*n* tan grant ardor vesitava todos los logares santos' (49), 'E como una vez enfermase muy gravemente en el mes de julio e fiziese grandes calores además e ella oviese muy grant ardor de fiebre' (129-30) all illustrate this. Burrus confirms that Jerome (and equally Voragine) consistently attempts to represent Paula as being

distinctly hot-blooded (2004: 62). This metaphorical heat could subsequently parallel the love and desire she feels for Christ, a desire so powerful she must take action. Further allusions to heat and to the power of desire occur elsewhere in the text, for instance Paula visits numerous saintly sites 'co*n* tan grant ardor' (49) that she is unable to remove herself physically from these places. She also falls severely ill in July, suffering from a hot fever, metaphorically paralleling the passion of her faith and her love for God once more.

The legend thus finishes with a homage to Paula. 'Todos [los monjes y las vírgenes] estuvieron a la honrrar' (170-73), coming to Paula's final resting place to pay their last respects at her death.[34] Even at this late stage, a final reinforcement to the extent of the greatness of this saintly woman is further underlined in expressions such as with 'tan santa fenbra' (172). The public wish to honour their saint, in much the same fashion as she honoured Christ throughout her life. It is specified that Paula was fully aware that her death was imminent: 'Sentía aquesta muger sabia seer la su muerte muy cercana' (157-58). The final image of the legend is that of the body of Eustochium on top of that of her mother, the former desiring to be buried with the latter. Eustochium's struggle to part with her mother at the time of her death, through intensive emotions of love, mirrors in part Paula's concrete attachment to the spiritual sites she visited at Palestine. The actions depicted in each scenario are extremely similar. Indeed, Paula 'derribándose en tierra en *e*l logar ado el Señor fue crucificado' (51). She throws herself on the floor in a bid to get closer to Christ, just as Eustochium throws herself on top of her mother after she has died, so as to not to lose her. Once more, none of Paula's children, except Eustochium, are mentioned at the time of her passing. The formidable power of the bond between mother and daughter is one of the final ones of the legend, highlighting the

[34] A similar homage was paid by a multitude of people from all over the world at Elizabeth of Thuringia's canonization (Goodich 1995a: 16).

significance of both the celestial and the familial in Paula's life, and that while the former must always take priority, both aspects of one's lifestyle are able to coexist, however difficult the circumstances. Burrus comments upon the 'private and distinctly feminine world in which the primary bonds are between women, most typically between mothers and daughters' (2004: 59).

Conclusion

Paula's charitable deeds and individual sanctity reflect differently upon the development of her character, bearing in mind the fact that she is married and loses her husband after the birth of her five children. It appears that virgin, wife, widow, and mother are all equally capable of acquiring God's love, as long as they themselves have demonstrated their personal and spiritual worth to him. Burrus notes that Paula's body is a sexualized one, as is her celestial groom's: 'We recall, perhaps, that Paula's Holy Land is a place of caves, she the intrepid explorer of its hidden interiors as well as it exposed surfaces' (2004: 66). For as much as Paula loves her children, she experiences a greater love for her maker. The female saint seeks a type of erotic consummation. She is willing to impale herself on a metaphorical steely blade, that is to give up her life as she currently knows it, in an exchange for a heavenly husband (Burrus 2004: 53). For as dear as the love of one's family is to the mother, the love of the Church supersedes this.

Women were in a sense expected to assume the life of a wife and a mother, however even the desire of a partner to embrace a life of celibacy was not sufficient in freeing them from the ultimate power of a spouse. Jo Ann McNamara cites examples to illustrate a similar point: 'Saint Melania obeyed her husband to the extent of bearing two children before she could persuade him to abandon the marriage bed. Augustine advised a man who had broken a vow of

continence in order to marry to urge his wife to join him in celibacy [...] Jerome, who approved of marriage only because it produced new virgins, never tired of describing the never-ending hectic round of activities that must fill the days of a busy wife' (1976: 148). Paula successfully demonstrates her ability to be regarded as a saint, as shown in her willingness to suffer at great lengths for a feat in which she believes. A mother, although chaste, was still held in high esteem in Christian religion: 'Christ owed his physical body, the Incarnation itself, to his maternal ancestors, and a glorification of his body implied a glorification of all aspects of maternal parenting' (Sheingorn 2004: 283). Paula, in contrast to many other female saints, had more to lose through the change in her lifestyle. All that she held dear, in terms of family and familiar surroundings, were lost to her as she embarked upon a completely new adventure, and for as much as this pain ripped her apart, she encountered the inner strength to continue upon her quest to find Christ. This, in itself, is a testament to the strength of her character as a female saint, regardless of her status as widow, spouse, or virgin. Cecilia's personal circumstances notably differ to those found in Paula's legend. Nevertheless, a similar study of how the Latin version of Cecilia's own legend compares with that in the Castilian, as well as further in-depth thematic analysis, will reveal that much of the same imagery pertains to both.

5

Cecilia: Relationship to Voragine

Introduction

This section offers a comparative examination of the legend of Saint Cecilia. As with Paula, a version of her life was included by Voragine in Latin in his *Legenda aurea*. Reworked versions of this legend appear in later Spanish manuscript recensions: Escorial h-II-18 and Biblioteca Nacional 12689 (Compilation A); Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 and Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (Compilation B); and finally in Escorial h-I-14, which reworks its Compilation B original.[1] This chapter assesses the extent of the relationship between the legend of Cecilia as it features in Voragine's Latin in comparison with the Spanish reworkings in Compilations A, B, and the revision of Compilation B. Once more, particular attention will be paid to significant textual omissions, expansions, and modifications, concentrating uniquely on the most prominent disparities.

[1] Quotations from the Latin are taken from Graesse's edition of the *Legenda aurea* (1846: 771-77), while those in the Spanish derive from the critical editions of Compilations A, B, and the revision of B for the legend of Cecilia, as they feature in Chapter 8.

Compilation A

Omissions

Two main textual omissions appear in the Compilation A version of Cecilia. Whilst both texts distinguish between the celestial truth and that which is humanly perceived to be true, a lacuna truncates a large section of speech given by Tiburtius. Voragine reads

> Qui contemserunt illud, quod videtur esse et non est, et invenerunt illud, quod non videtur esse et est. Cui praefectus: quidnam est illud? Et Tiburtius: quod videtur esse et non est, est omne, quod in hoc mundo est, quod hominem ad non esse perducit; quod vero non videtur esse et est, est vita justorum et poena malorum. (744)

Compilation A reduces this to an abridgement of

> despreciaron lo q*ue* paresce ser e no*n* es, e fallaron lo q*ue* no*n* es visto del ojo corporal e es en verdad. (147-48)

In the Latin, Tiburtius attempts to clarify an originally ambiguous sentiment. That which seems to be in fact is not, and is thus considered as everything in the world which leads man into a state of nonbeing. Everything which is not seen to be by man, and actually is, constitutes the life of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked. The gradual progression of this argument is logical, although complex. In its written form, however, the mixture of binary opposites and juxtapositions of extremes is difficult to digest. The Spanish conveys the same message in fewer, more lucid, words.

A second omission is the dating of Cecilia's martyrdom. The Latin gives Cecilia's death as occurring circa 223, during the reign of Alexander, and notes other accounts that cite her death during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in approximately 220. The Spanish instead notes her martyrdom during the time of Alexander on 22 November 225. The later, more precise, date given in the Castilian version is more accurate than that offered in the original: 'E esta santa virgen fue martiriada en tienpo de Alexandre el enperador, a veynte e dos días del mes de novienbre, año del Señor de dozientos e veynte e cinco' (244-46). The greater accuracy given here would undoubtedly accord the account further authority, with the allusion to specific historicity further persuading an audience of the accuracy of the events in question. It would thus suggest that this account denotes reality and not fiction.[2] Compilation A alludes to Alexander although to no other accounts citing her death during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. This may be explained by the fact that one date alone may seem more convincing, to persuade an audience of the credibility of both legend and saint. Alternative dates or versions of events could prove overly confusing.

Additions

The main distinction between the Latin and the Compilation A version of the legend of Saint Cecilia appears in numerous textual expansions that demonstrate its particularly emphatic scriptural tone. In view of this, the intended audience was arguably different for the Latin and Castilian texts, as the emphasis on sanctity is more accentuated. Conversely, there are a greater number of expansions in relation to Cecilia's legend in contrast to that of Paula, the most

[2] Johann Peter Kirsch supports this dating of her martyrdom (1908).

evident disparity appearing in the allusions to sanctity. The Castilian contains heavy biblical embellishments with additional entire sections, both combining to reflect a consistent religious bias.

Cecilia, for example, declares that soldiers of Christ should renounce the works of darkness and instead put on the arms of light, expressed in the Latin as 'eia milites Christi […] et dum sacrificare nollent, pariter decollantur' (775), and in Compilation A as 'Ea, cavalleros de Jh*es*u *Christ*o […] e los carniceros cortáronles las cabeças' (183-88). The soldiers are rewarded for their faith by 'la corona de la vida' (186) given by the Judge of Justice. This crown is reminiscent of a prior reference to the angel offering two invisible crowns to Cecilia and Valerian. It also aptly reflects Cecilia's previous description of how Christ wore a crown of thorns to ensure others were free from pain. The crowns given by Christ to Cecilia and Valerian, a crown similar to his own, is now offered by the very same to his soldiers.

Christ in Compilation A is characterized as a 'Juez de Justicia' (186), the description capitalized in the manuscript twofold to highlight celestial authority. Cecilia describes how the latter will give the crown of (spiritual) life to Maximian, his entourage, and all those 'que aman su venida' (186-87). The coming of the Lord, in addition to being one of the most renowned sections of the Bible, further clarifies the reference to the 'Juez de Justicia' (186). Mortals are judged both at the gates of heaven and during their time on Earth in terms of their celestial worth. The individual can either be sent down or released as in a court of law. The incessant biblical references employed in the Spanish text are striking. The saintly brothers' refusal to sacrifice at the statue of Jupiter and subsequent decapitation in the Latin is accompanied in Compilation A by a drop to their knees during their beheading. Their change of physical status parallels a moment in which Saint Urban falls to his knees upon hearing

Cecilia's message at an earlier juncture in the text. These identical acts of prostration exemplify respect for God in an emulation of Christ's own stance on the cross.

The dating of Cecilia's martyrdom ends her legend in Voragine, whilst in Compilation A there is an additional colophon: 'Aquí acaba la estoria de la bienaventurada Santa Cecilia, a honrra e gloria de nuestro Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, el qual con el padre e con el Spíritu Santo vive e reyna por todos los siglos, amén' (252-54). Such a liturgically elaborate phrase is indicative of the likely destination for this text as being for oral delivery. This emphatic scriptural finish, reiterating the textual prominence of the power of the glory of Christ, together with the Holy Father and the Holy Spirit, reinforces the pertinence to an audience of respecting and following a religious lifestyle. The formulae employed in the closing lines of this legend can be seen frequently elsewhere in Compilation A and indeed in other types of discourse, for example in that of historiography. As an example of the former, the legends of Saints Agatha and Lucy in Compilation A conclude in a similar manner, as cited by Beresford in his critical editions of the two legends. Agatha reads: 'Aquý acaba la ystoria de la bie*n*aventurada Santa Ágata a onrra e gloria del N*uest*ro Rede*n*|tor, [fol. 175ra] el qual con el Padre e con el Sp*írit*u Santo bive p*ar*a syenp*re* un Dios. AMÉN' (2010: 190), and Lucy: 'Aquí acaba la vida de la bienaventurada Santa Lucía a honrra e gloria del N*uest*ro Salvador, el qual con el Padre e con el Sp*írit*u Sa*n*to bive e regna un Dios por todos los siglos. AMÉN' (2010: 197). The employment of such a structure may imply clerical composition, although not necessarily a clerical audience. The ending of this story is explicitly signposted. Saint Cecilia is once again qualified as 'bienaventurada' (252), and the narrator calls for recognition of this legend to be in the honour and glory of Christ. The closing 'amén' (254) relates the status of the legend to that of a prayer, with this final biblical emphasis respectfully

relaying the religious overtones prevalent throughout the Castilian legend. Saint Cecilia is here juxtaposed with the Holy Trinity, reiterating the powerful ties between her and the divine, rendering her memory worthy of the love of God. An identical formulaic construction appears in the final stages of Paula's legend. Such a parallel further reinforces the theory that Compilation A was arguably destined predominantly for oral delivery, especially when noting that hyperbolic religious endings are present in the Compilation A versions of both Cecilia and Paula, having been embellished in each case from the Latin.

The second most evident type of distinction is in narrative discourse, with the Castilian opting for excessive repetition and heavy-handed narration. Whilst both narratives are very similar, the Spanish verison is more descriptive, audience-friendly, explanatory, and reiterative to the point of being tautological, which suggest it was intended for oral delivery. The Castilian narrative is arguably destined for oral delivery, contrasting with the more formal and rigid structures of the Latin. The following distinction provides an example of this:

> Coronas habemus, quas tui oculi videre non praevalent, floreo colore et niveo candore vernantes, et sicut me interpellante odorem sensisti, sic et, si credideris, videre valebis. (773)
>
> Por el mi ruego mereciste se*n*tir aqueste olor, mas si creyeres merescerás ver con alegría las rosas e los lilios e entenderás cuya sangre floresce en las rosas e cuyo cuerpo resplandesce en los lilios, ca tenemos unas coronas que non pueden ver tus ojos que resplandescen por bermejura rosada e por blancura de nieve. (97-100)

The Castilian offers additional emphasis from the perspective of narration, despite the similarity of the expressive structures in each. The language in the Spanish is more elaborated,

with the most striking embellishment appearing, amongst others, in the relationship of the colours of the flowers to Christ himself. In Voragine this is only implicitly suggested. The significance of the body and blood of Christ in the Castilian is accentuated, with the blooming of each flower compared directly to the blooming of Christ.[3] The red of the rose is physically identified with the blood of Christ, and the white of the lily with his body, subsequently highlighting a powerful tie to the divine. The lily is a visually evocative symbol of the Virgin Mary, once more underlining the pertinence of virginity related to the flower.[4] Furthermore, the common juxtaposition of red and white expressly evokes traditional symbols of communion, reinforcing the scriptural overtones of the text. Every instance of this Castilian expression is deliberated over, emphasizing oral delivery.

A third distinction between the texts appears in the greater number of references to the sexual dimension of Cecilia's love for Christ in Compilation A. The guardianship provided for Cecilia by her family is not specified in the Latin, but described in great detail in the Castilian: 'E tan grande era la guarda de los padres e del esposo cerca della que non podía ella demostrar el ardor del su coraçón e declarar po*r* señales manifiestas que amava al solo Salvador' (18-20). Cecilia is unable to disclose her celestial love publically due to the proximity of her family members, who are so 'cerca della' (19). Their physical presence is overshadowed by the emotional and spiritual presence of Christ, expressly in her 'coraçón' (19). Cecilia's inability to demonstrate her celestial love in Compilation A, both physically and openly, is not present in Voragine's original. The Spanish scribe inserted this at his own

[3] Anke Bernau conversely refers to the plucking of the flower being comparable to the menace to a virgin's chastity (2007: 75 & 102).

[4] 'In the Middle Welsh Life of St Collen, the saint is given a lily by the pope which had previously regenerated from a withered stem in front of the pagans as proof that the Virgin had borne a son. The lily, used frequently as a symbol of Mary's purity and often depicted in medieval annunciation scenes, here furnishes miraculous confirmation of Mary's unique physical condition – pregnant but paradoxically still a virgin, fertile but untainted by original sin' (Cartwright 2003: 58).

discretion, potentially for reasons of religious prominence. By reiterating Cecilia's love for Christ and the manner in which she wishes to express this, the audience is reminded of the necessity of her religious sacrifice. They also bear witness to the distinction between the mortal and celestial love of the female protagonist.

Cecilia's fears before her wedding are expressed in the Latin as 'orans commendabat domino, quod timebat' (772). This expression is substantially embellished in the Castilian: 'encome*n*da*n*do al Señor lo que avía miedo de perder. E conbidava a los ángeles co*n* oraciones, e rogaba a los apóstole*s* con lágrimas, e suplicava a todos los moradores de la cibdad soberana que la ayudassen con sus ruegos e encomendassen su castidad a Dios del cielo' (23-26). The appearance of the compiler's additional comments in the latter text implies that whilst the Latin version suggests a direct petition being made to God, the Castilian also includes divine intercessors as figures to whom Cecilia's pleas are directed. She reaches even further into the divine realm in a bid to maintain her chastity, expressed in a manner which evokes far more emotion and passion in the Castilian. In Voragine, Cecilia entrusts her fears to God, whereas in the Spanish she explicitly conveys to God what she fears she could lose. 'Lo que avía miedo de perder' (23) evokes a loss further relating to the concept of sacrifice, potentially here the sacrifice of her virginity. In addition, the Castilian offers numerous heavenly references, appearing in Cecilia's invitation to the angels through prayer, pleading to the apostles through tears, and begging all inhabitants of the sovereign city to assist her. The employment of tautologous vocabulary such as 'rogaba', 'suplicava', and 'ruegos', evokes substantial passion and suggests desperation in Cecilia's plea for help. The phrase 'encomendassen su castidad a Dios del cielo' duplicates an earlier expression in Compilation A, reminding the audience of Christ's role as sole proprietor of the virginity of his handmaid.

In addition, the allusion to 'la cibdad soberana' (25) in the Castilian alone, denoting heaven as the sovereign city, potentially identifies the importance of religion in an expression with which the average layperson would identify.

Other Modifications

A few other modifications require comment. Rather than demonstrate any distinction in narration, however, these disparities show a different emphasis on sexuality. Cecilia pleads with Christ in the Latin to preserve her virginity, in 'suamque virginitatem conservari a domino exorabat' (771). The Castilian, however, replaces the verb of pleading with that of trust: 'encome*n*dando al señor su virginidad' (14-15). Compilation A evokes a closer bond between Christ and Cecilia, with Christ cast in the roles both of keeper and guardian of the precious commodity of Cecilia's virginity. Consequently, if only Christ can take Cecilia's virginity, albeit spiritually, he is recognized on some level as Cecilia's unique lover. Christ is often alluded to as Cecilia's guardian in Compilation A, as in the distinction between 'amatorem' (772) and 'guardador' (29). Although a more specific connotation of lover is evoked in the former, the role of guardian could be sexual whilst further suggesting a figure with the saint's best interests at heart, one concerned with both moral and celestial guidance. These characteristics would be sought by a medieval audience in their own quest for God. Compilation A also consistently exhibits more elevated sexual overtones. 'Per virginitatis pudorem' (771) in Voragine is conveyed in Compilation A as 'castidad de la virginidad' (2). Modesty does not necessarily imply a certain choice in virginity, whereas chastity evokes

complete sexual abstinence from the outset. This abstinence is more prevalent in the Castilian.[5]

In addition to these alterations, one significant structural discrepancy in terms of textual displacement occurs between the two versions. At an early juncture Voragine attests to a preface written by Ambrose, testifying to a certain miracle of the crowns: 'Huic miraculo de coronis rosarum Ambrosius attestatur in praefatione sic dicens […] Haec Ambrosius' (773). A similar account occurs later in Compilation A: 'E de aquesta santa virgen dize el bienaventurado Sant Anbrosio en el prefacio […] el poder de la devoción de la castidad' (246-51). Whilst this displacement could be due to a temporary partial loss of the original Latin manuscript at the moment of transcription, it is more likely that the scribe chose to include this in his Spanish version at a later juncture. The preface briefly summarizes the main points of Cecilia's legend, which is perhaps why the Spanish scribe included it after the death of the saint. In addition, the Castilian version of the account of Ambrose places more overall emphasis on the overtones of sanctity. Voragine alludes only to the miracle of the crowns of roses, whilst Compilation A refers more generally to the entirety of the tale stated. It evokes the extent of both Cecilia's charity and sexuality, as is emphasized throughout the Castilian.

A combination of this extensive emphasis, as well as the scribe's decision to recapitulate upon events in Cecilia's legend, further stresses the saint's portrayal as a figure to be both admired and emulated, as well as perhaps one with which the Spanish audience would more readily identify. The facts of the legend in the Castilian do not need to be excessively repeated: more emphasis needs to be placed on Cecilia's saintly character. Historical background and arguably unnecessary repetition of the individual facts of Cecilia's life are

[5] See also Michel Foucault (1981) and Simon Goldhill (1995).

prioritized under her depiction as a pure, chaste, and devout female. The latter traits are those which should ultimately be remembered by the listener and should also prove to be those which an audience member intends to emulate in their own actions. The Castilian omits on two seperate occasions superfluous information originally found in the Latin, content which is deemed unnecessary in such an extensive format. This in turn facilitates audience comprehension. Furthermore, additions and alterations made in Compilation A both enhance the sexual relationship between Cecilia and Christ and ensure a greater variety of scriptural allusions, to reiterate the significance of religion to the audience. The decision to opt for more heavy-handed narration in the Castilian as opposed to that encountered in the Latin further attests to the supposed oral delivery of the former. The text is rendered more audience-friendly due to the more proximate relationship established between narrator and audience.

Compilation B

Omissions

Textual omissions provide the greatest disparity between the Cecilia texts as three extensive sections of the legend are not recorded during textual transmission. This may be the result of human error: however, the more likely scenario is that the scribe made a deliberate choice as to which parts of the legend he wanted to keep. Broad patterns of consistency suggest a process of selection and design, with the aim of the text and designated audience continuously in mind.

The most extensive omission appears in the introductory etymology, outlining the meaning of Cecilia's name and her spiritual qualities (771). Unlike the Compilation A manuscripts, the incipit in Compilation B is omitted on translation from the Latin, perhaps due to its highly abstract nature and notable dissociation from the remaining events in the legend. From the perspective of audience interest, actions and emotions are more significant. The incipit could also be seen as excessively dull and long-winded, which would also account for its absence in the Castilian, especially when destined for a non-erudite audience. The omission of Cecilia's spiritual qualities shows the Spanish to be more audience-friendly, accessible to the average lay person in its focus on the prevalent aspects of the legend. The Latin preface given by Ambrose (773) is also absent from Compilation B.[6] Although this provides a summary of the events to date from an external perspective, the audience has nevertheless previously been informed of these. Repetition runs the risk of the tale becoming stagnant. The action is thus more notable in the Castilian.

The final textual omission from Compilation B appears at the end of Voragine, in the dating of Cecilia's martyrdom:

> Passa est autem circa annos domini CC et XXIII tempore Alexandri imperatoris. Alibi autem legitur, quod passa sit tempore Marci Aurelii, qui imperavit circa annos domini CCXX. (777)

These numerous figures and pieces of historical information are of considerably less interest to a Spanish lay audience, in that they depreciate the intrigue of the text. Captivation from the

[6] It is debatable as to why a summary of Cecilia's legend in Compilation A, as it features in the account of Ambrose, is included, when the facts are made overtly clear from a mere reading of the legend itself. An additional summary of events may seem, to some, somewhat superfluous. The inclusion of Ambrose's account in Compilation A could arguably work in a similar format to the inclusion of Jerome's narrative account. Following this line of argument, it is possible that the audience needed a figure of male *auctoritas* to guarantee the veracity of those accounts recounted, in turn promoting the reliability and veritable account of this female saint.

point of view of action and intrigue facilitates audience comprehension of the significance of emulation of these saintly acts, as well as of inherent morals in the tale. An omission of specific information of this nature has the potential to render the text more universal, the moral stance taken thus applicable to a number of hagiographic legends. Time becomes irrelevant and not merely restricted to one particular instance or saint. In terms of narrative closure and textual effect on an audience, the Castilian legend is more dramatic than the Latin original, as the former concentrates predominantly on narrative technique, audience acceptance, and understanding of the principal saintly acts discussed. Any factual and historical information would detract from an explosive ending and dampen the intended effect on an audience.

The remaining omissions are questions of narrative emphasis. Minor pieces of superfluous information are frequently omitted in the Spanish, presumably for the purpose of brevity and maintenance of audience interest. Whereas the Latin tends to glorify its narration, deliberating over every instance of description (as is the case in Compilation A), Compilation B conversely keeps its narration to a bare minimum. The narration renders the speech easier to follow from an oral perspective. The section in Voragine reading 'Qui contemserunt illud, quod videtur esse et non est, et invenerunt illud, quod non videtur esse et est. Qui praefectus: quidnam est illud? Et Tiburtius: quod videtur esse et non est, est omne, quod in hoc mundo est' (774) is reduced in Compilation B to 'e despreciaro*n* esto q*ue* paresce q*ue* es bien e no es assí. Ca aq*ue*sto q*ue* paresce en este mu*n*do no*n* es' (90-91). Such a simplification is both comprehendible and to be expected, in view of the complexity of the original argument. Taking into consideration that the Castilian legend was most probably destined for a populist audience, the latter would find considerable difficulty in following such a complicated flow of ideas, which explains the substantial simplification (as is the case in Compilation A). Attempts

to reconstruct this confusing exchange word for word may risk losing audience interest. This accounts for the scribe's simplification of the conversation whilst maintaining the integral message to be delivered as much as possible: what appears to be is not, and what does not appear actually is. Expressions such as this are frequently simplified, possibly to aid the flow of narration and avoid unnecessary complexities, tautology, and redundant contextual information.

Additions

Additions appearing in Compilation B appear regularly and demonstrate a shift towards increased emphasis in explanatory narration, which renders it more audience-friendly. Voragine's title 'De sancta Caecilia' (771) becomes additionally in the incipit 'La fiesta de S*an*ta Cecilia q*ue* es XXII e dos días de novie*n*bre'. Only in the later Castilian is this tale accredited with the description of a feast, together with immediate dating of the saint's martyrdom. The dating in Voragine is given instead posthumously, as is traditional in Latin hagiography. An immediate allusion to the saint's feast day draws attention to Cecilia's sanctity through remembrance of her sacrifice and charitable acts. Further disparities demonstrate a similar shift in narrative emphasis. Through deliberate simplification of an already comprehensible narrative, the Spanish audience understands to an arguably greater degree than the Latin every aspect of the narrative delivery. Cecilia speaks to her husband in 'et ita eum alioquitur' (772), whereas the manner of her speech is highlighted in Compilation B's 'e ella co*n* blandas palabras fabló con él' (10). Description of the nature of the speech between the two spouses potentially renders the situation more credible in the Castilian, one

with which the audience could identify to a greater extent, and certainly one more interesting and appealing from an oral pespective. Further allusions to particular sentiments and actions in Compilation B offer heightened realism and identification with various characters.

Frequent repetition of superfluous information also produces an effect of specific clarification through emphasis. 'Tu saltem poteris sapienter dare responsum' (774) is given extra, almost tautologous emphasis, in 'puedes me dar mejor repuesta e más con razó*n*' (94). This repetition assists in making the delivery of the legend significantly easier to follow. In addition, singular adjectives and nouns in Voragine are frequently doubled in the Castilian to emphasize any binary distinctions already prevalent in the Latin. The extension found in the doublet of 'qui videbantur urbant' (775) to 'los q*ue* semejavan corteses e enseñados' (99), for example, ensures greater clarity in the distinction between the labourers and the idle in Valerian's speech.

Speech is also rendered more personal as a result of textual reworking. As an example, 'si vis, ut credam tibi' (772) becomes 'Si q*ui*eres q*ue* te crea esso q*ue* tú dizes' (18-19). The impersonal angel in the Latin is more explicitly an angel seen by Cecilia in the Castilian. A similar contrast occurs between 'quod angelus sit' (772) and 'q*ue* es ángel así como tú dizes' (19). This angel has a more prominent connection and direct relationship to Cecilia in Compilation B, a relationship made considerably less explicit in the original Latin. Heightening of the relationship between the messenger of Christ and his saint also ensues in a more forceful emphasis on Cecilia's sanctity. The second person singular is also signalled at another juncture in the Castilian. The non-specific 'ignoras, quia vivificandi et mortificandi mihi tradita est potestas?' (776) becomes visibly more personal in Compilation B's '¿No*n* sabes q*ue* yo te puedo dar muerte o vida?' (143) The prefect's ability to give to or take life

from any mortal is explained more specifically as his ability to give to or take life from Cecilia. The threat in the later version is more imminent and personal, visibly directed towards the female protagonist. The impending threat of Cecilia's own death is thus accentuated in Compilation B, signalling the imminence of the death of the saintly protagonist to an attentive audience.

Other Modifications

Any modifications made are few and far between. The narration appeals further to the audience through occasionally simplified language and further accreditation of emotions to characters in Compilation B. As an example, Valerian risks losing the flower of his youth if he does not love Cecilia sincerely: this flower described as 'gratissimae' (772) in the Latin but as one 'q*ue* tú mucho amas' (16) in Compilation B. Heightened emotion on behalf of the male protagonist is highlighted in the Castilian, arguably underlining the subjective element of reality and emphasizing what Valerian would have to sacrifice should he not treat his wife respectfully. Similarly, the Latin expression 'nutu Dei correctus' (772) is modified to a more personal 'tremie*n*do porq*ue* lo q*ue*ría Dios' (18). The distinction between being guided by the will of God and fearing the reason for his calling displays a differing attitude towards God as a figure. The former exhibits the role of a helper, the later the role of authority. The sentiments of the male mortal subsequently differ between guidance and fear. The evocation of God as a figure to be both respected and feared may in turn impact upon the audience, obliging them to reconsider their own actions in view of possible celestial repercussions.

Elsewhere, disparate expressions are favoured in the Castilian. The faces of the angels in 'vultus' (773) in Voragine are instead their 'coronas' (61) in Compilation B. The concept of the crown, rather than the face, is more identifiable with the crown of martyrdom, thus juxtaposing the angels with Christ, Cecilia, and the brothers. From a religious perspective, therefore, the Castilian concentrates further on the elements of martyrdom and sacrifice. Cecilia's 'fide non ficta' (776) becomes instead her 'fe sin infinta' (142-43). True faith is comparable to infinite faith. Although the terms are mutually complementary, the Castilian consciously employs different vocabulary from the Latin to emphasize the continual devotion of the saint and increase her virtuosity from the perspective of an audience.

An additional disparity occurs in the discrepancy between the Latin 'ut nos tuae beatitudini' (777) and the Spanish 'a aq*ue*stos a la tu s*an*tidat' (164). Voragine explains Cecilia's request that Urban might commend her and her companions to his beatitude. The recipient of this action is dissimilar in Compilation B: Cecilia asks for 'aq*ue*stos' to be commended to his blessedness. She is not explicitly included in this request. On the one hand, her inclusion would enable the audience to recognize her saintly virtues along with those of her brothers and all other religious devotees. Conversely, through self-exclusion, Cecilia may already know of her celestial acceptance, thus not requiring Urban's beatitude. The latter scenario arguably heightens her spiritual hierarchy. A third option could be, of course, that this discrepancy is the result of scribal error, which is certainly feasible.

The revision of Compilation B

Omissions

The manuscript in the later revision, Escorial h-I-14, is based upon a reworking of the Compilation B manuscripts, whereas Compilations A and B are derived from the Latin original. A sustantial omission in the revision of Compilation B highlights the greater number of biblical references found in both the Latin and Compilation B. Valerian speaks to Urban in each text, informing him of Cecilia's words, however only in Voragine and Compilation B are the reactions of the bishop noted:

> E dizié*n*dol todas las palabras de Cecilia, alça*n*do las manos al cielo, dixo llora*n*do: "Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, senbrador de consejo casto, rescibe los fructos de la*s* simie*n*tes q*ue* senbreste en Cecilia. Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, bue*n* pastor, Cecilia la tu vasalla sirve a ti bie*n* como abeja, e al su esposo, q*ue* era como leó*n* cruel, enviólo a ti bie*n* como cordero ma*n*so" (Compilation B : 27-31)

> E dizie*n*do todas las palabras q*ue* Cecilia le dixo, vasalla e sirviente de Jh*es*u *Christ*o, así como abeja, e a el esposo, q*ue* era bie*n* como leó*n* cruel, enbióle así como a cordero (revision of Compilation B: 24-26)

Direct speech is transformed to reported, and expression becomes greatly reduced. Urban in the original Castilian raises his hands heavenwards whilst weeping, and through direct address to Christ he evokes the latter as a sower of chaste counsel and a good shepherd, having sown

his seed in Cecilia.[7] The imagery is visually striking, the concepts of fertility and prostration bringing Urban and Cecilia closer to Christ. However, the speech does not arguably contribute much to the unfolding action, and so perhaps for reasons of brevity and audience interest this section has been omitted from the revision of Compilation B. The latter is presented as a text which has been condensed to an even greater degree than its Spanish predecessors. The information given in the later Castilian version appears more overtly factual, omitting any superfluous narrative elements which arguably do not contribute to a succinct conveying of the principal message of Cecilia's legend.

Another prominent shift in emphasis concerns sanctity. Scriptural references are more prominent in Compilation B, with the manuscript revision frequently producing a more concise text, albeit complete with the majority of the religious allusions in the original. For example, 'E de peq*ue*ñuela fue c*ri*ada en la fe de Jh*es*u *Christ*o, e sie*n*pre trayé el eva*nge*lio de Jh*es*u *Christ*o en su seno escondido' (1-3) is shortened to 'E peq*ue*ñuela fue c*ri*ada en la fe de Jh*es*u *Christ*o' (1-2). The latter contains no allusion to Cecilia's constant carrying of the Holy Scriptures against her bosom, thus reducing the impact of the intensity of her faith from an early age.[8] In addition, Valerian's declaration to Almachius that he and his peers will have to justify themselves to an even greater extent than others on the day of judgement, in 'e sodes

[7] The evocation of the seed and the sowing of it, juxtaposed with both the fecundity of the land and the female, appear frequently throughout many forms of literature. As an example, Joaquim of Fiore's mission provides a similar relationship between the sowing of the land and the woman to that visible in Cecilia's legend: 'The image of planting recalled Joachim's mission in Calabria, a formerly sterile land. The very wording "semen sanctum … seminatum" [Joachim of Fiore, *Liber concordie*] carried forward his image of fertilization that was begun with the image of "concubitus Rachel amplexus in propagatione seminis" and also presented more spiritually in the symbol of the Annunciation in Nazareth' (Wessley 1995: 173).

[8] As mentioned in the proceeding chapter, this image is visually evocative of an erotic element, present in the Latin original and in both Compilations A and B. The bosom and devotion to faith are expressly juxtaposed, blurring the lines between devoted religious love and a love which could be interpreted as something altogether more sexual.

tenudos de dar mayor razó*n* a Dios q*ue* los ot*ro*s' (105), is completely absent from the revision, as it has no bearing on the events in hand.

The remaining omissions can be classified according to scriptural and narrative emphasis. One prominent disparity is that the narrative element is less extensive and emphatic in the revision of Compilation B. Minor descriptions are omitted in the latter, presumably for the purpose of brevity. The delivery of information is generally simplified in the later legend, in all probability to enhance understanding from the perspective of the lay audience member. Tautologous information in Compilation B is frequently omitted from the revision, as can be seen in the disparity between 'e si lo provares q*ue* es ángel así como tú dizes' (19) and 'e si lo provares q*ue* es el ángel' (16). Similarly, the phrase 'Fasta agora fuemos en sueños, mas agora somos en v*er*dat' (54) becomes a more reduced 'Fasta agora somos en verdat' (49). The more succinct and later Castilian version avoids futile repetition wherever possible, as well as personal opinion and descriptive language. The language in the revision is frequently rendered less complex and more accessible from the perspective of the audience than in the original, for the purposes of contextual simplification

Additions

Some additions appear in the second half of Escorial h-I-14. Occasional clauses are added, providing a minor contrast to the numerous instances of textual omission. For example, 'E por ende S*an*ta Cecilia llamó' (120) is extended to 'e por ende en *e*l alva Cecilia llamó' (111), and similarly 'E forçá*n*dola los sayones q*ua*nto a esto' (130) is later given more specifically as 'e

ella no*n* q*ue*riendo, mandó a los sayones q*ue* la enforçasen' (121).[9] Whereas the extensive number of omissions could suggest that the revision was not designed to be read aloud due to a lack of narrative interjection, these additions could potentially suggest otherwise. However, as the latter are minuscule, the distinction between the two Spanish texts is arguably insignificant, and the question of narrative emphasis could be mere scribal prerogative. The latter could omit and add description as he saw fit.

Other Modifications

The alterations are similar in number to those incurred through textual omission. The dating in the incipit of Compilation B's 'La fiesta de S*an*ta Cecilia q*ue* es XXII e dos días de novie*n*bre' is simplified to 'Capítulo cie*n*to e q*ua*renta e cinco de la vida de Santa Cecilia' (incipit). This potentially denotes the use of the text in the manuscript revision as pertaining to a different context to that in the original Compilation. The system of numbering shows that this chapter features as part of a selection (however this was most probably the case for Compilation B also). The omission of the dating of the martyrdom in the revision's incipit, however, once again detracts religious emphasis away from the latter text, when compared with the original. 'E sintie*n*do muy gra*n*d olor de rosas' (47-48) in the original Castilian is changed through an alteration in infinitive in the manuscript revision to 'e esta*n*do muy grande olor de rosas' (42-43), and as such the meaning of the expression alters slightly. The senses are heightened in the earlier version, emphasizing the impact that these flowers would have had on Tiburtius. The

[9] It is intriguing to note that the revision includes an allusion to the dawn imagery which so often appears in the lyric tradition. The evocation of dawn is used to denote the meeting of lovers. The reasoning for this inclusion is not immediately apparent, and may be a question of mere scribal prerogative.

imagery and textual diffusion of the senses is perhaps not as important in the manuscript revision, which could be why the verb has been replaced.

An additional marked alteration between the two texts appears in the distinction between 'E dixiero*n* ellos: "Si p*ro*metieses q*ue* creeries en Dios, vieries la gl*or*ia de las n*uest*ras almas después de la n*uest*ra muerte"' (115-16) and 'E díxole Valeriano: "Si nos prometieses q*ue* creyeses en Dios, veries la gl*or*ia de las almas después de tu muerte"' (106-07). Not only has the perspective of the speech changed, from a third person plural to Valerian himself, the delegation of the souls has altered also. The souls in the original Castilian pertain to the saintly brothers, stressing their own imminent death and subsequent rising of their souls due to their charitable good works on Earth. The revision modifies this to a vision of souls occurring after Maximian's death, which detracts emphasis away from the death of the brothers and the rewards awaiting them in the celestial life. The reason for this is not imminently apparent, and can most probably be justified by scribal error.

Cecilia kisses Tiburtius' chest upon his recognition of the faith in Compilation B, in 'Esto*n*ce Cecilia, besándol en los pechos' (58-59). The part of Tiburtius' body described in the Castilian revision, however, is discordantly 'los pies' (54). Whilst this modification could be the result of a mere error in translation, the concept of the chest (and perhaps, by connotation, bosom) is indeed more powerful than the feet from the point of view of sanctity. One could argue that as Christ kissed the feet of many, the Castilian shows Cecilia to be emulating his actions.[10] On the other hand, an earlier reference featuring in the Latin, Compilation A, and Compilation B to Cecilia carrying the Holy Scriptures against her bosom from an early age, juxtaposed with the image of her kissing her brother-in-law's bosom, may hold some

[10] 'Saint Elizabeth washes the feet of the poor, Mary Magdalene welcomes Christ and expresses deep emotion in kissing his feet' (Bedos-Rezak 1990: 9)

significance also. Without concrete evidence for this discrepancy, theories may only be posited. Alterations between the versions exhibit a shift in emphasis in terms of linguistic complexity, scriptural perspective, narrative choice, and, particularly for those alterations proving to be less significant, potentially a product of human error.

Conclusion

A significant difference in audience can be established between the four versions of the legend of Cecilia. With the Latin, the audience was arguably of a monastic or highly religious nature and sufficiently educated in the reading of Latin. The purpose of the *Legenda aurea* was believed to have been to read at the educated individual's discretion. The constructions found within the Latin support this, indicated by the inclusion of numerous factual passages and refined religious vocabulary, also indicative of the fact that the reader would inevitably be educated to at least a reasonable degree in the reading of Latin. The purpose of the Compilation A texts differs from that of the Latin, to be used principally as moralizing sermon material to be read aloud. Listeners could reap significant lessons from the various legends to try and enhance their own virtuosity through emulation of the actions of the saint. Numerous instances support this distinction. Superfluous information which may not enhance any religious or moralistic message is omitted in the Castilian; Compilation A includes a more simplified system of narration and a selection of minor details not originally found in the Latin; and Compilation A also features a vast number of religious embellishments. Such a conclusion serves to reiterate what is deduced in relation to Paula in Compilation A. The legends of both Paula and Cecilia in this Castilian version prove nearly identical in their

employment of scriptural embellishments, a less complicated framework of narration and occasional scribal prerogative, compared to the original Latin.

Despite the appearance of occasional religious and narrative expansions, the instances of omissions in Compilation B appear more frequently, for the legends of both Cecilia and Paula. These ensure greater fluency in oral narration and frequent avoidance of repetition, facilitating audience comprehension, which hints in turn at a less educated lay audience. It is evident from these findings that the main target audience for Compilation A was clerical, whilst Compilation was further designed to be heard by a lay audience, the latter inevitably being less erudite than that of Compilation A. Despite these omissions, both Compilation B and its revision provide a closer version to the Latin legend of Cecilia than the text in Compilation A. The former remain more faithful from the perspectives of context and expression.

6

Cecilia: Virtuous Widowed Martyr

Virginity, Sexuality, and Marriage

The etymological introduction to the legend of Cecilia in Compilation A provides an apt beginning to her life, with the expression 'lilio del cielo' (1 & 2) immediately depicting her as a lily of heaven.[1] The relevance of both her flower-like grace and purity are instantly signalled. The lily was a significant flower for Christians: it suggested both purity and virginity, whilst being assimilated to the Virgin Mary. The lily is also considered an emblem of summer and plenitude, inextricably linked therefore with the blossoming of Cecilia's virginity and the abundance of her chastity. Godliness and purity are consistently underlined.[2] In both pagan and Christian tradition the lily was a symbol of fertility. Furthermore, in Greek poetry, the lily stood for tenderness; in Greek myth, the lily was understood as being born from the milk of the goddess Hera. Just as flowers blossom and become more beautiful, the same is applicable to virginity. Conversely, the threat of withering is ever present, with the fragility and preciousness of each highlighted. For Cecilia, the celestial flower is juxtaposed by divine purity and virginity. A flower which symbolizes innocence is further elevated spiritually with the evocation of heaven: 'Fragrant flowers and odours were generally accepted as signs of virtue and grace, sometimes considered a foretaste of Paradise' (Woolgar 2006: 120). Cecilia's

[1] All references cited in Spanish will henceforth be taken from the Compilation A edition, as featured in Chapter 8. This lengthy incipit has been omitted from Compilation B and its revision, which instead delve straight into Cecilia's life. Comparisons are made between the Latin and Compilation A here as the Castilian edition provides a closer reading to the original.

[2] See also Innes & Perry 1997.

floral characterization reflects her intense cleanliness and modest virginity; she has been unspoilt by human interference. The extent of her cleanliness is such that she is literally shining, physically demonstrative of her purity. Her cleanliness within is reflected on the outside, denoting the relevance in distinction between her inner *meollo*, or soul, and outer *corteza*, or shell. The shell here denotes Cecilia's body, a mere physical outer casing of a pure and inner spirit. A clear conscience or state of mind reflects spiritual purity.

Numerous references are made in the etymology regarding the senses. The name *Cecilia* itself is described textually as deriving from 'ajena de ceguedad' (1-2), a term indicative of lacking in blindness. Furthermore, Cecilia is a 'carrera a los ciegos' (1), a road for the blind. In each depiction, she is the antithesis of blindness. Conversely, she has the capacity to lead others in the ways of the faith. She can see and understand the divine truth, acting as the spiritual sight for those initially incapable of so doing. Furthermore regarding the appearance of the senses, reference is given to the 'olor de [su] fama buena' (3), highlighting an example of a further sense affected by her purity. Her senses feature in conjunction with explanations of her renowned good deeds.

Following the hyperbolic religious incipit, Cecilia is at once illustriously depicted as a 'virgen' (12). Both her noble lineage and chaste status are emphasized at this point in the text. Through incessant and devoted prayer, having commenced her faith at a young age, Cecilia pleads with God to maintain her virginity. This request for outside assistance is comprehensible in view of the temptation which continually presents itself, to both her and to other female virgin martyrs. The allusion to the preservation of her virginity explains how the virginal state of Cecilia was already inherent and unspoilt. From the very beginning of Cecilia's legend, and thus by implication her life, virginity is an integral part of her existence.

Her chastity proves essential in the maintenance of her saintly status, and she must remain a virgin until she marries.[3]

Wherever she goes, Cecilia carries her gospel next to her heart or chest. The Scriptures appear next to 'sus pechos ascondido' (13) in Compilation A and positioned in 'su seno escondido' (3) in Compilation B. The heart, bosom, or *coraçón* denotes the most sacred positioning of the Gospel. Christ is always physically and spiritually proximate to Cecilia's heart. The relationship between Christ and Cecilia is subsequently sexualized. He is at once a spiritual, emotional, and sexualized lover. The further reference to these Scriptures being carried in a manner 'ascondido' highlights an element of secrecy found within all of the widow legends. The female protagonist is often obliged to carry out her religious inclinations, at least at an initial stage in the marriage, in a secret manner, for fear of upsetting either her family or new mortal spouse. As suggested later, this heightened notion of privacy could equate to the hiding of a secret, and here, a celestial love affair. Cecilia's plea to Christ for assistance in preserving her virginity may suggest not only that is she discovering difficulties in her pursuit of religion, but perhaps that she is faced also with acts of temptation. She remains, in part, dependent on Christ at this early stage. Cecilia 'fue desposada' (15) to Valerian, the passive construction of the verb implying that this marriage arrangement went beyond Cecilia's control, as were most marriages for young women in the Middle Ages. Traditionally, the decision was taken by another member of the family, usually the patriarchal figure.[4] For Cecilia, the wedding day has been set and the marriage confirmed.

[3] The virtue of chastity has been broken only in a minority of saintly legends in the compilation, either through an illicit union outside of wedlock or due to a procreative duty on behalf of the wife. In each scenario this sin is soon atoned for through subsequent excessive charitable and spiritual acts by the saint in question.

[4] 'Early modern law stated that daughters could not be forced to marry against their will, but in practice parents often dictated the choice of partner for their daughters' (Vollendorf 2004: 3). See also Ariès: 'in actual fact the commonest sort of marriage was one negotiated by the families' (1985: 150).

The musical instruments in 'los órganos e los otros i*n*strume*n*tos' (20-21) resounding on Cecilia's wedding day demonstrate a celestial harmony. The playing of music supposedly indicating a union between the two mortal protagonists is paradoxically demonstrative of how Cecilia is growing closer to Christ. Many attitudes in the late Middle Ages were driven towards the assumption that the flesh was the instrument of salvation, the term instrument being used in multiple senses. For example, it could be that of a musical instrument, an instrument of torture, or a kitchen implement. The musical instruments denoted in the legend are juxtaposed with the instruments of torture later used on Cecilia, namely the bath and decapitating sword. The widow herself becomes an instrument of salvation at the time of her martyrdom. Harmony is juxtaposed to disharmony, its binary opposite. Various religious women spoke of striking music from their flesh, through forms of extreme asceticism such as self-mutilation. Music could potentially, therefore, denote a manner of identification with the suffering of Christ, in an attempt by the saintly protagonist to become closer to him (Bynum 1995: 15). It incites the notion of harmony, here both religious and sexual. Two different types of marriage are mentioned in the text. The traditional public organ music, playing during the wedding ceremony, contrasts the private accompaniment of music in Cecilia's heart, from where she 'cantava […] a solo Dios' (21).[5] The singing 'en su coraçón' (21) parallels her heart-felt devotion for the passion of Christ, evoking a private and personal conversation between them. The act of music expresses love; the personal element of Cecilia's singing reinforces the pertinence and privacy of her devotion. Through the act of singing, and in view of the fact that this music is personal and only for God, Cecilia declares her own love for the divine, just as the organ celebrates the public love of the mortal union. The reinforcement of

[5] C. M. Woolgar points out that 'prayer was addressed not with a bodily voice, but with the speech of the heart' (2006: 90). In addition, David Martin also discusses the spiritual effects of music (1980: 133-40), asserting that 'music, nature and religion were all sides of the same pyramid, reaching up to the same apex' (140).

the noun 'coraçón' could in turn take emphasis away from Cecilia's intellectual capacities. The physical aspect of this love is debatably rendered more sexual and more prominent than emotional. The remainder of the account, however, assures the reader of the importance of Cecilia's thoughts and cognitive abilities. Music had the capacity to bind body and soul, and create harmony. It possessed a powerful secular sense, perfect in a setting for the word of God (Woolgar 2006: 64 & 81).

Cecilia follows this with a further prayer of request to remain unspoilt, in both heart and body. Neither must be touched for her virginity to remain intact. Any temptation would result in confusion, the term 'co*n*fondida' (22) equally applicable to the notion of purity, sight, knowledge, reason, clarity, or all of the above.[6] Sexual temptation could suggest a loss of reason or clarity, which explains the employment of the term of confoundedness. As Cecilia remains untouched she can see and understand everything perfectly: proof indeed that 'a good wife or chaste widow was the spiritual equal of a virgin' (Atkinson 1991: 180). The reader perceives an accumulation of different forms of Cecilia begging in desperation for God's help on the difficult occasion of her wedding night. During this time she will be exposed to the greatest levels of temptation due to the tradition of marriage being consummated on the wedding night itself. This justifies Cecilia's preoccupation with retaining her virginity.

The couple now officially married, both Cecilia and her spouse go to the wedding 'cámara' (26), a room traditionally used in preparation for the impending conjugal union.[7] Cecilia uses this setting of the wedding chamber to speak of her true love, Christ. Her conjugal union is destined to be with him, not with Valerian. Despite their married status, Cecilia's

[6] 'Clarity is a virtue when it comes to the expression of knowledge' (Stiver 1996: 11).

[7] A similar situation can be encountered in the life of the Anglo-Saxon Christina of Markyate. Whilst the legends do not have the same endings, Christina and her husband find themselves in a parallel situation to Cecilia and Valerian, in Christina's persuasive attempt at maintaining mutual chastity in marriage. The legend even cites Cecilia and her husband as model examples to follow (McCarthy 2004: 135-37). The typology here is evident.

priorities still lie with her celestial spouse.[8] Cecilia speaks first: the immediate voicing of her beliefs is indicative of her power, which is over and above that of Valerian. He remains silent, dominated by her voice and mind. Her address to him is positive, understanding, and almost affectionate. 'O mancebo muy dulce e amable' (27) demonstrates that whilst Cecilia is unable to articulate the name of her husband at this point (potentially rendering this situation too personal), she does feel affection for him. Anonymity at this juncture ensures that she retains a certain distance from her mortal spouse. Whilst the term 'mancebo' in itself implies youth, the recent nuptials could be indicative of the end of youth and innocence.[9]

Cecilia admits that she possesses a certain 'secreto' (27) which she wishes to confess to Valerian.[10] Knowledge equals power, elevating Cecilia to the more powerful of the two characters, presenting an evident inversion of the traditional norms. The disclosure of this secret could be comparable to the confession of Cecilia's sins. An initial interpretation may be that Cecilia is having an affair to which she wishes to admit (regarding her lover, Christ). A second interpretation is one more appropriate to an ecclesiastical setting, similar to a confession of one's sins to a preacher or to God. Perhaps Cecilia's marriage to a mortal could be in itself deemed sinful, as an act requiring redemption and forgiveness from God. Cecilia

[8] 'Augustin expliquait que le Christ pouvait même avoir été choisi en premier et avoir été l'époux spirituel de celle qui avait aussi un époux terrestre' (Parisse 1993: 10).

[9] An allusion to the concept of youth is also evident in the expression 'flor purpurada de mancebía' (174), occurring at a later instance in Compilation A.

[10] A similar situation can be seen in the life of Melania the Younger. Despite Melania having borne two children, and thus in this respect remaining distinct from Cecilia's chaste status, the setting contains some striking parallels: 'On their wedding day, she said to her husband: "If you wish, my lord, to practice chastity with me and live with me under the law of continence, I will recognize you as lord and master of my whole life; but if that seems too heavy, if you cannot support the ardor of youth, here are all my goods at your feet to use, as master, however you will. Only free my body, so that I may present it with my soul unblemished to Christ on the redoubtable day."' (McNamara 1976: 150). Dyan Elliott refers to the case of Melania the Younger and her husband Valerius Pinian, as a marriage whereby the wife managed to persuade her husband to a life of religious chastity (1993: 52). The couple thus strongly parallel Cecilia and Valerian. 'Moreover, Cecilia, like Melania, becomes the dominant party in the marriage and the missionizing nucleus for the community' (Elliott 1993: 65).

will only divulge her secret to Valerian should he vow confidentiality. She is in control, able to place conditions on the diffusion of her knowledge. Valerian swears to keep her secret, his vow of confidence declared linguistically through the use of tautology: 'E juróle Valeriano que lo guardaría e non lo descobriría' (28-29). Nothing will lead him to betray this secret, as he is fully aware of its significance. Conversely, the apparent privacy of Cecilia's celestial relationship is put into question, with the discretion of her secret indicative of this being something to be kept away from public ears. Cecilia and Christ are almost cast in the light of adulterous lovers, as a couple maintaining a secret affair. As notes Elliott: 'Secrecy was an essential element in most narratives treating spiritual marriage, and practical considerations reinforce natural discretion' (1993: 62; see also McNeill & Gamer 1938: 28). An additional argument could be that Valerian believed that Cecilia's allusion to her secret was one of sexual innuendo, the secret itself denoting a type of sexual foreplay. She would perhaps share her secret with him as she would her body and her wedding bed. The imagery posited here in this conversation is multifaceted.

Cecilia has a 'guardador' (29) in Compilation A, although more specifically an 'amador' (14) in Compilation B. The latter term carries with it extensive sexual connotations. The figure is specified as being an angel of God sent from heaven. The sexual espionage of the angel of Cecilia is brought to the reader's attention. He is depicted as watching over Cecilia 'con ta*n* grand selo' (30) that no other mortal is able to touch her, at least not with 'amor ajeno de linpieza' (31). He is the guardian of both her body and soul, rendering her impenetrable to any other. The reader is invited to consider the role of the Angel Gabriel, who delivered news to the Virgin Mary during the Annunciation, of the sowing of God's seed in the Virgin. This parallels the sowing of Christ's seed in Cecilia. An image of espionage is present in the

watching of the angel of Christ over Cecilia's body. The relationship between the two may or may not contain a notion of the sexual, as interpretation remains purely subjective. However, an agglomeration of certain literary allusions points towards the former. The possession, for example, demonstrated in 'Yo he un ángel' (29) demonstrates the extent of Christ's proximity to Cecilia from the outset. Mortal and celestial partners are contrasted: 'When married women are concerned, however, Christ and the husband are frequently presented as rivals for the woman's affection and obedience [...] Christ is often presented as the ardent wooer of the married women in question, which sets up an interesting quasi-adulterous situation' (Elliott 1993: 231-32).

