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MA BY RESEARCH

THE LEGEND OF  
SAINT ANASTASIA

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IN

MEDIEVAL SPANISH  
LITERATURE

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## PREFACE

This MA by Research looks into the legend of Saint Anastasia, a virgin martyr who forms part of the *Legenda aurea*, a thirteenth century hagiographic compilation composed by Jacobus de Voragine. Chapter 1 offers an initial examination of the evolution of the legend, looking at Anastasia's historical origin and the development of her *passio* from its original version through to that of Voragine. Chapter 2 presents Anastasia in the context of the other saints as they feature in the *Legenda aurea*, looking predominantly at three other saintly widows: Paula, Elizabeth of Hungary, and Cecilia. Chapter 3 offers a comparison of the three extant Spanish manuscript versions of Anastasia's legend and assesses which are most closely linked. Chapter 4 in turn takes the resultant Spanish critical editions and analyses their similarity to the Latin legend as is presented in the *Legenda aurea*. It establishes which of the two is the closer derivation of the Latin. Chapter 5 examines in depth all the themes, images, and concepts presented in the Spanish critical editions. Through an observation of style, image, nuance, expression, and theme in a linear analysis of the two Spanish critical editions, the chapter also looks at the ways in which these themes contribute to Anastasia's *passio*. A final comparative analysis, Chapter 6, discusses the differences between Anastasia's legend as it stands in Voragine and a later version of the legend as presented by Álvaro de Luna. Chapter 7 offers critical editions of the legend prefaced by a section on editorial norms. It also provides tentative conclusions.





# CHAPTER 1 – THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE LEGEND OF SAINT ANASTASIA

Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (1264) is a collection of some 182 chapters recounting hagiographic *passiones*, *vitae*, and other liturgical celebrations. His work proved to be extremely popular and influential in the medieval era. Robert Seybolt affirms the existence of numerous versions of the *Legenda*, showing it to be one of the most frequently printed books, along with the Bible, and Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (1946: 339). To obtain a broader account of these hagiographic narratives, however, many more need to be analysed and edited critically. This MA by Research aims to do just that, focusing on one particular saint about whom little is known: Anastasia. I aim to offer a thorough study of this saint with an analysis of her legend's origins and her contextual relevance within Voragine's compilation, a linguistic and stylistic comparison between the extant Spanish manuscripts and his Latin, critical editions of the extant Spanish reworkings of the legend, and a thematic study of her *passio*.<sup>1</sup>

## HISTORICAL ORIGIN

Although Voragine depicts Anastasia as a Roman saint, there is some disagreement about whether her martyrdom occurred at Sirmium, with veneration in Rome occurring only towards the end of the fifth century (Herbermann et al. 1913: I, 454; see also Delehaye 1936: 160). This may be because three Anastasias are thought to have been martyred in Rome between the third and fourth centuries (Anon 1987: v). Virgin Martyr Anastasia was martyred on 12 October in 250, under Emperor Decius in Rome. Saint Anastasia the Roman, or the Elder, as she is more commonly known in the West, was martyred on 29 October in approximately 256 under Emperors Valerian and Gallianus. Hippolyte Delehaye believes that the feast days of 12 and 29 October correspond only to one Anastasia, which Simeon Metaphrastes recognizes as being on 29 October, reflecting on Nicétas the Paphlagonian's treatment of her in his long panegyric. Both Anastasias were born in ancient Rome, illustrious in origin and martyrdom (Delehaye 1936: 166-67, see also Anon 1987: vi). For the purposes of this research, I am

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<sup>1</sup> Charles F. Altman distinguishes between the terms *vitae* and *passiones*, hence my inclusion of the term *passio* when referring to Anastasia's legend. He affirms: 'in *passio* and *vita* alike, the saint claims to be imitating Christ, but in each case a different aspect of Christ's life is imitated, the *passio* choosing the most diametrical aspects, the *vita* turning more and more to gradational elements in Christ's life' (1975: 5). A *vita* commonly involves the saint's death by natural causes, a *passio* by martyrdom.

interested in Anastasia of Sirmium, the third Anastasia. Incidents from one life were possibly erroneously attributed to another (Anon 1987: v), particularly as the frequent tendency in hagiography is to compound different similarly-named figures into a singular one. After the thirteenth century much hagiographic material was indeed both collated and, to a certain extent, rewritten: 'Los compiladores quitan y añaden según sus intereses y los de su público' (Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua 2001: 16-18).

Anastasia's martyrdom is situated between 290 and 304 in Sirmium of Pannonia, approximately one hundred miles northwest of present day Belgrade (Anon 1987: vi; see also Thurston & Attwater 1956: 613). Her relics were translated from her resting place to Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> David Hugh Farmer believes that only Anastasia's later *Acta*, written to satisfy curiosity about the origins of the *titulus Anastasiae* church, make her a Roman martyr (1997: 20). This basilica was one of Rome's most ancient churches, known to date from at least the fourth century, and was one of the twenty-five original titular or parish churches of Rome (Doheny 1956: 13). It is unknown, however, whether she or another Anastasia, sister of the Emperor Constantine (312-37), is the foundress. The bodies of the three sisters Agape, Chionia, and Irene, all featuring in Anastasia's legend, are thought to be preserved here (Bonucci 1888: vi).

From both a historical and religious perspective, the name of Saint Anastasia of Sirmium is commemorated in the first Eucharistic prayer, inserted in the Roman canon of the Mass nearing the end of the fifth century (Butler 1999: xii, 192). Some believe this name commemorates instead Anastasia the Elder (Baring-Gould 1914: 15 & 278), although there is little that can be proven definitively. Anastasia is uniquely commemorated in the second Mass of Christmas, in the prayer 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus', being the only saint important enough in the Roman liturgy to do so. Although critics such as F. G. Holweck (1924: 65-6) doubt the veracity of Voragine's legend of Anastasia, Delehaye disagrees, arguing that she was confused with another apocryphal saint, Anastasia the Virgin (1936: 170). Her name is recorded in the 'Martyrologium sieronimianum' (De Rossi & Duchesne, *Acta SS.*, 2 November) on 25 December (Herbermann et al. 1913: i, 454). Her connection to Christ is believed by some to be deliberate, and not coincidental, suggestive of her importance and influence in the Christian sphere (Thurston & Attwater 1956: 613).