Whereas Christ loves Cecilia, Valerian is depicted as having lust in his heart, and not a true or passionate love like his spiritual opposition. He is 'encendido por amor de la virgen' (16). The mortal typically gives into sexual and physical desire, whereas Christ's interests lay in Cecilia's *meollo*. Cecilia gives Valerian an ultimatum. Should he touch her, he would be defying Christ, and would pay for his treachery. Lust is menaced with physical violence, with the threat of Christ striking Valerian should he not comply with the demands of the divine. The celestial threatens to vanquish the mortal, and in a duel, Christ would emerge as more victorious. A battle would result in Valerian losing 'la flor de la [su] dulce mancebía' (31), a flower already juxtaposed sexually to chastity, virginity, and purity (reminiscent of the original mention of the lily). Dyan Elliott comments upon the manner in which the husband generally complies with his wife's wishes after the moment in which his will had been destroyed by exterior forces. She interprets this compliance as a type of 'psychic emasculation', one which subsequently contributes to a destabilization of the husband's authority and an engendering of new roles with the relationship (1993: 55). Both Tiburtius and Valerian are 'encendido' due to

the extent of their religious fervour, the latter of which in each case has been instigated by Cecilia. By way of a conclusion, her role could be to 'encender' those whom she meets, which in turn would mean that her arousal of them is subsequently changed into a state of devotion: their lust for the female is modified into a love for God. Her saintly powers over others are undeniable.

Elliott, in her analysis of the legend of Cecilia, describes the implications of her relationship with Valerian. She describes the female protagonist as a traditional model for leading the married (1993: 239), and depicts their union as a spiritual marriage, signifying that it does not involve conjugal intercourse. Indeed, this union proves to be one of the most popular examples of virginal spouses. Elliott refers specifically to how she thinks that the life of Cecilia has borrowed certain sections from the true stories of Maxima and Martinian, as reported by Victor of Vita. These stories exhibit striking parallels to the Cecilia story. In each case, there is a mention of forced marriage, a vow of chastity on the respective wedding night, a successful mission in charitable deeds, and eventual martyrdom (1993: 64-65).

Cecilia declares that if her husband were to love her 'con amor linpio' (32), a love associated with honesty, truth, and purity, the situation would be different. 'Amor' is repeated twice (31-32), proving to be distinct from the corruption of it: lust. Cecilia affirms that Christ will love Valerian as he loves her, if her spouse can prove that his love for Cecilia is both pure and sincere.[11] If Valerian can show sexual resistance, he could attain closer proximity to both Cecilia and Christ. Valerian requests to be shown Cecilia's guardian, demanding physical proof that her other lover is indeed an angel. If she can prove the latter, he will accept this and do of him what she asks. Yet should she be adulterous with a human partner, he will kill them both. Valerian is aware that he could never be victorious over Christ and so threatens no

[11] Regarding Cecilia's persuasion of her initially non-believing husband, see Farmer (1986: 528-29).

violence towards him, willing to challenge only a potential mortal lover. A death by 'espada' (38) is threatened, menacing an emasculation of Cecilia's other male lover through an image of both physical and sexual penetration. Yet Christ is the more powerful lover. Cecilia requires devotion in her husband, his belief in one true God and his comprehension of one of the basic foundations of the Christian faith. He must be baptized to see this angel, to be brought into the light and shown the spiritual rite of passage.[12]

Cecilia sends Valerian to Urban for baptism, the latter referring to Christ as a 'senbrador de consejo casto' (56-57) who has sown his seeds specifically in Cecilia. Reference to the act of sowing is repeated three times (56-57), reiterating the importance of the imagery. The allusion to the 'fructos de la simiente' (57) of Christ further accentuates this. Predominant allusions to the biblical episode of the Annunciation are made explicit. Urban's depiction of Christ as a 'buen pastor' (56) evokes an image of a master, a leader capable of guiding or herding his sheep or his followers, depending on the metaphorical perspective. Urban also refers to Cecilia as the handmaid of Christ, his 'sierva' (57) or messenger whose job is to deliver his words. She works for the heavens, described as having served Christ in the expression 'te sirve' (58), indicative of her role as a worker for both Christ and heaven.[13]

Numerous instances of animal imagery at this point and at further junctures increase the biblical overtones of the text. The lion and the lamb are starkly contrasted; Valerian is described initially as a 'león bravo' (59), whom Cecilia has managed to convert through

[12] Baptism is understood 'as a second birth, with the church as the mother. However, there is also the understanding here of baptism as an act of washing or cleansing (from sin – both original sin and personal sin). Here too the waters of life are linked to Christ's redemptive passion, as their "source" is the wound in his side. Finally, both the references to the new race "born from fruitful seed" and the fountain that "waters the whole world" recalls the garden of Eden, the original birthplace of the race, watered by its four aboriginal rivers' (Jensen 1991: 289).

[13] Urban's allusions to the seeds of Christ and reference to Christ as a good shepherd have been omitted from the revision of Compilation B.

religion to a gentle lamb. The traditionally dominating mortal is reduced to the dominated and Valerian becomes a follower, a 'cordero' (59) or *agnus dei*. Christ is the dominator, currently in the position of the lion, Valerian has become the dominated. On an additional level, this could be interpreted as Christ proving to be the better lover, one more appropriate for Cecilia.[14]

The animal imagery is continued, in the depiction of Cecilia as an 'abeja sabía e avisada' (58). This expression inspires the image of a dedicated and concentrated worker. Robert Steele comments upon the common medieval perception of bees and delves significantly into their interpretation. Bees traditionally live in communities, choosing the most powerful and worthy among them as their queen. The leader aside, equality is imperative within the community of bees, and as a species they are viewed as noble and worthy. They are the only insect to be created for the sake of man and are extremely hard workers. Understood as never having participated in sexual intercourse (thus proving to be an apt metaphor for the chaste Cecilia), the bee is still able to procreate and produce numerous children. This could present an implicit link to the Virgin Mary, demonstrative of a figure who also gives birth without succumbing to carnal sin. In addition, the proximity of the bee to the flower fits in successfully in this legend when noting that the evocation of the flower as a symbol of virginity is frequent. Furthermore, the wings of the bee could be related to the wings of the 'ángeles' (112) Cecilia will join as a result of her martyrdom (1966; see also Hassig 1995).

Following Valerian's baptism he returns to Cecilia, who is talking to an angel in her room. This demonstrates instantaneous spiritual proximity between the two. Cecilia's angel in this tale gives a crown of lilies and roses to Valerian and Cecilia, denoting the significance of

[14] Note Gonzalo de Berceo's *San Lorenzo*, in which the lion, or here more specifically the wolf (verse 35), is contrasted with the lamb, in what can be deemed a highly traditional comparison (1971). The placing of lion and lamb side by side holds a strong scriptural tradition, particularly in Isaiah 11:6 and 65:25.

chastity. Elliott gives a further, semantically relevant, example in the image of the crown as it features in the legend of Saint Amator. She recognizes this crown as featuring in a similar light to that as it appears in the legend of Cecilia. It is likely that the angel offering the crown to both Cecilia and Valerian is further symbolic of their own spiritual marriage, with this wedding ritual furthermore still being used by the Orthodox Church. With Amator also, the virginal spouses are crowned miraculously by twin wreaths. These crowned wreaths are interpreted by Elliott not only as symbolizing virginity but also as being evocative of classical marital rites, all at once symbolizing the marriage union (1993: 69). Regarding the latter, it is ambiguous whether the marriage union is between Cecilia and Valerian, or Cecilia and Christ, or indeed refers to both unions. Burrus herself refers to the 'victor's crown' as it features in the legend of Macrina (2004: 72), which reveals the spiritual power of the bearer(s). The invisibility of these crowns to the naked mortal eye accentuates their significance. Only bearers of the 'coronas' (77) are capable of comprehending the significance of chastity. The purity of the lily equals the purity of the bearer's chastity. This angel 'tenía dos coronas en las manos de lilios e rosas' (77), one of which he gives to Valerian, and the other to Cecilia.[15] The redness of the rose can be equated to that in blood, the striking colour accounting for its power as a symbol.[16] Such a visual contrast between red and white is frequent in medieval

[15] The final image of the legend of Cecilia in Compilation A is one of crowns, redefining her suitability and merit for martyrdom one last time. The circularity in structure here redefines Cecilia's aptitude for recognition as a saint: 'Assí fue Santa Cecilia, llena de devoción celestial, que meresció aver corona de martirio, e despreciasse el mundo co*n* sus tálamos e convertiesse e encendiesse al martirio a Tiburcio e Valeriano. E tú, señor, los coronasce por mano del ángel con coronas de muy suave olor' (247-50). This heavily-embellished ending in Compilation A appears restricted to only one line in both Compilation B and the revision of Compilation B, as is traditional between the three editions.

[16] 'Like many others, early Germanic tribes equated blooming red flowers with blood. The word **blōdi* meant blossom, blooming flower, and blood' (Meyer 2005: 9).

literature.[17] This comparison can be juxtaposed with the red and white imagery so prevalent in the legend of Cecilia, with the link between nature and love visible in each circumstance. In addition, the rose possessed further connotations. In this context it could be interpreted as the physical and spiritual union between Cecilia and Christ.[18]

Furthermore, the lilies of the crown are symbolically reminiscent of the lilies alluded to in the incipit of legend. Piero Camporesi offers a detailed explanation of the symbolism of flowers in his work, *The Anatomy of the Senses*. In addition to the polysemous role of the lily in the Christian tradition previously discussed, Camporesi cites the example of the iconography of St. Aloysius Gonzaga in which the white flower of the lily echoes the virginal purity of the flesh.[19] He also discusses the ambiguity of the red rose, which could suggest worldly pleasures as well as charitable fervour: 'The rose was symbol of all nature ("virgin daughter of the earth and the sun") and the queen of the flowers ("honoured member of the perfumed family") […]. Time, however, dominates floral symbolism because of the ephemeral nature of flowers, their rapid discoloration and premature putrefaction which relate them to human life. […] Transience, fragility and impermanence are always represented by vegetable

[17] Garcilaso de la Vega's Sonnet XXIII, 'En tanto que de rosa y azucena' is a prominent example, in which a vivid contrast is demonstrated between the red of the rose and the white of the snow, particularly in the first stanza (Stanton 1972: 198). Agnes and Christ are solemnized in the same way (Beresford: in press).

[18] 'The reference to the rose as symbol of physical and, more significantly, spiritual regeneration are as numerous as those of death and decay. Barbara Seward has surveyed the history of the rose as symbol of fertility and the fundamental processes of natural life in mythical and classical times. It was further connected with love, marriage, sex, and procreation, with springtime and festivity […]. Perhaps because of its association with earthly suffering and with mortality, the rose came to represent those who had died for the love of God in martyrdom. Inevitably, the red rose became the symbol of the Archmartyr, its red color representing his shed blood, in both a historical and a sacramental sense. Consequently, the Resurrection and its corollary promise of man's immortality were also symbolized by the rose: by its recurrent flowering within nature's cycle and by the splendor of its full bloom' (Bogdanos 1983: 77-79).

[19] 'The virgin martyr's body is often described in eucharistic imagery: pure, white and round. Margaret is frequently compared to a pearl because of her Latin name, but such comparisons also evoke the virgin-as-host […] The lengthy elaboration of the etymology of Cecilia, in Chaucer's *Second Nun's Prologue and Tale* (*c*. 1392-5), following a tradition established by Jacobus de Voragine, emphasizes her eucharistic aspects' (Evans 2003: 175).

or floral metaphors. The parallel between grass and flesh can even be found in Isaiah: "All flesh is grass"' (1994: 34).

The crowns themselves are reminiscent of the crown of thorns worn by Jesus. Both Cecilia and her husband must guard these crowns brought to them from heaven specifically by this angel, on condition that each promises to keep them 'con coraçón linpio e con cuerpo sin manzilla' (78-79), in emphasis of their purity and spiritual cleanliness. Wearing the crowns precipitates further identification with Christ.[20] The two spouses will wear these in memory of Christ, as Christ wore his crown of thorns in memory of his Father and to prevent further harm to humans ensuing from their own mortal sin. Therefore, the couple may similarly wear them to try to protect further generations from committing sin. The message of religion is incessantly transmitted from individual to individual. These crowns will never lose 'la suavidad del su olor' (80), nor will the flowers adorning them wither. Smell, as a sense, could in turn be linked to knowledge, clarity of the mind. Those who can smell the flowers understand the path to divinity.[21] Consequently, the concept of eternal life is intimated. The love of God and the rewards of the celestial are eternal, as is the time span of these crowns. Only those respecting chastity can see the crowns worn by Cecilia and her husband, providing a fundamental distinction between sin and purity.

[20] The circular shape of the crown mirrors the circular rings exchanged during the wedding ceremony, the latter 'symbolic of the union of Christ and the Church-and of faith itself-that Christian marriage was said to embody' (Stow 1995: 450).

[21] Sweet smells are often linked to the virgin: 'The stench of death, its most terrifying signal, is constantly used in Christian writing to describe evil; and by contrast, the odour of sanctity is commonplace [...] the Virgin Mary, as the conqueror of sin, smells ambrosial. She is addressed as the "lily of the field", the "rose of Sharon", the "bundle of myrrh"' (1985:99).

Tiburtius, Valerian's brother, is subsequently introduced. His initial remark concerns an overwhelming sweet 'olor de lilios e de rosas' (94).[22] The odour, just as the faith of the brothers, is powerful. Unable to see the crowns worn by his brother and sister-in-law, Tiburtius questions the origin of the odour, depicted as being as overwhelming as the influence of Christ. Woolgar asserts that frequently with descriptions of the odour of sanctity, the smell was categorized as being similar to honey, or indeed a smell most *suavissimus*. He refers more specifically to the reputation of Saint Birinus, which spread as an odour diffused from a garden of lilies. Numerous visions of Paradise were also marked by their sweet smells as well as by a multitude of flowers (2006: 119). Tiburtius explains how the sweet odour powerfully envelops him, in 'só con este olor esfo*r*çado' (96), an action potentially evoking sexual connotations. The influence of Christ will soon also be able to penetrate him, infusing the brother with religion.[23]

Valerian explains to his brother that he and Cecilia are wearing invisible crowns of lilies and roses, and that if Tiburtius were to believe, he too would be able to see the crowns and join his family in religious devotion (97-100). The 'bermejura rosada' (100) of the roses visually contrasts the 'blancura de nieve' (100) of the lilies.[24] The respective evocation of red and white alludes to the body and blood of Christ, colours frequently encountered with the

[22] Gonzalo de Berceo's fifth stanza of the *Milagros de Nuestra Senora* (see Fotitch 1962: 72) also alludes to the pleasures reaped from beautiful-smelling flowers, and their ability to 'refrescar', just as Tiburtius asserts that he feels revived by the powerful odour emitted by the flowers.

[23] 'Flowers, "the Earth's eyes", not only appeared as "the garden's gems, the earth's stars, necklaces of youth, the fountain of human beauty, and the charming and welcome lures to chaste love", but also enclosed in their profusion of perfumes "the mystery and secret wisdom" that "the Almighty wished to conceal in them"' (Camporesi 1994: 26).

[24] An intense relationship between light and dark is underlined, with the angel delivering the crowns depicted as appearing 'con alas resplandescientes e claras e con cara lunbrosa e enflamada' (76-77). This subsequently draws attention to the aura of the angel, the circular form undeniably juxtaposed with that of the crown. The gleaming aura of the angel is of identical shape to the crown of martyrdom worn by Christ, one also worn by many of the hagiographic martyrs. This description of the angel is omitted from Compilation B and its revision.

communion service (although it should be noted that this semantic association is contemporary, as during the Middle Ages, communion through distribution of the wafer and wine was not given to the laity). The white wafer given to believers signifies the body of Christ, the red wine his blood. Both are ingested by the congregation to achieve a certain proximity to the sufferings and tribulations of the son of God.[25] The whiteness of the lilies parallel a previous image of a heavenly vision witnessed by Valerian, of an aged man holding in his hands the Holy Scriptures, 'vestido de unas vestiduras blancas como la nieve' (63). A juxtaposition of the colour white, emblematic of purity, virginity, and innocence, to the divine, is noticeable on more than one occasion. Ambrose is said to testify to the miracle of the crowns in his preface.

According to Ambrose, Cecilia manages to persuade Valerian and Tiburtius to believe in God. As a virgin, she is successful in enlightening them and leading them to chaste glory. The pure status of the brothers is further highlighted in Cecilia's attempt to unite their purity and chastity to her own. Subsequently, the positive effects of the powerful commitment to chastity reverberate everywhere. The concepts of imitation and emulation demonstrate the extent of Cecilia's powerful effect on those around her. All three characters, Cecilia, Valerian, and Tiburtius, create a pact, a vow to remain chaste whatever the circumstances. The notion of chastity is rendered all the more pronounced. There are three main characters in this legend – Cecilia, Valerian, and Tiburtius – and Cecilia explains at an earlier juncture the concept of the Holy Trinity. When asked for clarification as to whether there is one God or three, Cecilia

[25] 'Blood was a central food image to the medieval female mystics studied by Bynum, and the bleeding Christ forms the devotional matter of many of the plates. Blood also set the boundaries of marital exchange among medieval Christians; consanguinity measured exogamy and endogamy. Not surprisingly, as a religious symbol blood "was in general a more public and social symbol than bread, as well as a more ambivalent symbol." [...] Difficult to control because of its fluidity, blood could seep through the boundaries of interiority and exteriority instituted by Christendom' (Biddick 1993: 402).

replies: 'Assí como en una sabiduría del ho*n*bre son tres cosas conviene saber: ingenio e memoria e entendimiento. E assí son tres personas en la esse*n*cia de una sola divinidad' (124-26). Although oddly expressed, the three different components here are comparable to the three wits or mights, again creating further biblical identification with the text.[26]

In reaction to Tiburtius's evident contempt for the idols, Cecilia kisses the breast of her brother-in-law. This act could merely display compassion or it could demonstrate something greater than familial love, transferring such passion to Christ. Such a significant physical display of affection is comprehensible in view of the close familial and spiritual ties Cecilia, Valerian and Tiburtius possess towards each other and towards God. This type of kiss was frequently seen to recognize a forgiveness of sins or conversely demonstrate an act of blessing (Woolgar 2006: 40). Cecilia declares that Tiburtius is her kinsman, through the love of God. This reasoning similarly justifies her choice to marry Valerian, in that he too has been baptized. However, Cecilia's first priority is evidently her relationship with the divine and she manages to persuade Tiburtius to undergo a process of purification with Urban, as has been the case for his brother.[27] Tiburtius responds with allusion to his fears that Urban has been condemned to death on numerous occasions and is momentarily in hiding, searched for by those who disagree with his religious ideas. Should they be found in his company, Tiburtius worries that they will all be condemned to an eternity of hell and damnation. He fearfully asserts: 'Urban que tú dizes será sin dubda quemado e seremos nos enbueltos en su damnación, e buscando la divinidad ascondida que está en los cielos caeremos en la tierra en

[26] Dan R. Stiver alludes to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the belief that God is both one and three people, those of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (1996: 1).

[27] Should Tiburtius choose to be baptized, Cecilia asserts that he will be able to 'ver a los ángeles' in Compilation A (112), see the angels' 'coronas' in Compilation B (61), and see their 'caras' in the Revision of Compilation B (56). The specific mention of the crowns in B ties in with the other extensive references to the crown throughout the text.

sana de fuego de grand crueza' (116-18). Within the imagery of burning appear powerful flames which are also associated with the heat and ardent burning of faith and passion.

The prefect Almachius is subsequently introduced as a figure who murders the faithful. He notes the paradoxical situation in which (he believes) the brothers find themselves: 'Ca cierto es que erráys tú e él porque despreciáys los gozos e plazeres de aquesta vida, e escojedes todo lo que es contrario a la alegría' (151-52). Valerian replies in an allusion to nature. He has seen workers in the fields in winter being mocked by those who choose not to work, however in the summer, only the workers were able to rejoice as they alone had been productive: 'Yo vi a algunos ociosos fazer escarnio en tienpo del invierno de los labradores que trabajavan, mas desq*ue* vino el estío e vieron la abastança de los frutos que cojeron los labradores, començaron a llorar los que primero se tenían por sabios e fazían escarnio de los que se davan al trabajo' (153-56). According to Valerian, the point to take from the tale he recounts to Almachius is that those who bear hard work will enjoy the consequences, whilst those who flit the time away will spend an eternity in weeping. This proves that not everything in life follows a logical progression and not everything can be easily predicted. The evocation of nature is extended through the numerous allusions to 'frutos' (154) and the harvesting of them, which yet again relates back to a previous allusion to the fruit of Christ's seed, and to Jesus being the fruit of Mary's womb.[28] Theodore Bogdanos accurately notes the importance of the seed, referring to 'the notion of life being born of death as in the seed' (1983: 3). The allusions made here contain numerous parallels to a lengthy speech previously made by Cecilia concerning the coming of Christ (126-40), especially to her allusion of the sin 'del

[28] 'The womb is in many cultures equated with the tomb and […] associated with the earth, the source of fruits […] (O)res grow inside the earth like an embryo in the womb' (Meyer 2005: 35).

fruto del árbol' (135), and regarding how the hard work of this life destines an individual to enjoy their time in the afterlife.

Following Almachius' frustration at their refusal to sacrifice, the brothers, now saints, are transferred to the custody of Maximian, so that he may attempt to change their religious beliefs. Maximian, however, speaks of their 'amor de hermandad singular' (174), attempting to understand the reasons for which they refuse to sacrifice. He speaks of the 'flor purpurada de mancebía' (174), in a reference echoing an earlier comment made regarding the crown of lilies and roses brought to Cecilia and Valerian. Whilst no particular flower is denoted in Maximian's speech, the overriding notion is that this is a flower of youth, which, together with the juxtaposed concepts of innocence and blossoming, relates to the notion of virginity.[29] The significance of the colour purple is multivalent and evokes in part royalty and wealth. Additionally, purple contains an identification with the papal, and could also reflect spirituality, appearing as the highest colour of the visible spectrum. Indeed, it is a colour frequently identified with Advent or the coming of Christ, with penitence and fasting, and also with the suffering endured during Lent and Holy Week.[30] Its religious element is thus striking. The attribution of royalty potentially lends itself to the sense that this message of innocence and purity is intended for public diffusion, with the regal colour of the flower of youth identified by the lay individual as both spiritually and metaphorically wealthy. The purple of the flower could denote the distinction between mortal and celestial wealth, with the purple of

[29] Burrus provides an anecdote, originally given by Jerome, to the life of Saint Paul, which bears significant similarity to the image of the flowers of youth associated with sexuality as seen in this legend: 'Although [Paul] (described as being "in the flower of his manhood") is set in the shade of a lovely garden, this young man, we quickly learn, is destined to burn as well. "There, among the radiant lilies and blushing roses, next to a gently murmuring stream, while the wind softly whispered among the leaves of the trees, the youth was place upon a bed of feathers and, so that he might not escape, bound with caressing garlands and then left alone"' (2001: 450).
[30] See Paterson 2003.

youth representing wealth and innocence all at once. Celestial wealth is placed in opposition to the material, the former thus linked to chastity, innocence, and youth. Those who promise to follow a chaste and saintly lifestyle will be rewarded in the next life.

Valerian answers that if Maximian promises to believe in Christ, 'verás la gloria de [sus] almas después de la muerte' (176). Subsequently, the disparity between invisibility and visibility can be linked to purity, juxtaposed in turn with the concepts of sight and religion, as discussed previously. Maximian declares that he should be consumed by a 'rayo del cielo' (177) if he is unable to see this truth. The brothers manage to persuade Maximian and numerous others to be converted into the faith by Urban, presumably due to Cecilia's influence. They are able to exert as much persuasion now as Cecilia has done in the past. The element of fiery lightning associated with the character of Maximian can also be related to the notion of punishment, each evoking instant death. The wrath and power of God, presented visually through the imagery of fiery lightning, are aptly juxtaposed with the fire of religion. According to Theodore Bogdanos, fire is at once a conflicting image, one which could signify 'the illuminating light of the Holy Spirit but also the consuming heat of concupiscence' (1983: 8). A flash of lightning is a manifestation of the ultimate celestial power, a clear demonstration of the wrath of God for the non-believer. At once a phenomenon of nature, the fact that this ray of light originates from the sky immediately suggests an allusion to the divine.

As dawn rises, Cecilia speaks to the soldiers of Christ. She requests that they remove all elements of darkness surrounding them, and that instead they bring forward the light: 'Ea, cavalleros de Jh*es*u C*hrist*o, desechad de vos las obras de las tiniebras e armad vos de las armas de la luz' (183-84). They will battle for Christ as both his messengers and his soldiers, arming themselves with the metaphorical arms of light (associated with the arms of war), in a

struggle to erase darkness and sin from the world. The fight here is comparable to that of the battlefield. Christ is both their leader and captain, in view of the lexis employed within the Castilian expression. The contrast between darkness and light is vivid. It occurs not only at numerous intervals within this legend but also in various other hagiographic accounts. The evocation of dawn and of the light being brought forward by the soldiers is illustrative of the symbolic eternal light.[31] The darkness, conversely, indicates a lack of clarity, purity, and understanding. It evokes sin, as can be seen on a multitude of previous occasions. The language employed in such expressions as the 'armas de la luz' (184) implies a struggle, a war between good and evil, purity and sin. In asking the soldiers to renounce darkness and accept light, Cecilia is effectively instructing them to convert to religion and follow the path to the divine. She is able to see what others cannot, and can enable others to see the celestial truth. Woolgar asserts that 'light was necessary for the eyes to function and was, itself, a divine quality [whereas] darkness brought about obscurity and uncertainty to human sight [...] a phenomenon that was shared only by night and Hell' (2006: 148-50). During this speech, Cecilia speaks again of the concept of the crown, this time featuring slightly differently as 'la corona de la vida que dará el Juez de Justicia' (185-86). This reference does not appear in Compilation B. The crowns of flowers given to her and her husband are invisible to others precisely because they are the crowns of eternal life given by Christ, the Judge of Justice, highlighting their importance. Cecilia is placed once more in a position of power, able to deliver instructions to those less informed. Her capacity as handmaid of God, in the sense of the messenger figure, is again prevalent.

[31] Allusions to nature are frequent in other legends also. Not only can these be encountered in abundance in the flowers and other such examples in the legend of Cecilia, they can also be seen in the legend of Paula, for example, in allusion to the sea and in images of travelling.

In the hour of the saints' martyrdom Maximian swears that he was witness to lustrous souls: 'afirmó con juramento que viera salir las sus almas de los cuerpos assý apostadas e resplandescientes como vírgenes que salen del thálamo' (189-90).[32] This vision of shining souls places further emphasis on the element of light. Visions, throughout medieval hagiography, are commonly portrayed in both written and pictorial representations as beams of light. The souls of the martyrs move onwards and upwards towards heaven as they are carried by the angels, as underlined in the following expression: 'e las rescibieron los ángeles e*n* sus braços e las levaron al cielo' (190-91).[33] This movement in itself resembles the transferral of virgins moving from the bridal chamber towards heaven. In each case, souls are being moved closer to Christ, emblematic in itself as all are virginal and pure. This symbolically spiritual bridal chamber has been destined for the saints and for Christ. The shining light derives from it and from those who have given their souls to God. The light thus implies purity and innocence, relating to similar previously seen semantic imagery. The soul was believed to be the most intrinsic part of the saint, and this is why the body could withstand any amount of torture whilst the soul remained untouched. It was the only part which ascended to heaven, and therefore the only part to be conserved.[34] Both soul and body are divisible entities: the soul is

[32] These shining souls could be comparable to angels, the biblical significance of the latter explained by Elizabeth Hart below, in her reference to 'the hundred and forty-four thousand virgins following the Lamb in Paradise, in the procession borrowed from St. John's *Apocalypse* (14.1-5) […] *Matthew 2.18: Vox in Rama audita est ploratus, et ululatus multus: Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt.* This verse is the conclusion of the Gospel read in the Mass on the Feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28); and the Epistle of that Feast is the very passage in which John describes the procession of the virgins' (1927: 113-15). The virgins process and rise up to heaven in an identical manner to the souls of the martyrs in this text. The figures of soul and virgin are comparable: both ascend to a pure and eternal afterlife.

[33] Moshe Barasch comments upon the frequency of the lifting of one's soul towards the heavens: 'In late medieval fantasy and art the departure of the soul from the body is frequently joined to, or even forms part of, two other motifs (or one motif consisting of two components). One is the judgment of the soul, or the fight between angels and devils for the soul; the other is the lifting up, or carrying aloft, of the soul to heaven' (2005: 22).

[34] The legend of Saint Lucy in hagiography also looks at and indeed develops this idea (Graesse: Chapter 4).

immortal whilst the body is not. Subsequently Maximian, Valerian, and Tiburtius are tortured for their conversion to Christianity, which leads to the burial of their bodies. Once again, Cecilia takes control and at this point in the text, she is officially widowed.

Almachius orders Cecilia to be brought before him, in an attempt to force her into submission. He summons her in view of her position as the wife (and now widow) of Valerian, where their marriage irrefutably binds them together. Cecilia belittles Almachius' power, stating that it is comparable to an 'odre lleno de viento, que si fuere punçado con algún aguja luego se afloxa de su entesamiento e pierde todo lo que le parescía ser en él fuerte' (214-15). He is filled with hot air, essentially amounting to nothing. These derisive comments render him both inconsequential and insignificant; he is reduced to the material and fragile. Whilst the balloon may be rigid originally, it is still delicate, and the minimalistic effort of a mere pin prick bursts the balloon to make it deflated and flaccid. It can be easily destroyed, easily swayed, and in reality not that powerful after all. The evident binary contrasts here between rigidness and limpness evoke allusions to sexuality, emasculation, and impotence in the prefect.[35] His male prowess is easily destroyed, as he will lose both his power and his erection simply because Cecilia emerges as the stronger of the two. Almachius recognises her insults whilst remaining incapable of successful retaliation. His lack of intellectual power, at this instance and at numerous others in the legend, is notable.

Cecilia challenges his speech, proving to be the stronger party. She is unafraid to engage in a battle of wits, conveying her confidence in her own potential. She argues that she is speaking not with insolence, asserting that an insult can only be an utterance which proves to be incorrect, and that here this is not the case because her words speak only the truth: 'Non

[35] A previous textual utterance by Valerian to the prefect, the former classifying the latter and people like him as 'honbresillos' (161), or little men, similarly emasculates Almachius in terms of manhood and power.

es i*n*juria sinon la que es fecha con palabras falsas, e o me demuestra la injuria que te he dicho, si te fable falsamente, o te enmienda e no*n* q*ui*eras fazer agravia. Ca nos conosciendo el nonbre santo de Dios non lo podemos negar' (217-19). Linguistically, she confronts him to the greatest possible degree, knowing that she is destined to be victorious. She propels herself onto a higher level than him by way of her intellectual competence. In asking him to prove the untruth in her words, if he appears unable to do so, he must subsequently blame himself for accusing her of such nonsense. Cecilia realises that the religious cannot deny the name of God, and that 'mucho es mejor morir bienaventuradamente que bevir desaventuradamente' (219-20).[36] Almachius asks her why she speaks 'con tan grand sobervia' (221), oblivious to her certainty in devotion. Cecilia, conversely, is patently portrated as assertive in her confident speech, assured that her opinions are unequivocal: 'Good words countered bad. Immoral speech, such as lying, risked instant exposure through the challenge of good words' (Woolgar 2006: 90). Cecilia maintains to Almachius that, rather than pride, her confidence derives from her constancy.

Almachius is at a loss, failing in his entirety to understand the situation. His intellectual incompetence is clear to both Cecilia and to the reader. The prefect believes that she lives in a constant state of unhappiness, despite her explanation that those who are religious are actually the happiest of all. They are aware of what is real and true. He declares that he is the one, in his estimation, who has the power to give and take life: 'Non sabes, mesquina, que he poderío de te dar muerte o vida' (222-23). His pointless

[36] This distinction between living and dying, and the disparity between what is true and what is false, relates to the concept of life in the celestial kingdom as being to live in the truth, and thus being content in the knowledge of religion. The mortal life, however, is argued by Valerian to be a merely dream-like state, an untruth, and thus no person knows of the truth of life until they die (101-103). Death of the body, figuring as a climatic release for saintly figures like Valerian and Cecilia, permits the soul to commence living in the true celestial life.

attempts to convince Cecilia that he has more power than God ultimately prove futile. The saint brings this falsity to light, clarifying that this blatant lie about a universally renowned truth is unacceptable. Whilst 'puedes q*ui*tar la vida a los que biven, […] no*n* la puedes dar a los muertos. E por e*n*de non has poder de dar vida, mas muerte' (224-25). He is perceived as more of a devil-like figure, rather than one capable of proving any similarity to God. Almachius becomes extremely angry, referring to her words of 'locura' (226) and insisting she remain quiet. His endeavour to silence her is fruitless.

Cecilia predictably ignores his order that she sacrifice herself to the gods, informing him that she does not know where he has lost 'los ojos' (227).[37] This clear reference to blindness relates to an inability to see the truth through an excessive infusion of sin, a concept previously investigated in this legend.[38] As the prefect becomes metaphorically blind, Cecilia asks that he extend his fingers to touch what he believes to be his gods, so that he can feel that they are in fact merely lumps of stone, rather than the actual gods he deems them to be: 'llega la mano e táñelos e conoscerás con la mano lo que non puedes ver con los ojos' (228). This distinction between idols, often made of stone, and the real God, is common to many of the legends in hagiography. Having lost his spiritual sight, his fingers must now serve as his eyes,

[37] 'Members of the new Christian sect urged their fellow men and women not only to renounce their worship of previous gods, but to deny the existence of any god other than their own' (Verdon 1988: 491).

[38] The prefect here is imbued with sin due to his inability to embrace the Christian religion. Having never been baptized he does not understand the faith, thus leading to a form of blindness which prevents him from seeing and understanding the true God: 'Although the masters ruled out the presence of material fire in limbo, a privation of the vision of God was understood to lead to internal suffering. Moreover, in the *Summa Theologiae*, Aquinas stated that the *poena damni* was the greatest of all punishments. The issue centred around whether the unbaptised possessed any understanding of their state in limbo, for understanding and interior suffering were closely linked' (Mowbray 1999: 54).

leading him to discover the truth.[39] Cecilia on yet another occasion has been placed into a role of guidance.

Almachius furiously orders that Cecilia be brought to his house, and that she be martyred, burned alive in a boiling bath during 'un día e una noche' (231-32). Burning here, as a form of death, relates to the element of heat, as well as to the flaming passions of religion. Equally these flames can denote the flames of hell, although Cecilia has evident spiritual protection from the latter. Whilst a vast majority of saints are noted with regards to their virtues, their legends are often marked more specifically by the dangers faced by the saints. The correct perception of sanctity is through the sign of its endangerment, its passionate passivity (a paradoxical juxtaposition of the saint's passion to achieve celestial redemption and their passivity in accepting any danger with which they are faced), and its suffering. Both the power of virility and virtue are the repercussions of something more complicated than the endurance of threat. It also requires a passing through of the depths of peril itself, and a survival of destruction (Burrus 2004: 104). The bath water could indeed by symbolic of the act of purification, indicative of the water used in the baptism ritual.

Cecilia lies in the bath, 'encerrada en el calor' (231) as if she were placed in cool water, not perspiring a single drop. Robin Margaret Jensen stresses that 'in the baptismal rite, death ensues through the slaying of sin; threefold immersion [of any baptism] imitates the lying in the tomb three days, and the raising out of the water is like him that rose again from the tomb' (1991: 378). The fact that Cecilia is unaffected by such torture provides evidence of

[39] 'In the thirteenth-century *La lumere as lais*, the five senses were listed as those by which the wicked would suffer unremitting torment in Hell' (Woolgar 2006: 6). Woolgar also believes that Heaven itself was marked through the use of the senses, for example by its taste, through its spices as well as its jewels and flowers (2006: 114). He also notes that 'Jerome made the transcendental connection to the holy, linking the events of a biblical past with his present experience, by the "eye of faith." Fourth-century theologians accepted that the Incarnation had legitimised sensory experience as a way of knowing God' (2006: 17).

her miraculous capacities and of her resistance to mortal male orders. She experiences no physical heat or burning while in the bath as all the heat that she feels is internal, towards Christ: 'E pusiessen deyuso mucha leña e mucho fuego […] e non paresciesse en ella una sola señal de sudor' (231-33). In view of this, Robertson states that

> Redemption is viewed as possible not only through the purgation of excess feminine moisture, but also through heat, the heat brought about through sexual union with Christ. While heat, or the fire of love – the *incendium amoris* – is a motif that pervades twelfth-century affective works [and continues throughout later fourteenth and fifteenth century texts], the centrality of heat here reinforces the notion that a woman by nature seeks heat. (1990: 69)

Almachius learns that his attempt has not worked, and orders that she be beheaded in the bath itself (233). The second murder attempt proves equally ineffective: 'E el verdugo firióla tres vezes con la espada en la garga*n*ta e non la pudo descabeçar' (233-34). The headsman struck Cecilia three times in the throat. Through synecdoche the throat or neck could represent the saintly female in her entirety. The blade, a man-made object, tries to break the skin of the female and penetrate her throat to kill her. This penetration is unsuccessful, just as a prefect's attempt at sexual penetration of the virgin martyr in hagiography is futile on numerous occasions. None of the three blows proves successful in severing Cecilia's head, demonstrating from the outset that she cannot be penetrated by a mortal, only by Christ. Cecilia thus remains chaste until the end of her life. The act of decapitation is prevalent in various legends, a visual display of an attempt on behalf of the male to assert his masculinity. The male mortal is emasculated, his physical disability to penetrate and satisfy his mortal

'lover' emphasized. Christ, conversely, is more than capable of satisfying his celestial bride. Spiritual penetration proves more satisfactory than any mortal attempt at physical penetration.

Cecilia stays in this bath for three days (237). The duration could prove numerically important from a scriptural perspective, with the resurrection of Christ occurring also on the third day, as discussed previously. This significance is further reiterated through other imagery such as the three strikes by the executioner. A fourth strike or attempt at decapitation is here forbidden by decree, in 'era mandado entonces por las leyes, que él que avía de ser degollado non fuesse ferido quatro vezes' (234-35). After three blows, Cecilia is therefore left bleeding and for dead, providing her perhaps with a time lapse or necessary delay in which she can ensure that the people she has helped are able continue to live their lives on the true and correct path: 'Tres días demandé al Señor de plazo para encomendar estas almas a la tu santidad' (239-40). She remains alive for three days, once again demonstrating a scriptural emphasis. During this time of reflection, penitence, or indeed preparation for the celestial, Cecilia gives all of her money away to the poor.[40] She also desires to consecrate her house as a church. Her body is buried by Urban, at the same location in which numerous other bishops were buried, effectively demonstrating that she will be surrounded for an eternity by those of similar spiritual worth. Cecilia is martyred in the time of Alexander the Emperor on 22 November 225.

[40] These specific charitable acts are in themselves similar to those charitable acts displayed by Anastasia, the two legends exhibiting numerous parallels (see Chapter 7).

Conclusion

References to flowers, both physical and spiritual crowns, music, the seed of Christ, images of divine light, and a striking comparison between celestial and mortal lover (as can be found similarly in Paula's *vita*) are prominent throughout Cecilia's *passio*, all contributing to emphasize her virginity, sanctity, and thus suitability for martyrdom. Unlike Paula, Cecilia remains chaste throughout her life, and arguably therefore, she may find it easier to attain sanctity. Yet she must still ask for redemption for her earthly marriage. The death of her husband enables her to do this, and thus her status as a widow inevitably aids her on the road to sanctity. In addition, the fact that she behaves in a saintly manner prior to the death of her husband indicates that perhaps her marriage was not a barrier to sanctity, in view of the fact that she may have always been free. Furthermore, her ability to inflame Valerian and Tiburtius into embracing sanctity and martyrdom further proves her saintly capacities.

Her ability to perform the role of Christ's handmaid and messenger, constantly remaining in an elevated position of power both spiritually and intellectually, enables her to persuade her originally non-believing spouse and his brother to be baptized. With the element of mortal temptation removed, here and in other hagiographic legends, attainment of sanctity appears more feasible. This legend proves slightly different from many others in Voragine's compilation as the main focus of the narrative events is not always on Cecilia, and it appears that the latter does not necessarily need to be a widow to attain saintly recognition. This would have been the case with or without Valerian's martyrdom. Yet it stands to reason that with Valerian removed from the scene as Cecilia's partner, she is now free to devote all of herself to Christ. This, in addition to her resistance to break her vow of chastity and ability to influence others, proves her saintly worth.

7

The Saintly Widow: A Common Ethos?

Introduction

Throughout the *Legenda aurea*, the inclusion of the widowed saint can be noted on few occasions. Only two male widowers, Peter and Hilary, can be encountered in the 182 chapters, together with just four female widows: Anastasia, Paula, Cecilia, and Elizabeth. As Elizabeth's *vita* dates from the thirteenth century, it differs widely in tone and emphasis, which explains her exclusion from this analysis.[1] An in-depth analysis of her legend, as well as an identification of the distinctions between the Latin version of her legend and those appearing in the Castilian, would prove too extensive to be included within this work. Although she is arguably relevant, she has been excluded from this particular analysis due to limitations of space and to the fact that her account occurs during the thirteenth century. This contrasts the deaths of Cecilia and Paula, which occur respectively in the third and fifth centuries.

As discussed, opinions regarding sanctity of the virgin, the spouse, and the widow evolved with time. In view of this, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the extent of similarities and differences in the themes, characters, and development of the legends of the three early female widowed Christian saints: Anastasia, Paula, and Cecilia.[2] My observations are subdivided into a series of categories on chastity and sexual abstinence; the role of the

[1] 'Paula, who, as a fifth-century Roman matron, is Voragine's only example of a non-legendary female saint before Elizabeth of Hungary, died more than eight hundred years later. It may, of course, be purely coincidental, but in addition to the fact that Paula and Elizabeth are widows, they also belong to the highest echelons of society' (Beresford in press: 8).

[2] See my previous MA thesis for an in-depth analysis of the legend of Saint Anastasia (Watkinson 2007), which explains my justification for not entering into such an examination in this thesis. A copy of the editions of Anastasia's legend in Compilations A and B is included in this work an an Appendix.

husband and of additional relevant characters; colour, sight, and clothing; nature; religious acts; mortal versus celestial wealth and acts of charity; the feature of speech and style; and the final days of the widow. The main distinction regarding status between Anastasia, Paula, and Cecilia concerns their respective sexual status, which is why these particular categories have been used for analysis. Such a discussion will help in ascertaining whether these three saintly widows can be identically classified.

Chastity and Sexual Abstinence

Numerous thematic similarities could indicate a strong alliance between the widow legends. Anastasia, Cecilia, and Paula are all married at a young age, with the choice of marriage always taken by an exterior party, generally by the parents of the betrothed (see also Farmer 1986: 519). Such an assertion is justified in the legend of Cecilia through the expression 'fue desposada con un mancebo de noble linaje q*ue* avía nonbre Valeriano' (15-16).[3] Each widow seeks advice from another, ultimately God, to preserve their chastity. Anastasia pleads to Chrysogonus and God to remain strong and virginal whilst left in a prison to starve by her husband (10-15). The act of fasting can thus be linked implicitly to that of sexual abstinence. With Cecilia, a constant initial begging to God to preserve her virginity is visible (14-15); she is evidently scared of losing such a sacred virtue. She demonstrates her determination to remain pure in a world full of temptation. In addition, she fasts for two or three days at a time, depriving herself of nourishment and, comparably, sexual intercourse, thus juxtaposing the concepts of fasting and sexual abstinence once more (23). Similar parallels can also be drawn

[3] Citations from the Spanish recensions are from Compilation A, unless stated otherwise, and are referred to by line number only.

regarding appetite. Deprivation of food and abstinence from sexual contact mirror the appetite for both physical and sexual nourishment. It is a sin to desire either. Paula, although no virgin, pleads to God to find the inner strength to leave her family and embark on a new life of chastity. The examples she gives to other monks and nuns of fasting in the monasteries she founds, of keeping one's mind and body pure in the search for Christ, are also expressly linked to sexual abstinence. Abstention from pleasure in both food and sexual intercourse is common therefore to each of the widows.

Caroline Walker Bynum delves into great detail regarding the relationship between fasting, sexual abstinence, and the image of the woman's body as food. The flesh of Jesus, with the flesh both as body and as food, is central to the notion of female piety. Flesh simultaneously denotes pleasure and pain. For the medieval writer, the body frequently voices physical responses which release torrents of bodily energy toward God (1987: 245-46). The symbol of food in medieval spirituality was multifaceted; at its most basic it denoted flesh, which in turn evoked suffering (even when this suffering was both ecstatic and delicious), and subsequently suffering meant redemption. Therefore, fasting, feeding, and feasting were synonymous. Fasting was not flight *from* but instead *into* physicality (1987: 250). The image of food is a powerful one, in that, like the body, it has to be broken and spill forward to give life, mirroring and recapitulating fertility and suffering in an evocation of sacrifice and service (1987: 30). Food and lust were interrelated, with abstinence urged as a manner of curbing one's sexual desires: 'John Cassian, writing for monks in the early fifth century, said: "It is impossible to extinguish the fires of concupiscence without restraining the desires of the stomach"' (1987: 37). The food that women craved, one identified with joy, sweetness, and inebriation, was heavenly. Women were proven to be literal therefore in their attempt to adopt

a life of *imitatio Christi*, in their wish to fuse their own body with the physical one of Christ that they had in turn chewed and consumed, to become filled with Christ (1987: 118-19):

> The mouth […] was a way of uniting with God and serving neighbor. Desire for Christ was felt in mind, soul, and entrails as insatiable hunger or thirst. Abstinence from ordinary sustenance was not so much a goal in itself as a tribute to the overwhelming sweetness, the exhilarating pain, of the meat and drink that God was. (Bynum 1987: 140)

Elliott asserts further that the passion of the martyr does not figure merely as an individual *imitatio Christi*, it is in addition an example to be followed by all Christians, including after the final days of martyrdom. This image of the battle between good and evil is one fought by every Christian (1987: 29).

Virginity, chastity, and references to sexual abstinence can be encountered on numerous other occasions, featuring as one of the most pertinent themes. Each widow benefits from the company of (an)other virgin(s) at some point in their legend. Anastasia is sent (forever the intended passive object under male control) to the island of Palmarias together with 200 other Christians (58-59). These Christians are significantly alluded to as virgins in Compilation B (51). She can enjoy the companionship of the faithful prior to her death, as all are destined to die together in the name of Christ. Cecilia is accompanied by her husband Valerian and her brother-in-law Tiburtius (141), the latter virgins like the female protagonist. Paula too is accompanied by a multitude of virgins in her monasteries (119; see also Petersen 1996: 170) and by her virgin daughter, Eustochium (43). Notions of virginity and chastity are emphasized at every possible instance. Virtuosness is highlighted through an increase in number. The message of religion has been successfully diffused to the extent that a substantial number have been persuaded of the virtues of virginity, purity, and a Christian life. Each

virginal companion is thus able to support and encourage their virginal peer. Each prefect in the legend of Anastasia is unable to besmirch her (see, for example, 40-42), despite their incessant efforts. Cecilia, due to her virtuosness in virginity and benevolence, is a veritable role model: 'fue carrera a los ciegos por la información del su exienplo' (4).[4] Even in the legend of Paula, chastity is heavily underlined, despite her marriage and offspring. As such, she proves to be a model of chastity and honesty to all other Roman women (91-92). The virtues of each widow are consistently highlighted. Not one accepts the company of another man following the death of their husband, except religious men, out of both respect and a complete lack of sexual interest in men.

Whilst allusions to virginity and chastity are abundant in all legends, the fact that each female saint is a widow, and thus has been married at one point, proves problematic from a religious perspective.[5] Each widow is presented in some part as a bride of Christ, perhaps most notably in the legend of Cecilia, and least notably in that of Anastasia. The distinction between mortal and celestial husband is implicit in the legend of Anastasia, with a reference in Compilation B to 'Santa Anastasia, ca ella con Dios es desposada' (56), implicit also in Paula's account (88-89), and heavily stressed in the legend of Cecilia. The latter demonstrates a celestial relationship which is both highly sexualized and an imminent threat to the mortal partner. A potential duel between mortal and celestial lover is directly alluded to; needless to say that the eventual victor is evident (29-31). As such, Cecilia arguably assumes the role of bride of Christ before she even marries, however this is evidently continued during her

[4] Elliott asserts how, in the visions of Frances of Rome, Mary Magdalene is constantly presented as leading the choir of virgins, just as Cecilia is represented as leading the married (1993: 239). This shows the extent of her influence as a role model to other married individuals.

[5] '*Wife* and *widow* are related but opposite terms. *Wife* corresponds to the legal description of *feme covert*, one whose legal existence is "coverted" by her spouse; *widow* denotes an autonomous status equivalent to the legal term *feme sole*, a woman who enjoyed full legal personality' [Italics are Walker's own] (Walker 1993: 3).

widowed state. The *sponsa Christi* topos is promoted to some degree therefore in each of the widow legends:[6]

> As brides of Christ, either in first or second marriages, virgins and widows gained an authority lost to married women […] the efficacy of the virgin martyr's words and deeds is shown repeatedly in hagiographic literature. Desexualizing their femininity by rejecting the act that defines it as other and different, virgins and widows occupied a distinct space, often freed from the castigation married (and marriageable) women suffered. (Roberts 1999: 52)

A sexual threat of some type is always presented. With Anastasia, the menace is presented by a number of men, however it is always overcome by her (see, for example, 55-57). Cecilia is faced by only one initial sexual threat, by her husband (16), and this also is surmounted. The sexual menace in Paula's case is that of her husband, and proves to be one to which she succumbs, resulting in the birth of her five children (25-27). Yet Paula's conjugal union is later atoned for, which shows that she is able to repent for the initial sexual threat to which she adhered.

Service to God and sexual activity are mutually exclusive, due to the fact that carnality distances one from God (Eisenbichler 2005: 33). Whilst Paula cannot be described as a virgin from the outset, the definitive alteration in her lifestyle portrays her as newly chaste. Paula's desire for others to be clean in heart, soul, and appearance reflects this (123-26). Regarding the carnal act, textual allusions are consistently made to unclean mortal love, which is subsequently compared and contrasted with purer celestial love. Anastasia always pleads

[6] 'Bernard of Clairvaux in his twelfth-century commentary on the Song of Songs likens the bride to the human soul, and uses human love to illuminate a spiritual relationship. The human soul is shown as married to Christ because marriage represents the highest form of love known on earth' (Lucas 1983: 17).

illness to excuse her from sexual relations with her husband, her reluctance to sin obvious (7-8): 'Fasting and illness were thus a single phenomenon […] perceived […] as redemptive suffering' (Bynum 1987: 125). She embraces this pretend illness as she does the physical torture towards the end of Anastasia's life. Whether the pain or illness is real or imaginary, suffering is generally required to prove the individual's saintly worth, in his or her ability to successfully overcome it. Elaine Scarry comments extensively upon the effects of suffering on the human body. She divides pain into the physical, the infliction of pain, and the verbal, the suffering of interrogation, both of which constitute torture. One rarely occurs without the other (1985: 28).

In terms of corporeality, the saint can raise his or her body to a higher metaphorical plane through extensive religious devotion, rendering the body able to supercede the physical through its preservation and religious commitment. This is frequently why the body of the saint is incapable of being either physically or mentally corrupted (Scarry 1985: 34). The process of torture divides the human into two parts, highlighting the difference between body and self. The self can be both private and embodied in the voice, or in one's language. The torture's primary concern is to ensure that the body becomes present and the voice absent through their respective destruction. Torture thus reflects death: the body is still visible whilst the voice or soul ascends to heaven (Scarry 1985: 48-49). The shift in pain also visible in the saint's speech, whereby 'the translation of pain into power is ultimately a transformation of body into voice' (Scarry 1985: 45). Physical pain is embraced and joyfully verbally transmitted to the torturer. Saints such as Anastasia and Cecilia are primary examples of this.

Both concepts of abstinence and illness evoked suffering and thus movement towards Christ. The act of Anastasia feigning illness to avoid intercourse could initially be interpreted

as one of deception, going against the wish of the husband. A more probable justification is a demonstration of her intellect, employing a feasible excuse to permit her to abstain from carnal sin. The prefect's intentions for sexual relations with Anastasia and the three Christian sisters is immediately clear, particularly through explicit discussion of the physical beauty and pleasing appearance of the women, with language such as 'encendido en amor dellas' (21) and similarly the prefect 'ent*ró* a ellas por conplyr con ellas su voluntad' (Compilation B: 20), the latter presenting the reader with a rather crude potential connotation. The debasement of this sexual and impure love contrasts to a more heightened extent with the cleansed and pure love of Christ. A similar distinction between clean and unclean love features in the legend of Cecilia, in which Valerian is also depicted as 'encendido por amor de la virgen' (16), an 'amor ajeno de linpieza' (31), which opposes Christ's 'amor linpio e sin ma*n*zilla' (32). Despite this, Valerian cannot be identically categorized with the topos of the greedy and lustful prefects ever present in hagiography. Whilst initially his love may be impure, subsequent redemption and atonement for any mortal desire ensures that his character is redeemed before his death. The topological prefect throughout this genre rarely repents nor is he converted. References to sexuality in the legend of Paula equally appear in such expressions as 'oficio del casamiento', 'deleyte carnal', and 'deseo del marido' (26-27). This husband is more identifiable with Anastasia's husband than that of Cecilia, especially when considering that the latter, Valerian, is the only one of the three to be converted.