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<sup>2</sup> Delehaye argues that the hagiographer presents Anastasia as a Roman saint by citing Palmaria as her resting place, rather than Sirmium, as the original legend dictates (1936: 161-62). On the confusion surrounding Anastasia's resting place, see also Monceaux 1903: 256 & 297, Delehaye (1902: 336 and 1933: 216), and Dufourcq 1907: i, 348-49.

## THE ORIGINAL LEGEND

Saints' lives were commonly composed within a generation or two of their deaths, with tales about them circulating orally for years, even centuries, before being recorded (Whatley, Thompson, & Upchurch 2004: 3). A copy of the earliest recorded version of Anastasia's *passio* appears in Hippolyte Delehaye's *Étude sur le légendier romain* (1936: 221-49) entitled 'Passio sancti Chrysogoni et sanctae Anastasiae', which François Halkin (1973: 86-89) claims to be the first complete extant Latin version.<sup>3</sup> Delehaye footnotes his title, explaining that his critical Latin edition derives from three predominant recensions, *M*, *C*, and *D*, dating them roughly between the tenth and eleventh centuries. His appendix on manuscripts details their origins (1936: 191-221).

Delehaye confidently affirms that the original source text is Latin, with future versions copied and modified from it: 'Toute la tradition littéraire de la Passion de S<sup>te</sup> Anastasie se ramène à une source unique: le texte latin' (1936: 158). Another version of Anastasia's legend appears later in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* of 1264, entitled 'De Sancta Anastasia' (Graesse 1846: 47). The number of stages the legend passed through between the original extant version and the account in Voragine cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty, however as the two contain similar accounts, there is a possible evolution of two main stages: the first version, bearing a similar title to *Passio sancti Chrysogoni et sanctae Anastasiae*, was later copied in varying, abbreviated formats, with clear divisions between the saints. One of these possible formats may be *Passio sanctae Anastasiae et sotorium eius*, another *Passio sanctae Anastasiae*. The latter account, narrating only Anastasia's legend, is contained within Voragine. A textual comparison of the extant versions as they feature in Delehaye and Voragine is therefore needed to assess their similarity.

The original *passio* recounts the legends of Saints Chrysogonus, Agape, Chionia, and Irene, Theodota and her sons, and Anastasia. These are all inter-related and the protagonists all linked in some way, however each legend can stand independently, as proven by the separate manuscripts recounting them (Delehaye 1936: 154-55).<sup>4</sup> The incipit of the original discusses the concept of sainthood before delving into the facts of the legend. Phrases such as 'Christi victorias', 'scripturarum omnium divinarum', and a

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<sup>3</sup> Other recensions containing a similar form of the legend are the Société des Bollandistes' *Analecta Bollandiana* 1889: VIII, 125-36 and Montecassino's *Bibliotheca Casinensis* 1873: 179-84. Texts cataloguing the versions of Anastasia's legend are as follows: Henryk Fros' *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (1898-99: 66-67 & 400-403, see also 1900-01: 1313), Halkin's *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* 81(1957), and the *Catalogus Bruxellensis* (Hagiograph Bollandiani 1886).

<sup>4</sup> Thurston & Attwater (1956: 613-14) offer a similar argument and a list of further studies to consult, including Duchesne 1887: VII, 387-413, and Kirsch 1918: 18-23.

more general level of contempt for the Devil and sin (221-22) emphasize the religious nature of this text, as does a description of a fruit tree being analogous to a saint. Both create life and flourish on Earth: 'et quasi arbor fructifera non sine causa probatur terram occupare dum vivit, cum et ipsa suis pomis ornatur et omnis qui ex ea fructum perceperit saginatur' (221). God has sewn his seed in Anastasia just as he did Mary (see Chapter 2).

Anastasia is presented as the daughter of the noble 'Praetextati' (222), a virgin given in marriage against her will to Publius. She chooses to visit Christian prisoners to offer them her assistance, wearing poor clothing to disguise her wealth in a poverty-laden environment. Her endurance of this poverty 'ut caelestes divitias occuparet' (222) is highlighted. Her charitable acts and their religious significance are specified, for example in 'lavare pedes' and 'unguere capita' (222), which reinforces her spiritual assistance. Anastasia avoids sexual contact with her husband by feigning illness (223), which is apt given her description by some as 'the Deliverer from Potions'. She is often represented visually as holding a cross and an elegant jug-shaped container, presumably relating to her medicinal attributes (Anon 1987: IV-V).<sup>5</sup> She is imprisoned in her husband's 'domui' (223) and entrusted to the guard 'Comasium' following Publius' move to Persia (225). She is subsequently freed when the latter dies, having been shipwrecked.

Chrysogonus is at this point introduced as Anastasia's religious instructor. He is described as 'quidam vir Dei, nomine Chrysogonus, qui per biennium in vicarii officio degens multa pepessus' (223) and is arrested on the order of the emperor Diocletian in the house of 'Rufum', one of Chrysogonus' religious converts. Chrysogonus' connection to Anastasia is explained through her continual alleviation of his suffering (222). They correspond through letters, relayed between the two through the help of an old lady (223). The contents of these four letters are detailed, and biblical references can be noted, such as 'Maledictus homo qui spem suam ponit in homine, benedictus homo qui spem suam ponit in Deum' (225).<sup>6</sup> There are also allusions to sea, water, nature, storm, and shipping imagery, in 'Unum mare est in quo naviculae corporis nostri velificant et sub uno gubernatore animae nostrae nautici funguntur officio' (226). The letters refer to Anastasia's father 'cultor fuerit idolorum', Anastasia's 'custodiae', and her hatred towards her husband whom she describes as physically disgusting, an

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<sup>5</sup> The Greeks give Anastasia of Sirmium the epithet *φαρμακολύτρια*, undoubtedly an allusion to the miracle of protection from the danger of being poisoned. The title also distinguishes her from Anastasia the Virgin (Delehaye 1936: 166).

<sup>6</sup> From Jeremiah 17: 5 & 7.

'idolatriis luxuriat' (223). She promises religious commitment, requesting the death of her husband should he prove incapable of converting to religion:

Etenim omnipotens testis est Christus, quoniam si liberata fuero,  
sanctorum vestigiis adhaerebo et curas omnium sollicite exercere, ut  
coeperam, non cessabo. (224)

Chrysogonus advises Anastasia to embrace death. He uses words which again reiterate a scriptural emphasis, in 'Sic etiam post infirmitatem salus revertitur et vita post mortem promittitur' (226).