Uniquely in the legend of Paula there is a demonstration of a heightened instance of familial separation. Only this widow bears any children. The distinction between fulfilling one's procreative duty as a wife and remaining chaste for God was a difficult one, and indeed one with which Christianity was confronted time and time again. Children are positively

viewed in the Christian faith as they provide a potential future generation of virgins, and indeed marriage is often only acceptable if procreation is attained in the end. Paula arguably fulfils her social duty by obeying the wishes of her husband and granting the couple four girls and one son, despite a general contemporary 'shame over sex in marriage' (Bynum 1987: 206). With an insistence on the fact that the female protagonist partook in no sexual pleasure of any form, she is excluded from any sin associated with the act of sexual intercourse: 'E después que ovo avido estas fijas e este fijo cesó de parir porque entiendas que non servía al oficio del casamiento por el deleyte carnal más por satisfazer al deseo del marido, que deseava aver fijo varón' (25-27). From this perspective, Paula's husband is the individual at fault. He may be moved by sexual desire or by the desire to obtain a son and heir: in either case, as discussed in Chapter One, arguably the two could amount to the same justification. Paula is placed subsequently on a similar plane as her three female peers, ensuring that she too is able to become as revered as her colleagues.

Perhaps Paula's pain is the greatest as she has the furthest to climb, being the only widow who is not a virgin from the outset (see also Ariès & Béjin 1985: 135). The pain of this separation is horrific, even though it is not outwardly demonstrated. Her life as a mother has been forgotten, the physical and emotional pain she experiences due to the abandonment of her children is comparable to the pain of childbirth (40-46). Corporeal is juxtaposed with spiritual. Subsequently the love Paula feels for her children is replaced by her love for God, her maternal pain combated by the sign of the cross she makes over her stomach (141-42). As is written in Matthew, 'Anyone who loves his father or mother more than me is not worthy of

me; anyone who loves his son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me' (10:34-37).[7] Where her offspring once formed is now a place for Christ.

The textual allusion to the painless birth of the Virgin Mary provides an example of the ultimate female role-model, in 'la cueva ado la virge*n* pari ó sin dolor al mi rede*n*ptor onbre e Dios' (70-71), the figure of which played an integral role in all that was purity and perfection within Christianity. As mentioned before, the evocation of a cave is significant here, as allusions to Christ's birth generally involve a stable. A cave could be interpreted as having more connotations with virginity and chastity, demonstrative of an enclosure which can be sealed by a door, as can the virgin, metaphorically (as with Christ's tomb). Christ's birth is frequently depicted as occurring within a cave. Paula's new virginal, or perhaps more adequately, chaste life begins in accordance with the abandonment or end of her marriage (through death – see also Brown 1988: 5). Cecilia's grief is also depicted as spiritual. She sheds tears not for her family, but instead in supplication to the heavens that she maintain her chastity (24-25). Anastasia does not weep as such, however her emotions can be noted at the time of her imprisonment through the letter exchange between herself and Chrysogonus, in which her desperation is betrayed (15). As with Cecilia, her emotion is directed heavenwards, away from the mortal plane.

Anastasia's and Paula's respective wedding nights are not alluded to in their legends, nor does there feature any conversation between the mortal spouses. Conversely, the wedding night and conversation between Cecilia and Valerian constitute an essential feature of the unfolding of the action (27-51). This unique example of a conversation between mortal

[7] This citation is comparable to that assertion encountered in Matthew 19:29; 'And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or children or fields for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will inherit eternal life'. From a hierarchical perspective, although an individual should always hold their family dear, his or her love for God and all that is celestial must always supercede this.

spouses highlights a speech in which Cecilia speaks in affectionate terms to her husband.[8] Brown refers to the *Acts of Judas Thomas* to argue the 'classic ascetic scenario of sexual renunciation on the wedding night' (1988: 98), an example of which is evident here. Similarly, the only allusion to the wedding chamber of the mortal spouses appears in the legend of Cecilia (25-26), absent for both Anastasia and Paula: 'fatal disease is a bridal chamber' (Bynum 1987: 249).

The marriage of Cecilia and Valerian is the sole example of an acceptable union whereby the espoused remain together. This may justify why this is the only partnership to be significantly examined and portrayed within the text of the widow legends, in view of the fact that their marital bond is spiritual rather than sexual. Certainly Cecilia's marriage is the only one in which the spouses are able to find some common ground, and indeed where the spouses appear to respect each other: 'The ideal couple, of course, was a pair who remained totally chaste by common consent' (Duby 1983: 29). In this sense, the widow legends exhibit extensive diversity. Paula is chaste, whilst Anastasia and Cecilia are virginal. In addition, the element of secrecy is pronounced in the legends of Anastasia and Cecilia, in Anastasia's visits to imprisoned Christians in secret (9-10), to Cecilia's inability to divulge her love for God both initially and publically (21), and to Urban 'ascondido entre los sepulcros de los mártires' (53). The secrecy of faith is here equal to enlightenment, comparable to the knowledge of a secret:

[8] Almost identical language to the conversation between Cecilia and Valerian can be encountered in the life of Melania the Younger, who similarly converted her husband to the faith, although in this situation after the birth of two children: 'The biographer of Melania the Younger dwelt at length on the seductions which she practiced to woo her husband to a life of celibacy and to keep him faithful to it. With Melania, however, we are introduced to a new idea whose attraction proved compelling to many women of the fourth century. On their wedding day, she said to her husband: "If you wish, my lord, to practice chastity with me and live with me under the law of continence, I will recognize you as lord and master of my whole life; but if that seems too heavy, if you cannot support the ardor of youth, here are all my goods at your feet to use, as master, however you will. Only free my body, so that I may present it with my soul unblemished to Christ on the redoubtable day"' (McNamara 1976: 150).

as declares Cecilia to her husband Valerian, 'yo te quiero dezir un secreto, si me jurares que lo guardarás e non lo descubrirás' (27-28). With Paula, however, this secrecy is nowhere near as pronounced.

Instances of symbolic male emasculation are also expressed differently between the accounts of the widows. Anastasia and Cecilia present notable scenes of emasculation, whereas with Paula there is no prefect to be emasculated. The prefect who imprisons Anastasia to bed her is emasculated through blindness (42). His sin in lustful greed results in a loss of one of his faculties and an eternity of torture in hell. The prefect's order to the sisters to undress before him, in an attempt to enjoy the sight of their nakedness (reminiscent of Adam and Eve), is met with failure. Their dignity prevails, with their clothing sticking so determinedly to their bodies that no individual is powerful enough to remove them (34-36). Divine strength contrasts a weaker mortal power, evocative of an emasculation of sorts. As discussed previously, Almachius is emasculated by Cecilia: she compares his power to a balloon full of air, which is easily deflated. This phallic imagery is powerful in the transmission of its message: 'E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: "El v*uest*ro poderío es assí como odre lleno de viento, que si fuere punçado con algún aguja luego se afloxa de su entesamiento e pierde todo lo que le parescía ser en él fuerte"' (213-15). The prefect is limp in comparison with Christ, the strength of the latter worth infinitely more. Cecilia has the power to deflate his masculinity and reduce any strength he may possess. He is subsequently at her mercy and under her control. As both prefect and man his authority is greatly undermined as the audience becomes aware of how fragile and subject to change his supposed power has proven to be.

The Husband and Other Relevant Characters

As with sexual relations, the nature and role of the widow's husband are linked. The name of Anastasia's husband is given, as 'Publio' (7), as is that of Cecilia, 'Valeriano' (16), but Paula's husband remains anonymous. He is referred to only as 'el marido' (27), providing an example of universality stressed at other intervals throughout the legends. Publius is not converted, and indeed is hardly mentioned. He dies at an early stage, the manner of which is left unspecified (16). Presumably this death was due to natural causes. Valerian, on the other hand, is converted by his wife Cecilia, and subsequently martyred just as she is. Again unlike Publius, Valerian dies at a later stage (178-80), and is mentioned frequently in the account, arguably as much, if not more so, than Cecilia herself. Paula's husband proves a closer character to Publius than Valerian. The former is not converted and dies early on, again presumably of natural causes (27). He is arguably the husband the least mentioned in the widow legends. Whilst Publius and Paula's anonymous husband could feasibly be described as sinners, as they are not baptized in the legend, Valerian cannot. The term 'sinner' is here used in comparison with the figure of the saint. Paula's husband, for example, appears to be a perfectly respectable member of Roman society. Arguably any average 'mortal' could be described as a sinner when presented next to the virtually perfect figure of the saint. The latter was instead a rare model of guidance, over and above that of the average Christian, and their actions were those to which one should aspire as much as was physically possible. Despite Valerian's initial carnal desires, as described in 'encendido por amor de la virgen Santa Cecilia' (16), he recognizes the error of his ways and accepts conversion through baptism due to the persuasive words of his wife:

> The instigator also fulfills St. Paul's expectation that the unbelieving spouse would be sanctified by the believing (1 Cor.7: 14), without

> contravening the right to the conjugal debt. Women are more frequently presented as the instrument of the process of sanctification. In the case of Cecilia and Valerian this end was soon realized, first in baptism, then ultimately in martyrdom. (Elliott 1993: 67)

The respective husbands thus play a different role in the widow legends. Anastasia and Paula are widowed at an early stage in their marriage, leaving their unconverted husbands behind them as they ascend to heaven. Only one widow, Cecilia, is therefore capable (perhaps spiritually powerful enough) of converting her husband into the ways of the faith.

In turn, the reactions of each widow to the news of the death of their husband are varied. Indeed, the emotional character of each appears different in every situation. No allusions are made to Anastasia's reactions or expression of emotion after the death of her husband. She remains devoid of grief in view of the fact that her husband imprisoned her. Cecilia's reaction to the deaths of her husband and his brother are similarly absent, although the audience may be more inclined to believe that her emotional ties were stronger than those of Anastasia to her husband, as Valerian conceded to Cecilia's advice and was baptized. Paula is the only widow to grieve expressly for her dead husband: 'E desque el marido murió asý lo lloró que poco menos murió ella con él. E así se tornó por virtud a Dios que parescía q*ue* le deseara la muerte' (27-29). There is a contrast between the figures of mortal and celestial husband shown through the process of substitution. Paula cries openly for the loss of Christ, and weeps for the redemption of her sins, although she does not cry for the loss of her children. Proof of her external grief is only visible in the celestial, despite Paula's inner pain at being separated from her family.

Respective representations of the family members of the saintly widow, as well as interactions between and relationships to each other, also prove different. For example, any

recognition of family members differs significantly between the legends. Anastasia's account demonstrates an initial recognition of her parents, however this is limited (4-6). Her parents are named and their religious preferences highlighted, her mother as a Christian, and her father as a pagan (only in Compilation B: 3-4). There are few allusions to Anastasia's husband, probably as he is of little significance to the development of the legend. With Cecilia, a vast number of allusions are made to the saint's husband and to his brother. Conversely, the family structure is here still relevant to Cecilia's spiritual journey.[9] Paula's legend, incidentally, is the only one to mention with substantial recognition the rest of her family, this being predominantly because her immediate family constitutes her children: four girls, Blesilla, Paulina, Rufina, and Eustochium, and one boy Toxocius (19-25).[10] However, this reference to Paula's children as a collective entity features uniquely at the beginning of the account, with only Eustochium alluded to at brief intervals throughout the remainder. Whilst her children are enumerated in detail, minimal reference is accorded to her deceased husband. The reactions of Paula's husband to his wife's decision to stop having children after her son are not divulged, and thus the reader is left to assume that these are of no significance. From this latter perspective, therefore, the legends of Anastasia and Paula resemble each other, as neither deems it sufficiently necessary to explore the figure of the mortal spouse extensively. Although Paula's legend does not refer in any great detail to the parents of the protagonist, Cecilia's parents are depicted as keeping close surveillance over their daughter, to the extent that she feels unable to display her love for God publicly: 'E tan grande era la guarda de los

[9] In fact, rather than being merely alluded to within the narrative, Cecilia's husband and his brother prove to be important actors within it. Furthermore, it could even be argued that Valerian is the real protagonist of the story, due to the extensive references to his spiritual enlightenment and subsequent conversion.

[10] Bridget of Sweden, who died in 1373, presents an interesting case in comparison to that of Paula. She also submits to a forced marriage, and gives birth to eight children. Following this, she initiates a life of chastity between the two spouses, resulting in approximately four years of chaste cohabitation (Elliott 1993: Appendix 6).

padres e del esposo cerca della que non podía ella demostrar el ardor del su coracón e declarar po*r* señales manifiestas que amava al solo Salvador' (18-20). Such an imposition of parental restriction is not applicable to the legends of Anastasia or Paula.

Anastasia, Cecilia, and Paula are all beneficiaries of the advice of others more experienced than themselves. Not only do the widows have individuals to guide them, they also enjoy a companion upon their spiritual life, in that they are not alone in their quest for spirituality. Anastasia is accompanied by 'una su servienta' (9) at the beginning of her legend, during her visits to the Christian prisons, and following this she benefits from the company of her three female friends, the latter additionally sisters, during imprisonment (17-19), and a group of '*christ*ianos' (Compilation A: 59) or 'vírgines' (Compilation B: 50) on the island of Palmarias during her final days. Cecilia possesses companions of sorts upon her spiritual life, in the figures of her husband and her husband's brother. These are set to make the same decision in baptism as originally taken by Cecilia (141). As Elliott states, sexual renunciation was a necessary precondition for baptism (1993: 27), and this is why all three saints are suitable candidates for this process of purification.[11] This familial support, whilst absent from Anastasia's legend, is also exhibited to some degree with Paula. Although Paula expressly abandons her family and old life behind her, to encounter a new beginning, her eldest daughter Eustochium stays with her as her companion upon her embarkation for a new and spiritual life (43-44).[12]

[11] 'It is explained on the authority of St. Paul that all good Christians should be chaste virgins prepared to marry Christ [...] It is explained further that through baptism and penance one may attain the purity necessary to a bride of Christ: Addit post hoc dicens: *Et in ore ipsorum non est inventum mendacium* (v. 5). Non dixit, non fuit; sed, *non est inventum*. Qualem enim invenit Dominus cum hinc evocat, talem et judicat: nam aut per Baptismum, aut per poenitentiam possumus in interiori homine et virgines effice et sine mendacio' (Robertson 1950: 156).

[12] Julia M. H. Smith comments upon the complexities of the mother-daughter relationship, noting that both females often entered the religious life together, and that, particularly in late medieval religious life, commitment to the woman's devotion rarely signalled a definitive separation from the family and home life in the same way as

Colour, Sight, and Clothing

As well as character parallels, certain images and themes are apparent in a number, if not all, of the widow legends. The employment of colour, for example, is similarly employed in each. The colour white is common, evoking purity, whilst its antithesis, darkness, is innovative of filth and sin. One prefect in Anastasia's legend enters a kitchen with only fornication in mind and emerges covered in soot, black with sin (24-25). Colour is directly linked to sin and purity. With Cecilia, whiteness is also given particular prominence. There are numerous allusions to colour, with a vivid distinction drawn between red and white. The red 'rosas' and white 'lilios' (77) of the saints' crowns respectively represent the blood and body of Christ, depicted in the red of 'bermejura rosada' and the white of 'blancura de nieve' for heightened image evocation in the mind of the reader (100).[13] With Cecilia, Valerian's clothes become white after baptism, after purification (75), as are the clothes of the old man in Valerian's apparition (63). Further images of white appear in the expressions of light, with the nouns 'sol', 'luna', and 'estrellas' (10), denoting light and thus purity. Paula's legend also contains numerous expressions with which the colour white and the notion of light are frequently linked, to enhance all referencing to purity and innocence. The expression 'asý como el rexplandor del sol escuresce los rayos de las estrellas' (13-14), in depicting Paula, reflects this.

The image of the crown in hagiography is also common. Theodosius, for example, at the time of her martyrdom, is 'en el cielo coronado' (Compilation B: 48), inferring crown

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it did for men (1995: 26). Whilst Paula undertakes a decisive split from the majority of her family, her daughter Eustochio nevertheless remains her spiritual companion during the entirety of her religious journey.

[13] This also mirrors a description in Saint Agnes' legend, the symbolic evocation of red and white a frequent feature of hagiography (Beresford: in press).

imagery similar to that elsewhere in the legend of Cecilia). Elliott provides a further example, in additional reference to the legend of Cecilia[14]:

> In the *vitae* of both SS. Cecilia and Amator, the virginal couples are miraculously crowned by twin wreaths. The Cecilia legend states explicitly that the flowers are roses and lilies – well-known symbols of virginity and martyrdom. The wreaths also evoke classical marital rites, which involve the double crowning of the bride and groom – a practice that still persists in the Eastern church. Hence the wreaths function as symbols of both virginity and marriage – once again providing a dramatization of the consensual nature of the bond. (1993: 69)

The name Cecilia is defined in part as meaning lily in the etymology described in the incipit of the legend (only in Compilation A: 1), the lily as pure and white as Cecilia herself is in soul. The white of the lily is juxtaposed with the lack of blindness also denoted by the same name, thus creating a parallel between sight and purity. Although the Latin *caecus* translates as 'blind' or 'dim-sighted', the textual derivation of *Cecilia*'s name is given in Compilation A as meaning instead lacking in blindness, or 'ajena de ceguedad' (1-2), as mentioned previously in Chapter 6. As Anastasia's legend demonstrates, the men who attempt to stain the reputation of the saint are either blinded or become black in appearance, each an external sign of inherent

[14] Additionally, an Italian widowed saint named Rita (Margarita) of Cascia, who died on 22 May 1457, exhibits certain similarities. Whilst this text appears a good deal later than the texts analyzed in this work, the semantic signification of the imagery remains similar. She too showed an early interest in religion, but submitted to her parents' wishes and was married aged 12. Her husband was known amongst others, and had a cruel nature. She entered an Augustinian convent after much persistence, leading an ascetic life and caring for others. She attended a sermon in 1441 by Saint James della Marca on the Crown of Thorns, after which she lived in seclusion after the curious growth of a thorn in her forehead. Her pictorial depiction is that of an Augustinian nun in prayer before a crucifix, with a crown of thorns at her brow (like Christ). A patron saint of parenthood against infertility, and matrimonial difficulties, interestingly, Rita is often shown receiving a crown of roses from the Virgin and a crown of thorns from the saints. Saints Agatha and Lucy, to provide two additional examples, exhibit similar parallels regarding the theme of the crown of martyrdom. See Butler 1956.

sin. As this visual correlative proves, the internal parallels the external. This clear reference to blindness relates to an inability to see the truth through an excessive infusion of sin, a concept previously investigated in the legend of Cecilia. For example, only individuals who have embraced religion are able to see the otherwise invisible crowns brought to Cecilia and Valerian by the angel (78-81). In addition, the prefect who ultimately orders Cecilia's execution is described as blind as he is unable to see that those he worships are in fact idols and not God (226-28).

The imagery of sight is pronounced in many of the widow legends, with Anastasia and her three serving maids, for example, depriving the prefect who attempts to rape them of his eyesight, as if by magic.[15] He is transformed into a black apparition, covered in soot. His blindness is juxtaposed with his black appearance, the two undeniably linked. The inability to see is conjoined with the element of sin. The prefect is unable to either see or appreciate religion. He appears black, a colour associated with the devil and with sin. Linked to the domain of the senses are visible thematic distinctions within the fields of music (hearing) and light (sight). The music imagery so pronounced in the legend of Cecilia, through her singing to God and organ music for the wedding (20-21), is reiterated in Compilation B for Anastasia whereby the latter sings together with her servant to Christ (8), however none of this harmony can be attributed to the legend of Paula. Imagery of war, to soldiers of Christ, and to arms of light can be found only in Cecilia's account (183-87), and allusions to enjoyment of a previous, sinful lifestyle, one involving make-up, comfortable and rich silks and linens, and pleasuring men, can be encountered only with Paula (83-89). Allusions to lightning and to the

[15] The number three occupies a significant place in each of the widow legends. Throughout Christian tradition it has indicated completion, as with the Holy Trinity. For example, in the legend of Anastasia, three serving maids are mentioned, in the legend of Cecilia, the latter and the two brothers all meet their end through martyrdom, and Paula herself founds three monasteries.

power of God via the means of nature appear only in Cecilia's legend (177), and a reference to magic and to the devil can be found only in Anastasia's legend, in an instance in which the prefect blames the women and interference from the devil for his blackened appearance, accusing the sisters of magic (33).

In contrast, much of the imagery within the widow legends reveals notable distinctions which frequently draw parallels between the texts. For example, the imagery of blindness is abundant within Anastasia's account. Here sin leads to blindness, or more specifically the inability to interpret or understand the divine truth, with the prefect appearing as a primordial example in this instance (42).[16] Sight and blindness are equally employed in Cecilia's legend. Allusion to the 'ojo corporal' (148) is supported by reference to the necessity of seeing Cecilia's angel, to believe in the truest and most devout sense. In iconographic tradition, in which the meaning of a particular subject was deduced through interpretation of its visual medium, sight was referred to as *ecclesia*, blindness *synagoga*. *Ecclesia* denoted the image of the Christian Church, with religious understanding proving synonymous to accurate sight. *Synagoga* depicted Jewish ignorance, a refusal to see the truth or to convert to Christianity. Its biblical tradition can be seen for example in II Corinthians (3: 12-16), in which Paul speaks of the veil over the eyes of the Jews (Hook & Deyermond 1983: 269-78). The scriptural allusions are evident. In accordance with the proverb, seeing is believing, and indeed sight here is knowledge. Cecilia, lacking in blindness, is prolific in knowledge (8-9). The conversation between Cecilia and Almachius in reference to sight and the ability to see the celestial truth reinforces this theme (226-28), as does the angel's assertion that the crowns

[16] Saint Christine is seen to spit her own tongue out into the face of a predatory judge in her legend, which subsequently blinds him. This display is to show the judge that his physical blindness parallels his spiritual blindness: he is not capable of seeing the truth of women's speech or the true path to divinity (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 10).

he brings for the saints will never dry or lose their odour: these crowns can only be seen by the chaste, reinforcing the link between chastity, sight, and purity (80-81). The importance of sight and (or) of blindness in Paula's legend is not explicit by any means, however, and it proves to be insignificant as regards the development of events in Paula's life. Furthermore, the sense of touch, in addition to that of sight, is not mentioned with Anastasia, whilst Cecilia's head is kissed (93), as is Tiburtius's chest (109), and touch is equally alluded to with Paula. This occurs in the physical approximation of Paula's body onto that of Christ (51) and of Eustochium's onto that of her mother (174-76), as well as evoked through body imagery in the incipit with 'cuerpo' and 'lenguas' (3).

The reference to clothing within the legends can also be tied to purity. Paula's account contains referencing to humble clothing, in her desire to lower herself to an even lower status than those around her (75-77), however these garments are not expressly white. Nor in Anastasia's legend does the reader encounter specifically white clothes, although clothing itself does feature as a point of interest in the legend. It denotes here deception and disguise: Anastasia clothes herself in an 'ábito de onbre' (9) to escape the clutches of her husband and to be accepted into the Christian prisons to conduct charitable acts. This disguise is necessary for her to achieve her saintly desires, and, while clothing is referred to in some way, this specific allusion to disguise is prevalent only with Anastasia. From this perspective the legends differ, as Anastasia is the only widow to assume a type of disguise to fulfill her religious obligations. Saint Pelagia provides another example of this type of saint in the *Legenda aurea*, as a transvestite saint converted by Bishop Nonnus of Edessa within the

compilation. She dons male clothing and lives out her life as a male hermit following her baptism and the distribution of her wealth.[17]

As logical reasoning and clarity can also be linked to sight, a further theme featuring with all of the widows is the contrasting presentations of madness and reason, reality and fantasy, or a comparison between the real, eternal life and a dream-like mortal existence. As soon as the prefect in Anastasia's legend enters the kitchen, he loses all sense and reason, and arguably sight, embracing the pans in the room, becoming ugly and black: 'se le trastornó el seso que abraçava las sártenes e las calderas, pensando que abraçava a ellas' (23-24). His servants turn upon him, believing him to be the epitome of sin due to his ugly and darkened appearance, whilst others throw objects at him and treat him like an animal as a result of his apparent madness. Sin is the cause of this loss of reason. Madness contrasts with sense and reason with nonsense, and this is equally the case in the legend of Cecilia. Almachius accuses the brothers of madness due to their devout beliefs, but the saints prove that it is the prefect who has lost all sense of reason as he erroneously worships the idols (226-28).[18] In this legend of consistent extremes, pleasure additionally contrasts displeasure, and fantasy, reality. Uniquely in this legend, the real world and the element of truth prove starkly disparate to fantasy and untruth. The brothers Valerian and Tiburtius see and understand things perfectly, able to appreciate the divine truth. Yet Almachius accuses the brothers of talking absurdly, of

[17] Pelagia, otherwise known as 'Pelagius the beardless monk' (Stuart 1996: 78), is argued by Beresford as being only in part a transvestite, as there are indeed more significant features to her legend (in press and 2007). The importance of transvestism for some saints could be seen in the fact that virtue was connected to masculinity, and therefore virtuosity was linked to acting like a man (Stuart 1996: 28, see also Salih 1999: 99). Through the disguise of one's true identity, a recognized feature within hagiographic tradition, the female saint gave birth to a new male form through a metaphorical process of baptism, often to achieve communion with Christ (Anson 1974: 11).

[18] The legend of Cecilia is the only one to contain a named idol, named specifically here as 'Jupiter'. C. Scott Littleton mentions Virgil in his work the *Aeneid* as portraying Jupiter in the role of a philanderer or adulterer, as denotes ancient Greek tradition (2005: 780). The Castilian refers to Jupiter using an equal interpretation: 'E respondióle Valeriano e dixo: "Júpiter es nonbre de ho*n*bre matador de honbres e corro*n*pedor de mugeres."' (169-70)

recounting fanciful and imaginary tales, having lost their minds to madness. This distinction regarding sanity or reality is nowhere near as prominent in the legends of Anastasia and Paula. In Cecilia's legend, God, denoting truth, provides a vivid opposite to the lies of the mortal world, where idols reign (146-48). With Paula, any allusion to madness is limited, although present. A reference to 'la locura de Dios' and 'la sabiduría de los o*n*bres' (116-17) imbues with it a comparison between the knowledge of man and the knowledge of Christ, the latter inevitably proving infinitely more valuable.

Nature

Nature appears only briefly in the legend of Anastasia, featuring solely towards the end. Anastasia is sent to an island to die, one identifiable with a Paradise, a veritable Garden of Eden (58). Presumably she travels to this island by sea, although such an assertion is not made explicit. The water she traverses is arguably indicative of a type of baptism into a new world, by way of preparation for a celestial life. Apolonia honourably buries Anastasia's body in a 'huerta' (Compilation A: 67) or 'vergel' (Compilation B: 58).[19] The evocation of *hortus conclusus* here accentuates any textual connotations to the heavenly Garden of Eden. This aspect of nature in itself contains powerful connotations of purity and innocence, and it features in some form in all of the widow legends. Nature is associated with the body of the virgin: 'The virgin body was an exquisitely appropriate mirror, in which human beings could catch a glimpse of the immense purity of the *image of God*. The woman's untouched flesh was both a mirror of the purity of her soul and a physical image of the virgin earth of the garden of

[19] The burier of the saint's body is here named, as is Urban in Cecilia's legend. Yet no named burier can be identified in the legend of Paula.

Eden' (Brown 1988: 299).[20] Flowers, as previously mentioned, are also of great significance to the legend of Cecilia, from the lily to the 'flor purpurada de mancebía' (174). An angel of God with clear, shining wings and a bright face brings two crowns of lilies and roses to Cecilia and Valerian from the paradise of God, to keep their body and heart pure. These flowers are connected to the notion of the flower of virginity, of youth, and of innocence. Destruction of the flower is comparable to the destruction of virginity.[21]

Also uniquely with Cecilia can the reader find physical acts of baptism, although the process is intimated with Anastasia and Paula. With the former, the brothers are baptized with sacred water, thus able to renounce the devil and his idols, and accept the faith. The process of baptism is here alluded to as one of purification, necessary for the cleansing of sins (111). The evocation of nature is slightly different with Paula, however baptism is denoted nonetheless. The image of the sea also depicts a scene of separation of Paula from her family (34-46), together with the ship rowing away from land as she physically and emotionally leaves her family behind her (the image of the ship is employed once more towards the end of the legend, as a metaphor for the events of Paula's life themselves). The church itself is often interpreted as a ship of faith, through such imagery as the ark and Noah, and so religion and water are frequently conjoined.[22] The water of the sea assumes the role of a boundary: it is liminal in its demonstration of the physical separation between one life and the next. The water here can be

[20] Anke Bernau comments upon the intriguing relationship between virginity and nature: 'Virginity always stands for something other or more than itself – it is a metaphor par excellence. This is partly because it can be defined only through other terms. While virginity is perceived to symbolize stability in Christian thought, few tropes are actually so glitteringly multivalent: fountain, flower, treasure, garden, closed door, star […] virginity is likened to them all, yet circumscribed by none' (2003: 220).

[21] Images of the flower and of an angel transporting celestial crowns from Paradise can only be found in the legend of Cecilia, however, creating a disparity between legends.

[22] See Jensen 1991.

interpreted implicitly as that designated for a new baptism into a spiritual life.[23] This element of separation can be compared with that present in the legend of Saint Alexis, who presents a combination of the situations encountered in the legends of Paula and Cecilia. Within unwanted marriage, there are two routes available to the saint, that of either flight or conversion. At an initial glance, these routes could be gender-defined, as Saint Cecilia, a female, converts her husband, however the male Saint Alexis flees, unable to continue living under the guise of a happily married couple.[24] Flight from family would be difficult for the male, however certainly more acceptable than for the female (Elliott 1993: 208-09). Yet Paula's own flight from her family would refute this. She leaves her family and friends behind her at an early instance in her life. Christina of Markyate provides an additional case in point here, although her legend does not appear in the *Legenda aurea*. She attempted to follow Cecilia's example however felt obliged to flee when her father threw her out of her home.[25]

Whilst some of the nature imagery in the widow legends exhibits certain similarities, the same cannot be said for the inclusion of the concept of harvesting within the texts. The latter does not feature in any form in the lives of Anastasia and Paula, although examples of it appear in abundance with Cecilia. Christ is depicted here as a good shepherd, an image which is juxtaposed with numerous presentations of sowing, chastity, the harvesting of fruit, and of implantation of the seed. From an evocation of the shepherd emerges the distinction between

[23] For specific readings within Christian tradition demonstrating the significance of water and its multifaceted meanings, note the account of Noah and the ark as it features in Genesis Chapters 6 to 9. See also Matthew 3: 13-17, Mark 1: 9-11, and Luke 3:21-22, who all refer to Christ rising up out of the water for his baptism by John the Baptist.

[24] For an in-depth analysis of the legend of Saint Alexis, see also Michael Camille 1996: 371-401.

[25] Whilst the tales do not have the same ending, the Anglo-Saxon Christina of Markyate and her husband find themselves in a situation similar to that of Cecilia and Valerian, with Christina even citing them in the legend as examples to follow in terms of virtuosity (McCarthy 2004: 135-37). 'Some, like Gerardesca of Pisa, Santuccia Terrebotti and Delphine of Languedoc, swore mutual vows of chastity with their husbands. Others, like Humility of Faenza, merely separated from intransigent husbands' (Goodich 1981: 25).

lion and lamb, a biblical reference to which allusion is also made only in Cecilia's text (59). Furthermore, a substantial section of the legend recites a tale of harvest, differentiating between the seasons of winter and summer. Here the workers are compensated whilst the idle suffer.[26] They are contrasted in a similar format to Almachius and the poor, or to Almachius and the brothers. Only those worthy of merit will receive their eternal rewards in heaven (156-58). This imagery in Cecilia's legend serves to reinforce the scriptural element so pronounced elsewhere in the legend, emphasis of which is vastly reduced in Anastasia's legend, although reflected in that of Paula.

Religious Acts

Throughout the lives of the widows, prayer and miraculous occurrences also assume a similar role. The significance of continuous and insistent prayer is highlighted in each account. Anastasia prays extensively for guidance (13), Cecilia prays all night and day, in addition to reading the Holy Scriptures (13-14), and Paula's prayers last all night (80-81). The religious devotion of each widow is extensive. Miracles also confirm the extent of the saint's worth in terms of acceptance into the kingdom of Christ.[27] A friend, named only in Compilation B as 'Sant Theodosyo' (48), comes to Anastasia in her time of need and enters her cell to bring celestial food to sustain her (56-57). This demonstrates an ability for Anastasia to overcome the mortal odds, as can be noted similarly with her widowed peers. Theodosius, incidentally, is

[26] The Biblical resonances are powerful. See, for example, Mattthew 9:37, 'Then he said to his disciples, "The harvest is plentiful but the workers are few"', and also Luke 10:2, 'He told them, "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few. Ask the Lord of the harvest, therefore, to send out workers into his harvest field."'

[27] Michael E. Goodich describes miracles as being 'essentially an acceleration of the normal processes of nature whereby the seeds (*semina seminum*) inherent in nature are activated. These phenomena occur in such an unusual way that they are termed miracles, and are intended to teach us a lesson' (1995: 147).

also martyred, juxtaposing her with Anastasia and Cecilia in terms of their manner of death. The legend of Cecilia contains the all-important miracle of the invisibility of the crowns to all those who are not chaste (79-81), amongst other miracles such as that of her body keeping cool amidst a bath full of boiling water. With Paula, miracles occur in numerous acts of asceticism and in her acceptance of a deadly fever without a drop of perspiration (158-60).

Scriptural references scattered amongst the widow legends vary in their density and their impact upon the reader. With Anastasia there feature no particular excerpts or allusions to the Bible, or indeed passages from it. She is not portrayed as specifically knowledgeable from a religious perspective, whilst Cecilia's knowledge of religion is reinforced at various intervals. Expressions such as 'fue ajena de ceguedad por el resplandor de la sabiduría divinal' (8-9) accentuate this. Cecilia always carried the Holy Scriptures to her chest as a child (13). The textual biblical references are incessant, prominent in her teachings regarding the Holy Trinity, the coming of Christ, the sufferings of Christ for mankind (as illustrated in example she gives of the crowning of thorns), and Adam and Eve and the sin they commit in eating the fruit of the tree in Eden. Equally the action of the old man bringing a 'rótulo' for Valerian to read is reminiscent of the reading of the Holy Scriptures, as indicates the gold writing on the scroll (64).[28] In this respect, Paula's legend proves highly similar. The latter possesses a saintly knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and of the Jewish language (146-50). Her final words to Christ before her death are indeed scriptural, as she states:

> Señor, amé la fermosura de la tu casa e el logar de la morada de la tu gloria. ¡O q*uá*ntos son amables, señor, de la tu cavallería celestial las moradas de la tu cibdat! Escogí más padre perdurable ser despreciada en

[28] Kathryn A. Smith descirbes the icon of the scroll as a proof of virtue, indicative of both purity and wisdom: 'On both pagan and Christian sarcophagi, the scroll was an attribute of the philosopher or of the deceased patron, male or female, and indicated both wisdom and elevated social status (1993: 16).

> la casa del mi señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o que morar en los g*ra*ndes palacios de los pecadores en el siglo (160-64).

Within the text, the locations of 'Jerusalém' (54), 'Bedleén' (57), and 'Palestina' (47) are identified, with Paula expressly visiting the religious sites where Christ had been and was crucified (49-52). She enters the cave in which Christ was born, subsequently experiencing visions of the infant Christ identical to that of the nativity scene. These allusions to specific locations found within the Bible, as well as to occasional scriptural passages and to the religious language Paula employs, heighten the overall scriptural emphasis of the text (51-71).

Due to the 'ardor' of her religious devotion (49), Paula desires to die where Christ was born, evoking a celestial circle of completion. She kisses the stone which covered Christ's cave, licking the area where the body of Christ was found: 'así como sy beviera aguas muy deseadas' (54). Such heightened biblical imagery is slightly reduced in volume in Cecilia's legend, and to a much greater degree in that of Anastasia. This could be due to text length, as Anastasia's life is undeniably the shortest. Yet this difference creates a disparity in scriptural emphasis, thus affecting how the legend is interpreted by the audience. Paula falls to the earth in acts of prostration at the site of Christ's crucifixion, identifying herself with Christ's suffering upon the cross (50-52). Just as Paula prostrates herself at the site of Christ's crucifixion, Urban falls to the earth before the heavens in an act of prostration on hearing Cecilia's message (55-56), and Anastasia is ultimately ordered to be tied to a type of cross in Compilation A at the time of her death (62). *Imitatio Christi* as a topos here in her emulation of Christ's suffering is underlined, emphasizing her ability to identify with Christ's final hours of pain, as is the case for each widow.

Anastasia does not expressly convert any other individual, while Cecilia converts over 400. The latter are subsequently baptized by Urban (205-06). Cecilia also informs

Valerian and Tiburtius in the ways of the faith, and is thus responsible for their conversion and subsequent baptism. Her saintly capacities are put into evidence. Paula is not described as having converted any individuals as such, however she does guide those monks and nuns who live in the three monasteries she has founded. She consistently supports this large group of Christian followers. Whilst there is no express reference to an angel of God with Anastasia, Cecilia possesses an angel of God who is said to guard over her body and soul (28-29), and similarly Christ is depicted as the 'ángel' who watches over Paula (8). Whilst Anastasia's angel may be implicitly understood, he is not drawn attention to in the legend. Each has a love of Christianity, however Anastasia and Cecilia enjoy this love from birth or from a young age, the latter expressly 'C*hristi*ana desde la cuna' (13). Paula's love of her 'Salvador' (16) is not explicitly from an early age.

Whilst Anastasia does not inform those surrounding her of the various aspects of religion, Cecilia persuades others of the extreme joy that the next life will bring, its worth infinitely greater (199-203), and Paula persuades her peers of a similar theory. The latter even chooses a humble cell over a rich palace in this legend of extremes, wanting to become the lowest of the low, to reap the awaiting celestial benefits (48-49). Such extensive voluntary debasement cannot be encountered with the other two widows. Similarly, the saintly widow's attempt at clarification as to which life is the better one, explored in abundance with Cecilia and Paula, is scarcely discussed with Anastasia. Once again, the perspectives taken in each of the widow legends vary greatly.

The theme of the widow in her capacity as messenger is another element worthy of examination, as presentation of the saint in this role is not consistent. Anastasia is never placed in a role of guidance or designated as messenger particularly, whereas Cecilia proves herself to

be apt in this capacity, as can be seen in the conversation between her, Valerian, and Christ. The female saint is elevated to a position of authority in this teacher versus pupil, or messenger versus recipient scenario (42-51). Christ's message is diffused to Cecilia, and then to Valerian, to the poor, to Urban (who is also given a role of guidance), and then to Tiburtius. Valerian is momentarily placed in a position of superiority over his brother, the learned informer who has usurped Cecilia's role of messenger. The latter remains the most learned, however, in demonstrating to Tiburtius the fallibility of idols. She is a saint of the people, a 'sierva' (57) of God who 'fue cielo del pueblo' (9).

Paula's capacities as messenger of Christ are perhaps not as pronounced as those of Cecilia, nevertheless they are visible in her guidance to those under her care in the monasteries:

> E si algunas dellas avían entre sý algunas contiendas e barajas, apazígualas ella con palabras mansas. E domava la carrne de la*s* mancebas con muchos ayunos e abstinencias q*ue*riendo más que les doliese el estómago que el coraçón. E non consentía que traxiesen vestiduras muy linpias, diziendo q*ue* la linpieza del cuerpo e de las vestiduras engendrava suziedat en la conciencia e que lo que era pecado ligero entre las mugeres del siglo era muy g*ra*ve pecado entre las religiosas. (120-26)

Mortal versus Celestial Wealth and Acts of Charity

In addition to enhanced scriptural referencing in each of the legends, the distinction between wealth and poverty, as well as the notion of celestial jewels versus mortal wealth, is also pronounced. Anastasia disguises herself in poor clothing, denying her rich heritage, to help

others (10). She asserts that the poor and needy are more suitable recipients of her wealth than the greedy prefects who desire it (51-54). Cecilia explains to Valerian how the poor are already aware of her divine secrets (45), demonstrating that whilst the aforementioned may be poor in terms of mortal wealth, they are spiritually informed, rendering them celestially rich. She is charitable in helping the poor around her, depicted as 'ardiente por el encendimiento de la caridad' (8), desiring her husband Valerian to act similarly. Paula distributes her expensive property to the poor following her husband's death (29-30), and is described as having founded one monastery for monks and three for female virgins (118-19).[29] Her ardent desire to be poor means that she resembles the poorest of servants in both her acts and in her appearance (73-77). The extent to which she gives to others in need results in her own sufferance.[30] The charitable acts conducted between each of the female protagonists demonstrate the extent to which each is prepared to help others. Each widow is of noble birth, specifically of Roman lineage, and proves identical in their decision to convert initial mortal wealth for later celestial treasures. Acts of asceticism are also similar between the widows, with Paula, for example, adding oil to her meat only on feast days, expressly abstaining from wine, butter, fish, milk, honey, and eggs (108-112).

Similar distinctions occur elsewhere. The precious jewel and stone imagery encountered in the legends of Paula and Cecilia, as with Eustochio depicted as a 'perla muy preciosa de la eglesia' (23) and Paula a precious stone which 'rexplandesce entre las otras

[29] See also Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (2001) who alludes to how virginal and chaste women are frequently depicted as being sealed away from the world, in locations such as convents (24).

[30] Petersen refers to another widow, Lea, who is in turn compared to the widow Marcella. In Letter 24, Jerome refers to Lea as the 'mother of virgins', an expression which could refer to her biological capacities as a mother, and / or her status as head of a religious community of women (similarly to Paula). 'She practiced the kind of life style commended by Jerome, but was not ostentatious in her austerities for fear of being praised for them by others' (1996: 101). Petersen refers to other widows, in addition. He alludes to Macrina and her life of virginity following the death of her fiancé (1996: 20), and to Marcella, who lived with her widowed mother Albina (1996: 23).

piedras' (12-13), for example, is not reproduced with Anastasia. Furthermore, the *riqueza* versus *pobreza* distinction, or *meollo* versus *corteza* disparity, whilst not evident with Anastasia, is visible to some extent in the legend of Paula, and explicit particularly with Cecilia. The latter's exterior silk and golden wedding garments contrast the hair-shirt worn closer to her body, and thus closer to God (17-18). Neither Anastasia nor Paula imposes a duel between mortal and celestial, whilst Cecilia makes the distinction between true, clean, and spiritual love, and lust or dirty love:

> E díxole Santa Cecilia: 'Yo he un ángel de Dios por guardador e guarda el mi cuerpo con ta*n* grand selo que si sintiere en qualquier manera q*ue* sea que llegas a mi con amor ajeno de linpieza, movera co*n*tra ti la suyra e perderás la flor de la tu dulce mancebía. Mas si viere q*ue* me amas con amor linpio e sin ma*n*zilla e quieres guardar entrego e sin corronpimiento la mi virginidad, así amará a ti como a mi e te demostrará la su gracia e benignidad.' (29-34)

The celestial is held as a comparison with the mortal. A potential battle is presented between her mortal and celestial lovers, a celestial duel which cannot be found as explicitly elsewhere in the widow legends. With many married women, Christ and the husband are often presented as rivals for the woman's love. With Christ in the role of ardent wooer, the set-up of this quasi-adulterous situation is intriguing (Elliott 1993: 231-32): 'Tertullian dwelt on the dangers for the Christian wife: "Every Christian woman is obliged to obey the will of God. Yet how can she serve two masters, the Lord and her husband...? Let her take care how she discharges her duties to her husband"' (McNamara 1976: 149; see also Duby 1983: 115).

Style and Speech

Certain stylistic features of the texts prove dissimilar also. For example, a brief etymology of Anastasia's name and her virtues is given (1-3). An etymology is also given with Cecilia, this time more extensively than with that for Anastasia, in which numerous definitions of her name are made as are various allusions to her virtues, as with 'la diversidad de las virtudes' (11).[31] For Paula, a thorough etymology is given, but only of her virtues (3-18). The description or meaning of her name is left unspecified. In Anastasia's legend, there is no substantial section whereby the main saint is not mentioned, as is the case in the legend of Paula. With Cecilia, on the contrary, there is a considerable section denoting a conversation between the prefect Almachius and the saintly brothers. At this point, Cecilia is rarely mentioned (141-80). This rarity appertains only to this widow legend. Of further interest, the only legend to contain explicit reference to an outside reader, and indeed the only saint to have her life written by a specific exterior party (here Jerome), is Paula (1-2). Anastasia and Cecilia demonstrate no reference to an outside reader or narrator. Cecilia's legend is the only one to include a preface (a brief account of the events of the legend), in this case from Ambrose (246-52), whereas no prefaces are given for Anastasia or Paula. Structurally, therefore, the widow legends also differ to a significant extent.

The circumstances in which Cecilia speaks are comparable to those of Paula. She speaks to God for reassurance (24-26), to her husband or his brother to enlighten them from a scriptural perspective (29-34, 109-12, and 127-36), to those around her to increase their confidence in their faith (183-87, 199-203), to the prefect to show him the error of his ways (213-15), and to Urban to convey her final wishes (238-40). Yet the legend of Cecilia proves

[31] An etymology is only included in Compilation A of Cecilia's legend, with none featuring in Compilation B.

dissimilar to those of Anastasia and Paula in the sense that much of the former is composed of conversations, as much to designate a progression in action as to provide a biblical source of information to the reader. Cecilia presents a clear contrast with Anastasia, as the latter rarely spoke to her aggressors. The included conversations are not uniquely between Cecilia and another, but also involve the two saintly brothers to a great extent. It is essentially the legend which proves most informative to the audience, from a scriptural perspective.

The conversation between Anastasia and the prefect tests his intelligence, further elevating her superiority. His fallibility is instead demonstrated, as he proves his interests purely to be in riches and mortal wealth (48). He attempts to adopt a persuasive technique in his dialogue, as if divulging a secret to Anastasia in trying to convince her of his way of thinking. Whilst he tries to win her trust, the intellectual retort of the saint reduces him to nothing. He tries to trick her and use her religion against her, however Anastasia remains victorious in the battle of wits (49-54). Cecilia is similarly superior to her interrogator in intelligence and spiritual power. Almachius's fallibility is depicted on the highest possible level: he is symbolically emasculated as a man and in terms of his public status. Like the prefects who persecute Anastasia, he too is interested solely in the wealth of the saint, and his attempts to recover this also prove futile (194-214). With Paula, there is no prefect with whom she can have a conversation, as there appears no real threat to her virginity following the birth of her children. Despite this, Paula's direct speech to those around her is a demonstration of her intelligence and her knowledge of the divine to the reader and to her entourage.

The appearance of direct speech, inclusive of the conversations enacted between the saint and others in the legend, also demonstrates significant parallels amongst the accounts. Each widow speaks either to inform the reader of certain aspects of Christianity or to combat a

prefect's advances or erroneous devotion to the idols. The result is that each widow is portrayed as a powerful character, using her voice to articulate her intellect.[32] There is some conversation between the non-believing and the saint in the legend of Anastasia, the speech also serving to instruct the reader in the ways of the faith (49-54). This distinct level of oral interaction between the converted and the non-believing offers the reader a greater insight into Christianity. Conversation between saint and prefect here demands that the widow justify her reasons behind her religious devotion. Paula also offers many instances of direct speech, however much of this is not presented in the format of a conversation. Alternatively, it can be classified more adequately as a type of soliloquy, again informing the reader of specific aspects of religion (a prime example with Paula's vision of Herod's persecution of the innocent, lines 63-70).[33] The remainder of Paula's direct speech, unlike Anastasia, forms occasional conversations between her and an unthreatening opposite or interested peer.[34]

Final days of the widow: the resolution

Ultimately, regarding the final days of the widow, certain similarities can be ascertained. Anastasia is tied to a cross and burnt alive, presenting powerful fire imagery in 'E mandó q*ue*mar a Santa Anastasia atada a unos palos' (61-62). There is no explicit reference as to whether or not she feels pain at this point. Cecilia is ordered to be burned alive in a boiling bath for one day and one night, again inciting imagery of fire and heat. The saintly widow does not produce a single drop of sweat, despite the excessive heat to which she is subject

[32] 'The virgin's speech is the voice of God […] After all, Bokenham's Life of St Agnes demands not only that we read the saint's martyrdom through acts of speech but also that we perceive it in the context of an act that attempts to silence that speech: she is only consecrated martyr after her throat is stabbed' (Mills 2003: 194).
[33] See Compilation A, lines 64-71, 82-88, 98-100, and 158-61.
[34] See Compilation A, lines 114-15, 133, 135-36, and 163-64.

(230-33). Paula, whilst dying from a natural death, is overcome by a fever, also evoking a concept of excessive heat (129-31). The fact that she is overcome by this fever in the warm month of July accentuates this. In this respect, the deaths could be interpreted on a similar plane. Paula is the only widow to express how happy she feels at the time of her imminent death, in the expression 'sonrriéndose' (134). She produces no sweat either, feeling cold in every part of her body except for in her 'pecho', in which burns her love for Christ (158-60). It could be that the lack of heat or sweat produced by each of widows reflects their desire to suffer and instead retain their pain, substituting it for celestial bliss. Outsiders have attempted, unsuccessfully, to convert the saintly widows and convert them to worshipping idols and renounce Christianity. Out of frustration (or in Paula's situation, for reasons of health), death through the medium of heat is the last resort. Yet even this is not capable of changing the saint's mind: even when faced with hell, the women do not falter.

None of the widows are depicted specifically as suffering through their manner of deaths, despite the pain they inevitably endured on a mortal level. Each was aware of the better life awaiting them. The burial of each saint also contains certain parallels, with a church being built in the name of Anastasia, for example, and the legend subsequently finishing with her death in the name of the Saviour (66-68). Cecilia's legend terminates with the consecration of her house as a church, with the final sentence 'Aquí acaba […] Amén' (252-54) identically employed at the end of Paula's life (181-82). Although no specific church is built in Paula's name, her body is buried explicitly at a church close to the cave in which Christ was born (172-74).[35]

[35] 'Saints' shrines were conceived, built, and ornamented as glorious sites where it could be seen that heaven touched earth and that the saints supported and glorified the Universal Church made up of its living members (1 Cor.12). A saint's connectedness to a hierarchy or community was essential: while "alive" in his tomb the saint

Conversely, numerous disparities appear in the recounting of the widows' final days. Neither Anastasia nor Cecilia is explicitly aware of their imminent death (although arguably Cecilia may have been aware that martyrdom was inevitable following her heated conversation with the prefect), whereas Paula knew that her time was approaching: 'Sentía aquesta muger sabia seer la su muerte muy cercana' (157-58). Her aforesight or perhaps celestial knowledge is explicitly underlined. Whilst Anastasia does not iterate any specific desire to die, Cecilia and Paula knew that death would result in a better life, and are therefore unfazed by its prospect. They expressly want to die, voicing their desire to leave the mortal realm. Paula, for example, 'pensava de cada día de dexar la tierra' (33). Whereas no tears are shed for Anastasia's death, Cecilia's entourage cries at the thought that she should want to die so ardently (198-99), and similarly certain doctors attempt to dissuade Paula from dying (131-33). Anastasia (61-62) and Cecilia (229-38) are martyred, both deaths involving fire and torture. Cecilia's death further involves penetration through an attempted beheading, and is indeed the only legend to do so (233-36). Paula dies naturally, of a fever (169). Whilst nobody throws themselves onto the body of Anastasia or Cecilia following their death, Paula's daughter Eustochium throws herself onto her mother's dead body in remorse (174-76), to become one with her just as her mother has become one with Christ. This said, Paula is evidently the object of veneration by others in addition to by her daughter, just as Cecilia is the object of veneration by all of those around her. In view of these disparities, however, the saintly widows arguably cannot be similarly categorized.

There is no allusion to the good reputation of Anastasia following her death, however there is to that of Cecilia (45) and Paula. Indeed, in the latter, everyone is depicted as attending

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was also a resident of the City of God. With immediate access to the Lord as a powerful advocate, he or she was part of the court of heaven and could even be said to "build" the walls of the City of God' (Hahn 1997b: 1080).

the widow's funeral, such was her reputation (170-72). Anastasia's legend includes no reference to the rising of the souls of the martyred towards heaven, whilst with Cecilia the souls of the brothers at the time of their martyrdom are explicitly consecrated to heaven, transported upwards in the arms of the angels (189-91). Even with Paula the reader sees an allusion to the exit of her soul from her body at the moment of death: 'le salió el alma del cuerpo' (169). As the body was notably weaker than the soul, the soul would be separated from it at the time of death, which was inevitably a blessing (Brown 1988: 34).[36] Apolonia takes Anastasia's body to bury it (65-67), just as Urban takes Cecilia's body and buries it amongst the tombs of the saints (241-43); however no specific saintly individual is cited as taking Paula's body to be buried. Furthermore, no date of martyrdom or death is given in the legends of Anastasia or Paula, only in that of Cecilia (245-46).

Paula is never asked to sacrifice her religion. Yet Cecilia and Anastasia are asked to sacrifice and refuse, as are and do Anastasia's servant friends, all due to a refusal to submit to the desire, often sexual, of a predatory male. Almachius orders Cecilia to be brought before him, in an attempted act of female submission, reminiscent to that experienced by Anastasia. Such a refusal in each case leads to imprisonment and subsequent martyrdom. Publius and the anonymous prefects in Anastasia's account attempt to assume control of the female saint, and become angry at her rhetoric. Cecilia is also imprisoned at the end of her legend, although not on as many occasions as Anastasia, and only by the prefect Almachius, not by her husband. The strength of each prefect is compared directly to that of Christ, the former proving inevitably inferior. Valerian proves supportive of his wife's spiritual choices, showing no anger or reluctance to her decision to pursue a spiritual life. With Paula, on the contrary, there

[36] 'Christ is understood to be the bridegroom not of bodies but of souls' (D'Avray 2005: 31).

is no prefect to whom reference can be made, no direct menace to her liberty as she is never imprisoned, and thus no angry interjection between prefect and saint, designed to test the faith of the latter. Indeed, the disparity in instances of imprisonment throughout each account proves curious, as whilst no-one is imprisoned throughout Paula's life, Cecilia and the two brothers are imprisoned at different moments, and Anastasia, the three sisters and Anastasia's servant are all enclosed against their will at various instances.

A threatening exterior element is present in the legends of Anastasia and Cecilia therefore, subsequently engendering their final martyrdom. With no presence of outside danger or threat to Paula, the widow is able to die naturally and not fear martyrdom, presenting perhaps one of the greatest disparities between the saintly widow legends. The martyrdom of Anastasia and Cecilia vividly contrast the natural death attributed to Paula, with the contrasting unraveling and dénouement of each of the three legends reflecting their imminent disparate endings. This is likely to correspond to the times in which each legend was set. The lives of Anastasia and Cecilia occur during times of persecution, whereas Paula's life is set after the Christianisation of the Roman Empire. This may have some bearing as to an individual interpretation of each legend, in that Paula could be seen as providing the alternative to saintly widowhood after the opportunity for martyrdom had disappeared. The mere fact that Paula's legend presents no outside male threat and is coloured by the appearance of five children, which completely opposes the legends of Anastasia and Cecilia, contributes to a conclusion that the widow legends cannot be similarly grouped. Furthermore, the legends of Cecilia and Anastasia cannot be identically categorized as they too contain sufficient disparities to classify them as separate entities. Whilst their deaths are similar, their respective marital relationships are not, nor are the decisions they take throughout the course

of their lives. However, their presence as figures to be emulated by the average virtuous medieval wife or widow does bind them and their narratives strongly together.

Conclusion

This chapter discusses whether the legends of the saintly widows can be similarly classified and thus considered a group worthy of its own merit in the hagiographic genre, such as the virgin martyr or the transvestite saint. The contribution of the saintly widow to hagiography is here undeniable. This presentation of a figure of female saint, who is neither virginal nor married, shows her to be one sufficiently capable of attaining sanctity even after the departure of her husband. Whilst an initial glance at the widow legends would suggest similar categorization, featuring as the only four of the 182 chapters in Voragine's compilation to constitute a widow as the female saintly protagonist, closer analysis of the accounts discerns greater dissimilarity than parallels, thus demanding that the legends be further subdivided.

Anastasia, Cecilia, and Paula all prove threatening to those men in their lives in terms of their power, particularly following the death of their respective husbands. Anastasia and Cecilia are virginal throughout their lives and so have only their earthly marriage with which to contend. Anastasia overcomes the threat of sexual advances and Cecilia manages to convert her spouse, each proving, thus, worthy of sanctity. In each case the spouse dies, leaving the widow free from any earthly engagement. Paula gives birth to five children, however her deliberate and excruciating separation from her family and subsequent chaste lifestyle, together with her charitable acts and death of her husband, means that she too is worthy of sainthood. This demonstrates that whilst the theme of widowhood may still be disputed from

the perspective of religion, these widows are capable of attaining sanctity just as any other saint.

Perhaps more importantly, these findings prove something further than the observation that the saintly widows cannot be homogenously grouped. Taking Anastasia to one side, as her inclusion in the final chapter of this work primarily appears to support those findings encountered with the two main widows upon whom this thesis is based, closer inspection of the varying saintly roles of Paula and Cecilia reveals an array of examples as to the roles traditionally assigned to women by the Church. Both women are given roles within their respective legends which correlate to the roles the Church assigned to women during the medieval era, more notably married women and widows in medieval society. Both Paula and Cecilia are 'saintly versions' of other virtuous medieval wives and widows. Paula acts as a mother to the nuns and monks in the convents she founds in Palestine. Cecilia, in contrast, acts firstly as a saintly wife to Valerian, by 'inflaming' him into seeing God's truth, and later, as a saintly widow, by following his path to martyrdom.

From this perspective, there is a common ethos, a similarity between these two saints. The predominant features of the accounts, such as the manner of death of the widow, the nature and final days of the husband, relationship between the mortal spouses, the chaste status of each widow, life choices of the female saint, trials and tribulations suffered by the widow, and specific thematic inclusions within each respective legend, all point towards a definitive conclusion. These widows cannot be similarly grouped; there exist insufficient parallels between the three for them to be considered, in scholarly terms, as an independent hagiographic category within the Spanish compilations. Nevertheless, whilst the legends merit sub-categorization, the strong ties between them divulge perhaps a more important message.

The mere fact that each legend features as its main female protagonist a widow is a powerful and tangible link between the accounts. It is the structural mechanism employed in both legends, used to portray the women as characters within a narrative on female sainthood, which is identical and binds the narratives together. Women would rest assured that, although they were unable to emulate the unrealistic actions of the embodiment of purity and innocence, the Virgin Mary, they could instead be guaranteed a celestial spot amongst other virtuous wives or widows if they could imitate the saintly behaviour exhibited in the legends of Cecilia and Paula.

Chapter 8: Critical Editions

Editorial Criteria

Readings have been taken from Escorial h-III-22 and Biblioteca Nacional 12688 (both Compilation A) for the accounts featuring Saint Paula, and from Escorial h-II-18, Biblioteca Nacional 12689 (both Compilation A), Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (both Compilation B), and finally Escorial h-I-14 (The revision of Compilation B), for the accounts in which Cecilia is the saintly protagonist. The decision to use Escorial h-III-22, Escorial h-II-18, and Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 respectively as base texts in these critical editions was taken as these versions of the legends of Paula and Cecilia proved the closest to the Latin originals from the perspective of content.

In the editions, a change of folio is provided in brackets, with superscript *r* and *v* referring respectively to recto and verso, and *a* and *b* alluding to columns. The inclusion of a vertical bar (|) demonstrates a folio division in a single word, thus denoting word separation. Significant variations, any omissions, semantic distinctions and discrepancies are enumerated in the respective critical appartus. An asterisk denotes an emendation. Scribal abbreviations have been expanded and are indicated by italics. Irrelevant or insignificant markings have been silently ignored. The name of Christ, abbreviated to 'Jhu xpo' in the medieval, is here restored to 'Jh*es*u *Christ*o'. Where the scriptural consonants 'i' and 'j' are employed interchangeably in the manuscripts, they have been regularized to aid legibility, as is the case with the consonants 'v' and 'u'. Initial doubled consonants are regularized. Punctuation conforms to modern practice, as does accentuation, for example in the appearance of the tilde, which is not present in the manuscript. No other variants or editorial interventions have been included.

COMPILATION A

Escorial h–III–22 (fol. 140ra - fol. 145ra), *A*, and Biblioteca Nacional 12688 (fol. 236vd - fol. 240vd), *B*

[fol. 140ra] Aquí comiença la ystoria de la vida de Santa Paula

Santa Paula fue dueña muy noble entre las dueñas romanas e escrivió su vida el bienaventurado Sa*n*t Jerónimo en la manera que se sigue.

Si todos los mienbros del mi cuer|po [fol. 140rb] se tornasen en lenguas e todos los artejos se tornasen en palabras, no*n* podría yo dezir cosa digna de las virtudes de Santa Paula. Ca fue muy noble por linaje mas fue mucho más noble por santidat de vida loable. Fue muy abondada de riquezas mas fue mucho más abondada de virtudes por la gra*n*deza de la su pobreza. E yo llamo por testigos a mi señor Jhe*s*u *Christ*o, cuya pobreza ella siguió, e a los sus santos ángeles e en especial al ángel que la guardó, que non digo cosa alguna en aquesta escriptura por la engraciar e loar, mas por contar la verdat, ca mucho menos es lo que se dize de los sus merescimientos que lo q*ue* era en él fecho. E si el leedor quiere saber brevemente las sus virtudes sepa que dexó a todos los suyos pobres por acorrer a los pobres como ella fuese [fol. 140va] mucho más pobre. E asý como la piedra muy preciosa rexplandesce entre las otras piedras, e asý como el rexplandor del sol escuresce los rayos de las estrellas, así sobrepujo ella las virtudes de todos los otros por la grandeza de la humildat. Ca fue pequeña entre los pequeños porque fuese mayor que todos ellos, e tanto era más ensalçada del su Salvador qua*n*to más se abaxava por el su

amor. Ca era digna de gloria fuyendo la gloria porque la gloria corre en pos de las virtudes a manera de sonbra e va en pos de los que la desprecian e fuye de los que la desean.

E esta santa muger fue casada e ovo q*ua*tro fijas e un fijo. Conviene saber a Blesila, de cuya muerte la consolé estando en Roma. E a Sa*n*ta Paulina, la qual dexó por heredero de las sus riquezas e virtudes al varó*n* maravilloso e Santo Pama|chio, [fol. 140^{vb}] al qual yo escrevý un librillo pequeño de la su muerte. E a Eustochio, la qual guarda agora virginidat en la santa cibdat de Betleén e es perla muy preciosa de la eglesia, e a Rufina que murió de tierna hedat e quebrantó el coraçón piadoso de la madre, e a Toxocio su fijo. E después que ovo avido estas fijas e este fijo cesó de parir porque entiendas que non servía al oficio del casamiento por el deleyte carnal mas por satisfazer al deseo del marido, que deseava aver fijo varón. E desque el marido murió asý lo lloró que poco menos murió ella con él. E así se tornó por virtud a Dios que parescía q*ue* le deseara la muerte. E como oviese noble casa e muy abondada despendióla poco menos toda e*n* las nescesidades de los pobres.

E como Paulino, obispo de la cibdat de Antiochía, e [fol. 141ra] sant Epifanio, obispo de la cibdat de Salamina la de Chipre, fuesen a Roma encendida ella por deseo de remedar las sus virtudes, pensava de cada día de dexar la tierra. E ta*n*to cresció en ella este deseo que lo puso en obra. E como decendiese al puerto del mar con sus parientes e co*n* sus fijos e entrase en la galea e comencasen a remar, Toxocio su fijo que era aún pequeño e estava e*n* la ribera, alçava las manos a ella e rogávala que non lo q*ui*siese desanparar. E Rufina, su fija que estava desposada, rogávale con muchas lágrimas que esperase sus bodas. Mas ella alçava arriba sus ojos secos e fincávalos en el cielo, e demostrava a los fijos crueldat por ofrescer a Dios piedat e non se conoscía ser madre por la esperança

celestial e por demostrarse ser sierva del Salvador. [fol. 141^{rb}] E seyendo atorme*n*tadas las sus entrañas e asý como apartadas de los mienbros peleava con el dolor, e llena de fiuzia esforçávase contra los derechos de la natura. E alegrándose el su coraçón por la esperança del gualardón, despreciava el amor de los fijos por el amor de Dios e consolávase con sola su fija Eustochio, que era conpañera del su viaje e del su propósito. E como fuése la galea por el agua e todos los que yva*n* con ella oreasen a la ribera, ella sola volvía los ojos a otra parte por no*n* veer lo que non podía acatar sy*n* dolor de la su carrne.

E como llegase a tierra de Palestina e el adelantado de Palestina que conoscía bie*n* su linaje enbiase sus servidores para que la aposentasen en sus palacios, non quiso posar sinon en una casilla pequeña. E co*n* tan grant ardor vesitava todos los logares santos que [fol. 141va] q*ue*davan non se pudiera ap*ar*tar de los que primeramente vesitara. E derribándose en tierra en *e*l logar ado el Señor fue crucificado, adorávalo asý como sy lo toviera en la cruz puesto delante de sý. E entrando en el sepulcro besava la piedra que rebolviera el ángel de la puerta del monumento e lamía con la boca el logar ado estoviera el cuerpo del señor, así como sy beviera aguas muy deseadas. E toda Jerusalém e el señor a quien ella rogava son testigos de la muchedunbre de las lágrymas que ella allí derramó e de la muchedunbre de los gemidos que dio e de la g*ra*ndeza del su dolor.

E dende fuése para la cibdat de Bedleén e entró en la cueva ado nasció el Salvador e vido la posada de la virgen santa e jurava, oyéndolo yo, que veýa con los ojos de la fee al niño Jh*es*u enbuelto en paños e echado en el pesebre, e como lo adora|van [fol. 141^{vb}] los magos e los guiava la estrella muy clara, e como estavan la virgen e el su esposo, e como venían los pastores de noche, aver la palabra que era fecha e dar comiençó al evangelio de Sant Joha*n* que dize que en el comie*n*ço era la palabra, e la palabra fue

fecha carne. E aún dezía que veýa la muerte de los niños ynocentes e a Herodes que perseguía a Josep e a la virgen Santa María q*ue* yvan fuyendo a Egipto e mezclando lágrimas con la alegría dezía: 'Dios te salve, Betleém, casa de pan ado nasció el pan q*ue* descendió del cielo. Dio*s* te salve, Efrata, tierra abondosa ado nasció el Salvador verdadero onbre e verdadero Dios.' E aún dezía con el salmista co*n* toda fiuzia: 'Entraremos en el su tabernáculo e adoraremos en el logar ado estovieron los sus pies. [fol. 142ra] E yo, mesquina e pecadora, só ávida por digna de besar el pesebre ado estovo e lloró el Salvador e*n* la su niñez e de adorar e*n* la cueva ado la virge*n* parió sin dolor al mi rede*n*ptor onbre e Dios. Aquí será la mi folgança ado fue el nascimiento del mi Dios e Señor. Aquí moraré, ca este logar escogió él mi Salvador ado nasciese.'

E a tan grant humildat se dio esta santa muger en la cibdat de Betleém que el que la viese o la desease veer por la grandeza de la su fama non creería que fuese ella mas una de las más viles siervas. E como estoviese aconpañada de muchedunbre de v*ír*gene*s* ella parescía ser menor de todas ellas por vileza de vestidura e por humildat de palabra e de todos sus gestos. E desde el día que murió su marido fasta que ella murió [fol. 142^{rb}] nunca comió con onbre alguno por santo que fuese, aunque fuese obispo, ni*n* usó de baños salvo con gra*n*t perigro de enfermedat, e non tenía en la cama ropa mollida e blanda, aun en enfermedades muy grave*s*, mas su cama era unas mantas de sayal tendydas en tierra. E velava poco menos toda la noche en oraciones, e así llorava los pecados livianos como si fueran unos males muy graves. E como le amonestase yo muchas vezes que perdonase a sus ojos e los guardase para la licción de las santas escripturas, respondíame e dezía: 'Menester es q*ue* sea turbada la cara que se afeytó muchas vezes contra el mandamiento de Dios con diversas aguas e con alvayalde e arrebol e alcohol, e que sea atormentado el

cuerpo que se dio lue*n*gamente a deleytes e que la lengua risa sea atormentada [fol. 142va] de lloro perdurable. E que las sávanas bla*n*das e las vestiduras preciosas de seda sean mudadas en aspereza e vileza de silicio, e que se esfuerce a plazer a Jh*es*u *Christ*o la que se es*f*orçó a plazer al mundo e al marido.'

E sy entre tantas e tan grandes virtudes quisiere loar en ella la castidat parescerá que fablo cosas demasiadas. Ca aún seyendo seglar e casada fue enxienplo de castidat e hon*e*stad a todas las dueñas romanas, ca en tal manera se avía en toda su co*n*versación que nunca se atrevió alguno de los maldezidores a le levantar alguna fama mala. E como fuese muy larga en el dar de las limosnas e la reprehendiese yo algunas vez*e*s dello, allegándole lo que dize el apóstol, que non demos en tal manera q*ue* sea a los otros refrigerio e a nos tribulación, mas con egualdat en manera [fol. 142^{vb}] que la nuestra abasta*n*ça acorra a la mengua ajena ca mejor era que pudiese fazer sienpre lo q*ue* fazía de buenamente. E le dixiese otras cosas semejabl*e*s desfazíalas ella con cara vergoñosa e pocas palabras, diziendo: 'Testigo me es el señor que lo fago por el su amor. Ca mi deseo es morir a tan pobre q*ue* lo oviese de andar a demandar e non oviese logar de dexar a mi fija Eustochio un solo dinero e oviese a demandar en limosna la sávana en que me oviesen de enbolver para enterrar.' E aún dezía que sy ella pidiese muchos fallaría que le diesen, e si ella non acorriese al pobr*e* que le demandava limosna e peresciese a ella sería demandada su muerte pues que le podía acorrer aún de lo ageno.

E q*ue* non quería despender el dinero en las piedras que perescían con este mundo pa|sadero [fol. 143ra] más en las pied*ra*s bivas que andan sobre la tierra e sufren mucha mengua, de las quales segunt el Apocalipsi de Sant Joh*a*n es hedeficada la cibdat del rey celestial. E nunca comía azeyte en la vianda salvo en los días de las fiestas. E de

aquí puede ser conoscido quanto se abstenía del vino e de la manteca e de los peces e de la leche e de la miel e de los huevos, e de las otras cosas delectables al gusto sy asý se abstenía del azeyte, e son algunos que se tienen por grandes abstinentes sy se abstienen de la carne, aunque finchan su vientre de aquestas cosas o de otras semejables. E como uno por se engraciar con ella le dixiese una vez que algunos la tenían por loca por el grant fervor del servycio de Dios e que avía mene*s*ter de esforçar el celebro. [fol. 143^{rb}] Respondióle ella e dixo: 'Acatamiento somos fechos al mundo e a los ángeles e a los onbres, e locos por Jhe*s*u *Christ*o, mas la locura de Dios es más sabia que la sabiduría de los o*n*bres.'

E después q*ue* ovo fecho un monesterio de monjes, fizo tres monesterios de mugeres vírgenes que ayuntó de diversas tierras así nobles como medianas como pobres. E estavan ap*ar*tadas para comer e obrar mas ayuntávanse en uno a orar. E si algunas dellas avían entre sý algunas contiendas e barajas, apazígualas ella con palabras mansas. E domava la carrne de la*s* mancebas con muchos ayunos e abstinencias q*ue*riendo más que les doliese el estómago que el coraçón. E non consentía que traxiesen vestiduras muy linpias, diziendo q*ue* la linpieza del cuerpo e [fol. 143va] de las vestiduras engendrava suziedat en la conciencia e que lo que era pecado ligero entre las mugeres del siglo era muy g*ra*ve pecado entre las religiosas. E como fiziese proveer largamente a las que enfermava*n* e los diese a comer carrne era enpero muy áspera para sí en sus enfermedades e tornava en crueldat en sy mesma la piedat que fazía a las otras enfermas.

E como una vez enfermase muy gravemente en el mes de julio e fiziese grandes calores además e ella oviese muy grant ardor de fiebre, e desesperasen los físicos de su sanidat e mejorase por la misericordia divinal, e le mandasen los físicos bever un poco de

vino aguado para esforcar e que no*n* beviese agua porque non se tornase en ydropesia la su enfermedat. Rogué al bie*n*|aventurado [fol. 143^{vb}] Epifanio, obispo de la cibdat de Salamina de Chipre, que le ma*n*dase bever vino. E sonrriéndose ella e entendiendo de donde nascía respondióle e dixo: 'De Jerónimo nasce aquesto.' E como el santo obispo la amonestase por muchas razones que lo quisiese bever e saliese de la veer, preguntóle si avía aprovechado algo. E respondióme e dixo: 'T*an*to aproveché que poco menos amonestó a mi vejez que non beva vino en esta hedat.'

E entre tan grandes virtudes mucho era q*ue*brantada además del dolor de la muerte de los parientes mayormente de los fijos, ca poco menos llegava a perigro de muerte quando quier que alguno dellos murié. E quando se veýa atormentada del tal dolor fazía la señal de la cruz sobre el estómago, q*ue*riendo vencer el dolor natural [fol. 144ra] con la tal señal, mas era vencida de la flaqueza corporal aunque lo vencía dentro en la voluntad. E retenía en la memoria la escriptura divinal e amando la ystoria, e creyéndola ser cimiento de la verdat seguía con todo esfuerço el entendimiento esp*iri*tual.

E bastecía la casa de la su alma con el entendimiento entrañal de la esc*rip*tura santa. E aun en tan grant hedat trabajó por aprender la lengua judiega que yo aprendiera en mi mancebía co*n* mucho trabajo e sudor e con pensamiento continúo della porque non se me olvidase lo que aprendiera. E rezava ella el salterio en judiego e pronunciava las palabras judiegas sin algunt enbargo de la nuestra lengua. E aún fasta el día de oy veemos aquesto mesmo en su santa fija Eustochio.

Fasta aquí ave|mos [fol. 144^{rb}] mareado con buen viento. E avemos pasado los perigros del mar con tienpo egual, mas agora topa en las rocas la nuestra ystoria. ¿E quién podrá recontar con ojos secos la muerte de aquesta santa mujer? Ca cayó en una grave

enfermedat e alcançó lo que deseava la su voluntad. Conviene saber dexar a nos e ayu*n*tarse al Señor. E por non alongar más el dolor deteniéndome en ot*ra*s cosas verrié a dezir lo que come*n*cé a escrevir. Sentía aquesta muger sabia seer la su muerte muy cercana. E teniendo ya frías todas las partes del cuerpo e aviendo solamente un poco de calor en el pecho, rumiava aquellos versezuelos del salmista así como sy fuese a los sus cibdadanos e dexase a los estraños e dezía: 'Señor, amé la fermosura de la tu casa e el logar de la morada de [fol. 144va] la tu gloria. ¡O q*uá*ntos son amables, señor, de la tu cavallería celestial las moradas de la tu cibdat! Escogí más padre perdurable ser despreciada en la casa del mi señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o que morar en los g*ra*ndes palacios de los pecadores en el siglo.' E como yo le preguntase porque callava e non me respo*n*día a lo que le preguntava, e si sentía algunt dolor, respondióme en la lengua griega e dixo: 'Non sie*n*to cosa alguna que me agravie, mas todas las cosas veo asosegadas e suaves.' E dichas estas cosas e*n*mudesció e cerró los ojos, asý como sy despreciase las cosas terrenales e desease solamente las celestiales. E dezía much*a*s vezes entre sý los versos suso dichos fasta que le salió el alma del cuerpo.

E desque los monjes de la tierra oyeron dezir [fol. 144^{vb}] que era muerta, vinieron a la onrrar e no*n* q*ue*dó alguno en su çelda. E las vírgenes salieron de sus cámeras secretas teniendo que era sacrilegio non venir a las exequias de tan santa fenbra. E todos ellos estuvieron a la honrrar fasta que fue enterrada deyuso de la eglesia acerca de la cueva ado el Salvador nasciera. E Eustochio, su fija virgen digna de reverencia, derrybávase sobre la madre asý como fija desterrada, e ponía sus ojos con los ojos della e su cara con la cara della, e abraçava el cuerpo e dezía que la enterrasen con ella. E testigo es Jh*es*u *Christ*o q*ue* non le dexó la madre un dinero mas mucha debda e grant

muchedunbre de monjes e de monjas que avía de mantener e suste*n*tar e le fuera grant crueldat si los quisiera desechar. Ve con Dios, Paula, [fol. 145[ra]] bienaventurada e ayuda con las tus oracion*e*s la postrimera hedat de aqueste viejo que loa la tu santidat.

Aquí acaba la vida de Santa Paula a onrra e gloria del Nuest*ro* Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, el qual bive e reyna por todos los siglos. Amén.

Critical Apparatus:

rubric] la vida de *A*: om. B
3] lenguas *A* : lengua *B*
4] palabras *A* : lengua e en palabras *B*
8] siguió *A* : seguió *B*
15] humildat *A* : su humilldat *B*
17] corre *A* : correr *B*
25] e este fijo *A* : *om*. *B*
26] el *A* : *om*. *B*
28] parescía *A* : parescié *B*
34] del *A* : de la *B*
36] * q*ui*siese desanparar *B* : quixiese dexar *A*
39] * por *B* : e por *A*
40] demostrarse *A* : mostrarse *B*
43] sola *A* : la *B*
45-46] los ojos a otra parte *A* : a otra p*ar*te los ojos *B*
50] q*ue*davan *A* : si non porque deseava ver los otros santos lugares que quedavan *B*
51] en *e*l logar *A* : *om. B* // fue *A* : fuera *B*
52] de *A* : *om. B*
53] estoviera *A* : estudiera *B*
56] de la muchedunbre de las lágrymas que ella allí derramó e *A* : *om. B*
62] el *A* : *om. B*
61] dar *A* : a dar *B*
65] ado nasció el pan *A* : *om. B*
67] dezía con *A* : dezía *B*
68] su *A* : *om. B* // estovieron *A* : estudiero*n B*
73] esta *A* : aquesta *B*
74] o la *A* : o *B*
86] e que *A* : e *B*
87] bla*n*das *A* : blancas *B* // sean *A* : *om. B*
88] e vileza *A* : *om. B*
90] loar en ella *A* : en ella loar *B*
101] * oviese *B* : oviesen *A*

102] * pidiese *B* : quisiese *A*
109] quanto *A* : q*ua*ndo *B* // * abstenía *B* : astenía *A*
111] abstenía *A* : sostenía *B* // sy *A* : e *B*
112] vientre de *A* : vientre de todas *B* // o *A* : e *B*
114] * e *B* : *om. A*
119] mugeres *A* : *om. B* // que *A* : e *B*
121] apazígualas *A* : apaziguávalas *B*
127] los *A* : les *B*
134] sonrriéndose *A* : sonreyóse *B*
136] si *A* : si le *B*
137] poco *A* : *om. B*
140] perigro *A* : peligro *B*
141] * que *B* : que que *A* // murié *A* : moriese *B* // veýa *A* : se*n*tía *B*
149] olvidase *A* : olvidé *B*
153] perigros *A* : peligr*o*s *B*
157] su *A* : *om. B*
158] cercana *A* : cerca *B*
161] * q*ua*ntos *B* : qua*n*to *A* // * señor, de la tu *B* : señor, de la *A*
162] Escogí *A* : e escogí *B*
168] terrenales *A* : maravillosas terrenales *B*
172] exequias *A* : osequias *B*
173] * honrrar *B* : onrra *A*
174] * digna *B* : dina *A*
177] un *A* : un solo *B*

COMPILATION A

Escorial h–II–18 (fol. 240ra - fol. 243vb), *A*, and Biblioteca Nacional 12689 (fol. 190ra - fol. 194rb), *B*

[fol. 240ra] Aquí comie*n*ça la ystoria de Santa Cecilia

Cecilia quiere dezir ‘lilio del cielo’, o ‘carrera a los ciegos’, o ‘lía e cielo’, o ‘ajena de ceguedad’, o ‘pueblo de cielo’, ca fue lilio del cielo por la castidad de la virginidad, e por la bla*n*cura de la linpieza, e por la verdura de la conciencia, e por el olor de la fama buena. E fue carrera a los ciegos por la enformación del su enxenplo. E aun fue cielo por la continuació*n* de la contenplación e lía, conviene saber vida activa por la continuació*n* de las obras de santa vida. E aun fue cielo porq*ue* segund dize Sant Ysidoro el cielo es movible e redondo e ardiente. E assí Santa Cecilia fue lijera de mover a la buena obra e redonda por la perseverança e ardiente por el encendimiento de la caridad. E aun fue ajena de ceguedad por el resplandor de la sabiduría divinal, e aun fue cielo del pueblo porque vee en ella el pueblo para remedar [fol. 240rb] al sol e a la luna e a las estrellas, conviene saber la claridad de la sabiduría e la grandeza de la fe e la diversidad de las virtudes.

E aquesta sa*n*ta virgen fue noble e de muy claro linaje entre los Romanos, e *Christ*iana desde la cuna, e sienpre traýa en sus pechos ascondido el evangelio de Jh*es*u *Christ*o. E non cessava de día e de noche de orar e dezir la lección divinal, encome*n*dando al señor su virginidad. E aquesta santa virgen fue desposada con un mancebo de noble linaje q*ue* avía nonbre Valeriano. E Valeriano, encendido por amor de la virgen Santa Cecilia, concertó

día para casar. E Santa Cecilia era vestida de fuera de paños de oro e de seda mas deyuso dellos traýa cilicio a carona del cuerpo. E tan grande era la guarda de los padres e del esposo cerca della que non podía ella demostrar el ardor del su coracón e declarar po*r* señales manifiestas que amava al solo Salvador. E viniendo el día de las bodas e sonando los órganos e los otros estrumentes, cantava ella a solo Dios en su coraçón e dezía: 'Sea fecho Señor el mi cuerpo e el mi coraçón sin manzilla porque non sea yo co*n*fondida.' E ayunava non comiendo de dos a dos días e de tres a tres, encome*n*da*n*do al Señor lo que avía miedo de perder. E conbidava a los ángeles co*n* oraciones, e rogava a los apóstole*s* con lágrimas, e suplicava a todos los moradores de la cibdad soberana que la ayudassen con sus ruegos e encomendassen su castidad a Dios del cielo. E viniendo la noche e entrando con su esposo a la cá|mara [fol. 240va] díxole: 'O mancebo muy dulce e amable, yo te quiero dezir un secreto, si me jurares que lo guardarás e non lo descubrirás.' E juróle Valeriano que lo guardaría e non lo descobriría. E díxole Santa Cecilia: 'Yo he un ángel de Dios por guardador e guarda el mi cuerpo con ta*n* grand selo que si sintiere en qualquier manera q*ue* sea que llegas a mi con amor ajeno de linpieza, movera co*n*tra ti la suyra e perderás la flor de la tu dulce mancebía. Mas si viere q*ue* me amas con amor linpio e sin ma*n*zilla e quieres guardar entrega e sin corronpimiento la mi virginidad, assí amará a ti como a mi e te demostrará la su gracia e benignidad.'

E Valeriano, oyendo aquesto, fue lleno por voluntad de Dios de grand miedo e dixo: 'Si quieres que yo crea tus palabras demuést*ra*me el ángel que dizes, e si viere q*ue* es ángel verdaderamente faré lo q*ue* me amonestas. Mas si viere q*ue* ama*s* a otro honbre a ti e a él mataré con mi espada.' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Si me prometes de seguir mi consejo e ser alinpiado po*r* la fuente perdurable e creyeres se*r* en el cielo un dios bivo e

verdadero, podrás ver el ángel que es dado a mí para me guardar.' E díxole Valeriano: '¿E quién es aquel que me ha de alinpiar para q*ue* yo pueda ver el ángel?' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Un viejo ay q*ue* sabe alinpiar los honbres para q*ue* pueda*n* ver el ángel.' E díxole Valeriano: '¿E ado fallaré yo a esse viejo que tú dizes?' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Ve por la carrera de Ápia a [fol. 240^{vb}] tres millas de la cibdad e fallarás ende a unos pobres q*ue* está*n* pidiendo limosna a los que passan, e aquellos sabe*n* bien mis secretos. E sienpre ove yo grand cuydado dellos e darles has la limosna que yo te daré e dezirles has: "Cecilia me enbió a vos para que me demostredes al viejo Sa*n*t Urban que trayo un mensaje suyo secreto que le diga." E desque tú vieres al viejo Sant Urban, relatarle has todas mis palabras e él te ali*n*piará e te vestirá de vestiduras nuevas e blancas, e luego que entrares con ellas en aquesta cámara verás al ángel santo que te amará assí como a mi e te dará todo lo que le demandares.'

E Valeriano, oyendo aq*ue*sto, fue adonde le dixera Santa Cecilia e falló al papa Sant Urban que fuera ya dos vezes confessor e estava ascondido entre los sepulcros de los mártires, e relatóle todas las cosas que le dixera Santa Cecilia. E Sant Urban, oyéndolo que le dezía Valeriano, ovo grand plazer además e puso aribas las rodillas en tierra e abrió e alçó las manos fazia el cielo, e dixo llorando: 'Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, buen pastor, senbrador de consejo casto, rescibe los fructos de la simiente que senbraste en tu sierva, Cecilia. Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, buen pastor, tu sierva Cecilia te sirve assí como abeja sabía e avisada, e enbió a ti assý como cordero muy manso a su esposo que era assý como un león bravo, ca non viniera acá éste si non creyesse fielmente. Abre, señor, a las tus palabras la puerta del su coraçón porque conosciendo a ti su criador renuncie al diablo e a todas [fol. 241ra] las sus obras e a todos los ýdolos vanos.' E diziendo Sant Urban estas cosas e otras semejables aparesció

delante ellos a desora un viejo vestido de unas vestiduras blancas como la nieve e traýa un rótulo en las manos escripto de letras de oro. E veyéndolo Valeriano fue lleno de grand miedo e cayó en tierra assý como muerto, e llegó a él el viejo e levantólo de tierra e díxole: 'Lee lo que está escripto en este rótulo e cree porque merescas ser ali*m*piado e puedas ver el ángel que te prometió la muy devota virgen Cecilia.' E Valeriano paró mientes al rótulo e començó a leerlo entre sí. E la esc*ri*ptura del rótulo era la que se sigue: 'Un Dios, una fe, un baptismo, un Dios e padre de todos, que es sobre todas e en todas las cosas.'

E como Valeriano leyesse el rótulo entre sí, díxole el viejo: '¿Crees ser ansí o dubdas aún?' E respondió Valeriano a grand boz e dixo: 'No*n* ay cosa so el cielo que más verdaderamente pueda ser creýda q*ue* aquesta.' E desque Valeriano ovo dicho aquesto, desaparesció de sus ojos aquel viejo. E entonces Sant Urba*n* baptizó a Valeriano e enseñóle toda la regla de la fe, e enbiólo enformado con diligencia a la santa virgen Cecilia. E viniendo Valeriano vestido de vestiduras blancas falló a Santa Cecilia orando en la cámara, e al ángel del Señor que estava acerca della con alas resplandescientes e claras e con cara lunbrosa e enflamada, e tenía dos coronas en las manos de lilios e de rosas. E dióla una a Santa Cecilia e la otra a Valeriano, e díxoles: 'Estas coronas guardad [fol. 241^{rb}] con coraçón linpio e con cuerpo sin manzilla, ca las traxe para vos del paraýso dél mi Dios. E nunca se secaran nin amenguaran la suavidad del su olor, nin podrán ser vistas sinon de aquellos a quien pluguiere la castidad assí como a vos. E porque tú, Valeriano, consentiste al consejo de castidad, enbióme a ti Jh*es*u *Christ*o, fijo de Dios, a te dezir que pidas lo que a ti pluguiere.' E oyendo esto Valeriano derribóse en tierra e adoró e dixo: 'Non fue en esta vida a mi cosa más dulce que el amor de mi hermano. E mucho es cosa a mí sin piedad que yo librado vea en peligro de perdición a mi hermano. E por e*n*de aq*ue*sto antepongo a todas mis peticiones e ruego al señor

Jh*es*u *Christ*o de todo coraçón que libre a mi hermano Tiburcio, assí como le plogó de librar a mi, e nos faga a anbos acabar e*n* la confessión del su nonbre.' E oye*n*do el ángel aquesto respondió co*n* cara alegre e dixo: '¿Por qué pediste lo que plaze co*n*plir a Jh*es*u *Christ*o más q*ue* a ti? Assí como él ganó a ti por su sierva Cecilia, assí ganará por ti a tu hermano Tiburcio, e con él alcançarás corona de martirio.'

E acabadas estas palabras desaparesció el á*n*gel e fuésse para el cielo. E Valeriano e Santa Cecilia estando comiendo e fablando palabras de Santa hedificación, vino Tiburcio, hermano de Valeriano, e llegó a besar la cabeça de Santa Cecilia, su cuñada, e dixo: 'Mucho me maravillo además de donde venga en tal tienpo olor de lilios e de rosas, ca aunque toviesse rosas e lilios en mis manos, non podría sentir mayor suavidad de olor. E [fol. 241va] yo vos digo q*ue* assí só con este olor esfo*r*çado que me paresce que só a desora del todo renovado.' E díxole Valeriano: 'Por el mi ruego mereciste se*n*tir aqueste olor, mas si creyeres merescerás ver con alegría las rosas e los lilios e entenderás cuya sangre floresce en las rosas e cuyo cuerpo resplandesce en los lilios, ca tenemos unas coronas que non pueden ver tus ojos que resplandescen por bermejura rosada e por blancura de nieve.' E respondióle Tiburcio e dixo: '¿Estas cosas que me dizes son assí verdad o es sueño?' E díxole Valeriano: 'En sueños avemos bivido fasta aquí mas ya en verdad estamos e non es en nos algund engaño, ca los dioses que adoramos no*n* son dioses mas diablos.' E díxole Tiburcio: '¿De dónde sabes tú aquesto?' E respondióle Valeriano e dixo: 'El ángel del Señor me lo enseñó, e si tú renunciares a todos los ýdolos e fueres alinpiado por el baptismo, poderlo has ver.' Estonces Santa Cecilia començó a demostrar a Tiburcio por razones manifiestas que los ýdolos eran sin sentimiento e mudos. E vencido Tiburcio por las sus razones respondió e dixo: 'Bestia es e non honbre él que aquesto no*n* cree.'

E Santa Cecilia oyendo aquesto besó a Tiburcio en los pechos e dixo: 'Agora te digo que eres mi cuñado, que assí como fizo a tu hermano Valeriano el amor de Dios ser mi marido, assí fará a ti ser mi cuñado el desprecio de los ýdolos. Pues ve con tu hermano Valeriano porq*ue* puedas ser alinpiado e ver a los ángeles.'

E dixo Tiburcio a Valeria|no [fol. 241^{vb}] su hermano: 'Ruégote que me digas a quién me has de levar.' E respondióle Valeriano e dixo: 'Téngote de levar al papa Urbano, obispo de aq*ue*sta cibdad.' E díxole Tiburcio: '¿Dizes de aquel Urbano que ha seýdo co*n*denado por algunas vezes e está ascondido? E si fuere fallado aqueste Urban que tú dizes será sin dubda quemado e seremos nos enbueltos en su damnación, e buscando la divinidad ascondida que está en los cielos caeremos en la tierra en sana de fuego de grand crueza.' E respo*n*dióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Justamente temerías perder aquesta vida si fuesse ella sola e non oviesse otra mejor que nunca puede perescer. Ca el fijo de Dios por el qual son fechas todas las cosas e es enge*n*drado perdurablemente del padre vino a nos e nos demostró ser otra vida de mucho mayor valor. E todas las cosas que fueron criadas del fijo fueron abivadas del Spíritu Santo que sale del padre e del fijo.' E díxole Tiburcio: 'Tú dixiste primero ser un dios e agora dizes que son tres.' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Assí como en una sabiduría del ho*n*bre son tres cosas conviene saber: ingenio e memoria e entendimiento. Assí son tres personas en la esse*n*cia de una sola divinidad.'

E come*n*çóle a predicar de la venida del fijo de Dios e de la su passión, demostrá*n*dole muchos e grandes provechos que vinieron a nos de la passión de Jhe*s*u *Christ*o nuestro medianero, diziendo: 'El fijo de Dios fue preso porque fuesse suelto el linaje humanal q*ue* estava captivo por el pecado, e fue [fol. 242ra] maldito e denostado porq*ue* el linaje humanal fuesse bendito e loado. E fue escarnescido porque el honbre fuesse librado del

escarnescimiento de los diablos e fue coronado de espinas porque librasse a nos de la sentencia de la muerte. Gostó la fiel amarga porque sanasse el gosto dulce del ho*n*bre e fue despojado porque cubriesse la desnudedad de los primeros padres del linaje humanal. Fue puesto en el madero porque alinpiasse él tras passamiento del fruto del árbol q*ue* fuera a los primeros padres vedado.' E Sant Tiburcio oyendo aquesto dixo a su hermano Valeriano: 'Ave merced de mi e liévame al honbre de Dios porque sea alinpiado.' E Valeriano llevó a su hermano Tiburcio a Sant Urban, e Sant Urban e*n*formólo en la fe e baptizólo. E después que Tiburcio fue baptizado muchas vezes veýa los ángeles e ganava dellos todo lo que demandava.

E desque Valeriano e Tiburcio fueron *Christ*ianos començaro*n* a fazer mucha*s* limosnas a los pobres e enterrar los cuerpos de los mártires santos que mandava matar Almachio el adelantado. E oyendo dezir Almachio que Valeriano e Tiburcio e*n*terravan los cuerpos de los mártires mandólos prender e traer delante de sí, e preguntóles por qué enterravan los cuerpos de los dañados que él mandava matar por sus fechos malos. E respondióle Sant Tiburcio e dixo: 'Agora pluguiesse a Dios que nos meresciessemos ser syervos de aquellos que tú llamas dañados, porque despreciaron lo q*ue* paresce ser e no*n* es, e fallaron lo q*ue* no*n* [fol. 242^{rb}] es visto del ojo corporal e es en verdad.' E díxole Almachio: 'Pienso q*ue* no*n* estás en tu seso.'

E mandó Almachio traer delante sí a Valeriano e díxole: 'Porque tu hermano no está en su seso, tú podrás responder sabiamente. Ca cierto es que erráys tú e él porque despreciáys los gozos e plazeres de aquesta vida, e escojedes todo lo que es contrario a la alegría.' E respondióle Valeriano e dixo: 'Yo vi a algunos ociosos fazer escarnio en tienpo del invierno de los labradores que trabajavan, mas desq*ue* vino el estío e vieron la abastança de los frutos

que cojeron los labradores, començaron a llorar los que primero se tenían por sabios e fazían escarnio de los que se davan al trabajo. E nos agora sofrimos desprecio e trabajo, mas en la otra vida rescibiremos gloria para sienpre e gualardó*n* bienaventurado, e vos q*ue* agora vos alegrades en estos gozos te*n*porales lloraredes en la otra vida e*n* los tormentos perdurables.' E díxole Almachio: '¿Si assí es nos que somos príncipes non vencibles avremos lloro perdurable, e vos q*ue* soys personas viles avreys alegría q*ue* durará todavía?' E respondióle Sant Valeriano e dixo: 'Vosot*ro*s honbresillos soys que non príncipes e en nuestro tienpo nacistes e muy en breve moriredes, e daredes a Dios razón mucho mayor que ot*ro*s de pequeño valor.'

E díxole el adelantado: '¿Para qué estáys alo*n*ga*n*do palabras? Ofresced sacrificios a los dioses e yredes en paz.' E respondiéronle los santos mártires Tiburcio e Valeriano: 'Nos cada día [fol. 242va] ofrescemos sacrificio a Dios verdadero e bivo.' E díxoles Almachio: '¿E qué nonbre ha esse v*uest*ro Dios?' E respondióle Valeriano: 'Non podrás fallar su nonbre aunque tomes alas e bueles.' E díxole el adelantado: 'Si assí es como tú dizes, ¿Júpiter no es no*n*bre de Dios?' E respondióle Valeriano e dixo: 'Júpiter es nonbre de ho*n*bre matador de honbres e corro*n*pedor de mugeres.' E díxole Almachi*o*: 'Si assí es, todo el mundo yerra e tú e tu hermano Tiburcio conoscéys a Dios verdadero.' E respondió Valeriano e dixo: 'Non somos nos solos mas son otros muchos con nos q*ue* resciben aquesta santidad.'

E ma*n*dó el adelantado levar los presos a la cárcel de Máximo, e díxoles Máximo: '¡O flor purpurada de mancebía! ¡O amor de hermandad singular! ¿Por q*ué* corredes a la muerte assí como si corriessedes a conbite alegre?' E respo*n*dióle Valeriano e dixo: 'Si tú prometes de creer, verás la gloria de nuestras almas después de la muerte.' E respondióle Máximo e dixo: 'Si tú fazes lo que dizes aún muera yo de rayo del cielo si non creo al tu Dios

que dizes ser verdadero.' E creyeron Máximo e toda su conpaña e todos los carniceros. E ma*n*dó Almachio a los carniceros que levassen a Tiburcio e a Valeriano a un lugar ado estava la ymagen de Júpiter e los descabecassen allí si non quisiessen sacrificar. E vino a ellos Santa Cecilia de noche co*n* los sacerdotes e fizo baptizar a Máximo e a todos los que creyera*n* con él.

E al alva díxoles Santa Cecilia: 'Ea, cavalleros de Jh*es*u *Christ*o, [fol. 242^{vb}] desechad de vos las obras de las tiniebras e armad vos de las armas de la luz, ca lealmente avedes peleado e ya avedes acabado el v*uest*ro curso e avedes guardado la fe yo agora a la corona de la vida que dará el Juez de Justicia, non a vos solos ma*s* a todos los que aman la su venida.' E llegando los varones santos al logar ado estava la ymagen de Júpiter non le quisieron sacrificar e pusieron las rodillas en tierra e los carniceros cortáronles las cabeças. E entonces Máximo afirmó con juramento que viera salir las sus almas de los cuerpos assý apostadas e resplandescientes como vírgines que salen del thálamo e las rescibieron los ángeles e*n* sus braços e las levaron al cielo. E Almachio, oyendo dezir que Máximo era *Christ*iano, fízolo açotar tan lue*n*gamente con plomadas fasta q*ue* dio el alma. E tomó Santa Cecilia su cuerpo e enterrólo acerca de los cuerpos de los mártires santos Tiburcio e Valeriano.

E Almachio fizo tomar todas las riquezas de Tiburcio e Valeriano e traer dela*n*te sí a Santa Cecilia e mandóle que ofresciesse sacrificio a los dioses e si non, que la matassen. E como los servidores de Almachio la afi*n*cassen que sacrificasse, e ella non quisiesse, començaron a llorar fuertemente porque moça tan fermosa e tan noble se ofrescía de su voluntad a la muerte. E díxoles Santa Cecilia: 'Buenos mancebos, non es aquesto perder la mancebía mas mudarla e dar lodo por oro e posada vil por preciosa e un [fol. 243ra] pequeño

rincón por plaça ancha e clara. E si alguno vos diesse muchos sueldos por un dinero mucho yriades lijeros a los rescebir, e pues mucho más lijeramente deve el honbre yr a rescebir el galardón ciento doblado que non ha fin. ¿Creedes aquestas cosas que vos digo?' E respondiéron*n*le ellos e dixeron: 'Creemos q*ue* Jhe*s*u *Christo* es Dios verdadero que escojó tal syerva.' E enbió Santa Cecilia por Sant Urban e vino Sant Urban e baptizó quatrocientos e más.

E Almachio mandó traer delante sí a Santa Cecilia e preguntóle de qué condición era. E respondióle Santa Cecilia que era libre e de noble linaje. E díxole Almachio: 'Yo te pregunto, ¿De qué religión eres?' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'La tu pregunta ovo comiençó loco ca encerró dos respuestas en una pregunta.' E díxole Almachio: '¿De donde te nasce tan grande atrevimiento para responder con tan grande osadía?' E respo*n*dióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Este atrevimiento me nasce de buena co*n*ciencia e de fe verdadera.' E díxole Almachio: '¿Non sabes qué poderío es el mío?' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'El v*uest*ro poderío es assí como odre lleno de viento, que si fuere punçado con algún aguja luego se afloxa de su entesamiento e pierde todo lo que le parescía ser en él fuerte.' E díxole Almachio: 'En injurias començaste e aún en injurias perseverás.' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Non es i*n*juria sinon la que es fecha con palabras falsas, e o me demuestra la injuria que te he dicho, si te fable [fol. 243^{rb}] falsamente, o te enmienda e no*n* q*ui*eras fazer agravio. Ca nos conosciendo el nonbre santo de Dios non lo podemos negar, e mucho es mejor morir bienaventuradamente que bevir desaventuradamente.' E díxole Almachio: '¿Por qué fablas con tan grand sobervia?' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Non respondo con sobervia mas con fortaleza.' E díxole Almachio: 'Non sabes, mesquina, que he poderío de te dar muerte o vida.' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Yo te quiero agora provar que mentiste

manifiestamente contra la verdad. Ca puedes q*ui*tar la vida a los que biven, mas no*n* la puedes dar a los muertos. E por e*n*de non has poder de dar vida, mas muerte.' E díxole Almachio: 'Quita ya de ti esta locura e sacrifica a los dioses.' E respondióle Santa Cecilia e dixo: 'Yo non sé ado perdiste los ojos, ca yo veo que son piedras los que tú dizes que son dioses, sinon llega la mano e táñelos e conoscerás con la mano lo que non puedes ver con los ojos.'

E como respo*n*diesse estas cosas e otras semejables Santa Cecilia, fue ayrado además Almachio e mandóla levar a su casa e quemar en unos baños. E como fuésse encerrada en el calor del baño e pusiessen deyuso mucha leña e mucho fuego e estoviesse un día e una noche, assí como en lugar de refrigerio, e non paresciesse en ella una sola señal de sudor. E fuesse esto dicho a Almachio e enbióla allí a degollar. E el verdugo firióla tres vezes con la espada en la garga*n*ta e non la pudo descabeçar. E por|que [fol. 243va] era mandado entonces por las leyes, que él que avía de ser degollado non fuesse ferido quatro vezes, dexóla assí medio muerta el carnicero cruel. E los *Christ*ianos que avían creýdo por la su predicación alinpiávanle la sangre con sávanas, e bivió assý tres días, non cessando de los enseñar e esforçar a perseverar en la fe de la *Christ*iandad. E partióles todo lo q*ue* tenía e encomendólos a todos al papa Sant Urban e díxole: 'Tres días demandé al Señor de plazo para encomendar estas almas a la tu santidad, e para consagrar ésta mi casa para yglesia a honrra divinal.'

E dichas estas cosas dio el Spíritu al Señor. E Sant Urban tomó su cuerpo de noche con los diáconos e enterrólo entre los cuerpos de los santos papas ado estavan enterrados todos los santos mártires e confessores, e consagró su casa en yglesia, ado faze el Señor muchos beneficios fasta el día de oy en memoria de la bendita su sierva Santa Cecilia. E esta santa virgen fue martiriada en tienpo de Alexandre el enperador, a veynte e dos días del mes de novienbre, año del Señor de dozientos e veynte e cinco. E de aquesta santa virgen dize el

bienaventurado Sant Anbrosio en el prefacio: 'Assí fue Santa Cecilia, llena de devoción celestial, que meresció aver corona de martirio, e despreciasse el mundo co*n* sus tálamos e convertiesse e encendiesse al martirio a Tiburcio e Valeriano. E tú, señor, los coronaste por
250 mano del ángel con coronas de muy suave olor. E la virgen llevó a los varones a la gloria angelical, e conosció el mundo quan grande era el poder [fol. 243^{vb}] de la devoción de la castidad.' Aquí acaba la estoria de la bienaventurada Santa Cecilia, a honrra e gloria de nuestro Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, el qual con el padre e con el Spíritu Santo bive e reyna por todos los siglos, amén.

Critical Apparatus:

rubric] Cecilia *A* : Cecilia, declaración de su no*n*bre *B*
9] vee en ella *A* : en ella vee *B*
11] virtudes *A* : virtudes. Siguese su ystoria *B*
12] E aquesta *A* : Aquesta *B*
14] * dezir *B* : de *A*
18] dellos *A* : dellas *B*
21] en su coraçón *A* : *om. B* // el *A* : en *B*
26] * a Dios *B* : al rey *A*
30] ta*n A* : *om. B*
32] entrega *A* : entrego *B*
41] aquel *A* : él *B*
42] el *A* : al *B*
43] a esse *A* : ese *B*
46] la *A* : *om. B*
55] aribas *A* : amas *B* // e abrió *A* : *om. B*
56] fazia *A :* faza *B*
58] * como *B* : *om. A* // abeja *A* : oveja *B* // enbió *A* : enbía *B*
59] un *A* : *om. B*
63] ellos *A* : dellos *B* // unas *A* : *om. B*
67] muy *A* : muy dulce e *B*
68] leerlo *A* : leer *B* // era la *A* : era lo *B*
69] las *A* : *om. B*
70] ansí *A* : asý *B*
71] respondió *A* : respondióle *B* // grand *A* : alta *B*

76] e claras e con *A* : *om. B* // e con la *B*
82] que a ti *A* : q*ue* te *B*
84] cosa a mí *A* : a mí cosa *B*
95] rosas e lilios *A* : lilios e rosas *B*
98] los *A* : *om. B*
101] verdad o es *A* : en verdat o en *B*
103] adoramos *A* : adorávamos *B*
114] respondióle *A* : respondió *B*
116] Urban *A* : Urbano *B*
120] puede *A* : pudiese *B* // es *A* : *om. B*
125] ingenio e *A* : ingenio *B*
129] fuesse *A* : fue *B*
131] linaje humanal *A* : humanal linaje *B*
133] Gostó *A* : E gostó *B*
134] Fue *A* : E fue *B*
136] primeros *A* : *om. B* // vedado *A* : denedado *B*
142] e *A* : e a *B*
148] en *A* : *om. B*
150] no *A :* no*n B*
152] * todo *B* : *om. A*
160] soys *A* : só des *B* // avreys *A* : abredes *B* // durará *A* : dura *B*
161] soys *A* : só des *B*
162] ot*ro*s *A* : otros q*ue* fueron *B*
164] estáys *A* : estade*s B* // sacrificios *A* : sac*ri*ficio *B*
167] Valeriano *A* : Valeriano e dixo *B*
168] no *A* : no*n B*
169] respondióle *A* : respondió *B*
169-70] de honbres *A* : *om. B*
171] Tiburcio conoscéys *A* : Tiberio conoces *B* // respondió *A* : respondióle *B*
174] O amor *A* : E amor *B*
184] luz *A* : cruz *Bi*
187] le *A* : la *B*
197] como *A* : como quier q*ue B*
210] ca *A* : e *B*
214] algún *A* : alguna *B*
215] de *A* : del *B*
217] e o me *A* : o om*n*e *B*
218] dicho *A* : fecho *B*
227] los *A* : las *B*
233] fuesse esto dicho *A* : fue dicho esto *B*
235] vezes *A* : vezes, e *B*
239] papa Sant *A* : padre *B*
245] martiriada *A* : martirizado *B*
248] meresció *A* : meresciese *B*
249] convertiesse *A* : conversase *B* // Tiburcio e Valeriano *A* : Valeriano e Tiburcio *B*
252] Aquí *A* : Aquí se *B* // gloria de *A* : gl*or*ia del *B*
253] el qual *A* : q*ue B*
254] amén *A* : *om. B*

COMPILATION B

Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 (fols 50rb–52ra), *A*, and Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (fols 144va–147ra), *B*

[fol. 50rb] La fiesta de S*an*ta Cecilia q*ue* es XXII e dos días de noviembre

Santa Cecilia fue v*ir*ge*n* muy clara e fue de los nobles om*n*es de Roma. E de peq*ue*ñuela fue c*ri*ada en la fe de Jh*es*u *Christ*o, e sie*n*pre trayé el eva*nge*lio de Jh*es*u *Christ*o en su seno escondido. E nu*n*ca q*ue*dava de día ni*n* de noche de fablar co*n* Dios e de estar en oració*n*, e rogava sie*n*pre a Dios q*ue*l guardasse su v*ir*ginidat. E seyendo desposada co*n* Valeriano, e vinie*n*do el día de las bodas, ella trayé cilicio a la carne e desuso era vestida de nobles paños co*n* oro e co*n* muchas piedras p*re*ciosas. E cantan*d*o ý los juglares, ella cantava en su coraçó*n* solame*n*te dizie*n*do a Dios: 'Señor, guarda mío coraçó*n* e mío cuerpo sin ma*n*ziella de pecado, e no*n* sea yo confondida.' E ayunó dos o tres días ante desto cada semana, rogando e acome*n*da*n*do a Dios su v*ir*ginidat. E aq*ue*l día de las bodas vino la noche e metiéro*n*la co*n* su esposo en la cámara, e ella co*n* blandas palabras fabló con él en esta man*er*a: '¡O esposo muy dulce e muy amado! Dezirte ya yo una poridat si me jurases q*ue* me la guardarías.' Esto*n*ce juról Valeriano q*ue* g*e* la guardarié en man*er*a q*ue* nu*n*ca la descubriese, ni*n* lo dixiesse a ni*n*guno por ni*n*guna razó*n*. Esto*n*ce dixo ella: 'Yo he un amador q*ue* es el ángel de Dios, e él á muy gra*n*des celos de mí, e guarda el mío cuerpo. E si él entiende [fol. 50va] que me tañes por amor suzio, ferirte á luego e p*er*derás la flor de la tu mancebía q*ue* tú mucho amas. E si él coñosciere q*ue* me amas en bue*n* amor, amarte á assí

como a mi e mostr*ar*te á la su gr*aci*a.'