Diocletian orders the execution of all Christians and for Chrysogonus to be brought before him in Aquileia, with Anastasia in tow (226-27). Chrysogonus is offered the prefecture and the consulate should he renounce his religion. He refuses, declaring 'Unum Deum mente adoro' (227), and is decapitated at 'Aguas Gradatas.' His body is disposed of on the 'VIII kalendarum decembris' near 'Ad Saltus' (227-28), a location situated near to the residence of the three Christian sisters, Agape, Chionia, and Irene. This creates another character link in the legend. Thirty days after his death, Chrysogonus' spirit rightly predicts the three sisters' arrest as occurring nine days later, in a dream to the prefect Zoilus who buries Chrysogonus (227). 'Chyoniae, Irenes et Agapes' (228) are subsequently introduced as Christian sisters who are enclosed in a room containing kitchen utensils. Anastasia refers to them as her sisters 'tuae quas mihi dominus meus Chrysogonus commendavit' (228).

The interrogation of the sisters before Diocletian grants them an opportunity to present a fortified front. They rebuff his offer of arranged marriages upon renouncing their religion, resembling Anastasia in their powerful argument overriding that of the weaker male. When informed that their religion is ridiculous and vain, Irene replies: 'Flectant hi cervicem idolis quibus iratus est Deus. Peior enim indignitas non est quam hunc adoret aliquis qui ab artifice plasmatus est antequam fieret' (229). Anastasia is depicted throughout as their mentor and saviour. A prefect named 'Dulcitius' (230) attempts to seduce the sisters during their imprisonment, his desire to torment them stemming from some type of madness. 'Captu oculorum astrictus' (230) suggests his inability to see or think straight. He embraces 'omnia utensilia coquinae' (230) instead of the sisters, becoming physically blackened and mocked for his devil-like appearance. He is verbally tormented, referred to as 'Satana' and 'diabolo' (231), heightening his distinction from the holy saint. Enraged, he orders the women to be stripped, accusing them of magic, but their clothes prove physically impossible to remove. Dulcitius subsequently falls into so deep a sleep that even blows cannot awaken him (231-32).

The sisters' interrogation, torture and eventual death are at the hands of another prefect, Sisinnius.<sup>7</sup> Agape and Chyonia are again asked to explain the constituents of their faith and justify their belligerence, remaining steadfast in 'fides nostra immutabilis perseverat' (232). They are 'gaudio' at the prospect of their martyrdom, their clothes and bodies remaining unscarred in their death: 'nec vestimenta earum arderent' (233). They resemble Anastasia in embracing both the prospect of death and of being burnt alive. Anastasia takes their bodies, anoints them, and buries them (233). Irene's response is identical to that of her sisters and her martyrdom occurs two days later. She openly embraces death as they did:

Ego ad hoc festino, non negando veritatem pertingere ad vitam per mortem, et per ignem ad refrigerium pervenire. (234)

Threatened with being placed in a brothel, she vows her soul will remain unsoiled, launching into a diatribe which juxtaposes the spilling of Christ's blood with the purification of martyrs' souls upon being force-fed blood.<sup>8</sup> An accumulation of biblical imagery throughout her and her sisters' speeches emphasizes the overtly scriptural nature of this original text. Sent to the summit of a mountain, Irene is shot with a soldier's arrow, reiterating her faith a final time before dying and being brought to her sisters' sides.

Diocletian returns from Macedonia, at which point Theodote and her three children are brought before him. Theodote is asked in marriage to Count Leucadius providing she forsakes her religion, however she pacifies him in giving him her riches, believing that these instead are what he desires (236). Theodote and Anastasia are here identified with one another: both act charitably and are similarly primed for their possessions, as 'unanimis cum Anastasia Theodote permanens' (236). After the departure of Leucadius, Diocletian orders the execution of all imprisoned Christians and Anastasia is arrested and brought before Probus, prefect of Illyrius, having publicly declared her Christian faith: 'Ego christiana sum' (236). The inquisition given by Probus reinforces Anastasia's religious devotion in that she quotes directly from Matthew 19:30 in 'Erunt primi novissimi et novissimi primi' (238) and Corinthians 3:18 in 'Qui vult sapiens esse in hoc mundo, stultus fiat ut sit sapiens' (240). She affirms her familial link to Praetextati although she prioritises her position as *ancilla Christi* above this (238),

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<sup>7</sup> 'On se souvient que dans notre Passion Dulcitius, devenu fou, est remplacé par Sisinnius' (Delehay 1936: 165).

<sup>8</sup> This blood imagery is later reiterated when a certain Hyrtacum tries to touch Theodote, resulting in an uncontrollable blood flow from his nostrils. Christ is given in the *Passio* as the reason behind this (245).

questioning her guardian's faith and reiterating her religious devotion and miraculous capabilities:

Denique dum araneae eos intexerent et aves stercorarent et mures  
intra eos fetus facerent, ego eos liberavi atque conflans eos in  
pecuniam converti. (239)

Having failed to sway Anastasia, Probus obliges her to marry the pontiff of the capital, 'Ulpianum', who tries to buy Anastasia's affection with 'ornamenta [...] gemmas et fustes, eculeum et argentum' (240). He allows her three days to succumb to his request, threatening to consume her on the fourth. Having resisted and affirming her faith, Anastasia uses these three days to pray, fast, and resist sleep: 'per triduum illud stans in orationem manibus expansis' (241). The numerous allusions to the number three reiterate the biblical nature of this text, being associated with resurrection or completeness.<sup>9</sup> Jonah remained in the whale's stomach for three days (Jonah 1:17); Christ was placed in his tomb during three days and three nights (Luke 24:7); Christ prayed three times to his father before his crucifixion (Matthew 26:36-45); Daniel prayed three times a day (Daniel 6:10); and Peter denied Christ three times (Matthew 26:74-75).