E esto*n*ce Valeriano, tremie*n*do porq*ue* lo q*ue*ría Dios, díxol: 'Si q*ui*eres q*ue* te crea esso q*ue* tú dizes, muést*ra*me el ángel, e si lo p*ro*vares q*ue* es ángel así como tú dizes, yo faré lo q*ue* tú ma*n*dares. Mas si amas a ot*ro* om*n*e, mataré a ti e a él.' E díxol Cecilia: 'Si creyeres en Dios v*er*dadero, e te bateares, luego lo podrás veyer. E por ende vete a una legua de la villa por la carrera q*ue* dize*n* Apia, e dirás a los pobres q*ue* fallarás allí de mi parte: "Cecilia me envió a vos q*ue* me mostredes a Sa*n*t Urbán el anciano, ca le he a dezir de su parte unas cosas de poridat." E q*ua*ndol viere*s*, dezirle ás lo q*ue* yo te digo e después q*ue* él te bateare, tornarte ás e verás el ángel.'

Estonce Valeriano fuesse p*ar*a allá e, segu*n*d las señales q*ue* ella dixiera, falló a Sa*n*t Urbán el p*apa* entre los sepulcros de los m*árti*res do estava asco*n*dido. E dizié*n*dol todas las palabras de Cecilia, alça*n*do las manos al cielo, dixo llora*n*do: 'Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, senbrador de consejo casto, recibe los fructos de la*s* simie*n*tes q*ue* senbreste en Cecilia. Señor Jh*es*u *Christ*o, bue*n* pastor, Cecilia la tu vassalla sirve a ti bie*n* como abeja, e al su esposo, q*ue* era como leó*n* cruel, enviólo a ti bie*n* como cordero ma*n*so.' E a desora appareció un anciano vestido de vestiduras albas, tenie*n*do un libro de letras de oro, e veýendol Valeriano e avie*n*do miedo, cayó en t*ie*rra como muerto. E leva*n*tá*n*dol este anciano, leyó assí: 'Un Dios e una fe e un baptismo. Un Dios padre de todas las cosas q*ue* es sobre todas las cosas e por todas las cosas e en todos nos.'

E leyendo esto, dixo el anciano: '¿Creyes esto q*ue* es así o por ave*n*tura dubdas?' Ento*n*ce él dixo: 'No á ni*n* es ot*ra* cosa so el cielo [fol. 50^{vb}] q*ue* más v*er*daderame*n*te pueda seer creýda.' E do a la sazó*n* desaparecie*n*do este anciano, Sa*n*t Urbán baptizó a Valeriano, e torná*n*dose, falló a Cecilia en la cámara fablando co*n* el ángel. E el ánge*l* tenié dos coronas en

su mano de rosas e de lilios, e dio la una a Cecilia e la ot*ra* a Valeriano, dizie*n*do: 'Guardat estas coronas en el coraçó*n* sin ma*n*ziella e en el cuerpo linpio, ca las trayo del paraýso de Dios p*ar*a vos, e nu*n*ca se secan ni*n* pierden el olor, ni*n* las puede ni*n*guno veyer, salvo q*ui*en ama castidat. E tú, Valeriano, porq*ue* creýste al consejo q*ue* te será p*ro*vechoso, dema*n*da lo q*ue* q*ui*sieres.' E díxol Valeriano: 'Non fue en esta vida cosa q*ue* yo ta*n*to amasse como un mi h*er*mano, e por ende demá*n*dote q*ue* conosca la v*er*dat assí como yo.' E dixo el ángel: 'Plaze a Dios esso q*ue* tú dema*n*das, e amos seredes m*árt*i*r*es e venir vos hedes p*ar*a Dios.'

Después desto entra*n*do Tiburcio, h*er*mano de Valeriano, e sintie*n*do muy gra*n*d olor de rosas, dixo: 'Maravíllome dónde viene este olor de rosas e de lilios en este tie*n*po, ca si yo toviesse estas rosas e lilios en mis manos, no*n* sint*irí*a mayor olor de q*ua*nto siento. E dígovos v*er*dat, q*ue* assí só farto dél q*ue* me semeja q*ue* só mudado a desora.' E díxol Valeriano: 'Nos no avemos coronas q*ue* pueda*n* veyer t*u*s ojos, e son coloradas como flores e bla*n*cas como la nieve, e assí como yo fablo sie*n*tes el olor, así las podrás veyer si q*ui*sieres creyer.' E díxol Tiburcio: 'Seméjame q*ue* lo oyo en sueños, e tú, Valeriano, ¿Fablas estas cosas co*n* v*er*dat?' E díxol Valeriano: 'Fasta agora fuemos en sueños, mas agora somos en v*er*dat.' E díxol Tiburcio: '¿Dó*n*de lo sopiste tú esto?' E díxol Valeriano: 'El ángel de Dios me lo most*ró*, e tú lo podrás veyer si te babtizares e negares todos los ýdolos.'

Esto*n*ce Cecilia mostról q*ue* los ýdolos era*n* cosas mudas e no*n* sintién ni*n*guna cosa. Respondió Tiburcio e dixo: 'Q*ui*en esto no*n* creye tal es como bestia.' Esto*n*ce Cecilia, besándol en los pechos, dixo: 'Oy te ruego q*ue* eres mío cuñado, q*ue* así como el amor de Dios fizo a tu h*er*mano mío marido, assí tú despreciando los ýdolos eres mío cuñado. E por ende vete co*n* tu hermano a recebir el bautismo, e podrás veyer las coronas [fol. 51ra] de los ángeles.'

E dixo Tiburcio a su h*er*mano: 'H*er*mano, ruégote q*ue* me digas do me q*ui*eres levar.' E díxol Valeriano: 'Al p*apa* Urbáno.' E díxol Tiburcio: '¿Fablas de aq*ue*l Urbáno q*ue* es dañado ta*n*tas vegadas e aún está ascondido? E si lo fallare*n*, q*ue*marlo án e q*ue*marán a nos co*n* él. E demie*n*tre q*ue* dema*n*damos la divinidat q*ue* está en el cielo, abremos la sana q*ue* nos q*ue*men en la t*ie*rra.' E díxol Cecilia: 'Si solame*n*te fuesse esta vida co*n* derecho, temeriémos p*er*derla, mas es ot*ra* vida mejor, q*ue* nu*n*ca se pierde, e desta nos contó el fijo de Dios, ca este fijo de Dios fizo q*ua*ntas cosas son fechas. E el Sp*írit*u S*an*to q*ue* viene de amos a dos da vida a todas las cosas fechas. E este fijo de Dios, viniendo en el mu*n*do, nos mostró la ot*ra* vida por palabras e por miraglos.' E díxol Tiburcio: 'Por cierto tú afirmas un dios, pues, ¿Cómo dizes agora q*ue* son tres?' E Cecilia: 'Assí como en una sabiduría del om*n*e a tres cosas, el engenio e la memoria e el ente*n*dimie*n*to, bie*n* en essa misma man*er*a puede*n* seer tres p*er*sonas en una sustancia de la divinidat.'

Ento*n*ce come*n*çól de p*re*dicar del avenimie*n*to de Jhe*s*u *Christ*o e de la su passión, e mostrarle muchas cosas de la ley q*ue* convinié*n* a la passió*n*, e q*ue* por esso el fijo de Dios fue p*re*so porq*ue* los om*n*es fuesen libres del peccado en q*ue* estava*n* p*re*sos. E al b*e*ndicto diéro*n*le maldiciones por q*ue* el om*n*e maldicto oviesse b*e*ndición. Sufrió q*ue* lo escarneciessen por tal q*ue* el om*n*e fuesse libre del escarnio de los diablos. Troxo corona de espinas en la cabeça por q*ue* no*n* fuessemos nos descabeçados. Bevió fiel amargo por tal q*ue* sanasse el gostar del om*n*e dulce, despojáronlo por tal q*ue* cubriesse a Adá*n* e a Eva q*ue* era*n* desnuyos, pusiéro*n*lo en la cruz q*ue* era de madero por q*ue* tolliesse el peccado del árvol. Esto*n*ce Tiburcio dixo a su h*er*mano: 'H*er*mano, p*er*dóname e liévame al om*n*e de Dios q*ue* me babtize.' E después q*ue* fue allá levado e bautizado, much*a*s vezes veyé los ángeles de Dios e ganava de Dios q*ua*ntas cosas dema*n*dava.

E amos h*er*manos Valeriano e Tiburcio fazié*n* almosnas e enterrava*n* todos los cuerpos de los s*an*tos q*ue* matava Almachio el adelantado. E llamá*n*dolos este Almachio p*ar*a ante sí, dema*n*dóles por q*ué* enterrava*n* los q*ue* él matava por sus pecados. E díxol Tiburcio: 'Dios lo [fol. 51^{rb}] quisiesse que nos fuessemos siervos de aquellos q*ue* tú llamas malos, e despreciaro*n* esto q*ue* paresce q*ue* es bien e no es assí. Ca aq*ue*sto q*ue* paresce en este mu*n*do no*n* es, ca faze al om*n*e q*ue* non sea, mas lo q*ue* no*n* paresce esso es, ca es vida de los s*an*tos, e es pena de los malos.' E díxol el adelantado: 'Non me semeja q*ue* fablas a cordura.'

Esto*n*ce ma*n*dó venir a Valeriano e díxol: 'Porq*ue* me paresce q*ue* tu h*er*mano es loco, tú por ave*n*tura puedes me dar mejor repuesta e más con razó*n*. Vos plano es q*ue* repoyades los gozos e amades s*u*s cont*ra*rias, e en esto errades mucho.' Esto*n*ce díxol Valeriano: 'En tie*n*po del y*n*vierno los vagarosos están juga*n*do e fazen escarnio de los lab*ra*dores q*ue* labran. Mas en el tie*n*po del verano, q*ua*ndo viene*n* los fructos, estarán gl*or*iosos de los s*u*s travajos, e gozándose estos q*ue* semejava*n* locos, e come*n*çarán esto*n*ce a llorar los q*ue* semejavan corteses e enseñados. E assí nos agora sofrimos travajo e porfazios. Mas en el ot*ro* mu*n*do recib*i*remos gl*or*ia e gualardón q*ue* siemp*re* á de durar, e vos agora avedes gozo q*ue* luego passa, e en el ot*ro* mu*n*do fallaredes dolor q*ue* sie*n*pre á de durar.' E díxol el adelantado: '¿Pues q*ue* assí es nos q*ue* somos p*rí*ncipes e no nos puede ni*n*guno vencer, abremos lloro p*er*durable, e vos q*ue* sodes viles om*n*e*s* abredes gozo p*ar*a sie*n*pre jamás?' E díxol Valeriano: 'Vos sodes onbrezuelos e no*n* p*rí*ncipes, e nasciestes agora e luego avedes de morir, e sodes tenudos de dar mayor razó*n* a Dios q*ue* los ot*ro*s.'

E díxol el adelantado: '¿Por q*ué* andamos tracta*n*do estas palab*ra*s? Fazet sac*ri*ficio a Dios e yredes daq*uí* sin daño.' E respondiero*n* los s*an*tos: 'Nos cada día fazemos sac*ri*ficio a Dios.' Dixo el adelantado: 'Esse v*uest*ro Dios, ¿Cómo a no*n*bre?' E díxol Valeriano: 'No*n*

podrás fallar el su no*n*bre aun si volares.' E dixo el adelantado: '¿Pues Júpit*er* le dize*n*?', e dixo Valeriano: 'Esse no*n*bre es de om*n*e matador e putañero.' E díxol Almachio: 'Pues todo el mu*n*do yerra, e tú e tu h*er*mano conoscedes al Dios v*er*dadero.' E díxol Valeriano: 'No*n* somos nos solos mas ot*ro*s muchos sin cue*n*to recibiero*n* esta s*an*tidat.'

Esto*n*ce p*u*siéro*n*los e diéro*n*los en guarda [fol. 51va] al Máximo, e díxoles él: '¡O flor de mancebía apuesta! ¡O talante de h*er*manos tan noble! ¿Por qué ydes tan ap*re*surados a la muerte como a bue*n* comer?' E dixiero*n* ellos: 'Si p*ro*metieses q*ue* creeries en Dios, vieries la gl*or*ia de las n*uest*ras almas después de la n*uest*ra muerte.' E dixo Máximo: 'Mal fuego me q*ue*me si no*n* adorare a este solo Dios q*ue* vos adorades, si acaesciesse lo q*ue* vos dezides.' Ca este Máximo e toda su co*m*paña e los que matava*n* los s*an*tos creyeron en Dios, e bautizólos Sant Urbán que vino ý en ascondido.

E por ende S*an*ta Cecilia llamó, diziendo: 'Eya, cavall*er*os de Jh*es*u *Christ*o, echat de vos las ob*ra*s de las tiniebras e vestit vos las armas de luz.' E por ende levaro*n* los s*an*tos a dos leguas de la cibdat a la ymage*n* de Júpit*er*. E no*n* q*ue*riendo sac*ri*ficar, degolláro*n*los en uno. Esto*n*ces Máximo afirmó, jura*n*do q*ue* viera en la ora de la su passión los ángeles muy claros e las s*u*s almas bie*n* como v*ír*gines q*ue* sallié*n* de cámara, e q*ue* estos ángeles los levava*n* al cielo. E oyendo Almachio q*ue* Máximo era *Christi*ano, mandól açotar co*n* plomo, tan gra*n*d pieça fasta q*ue*l salló el alma. E enterról S*an*ta Cecilia cerca de Valeriano e de Tiburcio.

Esto*n*ce Almachio fizo dema*n*dar los bien*e*s destos amos h*er*manos e fizo venir ante sí a Cecilia, assí como a mug*er* de Valeriano, e ma*n*dól q*ue* sac*ri*ficasse los ýdolos o q*ue* recibiesse muerte. E forçá*n*dola los sayones q*ua*nto a esto, e llorava*n* ellos por ende muy fuerteme*n*te, porq*ue* niña tan fermosa e tan fijadalgo assí de grado yva a la muerte. E díxoles

ella: '¡O buenos om*n*es! Esto no es p*er*der ma*n*cebía, mas fallarla e mudarla, e dar lodo e tomar oro, e dar cosa muy vil e tomar muy p*re*ciosa, e dar un rencó*n* muy peq*ue*ño e tomar logar muy largo e claro. Si alguno vos diesse mucho por poco, ¿no yriedes tomarlo? E Dios toma uno e da cie*n*to por ello. ¿Creedes lo q*ue* vos digo?' E dixiero*n* ellos: 'Creemos q*ue* Jhe*s*u *Christ*o es v*er*dadero, q*ue* ma*n*tiene tal vassalla como a ti.' E llama*n*do a Sa*n*t Urbán p*ap*a, bautizáro*n*se más de q*ua*tro cie*n*tos om*n*es.

Esto*n*ce Almachio llama*n*do a Cecilia q*ue* viniese antél, díxol: '¿Q*ué* mug*er* eres tú?' E ella respondió: 'Só mug*er* fija|dalgo [fol. 51^{vb}] e noble.' E díxol Almachio: 'Yo te p*re*gunto, ¿De qué fe e de q*ué* religió*n* eres tú?' E díxol Cecilia: 'La tu p*re*gunta es como comie*n*ço de loco, ca tú piesas de av*er* dos respuestas en una dema*n*da.' E díxole Almachio: '¿Dó*n*de te viene a ti tan gra*n*d osadía de responder?' E dixo ella: 'De buena concie*n*cia e de fe sin infinta.' Díxol Almachio: 'Non sabes tú q*uá*nto poderío yo he,' dixo ella: 'El v*uest*ro poderío es tal como odre lleno de viento, q*ue* sil foradase*n* co*n* una aguja, luego deffincharié todo. E lo q*ue* semejava q*ue* estava rezio, luego se encorvó.' E díxol Almachio: 'En denuestos come*n*çeste e en esso estás.' E Cecilia: 'Nu*n*ca es denuesto ni*n* tuerto, si no*n* ay palab*ra*s de engaño. E do*n*de te fago yo a ti tuerto, muést*ramelo*, si fable cosa falsa, e échalo a culla e castiga al q*ue* te faze tuerto. Ca nos sabie*n*do el no*n*bre de Dios S*an*to no*n* lo podemos negar. Ca más vale bie*n* morir q*ue* mal bevir.' E díxol Almachio: '¿Por q*ué* fablas co*n* tan gra*n*d sob*er*via?' E dixo ella: 'No es sob*er*via, mas fortaleza.' E díxol Almachio: 'Malanda*n*te, ¿No*n* sabes q*ue* yo te puedo dar muerte o vida?' E dixo ella: 'P*ru*évote q*ue* me*n*tiste agora cont*ra* la v*er*dat q*ue* se dize públicame*n*te. Ca tú bie*n* puedes toller la vida a los bivos mas non g*e* la puedes dar a los muertos.' E díxol Almachio: '¡Dexa essa locura e sac*ri*fica a los dioses!' E dixo Cecilia: 'No*n* sé si ás p*er*dido los ojos. Ca nos veemos q*ue* essos q*ue* tú llamas dioses,

todos son piedras. E por ende, pon la mano e táñelas, e así prenderás lo q*ue* no*n* puedes veyer co*n* los ojos.'

Esto*n*ce Almachio, sañudo, ma*n*dóla tornar a su casa e ma*n*dól ý q*ue*mar en el vaño do lo tenié firvie*n*te de noche e de día. E fincó ella ý assí como en logar muy frío, q*ue* no*n* sintió ý al sino*n* un poco de suor. E oyé*n*dolo Almachio, ma*n*dóla degollar en esse mismo baño. E el sayón firióla tres vegadas co*n* el cuchiello, mas nol pudo tajar la cabeça. E porq*ue* era en la su ley degredó q*ue* no*n* firié a ni*n*guno la q*ua*rta vegada al q*ue* devieses*n* degollar, dexóla medio biva el carnic*er*o sang*ri*ento. E ella bivie*n*do tres días, dio q*ua*nto en el mu*n*do avié a los pobres, e q*ua*ntos con*ver*tiera a la fe come*n*dólos a Sa*n*t Urbán, dizie*n*do: 'Gané tres días de treguas en q*ue* visq*ui*esse porq*ue* acome*n*dase a aq*ue*stos a la tu s*an*tidat e q*ue* fizié [fol. 52ra] esta mi casa egl*es*ia.'

E Sa*n*t Urbá*n* enterró el su cuerpo entre los ob*is*pos, e fizo la su casa egl*es*ia assí como ge lo ella rogara.

Critical Apparatus:

rubric] La fiesta de S*an*ta Cecilia q*ue* es XXII e dos días de novie*n*bre *A* : Santa Cecilia V*ir*gen *B*
1] * clara e *B* : clara *A*
2] trayé *A* : traýa *B*
3] su seno escondido *A* : escondido en su seno *B* // Dios e *A* : Dios nin *B*
5] trayé *A* : traýa *B* // carne e *A* : carne *B*
6] nobles paños co*n* *A* : paños de *B* // e co*n* muchas piedras p*re*ciosas *A* : *om. B* // ý *A* : ende *B*
7] * solame*n*te *B* : *om. A* // mío coraçó*n* e mío cuerpo *A* : el mío cuerpo e el mi coraçó*n* *B*
10] blandas palabras fabló con él *A* : fablas blandas e graciosas fablóle *B*
11] si me *A* : si *B*

12] * Valeriano *B* : V-[…]leriano *A* // guardarié *A* : guardaría *B* // nu*n*ca la *A* : nu*n*ca lo *B*
14] amador *A* : amado *B*
14-15] * si él entiende que me *B* : […] *A*
15] * ferirte *B* : […]-rte *A* // de la *A*: de *B*
16] * mancebía *B* : ma*n*ce-[…]ía *A* // mucho amas *A* : amas mucho *B* // * q*ue* me *B* : […] *A*
17] * como a *B* : […] *A*
18] E *A* : *om. B* // * Valeriano *B* : Val-[...]o *A* // q*ui*eres *A* : quisieres *B* // crea *A* : crea yo *B*
19] q*ue* tú *A* : que *B* // el ángel *A* : el ángel de Dios que dizes *B*
20] ma*n*dares *A* : mandarás *B*
23] envió *A* : e*n*bía *B* // he a *A* : he de *B*
23-24] de su parte unas cosas de *A* : alg*u*nas cosas de su p*ar*te en *B*
24] * yo te *B* : te yo *A*
26] ella *A* : ella le *B*
27] asco*n*dido *A* : escondido *B*
33] leva*n*tá*n*dol *A* : levantólo *B* // anciano *A* : anciano, e *B* // * Dios *B* : Dios es *A*
34-35] q*ue* es sobre todas las cosas e por todas las cosas *A* : *om. B*
36] leyendo *A* : leyéndole *B* // dixo *A* : díxole *B* // esto *A* : *om. B*
37] * Ento*n*ce *B* : […]-to*n*ce *A* // él dixo *A* : el llama*n*do dixo *B* // No *A* : Non *B*
38] * do a la *B* : […] *A* // * Urbán baptizó *B* : Urbán b-[…]teó *A*
39] tenié *A* : tenía *B*
39-40] dos coronas en su mano *A* : en su mano dos coronas *B*
41] * en el cuerpo linpio *B* : los cuerpos linpios *A*
43] al *A* : el *B*
44] q*ui*sieres *A* : querrás *B* // díxol *A* : dixo *B* // un *A* : a uno *B*
45] dixo *A* : díxole *B* // ángel *A* : ángel de Dios *B*
45-46] Plaze a Dios *A* : Plázeme *B*
46] seredes m*árti*res e *A* : sedes m*árti*res e nin *B*
47] Después *A* : E después *B*
48] yo *A* : *om. B*
49] lilios en *A* : estos lirios en las *B*
50] semeja q*ue* só mudado *A* : paresce q*ue* só demudado *B* // díxol *A* : dixo *B*
51] no avemos coronas q*ue* pueda*n* *A* : avemos estas rosas q*ue* no*n* pueden *B*
52] fablo *A* : fablando *B* // díxol *A* : dixo *B*
53] Seméjame *A* : Parésceme *B* // sueños *A* : ensueños *B* // Valeriano *A* : *om. B*
54] fuemos en sueños *A* : fuymos en ensueños *B*
55] Dó*n*de *A* : De dónde *B* // esto *A* : esso *B*
57-58] no*n* sintién ni*n*guna cosa. Respondió Tiburcio *A* : que non sintía*n* en man*er*a q*ue* le respondió *B*
59] * los pechos *B* : las onbras *A* // dixo *A* : díxole *B* // ruego q*ue* eres *A* : mag*ni*fiesto ser *B* // cuñado, q*ue* *A* : cuñado, ca *B*
60] h*er*mano mío *A* : hermano mi *B* // * ýdolos *B* : […]-los *A*
61] * co*n* tu hermano *B* : […] *A* // * las coronas de los *B* : […]-s *A*
64] Urbáno.' E díxol *A* : Urbáno. E dixo *B*
65] ta*n*tas *A* : tantas de *B*
66] demie*n*tre *A* : en tanto *B*
67] q*ue*men *A* : q*ue*men e cuelguen *B* // fuesse *A* : *om. B*
68] contó *A* : cue*n*ta *B*
69] ca este fijo de Dios *A* : que *B*
71] afirmas *A* : afirmas a *B*
72] E *A* : E respondió *B*

74] * en *B* : e *A*
75] de p*re*dicar *A* : a pedricar *B* // passión *A* : passió*n* del fijo de Dios *B*
76] ley q*ue* convinié*n* a la passió*n*, e q*ue A* : su ley que convienen*e* a la passió*n*, dizien*d*o *B*
78] oviesse *A* : que se entien*d*e Adám, e todos los otros oviesse*n B*
79] * del escarnio de los diablos *B* : de los escarnios del diablo *A*
80] * amargo *B* : e amargo *A*
81] despojáronlo *A* : despojáron*l*e *B*
82] era*n* desnuyos *A* : estavan desnudos *B* // pusiéron*l*o *A* : pusiéron*l*e *B*
83] h*er*mano: 'H*er*mano *A* : h*e*rmano *om. B*
84] veyé *A* : veýa *B*
86] fazié*n* almosnas *A* : fazía*n* limosnas *B* // todos *A* : *om. B*
87] llamá*n*dolos *A* : levándolos *B*
88] dema*n*dóles *A* : demandóles que *B* // enterrava*n A* : enterrava*n* a *B* // matava por *A* : matava por los *B*
89] * lo quisiesse que nos fuessemos *B* : l-[…]-mos nos *A* // siervos *A* : s*er*vidores *B* // * de aquellos q*ue* tú llamas malos, e *B* : […] malo-[…] *A*
90-91] e no es assí. Ca aq*ue*sto q*ue* paresce en este mu*n*do no*n A* : en este mu*n*do, e non lo *B*
91] * q*ue* non sea *B* : q*ue* n-[…] *A* // mas *A* : mas que *B* // esso *A* : *om. B* // * de los s*an*tos *B* : […] *A*
92] * adelantado *B* : ad-[…]-tado *A* // semeja *A* : paresce *B*
93] Esto*n*ce *A* : E entonce *B*
94] tú por ave*n*tura puedes me *A* : por aventura puedes me tú *B* // razó*n A* : seso *B* // plano *A* : llano *B*
95] repoyades los gozos e amades s*u*s cont*ra*rias, e en esto errades mucho *A* : mucho errades que repoyades los gozos e amades los sus cont*ra*rios *B*
96] fazen *A* : faciendo *B*
98] semejava*n* locos, e *A* : parescían locos *B*
99] semejavan corteses e *A* : parescía*n* corteses *B* // agora sofrimos *A* : sufrimos agora *B* // porfazios *A* : profaços *B*
101] avedes *A* : abredes *B* // luego passa e *A* : luego se passa mas *B* // sie*n*pre á de durar *A* : nu*n*ca á de aver fin *B*
102] q*ue* assí es *A* : segu*n*d eso *B* // p*rí*ncipes *A* : poderosos *B* // no *A* : q*ue* non *B*
105] * avedes de *B* : avedes a *A* // tenudos de *A* : tenidos a *B*
106] tracta*n*do estas *A* : a largando *B*
108] Dixo *A* : E dixo *B* // adelantado *A* : adelantado, e *B*
109] fallar el *A* : fablar *B*
110] dixo *A* : díxole *B* // om*n*e matador e *A* : matador e de *B* // Pues *A* : Pue*s* a *B*
111] * al Dios *B* : […] D-[…]os *A*
112] cue*n*to *A* : cue*n*ta *B*
113] * en guarda al Máximo, e díxoles *B* : […fol. 51va…]-oles *A*
114] * de mancebía apuesta! ¡O talante de *B* : '[…]-e *A* // * noble! ¿Por qué ydes *B* : n-[…]. *A*
115] * como *B* : com-[…] *A* // bue*n A* : *om. B*
115-16] Si p*ro*metieses q*ue* creeríes en Dios, vieríes la gl*or*ia de las n*uest*ras almas después de la n*uest*ra *A* : que si les p*ro*metiesse que creería en Dios, que vería la gloria de las sus almas después de la su *B*
117] a *A* : *om. B* // solo Dios *A* : Dios solo *B* // acaesciesse *A* : acaesciere *B*
117-19] * Ca este Máximo e toda su co*m*pa | ña e los que matava*n* los s*an*tos creyeron en Dios, e bautizólos Sant Urbán que vino ý en ascondido *B* : *om. A*
120] llamó *A* : llamava *B*
121] las armas *A* : de armaduras *B*
123] afirmó *A* : affirma*n*do e *B*
125] levava*n* al *A* : levaro*n* en su regaço p*ar*a el *B* // * cielo *B* : cielo. E este Máximo e toda su conpaña e los q*ue* matava*n* los s*an*tos, creyero*n* en Jh*es*u *Christ*o, e bateólos Sa*n*t Urbán q*ue* viniera ý en ascondido *A*
126] enterról *A* : entérrelo *B* // e de *A* : e *B*

128] h*er*manos *A* : a dos *B*
129] sí a *A* : sí a Santa *B* // sac*ri*ficasse *A* : sac*ri*ficase a *B*
130] forçá*n*dola *A* : esforçándola *B* // esto, e *A* : esto *B*
131] tan fermosa e *A* : *om. B* // assí de grado yva *A* : yva tan de grado *B*
132] no *A* : no*n B*
133] muy p*re*ciosa *A* : cosa muy p*re*sciada *B*
134] Si *A* : Ca si *B* // por *A* : por por *B* // ¿no yriedes *A* : ¿no*n* yriadías a *B*
135] Creedes lo q*ue A* : Creedes vos lo q*ue* yo *B*
136] ma*n*tiene *A* : ma*n*tiene a *B* // a ti *A* : tú *B*
138] a *A* : al *B* // díxol *A* : dixo *B*
140] * de qué *B* : d[…] *A* // * La tu *B* : […] *A* // comie*n*ço *A* : p*re*gu*n*ta *B*
141] * piesas *B* : ap-[…] *A* // * díxole *B* : dí-[...] *A*
142] a ti *A* : *om. B* // * osadía *B* : osamie*n*t[…] *A* // sin *A* : co*n B*
143] Díxol *A* : E díxole *B* // dixo *A* : e díxole *B*
144] deffincharié *A* : deffincharía *B*
145] semejava *A* : parescía *B* // Almachio *A* : el adelantado *B*
146] * estás *B* : testas *A* // E Cecilia *A* : E respo*n*dióle Cecilia *B* // * no*n B* : no dó *A*
147] engaño. E *A* : engaño *B* // * e échalo *B* : éch-[…]-la *A* // culla *A* : culpa *B*
148] al q*ue A* : a aquél que *B* // Ca *A* : Mas *B*
150] dixo *A* : díxole *B* // No *A* : No*n B*
150-51] díxol Almachio: 'Malanda*n*te, ¿No*n* sabes q*ue* yo te puedo dar muerte o vida?' E dixo ella *A* : *om. B*
152] * mas non *B* : […] *A*
153] * Almachio *B* : Alm-[…]chio *A* // sac*ri*fica a *A* : sacrifica *om. B* // * dioses *B* : dios *A*
154] * dixo *B* : dix-[...] *A* // No*n A* : Yo non *B* // * p*er*dido *B* : p*er*didos *A* // essos *A* : estos *B* // * dioses *B* : dios *A*
155] * piedras *B* : pied-[...] *A* // táñelas *A* : táñela *B* // * prenderás *B* : ap*re*nd-[…] *A*
157] * Almachio *B* : Al-[…]chio *A*
158] tenié *A* : tenía *B* // * noche *B* : [...]-che *A* // muy *A* : *om. B*
159] ý *A* : ende *B* // * suor *B* : sudo-[…] *A* // * esse *B* : ess-[...] *A*
160] * vegadas *B :* vegad-[…] *A*
161] degredó *A* : *om. B* // firié *A* : firies*en B* // devies*en A* : avían de *B*
162] * en el *B* : en *A*
163] avié *A* : avía *B* // come*n*dólos *A* : e acome*n*dólos *B* // * Gané *B* : Ga-[…] *A*
164] visq*ui*esse *A* : biviesse *B* // * acome*n*dase *B* : […]-me*n*dasse *A* // a aq*ue*stos *A* : aquestos *B* // q*ue* fizié *A* : fiziesses *B*
165] * esta *B* : […]-ta *A*
166] * cuerpo entre *B* : cuer-[...]-re *A*
167] * ge *B* : […] *A* // ella *A* : *om. B*

THE REVISION OF COMPILATION B

Escorial h-I-14 (fols 302ra–304va)

[fol. 302ra] Capítulo cie*n*to e q*ua*renta e cinco de la vida de Santa Cecilia

Santa Cecilia, virge*n* muy clara, fue de los nobles om*ne*s de Roma. E peq*ue*ñuela fue c*ri*ada en la fe de Jh*es*u *Christ*o. E nu*n*ca q*ue*dava de día ni*n* de noche de fablar co*n* Dios e estar en or*aci*ón, e rogava sienpre a Dios q*ue* le guardase su virginidat. E siendo desposada co*n* Valeri*an*o, e viniendo el día de la*s* bodas, ella trayé celicio a la carne e desuso paños de oro. E ca*n*tando los seglares, e ella cantando en su coraçón solame*n*te a Dios, diziendo: 'Señor, guarda el mi coraçón sin manzilla de peccado, q*ue* non sea confondida.' E ayuna*n*do dos o tres vezes en la semana e roga*n*do, acome*n*dava su v*ir*ginidat a Dio*s*. E vino la noche de las bodas q*ua*ndo devía entrar co*n* su esposo en la cámara, e ella fabló en esta manera: '¡Esposo muy dulce e muy amado! Dezirte ya una poridat si me jurares q*ue* me la terrnas en poridat.' E juró Valeriano q*ue* ge la guardaría en man*era* q*ue* nu*n*ca la descubriese, ni*n* la dixiese por ninguna razón. Estonce dixo: [fol. 302rb] 'Yo he un amado, el qual es el ángel de Dios, e ha muy grandes celos de mi, e guardarle he mi cuerpo. E si este ente*n*diere q*ue* me tomas por amor suzio, ferirte ha luego e p*er*derás la flor de la tu mancebía q*ue* tú mucho amas. E si en buen amor te ha así como a mi, mostrarte ha la su gr*aci*a.'

Estonce Valeriano, porq*ue* lo Dios q*ue*ría temiendo, díxole: 'Si q*ui*eres q*ue* te crea, muéstrame el ángel, e si lo provares q*ue* es el ángel, faré lo q*ue* mandares. E si amas a otro om*n*e, mataré a ti e a él.' E díxole Cecilia: 'Si creyeres en Dios verdadero, e te bautizares,

luego lo poderás conoscer. E por ende vete a una legua de la villa por la carrera q*ue* dize*n* Apia, e dirá*s* a los pobres q*ue* fallares allí de mi p*ar*te: "Cecilia me enbió a vos q*ue* me mostredes a Sant Urbano el anciano, p*ar*a le dezir unas cosas de su p*ar*te de poridat." E q*ua*ndole vieres, dezirle has lo q*ue* te he yo dicho e después q*ue* él te bautizare, torrnarás e verás el ángel.'

Estonces Valeriano fuese p*ar*a allá, segunt las señas q*ue* ella le dixo, e falló a Sant Urbano papa escondido entre los sepulcros de los mártires. E dizie*n*do todas las palabras q*ue* Cecilia le dixo, vasalla e sirviente de Jhe*s*u *Christ*o, así como abeja, e a el esposo, q*ue* era bie*n* como leó*n* cruel, enbióle así como a cordero. [fol. 302va] E a desora aparesció un anciano vestido de vestiduras muy alvas, teniendo un libro esc*ri*pto de letras de oro, e viéndole Valeriano e aviéndole gra*n*t miedo, cayó en t*ie*rra como muerto. E levantá*n*dole el anciano, leyó así: 'Un Dio*s* es e una fe e un bautismo. E un Dios padre de todas las cosas e en todos nos.'

E liendo esto, dixo el anciano: '¿Crees q*ue* es así o por ave*n*tura dubdas?' Estonce*s* el llamando dixo: 'No*n* ha ni*n* es otra cosa en *e*l cielo q*ue* más verdaderamente pueda ser creýda.' E a la sazón desaparesció el anciano, e Sant Urbano bautizó a Valeriano, e torrnándose, falló a Cecilia en la cámara con *e*l ángel. E el ángel tenié dos coronas en la mano de rosas e de lilios, e dio el una a Cecilia e la otra a Valeriano, diziendo: 'Guardat estas dos coronas e el coraçón sin manzilla en *e*l cuerpo linpio, ca las traxé del pa*ra*ýso de Dios p*ar*a vos, e nu*n*ca se secan ni*n* pierden el olor, ni*n* las puede ningu*n*o tener, salvo él q*u*e ama catidat. E tú, Valeriano, porq*ue* creýste el consejo q*ue* te será p*ro*vechos*o*, demanda lo q*ue* q*ui*sieres.' E díxole Valeriano: 'No*n* fue en esta vida cosa que ta*n*to amase como a un mi hermano, e por ende demándote q*ue* conosca la verdat así como yo.' E díxole el ángel: 'Plaze

a Dio*s* lo q*ue* demandas, e amos seredes [fol. 302^{vb}] mártires e venié vos p*ar*a Dios.'

E después desto entrando Tiburcio, su hermano de Valeriano, e esta*n*do muy grande olor de rosas, dixo: 'Maravíllome dónde viene este olor de rosas e de lilios en *e*ste t*ien*po, ca si yo toviese en mis manos estas rosas e los lilios, no*n* sentiría mayor olor de q*ua*nto siento. E digovos en verdat, q*ue* así só farto dello q*ue* así só mudado a desora.' E díxole Valeriano: 'Nos avemos coronas q*ue* no*n* pueden ver los tus ojos, q*ue* son coloradas como flor e blancas como la nieve, e así como fablando yo sentiste el olor, así las poderás ver si creyeres.' E dixo Tiburcio: 'Seméjome q*ue* lo he en sueños. ¿Fablar tú, Valeriano, estas cosas verdaderas?' E díxole Valeriano: 'Fasta agora somos en verdat.' E díxole Tiburcio: '¿Dónde lo sopiste tú esto?' E díxole Valeriano: 'El ángel de Dios me lo mostró, e tú le poderás ver si te bautizas e negares todos los ýdolos.'

E estonces Cecilia mostróle q*ue* los ýdolos q*ue* no*n* era*n* nada e no*n* sient*en* nada, en manera q*ue* respondió Tiburcio e dixo: 'Q*ui*en esto no*n* cree tal es como bestia.' Estonces Cecilia besándole los pies, díxole: 'Yo te otorgo q*ue* eres mi cuñado, q*ue* así como el amor de Dios fizo tu hermano mi marido, así tú menospreciando los ýdolos er*es* [fol. 303ra] mi cuñado. E por ende vete co*n* tu hermano e rescibir el bautismo, e poderás ver las caras de los ángeles.'

E díxole Tiburcio a su hermano: 'Ruégote q*ue* me digas adónde me q*ui*eres levar,' e díxole Valeriano: 'Al papa Urbano.' E díxole Tiburcio: '¿Fablas de aq*ue*l Urbano q*ue* es dañado tantas vegadas e aún está escondido? E si lo fallare*n*, q*ue*marlo ha*n* e q*ue*marnos an anos con *é*l. E demient*re* q*ue* demandamos la divinidat q*ue* está en *e*l cielo, averemos la sana q*ue* nos q*ue*men en la t*ie*rra.' E díxole Cecilia: 'Solamente fuese esta vida co*n* derecho, temeriémos p*er*der, e esta vida es mejor, q*ue* nu*n*ca se pierde, e ésta nos co*n*tó el fijo de Dios, ca este fijo de Dios fizo q*ua*ntas cosas son fechas. E el Sp*írit*u S*an*to q*ue* viene darnos ha anos

vida por palab*ra*s e por miraglos.' E díxole Tiburcio: 'Por cierto tú afirmas a dios, ¿Cómo dizes agora q*ue* son tres?' E respondióle Cecilia: 'Así como una sabiduría del om*n*e ha tres cosas, en *e*l engenio e en la memoria e en *e*l entendimie*n*to, bie*n* en esa manera puede*n* tres p*er*sonas e una sustancia de la divinidat.'

Estonces come*n*çó de predicar del alvinmi*ento* de la passió*n* del fijo de Dios, e por esso fue preso porq*ue* los om*ne*s fuesen libr*e*s del peccado en q*ue* estava*n* presos. E al bendicto diero*n* maldiciones por q*ue* el om*n*e maldicto oviese ben|diciones. [fol. 303^{rb}] E sufrió q*ue* le escarnesciesen por tal q*ue* om*n*e fuese libre del escarnio de los diablos. Traxo coronas de espinas en la cabeça porq*ue* no*n* fuesemos nos descabesçados. Bevió fiel amarga por tal q*ue* sanase el gostar del om*n*e dulce, despojáro*n*le por tal que cubriese a Adám e a Eva, pusiéro*n*le en la cruz de madero por tal por tal q*ue* tolliese el peccado del árbol. Estonces Tiburcio dixo a su hermano: 'P*er*dóname e liévame al om*n*e de Dios q*ue* me bautize.' E después q*ue* fue allá levado e bautizado, muchas vegadas vié los ángeles de Dios e ganava de Dios q*ua*nto demandava.

E Valeriano e Tiburcio fazie*n*do limosnas e enterrando todo*s* los cuerpos de los s*an*tos q*ue* matava Almachio adelantado, ma*n*dólos llamar Almachio ante sí e demandólos q*ue* por q*ué* enterrava*n* los q*ue* él matava por sus peccados. E díxole Tiburcio: 'Dios lo q*ui*siese q*ue* fuesemos siervos de los q*ue* tú llamas malos, q*ue* despreciaro*n* esto p*ar*a p*ar*escer en este mundo q*ue* no*n* es nada, ca faze al om*n*e q*ue* no*n* sea mas de lo q*ue* paresce, ca esta vida es de los s*an*tos, e pena de los malos.' E díxole el adelantado: 'Non me semeja q*ue* fablas en cordura.'

E estonces mandó venir a Valeriano e díxole: 'Porq*ue* paresció q*ue* tu hermano es loco, por aventura puedes [fol. 303va] dar mejor repuesta e más sabiamente. Llano es q*ue*

mucho errades e repoyades los gozos e amades las cosas co*n*trarias.' Estonces Valeriano dixo: 'En t*ien*po del inviermo vi los vagarosos jurar e fazer escarnio de los labrador*es* q*ue* labrava*n*. Mas en *e*l t*ien*po del verano, q*ua*ndo lieva*n* los frutos, gl*or*iosos de los sus trabajos, gozándose estos q*ue* semejava*n* locos, e come*n*çava*n* a llorar los q*ue* era*n* corteses e enseñados. E así nos agora sufrimos trabajo e profaços. Mas en *e*l otro mu*n*do rescibimos gl*or*ia e galardó*n* q*ue* sienpre ha de durar, e vos agora avedes gozo q*ue* luego se passa, e en *e*l otro mundo fallaredes de lo q*ue* sienpre dura.' E díxole el adelantado: '¿Pues q*ue* así somos p*rí*ncipes q*ue* non nos puede ningu*n*o vencer, e avremos lloro p*er*durable, e vos otros q*ue* sodes om*ne*s viles averedes gozo p*ar*a sienpre jamás?' E díxole Valeriano: 'Vos ot*ro*s sodes om*ne*s vil*e*s e no*n* p*rí*ncipes, e nascistes luego agora e luego avedes a morir.'

E díxole el adelantado: '¿Por dó andamos tractando estas palabras? Fazet sac*ri*ficio a los ýdolos e yred*e*s de aq*uí* sin daño.' E respondiero*n* los s*an*tos: 'Nos cada día fazemos sac*ri*ficio a Dios.' E dixo el adela*n*tado: '¿Cómo ha nonbre?' E díxole Valeriano: 'No*n* podrás fallar el su nonbre aunq*ue* llorases.' E díxole el adelantado: '¿Pues Júpit*er* le dize*n*?', e díxole Valeriano: 'Ese nonbre es de matador e de putañero.' E díxole Almachio: 'Todo [fol. 303^{vb}] el mundo pues yerra, e tú e tu hermano conoscedes a Dios verdadero.' E díxole Valeriano: 'No*n* somos nos solos mas muchos sin cuenta q*ue* rescibiero*n* esta fe e esta s*an*tidat.'

E dieron estos a Maximiano q*ue* los guardase, e díxoles él: '¡Flor de mancebía apuesta! ¡Talante de hermandat ta*n* noble! ¿Por q*ué* ydes ta*n* apresurados a la muerte como si fuesedes a comer?' E díxole Valeriano: 'Si nos prometieses q*ue* creyeses en Dios, veries la gl*or*ia de las almas después de tu muerte.' E díxole Maximiano: 'Mas mal fuego me q*ue*me si no*n* adorare este solo Dios q*ue* vos adorades, si acaesciere lo q*ue* vos dezides.' E este Maximiano e toda su co*m*paña e los q*ue* matava*n* a todos los s*an*tos todos creyeron, e

bautizólos Sant Urbano q*ue* viniera ý escondido.

E por ende en *e*l alva Cecilia llamó, diziendo: 'Ha, caval*l*e*r*os de Jhe*s*u *Christo*, echat de vos las obras de las tiniebras e vestid vos armas de luz.' E por ende levaro*n* los s*an*tos a dos leguas de la cibdat a la ymage*n* de Júpiter. E no*n* q*ue*riendo sacrificar, degolláro*n*los en uno. Estonces Maximiano afirmó, diziendo e judgando q*ue* viera en la ora de la su passió*n* los ángeles muy claros e la sus alma*s* bien como las v*ír*gines q*ue* salié*n* de cámara, e q*ue* estos ángeles las levarán en su regaço al cielo. E oyéndolo Almachio q*ue* Maximiano era *Christi*ano, mandóle açotar co*n* plomo, a ta*n* gra*n*t pieça fasta q*ue* se le salió el alma. E enterrólo S*an*ta Cecilia, cerca de Valeriano e de Tiburcio.

Estonces Alma|chio [fol. 304ra] fizo demandar los bienes destos s*an*tos amos ados, e fizo venir ante sí a Cecilia, así como a muger de Valeriano, e ma*n*dóle q*ue* sac*ri*ficase los ýdolos o q*ue* rescibiese muerte. E ella no*n* q*ue*riendo, mandó a los sayones q*ue* la enforçasen, e llorava*n* ellos por ello muy fuertemente, porq*ue* niña ta*n* fermosa e ta*n* fijadalgo así de grado yva a la muerte. E díxoles ella: '¡Ha buenos om*ne*s! Esto no*n* es p*er*der mancebía, mas fallarla e mandarla, e darle lodo e tomar oro, e darle cosa muy vil e tomar muy preciosa, dar un rencó*n* muy peq*ue*ño e tomar logar claro e alvo e largo. E si algu*n*o vos diese mucho por poco, ¿No*n* yriades a tomarlo? E Dio*s* toma una cosa e da ciento por ella.' E díxoles: '¿Creedes esto q*ue* vos digo?' E dixiero*n* ellos: 'Creemos en Jhe*s*u *Christ*o e Dios verdadero, q*ue* ma*n*tiene a tal vasalla como a ti.' E llamaro*n* a Sant Urbano papa e bautizáro*n*se má*s* de q*ua*tro cientos.

E estonces Almachio llamó a Cecilia q*ue* viniese p*ar*a él, e díxole: '¿Q*ué* muger eres tú?' E ella respondió q*ue* era muger fijadalgo e noble. E díxole Almachio: 'Yo te pregunto, ¿De q*ué* fe o de q*ué* religió*n* ere*s* tú?' E díxole Cecilia: 'Como es comie*n*ço de loco, ca tú

asmas de aver dos respuestas de una demanda.' E díxole Almachio: '¿Dónde te viene a ta*n* gra*n*t osami*ento* [fol. 304[rb]] de responder?' E díxole ella: 'De buena co*n*ciencia e de fe sin infinta.' E díxole Almachio: 'E no*n* sabes q*uá*nto poderío he yo,' e díxole ella: 'El v*uest*ro poder es como odre lleno de vie*n*to, q*ue* si le foradare*n* co*n* una aguja, todo definch*ar*ía luego. E lo q*ue* está rezio, luego se encorva.' E díxole Almachio: 'Oy come*n*ceste a denostarnos co*n* q*ué* seso estás.' E respondióle Cecilia: 'Nu*n*ca es denuesto ni*n* tuerto, si ay palab*ra*s de engaño. E donde te fago yo a ti tuerto ni*n* engaño, muéstra si fable cosa falsa, e échala a culla e castiga al q*ue* te fizo tuerto. Ma*s* nos sabiendo el nonbre de Dios S*an*to no*n* lo podemos negar. Ca más vale bie*n* morir q*ue* mal bevir.' E díxole Almachio: '¿Por q*ué* fabla*s* co*n* gra*n*t sobervia?' E díxole ella: 'No*n* es sobervia, mas es fortaleza.' E díxole Almachio: 'Malandante, ¿No*n* sabes tú q*ue* yo puedo dar muerte e vida?' E díxole ella: 'P*ru*évote q*ue* me*n*tiste agora co*n*tra la verdat q*ue* se dize públicamente. Ca bie*n* puedes toller vida a los bivos mas no*n* ge la puedes dar a los muertos.' E díxole Almachio: '¡Dexa esa locura e sacrifica a los ýdolos!' E díxole ella: 'No*n* sé si as p*er*dido los ojos. Ca nos veemos q*ue* estos q*ue* tú llamas dioses, todos son de piedra. E por ende, pon la mano e reniégalos, e así prenderás lo q*ue* no*n* puedes [fol. 304[va]] ver co*n* los tus ojos.'

Estonces Almachio, estando sañudo, ma*n*dóla torrnar a su casa e mandóla q*ue*mar en un vaño, fuerte de noche e de día. E fincó ella así como en logar frío e no*n* sintió en *e*l al salvo un poco de sudor. E oyéndolo Almachio mandóla degollar en ese mesmo vaño. E el sayón ferióla tres vegadas en *e*l cuello, mas no*n* le pudo cortar la cabeça. E porq*ue* era ley e derecho q*ue* no*n* firiese la q*ua*rta vegada al q*ue* devía*n* degollar, dexóla medio biva el carnicero sangento. E biviendo tres días, dexo q*ua*nto en *el* mundo avié a los pobres, e q*ua*ntos co*n*vertió a la fe encome*n*dólos a Sant Urbano, diziendo: 'Gané tres días de tregua en q*ue*

biviese porq*ue* acomendase estos a la tu s*an*tidat e q*ue* fizieses esta mi casa egl*es*ia.'

E Sant Urban enterró el su cuerpo entre los ob*is*pos, e fizo la su casa egl*es*ia así como ge lo rogara.

Manuscript Xeroxes

Compilation A:

Escorial h–III–22 (fols 140ra – 145ra)

Biblioteca Nacional 12688 (fols 236^{vd} – 240^{vd})

Escorial h–II–18 (fols 240ra – 243^{vb})

Biblioteca Nacional 12689 (fols 190ra – 194^{rb})

Compilation B:

Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 9 (fols 50^{rb} – 52ra)

Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 (fols 144va – 147ra)

Revision of Compilation B:

Escorial h-I-14 (fols 302ra – 304va)

H-III-22

humanal huaje ¶ Da en
los primeros judeos fue
cristianamente mas dios
en sant paulo fue dem
bumpsto fasta nepa ¶ E
en los primeros judios
fue abrumpsto dlos o
jos en sant paulo fue
agnedat ¶ E en los pme
ros padres fue el apmer
dela fruta del arbol ved
de en sant paulo fue abf
tinencia dela mandat. q
podia apmer fyn peado
¶ El qui acabo la istoria
del apmerumpsto del
apostol sant paulo adpa
ra gloria del uno saluador
ihu xpo el qual biue y fey
na por todos los syglos
amen. ¶ Aqui acabo la
istoria dela vida de santa
paula /

anta paula · fue
duenia muy noble
en roma las duenas
pmanad y cibrio su bi
da dlas en a bermudo pit
hermano en la manera
que se sigue ¶ Hallo
los en dibros del empe

pr se bermanaron en lengua
bandos los arcos y se bermanaron en palabras / no pr
dra pr dsr nra dignidad
delas bermanas de santa
paula / en fue muy noble
pr huaje · mas fue mucho
mas noble pr santidat de
pdad leable ¶ fue muy a
bundada de riquezas mas
fue mucho mas abunda
da de bmildes por la gra
dsa dela su pbreza ¶ E
yo llamo pr refugios amy
gos nros ihu xpo aun pbre
sa ella siguio y dlos sus
santos angeles / en es
pcial al angel quela guar
do · que non dyr a sa al
guna en aquesta esb · p
funa pr la engañar · lo
dr · mas pr amar la luz
dat · en mucho menos es
lo que se dise delos sus
mos estrumentos quelo q
en el fizo ¶ E el
lector quiere saber breue
mente las sus bmildes
syn que deyo dandos los
suyos pobres pr dar se a
los pobres amo ella fue

22 H-III-22

muchó mas pobre ¶ E a
ſo omio la piedra muy pre
ciosa Reyplandeſte cuare
las otras piedras ¶ Aſy
omió el Reyplandor del ſol
eſtrecſte los rayos delas
eſtrellas / aſi ſobrepuſo ella
las bondades de todas las
otras por la grandeza dela
humildat / ¶ Ca fue pequeña
entre los pequeños por que
fueſſe mayor que todas ellas
¶ E tanto era mas enſal
çada del ſu ſaluador quanto
mas ſe abaxaua por el ſu
amor / en cima duma de yglo
ria fuyendo la yglorya por
quela yglorya corre en pos
delas humildades ¶ manera
de ſombra / ha en pos della
quela deſprecian / ſuye de
los quela dessean ¶ E es
ta ſanta mugyr fue caſa
da / ouo çinco fijas ydi fi
le · anuyene ſalir a bleſila
de cuya muerte la conſole
eſtando en roma / e caſa
da prudens · la qual dexo
por heredero delas ſus vir
quedes e bondades al muy
maravilloſo e ſanto padre
dela abadesa de cuya?

chió al qual yo eſcreuy
vn libruelo pequeño dela
ſu muerte / e aſſubdiyo la
qual yglorya augoria vuy
gdat enla ſanta abadesa
ber lecu / e es prelá muy
preciosa dela egleſia / e
muſſua que muryo de tier
na hedat / e quebrantó el
corral pradiſo dela ygle
ſia / e atreuo no ſu fijo ſe
deſpues que ouo auido
ellas fijas / e eſte fijo eſſo
de pues por que entendas
que non ſeruia al ofiçio
del aſſaluamento por el de
yte manal · mas por ſaluſ
faser al deſeo del marido
que deſſeaua auer fijos hu
bo ¶ E deſque el marido
muryo aſy lo llorо que
por menos muryo ella
amel / e aſſi ſe torno por en
tud a dios que pudiera q
le deſſara la muerte ¶ E
omio ouieſſe noble caſa / e
muy abondada · deſſando
la por menos vdi ellas
neſſeſidades delos pobres
¶ E omió pudiera abaſſo
dela abadesa de cuyo cha?