An attempt to lead Anastasia into the bridal chamber leaves Ulpianum blind (242). He implores the mercy of his gods but they refuse him: 'Et, utpote magnus pontifex, coepit inter superstitiones sacrificiorum suorum inquirere utrum possitevadere' (242). Ulpianus dies shortly after, ensuring Anastasia's freedom to return to Theodote (see also Dufourcq 1907: 1, 138). Leucadius returns, attempting to reinstate marriage with a non-obliging Theodote, and so the latter and her children are delivered to Nicétius, the consul of Bithynie. After an exchange of opinions and refusals to succumb, mother and children are thrown into a large inferno, martyred on 2 August at Nicée (243-45). Anastasia is subsequently imprisoned by the prefect of Illyricum, Lucius, who learns of her noble lineage. He demands that she surrender her riches to him and renounce God. She refuses on the grounds that he is already rich and a detailed conversation between the two ensues: 'Lucius dixit "In quo ego pauper sum?" Anastasia respondit: "In fide"' (246).

Theodote provides Anastasia with celestial food for two months despite an attempt on Lucius' behalf to kill her by sealing her cell door (247). This having failed,

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<sup>9</sup> In the original Publius is sent to Persia and shipwrecked three months into his trip. Anastasia is then liberated following his death, having been subjected to three months of torture (226). Theodote has three children and all prisoners arrive on the island of Palmaria after three days at sea. Similarly, there are three sisters in this legend, which could be a representation of the Holy Trinity (see Matthew 28:19 and 2 Corinthians 13:14).

the prefect sends her off on a ship with a band of criminals and a Christian called 'Eutychianus', in the hope that the ship will sink at sea (247-48). Eutychianus publicly affirms his Christian faith and Theodote reappears to steer this ship to safety. Those one hundred and twenty passengers aboard carrying psalms (247) are converted to Christianity by Anastasia. All Christian prisoners arrive on the island of Palmaria and are obliged by Lucius to decide between religion and death, however, not one of the two hundred men and seventy women oblige. Following this, Anastasia's death is described in some detail, in that '*per manus et pedes extensa est et ligata ad palos fixos*' (249). She is burnt alive and buried in a basilica built by Apollonia on '*septimo idus septembris*' (249).

### **JACOBUS DE VORAGINE'S VERSION**

Voragine's account is notably shorter than the original and differs in content, as, by contrast, it recounts only Anastasia's Acts. The other saints are mentioned fleetingly, their inclusion here deemed less important. From the outset, numerous differences can be noted. There is no religious incipit in this text, with Anastasia's legend instead presented directly. The hyperbolic religious introduction and allusions to nature in the original, reduced to a mere definition of Anastasia's name in Voragine, reflects perhaps a greater scriptural emphasis in the former, although both texts were potentially used as sermon material for the clergy and other devoted audience members. The image of fecundity and omnipresence of the soul of Anastasia is arguably reinforced in her burial in Voragine's text.

Anastasia's father is also depicted as noble in this text, similarly called '*praetaxati*' (47), although only Voragine characterizes him as a pagan (48). This heightened distinction between good and evil, Christian and Pagan, does not feature in the original. Anastasia is once more dressed in '*vili habitu*' (48) when visiting the Christian prisoners, however Voragine suggests this is to escape her husband, not to heighten her endurance of poverty. The state of the marriage is given greater focus rather than the specific religious assistance Anastasia gives in the prison episode. Anastasia again avoids any sexual conjugal relations through pretending to be ill and is imprisoned, this time in a '*carceribus*' (48). Voragine mentions neither the guard Comasium nor Publius' move to Persia, specifying that it is instead Anastasia's husband, and not Comasium, who torments her. The death of Publius similarly leads to Anastasia's release from prison in this text.



Chrysogonus is once more Anastasia's religious instructor in Voragine but his link to her is not explained. The connection has apparently been deemed unnecessary. The written correspondence at this point is alluded to, whereas no explanation is given as to how the two communicate without being discovered or to the contents of their letters. Voragine provides no biblical allusions or references to the sentiments of Anastasia regarding her husband or her faith. No written dialogue is expressed between the two saints: the author instead shortens this exchange, giving an abbreviated version of Anastasia's angst. She fears for her death, finding the letters she receives 'consolatorias' (48), and so emphasis in this account is evidently less on Anastasia's emotions and beliefs, and more on events within her legend. The details of the martyrdom of Chrysogonus and references to Zoilus or to the grief experienced by Anastasia and the sisters for their mentor are all omitted from this text. In Voragine, as in the original, Chrysogonus appears at the beginning of the legend whereas Anastasia is involved in its entirety (Delehaye 1936: 151), however the role of Chrysogonus is notably more important in the original.

The three sisters are subsequently introduced in Voragine, again described as Christian sisters enclosed in a room resembling a kitchen. Anastasia is granted a similar position of guardianship over the women, the latter depicted here as her 'ancillas' (48). The sisters are not extensively interrogated in this version, however. Instead, they remain silent. A prefect attempts to seduce them, as in the original, although in Voragine this prefect is not named. He is similarly described as inherently lustful, with allusions also made in this text to the element of madness featuring in the original: 'in amentiam versus' (48). He mistakes the kitchen crockery for the sisters' bodies, is again blackened in appearance, and as a result is taunted by his officers who are under the impression that he is the devil. Voragine does not list the torments endured by the women as explicitly, however, as again this situation does not expressly concern Anastasia. The prefect is similarly tormented in this version, although no specific insults are provided, and Voragine provides a similar allusion to this man's inability to see his correct physical state: 'ne sic se deformem videret' (48).

The prefect's rage, order for the sisters to be disrobed, and belief that 'puellae sibi per artem magicam hoc fecissent' (48) are all reproduced in Voragine, with the sisters' clothes again clinging tightly to their bodies. Their capturer also 'autem prae admiratione ita obdormivit stertens, quod etiam a pulsantibus non poterat excitari' (48), as in the original. Yet Voragine is, to a larger extent, uninterested in what happens to this irrelevant character. The sisters' martyrdom is instead here summarized in a single

phrase: 'Tandem virgines martirio coronantur' (48). None of the original details as to how or by whom are given. Indeed, Sisinnius is not included. The strength of the religious faith of the women is ignored, as are Theodora's activities and martyrdom. Vorgaine merely mentions the celestial aid Theodora offers Anastasia following her martyrdom as she is not directly related to her spiritual development. Similarly, this text does not evoke Anastasia's inquisition before Probus, presumably as this particular exchange relates further to Theodora's legend. The entire episode is thus simply disregarded.

The interest Ulpianum (not named in Voragine) shows in Anastasia's wealth is transferred to a fourth male keeper in this version. This could be due to a mere factual error in transmission, in view of the number of prefects in Anastasia's legend. Thematically, however, Voragine resembles the original, incorporating the same basic situations and themes. Voragine's prefect instead attempts to force Anastasia to sacrifice to the gods, again leading her into the bridal chamber because 'eam amplexari vellet' (48). He similarly loses his sight and his pleas for mercy are dismissed by his gods, ultimately resulting in his death (49). Lucius, who succeeds him, is again not named in Voragine. This constant lack of naming minor characters serves so as not to detract attention away from the female protagonist. The latter prefect also demands that Anastasia should renounce both her wealth and God, to which she again refuses. A similar conversation to the original between prefect and saint takes place, however it appears condensed, once again reducing the impact of Anastasia's voice.

Theodora provides Anastasia with celestial food for two months here also, although the latter's door is not sealed in this text. There is no allusion to any ship, only to the fact that she is sent to an island. Eutychianus is again mentioned (although anonymously here), declaring that 'Christum saltem mihi non auferetis' (49). Theodora does not appear again in this version. The number of Christian prisoners on the island of Palmaria differs from the original, here instead 'ducentis virginibus' of undetermined gender (49). This difference is potentially again through a textual error in transmission. Anastasia dies in a similar fashion, tied to the stake and burnt alive. No specific date is given for her burial in Voragine, presumably due to his attempt to either render this account as brief as possible or make it more universal in scope.

## CONCLUSION

A two-stage hypothetical development of Saint Anastasia's cultus can thus be posited. The individual saints' lives within Anastasia's original legend became separated, giving way to her legend as it stands in Voragine. Despite many similarities to the original Latin, Voragine chose not to include the other saints' acts potentially for the purpose of brevity, to maintain audience interest, and to disregard any facts irrelevant to Anastasia's life. Separate manuscripts recounting the individual legends pertaining to these other saints can be encountered elsewhere (see Delehaye 1936). Regardless of the believed role of both texts as contemporary moralistic sermon material, the scriptural emphasis appears greater in the original Latin, seen for example in its numerous biblical allusions and focus on Anastasia's spiritual assistance. By contrast, Voragine's objective was arguably to provide more of a moral text whilst being economical with the details of the legend.

## CHAPTER 2 - ANASTASIA IN THE LEGENDA AUREA

### INTRODUCTION

This second chapter constitutes a comparative analysis between Saint Anastasia and other, predominantly female saints exhibiting similar characteristics in Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. By assessing the extent to which the 158 saints, as they feature within Voragine's 182 chapters, either resemble or are dissimilar to Saint Anastasia, it will be possible to situate her more adequately within a hagiographic context and examine the extent to which she is unique through the particular circumstances of her legend.<sup>1</sup> I wish to prove that the saints resembling Anastasia fit into an altogether different category of saint: that of the widow. Married saints were a rarity, widows even rarer, with marriage seen as 'an acceptable, although lesser, calling for Christians than perpetual virginity [...] There was virtue in a chaste Christian marriage, but only in virginity – for women and men alike – was there the heroic virtue of the saint' (Woodward 1990: 337-38; see also Winstead 1997: 8-9). Chastity was graded differently, with virgins perhaps perceived as purer than widows, although abstinence granted both groups a closer connection to God (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 2). Kenneth L. Woodward argues that there are 'no examples of happily married saints' (1990: 337), however in this chapter I aim to prove that this is not always the case.

Taking account of groups of paired and collective saints (such as the eleven thousand virgins), and considering them for this purpose as a single unit, only seventeen per cent of this hagiographic collection is made up of female saints. A greater proportion of saints within the *Legenda aurea* are therefore male, despite more critical material being collected on the female saints. Thomas Head argues that the latter are often deprived in literature of their earned sanctity for gender-based reasons (1999). Further subdivision of the *Legenda's* female saints shows that eighteen of the latter are virgins, most of whom endure martyrdom, four are prostitute saints, three are transvestites, and a mere seven are married. Only four cases of widowed saints, Anastasia included, can be thus recorded, and all female. Jane Tibbetts Schulenberg rightly affirms that the Virgin

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<sup>1</sup> There are '182 episodios originales de Vorágine, y ello sin contar los 61 que se añadieron después a los del dominico (véase Macías, 1982, p.15)' (Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua 2001: 29).

could therefore 'be viewed as holding a monopoly over the feminine sanctity of the period' (1978: 126).<sup>2</sup>

The marriages of male and female saints in Voragine predominantly assume a different perspective from that of Anastasia. In the legend of Chrysanthus and Daria (Graesse 1846: ch 157), both virgin martyrs pretend to be married and are thus dissimilar to Anastasia in that their marriage vow is mutual and respectful, although artificial.<sup>3</sup> James the Dismembered (ch 174), Adrian (and others featuring in his legend) (ch 134), Gordianus (ch 74), and Germain (ch 107) experience happier marriages than Anastasia, and Saturninus, Perpetua, Felicity (ch 173), and Hilary (ch 17) enjoy marriages blessed with children, whereas Anastasia remains childless.

Numerous contextual similarities can also be drawn between Anastasia and other saints. Silvester (ch 12) is imprisoned by a prefect and ordered to sacrifice to his Gods, paralleling Anastasia's enclosure by her prefect. John the Apostle and Evangelist (ch 9), a virgin (although unmarried, and so dissimilar to Anastasia in this respect), relates to Anastasia through his eagerness to distribute his riches amongst the poor. This is similarly the case for Ambrose (ch 57), Gervasius and Protasius (ch 85), and Praxedes (ch 95), and those saints in the legend of the seven sleepers (ch 101). Paul the apostle (ch 90) was tortured and blinded, however he overcomes this, unlike the prefect in Anastasia's legend, whose blindness remains uncured. A saint virtuous enough to overcome a strong disability forms a contrast with a prefect so infused with sin that he cannot escape it. Christina (ch 98) demonstrates how blindness (see Chapter 5) relates to an inability to see the world correctly and understand the true path to attain unity with God.<sup>4</sup>

When, in a fury at her continued recital of the true word, the judge insists that her tongue wasn't cut short enough the first time, and orders the torturers to get the rest of it, he clearly misses the point. St. Christine spits the root of her tongue into his face, blinding him, demonstrating that he was blind already, unable to see the truth of women's speech, as a route to the true path. (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 10)

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<sup>2</sup> Brigitte Cazelles notes that the *Life of Saint Paula* is preserved in a single manuscript in her particular textual corpus, which she interprets as a sign that married women were probably not as popular as unmarried heroines (1991a: 36).