H-II-22

ſanct cpriano obiſpo de
la abdat de ſalamina. la
dōzella fueſſen a ſpina
cuando ella por deſeo
de ſpiritu ſanct las ſus vnu
das punſiua de noche dia
de deſeo de la ſpiritu ſanct q̄ſ
q̄ en ella eſte deſeo q̄ dio
ſus en obra. ¶ Como de
mandaſſe al pueblo del mar
tyrio ſus parientes. ⁊ ſus
fijos. ⁊ entraſſe ella gulca
⁊ no ſaliesſen a ſpinar
troxo ſu fijo que era
dōzella ſequeño. ⁊ eſtuua e
la ſpinera. ⁊ llamaua las ma
nos a ella ⁊ ſpinaua la
que no lo quisyeſſe dexar
¶ Viſtina ſu fija que el
mal deſpoſada. ploraua
le con muchas lagrimas
que eſtouieſſe ſus todas
¶ Dixo ella alegria a ſ
ſus ojos ſtos ⁊ ſtuuo
los encerrado ⁊ demoſtra
ua a los fijos q̄ ſaliesſen ⁊
por offrir dones pudie
ron ſe demoſtrar ſtz ma
ñana por la eſperança de
reſtituir ⁊ por demoſtrarſe
la ſpinera del ſeñor

¶ Seyendo atormentadas
las ſus entrañas ⁊ aſſy q̄
no apartauan de los imen
tos pleguia mucho dolor
⁊ llena de ſtuoia eſſorçaua
ſe contra los derechos de la
natura. ¶ Alegrandoſe el
ſtuoraçon por la eſperança
del ygualardon deſpreçaua
el amor de los fijos por el
amor de dios. ⁊ auſſy lauo
ſe con ſola ſu fija cuſtodio
que era compañera del ſu
biaje ⁊ del ſu propoſito. ¶ E
como fueſſe la gulca por el
ſeguida ⁊ todos los que pud
mella otraſſen a la ſpine
ra. ella ſola boluio los. o
los a otra parte por no ver
lo que no podia apartar ſy
dolor de la ſu compañe. ¶ E
no llegaſſe a meſta de ſu
teſtimo. ⁊ el adelantado de
pulchra que auoſtia bid
ſu biaje cubraſſe ſus ſtuy
dores para que ella apoſſento
ſen cuſtos palacios non
que ſuſſo poder ſinon cubrir
caſilla pequeña. ¶ E con
grant deſeo teſtauo todos
los logares ſantos que

H-III-22

q̃ dauan vn̄ repudiera ay
tan dylos que yrnuera men
te besara. ¶ Dexpidando se
en tressa cidlogar adv el
señor fue arrastando adora
ua lo assy amio sylo truxera
cula arus puesto delante de
sy ¶ Entrando enel sepul
cro besaua la piedra que se
boluiera el angel delapuer
ta del monumento ylauaua
ynala boca el logar adv est
uyera el cuerpo delsenor/ assi
mio sy hauera aguas mui
cestadas/ ¶ Vdu ierusa
lan relsenor aquen ella
troyana sus retraymos dela
muchedumbre delas lagry
mas que ella alli dexamo
ydela muchedumbre delos
gemidos que dio ydela gr
desta del su dolor/ ¶ Andr
fuese para la abdes de hole
ra/ y como entro enla cueua ado
nasció el saluador. a bido
la posada dela vrgen san
ta y juraua yurado lo yo
que hera. vnos ylos dela
flor/ al mio jhū cubierto
cō paños y echado enel
sepulcro/ y mio lo adora
uan los uangs y los ge
ntes la cabecera. muy clara
y mio estauan la vngen
y el su esposo/ ¶ Entonce
uyan los pastores de to
dyc auer la palabra. que
era fecha a sus ouejas
al euangelio de sanct johā
que dize que enel ouo
yo en la palabra y la pa
labra fue fecha carne/ ¶
auī desta que uya la
muerte delos ynocentes
anzuelos y herodes que pa
sagua a joseph/ y ala vir
gen santa maria q̃ yuan
fuyendo a egypto/ y mes
dando lagrimas ayuda
alegria desta/ ¶ Dios
te salue lucerna ardā
te para adornar el palacio
celestial del rey. Dios
te salue cetro de
abundosa. de nasció el
saluador. Dios te salue
tradero cubre
y tradero dueño. ¶ Auī
desta anel saluamos ā to
da tristeza/ ¶ Entrando enel
enel su tabernaculo y sa
lieron enel logar adv
estuuieron los sus pasos

H-III-22

¶ Yo mesquina ꝛ pecadora ꝛ indigna de beuir en el mundo por dignidad de beuir en el mundo ado el se olle ꝛ llory el saluador e la sus mano ꝛ de adorar e la ayesia ado la muger pecadora me fue dolor al my pecado ꝛ dixe ¶ Ay de mi señor ¶ Ay de mi señor ado fue el tu fuerte cuyo del my dios ꝛ señor ¶ Ay de mi como are en este biuir estrago el my saluador ado nasce este ¶ Dixen pecadora yo mesquina de mi señor dios ihu xpo esta muger culpada deuer lean que el qsiera bien se o la desease ber por la grandesa dela su fama marauilla que fuese dla mas biua delas mugeres ¶ Y como el fariseo fuese conuidado de symon de bethania ꝛ estando a la mesa en su casa ꝛ por ihu saluador de pecadora ꝛ por ihu saluador de pecadora ¶ Desde el dia que murio su padre fasta que ella murio

nunca cesso con onbre al guno por fauor que fuese ado que fuese ahun vino de baños saluo con yua pe nyte de enfermedat ¶ E non tenia cura su cuerpo mollida ꝛ blanda ado en enfermedades muy graues mas su alma era vnas mantas de sayal trudy das en ceniza ¶ Y lauaua yo os pies todas las noches en oraciones ꝛ asi lloraua los pecados humanos como si fueran sus males muy graues ¶ E como le cayo defuso sus ojos muchas vezes que pecaua asi los ojos ꝛ los guardaua segun la ley non delas santas escriptu ras del testamento ¶ E en cima ¶ Encendia es q̃ esta mollida la cara que se auia en muchas vezes auia el mandamiento de dios con dulces aguas ꝛ con alualde ꝛ alcohol ꝛ que sea atormentado el cuerpo que se dio lucha mente a deleytes ꝛ que la lucuya pisa sea atormen

tada

H-III-22

de uoro pdurable ⁊
que las fauanas bldas
⁊ las vestiduras preciosas
de seda fcam nudas en
aspreza ⁊ vileza de spiritu
⁊ que se effuerça aplazer
a jhu xp. la que se esforça
aplazer al mundo ⁊ al ma
rido ¶ Ey entre tantas ⁊
tan grandes vanidades qui
er loar cosa la mas honesta
pareciera que fablo en vas
demasiadas ¶ Ca assi se
pende seyglar ⁊ assaz fue
engaño de mugeres ⁊ assi
mismo a todas las buenas
nomenas/ ¶ Ca en tal ma
nera se deuja en toda su a
uersacion que nunca se atre
uio ninguno delos malde
zidores ale leuantar al
guna fama mala ¶ Ca no
fuesse muy larga cuel dan
delas buenas ⁊ la mayor
bendicion yo algunas vezes
dello/ allegando le lo que
dize el apostol/ que non
deuen en tal manera q
sea dados otros mesfigu
ro ⁊ ante tribulacion · uid
am eglad dett en manera
quela mesma aduersidad
aporta ala mengua q sea
en mesor cosa que pudiesse
fuera siempre lo q fuesse
de buena mente ⁊ le dan
esse otras vezes q nescabla
dessasia las ella en mu
bergonosa ⁊ vanas palabras
diziendo ¶ E estuyo me
es el señor quelo fuyo por
el su amor · a my dessy
es muger dizen pobre clo
ouiesse de andar ademan
dar/ ⁊ nyn ouiesse logar de
dezir amy fija custodiyo
vil sclo dinero/ ⁊ ouiesse
adementar en limosna
la fauana enque me ou
iesse de cubrir pina en
tegnan/ ¶ E assi dezia que
sy ella pudiesse muchos
fallaria quele diessen si
ella non acomoiesse al pro
quele demandaua limos
na ⁊ pareciesse acella sola
dentandas su mucha pi
es quele podria aconsa
ber delo ageno/ ¶ E q non
quisiesse defender el due
ro enlas piedras que pa
rescian enesse mundo pi

H - III - 22

ſadero · mas eſtas pied
nudas que andan ſobre
la neue / ſufren muchā
mengua delas quales
ſeyuue el apuntamiento de
ſant Johā es bē defendi
la abbat del mey q̄rchal
¶ E nunca coma a aſey
nt cula bianda ſalno en
los dias delas fiestas
¶ E de aqui puede ſer a
noſtro q̄nto ſe abſtenga
del vino · delas mantecas
· delos pegos · dela lech
· dela my el / · delos hue
uos · delas otras aſſas
delectables al guſto · ſy
aſſy ſe abſtenga del aſey
nt ¶ E ſon algunos que
ſe hazen por grandes abſ
tinencias ſy ſe abſtienen
dela anue / abn̄ que fin
gan ſu beuure de aque
nas aſſas / o de otras ſmue
jables / ¶ E como vno por
ſe emperador muella le di
eſſe bien bos que algu
nos la tomen por loco por
el primer ſtamo del ſanc
to de dios que auia neſſ
ſidad de eſtudiar el q̄lebro

¶ Reſpondiole ella · dixo
¶ Certamente ſeruos ſe
dos al mundo · alos an
geles · alos ombres · lo
os ſu ihuxp̄o · mas la lo
ura de dios es mas ſabia
que la ſabiduria delos ō
bres ¶ E aſſi nos q̄ ho
fechō vn monesterio de
monjes · fisu treſ moneſ
terios de muyeres vnge
nes que ayuntō de diez
fas a ceſſas aſſi nobles co
mo menianas · como po
bres · e eſtauan aptadas
ſin amer · obrar · mas
ayuntauan ſe en vno a
orar / ¶ E ſi algunas de
llas diuan entreſy algu
nas antiendas · e tenia
apuesguadas ella con
labrias manſas / ¶ E do
mada la anjne dela
mengnes on muchos a
primos · e abſtinencias · q
tenido mas que les dolie
ſe el ſtomago que el o
rason / ¶ E non anſtenia
que trayeſſen veſtaduras
muy limpias diendo q
la limpieza del cuerpo ·

H-III-22

delas lesiones que en
draua fusiesse en la ca
uerna / y quelo que era pe
or de lugar entre las mu
geres del siglo era muy y
ue prado entre las reli
giosas Et auno fisiese
prouecho larga mente a
las que enfermaua / los
dese dauan atque era
en pero muy aspero para
en sus enfermedades /
Et quando alguna se auia
de confesar antes que fu
sse a las otras enfermas
Et auno vna vez enfer
mose muy grane mente
en el mes de Julio / y fisiese
grandes calores ademas
/ ella auia muy grand
ardor de fiebre / y desespe
raron los fisicos de su sana
dad / y meioraste por la ora
cion del Abad / y le
mandaron los fisicos bruez
vn poco de vino atenprado
para esforçar / y que no le
viese agua / por que non se
tornase en ydropesia / y su
enfermedad / Et yogue al vie
ne auenturado epifanyo /
bispo de la abadia de sul
mona de ytalia / que auia
ydo a roma / y boluiendo
se a su tierra / entro en
de donde yo estaua / y
le dixo Et de como
nos fue aquello Et yo
el santo obispo le amones
taua por muchas razones
que dixiese a bruez / que
este de la vez pregonero
sanna / aprouechando dixo
/ respondiome / y dixo
me / aprouecha / que por
nos amonestar amos dos
que non bua vino en esta
bedat Et entre tan gran
des virtudes / que en
el auia / auia vna / muy
grande / y es / el dolor de la muerte de
los parientes / mayor mente
de los fijos / en que mas
llegaua a prigro de mu
erte / quando / que / que
que alguno dellos muria
Et quando se le auia de
morir del tal dolor fa
zia la señal de la cruz so
bre el coraçon / y luego
benga el dolor natural

H-III-22

[illegible] mas en
[illegible] Clarisa
[illegible] que
[illegible] la voluntad de
[illegible] memoria
la ystoria. Dispuso
mando la ystoria segun
se le fue dictando
dat regula en todo assi
cuyo el entendimiento es
pital. Trabaya la anima de
la su alma en el entendi
miento espiritual de la es
tura santa de Dios en
tan grant bedut trabajo
por aprender la lengua
judayca. Puesto aprendi
en ella tan mucha de mu
cho trabajo. Pudo fazer con
pensamiento ordenado de
lla. Por que non sienpre el
vidase lo que aprendre
ra de Cresana dia el
sobrino en judayco. Pro
nunciava las palabras
judeygas sin abyuno en
tiempo dela muestra len
gua de Dios hasta el
dia de oy biernes aquesto
mismo en su santa fiesta e
vsabio de hasta aqui de

mas marcado en bien
hecho. E algunos pasados
los peligros del mar en
tiempo egual. Vase agora
para casas somos la nues
tra ystoria. De quien pu
dra tomar con ojos se
ve la muerte de aquesta
santa muger. E como en
vna grave enfermedat e
dolor lo que desseava la
su voluntad. Envyo nues
tro dezir amos. E dixo
al señor que por non
alongar mas el dolor de
tenerlo me en oyr mas
breve dexo lo que ordè
ço a escrevir. Esta a
questa muger sabia fizo
la su muerte muy agena
e teniendo su fin todo
las puertas del aposento e a
yendo sola mente vn po
co de color en el pecho en
una aquellas heridas
dos del salvador dixo
sy fuese alos sus apos
tolos e despues alos christia
nos e despues con
gran alegria
tenosura dela su misa e
el loyr dela oracion de

H-III-22

la tu ygloria. ¶ Quādo
ſon amables ſeñor dela
caualleria celeſtial. las
mor'adas dela tu abdat/-
¶ Fuyr mas pdre yr
durable ſer deſpreciada
eala caſa del un ſeñor ihu
xpo que mora en los yñ
dos pulanos delos prad
res en el ſiglo ¶ E anio
ple preguntaſſe por que ca
llaua/ y non me reſpodia
alo que le preguntaua y
ſi ſanna ouiera dolor ſeſ
pridiome en la lengua
griega y dixo ¶ Non ſiedo
oſſa dyguna que me aym
je. mas todas las oſſas
leo aſſeguadas y ſuaues
¶ E dichas eſtas oſſas e
muchos rastro los ojos
aſſi auiā ſy deſpreciaſſe
las oſſas terrenales y de
ſtaſſe ſyēpre mente las celeſ
tiales ¶ E deſta manera
bastas entrelle los huſſos
fuſſo duchos faſta que le
ſubio el alma del cuerpo
¶ E deſque los monjes
dela uegua oyeron deſto
que era muerta vinie
ron ala ouejra vno de
aquellos en ſuyendo ¶ E
las vyrgines ſaliero de
ſus anneras y troxeron a
mendo que era ſacrifico
non bengo allas en ſemeja
de tan ſanta fenbra/ y to
dos ellos chamyeron ala
ouejra fuſta que fue entra
da dentro dela egleſia a
oraua dela nieua ado el
ſaluador naſcera ¶ E
iſtuchio ſu fija vyrgen de
ma de ſyeruenca a dexy
bada ſe ſobre la madre
aſſi auie fija deſcapda
y ponja ſus ojos en los
ojos della/ y ſu cara en
la cara della y abraçada
el cuello y deſia que la
enterrasen ſeu ancilla ¶ E
eſtuyo en ihu xpo que
le deyo la madre vñ di
nero. mas muchā delas
y grant muchedunbre de
monjes y de monjas que
auya de mantener y ſuſte
tar y le fuera grant an
dadt. ſi los quiſiera deſ
dyr ¶ De vn dios ſanc

H-III-22

bien abenturadi ⁊ aqui
an anlas rus oraciones
la postrimera hedat de a
questa uida que lua la tu
sanidat / Aqui acaba
la uida de sanct paula
ermita ⁊ gloria del nuest
senor ihu xp el qual bi
ue ⁊ regna per todos los
siglos amen / Aqui ama
cuan la ystoria dela uida de
sanct juhan

Juhan os dicho
de jubilo que q
ere desir amor
⁊ de ama que quiere de
zir suso · por que subio al
cielo un anno de alegria
E abri juhan puede
se dicho de juhi · que q
ere desir misericordia ⁊
de amas que quiere desir
dicho · por que misericor
dia del senyor de dios / ⁊
fue toda uida misericordi
osa ⁊ en su penssamiento
ymaginacion / E fue
obispo dela abadia de acio
mano / E dizen algunos
que fue aquesse sanct juhã
aquel simon leproso q
sano el senor ⁊ lo anbio
ayamar ⁊ que fue ordc
nado obispo dios apostol
los despues dela ascen
sion del senor / E aquesse
sanct van ou mot plandes
go por muchas uirtudes ⁊
maravillas ⁊ mesquin tres
muestros ⁊ muro cuyos
E segunt dizen algunos de
sus aquesse es aquel
sanct juhan aquien se en
comyendan los que van
camino para fullar bue
na posada por los sus mue
gos por que passo en su casa
el saluador / E mas adel
te sanct juhan aquien se
encomyendan los que van
camino · fue mal hazada
ra mente aquel sanct ju
han que mato a su padre
⁊ a su madre non los co
nosciendo segunt parescie
ra adelante en su ystoria
E abri fue otro sanct
juhan de negru de albe
rca noble por linage ⁊ mas
rico mas noble por gra
cia ⁊ por ofrenda de su

BNM 12688

por reuelacion del saluador ¶ De aqui es lo que dize sant Iherosme ¶ El apostol sant paulo fue cauallero verdadero enseñado y vngido y cruzificado con el saluador y glorioso conel ¶ fue otrosi con ella casi por ayuno y sanbre por que la su carne fuese apareiada a toda buena obra ¶ Con tanto acabar fue apareiado el su cuerpo a todo bien y sant alongar y auer sanbre y en infermedad con todas las cosas y sufrir qualquier contrariedad con alegre voluntad ¶ Onde sant Iherosme dize al apostol Seas omne vos mesquino la muerte y los tormentos ¶ Assi los a buscaua alegre mente como si fuesen juego de mochachos y mas segurada en la materia de la su passion que si fuesen coronas de algunas coronas gloriosas y mas de buena muerte describia los autores / que los dones ¶ Con son dignas sa ferbias contra dios / por que son contrarias / alas que fueron en los padres del humanal linaje ¶ Fue en los primeros padres y fue ensalcado contra dios en sant paulo fue cerrivamente fasta fin ¶ En los primeros padres fue abstinencia de los osos y en sant pablo fue / perfeccion ¶ En los primeros padres fue el temer de la fruta del arbol vedado ¶ En sant paulo fue abstinencia de la vianda que podia auer sin pecado ¶ Aqui acaba la vida del auenturanzado apostol sant paulo / a honra y gloria del nro saluador ihu xpo / el qual / con el padre y con el spu sto biue y regna por todos los siglos / amen.

Aqui comienza la vida de santa paula

Santa paula fue de muy noble / entre las romanas y de muy noble / entre las romanas y de muy noble / entre las romanas y

BNM 12688

viem apareñ delos que prime
ro viero. ¶ corrieron
se enpñ. adv el señor fueron cru
ſificado. adv̄ado/assi como ſio
rubieza/enla cruz puesto dela
creſ. ¶ entraron/enel ſepul
besaua la piedra/ que rebolusse
n el angel dela puerta del mo
numento/ ¶ lampa con la luz
el lugar adv eſtuviera el cuerpo
del señor. ¶ assi como si buuiera/al
gunas muy/ deſeadas ¶ cosa
uſirlas. ¶ el señor/aquexi ella
fogaua/son testigos dela muger
dunbre/ delos/gemidos que dio
¶ dela grande pena del su dolor ¶
tener fuesse para la abdad de
belem. ¶ entro enla cueua adon
nasçio el saluador. ¶ vio la posa
da dela virgen ſanta. ¶ humilla
/ofrecido yo/que veya vinose
ojos dela fe al niño ihū/ enbuel
to enpaños. ¶ echado enel pesebre
¶ como lo/adorauan los ma
gos. ¶ los guiaua la/estrella mas
clara ¶ como estauan la vir
gen. ¶ su esposo. ¶ como venie
los pastores de noche/auer la pa
labra que era fecha. ¶ adon rom
pio al euangelio de ſañt juan
· que dize · que enel comienco

en la palabra. ¶ la palabra fue
fecha carne ¶ adv̄ esta que
leya la muerte delos ynnos. ¶
nocentes. ¶ aberoues que per se
guya/ajosep. ¶ ala virgē ſanta
maria/que juan fuesse adoptado
to/¶ mesclando lagrimas con
la alegria de su ¶ dios. ¶ sal
ue leelem casa de pan/que es en
dio del cielo ¶ dios. ¶ salue e
ſpira trīn. abondosa. ¶ manaſſes
el saluador verdadero emanuel
verdadero dios ¶ adv̄ dela
el salmista. con voz fuerte ¶
murmuremos/enel tabernaculo. ¶ adv̄
muremos. enel logar adv̄ eſtouieron
los sus pies ¶ o mesquina
¶ pecadora. so auida por digna de
leer el presēte adv̄ estoues. ¶ oyo
el saluador enla su muger. ¶ de
adorar enla cueua adv̄ la virgen
pario sin dolor al su criador
ome. ¶ dios. ¶ aqui sen la mu
foligna. adv̄ fue el nasçimiento
del mi dios. ¶ señor. ¶ aqui no
mure. ni este logar esfuerço el
mi saluador. adv̄ nasçese. ¶ ami
gnud humillar se dio aquesta
santa muger. enla abdad de belee
quel que la veuse. o desease ver

torno por virtud a dios que pa
resçe que le deseaua la muerte
¶ como ouiese noble casa. ¶
muy abondada. despendiola po
co menos toda enlas nesçesida
des delos pobres ¶ como pa
ulino/obpo dela abdad de anto
china. ¶ sañt epiphanio obpo de
la abdad de salamina la de dios
fuesen abuena enamorada ella por
deseo de remedio las sus virtudes
pensaua de cada dia de obrar la
trīn ¶ mudo desseo enella
este deseo que lo puso en obra.
¶ como desendiesse al pueblo
dela mar con sus parientes. ¶ cō
sus fijos/ ¶ entraise enla galea. ¶
començaron/a fazer tuyono su
fijo que era avn pequeño. ¶ estaua
enla ribera. alçaua las manos a
ella. ¶ fogaua la que non lo dexe
se destinparar ¶ eufimia su
fija que/estaua desposada. fogo
uale con muchas lagrimas que
essraise sus bodas. mas ella/al
çaua arriba sus ojos sieos. ¶ fin
auia los enel cielo/ ¶ demostraua
alos fijos crueldat por ofrecer
a dios pagar. ¶ non se conoscia
ser madre por la esperança celesti

al. ¶ por mostrarse ser sierua de
saluador ¶ seyendo atormen
tadas las sus/entrañas. ¶ assi
como apartadas delos miembros
peleaua/enel dolor. ¶ llena de su
ſrir/esforçauase contra los deseos
dela natura ¶ alegrandose el
su coraçon/ por la esperança del ga
lardon. despreçaua el amor de
los fijos por el amor de dios. ¶
consolauase con la su fija eufra
sia/que era con pañera del su
viaje. ¶ del su proposito ¶ como
fuesse la galea por el agua. ¶ todos
los que yuan en ella/ otrasen alta
ribera. ella sola boluia a otra p
te los/ojos/ por non ver lo que
non podia auer sin dolor dela
su carne ¶ como llegasse a
trīn de palestina. ¶ el adelan
tado de palestina que conoscia
bien su linaje. enbiase sus se
ruidores para que la apresentas
sen en sus palacios. non aso
pusin si non/en vna casilla pe
queña ¶ con tan grande ardor
vestiuan todos los lugares
santos. que si non por que de
cauan ver los otros santos lu
gares. que querian. non se po

BNM 12688

por la grandeza dela su fuma non
creena que fuese ella mas viua e
las mas viles ffeenas. ¶ Co-
mõ efturiese acompañada de mu
chedumbre de virgines ella pues
ta ser menor de todas ellas por
vileza de vestidura e por humil
dad de palabra e de todos sus ges
tos. ¶ Deste el dia que monoslu
mar fasta que ella mono mi
en ningun en ome alguno por sõ
que fuese aun que fuese obispo
nin vso de baños saluo con gran
de peligro de enfermedat e non se
nya en la cama / sino sobre mollida e
blanda. aun en enfermedades
muy graues. mas su cama era
vnas mantas de seyal tendidas
en tierra. ¶ Velaua por lo menos
toda la noche en oraciones e assy
llorando los pecados passados / como
si ffuesen vnos males muy grandes
¶ Como le amonestase / yo mu
chas vezes / que pensase de sus o
jos e los guardase para la lum
de las almas espirituales. respondia
me e desia ¶ Menester es que
sea turbada la alma que se assy
ento muchas vezes contra el man
damiento de dios con diuersas / a
guas e con aluayalde e alcohol /
e alcohol. e que sea atormenta
da el cuerpo que se dio / luenga
mente / a delectes e la luenga si
la sea atormentada / de lloro per
dumble. ¶ Que las sabanas
blancas / e las vestiduras preciosas
de seda mudadas / en aspereza de
cilicio / e que se esforçe a plazer
a dios xpõ. la que se esforço apla
zer al mundo / e al marido. ¶
si entre ellas / tan grandes di
uersidades / de cuydados / se ffallare
alguna fuma maldad. ¶ Como fue
se muy larga / en el dar de las li
mosnas / e la reprehendiese yo
algunas vezes desto. e ella me
le lo que. Dixo el apostol. que
non temos / en esta manera que
sea a los otros refrigerio / e a no
tribulacion. mas / con igualdad
· en manera que la una abastan
te / acorra a la mengua / de la

agena / e que sea la abundancia
de el vno / al pobre / e la mengua
de el vno / sea suplida con la abun
dancia de el otro. ¶ Que las sabanas
blancas / e las vestiduras preciosas
de seda mudadas / en aspereza de
cilicio / e que se esforçe a plazer
a dios xpõ. la que se esforço apla
zer al mundo / e al marido. ¶
si entre ellas / tan grandes di
uersidades / de cuydados / se ffallare
alguna fuma maldad. ¶ Como fue
se muy larga / en el dar de las li
mosnas / e la reprehendiese yo
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tribulacion. mas / con igualdad
· en manera que la una abastan
te / acorra a la mengua / de la
agena / e que sea la abundancia
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de el vno / sea suplida con la abun
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zer al mundo / e al marido. ¶
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uersidades / de cuydados / se ffallare
alguna fuma maldad. ¶ Como fue
se muy larga / en el dar de las li
mosnas / e la reprehendiese yo
algunas vezes desto. e ella me
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non temos / en esta manera que
sea a los otros refrigerio / e a no
tribulacion. mas / con igualdad
· en manera que la una abastan
te / acorra a la mengua / de la
agena / e que sea la abundancia
de el vno / al pobre / e la mengua
de el vno / sea suplida con la abun
dancia de el otro. ¶ Que las sabanas
blancas / e las vestiduras preciosas
de seda mudadas / en aspereza de
cilicio / e que se esforçe a plazer
a dios xpõ. la que se esforço apla
zer al mundo / e al marido. ¶
si entre ellas / tan grandes di
uersidades / de cuydados / se ffallare
alguna fuma maldad. ¶ Como fue
se muy larga / en el dar de las li
mosnas / e la reprehendiese yo
algunas vezes desto. e ella me
le lo que. Dixo el apostol. que
non temos / en esta manera que
sea a los otros refrigerio / e a no
tribulacion. mas / con igualdad
· en manera que la una abastan
te / acorra a la mengua / de la

BNM 12688

aom. Si algunas vellas a
upan entresi algunas envendā
z bamsas apasiguanalas ella
an palabras mansas. Como
lla la ame delas maneras ō
muchos ayunos z abstinencias
quemendo mas que les dolie
se el estomago quel cragan
non consenna que mariese
vestiduras muy limpias. desie
ō que la limpieza del cuerpo z
delas vestiduras engendraul
sustedat enla vngencia z que
lo que en prado ligero entre las
mugeres del siglo era muy gra
ue prado entre las religiosas
como fuese prouecer larga mente
alas que enfermaua z les diese
a comer ame era en pro muy
aspera para si enssus enferme
des z ordenaua en vuelcar ensi
mesma la piedat que fuesa ala
otras enfermas. Como
vna vez enfermase muy gra
ue mente enel mes de Julio z
fuiese grandes calores adnas
z ella ouiese muy grand ardor
de sichre z desesperasen los fisicos
de su sanar z mesorase por la mi
sericordia diuinal z le mandasen

los fisicos beuer vn poco de vino
aguado para esforcar z que non
beuiese agua por que non se tor
nase en ydropesia la su enfer
medar. fogue al bien auen
turado cpriano. obispo dela ciudat
de cartagina de dispute que le ma
dase beuer vino. Con fe yo
se ella z entendiendo de como
nasca. respondiole z dixo de se
mismo naste aqueste. Como
mo el sancto sobdo la amonestase
por muchas rasones que lo qui
siese beuer z saliese dela ver
guenca le auia aprouchado
algo. Respondiome z dixo.
Tanto aprouechi qua menos a
monestu amveces que non be
ua vino enesta hedat. Entre
tan grandes virtudes murio en
quebrantada armas del dolor
dela muerte delos parientes. ma
yor mente delos fijos. Un poco
menos llegaua a peligro de mu
erte. quando quier que alguno
dellos monese. Quando se se
nta atormentada del mal dolor
fuesa la señal dela cruz sobre
el estomago. quriendo vencer

el dolor natural enla tal señal
mas. era venida dela flaqueza
espiritual. abn que le venio dela
fuerca enla voluntad z fercenca enla
memoria la esperanca diuinal z
amando la ystoria z creyendo
sei ciertamente dela verdat segun
el todo efficaz el entendimien
to espiritual z bastrea la masa dela
sii alma. enel entendimiento cor
nal dela esperanca sallia. Aun
cuando grando hedat trauaso por
aprender la lengua judiega que
yo aprendiem en mi mancebia
con mucho trauaso z sudor z con pe
sament. connuo della. por que
non se me olvide lo que aprendie
ra. Leyaua ella el salterio
en judiego z pronunciaua las pa
labras judiegas sin alguno en
largo dela mia lengua. Un
fuste el dia de oy veemos
aquesto mesmo en sii santi fi
ci. custodio. fuste aqui auc
mos nauegado con buen viento
Auemos passado los peligros
del mar. con tiempo egual. mas
agora topamos en las tormentas
de la mi
storia. Quien podria se
contar con ojos secos la muerte
de aqueste santo mugr. La

cayo en vna graue enfermedat
z alcanco lo que desseaua la su
voluntad. Comiene saber de
vuestros z ayuntarse al señor
Por non alargar mas
el dolor de rendendo me en o
tras cosas verne adesir lo que
conuiene de nuestra. Senora nra
muger sabia fe la muerte muy
cierta z temendo vil frias todas
las partes del cuerpo. Tallen
do sola mente vn poco de calor
enel pecho. fumjaua aquellos
vestiduelos del salmista. asi como
si fuese alos sus abraramos z de
xase alos cuidados z desia Se
nor ame la fermosura dela ti ca
sa z el logar dela morada dela ti
gloria. Quanos son amables
senos dela tu eccliesia celestial
las moradas dela tu abdat.
esdeo mas prouumble padre z
fer despreciada enella casa del mi
senor ihu xpo que morio enlos
grandes palagos delos pecados
enel siglo. como vo le pre
guntase por que callaua z non
me respondia alo que le pregu
ntaua. Si sentia algund

BNM 12688

Sigue se su ystoria:

Sant Julian fue obpo de tenomano. Di
xeron algunos que fue aquesse
sant Julian aquel simon leproso que sano el señor. Lo ovpo
por aperuir. Que fue ordenado
obpo delos apostoles despues de la
ascension del señor. Aquesse
varon resplandesçio por muchas
virtudes. Y milagros. Y despues muchos
muertos. Y monjo enpas. Se
gund algunos dizen aquesse es
aquel julian aquien se encomiendan
los que van en romjno para sallir
bien con su fecho. Y
por que yo se enssi assi el sallua
dor
Mas aquesse sant julian a
quien se encomiendan los que
van en romjno fue mas verdadero
señor aquel sant julian que mu
do assi padre. Y assi madre non
los conosciesse. Segund paresçe
en la leyenda enssi escripta. Ca
yn fue otro sant julian de tenne
de alexandria noble por linaje. Y mu
cho mas noble por crencia. Y se
ñorio de su volumpad alos pri
seguidores por esto de ser mar
tyr. Y lo fue en mano despues.

despues consol. Y ascendiendo que
entendiendo este santo varon que
lo andaua abuscar para matar
fuese el de su voluntad. Y presento
alos que le andauan abuscar. Y
ellos entraron le la casa. Y leua
ron la catenosma. Y sant ferreo
lo su compañero. Por que se judi
case. Y sacrificase alos ydolos por
mjedo. Como sant ferreolo
no quisiese ofrescer sacrificio alos
dioses. Mataron le. Y enterraronle
en vna sepultura con la cabeça de
sant julian. Despues de mu
chos años fallo el obpo sant mi
nerbo. La cabeça de sant julian en
las manos de sant ferreolo. Assy
entera. Y sana. Como si esse mesmo
dya fuera muerto. Y enterrado
entre los otros martyres de aquel
lugar. Sandy martyr se pone que vn
diacono fue arrastrado las orejas
de la cabeça de sant julian
dixeron le los pastores que le
quebrantasse con sant julian que no
se abrenjese alas vmas.
Respondioles el diacono. Y dixo.
Sant julian non come carneros.
Despues dias vynole aquel
diacono vna grand fiebre. Y
crecyo la calentura. Y como

el cuerpo. Y cabeça que la entre
rrasen juntas. Despues es
ta vno. Que non le troxo la ca
beça vn solo dinero. Mas mu
chas vezes. Y muchedumbre
de monjes. Y de monjas que a
uja de mantener. Y sostenjr. Y le
fuesen grand cuydado. Y los q
sirua de serujr.
Con vos yo
ula bien aconsejado. Y ayuda
on los tus oraçones. La post
mera hedad de aquesta vida
si los la su santidad. Y qui
eba la vida de santa paula. A
honrra. Y gloria del nuestro señor
ihu xpo. El qual biue. Y regna
por todos los siglos. Amen.

Aqui comença la ystoria
de sant julian declaracion
del su nombre.

Julian es dicho de jubi
lo. Que quiere tanto
to. Y de ana. Que quie
re tanto suso. Por que subio al
cielo con canto de alegria.
Sant julian puede ser dicho de
julio. Que quiere tanto como
cante. Segund el su pensamien
to. Y imaginacion.

dolor. Respondiome enla lengua
griega. Y dixo. Non siento cosa
alguna que me agrauie. Mas
todas las cosas veo asosegadas
y suaues. Dichas estas co
sas en mudeza. Y cerro los ojos
assi como si despreciase las cosas
mundanales terrenales. Y desa
se sola mente las celestiales.
Desta muchas vezes en mesa lo
uessos suso dichos fasta que le
salio el alma del cuerpo. Assi
que los monjes della non supieron
dezir que era muerta. Vinieron
ala honrra. Y no quedo alguno
enssi ella. Las virgines
sallieron de sus camas sorenas de
njedad que era sacrilego non
venir alas obsequias de tan san
cta dueña. Todos ellos estu
dieron ala honrra fasta que
fue enterrada de yuso della
glia. Agena della nueua. Y el
saluador nasciera. Custodio
su fija virgen digna de reuere
cia. Derribandose sobre la madre
assi como fija destetada. Y puso
sus ojos con los ojos della. Y
su cara con la cara della. Y

Sigue se

ij. 6. 18.
Est. 16. 3

Vidas de christo y muchos santos por Jacobo de voragine
~~III. A. 20.~~

h-II-18

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ccxl

a tan bien auenturados galardoñ.
Pues tome la gloria delos ricos
enxemplo de pobreza del pecho de a
questa santa muger. z aya verguē
ca la soberuia delos pobres: si assi se
ábaxo la que era de linaje tan noble.
E aprenda refrenar la luxuria los
sus deleytes: en la castidad de aq̃sta
santa muger de desseo tan feruiēte.
E a questa santa muger fino en a
lemaña en la abdad marbuana. A
qui acaba la ystoria de santa helisa
beth. a honrra z gloria del nuestro sal
uador ihū xp̃o. el qual con el padre z
con el spiritu santo biue z reyna por
sienpre vn dios Amen. Aqui comiē
ça la ystoria de santa cecilia.

Ecilia quiere dezir
lilio del cielo. o cuer
ta alos ciegos. o lia
z cielo. o ajena de ce
guedad. o pueblo de
cielo. ca fue lilio del cielo por la casti
dad dela virginidad. z por la blancura
dela limpieza. z por la verdura de la
conciencia. z por el olor dela fama
buena. E fue carrera alos ciegos.
por la enformacion del su exemplo.
E aun fue cielo por la continuacion
de la contemplacion. z lia. conuiene
saber vida actiua. por la continuacion
delas obras de santa vida. E aun
fue cielo. por q̃ segund dize sant ysido
ro. el cielo es mouible. z redondo z
ardiente. E assi santa cecilia fue li
gera de mouer a la buena obra. z re
donda por la perseuerança. z ardien
te por el encendimiento dela caridad.
E aun fue ajena de ceguedad. por
el resplandor dela sabiduria diuinal.
E aun fue cielo del pueblo. por que
vee en ella el pueblo para remedar
al sol z a la luna z alas estrellas. con
uiene saber la claridad dela sabidu
ria. z la grandeza dela fe. z la diuer
sidad delas virtudes. E aquesta sa
ta uirgen fue noble z de muy claro
linaje entre los romanos z cpiana
desde la cuna. z sienpre traya en su
pechos ascondido el euangelio de ihū
xp̃o. z non cessaua de dia z de noche de
orar. z dela leccion diuinal encomē
dando al señor su uirginidad. E a
questa santa uirgen fue desposada
con vn mancebo de noble linaje q̃
auia nonbre valeriano. E valeria
no encendido por amor dela virgen
santa cecilia. concerto dia para ca
sar. E santa cecilia era vestida de
fuera de paños de oro z de seda. mas
de yuso dellos traya cilicio a cuenta
del cuerpo. E tan grande era la gu
arda delos padres z del esposo cerca
della. que non podia ella demostrar
el ardor del su coraçon. z declarar po
señales manifiestas que amaua
al solo saluador. E viniendo el dia
delas bodas z sonando los organos
z los otros estrumentes. cantaua
ella a solo dios en su coraçon: z de
cia. Sea fecho señor el mi cuerpo
z el mi coraçon sin mancilla. por
que non sea yo cō fondida. E ayu
nauia non comiendo de dos a dos
dias z de tres a tres. e encomēdaua
al señor lo que auia nuebo de pe
der. E conbidaua alos angeles co
oraciones. z rogaua alos apostoles
con lagrimas. z suplicaua a todos
los moradores dela abdad sobera
na. que la ayudassen con sus ruc
gos. z encomendassen su castidad
al rey del cielo. E viniendo la no
che z entrando con su esposo a la ca

H-II-18

mara. dixole. O mancebo muy dul
ce & amable yo te quiero dezir vn se
creto si me jurares que lo guardaras
& no lo descubriras. E juro le vale
riano que lo guardaria & non lo des
cobriria. E dixole santa cecilia. Yo
he vn angel de dios por guardador
& guarda el [illegible] con tã grand
celo. que si sintiere en qual quier
manera q̃ sea. que llegas a mi con a
mor aleno de limpiesa. mouera cõ
tra ti la su ira. & perderas la flor dela
tu dulce mancebia. Mas si viere q̃
me amas con amor limpio & sin ma
zilla. & quieres guardar entrega &
sin corronpimiento la mi virgini
dad. assi amara ati como ami. & te
demostrara la su graçia & benigni
dad. E valeriano oyendo aques
to. fue lleno por voluntad de dios de
grand miedo. & dixo. Si quieres
que yo crea tus palabras demues
me el angel que dizes. & si viere q̃
es angel verdadera mente. fare lo q̃
me amonestas. mas si viere q̃ ama
a otro honbre ati & a el matare con
mi espada. E respondiole santa ce
cilia & dixo. Si me prometes de se
guir mi consejo. & ser alimpiado po
la fuente perdurable. & creyeres q̃
en el cielo vn dios biuo & verdadero
podras ver el angel que es dado a
mi para [illegible] guardar. E dixo le va
leriano. E quien es aquel que me
ha de alimpiar para q̃ yo pueda ver
el angel. E respondiole santa ce
cilia & dixo. Vn viejo ay q̃ sabe a
limpiar los honbres. para q̃ puedã
ver el angel. E dixole valeriano. &
E ado fallare yo a esse viejo que tu
dizes. E respondiole santa cecilia
& dixo. Ve por la carrera de apia a
tres millas dela abdad. & fallaras
ende a vnos pobres pidiendo limos
na a los que pasian. & aquellos salẽ
bien mis secretos. & siempre oue yo
grand aydado dellos. & dar les has
la limosna que yo te dare. & dezir les
les has. Cecilia me enbio a uos. pa
ra que me demostredes al viejo sã
turbian. que trayo vn mensaje suyo
secreto que le diga. E desque tu vie
res al viejo sant urban. relatar le
has todas mis palabras. & el te alim
piara & te vestira de vestiduras nue
uas & blancas. & luego que entrares
con ellas en aquesta camara. veras
al angel santo que te amara assi co
mo ami. & te dara todo lo que le de
mandares. E valeriano oyendo
aquesto. fue adonde le dixera santa ce
cilia. & fallo al papa sant urban. que fue
ra ya dos vezes confesor. & estaua
ascondido entre los sepulcros delos
martires. & relatole todas las cosas
que le dixera santa cecilia. E sant
urban oyendo lo que le dezia vale
riano ouo grand plazer ademas.
& puso anbas las rodillas en tier
ra. & abrio & alco las manos fazia
el cielo & dixo llorando. Señor ihũ
xpo buen pastor. senbrador de con
sejo casto. resabe los frutos dela
simiente que senbraste en tu sierua
cecilia. Señor ihũ xpo buen pastor.
tu sierua cecilia te sirue assi abeja
sabia & auisada. & enbio ati assy
como cordero muy manso. a su espo
so que era assy como vn leon bra
uo. ca non viniera aca este. si non
creyesse fielmente. Abre señor alas
tus palabras la puerta del su cora
con. por que conosciendo ati su cria
dor. renuncie al diablo & a todas

H-II-18

las sus obras & a todos los ydolos vanos. ℣ diziendo sant urbam estas cosas & otras semeiables. apuresçio delante ellos a deçora vn viejo vestido de vnas vestiduras blancas como la nieue. & traya vn rotulo en las manos escripto de letras de oro. ℣ veyendo lo valeriano. fue lleno de grand miedo. & cayo en tierra assy como muerto. & llego a el el viejo. & leuantolo de tierra: & dixole. ℣ Lee lo que esta escripto en este rotulo & cree por que merescas ser alimpiado. & puedas ver el angel que te prometio la muy deuota uirgen cecilia. ℣ valeriano puso mientres al rotulo. & comenco a leerlo entre si. ℣ la escriptura del rotulo era la que se sigue. Vn dios. vna fe. vn baptismo. vn dios & padre de todos. que es sobre todas & entodas las cosas. ℣ como valeriano leyesse el rotulo entresi. dixole el viejo. ℣ Crees ser assi o dubdas aun. ℣ respondio valeriano a grand voz & dixo. ℣ ho ay cosa so el cielo que mas verdaderamente pueda ser creyda q aquesta. ℣ desque valeriano ouo dicho aquesto. desapuresçio de sus ojos a quel viejo. ℣ entonces sant urbã baptiso a valeriano. & enseñole toda la regla dela fe. & enbiolo enformado con diligencia a la santa uirgen cecilia. ℣ viniendo valeriano vestido de vestiduras blancas. fallo a santa cecilia orando en la camara. & al angel del señor que estaua acerca della con alas resplandesçientes & claras. & con cara lumbrosa & enflamada. & tenia dos coronas en las manos. de lirios & de rosas. & dio la vna a santa cecilia. & la otra a valeriano. & dixo lés. ℣ Estas coronas guarad con coraçon limpio. & con cuerpo sin mancilla. cal las traxe para vos del paraiso del mi dios. & nunca se secaran. nin amenguaran la suauidad del su olor. nin podran ser vistas si non de aquellos a quien pluguiere la castidad. assi como a uos. ℣ por que tu valeriano consentiste al consejo de castidad. enbio me a ti ihũ xpo fijo de dios. a te dezir que pidas lo que ati plugniere. ℣ oyendo esto valeriano. derribo se en tierra. & adoro & dixo. ℣ Non fue en esta vida a mi cosa mas dulce que el amor de mi hermano. & muchõ es cosa ami sin piedad que yo librado sea en peligro de perdicion a mi hermano. ℣ porẽde aqsto antepongo a todas mis peticiones. & ruego al señor ihũxpo de todo coraçon que libre a mi hermano tiburcio assi como le plogo de librar ami. & nos faga a anbos acabar ẽ la confession del su nonbre. ℣ oyẽdo el angel aquesto. respondio cõ alegre & dixo. ℣ Por que pediste lo que plaze cõplir a ihũxpo mas q ati. assi como el gano ati por su fierua cecilia. assi ganara por ti a tu hermano tiburcio. & con el alcançaras corona de martirio. ℣ acabadas estas palabras. desapuresçio el ãgel & fuesse pura el cielo. ℣ valeriano & santa cecilia estando gouernando. & fablando palabras de santa hedificacion. vino tiburcio hermano de valeriano. & llego a besar la cabeça de santa cecilia su cuñada & dixo. ℣ Nu dio me maruillo ademas de donde venga en tal tiempo olor de lirios & de rosas. ca aun que touiesse rosas & lirios en mis manos. non podria sentir mayor suauidad de olor. ℣

11-II-18

yo vos digo q̃ assi so conestre/olor esto/
cado. que me pareſce que ſo/adeſora/
del todo renouado. E dixole valeria
no. Por el mi ruego merceaſte ſetir
aqueſte/olor. mas ſi acyerdes mereſce
tas ver con/alegria las roſas ⁊ los
lilios. ⁊ entenderas cuya ſangre flo
reſce enlas roſas. ⁊ a/q̃ cuerpo reſ
plandeſce enlos lilios. ca tenemos/v
nas coronas que non pueden ver
tus/ojos. que reſplandeſcen por/
bez meſcura roſada. ⁊ por blancura de
nieue. E reſpondio le tiburcio ⁊ di
xo. Eſtas coſas que me dixeſtes ſon/
aſſi verdad/o es ſueño. E dixo le va
leriano. En ſueños/auemos biuido
faſta/aqui. mas ya en verdad eſta
mos. ⁊ non es en nos alguno engaño
ño. ca los dioſes que adoramos. ño
ſon dioſes mas diablos. E dixo le
tiburcio. De donde ſabes tu aqueſto.
E reſpondio le valeriano ⁊ dixo. El
angel del ſeñor me lo enſeño. ⁊ ſi tu
renunciares/a todos los ydolos ⁊ fue
res alinpiado por el baptiſmo. poder
lo has ver. E ſtonçes ſancta cecilia
comenco/a demoſtrar/a tiburcio por
raſones manifieſtas. que los ydo
los eran ſin ſentimiento ⁊ mudos.
E vençido tiburcio por las ſus ra
ſones. reſpondio ⁊ dixo. Beſtia
es ⁊ non honbre el que aqueſto ño
cree. E ſancta cecilia/oyendo/aqueſ
to. beſo/a tiburcio enlos pechos ⁊
dixo. Agora te digo que eres mi
cuñado. que aſſi como fiſo/a tu her
mano valeriano el amor de dios ſer
mi marido. aſſi fara/a ti ſer mi cuña
do el deſpreçio delos ydolos. Pue
ve con tu hermano valeriano. por q̃
puedas ſer/alinpiado ⁊ ver/a los
angeles. E dixo tiburcio/a valeria
no ſu hermano. Ruego te que me di
gas/a quien me has de leuar. E reſ
pondio le valeriano ⁊ dixo. Tengo
te de leuar/al papa urbano/obiſpo de
aquella cibdad. E dixo le tiburcio. Di
tes de aquel urbano que ha ſeydo co
denado por algunas veſtes. ⁊ eſta aſ
condido. E ſi fuere fallado aque
ſte urban que tu dixeſtes. ſera ſin dub
da quemado. ⁊ ſeremos nos enbuel
tos en ſu damnacion. ⁊ buſcando la
diuinidad aſcondida que eſta en los
cielos. aceremos en la tierra en ſaña
de fuego de grand cueſta. E reſpo
dio le ſancta cecilia ⁊ dixo. Juſta
mente temeriás perder/aqueſta vi
da. ſi fueſſe ella ſola. ⁊ non/ouieſſe
otra meſor que nunca puede pereſcer.
Ca el fijo de dios. por el qual ſon fe
chas todas las coſas. ⁊ es engendra
do perdurablemente del padre. vino
a nos ⁊ nos demoſtro ſer/otra vida
de muchо mayor valor. E todas las
coſas que fueron criadas del fijo. fue
ron abiuadas del ſpiritu ſancto que
ſale del padre ⁊ del fijo. E dixo le ti
burcio. Tu dexiſte primero ſer vn
dios. ⁊ agora dixeſtes que ſon treſ.
E reſpondio le ſancta cecilia. ⁊ dixo.
Aſſi como en vna ſabiduria del hõ
bre ſon tres coſas. conuiene ſaber
ingenio ⁊ memoria ⁊ entendimien
to: aſſi ſon tres perſonas en la eſſe
cia de vna ſola diuinidad. E comẽ
ço le/a predicar/de la venida del fijo
de dios ⁊ de la ſu paſſion. demoſtrã
do le muchos ⁊ grandes prouechos/
que vinieron/a nos de la paſſion de
ihũ xpo nueſtro medianero diziẽ
do. El fijo de dios fue preſo por que
fueſſe ſuelto el linaje humanal q̃
eſtaua captiuo por el pecado. ⁊ fue

H-II-18

maldito ⁊ denostado. por q̃ el linaje humanal fuesse bendito ⁊ loado. E fue escarnesçido. por que el hombre fuesse librado del escarnesçimiento delos diablos. ⁊ fue coronado de espinas. por que librasse a nos dela sentençia a dela muerte. O sto la fiel amargura por que sanasse el gosto dulçe del hõbre. ⁊ fue despojado por que cubriesse la desnuedad delos primeros padres del linaje humanal. Fue puesto en el madero. por que alimpiasse el trasspassamiento del fruto del arbol. q̃ fuera alos primeros padres vedado. E sant tiburçio oyendo aquesto. dixo a su hermano valeriano. Fue ⁊ meter de noche ⁊ lieua me al hombre de dios. por que sea alimpiado. E valeriano lleuo a su hermano tiburçio a sant urbano. ⁊ sant urbano esforçolo en la fe ⁊ baptisolo. E despues que tiburçio fue baptisado. muchas veses veya los angeles. ⁊ ganaua dellos todo lo que demandaua. E desque valeriano ⁊ tiburçio fueron xpianos. començaron a fazer muchas limosnas a los pobres ⁊ enterrar los cuerpos delos martires santos. que mandaua matar almachio el adelantado. E oyendo dezir almachio que valeriano ⁊ tiburçio eterrauan los cuerpos delos martires. mando los prender ⁊ traer delant de si. ⁊ preguntoles por que enterrauan los cuerpos delos dañados. que el mandaua matar por sus fechos malos. E respondiole sant tiburçio ⁊ dixo. Agora plugueisse a dios que nos mereçiesemos ser syeruos de aquellos que tu llamas dañados. por que despreçiaron lo q̃ paresçe ser ⁊ nó es. ⁊ fallaron lo q̃ nó es visto del ojo corporal. ⁊ es en verdad. E dixole almachio. Pienso q̃ nõ estas en tu seso. E mando almachio traer delant si a valeriano. ⁊ dixole. Por que tu hermano no estuuo en su seso tu podras responder sabiamente. ca aquesto es que errays tu ⁊ el por que despreçiays los gostos ⁊ plasteres de aquesta vida. ⁊ escogedes lo que es contrario ala alegria. E respondiole valeriano ⁊ dixo. Yo vi a algunos ocçiosos fazer estruendo en tiempo del inuierno delos labradores que trabaiauan. mas desque vino el estio. ⁊ vieron la abastança delos frutos que cogieron los labradores començaron allorar los que primero se tenian por sabios. ⁊ fazian escarnio delos que se dauan al trabaio. E nos agora sofrimos despreçio ⁊ trabaio. mas en la otra vida resçabiremos gloria para siempre ⁊ gualardõ bien auenturado. Vos q̃ agora vos alegrades en estos gostos terrenales. llorarades en la otra vida e los tormentos perdurables. E dixole almachio. Si assi es. nos que somos principes non vençibles. auremos lloro perdurable. ⁊ vos q̃ soys personas viles. aureys alegria q̃ durara todauia. E respondiole ⁊ sant valeriano ⁊ dixo. Vos otros hombres sodes que non principes. ⁊ en nuestro tiempo maestros. ⁊ muy embreue morirredes. ⁊ daredes a dios razon mucho mayor que otros de pequeño valor. E dixole el adelantado. Para que estays alongando palabras. Ofreçed sacrifiçios alos dioses. ⁊ vredes en paz. E respondieron le los santos martires tiburçio ⁊ valeriano. Nos cada dia

H-II-18

ofreſcemos ſacrificio a dios verdadero
z viuo. E dixoles almachio. E que
nonbre ha eſſe vño dios. E reſpon
diole valeriano. Non podras fallar
ſu nonbre aun que tomes alas z bue
les. E dixole el adelantado. Si aſſi
es como tu diſes. Jupiter no es nõ
bre de dios. E reſpondiole valeria
no z dixo. Jupiter es nonbre de hõ
bre matador de honbres. z corrõpe
dor de mugeres. E dixole almachio.
Si aſſi es todo el mundo yerra. z tu
z tu hermano tiburcio conoſcey s a
dios verdadero. E reſpondio valeria
no z dixo. Non ſomos nos ſolos
mas ſon otros muchos con nos q̃
reſcaben aqueſta ſantidad. E mãdo
el adelantado leuar los preſos a la
carcel de maximo. z dixoles maximo
O flor purpurada de mançebia. o
amor de hermandad ſingular. por q̃
corredes ala muerte. aſſi comõ ſi co
rrieſſedes a conbite alegre. E reſpõ
diole valeriano z dixo. Si tu pro
metes de creer. veras la gloria de nu
eſtras almas deſpues dela muerte.
E reſpondiole maximo z dixo. Si
tu fazes lo que diſes. aun muera
yo de grado del ado ſi non ado al tu
dios que diſes ſer verdadero. E
aceyeron maximo z toda ſu compa
ñia. z todos los carniceros. E mã
do almachio alos carniceros que
leuaſſen a tiburcio z a valeriano a
vn lugar ado eſtaua la ymagen
de jupiter. z los deſcabeçaſſen alli
ſi non quiſieſſen ſacrificar. E vi
no a ellos ſanta cecilia de noche co
los ſacerdotes. z fizo baptizar a
maximo z a todos los que carpeã
con el. E al alua dixoles ſanta ce
cilia. Ya caualleros de ihũ xpo
deſechad de vos las obras delas ti
nieblas. z armad vos delas armas
dela luz. ca lealmente auedes pelea
do. z ya auedes acabado el vño cur
ſo. z auedes guardado la fe. yo agora
ala corona dela vida que dara el
juez de juſticia. non auios ſolos. mas
a todos los que aman la ſu venida.
E llegando los varones ſantos al
logar ado eſtaua la ymagen de ju
piter. non le quiſieron ſacrificar. z
puſieron las rodillas en tierra. z
los carniceros cortaron les las ca
bezas. E entonces maximo afir
mo con juramento que viera ſalir
las ſus almas delos cuerpos aſſy
apoſtradas z reſplandeſcentes co
mo virgines que ſalen del thalamo.
z las reſcibieron los angeles e ſus
braços z las leuaron al cielo. E al
machio oyendo dezir que maximo
era xpiano. fizo lo acotar tan luẽ
gu mente con plomadas. faſta q̃
dio el alma. E tomo ſanta cecilia
ſu cuerpo. z enterrolo acerca delos
cuerpos delos martires ſantos ti
burcio z valeriano. E almachio fi
zo tomar todas las riqueças de ta
burcio z valeriano. z traer delãte
ſi a ſanta cecilia. z mandole que o
freſcaeſſe ſacrificio a los dioſes. z
ſi non quela mataſſen. E comõ q̃
los ſeruidores de almachio la afi
caſſen que ſacrificaſſe. z ella non
quiſieſſe. començaron a llorar fu
erte mente. por que moria tan fer
moſa z tan noble. ſe ofreſcia de ſu
voluntad ala muerte. E dixoles
ſanta cecilia. Buenos mançebos
non es aqueſto perder la mançe
bia. mas mudar la. z dar lodo por
oro. z poſada vil por preciosa. z vn

pequeño vñicon por plaça andra z data. E si alguno vos diesse muchos sueldos por vn dinero. mucho yriades lijeros alos resçebir. z pues mucho mas lijeramente deue el hombre yr a resçebir el galardon acento doblado que non ha fin. Creedes aquestas cosas que vos digo. E respondieron le ellos z dixeron. Creemos q̃ ihũ x̃ es dios verdadero. que escoso tal sy erua. E enbio santa cecilia por sant urban. z vino sant urban z baptizo quatrocientos z mas. E almachio mando traer delante si a santa cecilia. z preguntole de que condicion era. z respondiole santa cecilia que era libre z de noble linaje. E dixole almachio. Yo te pregunto de que religion eres. E respondiole santa cecilia z dixo. La tu pregunta ouo de vn cuento loco. ca en esta dos respuestas en vna pregunta. E dixo le almachio. De donde te nasce tan grande atreuimiento. para responder con tan grande osadia. E respondiole santa cecilia z dixo. Este atreuimiento me nasce de buena conçiencia z de fe verdadera. E dixole almachio. Non sabes que poderio es el mio. E respondiole santa cecilia z dixo. El vro poderio es assi como odre lleno de viento. que si fuere puncado con algun agujalo luego se aflora de su entendimiento. z pierde todo lo que parescia ser en el fuerte. E dixole almachio. En injurias comencaste. z aun en injurias perseueras. E respondiole santa cecilia z dixo. Non es injuria sino la que es fecha con palabras falsas. z o me demuestra la injuria que te he dicho si te fable falsamente o te enmienda z no ge ras fazer agrauio. Ca nos conoscendo el nombre santo de dios non lo podemos negar. z mucho es mejor morir bienauenturadamente que beuir desauenturadamente. E dixole almachio. Por que fablas con tan grand soberuia. E respondiole santa cecilia z dixo. Non respondo con soberuia mas con fortaleza. E dixole almachio. Non sabes mesquina. que he poderio de te dar muerte o vida. E respondiole santa cecilia z dixo. Yo te quiero agora prouar. que mentiste manifiestamente contra la verdad. ca puedes dar la vida alos que buen. mas no la puedes dar alos muertos. z por esso de non has poder de dar vida mas muerte. E dixole almachio. Quita ya de ti esta locura. z sacrifica alos dioses. E respondiole santa cecilia z dixo. Yo non se a do perdiste loor o los. ca yo veo que son piedras los que tu dizes que son dioses. si non llega la mano z tañelos. z conoscer as con la mano. lo que non puedes ver con los ojos. E como respondiesse estas cosas z otras semejables a santa cecilia. fue ayrado ademas almachio. z mando la leuar a su casa. z quemar en vnos baños. E como fuesse encerrada enel calor del baño. z pusiessen de yuso mucha leña z mucho fuego. z estouiesse vn dia z vna noche assi como en lugar de refrigerio. z non pareciesse ene lla vna sola señal de fuego. z fuesse esto dicho a almachio. enbiola alli a degollar. E el verdugo firiola tres vezes con la espada en la garganta. z nonla pudo descabeçar. E por

H-II-18

que era mandado entonces por las leyes. que el que auia de ser degollado si non fuesse ferido quatro vezes. dexo la assi medio muerta el carnicero cruel. E los xpianos que auian creydo por la su predicacion. alimpiauan le la sangre con sauanas y biuio assy tres dias. non cessando de los enseñar y esforçar a perseuerar en la fe de la xpianidad. E partioles todo lo q̃ tenia y encomendolos a todos al papa sant urbam. y dixole. Tres dias demande al señor de plaso para encomendar estas almas a la tu santidad. y para consagrar esta mi casa para yglesia a honra dunnal. E dichas estas cosas dio el spiritu al señor. E sant urbam tomo su cuerpo de noche con los diaconos. y enterro lo entre los cuerpos delos santos papas. a do estauan enterrados todos los santos martires y confessores. y consagro su casa en yglesia. a do fuze el señor muchos beneficios fasta el dia de oy. en memoria dela vendita su sierua santa cecilia. E esta santa virgen fue martiriada en tiempo de alexandre el emperador. a veynte y dos dias del mes de nouiembre. año del señor de dozientos y veynte y cinco. E de aquesta santa virgen dize el bienauenturado sant ambrosio enel prefacio. Assi fue santa cecilia llena de deuocion celestial. que merescio auer corona de martirio. y despreciasse el mundo con sus talamos. y conuertiesse y encendiesse al marido a tiburcio y valeriano. E tu señor los coronaste por mano del angel. con coronas de muy suaue olor. E la virgen lleuo a los varones ala gloria angelical. y conosçio el mundo quan grande era el poder de la deuocion de la castidad. Aqui acaba la estoria dela bienauenturada santa cecilia. a honra y gloria de nuestro señor ihũ xpo. el qual con el padre y con el spiritu santo biue y reyna por todos los siglos Amen. Aq̃ comiença la ystoria del bienauenturado sant̃ clemente papa y martir.