<sup>3</sup> All named saints in this chapter are taken from Graesse 1846.

<sup>4</sup> Harriet Goldberg gives a reference to the story of the Pythagorean Virgin who bit off her tongue and spat it into the face of a tyrant (1977: 319).

Finally, and most importantly, an in-depth examination is required of the collection of saintly widows featuring alongside Anastasia.

Susanna Elm defines the importance of the medieval widow as decreasing steadily from the middle of the third century, with increasing importance being placed on the virgin (1994: 172). This may in part explain the appearance of so few widows in the *Legenda aurea*. The concept of medieval marriage was problematic: women who eschewed it could wield considerable power and independence over men, whilst still controlling their own bodies (Callahan 1999: 252). Widows, whilst perceived as powerful, were also expected to be altars of God, their prayers and continence imitated by the congregation as a whole (Elm 1994: 168). The status of the widow is said to relate back to Jerome, one of Anastasia's ardent worshippers. In the *Revelationes* or visions of St. Birgitta of Sweden (c. 1302-73), for example, Jerome is praised in two distinct contexts as a 'lover of widows', *amator iuduarum* (Whatley, Thompson, & Upchurch 2004: 108).

The sword is double-edged, as to remain chaste in wedlock proved difficult, especially when the female was expected to procreate. Saints could, however, spiritually redeem their virginity with an extensive period of abstinence and self-suffering after the bearing of their final child. Sarah Salih argues that virginity was perceived as a moral, physical, and spiritual state, with one's gender defined more by societal role and sexual activity than genital anatomy (1999: 99-106). Female saints aimed, therefore, to emulate the actions of both virgin and mother, in imitating Mary, the perfect woman (Stuart 1996: 20).

## PAULA

Only three other female saints, all widows, can thus be described as possessing closely-relating elements in their legends to the *passio* of Anastasia. The first of these to appear in Voragine's compilation is Paula, bearing both close parallels to and important differences from Anastasia. Paula was born in 347 and died at Bethlehem in 404. Widowed in 379, she ultimately became a model for all Christian widows. Paula is, like Anastasia, from high Roman nobility, in that she is a 'nobilissima matrona Romanorum' (Graesse 1846: 135).<sup>5</sup> She is also married and later widowed. She is unlike Anastasia, however, in that she is a mother of five children. Paula's family is described in greater detail than that of Anastasia. The legend focuses, for example, on the holiness

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<sup>5</sup> All textual references made to the legends of the four saintly widows are taken from Graesse 1846 and will henceforth be referred to by page number only.

of Paula's daughter, Eustochium, who is described as a precious addition to the Church (136). Her saintly character parallels that of her mother. Aubrey Stewart describes them both as 'ladies of noble birth, [who,] renouncing the pleasures of society, devoted their lives to religious observances, and their wealth to good works (1885: III). The husband of Paula's other daughter, Paulina, is also decent and holy, referred to in similar terms used to describe Paula's own husband. This likeliness is further reinforced in the similarity of the nouns 'Paula' and 'Paulina'.

Paula's decision not to conceive any more children after her son Toxocius emphasizes the element of chastity so prevalent in Anastasia's legend. Her son's very name, in 'Toxocius, post quem parere desiit, ut intelligeres eam non diu servire voluisse officio conjugali' (136), suggests an unwanted and toxic poison. Paula's chastity is made more explicit than that of Anastasia, however. Whereas Paula vows to remain chaste having become a mother, Anastasia's task is simpler, her virginity remaining intact throughout her *passio*. Paula is a devoted mother, the mutual love between her and her children reinforced through an array of phrases, such as 'parvus Toxocius supplices manus tendebat in littore' and 'liberis prosequentibus et clementissimam matrem vincere cupientibus' (136). Paula understands, however, that despite her overwhelming maternal love, she must sacrifice this to give herself to God:

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. (136)

Celibacy enabling union with God involved 'turning one's back on one's spouse, denying one's children, and living in the world as if one were dead to the world' (Heffernan 1988: 233). The pain Paula suffers at this point, comparable to something being physically ripped from her body, added to her grief for the death of her husband – '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' (136) – is reminiscent both of Saint Elizabeth (as we shall see later) and that of Christ. The literal allusion to Paula's entrails being removed from her is identifiable to the process of childbirth. Ironically, the pain in bringing a child into the world is identical to that felt upon losing it. The immensity of Paula's emotional pain is described as almost enducing her own death: 'In luctu mitis erat et suorum mortibus frangebatur maxime liberorum, nam et viri et filiorum dormitione saepe periclitata est' (139). This episode of Paula's life

is a test, one required of her to become a saint. The harder the challenge, the more worthy she is of the title. Such an endurance test is not set for Anastasia.

Paula's reaction to the death of her husband is ambiguous, however. Her initial shock and pain are soon replaced by a near craving for his death, knowing that this permits her a closer relationship to her spiritual husband, Christ. It is here that the topos of the *sponsa Christi*, or bride of Christ, appears. The saintly virgin can only ever be truly married to religion. A mortal husband proved inevitably inferior to the saint's celestial lover, Christ. Despite Anastasia's sincere religious dedication, such a desire for the death of her husband is never mentioned. The husbands of the two saints differ, however. Anastasia's husband, unlike that of Paula, is a pagan, who criticises rather than supports her. Anastasia thought little of him and does not grieve for his death. Her only emotion appears in the letters of woe she sends Saint Chrysogonus. A clear disparity is presented between the two legends. Paula's role in her *vita* is more active, her voice also louder.

The suggestion arising in all legends dealing with the virgin martyrs appears to be that full devotion to the love of God required a renunciation of their mortal ties. Their status as *sponsae Christi* granted them an authority lost to married women (Roberts 1999: 52). The Old Testament's Song of Songs and Psalm 44, or wedding song, use bridal imagery to express union with God (Leclercq 1984: 269). The Latin in the former states 'dilectus meus mihi et ego illi' – 'My beloved is mine and I am his (Song of Songs 2:16)' (Robertson 1989: 443). Women saints

formed part of a "sacred couple" and acquired rights and privileges deriving from their status as faithful betrothed or spouse of Christ. Uitti finds the basis of this special coupling to God and woman in the role attributed by the Scripture to women in the two fundamental mysteries of Christian faith – the Incarnation and the Resurrection. Mary is spouse and mother of God, as well as his handmaiden and daughter; and the good news of Christ's resurrection is revealed first to the women at the tomb. The erotic nature of the vocabulary used to describe this sacred coupling in the vernacular texts also reflected the language of the marriage symbolism of the Song of Songs. (Cazelles 1991b: 12)

Although the marriages of Paula and Anastasia are permissible in celestial terms, Elizabeth Stuart argues that the virgin's autonomy cannot be complete, for the virginal



*sponsa Christi* 'rejects marriage to a human husband in order to become the bride of Christ; one form of marriage is exchanged for another. One form of submissiveness to men is exchanged for another which demands renunciation, pain and death' (1996: 16).

Paula distributes her treasures amongst the poor, being 'nobilis genere, sed multo nobilior sanctitate, potens quondam divitiis, sed nunc Christi paupertate insignior' (135). Her level of holiness increases after her birth through her charitable acts, suggesting that one's sanctity is not necessarily something duly accorded at birth. It must also be proven. Her nobility is emphasized through an insistant use of comparative and superlative terms:

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. (135)

She is referred to as being poorer than the poorest of her companions, whereas paradoxically, her poverty is paralleled with treasure of immeasurable worth. She is a priceless jewel amongst gems, a topos which arises incessantly amongst the saints. This juxtaposition of two extremes underlines her sanctity, showing her to lower herself to such an extent that, paradoxically, she achieves a more elevated status than anyone. A similar effect is achieved through a persistent comparison of opposites:

Et 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  
contemptores. (135-36)

This description of bad over good, demonstrative of purity triumphing over evil, compares Paula to other mortals, further highlighting her elevated status. Less emphasis is placed upon the level of Anastasia's poverty, whose legend incorporates none of the above literary techniques to underline her saintly status. Her legend is instead modest regarding any flattery to her humility.

The nobility of Paula's family members and their friends, for example with the 'proconsul Palaestinae, qui familiam ejus optime noverat' (136), is set against Paula's humility in another arrangement of literary contrasts. She expressly opts for a 'humilem cellulam' (136) during her stay at the proconsul of Palestine, despite the servants there preparing one of the finest of rooms for her in which to sleep. Having desired poverty to

such an extent, she is now unable to accept any luxuries. The depth of Paula's charity is emphasized by her desire to leave no money behind, not even to her own daughter, in a desperate bid for the needy to benefit from her wealth (138). A conversation between Paula and a 'hominum vile', however, draws a parallel between the attitudes of Anastasia and Paula regarding the distribution of their respective wealth. Both are similarly questioned by an outside source as to why they distribute their wealth amongst the poor, and both justify that this is to respect God's will (138). Possessions owned by widows in the form of land, property, money, or valuable goods, were inextricably linked with her body. This meant that, customarily, when handed over to a male, the widow was automatically his possession, together with her lands and valuables (Hayward 1999: 223). Monika Otter argues that this demonstrates 'a close thematic and symbolic association in twelfth-century romance between the queen's chastity, the queen's fertility, the queen's power, and the prosperity of the land' (1999: 63). The land flourishes and is placed under an outsider's control, as are, equally, the female and her body.

Paula's religious actions are more prominent than those of Anastasia, granting the former a closer physical and spiritual relationship to Christ:

Prostrataque 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. (137)

Not only does Paula physically imitate Christ on the cross, in an attempt to be closer to him, she also licks the stone in the Cave of Resurrection, where his body had lain. This furnishes an animalistic image, comparable to a parent protectively licking its young, or to mammals licking each other's wounds to aid the healing process. An identical notion of nature and nurture arises here. Paula will only understand Christ's suffering if she tries to taste the blood taken from him. This ties in to the Jewish belief that the soul is present in the blood, suggesting that Paula is figuratively ingesting the soul of Christ: an image which is, in part, sexualized. A similar process occurs during communion.

Paula is faithful to her religion with 'tanto ardore' (136), such powerful language in itself proving Paula worthy of Christ. The very extent of her grief for Christ is described in forceful terms, again relating back to nature: 'Quid ibi lacrimarum, quantum gemituum, quid doloris effuderit, testis est cuncta Jherosolima, testis est ipse dominus, quem rogabat' (137). This is reinforced through her various good deeds

throughout her life, the most prominent being to found two monasteries in Rome (Herbermann 1913: XI, 583). No such devoted actions occur in Anastasia's *passio*, with the language used to describe her faith less passionate. Anastasia's main demonstration of worth arises in the form of resistance to torture and rape and in her discourse in refusing to sacrifice to the gods. No physical, deliberate acts bringing her closer to Christ are included.

The extent of Paula's religious devotion grants her the ability to experience religious visions, such as a flashback to the beginning of the Christian faith, when Herod slew innocent children and Joseph and Mary searched for somewhere to give birth to Christ:

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 [...]. (137)

Yet another difference arises between the two female saints when Anastasia, conversely, experiences no such visions. Paula refers to 'domini mei' (137), reminiscent of Anastasia speaking of God with the first person possessive pronoun and of Elizabeth's 'interpretatur: Deus meus cognovit' (752). Collectively, these women feel so closely tied to God that they put a possessive claim on him. However, Anastasia does not debase herself next to God's greatness as does Paula: 'et ego misera et peccatrix digna sum iudicata deosculari praesepe, in quo dominus parvulus vagiit' (137). Saints frequently recognized themselves as sinners, whereas Anastasia does not. She appropriates no negative adjectives or nouns in her speech to refer back to herself.

Both Paula and Anastasia are, to a certain extent, referred to as being physically unrecognizable through assuming some type of voluntary disguise. Anastasia puts on a man's cloak to go unrecognized when visiting the prisoners' cells. The transvestite saints exhibit similar elements of cross-dressing, as with Saint Pelagia, a dancer converted by Bishop Nonnus of Edessa: 'After being baptized and giving away her wealth she travelled to Jerusalem where she assumed male clothing and lived the rest of her life as a male hermit, "Pelagius the beardless monk"' (Stuart 1996: 78). With Paula, however, this is further emphasized, as she undergoes such voluntarily self-debasement that she is a shadow of her former self: 'Tanta se humilitate dejecit, ut qui eam vidisset et pro celebritate nominis videre gestiisset, ipsam esse non crederet' (137). Her originally noble appearance has been completely transformed so that she may not be

accorded any special status. This further reinforces the distinction between Paula and those around her, as it does between Anastasia and other mortals.