CLemente quiere dezir alma gloriosa. por q̃ouo alma limpia de toda suziedad de pecado. y apostada de toda virtud y agora de toda bienandança. E aquesta bienandança esta segund dize sant augustin enel libro dela trinidad. ado el nuestro señor nõ aura muerte. y el nuestro conoscer non aura error. y el nro amar nõn aura offensa. E aun clemente puede ser dicho de clemencia. que quiere dezir piedad. por que sant clemente fue muy piadoso y misericordioso. E aun segund es dicho enel glosario. clemente quiere dezir justo. dulçe y maduro. y piadoso. E a fue justo enla obra y dulçe enla palabra. y maduro enla conuersaçion. y piadoso enla intencion. E el mesmo escriuio su vida enel su libro que es llamado caminero. fasta aquel logar y tiempo quando succedio enel papadgo al apostol sant pedro. y las otras cosas de su vida. son tomadas comũmente delas ystorias de sus obras. E sant clemente fue romano y de noble linale. y su padre ouo nonbre faustiniano. y su madre matidiana. y ouo dos hermanos que auiã nonbre faustino y fausto. E matidiana su madre era muger muy fermosa y fue encendido en amor della vn hi

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...cabeçal del fundamento ...

...ngrandecer todos los ...

...gedad ...

...ciones ...

...ellos ...

...ellos ...

...ellos

BNM 12689

de yuso dellas para ꝛbus ꝛracona el
nuerpo. ¶ tan grande era la grandeza de los
padres. ¶ del espíritu maravilla. que podia
ella demostrar el lardo de su amor. ¶
declarar por señales mayores que
amaua al sobre todos. ¶ viniendo
el dia delas bodas ¶ sonando los orga
nos ¶ los otros instrumentos. cantaua
ella a solas dios ¶ dezia. ¶ era fecho se
ñor en mi cuerpo ¶ el mi coraçon suma
milla pureza seruo ¶ defendida. ¶ vn
mancebo de dos años dias ¶ de
tres años. que me vendando al señor lo
que me prendo. ¶ vn dia que
los cristianos ¶ los gentiles ¶ ninguna
otra gente se ayuntaua. ¶ supliqua
uan todos los mercaderes de la abdat se
vernia ¶ la rrudaseri con sus ginetes
¶ en vendiendo ¶ en su casa dixo a su L.
çelo. ¶ viniendo la noche ¶ entrando
en su cilla ¶ yo dentro dixole. ¶
O mi cuerpo muy dulce ¶ amable. yo te
quiero dezir vn secreto si me jurares q̃
lo guardaras ¶ no lo descubrirás. ¶
Jurole valeriano q̃ lo guardaria ¶ no
lo descubriria. ¶ dixole ella ya
yo he vn angel de dios por guardador
¶ guarda del mi cuerpo con gran celo
q̃ si siente en qual q̃ manera q̃ sea
q̃ llegas a mi con amor ajeno de limpi
eza. mouera contra ty la suya ¶ per
deras la flor de la tu dulce mancebia
mas si viere q̃ me amas con amor
limpio ¶ sin mancilla. ¶ quiere q̃
guardar entrego ¶ sin corrompimiento
la mi virginidad. ¶ asi amaras a mi a
nos amo ¶ te demostrare a su gra ¶
hungrosdat. ¶ valeriano oyendo
aquesto fue lleno de vnanimidad de dios
de grant miedo ¶ dixo. ¶ si quieres q̃
yo crea tus palabras. demuestrame
el angel q̃ dizes. ¶ si viere q̃ es an
verdadera mente fare lo q̃ me mandares
tas. mas si viere q̃ amas otro varon
dire ¶ el matare con mi espada. ¶
respondiole cecilia. ¶ dixo. si
me prometes de creer mis palabras ¶
seras alimpiado por la fuente perdura
ble ¶ veeras el angel verdadero. ¶
dixole valeriano. ¶ quien es el q̃
me ha de alimpiar. para q̃ yo pueda
ver el angel. ¶ respondiole cecilia
¶ dixo. Conviene ay q̃ creas en
piar los ojos para q̃ puedas ver al an
gel. ¶ dixole valeriano. ¶ de todas
las yo esclarecio q̃ dizes. ¶ respondio
le santa cecilia ¶ dixo. De por la ca
rrera de appia antes de tres millios de
¶ hallaras ende algunos pobres q̃ estan
pidiendo limosna a los q̃ pasan. ¶
aquellos saben bien mis secretos. ¶ fe
pide que yo grant ayuda de dellos. ¶
darles as limosnas q̃ yo te mande. ¶ de
zir les as. Cecilia me embio aqui
q̃ me demuestres al viejo santo

BNM 12689

q̃ traygo vn mensaje suyo secreto q̃ le diga. ¶ Desi tu vieres al viejo sant̃ urbano. saludarle as todas tus palabras. ¶ el te alimpiara. ¶ te vestira de vestiduras muy blancas. ¶ luego q̃ entrares en aq̃lla cueua veras al angel sant̃o q̃ te amostrara. assi como a mi. ¶ te dara todo lo q̃ le demandares. ¶ valeriano oyendo aq̃sto. fue adonde le dezia santa cecilia. ¶ fallo al papa sant̃ urbano q̃ estuuo ya dos meses antes. ¶ estaua escondido entre los sepulchros de los martires ¶ hallole todas las cosas q̃ le dezia santa cecilia. ¶ sant̃ urbano oyendo le q̃ le dezia valeriano. con gran plazer ademas ¶ pusosse las rodillas en tierra. ¶ alço las manos hazia el cielo ¶ dixo llorando. ¶ Señor ihu xp̃o buen pastor. q̃ embiaste de cielo tu sancto q̃ rescatasse los tuyos. ¶ la simiente q̃ sembraste en tu santa cecilia. ¶ Señor ihu xp̃o buen pastor q̃ en tu santa cecilia. ¶ Señor ihu xp̃o buen pastor q̃ sirue a ti dios con gran deuocion ¶ auisada. ¶ en breue tiempo. ¶ hizo muy manso aquel espiritu cruel. assi como muy leon braue. q̃ tu embiaste aca. assi como muy leon braue. q̃ tu embiaste aca este tus ouejas fielmente. ¶ Abre señor alas tus palabras las puertas del sancto euangelio. por q̃ amonesta vary sus criadas q̃ renuncien al diablo ¶ a todas las sus obras ¶ a todos los vanos dioses. ¶ Diziendo sant̃ urbano estas cosas ¶ otras semejables. aparescio delante dellos vn viejo vestido de vestiduras blancas como la nieue. ¶ traya vn volumen en la

manos escripto de letras de oro. ¶ Quando valeriano fue lleno de gran temor ¶ cayo en tierra assi como muerto. ¶ Luego el viejo ¶ leuantolo de tierra ¶ dixole ¶ lee lo q̃ esta escripto en este volumen. ¶ Cree primeramente ser alimpiado ¶ puedas ver el angel q̃ te prometio la muy dulce ¶ deuota virgen cecilia. ¶ Quando valeriano parauentura al volumen ¶ comenco a leer entre si. ¶ La escriptura del volumen era esta q̃ se sigue. Vn dios. vna fe. vn baptismo. vn dios ¶ padre de todos. q̃ es sobre todos ¶ en todos nosotros. ¶ Quando valeriano leyesse el volumen en presencia. dixole el viejo. ¶ Crees esto ay o no. Respondiole valeriano a cabo ¶ dixo. No hay cosa en este mundo que mas verdaderamente pueda ser creyda q̃ esta. ¶ Desi valeriano quando hizo aquesto. desaparescio a sus ojos. el viejo. ¶ Quando sant̃ urbano vio a valeriano ¶ enseñole toda la regla de la fe. ¶ embiolo vn formado camino derecho a la santa virgen cecilia. ¶ Vinieron de valeriano vestido de vestiduras blancas. ¶ fallo a santa cecilia orando en la camara. ¶ al angel del señor q̃ estaua a cabecadilla con las alas resplandescientes ¶ con la cara lumbrosa ¶ enflamada. ¶ con guirnaldas de rosas en las manos de lirios ¶ de violas. ¶ dio la vna a santa cecilia ¶ la otra a valeriano ¶ dixoles. ¶ Estas coronas guardad con limpio ¶ con entero sin mancilla. ca las truxe para vos del paraysso de dios. ¶ Y no se secaran ni amenguaran la su

BNM12689

delsu olor. nyn podran ser vistas si non de aquellos a quien plugniere la mostrar assi amos a vos. ¶ Pues dixo valeriano ensenyanos a nos delo de nosotros dad gracias a pidas lo q̃ te pluguiere. ¶ Oyendo el tio valeriano dezir vocablos tales cayo en tierra y dixo. Non fue nunca esta vida amyga tan mas dulce q̃ la nos auemos de mostrar humano. y mucho es amyga de su piedat. q̃ yo labrado vea en peligro de perdicion mi hermano. ¶ Pues en dezir aquesto antes q̃ pungyo andudes mis penaciones. y ruego al señor nuestro ihu xpo de todo coraçon. q̃ libre a mi hermano tiburcio assi como le plogyo de librar a mi. y nos faga a todos acabar en la confesion del su nombre. ¶ Oyendo el angel aquesto. respondio con gran alegria y dixo. por q̃ pediste lo q̃ plaze a nuestro señor ihu xpo mas q̃ ante. assi como ninguno ante por su fuerça rahal. assi gracia por ty a tu hermano tiburcio ¶ Quando el alcançaua vna dona marauillosa ¶ Acabadas estas palabras desaparesçio el angel y fuese para el cielo ¶ Valeriano y tyburcio y rahal estando en pie cuydo y fablando palabras de stã hedificacion. Vino tiburcio hermano de valeriano y llego a besar la cabeça de stã rahal su cuñada y dixo. Mucho me marauillo ademas de donde vino a esta rahal su cuñada y dixo. Mucho me marauillo ademas de donde vino a esta gracia tal q̃ olor de lirios y de rosas a bueno q̃ como este lirios y rosas en mis manos no podria sentir mayor fuente de olor. ¶ Yo vos digo que assi

so aquesto olor esforçando. q̃ me pa reçia q̃ so adsorbida del todo perdonado ¶ dixole valeriano. pues el mi grã merçed sentir aquesto olor. mas si creyeres me seras luz de alegria las rosas y lirios y centenderas en tu sangre florecer en las rosas. y tuyo cuerpo resplandesçer en los lirios. cathenos vnas coronas q̃ no pueden ver tus ojos. q̃ resplandesçen por vermejura de rosada. y por blancura de nieue. ¶ Respondiole tiburcio y dixo. estas cosas q̃ me dizes son assi en verdat o en sueño. ¶ dixole valeriano. ¶ En sueños auemos bivido fasta agora. mas ya en verdat estamos y no es en nos alguna engaño. en los dioses q̃ adoramos. no son dioses mas diablos. ¶ dixole tiburcio de donde sabes tu aquesto. ¶ Respondiole valeriano y dixo. el angel del señor me lo enseño. y por su merçed nos aparesçio a todos y fuemos alumpiados por el bienaventurado pedro y paulo. ¶ Entonçes santa rahal a quien yo adoro. a tiburcio por estas razones manifiestas. que los ydolos eran sin sentimiento y mudos ¶ Viendo tiburcio por las sus razones. respondio. y dixo. Bien es verdat q̃ omne el q̃ aquesto no cree. ¶ Santa rahal oyendo aquesto beso a tiburcio en los pechos y dixo

BNM 12689

Agora te digo ihesum amado · q̃ assy
como fue a su hermano valeriano · el
amor de dios fue enamorado · assy a
ay ser yo amigado el desprecio de los ydo
los · pues ve en su hermano valeria
no pena tan grande · q̃ ve los angeles · Q̃ dyo
turbucio a valeri
ano su hermano · ruegote q̃ me digas
aquesto que as de hazer · Q̃ respondio
valeriano · dixo · Tengote de hazer
al papa urbano · q̃ yaze en aquella abdat ·
Q̃ fue cerca roma · Q̃ fue de calurba
no · q̃ auia sido enterrado por algunos
dias · q̃ estaua escondido · Q̃ fuese fe
lix · aquel buen varon · q̃ dixo ser
mones · q̃ fueron muy enemigos · q̃ fue
ron degollados · Q̃ fuyendo
la persecucion · q̃ auia de los cristianos ·
los auian escondido en casa de
fuera de roma · Q̃ respondio
le turbucio · Dyxo · Ciertamente q̃
quiero · q̃ me muestres · q̃ la verdad
ella · q̃ dizes · q̃ me muestres · q̃ yo
vea · q̃ dizes · q̃ me muestres · q̃ yo
vea · q̃ dizes · q̃ me muestres · q̃ yo
vea

BNM 12689

almachio el adelantado · Q̃ oyendo
dezir almachio q̃ valeriano & tiburcio
entretenian los cuerpos delos martires
mando los prender & traer delante de
sy · & pregunto les por q̃ entretenian
los cuerpos delos dañados q̃ el mandara
matar por sus fechos malos · Q̃
respondiole sant tiburcio & dixo · Agora
plegue mucho a dios q̃ nos mereciesse
mos ser siervos de aquellos q̃ tu llamas
dapñados por q̃ despreciaron lo q̃ parece
ser & nonges & fallan lo q̃ no es visto
de ojo corporal & es verdat · Q̃ dixole
almachio · piensso q̃ no estas en tu seso
Q̃ mando almachio traer delante sy
a valeriano & dixole · Por q̃ tu hermano
no sse esta en su seso · tu pueden responder
sabiamente · ca cuerpos q̃ estays
tu & el por q̃ despreciays los goços &
plazeres desta vida · & escogedes
todo lo q̃ es amargo ala alegria · Q̃
respondiole valeriano & dixo · Yo vi
algunos q̃ nos fazen estar mucho en
un delyuierno delos labradores que
trauajan · mas despues uyno el estio · &
vienen la abastamiento delos frutos q̃
cogieron los labradores · auñ̃ quando
alguno los q̃ primero se trabajan por
sabios & fazian estar mucho delos q̃ se
dauan al trauajo · Q̃ nos agora sofrimos
despreciar & trauajo · mas en
la otra vida meresceremos gloria p̃
siempre & galardon bien auenturado
& los q̃ agora nos alegrades en estos
goços temporales · Llorarades en la
otra vida en los tormentos p̃durables

Q̃ dixole almachio Si assi es · nos q̃ no
mos primeros no vençibles auremos
llorar perdurable · & vos q̃ sodes perfe
nas viles auredes alegria q̃ dura to
davia · Q̃ respondiole sant valeria
no & dixo Vos otros ombresillos so
des q̃ no primeros · & en nuestro nasçi
miento en breue morirredes & dare
des adios nasson muchos mayores que
otros q̃ fueron de pequeño valor · Q̃
dixole el adelantado · para q̃ estades
alongando palabras · Ofresced sa
crificio alos dioses & yredes en paz · Q̃
respondieronle los sanctos martires
tiburcio & valeriano Nos cada dia
ofrescemos sacrificio adios verdadero
& biuo · Q̃ dixoles almachio Q̃ es
nombre ha ese vuestro dios · Q̃ respon
diole valeriano & dixo Non podras
fallar su nombre aun q̃ trones alas
& buelas · Q̃ dixole el adelantado
Si assi es como tu dises · Jupiter no
es nombre de dios · Q̃ respondio va
leriano & dixo · Jupiter es nombre de
omne matador & corrompedor de muge
res · Q̃ dixole almachio Si assi es
todo el mundo yerra & tu & tu hermano
tan solo vosotros adios verdadero
Q̃ respondiole valeriano & dixo ·
Non somos nos solos · mas son otros
muchos con nos q̃ creen & aprueban
nuestra sanctidat · Q̃ mando el adelantado
leuar los presos ala carcel de ma
ximo · & dixoles maximo Oflor
purpurada de manerbia & rumor
de hermandat singular · por que

BNM 12689

ouieres ala muerte · alo vno si ouieste
des a vn buie alegre · ¶ Respondiole
valeriano / ¶ dixo Si tu prometes de
creer veras la gloria de tus almas
despues de la muerte · ¶ Respondiole
maximo ¶ dixo Si tu fases los dioses
abuenmanera yo de grado lo · ¶ Oyendo esto
creyeron mayme ¶ toda su ynpania
¶ todos los carmarios · ¶ Mando al
machio alos carmarios q̃ lenasen a
tiburcio ¶ a valeriano a vn lugar adõ
estaua la ymagen de Jupiter ¶ los del
cabo q̃ salen alli sino q̃ quisiesen sacrifi
car · ¶ Vino a ellos santa cecilia adõ
de ellos los sacerdotes ¶ fiso bapnsar
a maxime ¶ a todos los q̃ creyerõ en il
¶ Oyendo esto dixoles santa cecilia ¶ Va
caualleros de ihu xpo desechad de vos
las obras delas tinieblas ¶ armad
vos delas armas de la luz · q̃ alcan
ze a vedes preciado · ¶ ya a vedes ar
bado el vro muso ¶ a vedes guardado
la fee · ve agora ala corona de la vi
da q̃ dara el juez de justicia · no a vos
solos · mas a todos los q̃ aman la ve
nida · ¶ Allegando los varones sus
allugar adõ estaua la ymagen de
Jupiter · no la quisieron sacrificar
¶ pusieron las rodillas en tierra ¶
los carmarios arrastrauanles las cabe
ças · ¶ Cecilia ora maximo affir mo
vn hermano q̃ vuelua a sacar las sus
almas delos cuerpos · ¶ apostadis
¶ mesplandecientes como virgines
q̃ salen del baño ¶ las resplandeçio

los angeles en sus braços ¶ las leuaõ
al cielo · ¶ Almachio oyendo desto que
maximo era xpiano fisolo atar con
luengamente vn plomadas hasta que
dio el alma · ¶ A como santa cecilia su
cuerpo ¶ entrando lo a cabar los cuerpos
delos martires santos tiburcio ¶ valera
no · ¶ Almachio fiso tomar todas
las mugeres de tiburcio ¶ valeriano
¶ trauer de la una y a la otra parte ¶ mãdo
les q̃ ofresciesse sacrificio alos dioses ¶ sy
nõ q̃ la matasen · ¶ A como aquellos q̃ los
seruidores de almachio las auian q̃
sacrificasse ¶ ellas no quisiesse · vencidas
allora fuerte mente por q̃ muy tã fer
mosa ¶ tan noble se ofresciade sacrifi
car a su voluntad a aquellos · ¶ Dixoles santa
Buenos maestros nõ es aquello ver
dad la manerbia mas mudanza ¶ de
lodo por oio ¶ por sabiduria por pru
dencia ¶ vn pequeño menos por bien
dicho · ¶ Si alguno vos diese muchos
suelos por vn dinero muchos criados
ligeros alos mercados · ¶ pues mucho
mas ligera mente dure el omne vn angel
con el gualardon q̃ entre dos bladas q̃ no
ha fin · Creeds aquestas cosas ¶ jurs
digo · ¶ Respondieronle ellos ¶ dixeron
Creemos q̃ ihu xpo es dios verdadero q̃
el vuo tal fuerça · ¶ Embio santa ce
cilia por sant vrbano · ¶ Vino sant vrba
no ¶ bapnso q̃ creyeron · ¶ mas · ¶ Almaq
chio mando traer delante si a santa ce
cilia ¶ pregunto le de q̃ condicion era · ¶ El
respondiole santa cecilia · q̃ era libre ¶
de noble linage · ¶ Dixole almachio

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yo te pregunto de que religion eres. Respondiole santa agna y dixo. La tu pregunta no auia de ser respuesta en una pregunta. Dixole almachio. De donde tomaste tan grande atrevimiento para responder a un tan grande rey. Respondiole santa agna y dixo. El atrevimiento me tomaste de buena conciencia y de fe verdadera. Dixole almachio no sabes a quien es el mio. Respondiole santa agna y dixo. El mio poderio es mas alto y de mas honra. Assi fue ella muerta con una aguja. luego fue sepultada honestamente. Y pues todos de nuestra ley fueron. Y dixole almachio. Con ynjurias vencaste y algunos juezes pestilentes. Respondiole santa agna y dixo. Nunca ynjurias fue hasta hoy hecha a palabras falsas. como a mi hechas. Mas la verdad siempre se suele hallar. Y assi mismo fue hallada en mi. Que aquel fuera ynjusto que a mi me juzgara. Todos saben el mal que me hizieron. Y muchos tormentos me dieron. Dixole almachio. Por que hablas tan grande sobervia. Respondiole santa agna y dixo. Non respondo en sobervia mas con fortaleza. Dixole almachio. Tan sabes menospreciar el poderio de tu muerte y vida. Respondiole santa agna y dixo. Yo no quiero agora pro-

q̃ mentiste manifiestamente contra la verdad. no puedes quitar la vida a los q̃ buen fin han. Mas no la puedes dar a los muertos. Y pues dar no la podras de dar vida mas muerte. Dixole almachio. Cuanta vsada tu hechizeria con sacrificios a los dioses. Respondiole santa agna y dixo. yo no se de perdida los vsos. saco vos son pocos las ofrendas q̃ ofrecistes. Y no llega la mano a tanto los. Como vos ante los ojos. Quanto Respondiendo ellas vsas. Como sempiternales santidades. Y verdadero dios. Y verdadera ley. Mas vuestra ley es de mentira. Y de vanidad. Y de mucha locura. Y muy sucia. Y de todos malos. Y de todos vicios llena. Y de todos pecados llena. Y de todos males llena. Y de todos errores llena. Y de todos engaños

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partoles todo lo ſtenia ⁊ encomendo los anodos al padre vrban ⁊ dixole ·

Tres dias demando al señor de plaso para enuiar estas almas ala su santidat · ⁊ pauia un sigrar esta mi casa para yglia ayourra dunal Dichas estas ouias dio el spu al señor Dsanct vrban tomo su cuerpo de noche con los diaconos ⁊ entrello entre los cuerpos delos sctos papas ado estauã enterrados todos los santos martires ⁊ confesores · ⁊ ansi agro su casa en yglia · adefuse el señor muchos beneficios fasta el dia de oy · en memoria dela bendita su fiesta sta cathia · Esta santa virgen fue martirisada en tpo de alyandre el emperador ano dni de dosientos ⁊ veynte ⁊ uno · Ida aquesta santa virgen dise el bie auenturado sanct ambrosio enel prefacio · Assi fue sta cathalena de denocion celestial · q merescase auer · vrona de martirio ⁊ despreciase el mundo con sus tala nos ⁊ conuersase ⁊ entendiese al martirio ⁊ abalerano ⁊ aburacio ·

Otu señor los coronaste por mano del angel con coronas de muy suaue olor · Ala virgen lleuo alos cielos ala yglia angelical · ⁊ conosco el mundo q̃ grande era el poder dela deuocion dela castidat · Aqui se acaba la ystoria dela bien auenturada

santa cathalina ahonrra ⁊ yglia dela unio señorihu xpo · q̃ auenel padre ⁊ con el spu sto biue et regna por todos los siglos

La ystoria de sanct clemente papa ⁊ martir ·

Clemente quiere dezir almi gloriosa por q̃ dono alma limpia de toda suziedat de pecado · ⁊ apostada de toda virtud · ⁊ agora de toda bien andança · Aq̃sta bien andança esta segui dise sanct agustin enel libro dela trinidat · ado el nio señor no abra muerte · ⁊ el nio con el señor no abra hemor · ⁊ el nio amar no abra ofensa · Aun clemente puede ser dicho de clemencia q̃ quiere dezir piedat · por q̃ sanct clemente fue muy piadoso ⁊ muy seruidor de dios · Aun se sigui es dicho enel glosario Clemente quiere dezir justo · dulce ⁊ maduro ⁊ piadoso · en fue justo enla obra ⁊ dulce enla palabra ⁊ maduro enla auenencion ⁊ piadoso enla entrencion · Del mesmo escriuio su vida enel su libro q̃ es llamado cammero fasta aq̃l lugar ⁊ tpo q̃ndo subardio enel papadgo al apostol sanct pedro ⁊ las otras ouias de su vida son tomadas comunmente delas ystorias de sus obras · Sigue se su ystoria ·

Sanct clemente fue Romano de noble linaje · ⁊ su padre auonombre faustiniano · ⁊ su madre

[illegible] en este estado. Et oyendolo byto fazer esso
mesmo diziendo. Non digas yo vos q este era la co
Et imjnuca de la muerte de sant m. escogio abat
por obispo. Et dalli adelante siempre estuuo en ora
cion q era sabuio e casto. Et acabo de ge
uinta annos q fuera obispo. una mug q andaua
en guisa de religiosa q lauaua los pies a muchos
pobres cotidie e dapno uy fijo. Et estando todo
el pueblo grandol apedrear ayuntose alla su
puerta diziendo. Quamos passada alla en huyenga
ran y grad nasco dapor amol de sant m. mas no q
ramos beser valas en manos sugias. Et sant
byto negando esto muy fuerte mente. yo abo
go a mi al infante. Et durmiendo no durado
ay mas de treynta dias q nasciera. dyo sant
byto. Conpuerte por el fijo de dios q digas ver
dad. estos sera engendre yo. Et fablo el mug
e dyo. tu eres mi padre. Et el pueblo fazia
mal fuerça q se matasse q dezia q era su padre. mas
los el obispo no es mio de demanda. ca yo se
lo q ma pregunta. Et el pueblo dixo q
to lo fazia co encantamentos. Et dixeron
mas. non sera nro pastor co falssedat. Esta
el por tal de alimpiar se. Desto q dixeron
escandol todos leuo las piedras en su falda
fasta el sepulcro de sant m. e echando las pie
dras cubrieron su sepultura fasta. Et el dyo assi
como no empesca esto al fuego a esta vestidu
ra assi al mio cuerpo es limpio de fecho de
mugeres. Et no lo creyendo ayn el pueblo
escandol e de nostandol echaron la del obispado
Et todo esto sufrio dios por q se cumpliesse
lo q dixiera sant m. Et obispo byto morando
en su casa. y estando y muere annos seyendo
muerto de una mal fronsa e dyuesa con
sant m. Et el pueblo cuyda q fuera otro
[illegible] e cadaqual a grand cuyta
[illegible] en batallas. Et ya

[illegible] dyo le sant m. Et tornadosse

[illegible] acabo de sus dias annos en la cuenta del
espacio desde la villa de nasciba
muy honradamente. Et yendo del los juyzes ha
dyo dos juyzes ha la cuenta [illegible]
delante del obispo de cuyo. en cuyo logar fue
puesta una puerta dela cibdat. Et quando el cuerpo
del obispo por la puerta de despues el cuerpo fue
sant byto puesto en su arca del obispado. e assy
despues hasta dnos. e fizieron muy buena vida
muy honrado fue sant byto de fama. e grand dnos q el fuego
obro. Et a fiesta de sant [illegible]
dos sus de nouembre.

Santa Eulalia fue de muy clara [illegible]
dales nobles omes de [illegible]
nuela fue dada en la fe de ihu xpo. e [illegible]
crio el cuerpo de ihu xpo en su seno ofrenda
do. Et nuca q[illegible] de noche no fa
blar co dios. e de estar en oracio e [illegible]
sancta dios q guardasse su virginidat. Et se
yendo de casa de valeriano e [illegible]
dia dalas bodas. alla traue. finchio de agua
e de suso era vestida de nobles panos co oro
e co muchas piedras preciosas. Et cantando y
los juglares. alla cantaua en su corazon dizie
do a dios. Señor guarda mio cuerpo e mio cuer
po fu magestad de pecado e no sea de confun
dida. Et ayuno dos annos dias ante de Nauida
de la semana velando e acomendando a dios
su virginidat. Et dos dias dalas bodas vino
la noche. e marido la co su esposa en la ca
mara. Et ella co blandas palabras fablo con
el en esta manera. O esposo muy dulce e muy
amado dezir te quiero yo una secreta cosa
pases y mala guardanas. Esposo fue
liciano q esta guardada en mi cuerpo
la descubras. ni lo digas a ninguna persona
[illegible] Et el dyo alla yo he un angel
[illegible] q es el angel de dios e el a muy grand
[illegible] de mi guarda el mio cuerpo Et

BMP 9

BMP 9

BMP 9

FLG 419



Quinta dize

Anta cata fue. virgē muy
clara. ⁊ fue delos nobles
omes de roma. ⁊ de pequñ
ela fue criada en la fe de ihu xpo. ⁊
siempre traya el euangelio de ihuxpo
en escondido en su seno. ⁊ misa q
dana de dia ni de noche de fablar
con dios ni de estar en oracion ⁊ re
gar siempre a dios que le guardas
se su virginidad. ⁊ seyendo disposa
da con un mancebo ⁊ nombrado de nu
delas lodas ella nunca alco alu
zar de sus ojos en ninguna de quantos
de oro ⁊ de plata vestidos andaua en
ella auia puesta en su alma sola mes
tra dios. ⁊ dios. ⁊ señor guarda de
mi cuerpo ⁊ de mi alma. ⁊ sin mas
lla ayuda ⁊ non sera jo confundida
¶ Cayno dos otros dias ante deste
dia de semana vn grande caualleros
de dios se vino ganar dar. ⁊ aql dia
delas bodas vino la noche ⁊ mien
tre ella con su esposo en la cama ⁊
ella con fablas blandas ⁊ graciosas
fablo le en esta manera ¶ O esposo muy
dulce ⁊ muy amado de mi pues yo
vos plaze vender su virginidad que me la
guardarias ¶ Quando esto oyo el dui
no esposo que ella guardaua en tanto
que nula lo desaubriesse mas le dixo
esse ángel por ygnorancia razon.
¶ Quando dixo ella yo he vn ama
dor que es el angel de dios ⁊ de
ha muy grandes celos de mi ⁊
guarda el mio cuerpo ⁊ sed en
mande que me trueque por amor se
so si no sera luego ⁊ perdue
la flor de su mocedad que en
mi ha puesto. ⁊ si el ygnorancia
me ama en buena amor ama
la

vn pueblo ¶ El auia vn rui de
dingua se leuo que le auiauan
ydo los bueyes. ⁊ los bueyes
en el su huerto en las manos sus
en derredor de sus pies. ⁊ e
chando las brasas a parte la fa
ynchieron para ¶ Dixo le assi co
mo non auia fuego. el fuego acen
dieron. ⁊ el mal ayuno. ⁊ el
ynorado de fizo de mugeres. ⁊
non le creyendo aun el pueblo fi
nendo le. ⁊ denostado le echaro
le del obispado. Todo esto fue
dicho por que se aplicasse lo que
dixo sant mathe ¶ Quando san
bruc llamado fuesse para el pa ⁊
estando en el fizo anos fizo pnia
de que mal durara. ⁊ fizo en
sus manos ¶ El pueblo enne mi
go fizo otro obispo a ustoriano. ⁊
bueno. ⁊ a vna anna sant bruc
⁊ el pueblo en su lugar fizieron
otro obispo ¶ Yo rogando se
sant bruc a dios en vna sant
auuenida del pa ofrecio a tres le
guas de la villa. ⁊ en essa noche
murio hyemeno ¶ Oyendo lo se
bruc en ussion dixo a los suyos q
se leuantassen. ⁊ que fuessen a el
encontra a hyemeno otro de cuer
po ¶ Yo mando sant bruc por una pre
ta de la abbat sinaua el muerto
por la of ¶ Despues que el cuer
po fue puesto sant bruc en su
hermita de si obispado otro ano
despues fizo anos ¶ Fue yo muy
buena vida mayo a cabo de
los quinze. ⁊ fizo anos que el fue
otro. ⁊ fuesse para dios.

fiel bautismo/ bn dios pad
de todas las cosas & en todos no
¶ Leyendo le esto dyo le dancia
no antes que cessasse oyr aquel
nidbeas ¶ Entonces el llamado
dyo sonriendo mucho como assi el
cielo que mas hermosura mete
prestasse a oyr dello ¶ Y alli su
bito desaparescido esse angel
sanctum baptismo & aun tornando
a tornado sse fuido a cecilia en la
cama subiendo angel ¶ Del
angel temiendo si mano ygno
mas de rosas & de lirios & dio la
mano a cecilia & la cama & valeriano
Diziendo guardar estas cosas
ante ningun sin mancilla & ansi
como lo hizo del fuesse
de dios por nos & nuestra fe rom
pieden & oler mys bodas nyn
guno nuca sabio que ama castidad
Con valeriano por que auyendo el
amor que le fue gnadado se dando
a lo que ante nos ¶ Dyo vale
riano non fue enesta ygno aya que
tanto amasse como a dios mysmo
no ¶ por onde dando le ruego amos
la merced assi como yo ¶ Dyo le
el angel de dios plazeme esto que
me demandades & amos bodes mere
cemyentos bodes ya dios ¶
Despues desto enuio tiburcio su
mano de valeriano & fue muy
grand olor de rosas dyo maravy
llo me ando de oler de rosas
& de lirios en esta yglesia & en
estas rosas & lirios en las mys
manos non sintia mayor olor de
aquestos & digo vos hermanos assi
yo fuesse del que me pareciesse assi yo de
mudado de fuera ¶ Dyo valeria
no vos avemos esto que vos & vos
precedemos en todos & somos ado
rnados flores & blancos como lirios

FLG 419

FLG 419

nidad y los que matauan los fieles ve-
yeron en dios y baujan los fan-
tos que yuan y en efpandu
Por endefunto a la llama
na de gaeno ca auiallos de ha-
yr eftar de uos lao ynuo de
las tenebras y neftieros de la
madruze de luego por endel
uant los fieles a do leguas della
ydur ala ymagen de jhuxt &
non queriendo fuffrir de quita
ron los en bno y fuman a muyo
afirmadv y juando que ella era
en la hora dela fu paffion lo an
gelos muy claros y las fus almas
luen omes y ginen que falie de
carne y que eftos angeles lole
uauan en fuerças y pa el cielo &
oyendo almadho que auio en
yprano mádo lo ayan ay plo
no ran grad pueblo fuffi q le fe
llo el alma y entierro fanta
walia cuya de valeriano y en
bmrao & entonc almadho fue
demadar los bienes de fuy amos
adv y fue bengi mefi eftuua
walia afi como el muger de una
leruane y uando le que paffaua
fe alos valos o que reftituyeffe
mone & eftando en la bofa
pones q̃ fue acftellana dello
por ende muy fuene mete por q
una tan fija dalgo y una tan
grad ala mugare & dixole
ella obnos omes efto no es paz
mas cofa mas fuffan la zmidad
la y diz lady : y omen oro y diz
cofa muy ygl y omen cofa muy pef
gada y diz bn rican muy pef
fio y omen logar muy largo y
ancho & fi algunos los de eftos

mudo por que no pudiera
omen lo & dixo omen bno y dixo q
eno por ello acuerdes los le pue
los digo & dixo ella y como
que ihu ynes nadero y mane
me a mi vaffallo y no se llama
de aquel nazaret q̃ bap̃ tizo en
al madho llamado dalmaçor q̃ eft
fanct dixo que mi mugar eno su
& ella refpondio fu mugar fue jo
ue y noble y dixole al madho yo
te pregu & ruego de que fe de que cri
ften ere no & dixole ella la
fu pgrina ca amos pguntadlow
Ca no pefue de anez de fer mef
tre en bna demanda y dixole al
madho onde vienes tan gran
ofadia de reffponder y dixo ella de
vnena ancana y de fe ẽ jhũ xt
& dixole al madho no pues
to amo judeno yo y dixole ella
el vro judeno es mal amigo de
no de nuefro que fi lo fuzdeffes
an vna agua luego de ffindi
ma tud y lo que paffa que
na yesso luego fe enamoro de
yole q adelantado enbiaffes
omes q̃ fe effos efclauos fuyf
dixole ella mira q̃ no fe mue
ran nuefros fiñores hay zabaon de
engano & onde te fuyo yo en
nuefro mueftro mefo fi fubles
fa fulfa y echalo a culpa a aqui
gl aquel que te fizo nuefro
almas nos fubio al nombre de
dios fi non lo pudemos negar
Ca mas vale bien morir q̃ mal
beuir & dixole al madho pa
que fubias an tan grand fecu
ria y dixole ella no es fubida

mde



…mo fe…dere…z pueno v…ne…
…hija…gera…amor…la…cosa…que…
…fe…dise…publica…mẽ…e…la…nubien…
…ynge…nolle…la…ma…alos…bue…
…mal…non…gela…prende…z…alos…mu…
…eros…E…dixo…e…almudena…de…
…essi…ocurs…z…sunisa…e…los…dos…
…E…dixo…a…la…ma…non…se…fiaes…
…dela…los…dos…e…nos…ne…cemos…q…
…eso…e…ne…ill…e…mas…dos…e…vos…
…sin…ne…dar…E…por…ende…pe…la…mu…
…no…z…ane…la…z…assi…prenderas…lo…
…que…nos…prendes…mes…en…los…dos…
…E…Enton…e…almudena…su…di…mãde…
…la…mo…ar…assi…cabo…amãdo…la…p…
…prender…en…el…nario…de…lo…en…si…fiz…
…uente…de…rodic…z…de…su…z…fina…v…
…lla…y…assi…amo…en…loga…fino…q…
…son…sinno…ende…al…sayon…bruno…
…de…sus…mos…E…dixo…el…almudino…z…
…nada…la…degollar…en…esse…mesmo…
…lugar…E…el…sayo…fizo…la…mes…ne…
…gadas…dixo…el…cachillo…mas…no…le…
…mudo…matar…la…cabeça…z…por…que…
…en…ella…fue…ley…que…non…fuesse…
…mugier…della…que…negada…al…q…
…uyan…de…degollar…dexo…la…medio…
…muerta…el…carnero…fuyendo…E…
…della…buyendo…nro…dios…dio…que…
…del…mio…dayga…alos…pobres…z…
…nros…amo…nera…ala…fe…z…la…
…ley…dellos…assi…nos…lo…mando…dixo…
…que…ne…nos…dias…de…nro…ayuno…en…
…que…buyesse…por…que…acabasse…
…nuestros…alas…ne…sunadas…z…fue…
…tos…esta…mi…casa…yglesia…E…sanctu…
…ario…entro…el…si…dicho…cuelos…
…pos…z…fizo…la…su…casa…yglesia…a…
…onde…gelo…rogamos…Sunt…
…mete…pyn…e…mariaz…

…mẽte…fue…
…delos…mas…fijos…dalgo…
…de…roma…E…assi…pudie…
…dixieron…su…mugier…no…z…assi…ma…
…dre…mediana…E…ouo…dos…hi…ma…
…nos…z…al…une…dixeron…su…assi…no…z…
…al…otro…fuste…z…su…madre…merdi…
…ma…syendo…fermosa…muger…el…
…hamano…de…su…marido…amoo…
…la…de…amor…de…mala…manera…z…su…
…gueuança…cada…dia…z…ella…non…
…mercaua…amor…ne…mugier…z…rogaua…
…descubrir…esto…assi…mando…por…que…
…roma…entre…ellos…enemistad…pe…
…so…me…se…pusiesse…dela…ner…su…
…la…alguno…pro…z…fuesse…que…el…que…da…
…sse…dese…amor…malo…en…mese…en…
…cendida…que…non…la…nepa…E…por…
…que…esto…pudiesse…cunplir…de…su…ma…
…rido…fue…enfermo…de…vn…fuego…q…
…le…ardia…assi…marido…en…esta…mane…
…ra…que…me…aparesco…vn…mi…
…nistro…enuiado…z…me…dixo…que…p…
…resto…de…agua…e…luego…en…este…or…
…mes…fijos…fuesse…z…fuesse…z…
…que…estudiesse…alli…tan…grande…pe…
…nitencia…que…me…mostrasse…el…cuer…
…po…z…dixo…que…si…lo…non…fiziesse…q…
…memoria…en…estos…mes…fijos…E…
…quando…el…marido…mando…esto…
…mucho…z…enbroco…en…sus…fijos…z…
…en…muy…grande…angustia…por…la…ca…
…usa…de…aquellas…por…que…finasse…
…assi…z…fuesse…mesquino…sus…fijos…
…solos…dixo…E…el…padre…quando…
…fue…sin…los…a…dentro…que…en…el…fi…
…no…menos…que…no…auia…mas…de…un…
…de…anos…E…quando…la…madre…en…
…tro…los…fijos…vio…la…madre…de…nostre…a…
…yerua…enuento…peresco…la…ma…
…ne…z…las…ondas…echando…la…della

h-I-14

Hagenda muy buena vi
da mucho santo de ihesu xpo
que fue dicho Capitulo de
esta santa vida de santa
Casilda

Casilda virge
muy digna
fue delos no
bles reyes de
toledo Esta
fue muger
que fue casada en la fe
de ihesu xpo Esta auia de
uocion a nuestra señora
la virgen maria de la qual
auia leydo como auia
parido a dios sin perder
la uirginidad ante en el
parto despues Estando
en toledo rogando el dia de
todos los santos en la yglesia
de santa maria Dios dio
en ella gracia que cobro
la uista de los ojos Estando en
su oracion solamente a dios dio
en ella Seyendo guarida el mu
cho sin mengua de cuydado a non
sea con sobrado Cayendo en
essa vegada en la semana y pego
se adormiendo su alegria a dios
Estando la madre delas bodas en
la dicha capilla essa fue essa en la
cama Ella fablo enel ma
nera essa muy dulce y muy e
mas dixo le vna poridat si
me fuesses a mi la rescatas en p
ridat Esta Casilda a gela
guardo en mano a nuestra se
nora y la dixesse por ninguna
manera Estando dixo

yo he vn amado el qual es el an
gel de dios y ha muy grandes e
los de mi y enamoro se de mi auer
ya Estando en este cuydado que me
mas ha por amor suyo fue se ha
luego y dende en la flor dela su
mancebia a su mucho amado y si
en buen amor se ha assi como amy
mostrar se ha la su grandeza Estan
do valeriano por alo dios a ruego de
su madre dixole si deses a ver a
nuestra señora me el angel y silo pro
uastes a el angel fare lo q
mandardes y si amas a dios de
matare a el y a ti Dixole
casilda si creyeres en dios verda
dero y de buen grado luego lo
podras conoscer Y por ende
vete a vna legua dela villa por
la carrera q dize apia y dize
alos pobres q fallares allj de
my parte casilda me embio a ver
q nos mostredes a santa bylma
el anciano yr le dezir bnas o
ras de su parte de pordat Esto
do le dixes dezir le has lo q te
he yo dicho Despues q el re
bueluas de tornadas y vyas el
angel Estonces valeriano fue
se por alla segunt las señas q
ella le dyxo y fallo assent bylm
no puesto estando entre los se
pulchros delos martyres y dixole
de todas las palabras q casilda
le dyxo vn alla y sinyendo de
ihesu xpo assi como abela Acab
esposo q era bien como leed q
el enbiole assi como a dicho

H-I-14

Xpe sp̃e

¶ Cadesm apresto vn mũ
no vesino de vesidiqs vnyi al
uas rruendo vn libro espro de
leqñ de oro ¶ E vendole bale
riano ⁊ auendole gñr medo enpo
en qñ como muerto ⁊ leuantã
dole el anciano leyo assi vnd̃o
se ⁊ vna fe ⁊ vn bautesmo ⁊
dios pdon de todos los pe
en todos nos ¶ E luego desde
yo el anciano queda jes assi e
por auẽtura dubdas ¶ E como
dllamando dixo no ho mi se
ogu assi enil cielo ⁊ nos vedu
deym mente pueda ser qeda ⁊
ala sazon desaparesco el anci
no ¶ E este vbiano bautesmo e
valeriano ⁊ segundose fallo a
galia enla cuidad enil angel
¶ El angel tenie dos coronas
enla mano de rosas ⁊ de lilios
⁊ dio el vna a cecilia ⁊ la otra
a valeriano ⁊ diziendo guardat
estas dos coronas ⁊ el cuerpo
sin mancilla enil ceuo limpio
en las quyse del rey̆o de dios
pues ⁊ vedes se seam̃ pder
de el olor ni las puede ninguie
tener saluo el q̃ ama castidat ¶
tu valeriano pq̃ q̃riste el an
sejo q̃ te sem̃ fuesse demanda
lo q̃ dsseyes ¶ E dyxole valera
no no fue en esta vida otra que
mas amase como a vn hermã
no ¶ E por ende demandote q̃
enoscas la verdat assi como yo
¶ E dyxole el angel plazer a dios
lo q̃ demandas ⁊ amos seremos

martyres ⁊ vino los ꝑ dios ¶ E
despues desto auyendo enbiado
su hermano a valeriano ¶ E este
de muy grandes obras de fe
se marauillo mucho ⁊ vino el
de oyr de grado ⁊ de buena vo
luntad ¶ E assi se cumplio en sus
manos dsus rosas ⁊ los lilios
no sentia ya mayor olor de ql
se suelen ¶ E dixo le a valeria
no ¶ E dixole valeriano
nose aun cosa ⁊ mas q̃ no vee
den los tus ojos dste solo
mente como flor ⁊ olores como
de mucha ¶ Assi como fablando
yo semeso el olor assi las ro
sas en ⁊ violetas ¶ E dixo a
buyno semejome q̃ lo dexiste
nos fablar a valeriano dsto
esto verdat ¶ E dixole
valeriano pues agora semos
en verdat ¶ E dixole a buyno
onde lo sopiste tu esto ¶ E
xole valeriano el angel de dios
nuestro mostro ⁊ nos predico la
sua bautesmo ⁊ nuestros erro
res fazes ¶ E estonce respla
meste dixole dales ⁊ me qui
nodat ⁊ no sentre nada en mi
nem ⁊ respondio a buyno yo
yo den esto no cree tal cosa como
bella ¶ E estonce acabo de lauã
dole los pies dixole yo te ruego
go q̃ seas un cuñado ⁊ assi co
mio el amor de dios fizo su
hermano un marido assi q̃ no
nos preciamos los fados ens

H-I-14

ra amida. ¶ Pues en este tie
po su hermano sant Johan el bauti
sta y Jhesu xpo las carreras de
los angeles. ¶ Dixole ubuyno
assi hermano pues que a mi
gos adonde me dexays leuar y
dixole iuleyano al que vos
no. Dixole ubuyno fablas de
assi verdad q̃ as rrazon muchas
vegadas y dan esta escondida
y silo fallaste q̃ mas le ha y q̃ma
nos en nos con. ¶ Respon
dio q̃ demandamos la dubdança q̃
esta en el cielo cuemos la sabe
q̃ nos q̃n en ella q̃. ¶ Dixo
le ualiu ssila mente fuese esta ver
dad q̃ dezides temeremos y dez
y esta vida es mejor q̃ nuca se
rrestra. ¶ Esta nos dio el fijo
de dios. ¶ En este fijo de dios q̃
yo creo somos assi sos fechuras. ¶
El spu sco q̃ viene en nos ha
mos visto por sus palabras y por sus
obras. ¶ Dixole ubuyno por aq
to no as ninguna razon dios. como digas
q̃ es tres y uno. ¶ Respondio
le ualiu assi como vos sabedes
del omne ha tres cosas. en el entendi
miento. y en la memoria y en el entendi
miento. Bien en esta manera puede
mos ser tres personas y una substancia
dela diuinidad. ¶ Estonces comẽço de
predicar del alumbramiento dela passion
del fijo de dios. ¶ Por esso fue
preso por q̃ los omes fuesen libres
del pecado en q̃ estauan presos. y
al bendicho diego madrigones
por q̃ el omne maldicho entiende bien

dezidores. ¶ Pues q̃ le dixo q̃ el demo
nio es mal q̃ omne fuese libre
del demonio ados diablos. y
si estonces de demonio en la entra
ña q̃ no fuesemos nos defendi
dos. Bruyo fiel amigo por
tal q̃ sanases el corpo tal omne
pudiese. Despues le pregunto el que
hubiese adam y eua. ¶ Respu
so le en la que se madre por
tal pecado tal q̃ volviese el pecado del
padre. ¶ Estonces ubuyno dixo
a su hermano pdonamy y bien
me al omne de dios q̃ me buenos
¶ Despues q̃ fue allegado
y bautizado muchas vegadres
vio los angeles de dios y gra
nada dios q̃ tuvo demandado
¶ Iuleyano y ubuyno fuese
dolmonasterio y entrando ado
los cuerpos delos seos q̃ mam
na almachio adelantado. ma
dolos llamar almachio antes
y demandoles q̃ por q̃ entes
ma los q̃ el mermia por sus
pecados. ¶ Dixole ubuyno
dios lo q̃ siempre q̃ fuesemos sier
vos delos q̃ ni llamas malos q̃
desprecian este mundo q̃ no es nada en fuer
za el omne q̃ no sea mas dulce q̃ mi
rrestra. en esta vida es delos seos
y pena delos malos. ¶ Dixole
el adelantado non me temedes q̃
fablas en corrupto. y estonces
mando tomar a iuleyano. y dixo
le por q̃ pregasse q̃ su hermano
es loco por aventura pudiese

M-I-14

dit mejor prouecho y mas ſeguramente. Llano es q̃ vuestra ſperãça
y esperãças los grandes y grandes
las esſãs ayudas ¶ Dixole
valeriano dixo. Cierto q̃ no
no vi los ingleſes ſino q̃ fueron
eſcapados delos labradores q̃ la
vuna. mas en q̃ se detiene aun
de luego los ſiruos q̃ ſon ydos de
sus tierras gozandose eſtos q̃
ſe me ſon huydos luego y conſentid allos
q̃ los q̃ eſtã presos y enſerrados
¶ Aſi nos agora ſuſtentemos vn
poco y proueamos mas en esto mu
de neſcabimos q̃ huyr y q̃ dexar
aqui hazienda ¶ Yo agora q̃
ueden todos q̃ luego ſe paſſara en el
otro mundo ſiempre dure ¶ Dixole el adelantado
pues q̃ aſi ſomos ynfieles q̃ nos
nos puede ninguno vencer y abre
mos vna perdurable y vna otra
q̃ todos ſomos biues despues q̃
yo ſy ſiempre jamas ¶ Dixole
valeriano vos otros todos amigos vos
y no pensays y traeys luego aqui
y luego andeys amorosos ¶
Dixole el adelantado yo de antes
mostrando eſtas palabras ſu
gue ſacrificio alos ydolos y pedi
de aq̃ ſu ayuda ¶ Respondieron
los ſiros nos otros no sacrificamos
sacrificio a dios ¶ Dixo el adelã
tado como ha nombre ¶ Dixo
le valeriano no podemos ſaber
el ſu nombre aun q̃ lo oyamos ¶
Dixole el adelantado pues ynfie
le digo ¶ Dixole valeriano eſte
nombre es de mancebo y de pueri
cia ¶ Dixole almachio no

el mundo pues ſoys y no y tuuier
mos conoſcimiento a dios verdadero
¶ Dixole valeriano no ſiempre
nos ſolos mas muchos ſon aqui
q̃ no creen eſto q̃ digo y aſſi ſeñor
¶ Dixole el adelantado a mayoriano
y los q̃ueda ¶ Dixoles el ſeñor
de mancebia aparejo mucho de
beys dar q̃ noble ya y ſoys q̃
ayuſtumbrados a la muerte como ſi
fueſſedes a comer ¶ Dixole valeriano
como ſi nos prometeys q̃ aque
lla es dios verdadero la q̃ nos
almas deſpues de muertos ¶
Dixole magoriano mas mal
fuego me q̃me ſino q̃ aſpera eſte
ſolo mes q̃ no ſe dexara tomar
aqui lo q̃ no ſe dexara ¶ Dixo
ſyriano y todo ſu exercito y los q̃
mamã a todos los ſiros todos
ſeguyan ¶ Luego los ſiros
luna q̃ vinieron y eſtando de
yr eſtos en el alua vnos de
mucho ha mandado de yr y eſtar
de los los otros todos apelleyn
y veſtido ſus armas de luz ¶ Y
endo hazian los ſiros dos leguas
dela ciudad ala yuſagre de Iupiter
y no ſintiendo ſacrificar degollaron
los en vno ¶ Viendo magoriano
no affirmo diziendo q̃ ſi dezia q̃
viera enla era dela ſupaſſe los
angeles muy dapo y lo ſus almas
ſien amigos los ſiros q̃ ſalio de su
mano ¶ Q̃ estos angeles los lleua
ron enſus manos al cielo y oyendolo
almachio q̃ magoriano era ydo
mando le acotar de plomo aſſi q̃
pieca ſalio el alma y
entregolo ſu egipto capitan de valeria
no y de tribuno ¶ Viendo alma

[illegible] ¶ Aquí fenece la primera parte de la segunda parte de la Crónica de España

¶ Aquí comienza la segunda parte de la Crónica de España

[illegible] los [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ¶ Fizo [illegible] un [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

M-I-14

visitaret, et cum locus ejus a tumulo tantum per decem milliaria distaret, vix in octo diebus potuit pervenire. Cum vero ibidem per quatuor septimanas mansisset et nullum remedium impetrasset, domum redibat, cumque in loco quodam juxta alium infirmum decumbens quiesceret, vidit in somnis quendam ad se venientem et aqua totaliter perfundentem. Qui evigilans contra socium iratus ait: quare me aqua totaliter perfudisti? Qui ait: ego te non perfudi, sed credo, quod illa perfusio erit tibi causa salutis. Ille igitur surgens et se sanatum totaliter inveniens baculos super humerum posuit et ad tumulum sanctae Elizabeth rediens et gratias agens laetus ad propria remeavit.

CAP. CLXIX. (164.)

De sancta Caecilia.

Caecilia quasi coeli lilia cel caecis via vel a coelo et lya. Vel Caecilia quasi caecitate carens. Vel dicitur a coelo et leos, quod est populus. Fuit enim coeleste lilium per virginitatis pudorem; vel dicitur lilium, quia habuit candorem munditiae, virorem conscientiae, odorem bonae famae. Fuit enim caecis via per exempli informationem, coelum per ingeni contemplationem, lya per assiduam operationem. Vel dicitur coelum, quia, sicut dicit Ysidorus, coelum philosophi volubile, rotundum et ardens esse dixerunt. Sic et ipsa fuit volubilis per operationem sollicitam, rotunda per perseverantiam, ardens per caritatem succensam; fuit caecitate carens per sapientiae splendorem, fuit et coelum populi, quia in ipsa tamquam in coelo spirituali populus ad imitandum intuetur coelum, solem, lunam et stellas, id est sapientiae perspicacitatem, fidei magnanimitatem et virtutum varietatem.

Caecilia virgo praeclarissima ex nobili Romanorum genere exorta et ab ipsis cunabilis in fide Christi nutrita absconditum semper evangelium Christi gerebat in pectore et non diebus neque noctibus a colloquiis divinis et oratione cessabat suamque virginitatem conservari a domino exorabat. Cum autem cuidam juveni, nomine Valeriano, desponsata fuisset et dies nuptiarum instituta esset, illa subtus ad carnem cilicio erat induta et desuper deauratis vestibus tegebatur et cantantibus organis illa in corde soli domino

decantabat dicens: fiat, domine, cor meum et corpus meum immaculatum, ut non confundar, et biduanis et triduanis jejuniis orans commendabat domino, quod timebat. Venit autem nox, in qua suscepit una cum sponso suo cubiculi secreta silentia, et ita cum alloquitur: o dulcissime atque amantissime juvenis, est mysterium, quod tibi confitear, si modo tu juratus asseras, tota te illud observantia custodire. Jurat Valerianus, se illud nulla necessitate detegere, nulla prodere ratione. Tunc illa ait: angelum Dei habeo amatorem, qui nimio zelo custodit corpus meum. Ille si vel leviter senserit, quod tu me polluto amore contingas, statim feriet te et amittes florem tuae gratissimae juventutis, si autem cognoverit, quod me sincero amore diligas, ita quoque diliget te sicut me et ostendet tibi gloriam suam. Tunc Valerianus nutu Dei correctus ait: si vis, ut credam tibi, ipsum angelum mihi ostende, et si vere probavero, quod angelus sit, faciam, quod hortaris, si autem virum alium diligis, te et illum gladio feriam. Cui Caecilia dixit: si in Deum verum credideris et te baptizari promiseris, ipsum videre valebis. Vade igitur in tertium milliarium ab urbe via, quae Appia nuncupatur, et pauperibus, quos illic invenies, dices: Caecilia me misit ad vos, ut ostendatis mihi sanctum senem Urbanum, quoniam ad ipsum habeo secreta mandata, quae perferam. Hunc dum tu videris, indica ei omnia verba mea, et postquam ab eo purificatus fueris et redieris, angelum ipsum videbis. Tunc Valerianus perrexit et secundum signa, quae acceperat, sanctum Urbanum episcopum intra sepulchra martirum latitantem invenit, cumque ei omnia verba Caeciliae dixisset, ille manus ad coelum expandens cum lacrymis ait: domine Jesu Christe, seminator casti consilii, suscipe seminum fructus, quos in Caecilia seminasti, domine Jesu Christe, pastor bone, Caecilia famula tua quasi apis tibi argumentosa deservit; nam sponsum, quem quasi leonem ferocem accepit, ad te quasi agnum mansuetissimum destinavit. Et ecce subito apparuit senex quidam niveis vestibus indutus, tenens librum aureis litteris scriptum. Quem videns Valerianus prae nimio timore quasi mortuus cecidit et a sene levatus sic legit: unus Deus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et pater omnium, qui super omnes et per omnia et in omnibus nobis. Cumque haec legisset, dixit ei senior: credis ita esse an adhuc dubitas? Tunc exclamavit dicens: non est aliud, quod verius credi possit, sub coelo. Statimque illo disparente Valerianus a sancto Urbano baptisma

suscepit et rediens Caeciliam cum angelo loquentem in cubiculo invenit. Angelus autem duas coronas ex rosis et liliis in manu habebat et unam Caeciliae et alteram Valeriano tradidit dicens: istas coronas immaculato corde et mundo corpore custodite, quia de paradiso Dei eas ad vos attuli, nec unquam marcescent nec odorem amittent nec ab aliis, nisi quibus castitas placuerit, videri poterunt. Tu autem, Valeriane, quia utili consilio credidisti, pete, quodcumque volueris, et consequeris. Cui Valerianus: nihil mihi in hac vita exstitit dulcius, quam unicus fratris mei affectus, peto igitur, ut et veritatem ipse mecum agnoscat. Cui angelus: placet domino petitio tua et ambo cum palma martirii ad dominum venietis. Post hoc ingressus Tiburtius frater Valeriani, cum nimium rosarum sensisset odorem, dixit: miror, hoc tempore rosens hic odor et liliorum unde respiret; nam si ipsas rosas vel lilia in manibus meis tenerem, nec sic poterant odoramenta tantae mihi suavitatis infundere; confiteor vobis, ita sum refectus, ut putem me totum subito immutatum. Cui Valerianus: coronas habemus, quas tui oculi videre non praevalent, floreo colore et niveo candore vernantes, et sicut me interpellante odorem sensisti, sic et, si credideris, videre valebis. Cui Tiburtius: in somnis hoc audio an in veritate ista tu loqueris, Valeriane? Cui Valerianus: in somnis usque modo fuimus, sed jam nunc in veritate manemus. Ad quem Tiburtius: unde hoc nosti? Et Valerianus: angelus domini me docuit, quem tu videre poteris, si tu purificatus fueris et omnibus ydolis abrenuntiaveris. Huic miraculo de coronis rosarum Ambrosius attestatur in praefatione sic dicens: sancta Caecilia sic coelesti est dono repleta, ut martirii palmam assumeret; ipsum mundum est cum thalamis exsecrata; testis est Valeriani conjugis et Tiburtii provocata confessio, quos, domine, angelica manu odoriferis floribus coronasti, viros virgo duxit ad gloriam, mundus agnovit, quantum valeat devotio castitatis. Haec Ambrosius. Tunc Caecilia evidenter ostendit ei, omnia ydola esse insensibilia et muta, ita ut Tiburtius responderet ac diceret: qui ista non credit, pecus est. Tunc Caecilia osculans pectus ejus dixit: hodie te fateor meum esse cognatum, sicut enim amor Dei fratrem tuum mihi conjugem fecit, ita te mihi cognatum contemtus faciet ydolorum. Vade igitur cum fratre tuo, ut purificationem accipias et angelicos vultus videre valeas. Dixitque Tiburtius fratri suo: obsecro te, frater, ut mihi dicas, ad quem me ducturus es. Cui Valerianus: ad Urbanum

episcopum. Cui Tiburtius: de illo Urbano dicis, qui totiens damnatus est et adhuc in latebris commoratur? hic, si inventus fuerit, cremabitur et nos in illius flammis pariter involvemur, et dum quaerimus divinitatem latentem in coelis, incurremus furorem exurentem in terris. Cui Caecilia: si haec sola esset vita, juste hanc perdere timeremus; est autem alia melior, quae unquam amittitur, quam nobis Dei filius enarravit. Omnia enim, quae facta sunt, filius ex patre genitus condidit, universa autem, quae condita sunt, ex patre procedens spiritus animavit. Hic igitur filius Dei in mundum veniens verbis et miraculis aliam vitam esse nobis monstravit. Cui Tiburtius: certe unum Deum esse asseris, et quomodo nunc tres esse testaris? Respondit Caecilia: sicut in una hominis sapientia sunt tria, scilicet ingenium, memoria et intellectus, sic et in una divinitatis essentia tres personae esse possunt. Tunc coepit ei de adventu filii Dei et passione praedicare et multas congruitates ipsius passionis ostendere. Nam ideo, inquit, filius Dei est tentus, ut genus humanum dimittatur peccato detentum; benedictus maledicitur, ut homo maledictus benedictionem consequatur; illudi se patitur, ut homo ab illusione daemonum liberetur; spineam coronam accepit in capite, ut a nobis sententiam auferat capitalem; fel suscipit amarum, ut sanaret hominis dulcem gustum; exspoliatur, ut parentum nostrorum nuditatem operiat; in ligno suspenditur, ut ligni praevaricationem tollat. Tunc Tiburtius fratri suo dixit: miserere mei et perduc me ad hominem Dei, ut purificationem accipiam. Ductus igitur et purificatus angelos Dei saepe videbat et omnia, quae postulabat, protinus obtinebat. Valerianus igitur et Tiburtius elemosinis insistebant et sanctorum corpora, quos Almachius praefectus occidebat, sepulturae tradebant. Quos Almachius ad se vocans, cur pro suis sceleribus damnatos sepelirent, inquisivit. Cui Tiburtius: utinam illorum servi essemus, quos tu damnatos appellas! Qui contemserunt illud, quod videtur esse et non est, et invenerunt illud, quod non videtur esse et est. Cui praefectus: quidnam est illud? Et Tiburtius: quod videtur esse et non est, est omne, quod in hoc mundo est, quod hominem ad non esse perducit; quod vero non videtur esse et est, est vita justorum et poena malorum. Cui praefectus: non puto, quod mente tua loquaris. Tunc jubet adstare Valerianum dicens ei: quoniam non est sani capitis frater tuus, tu saltem poteris sapienter dare responsum; constat plurimum vos errare, qui gaudia respuitis et

omnia inimica gaudiis affectatis. Tunc Valerianus se vidisse ait glaciali tempore otiosos jocantes et operarios agricolas deridentes, sed aestivo tempore, dum advenissent gloriosi fructus laborum, gaudentibus illis, qui putabantur vani, coeperunt flere, qui videbantur urbani. Sic et nos nunc quidem sustinemus ignominiam et laborem, in futuro autem recipiemus gloriam et aeternam mercedem. Vos autem nunc transitorium habetis gaudium, in futuro autem invenietis aeternum luctum. Cui praefectus: ergo nos invictissimi principes aeternum habebimus luctum et vos personae vilissimae perpetuum possidebitis gaudium? Cui Valerianus: homuntiones estis, non principes, tempore nostro nati, citius morituri et Deo rationem plus omnibus reddituri. Dixit autem praefectus: quid verborum circuitu immoramur? offerte Diis libamina et illaesi abscedite. Sancti responderunt: nos Deo vero quotidie sacrificium exhibemus. Quibus praefectus: quod est nomen ejus? Cui Valerianus: nomen ejus invenire non poteris, etiamsi pennis volaveris. Praefectus dixit: ergo Jupiter nomen Dei non est? Cui Valerianus: nomen homicidae et stupratoris est. Ad quem Almachius: ergo totus mundus errat et tu cum fratre tuo verum Deum nosti? Valerianus respondit: nos soli non sumus, sed innumerabilis multitudo hanc sanctitatem recepit. Traduntur igitur sancti in custodiam Maximi. Quibus ille ait: o juventutis flos purpureus, o germanus fraternitatis affectus, quomodo ad mortem quasi ad epulas festinatis? Cui Valerianus ait, quod, si crediturum se promitteret, gloriam animarum eorum post mortem videret. Et Maximus: fulminibus igneis consumar, si non illum solum Deum confitear, quem adoratis, si contingat, quod dicitis. Ipse igitur Maximus et omnis ejus familia et universi carnifices crediderunt et ab Urbano, qui illuc occulte venit, baptisma susceperunt. Igitur dum aurora nocti finem daret, Caecilia exclamavit dicens: eia milites Christi, abjicite opera tenebrarum et induimini arma lucis. Quarto igitur milliario ab urbe sancti ad statuam Jovis ducuntur et dum sacrificare nollent, pariter decollantur. Tunc Maximus cum jurejurando asseruit, se in hora passionis eorum angelos vidisse fulgentes et animas eorum quasi virgines de thalamo exeuntes, quas in gremio suo in coelum angeli detulerunt. Almachius vero audiens Maximum christianum effectum, cum plumbatis tandiu caedi fecit, quousque spiritum excussit. Cujus corpus sancta Caecilia juxta Valerianum et Tiburtium sepelivit. Tunc Almachius facultates amborum coepit inquirere et Caeciliam tam

quam Valeriani conjugem coram se fecit adstare jussitque, ut ydolis immolaret aut sententiam mortis incurreret. Cum autem ad hoc ab apparitoribus urgeretur et illi vehementer flerent, eo quod puella tam decora et nobilis ultro se morti traderet, dixit ad eos: hoc, boni juvenes, non est juventutem perdere, sed mutuare, dare lutum et accipere aurum, dare vile habitaculum et accipere pretiosum, dare brevem angulum et accipere forum pellucidum. Si quis pro nummo solidos daret, nonne velocius festinaretis? Deus autem, quod accepit simplum, reddet centuplum. Creditis his, quae dico? Et illi: credimus, Christum verum esse Deum, qui talem possidet famulam. Vocato igitur Urbano episcopo CCCC et amplius baptizati sunt. Tunc Almachius sanctam Caeciliam ad se vocans ait: cujus conditionis es? Et illa: ingenua sum et nobilis. Cui Almachius: ego te de religione interrogo. Cui Caecilia: interrogatio tua stultum sumit initium, quae duas responsiones una putat inquisitione concludi. Cui Almachius: unde tibi tanta praesumtio respondendi? At illa: de conscientia bona et fide non ficta. Cui Almachius: ignoras, cujus potestatis sim? Et illa: potestas vestra est quasi uter vento repletus, quem si acus pupugerit, omnis protinus rigor pallescit et quidquid in se rigidum habere cernitur, incurvatur. Cui Almachius: ab injuriis coepisti, et in injuriis perseveras. Caecilia respondit: injuria non dicitur nisi quod verbis fallentibus irrogatur; unde aut injuriam doce, si falsa locuta sum, aut te ipsum corripe calumniam inferentem, sed nos scientes sanctum Dei nomen omnino negare non possumus, melius est enim feliciter mori, quam infeliciter vivere. Cui Almachius: [1]) ad quid cum tanta superbia loqueris? Et illa: non est superbia, sed constantia. Cui Almachius: infelix, ignoras, quia vivificandi et mortificandi mihi tradita est potestas? Et illa: contra veritatem publicam probo te nunc esse mentitum, vitam enim viventibus tollere potes, [2]) mortuis autem dare non potes; es igitur minister mortis, non vitae. Cui Almachius: jam depone amentiam et sacrifica Diis. Cui Caecilia: nescio, ubi oculos amiseris; nam, quos tu Deos dicis, omnes nos saxa esse videmus; mitte igitur manum et tangendo disce, quod oculis non vales videre. Tunc iratus Almachius jussit eam ad domum suam reduci ibique tota nocte et die jussit eam in bulliente balneo concremari. Quae quasi in loco frigido mansit nec modicum saltem sudoris persensit. Quod cum audivisset Almachius, jussit eam in

1) Vulgo: ut quid legitur. 2) Verba: mortuis — potes omittit Ed. Pr.

ipso balneo decollari. Quam spiculator tribus ictibus in collo percussit, sed tamen caput ejus amputare non potuit, et quia decretum erat, ne quartam percussionem decollandus acciperet, eam semivivam cruentus carnifex dereliquit. Per triduum autem supervivens omnia, quae habebat, pauperibus tradidit et omnes, quos ad fidem converterat, Urbano episcopo commendavit dicens: triduanas mihi inducias postulavi, ut nos tuae beatitudini commendarem et hanc domum meam in ecclesiam consecrares. Sanctus autem Urbanus corpus ejus inter episcopos sepelivit et domum suam in ecclesiam, ut rogaverat, consecravit. Passa est autem circa annos domini CC et XXIII tempore Alexandri imperatoris. Alibi autem legitur, quod passa sit tempore Marci Aurelii, qui imperavit circa annos domini CCXX.

CAP. CLXX. (165.)

De sancto Clemente.

Clemens dicitur a cleos, quod est gloria, et mens, quasi gloriosa mens. Habuit enim gloriosam mentem, scilicet purgatam ab omni sorde, ornatam omni virtute et decoratam nunc omni felicitate; quae felicitas consistit in hoc, sicut dicit Augustinus in libro de trinitate, quia ibi esse nostrum non habebit mortem, nosse nostrum non habebit errorem, amare nostrum non habebit offensionem. Vel dicitur a clementia, quia clemens et misericors valde fuit. Vel, sicut dicitur in glossario, Clemens dicitur dulcis, justus, maturus, pius. Justus in actione, dulcis in sermone, maturus in conversatione, pius in intentione. Ejus vitam ipse in suo itinerario inseruit maxime usque ad illum locum, in quo, qualiter beato Petro in pontificatu successit, ostenditur. Caetera ex ejus gestis, quae communiter habentur, sumuntur.

Clemens episcopus ex nobili Romanorum prosapia ortus est. Pater ejus Faustinianus, mater vero ejus Macidiana nuncupata est, habuitque duos fratres, quorum unus Faustinus, alter Faustus dicebatur. Cumque Macidiana mater ejus mira corporis pulchritudine polleret, frater viri sui libidinoso amore in eam vehementer exarsit. Cum autem eam quotidie molestaret et ipsa sibi nullatenus assentire vellet viroque suo hoc revelare timeret, ne inter duos fratres ini-

Christi. Augustinus: Paulum dico verum athletam Christi doctum ab illo, unctum de illo, crucifixum cum illo et gloriosum in illo. Est in carne maceratus, ut ipsa caro disponatur ad bonae operationis effectum: optime enim deinceps corpus ejus ad omne opus bonum dispositum est, nam esurire et abundare sciebat et ubique et in omnibus institutus erat et omnia adversa libenter sufferebat. Chrysostomus: tyrannos ac populos spirantes furorem velut quosdam esse culices aestimabat, mortem vero atque cruciatus et mille supplicia, quasi ludum putabat esse puerorum. Haec amplexabatur libenter et magis decorabatur catena vinctus quam dyademate coronatus, ac libentius recipiebat vulnera quam alii munera. Vel ista tria dicuntur fuisse in eo contra tria, quae fuerunt in primo parente. In ipso enim fuit contra Deum erectio et e contra in Paulo ad terram prostratio, in ipso oculorum apertio et e contra in Paulo oculorum obcaecatio, in ipso enim fuit manducatio cibi vetiti et e contra in Paulo abstinentia cibi liciti.

CAP. XXIX. [1])

De sancta Paula.

1. Paula fuit nobilissima matrona Romanorum, cujus vitam beatus Hieronymus composuit in haec verba: si cuncta corporis mei membra verterentur in linguas et omnes artes humana voce resonarent, nihil dignum sanctae ac venerabilis Paulae virtutibus dicerem. Nobilis genere, sed multo nobilior sanctitate, potens quondam divitiis, sed nunc Christi paupertate insignior, testor et Jesum et sanctos angelos ejus ipsumque proprium angelum ejus, qui custos fuit et comes admirabilis feminae, me nihil in gratiam, nil dicere more laudantium, scilicet quod dicturus sum pro testimonio minus ejus esse meritis. Vult lector breviter ejus scire virtutes, omnes suos pauperes pauperior ipsa dimisit et sicut inter multas gemmas pretiosissima gemma micat et sicut jubar solis parvos igniculos stellarum obruit et obscurat, ita cunctorum virtutes sua humilitate superavit minimaque fuit inter omnes, ut omnium major esset. Et

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1) Totum hoc caput deest in Ed. Princ. Dresd. 1472.

quanto plus se dejiciebat, tanto magis a Christo sublevabatur. Latebat et non latebat, fugiendo vanam gloriam merebatur, quae virtutem quasi umbra sequitur et appetitores suos deserens appetit contemtores. Haec cum quinque liberos edidisset, Blaesillam, super cujus mortem eam Romae consolatus sum, Paulinam, quae sanctum et admirabilem virum Pammachium et propositi et rerum suarum reliquit heredem, ad quem super ejus obitu parvum libellum edidimus, Eustochium, quae nunc in sanctis locis et virginitatis et ecclesiae monile pretiosissimum est, Rufinam, quae immaturo funere pium matris animum consternavit, et [1]) Toxocium, post quem parere desiit, ut intelligeres eam non diu servire voluisse officio conjugali. Postquam vir ejus mortuus est, ita eum planxit, ut prope ipsa moreretur, ita etiam se convertit ad Dei servitutem, ut mortem ejus quasi videretur optasse. — — — ☙. Quid ergo referam amplae et nobilis domus et quondam opulentissimae omnes paene divitias in pauperes erogatas? Haec Paulini episcopi Antiocheni et Epiphanii, qui Romam venerant, accensa virtutibus per momenta patriam deserere cogitabat. Quid ultra differo? Descendit ad portum fratre, cognatis, affinibus et, quod his majus est, liberis prosequentibus et clementissimam matrem vincere cupientibus, jam carbasa tendebantur et remorum ductu navis in altum protrahebatur, parvus Toxocius supplices manus tendebat in littore, Rufina jam nubilis, ut suas exspectaret nuptias, tacens fletibus obsecrabat et tamen illa siccos oculos tendebat ad coelum, pietatem in filios pietate in Deum superans. Nesciebat se matrem, ut Christi se probaret ancillam; torquebantur viscera et quasi a suis membris distraherentur, cum dolore pugnabat. Hoc contra jura naturae plena fides patiebatur, immo gaudens animus appetebat et amorem filiorum majore in Deum amore contemnens in sola Eustochio, quae et propositi et navigationis ejus comes erat, acquiescebat. Sulcabat interim navis mare et cunctis, qui cum ea vehebantur, littora respicientibus illa versos tenebat oculos, ne videret, quod sine tormento videre non poterat. Cumque ad loca terrae sanctae venisset et proconsul Palaestinae, qui familiam ejus optime noverat, praemissis apparitoribus jussisset ei parare praetorium, elegit humilem cellulam. Quae cuncta loca Christi vestigiorum tanto ardore ac studio circuibat, ut nisi ad reliqua festinaret, a primis non posset abduci,

1) Alii Toxotium legunt.

prostratalque ante crucem quasi pendentem dominum cerneret, adorabat, ingressaque sepulchrum resurrectionis osculabatur lapidem, quem ab ostio monumenti amoverat angelus, et ipsum corporis locum, in quo dominus jacuerat, quasi sitiens desideratas aquas fidei ore lambebat. Quid ibi lacrimarum, quantum gemituum, quid doloris effuderit, testis est cuncta Jherosolima, testis est ipse dominus, quem rogabat. Deinde perrexit Bethlehem atque in specum salvatoris ingrediens vidit sacrum virginis deversorium et me audiente jurabat se cernere fidei oculis infantem pannis involutum, vagientem in praesepio, dominum magos adorantes, stellam fulgentem desuper, matrem virginem, nutricium sedulum, pastores nocte venientes, ut viderent verbum, quod factum erat, quasi etiam tunc Evangelistae Johannis dedicarent: in principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud Deum et verbum caro factum est, parvulos interfectos, Herodem saevientem, Joseph et Mariam fugientes in Aegyptum, mixtisque gaudio lacrimis loquebatur: salve Bethlehem, domus panis, in qua natus est ille panis, qui de coelo descendit, salve Effrata regio uberrima, cujus fertilitas Deus est, David loquitur confidenter, intro ibimus in tabernaculum ejus, adorabimus in loco, ubi steterunt pedes ejus, et ego misera et peccatrix digna suum judicata deosculari praesepe, in quo dominus parvulus vagiit, orare in spelunca, in qua virgo puerpera Deum fudit infantem: haec requies mea, quia domini mei patria est, hic habitabo, quoniam salvator elegit eam. — — — 3. Tanta se humilitate dejecit, ut qui eam vidisset et pro celebritate nominis videre gestiisset, ipsam esse non crederet, sed ancillarum ultimam, et cum frequentibus choris virginum cingeretur, et veste et voce ac habitu et incessu minima omnium erat. Numquam post viri mortem usque ad diem dormitionis suae cum ullo comedit viro, quamvis eum sanctum et in pontificali culmine positum sciret. Balneas nisi periclitans non adiit, mollia etiam nisi in gravissima febre lectuli strata non habuit, sed super durissimum humum stratis ciliciolis quiescebat, si tamen illa quies dicenda est, quae jugibus paene orationibus dies noctesque jungebat. Ita levia peccata plangebat, ut illam gravissimorum criminum crederes esse ream, cumque a nobis crebrius moneretur, ut parceret oculis et eos servaret evangelicae lectioni, ajebat: turpanda est facies, quam contra Dei praeceptum purpurisso et cerussa et stibio saepe depinxi, affligendum est corpus, quod multis vacavit deliciis, longus risus perpetuo compensandus est fletu, mollia linte-

amina et serica pretiosissima asperitate cilicii commutanda sunt, quae viro et saeculo placui, nunc Christo placere desidero. Si inter tales tantasque virtutes castitatem in illa voluero praedicare, superfluus videar, in qua etiam, cum saecularis esset, omnium Romae matronarum exemplum fuit, quae se ita gessit, ut numquam de illa etiam maledicorum quisquam anderet famam confingere. Fateor errorem meum, cur in largiendo esset profusior, arguebam, illud proferens de apostolo: non ut aliis refrigerium sit, vobis autem tribulatio, sed ex aequalitate in hoc tempore, ut vestra abundantia sit ad illorum inopiam et illorum abundantia sit ad vestram inopiam, et providendum esse, ne, quod libenter faceret, semper facere non posset, multaque hujusmodi. Quae illa mira verecundia et sermone parcissimo peritissimoque dissolvebat, testem invocans dominum, se pro illius nomine cuncta facere et hoc habere voti, ut mendicans ipsa moreretur, ut unum nummum filiae non dimitteret et in funere suo aliena sindone involveretur. Ad extremum inferebat: ego si petiero, multos inveniam, qui mihi tribuant, iste mendicans si a me non acceperit, quid ei possum etiam de alieno tribuere, si mortuus fuerit, a quo ejus anima requireretur? Nolebat in his lapidibus effundere pecuniam, qui cum terra et saeculo transituri sunt, sed in vivis lapidibus, qui volvuntur super terram, de quibus in Apocalipsi Johannis: civitas magni regis exstruitur. Exceptis festis diebus vix oleum in cibo accipiebat, ut ex hoc uno aestimaretur, quid de vino et de liquamine et piscibus et lacte et melle et ovis et reliquis, quae gustui suavia sint, judicarit, in quibus sumendis quidam se abstinentissimos putant et, si his ventrem ingurgitaverint, tutam pudicitiam suspicantur. Novi susurronem quendam, quod genus hominum vile est, quasi benevolum nuntiasse quod prae nimio fervore virtutum quibusdam videretur insana et cerebrum illius diceret confovendum, cui illa respondit: theatrum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus: nos stulti propter Christum, sed stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus. Post virorum monasterium, quod viris tradiderat gubernandum, plures virgines, quas ex diversis provinciis congregaverat, tam nobilis quam mediocris et infimi generis in tres turmas et monasteria divisit, ita duntaxat, ut opere et cibo separatae psalmis et oratione jungerentur. Jurgantes inter se sermone lenissimo foederabat, lasciviente adolescentularum carnem crebris et duplicatis frangebat jejuniis, malens eas stomachum dolere quam mentem, dicens munditiam corporis at-

que vestium animae esse immunditiam et, quod inter saeculi homines vel leve putatur vel nihil, hoc in monasteriis gravissimum esse delictum dicebat, cumque aliis languentibus large praeberet omnia et esum exhiberet carnium, si quando ipsa aegrotaret, sibi non indulgebat et in eo inaequalis videbatur, quod in aliis clementiam in se duritiam commutabat. Referam quod expertus sum. Mense Julio ferventissimis aestibus incidit in ardorem febris et post desperationem cum Dei misericordia respirasset et medici suaderent ob refectionem corporis vino esse opus tenui et parvo, ne aquam bibens in idropisim verteretur, et ego clam beatum episcopum Epiphanium rogarem, ut eam moneret, immo compelleret vinum bibere, ut erat prudens et sollertis ingenii, statim sensit insidias et subridens meum esse, quod ille diceret, intimavit. Quid plura? Cum beatus pontifex post multa horamenta exiisset foras, quaerenti mihi quid egisset, respondit: tantum profeci, ut ipsa mihi seni homini paene persuaserit, ut vinum non bibam. In luctu mitis erat et suorum mortibus frangebatur maxime liberorum, nam et viri et filiorum dormitione saepe periclitata est, et cum os stomachumque signaret et matricis dolorem crucis niteretur impressione lenire, superabatur [1]) affectu et credulam mentem parentis viscera consternebant animoque vincens fragilitate corporis vincebatur. Scripturas sanctas tenebat memoriter et cum amaret historiam et illam veritatis diceret fundamentum, magis sequebatur intelligentiam spiritualem et hoc culmine aedificationis animae protegebat. Loquar et aliud, quod fortasse aemulis videtur incredulum. Hebraeam linguam, quam ego ab adolescentia multo labore et sudore ex parte didici et infatigabili meditatione non desero, ne ipsa ab ea deseratur, discere voluit et consecuta est ita, ut psalmos hebraice caneret et sermonem absque ulla latinae linguae proprietate personaret. Quod quidem usque hodie in sancta filia ejus Eustochio cernimus. Hucusque navigavimus prosperis ventis et crispantia maris aequora labens carina sulcavit, nunc in scopulos incurrit oratio, quis enim posset siccis oculis Paulam narrare morientem? Incidit in gravissimam valetudinem, immo quod optabat, invenit, ut nos desereret et domino plenius jungeretur. Quid diu differo et dolorem meum in aliis immorando facio longiorem? Sentiebat prudentissima feminarum ad esse mortem et frigescente jam parte corporis atque membrorum

1) Alii effectu, deinde crudelem loco vocis credulam legunt.

solum animae [1]) teporem in sacro et sancto pectore palpitare, et nihilominus, quasi ad suos pergeret alienosque despiceret, illos versiculos susurrabat: domine dilexi decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis gloriae tuae et quam dilecta tabernacula tua domine elegi abjecta esse in domo Dei mei. Cumque a me interrogaretur, cur taceret, cur nollet respondere, inclamanti, an doleret aliquid, graeco sermone respondit, nihil se habere molestiae, sed omnia quieta et tranquilla perspicere. Post hoc obmutuit et clausis oculis, quasi humana despiceret, usque ad exspirationem animae eosdem repetebat versiculos, vix ut aure apposita, quod dicebat, audire possemus. Tota ad funus ejus Palaestinarum urbium turba convenit. Quem enim monachorum latentium in eremo cellula sua tenuit, quam virginum cubicularum tenuerunt secreta, sacrilegium putabat, qui non tali feminae ultimum reddidisset officium, donec subter ecclesiam et juxta speeum domini conderetur. Venerabilis filia ejus virgo Eustochium quasi ablactata super matrem suam abstrahi a parente non poterat, deosculari oculos, haerere vultui, totum corpus amplexari et se cum matre velle sepelire. Testis est Jesus nec unum quidem nummum ab ea filiae derelictum, sed magis tribuens egenis et quod his difficilius est, fratrum et sororum innumeram multitudinem, quam et sustentare arduum est et abjicere impium est. Vale o Paula et cultoris tui ultimam senectutem orationibus juva.

CAP. XXX.

De sancto Juliano.

Julianus quasi jubilus et ana quod est sursum. Inde Julianus quasi Jubilianus, quia cum jubilo superna petiit. Vel a Julius, quod est incipiens, et anus. Nam in Dei servitio fuit senex longanimitate, sed incipiens sui reputatione.

¶. Julianus Cenomanensis episcopus fuit. Hic Simon ille leprosus dicitur fuisse, quem dominus a lepra sanavit et qui dominum ad convivium invitavit, qui post ascensionem domini ab apostolis

1) Alii offerunt temperiem.

COMPILATION A

Critical edition of Escorial h –III – 22 and Biblioteca Nacional 12688:

[fol. 51va] De la vida e pasión de Santa Anastasia[1]

Santa Anastasia es dicha de 'Anna' q*ue* quiere dezir 'suso', e 'éstasis', que quiere dezir 'estudo'[2], porque estudo alçada e apartada de los vicios e allegada a las virtudes.

E[3] Santa Anastasia fue de noble linaje, natural de la cibdat de Roma, fija de un noble onbre gentil que avía nonbre Pretaxato[4] e de una noble dueña *christ*iana que avía nonbre Fausta. E fue enseñada del bienaventurado mártir Sant Grisógono[5]. E casó con un onbre gentil que avía non|bre [fol. 51^{vb}] Públio[6], e apartávase sienpre de aver ayuntamiento con él so color de alguna enfermedat. E ente*n*diendo el marido que era *christ*iana, e que yva con una su servienta en ábito de onbre a las cárceles ado[7] estavan presos los *christ*ianos, e les dava todo lo que avían nescesario, fízola encerrar tan estrechamente en una cámara[8] que non le dava aún la vianda nescesaria, deseándola asý matar por que pudiese aver toda su heredat, que era grande asaz[9]. E pensando Santa Anastasia que morría allý, enbiava sus cartas llenas de dolor al bie*n*aventurado mártir[10] Sant Grisógono[11] a la cárcel, ado estava preso con muchos otros por el nonbre del Señor. E el santo mártir e*n*biávala con sus cartas a consolar, prometiéndole la ayuda divinal. E entre tanto murió su marido e fue ella librada de aq*ue*lla [fol. 52ra] prisión.

E Santa Anastasia tenía tres amigas *christ*ianas que eran hermanas[12], e a la una llamavan Ágapis, e a la otra Chiónia e a la otra Yrénea. E estas tres hermanas fueron presas del adela*n*tado, e como non quisiese*n*[13] consentir a su mandado e sacreficar a los

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[1] De la vida e pasión de Santa Anastasia *A* : Aquí comiença la istoria de Santa Anastasia, declaración del su nonbre *B*
[2] estudo *A* : estado *B*
[3] E *A* : Síguese su ystoria. Esta *B*
[4] * Pretaxato *B* : Petraxato *A*
[5] Grisógono *A* : Grisóstomo *B*
[6] Públio *A* : Plúblio *B*
[7] ado *A* : do *B*
[8] * cámara *B* : cámera *A*
[9] asaz *A* : e asaz *B*
[10] mártir *A* : *om. B*
[11] Grisógono *A* : Grisóstomo *B*
[12] que eran hermanas *B* : *om. A*
[13] quisiese*n* *A* : quisiese *B*

dioses[14], fízolas encerrar en una casa[15] ado estavan muchas cosas que son[16] a la cozina nescesarias. E el adelantado, encendido[17] en amor dellas porque eran muy fermosas, fuése para ellas por aver ayuntamiento[18] con ellas. E desque entró a la casa ado estavan así se le trastornó el seso que abraçava[19] las sártenes e[20] las calderas, pensando que abraçava a ellas. E desque fue farto de abraçar e besar las sártenes e las calderas, salió todo negro e feo, e veyéndole[21] sus servidores que le esperavan [fol. 52^{rb}] a la puerta, pensaron que era[22] diablo e diéronle muchas puñadas e muchos palos, e echaron a foyr e dexáronlo solo en su cabo. E él, veyendo esto, fuése para el enperador a se querellar de sus servidores. E començaron unos a le dar con[23] palos e otros a le escopir e a darle[24] bofetadas en la cara, e otros a le lançar polvo e lodo, pensando que era tornado loco. E así le avía engañado el diablo, que non podía conoscer la su fealdat e torpedat, e maravillávase[25] porque le ferían así todos, e fazían dél escarnio, ca le parescía que sus vestiduras estavan todas linpias e él todo blanco. E veyendo que le dezían todos que estava muy feo e negro, pensó que le fizieran aquellas mugeres algunt encantamiento, e fízolas traer delante sý e mandólas despojar [fol. 52va] por que si ál non se fartase de las acatar. Mas así se les allegaron las vestiduras a los cuerpos, que non las pudieron despojar aunque porfiaron asaz. E veyendo esto el adelantado fue muy maravillado e adurmióse[26] por grant espanto, e començó a roncar tan fuertemente que non le podían despertar. E a la postre fueron martiriadas aquellas vírgenes santas.

E Santa[27] Anastasia fue dada del enperador a un adelantado para que la tomase por muger sy la pudiese apartar de la *christ*iandat e fazer sacreficar. E como la fiziese meter el adelantado en una cámera e entrase a ella, e quisiese aver con ella ayuntamiento, fue[28] luego ciego. E veyéndose ciego, fuése a encomendar a sus dioses, e a les[29] preguntar sy podría escapar. E sus di|oses [fol. 52^{vb}] respondiéronle, diziendo: 'Porque feziste enojo a Santa Anastasia, eres dado a nos para que seas atormentado para sienpre

[14] *dioses *B* : diablos *A*
[15] casa *A* : cámara *B*
[16] son *A* : so *B*
[17] encendido *A* : *om. B*
[18] aver ayuntamiento *A* : ayuntamiento de aver *B*
[19] abraçava *A* : abraçava a *B*
[20] e *A* : e a *B*
[21] veyéndole *A* : veyéndolo *B*
[22] era *A* : era el *B*
[23] con *A* : *om. B*
[24] e a darle *A* : e dar *B*
[25] maravillávase *A* : maravillávanse *B*
[26] adurmióse *A* : adormiese *B*
[27] Santa *A* : *om. B*
[28] fue *A* : fuése *B*
[29] les *A* : los *B*

con nos *en* los tormentos del ynfierno.' E como sus servidores lo tornasen a su casa, dio el alma entre las manos dellos, e acabó su vida por manera mesq*ui*na.

E desque aqueste adelantado fue muerto, fue dada Santa Anastasia a otro adelantado. E él, oyendo dezir que avía muchas riquezas, apartóla e díxole secreitame*n*te: 'Anastasia, si quieres ser *christ*iana, obedesce a tu Dios y faz lo que te manda, e dexa todas las cosas que has por que puedas ser su discípula, e dámelas a mí, e ve ado quisiere*s* e serás verdadera *christ*iana.' E respondióle Santa Anastasia e dixo: 'El mi Dios mandó que el q*ue* [fol. 53[ra]] quería ser su discípulo ve*n*diese todas las cosas q*ue* ama[30] e las diese a los pobres. E como tú seas rico, si yo diere[31] a ti lo que tengo, non conpliré[32] su mandamiento.'

E el adelantado, oyendo esto[33], fizo poner a Santa Anastasia en una cárcel muy gr*a*ve, e mandóla atormentar allí de grant[34] fanbre. Mas venía a ella cada día[35] una santa su amiga, que fuera antes martiriada, e traýale ma*n*jar celestial. E después de aquesto, fue enbiada Santa Anastasia a desterrar a las yslas que son llamadas Palmarias co*n* dozientos *christ*ianos, ado estavan otros muchos desterrados por la confesión del nonbre del Salvador. E después de algunos días, fizo el adelantado traer delante sý a[36] todos los *christ*ianos que estavan allý desterrados. E mandó q*ue*|mar [fol. 53[rb]] a Santa Anastasia atada a unos palos, e fizo matar a los otros con diver*s*os tormentos. E entre los otros *christ*ianos que allý estavan desterrados, estava uno que avía seýdo despojado muchas vezes por el nonbre del Salvador de toda su heredat[37], la qual fuera grande asaz, e dezía sienpre: 'Si ál non, non me quitaredes a Jhesu *Christo*, mi Señor.' E una noble muge*r* que llamavan Apolonia tomó el cuerpo de Santa Anastasia, e enterrólo onrradamente en una su huerta. E fizo sobre ella una eglesia a onrra[38] del Nuestro Salvador, el qual bive e reyna[39] para sienpre[40].

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[30] q*ue* ama *A* : *om. B*
[31] diere *A* : diese *B*
[32] conpliré *A* : cunpliría *B*
[33] el adelantado, oyendo esto *A* : él, oyendo esto, el adelantado *B*
[34] grant *A* : *om. B*
[35] a ella cada día *A* : cada día a ella *B*
[36] * sý a *B* : sý *A*
[37] * heredat *B* : hedat *A*
[38] a onrra *A* : a honrra e glo*r*ia *B*
[39] reyna *A* : regna con el padre e con el Espíritu Santo *B*
[40] para sienpre *A* : para sienpre un Dios, Amén *B*

COMPILATION B

Critical Edition of Escorial K – II – 12

[fol. 27^{vb}] *Capítulo* de *San*ta Anastassia

[fol. 28ra] Santa Anastasia es dicha de 'Ana[1]', q*ue* q*ui*ere tanto dezir 'suso' como quiere dezir 'estante',[2] do esta virge*n* estido en virtudes guardando asý mesma de pecado.

Anastasia, dueña muy noble como fuese de los romanos, fue fija[3] de don[4] Peccayat, varó*n* muy noble e era de los paganos. E la su madre era dona Fausta q*ue* era *christ*iana; por el bienaventurado don G*ri*sógono en la fe de Jhesu *Christo* fue enseñada. E después fue dada por muger a don Púbel, la q*ua*l sienpre se fazía doliente, porq*ue* todavía esq*ui*vase la conpañía de su marido porq*ue* toviese abstinencia. E ella sienpre amava las cosas de Jhesu *Christo*. E una vegada su marido vióla cantar co*n* una su servie*n*ta, e fablavan de la fazienda de Jhesu *Christo*. E él, q*ua*ndo lo oyó, pesól mucho de coraçón e fízol vestir un ábito de *christ*iano muy vil, e ma*n*dóla meter en una cárcel co*n* su servie*n*te, enpe*r*o todo lo q*ue* avía mester les fazía dar e fízolas meter en un estrecho logar. E despu*é*s dende, el[5] adelant*ado* ma*n*dó q*ue* no*n* les diesen a comer ni*n* a bever demás, q*ue* fuese tal el fundamie*n*to q*ue* cuydava aq*ue*lla dueña Fausta, su madre desta Santa Anastasia, q*ue* allý morrié. E enbió sus letras [fol. 28^{rb}] encubiertame*n*te a don G*ri*sógono. E él enbiól luego sus letras de consolació*n*. E entre tanto[6] en Dios morió el marido della, e sacáro*n*las luego de la cárcel.

Esta dueña avía tres servyentas q*ue* era*n* muy apuestas e era*n* hermanas, e la una dellas avía nonbre Áganpe, e la otr*a* avía no*n*bre Anómia e la otra avía no*n*bre Ciréne. E *e*stas tres hermanas era*n* *christ*ianas. E aq*ue*l t*ie*npo, el pretor de la cibdat amonestava segu*n*t su ley q*ue* ellas no*n* q*uer*iendo obedescer a los sus ma*n*damie*n*tos, fízolas encerrar en una cárcel. E este pretor q*ue* era mayoral entró a ellas por conplyr con ellas su voluntad. E asý, como fue entrado, dentro luego fue p*er*dido el su entendimi*ento*. E en aq*ue*lla casa adobava*n* de comer, e q*ua*ndo cuydava q*ue* las besava e las abraçava, besava a las padrellas e a las calderas, e q*ua*ndo desto fue farto, salió fuera todo

[1] de 'Ana' : abeja *MS*
[2] 'suso', como quiere dezir 'estante' : como 'suzio' 'estante' *MS*
[3] fue fija : no*n* fue q*ue* fue fija *MS*
[4] don : doz *MS*
[5] el : *om. MS*
[6] entre tanto : tan *MS*

ensuziado. E *qua*ndo la su conpaña le vio asý venir pensava[7] *que* era algu*n*t pecado. E desende él fuése p*ar*a el enpe*r*ador q*ue*rellándose dellas, e q*ua*ndo lo viero*n* asý venir los unos le dava*n* con las vercas e los ot*ros* le escopía*n* la cara. E los ot*ros* le echava*n* en el lodo. E los ot*ros* en el polvo, [fol. 28va] pensando[8] q*ue* era algu*n*t pecado. E sy asý nol espantasen, avié*n* miedo q*ue* se tornarié en su oficio, e desende a días, acordó este pretor. E contó toda su fazienda como lo pasará, q*ue* fuera aq*ue*llas[9] por las desnuyar. E ellos nu*n*ca tanto podiero*n* fazer q*ue* las vestiduras podiesen dellas q*ui*tar. E q*ua*ndo esto viero*n* oviéro*n*les a dar martirio, e por el martirio q*ue* levaro*n* e sofrieron, ganaro*n* coronas en el cielo, porq*ue* son en p*ar*aýso.

E después Santa Anastasia fue dada al pretor, en tal man*er*a q*ue* si la podiese fazer adorar los ýdolos q*ue* ge la darié por muger. E esa ora apartóla él en una cámara en tal q*ue* adorasen ý los ýdolos, e él tomóse a sacrificar e ella no*n* q*ui*so adorar. E luego tornóse p*ar*a ella p*ar*a la abraçar, e luego ma*n*o a mano fallóse seco. E luego tornóse adorar los ýdolos. E demandávales q*ue* sy podría guaryr de aq*ue*lla enfermedat o sy podría escapar. E ellos dixieron: 'Nos no*n* podemos ni*n* estamos a nu*est*ro[10] mandamie*n*to, ca S*an*ta Anastasia es mucho amiga de Dios. Mas por q*ua*nto la acometiste p*ar*a fazer lo q*ue* no*n* deviés, sepas q*ue* después q*ue* morieres yrás conusco a los ynfiernos.' E en esa ora le levaron a casa e luego morió. E [fol. 28^{vb}] fúese p*ar*a los ynfiernos.

E *e*stonce S*an*ta Anastasia fue dada a otro pretor[11] q*ue* la guardase. E él, q*ua*ndo oyó dezir q*ue* ella[12] avía muchas posesione*s*, díxol privadame*n*te: 'Sy q*ui*eres ser *christ*iana, faz esto q*ue* te ma*n*da él tu Dios, desanpara todo q*ua*nto has. Ca dize Dios q*ue* no*n* es digno de ser con él, el q*ue* no*n* renu*n*cia todas las cosas q*ue* ha. Onde por aq*ue*sto todas las cosas q*ue* has, dalas a mí. E después ve do tú q*ui*sieres e así serás verdadera *christ*iana.' E *e*sa ora respondió S*an*ta Anastasia e dixo: 'El mi señor Dios *Christ*o ma*n*da e dize: "vende todas las cosas q*ue* has, e después el precio q*ue* valiere, dala a los pobres e no*n* a los ricos." E tú eres rico, e yo cont*ra* el ma*n*damiento de Dios yría,[13] sy a ti alg*u*na cosa diese.' Estonces aq*ue*l pretor encerróla en una cárcel, e pensóla de atorme*n*tar por fanbre.

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[7] pensava : pensava*n* *MS*
[8] pensando : pe pensando *MS*
[9] aq*ue*llas : ~~por~~ aq*ue*llas *MS*
[10] al n*uest*ro : a n*uest*ro al n*uest*ro *MS*
[11] pretor : precor *MS*
[12] q*ue* ella : q*ue* ella q*ue* *MS*
[13] yría : ~~no*n*~~ yría *MS*

Enpero Sant Theodosyo por martirio que rescebió es en el cielo coronado, e por dos meses les dio Dios pan[14] celestial. E quando vio que la non podía enpescer, enbióla a las yslas Palmares con dozientas vírgines que fueron desterradas por el nonbre de Jhesu Christo. E después, a pocos de días, aquel pretor fízolas venir ante sý [fol. 29ra] aquellas dozientas vírgenes, e a Santa Anastasia con ellas. E vino cada una con su palma e luego fízolas quemar con fuego, e a las otras dioles tantos tormentos con tantas penas fasta que ovieron de morir. E en aquella ora, estava ý un omen que era siervo de Dios, e muchas vegadas avíase desposado de quanto tenié. E dávalo a los pobres de Dios, e todas sus riquezas todavía dezía a los robadores: 'Esto al menos nunca me lo robaredes, nin el ánima de Santa Anastasia, ca ella con Dios es desposada[15]'. E desende Apolonia soterró el cuerpo de Santa Anastasia muy honrradamente en el su vergel. E en aquel logar do ella fue enterrada en aquel tienpo non estava ý yglesia, e después que se fue acercado de[16] la christiandat, oyeron dezir como Santa Anastasia fuera allí enterrada. E fezieron ý una eglesia a onrra de Santa Anastasia.

[14] pan : pan angelos que comién *MS*
[15] desposada : despospárada *MS*
[16] acercado de : acercando *MS*

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