The reasoning behind Paula's voluntary punishment is suggestive of penance, as opposed to the general desire Anastasia experiences for sanctity. Paula suffers extreme illness whilst consistently rejecting any comforts offered to her, sleeping on the hardest of surfaces, weeping as if repenting for serious sins, and doing everything possible to please Christ. Anastasia sleeps in a cell and fasts for months only because this decision has been imposed upon her. Paula instead refers to past sins of which she must repent, indicative of her life beforehand:

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  
linteamina et serica pretiosissima asperitate cilicii commutanda sunt,  
quae viro et saeculo placui, nunc Christo placere desidero. (137-38)

The reference to her wearing rouges, whiteners, and mascaras relates her back to a materialistic Eve, both temptress and sinner. She purposefully enhanced her appearance to please men. References to previous enjoyment are evidently sexual, especially combined with her affirmation that she did everything to please her husband and now wants to do the same for Christ.<sup>6</sup> The pleasure derived from being a good wife and mother is transferred to an express desire to please Christ, sexualizing religion. The series of contrasting terms within this discourse once more highlights the extent of Paula's repentance and desire to be holy, absent from the legend of Anastasia. Paula's chastity, prominent in 'Si inter tales tantasque virtutes castitatem in illa voluero praedicare [...]' (138), contrasts with her previous life. Having fallen so far, she must go to the opposite extreme to recover her purity, as is the case with Mary of Egypt (Graesse 1846: ch 56). No such lamenting and ascetic behaviour is alluded to in Anastasia's *passio*. The two characters are evidently different. Anastasia is chaste throughout her legend and needs not atone for previous sins.

Paula's *vita* juxtaposes the notion of food with that of temptation of the flesh, a connection frequently made in medieval hagiography:

Jurgantes inter se sermone lenissimo foederabat, lascivientem  
adolescentularum carnem crebris et duplicatis frangebat jejuniis,

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<sup>6</sup> See also Voragine's Legend of Pelagia, regarding Nonnus' treatment of Pelagia, which presents a similar situation (Graesse 1846: ch 145).

malens eas stomachum dolere quam mentem, dicens munditiam  
corporis atque vestium animae esse immunditiam [...]. (138-39)

Paula's remedy for youths suffering from sexual urges was to impose a fast in both a sexual and nutritional sense, with food deprivation thought to eliminate carnal temptation (see Chapter 5). Anastasia is also deprived of food, this time on two separate occasions (albeit involuntarily), which assists her in becoming a saint. No reference is made to Anastasia's fasting being specifically undertaken to eliminate carnal temptation, however. Paula is more lenient to others than she allows herself to be, allowing them to eat meat whereas she forbids herself even to drink wine to alleviate her fever. Anastasia instead casts herself on an identical level to those poorer than her, despite her noble lineage. Paula, by contrast, as with Elizabeth of Hungary (as we shall see later), goes to extremes to ensure that she is statutorily lower than the poorest individual imaginable. She does not simply want to be considered as equal, but completely inferior, attempting perhaps to redeem her holiness following her fallen state.

Although Paula is described as having handmaidens like Anastasia, she wants to be the 'ancillarum ultimam' (137), or the lowest of all the maidservants. The guardian angel watching over and accompanying her, in 'ipsumque proprium angelum ejus' (135), is absent from Anastasia's legend. The latter has instead a spiritual advisor, Saint Chrysogonus, whose role is similarly one of guidance, specifically through the written form. He is, however, both human and saintly, like Anastasia. The notion of an angel is more spiritual and mysterious, associated with a non-human presence. Paula is also visually depicted as frequently being surrounded by many other virgins (137), drawing a parallel with Anastasia's *passio*, whereby the latter and two hundred other virgins are tortured on the island of Palmarias. Female companionship was a common occurrence within the life of a saintly virgin. The latter were often encountered in a choir and women frequently lived together (Elm 1994: 121). Through an explicit reference to each saint being surrounded or physically encircled by virgins, the virginity of the saints themselves is implicitly emphasized. Women were thought to be assisted in discovering their true sense of courage through *imitatio* and emulation of the actions of other virgins. Indeed, Paula dismisses the commonly accepted stereotypes of her supposedly weaker sex, accumulating strength in living with maidens and her daughter amongst thousands of monks (Stewart 1885: 16). Anastasia is also constantly surrounded by other women at varying points in her legend, namely her three serving maids, Saint Theodota, the two hundred virgins in Palmarias, and Saint Apollonia. All of these female figures enable her to draw on her inner strength, merely through their presence in the legend.

Paula's death occurs differently from that of Anastasia. Having suffered no temptation of the flesh or being forced to endure specific torments, such was customary for the virgin martyrs, Paula dies of natural causes. Anastasia is instead murdered, again as was customary for the virgin martyrs. This discrepancy between the two underlines the entire problem in trying to relate Paula to Anastasia. Anastasia's suffering is forced upon her, that of Paula voluntary. Hence the predominant difference between them: Paula's legend is a *vita*, that of Anastasia a *passio*. Paula dies from a fever, with a final reiteration as to her suffering in losing her family. Anastasia's sentiments regarding the separation from her family are not alluded to upon her death as she again remains voiceless. Anastasia's public burning at the stake is thus perhaps more befitting, given her endurance of numerous torturous ordeals. Paula dies holding the Holy 'Scripturas' (139) next to her heart, symbolising her celestial spiritual connection. No such connection is made as explicit in the *passio* of Anastasia. Paula's memorial is also described as public and glorious: whereas it is not specified as to whether anyone pays their last respects to Anastasia following her death, many attend Paula's funeral believing her to be worthy of awe, in 'Tota ad funus ejus Palaestinarum urbium turba convenit' (140). This again supports the view that Paula is a more physically prominent and public saint than Anastasia.

Finally, a point in relation to narration should also be noted, evident from the incipit of Paula's legend. Here 'beatus Hieronymus [Saint Jerome]' (135) is expressly said to be recounting her legend. The name of Saint Jerome is inextricably linked to Paula, seen in the numerous 'letters of St. Jerome, where they are inseparable from that of Paula' (Herbermann 1913: XI, 582-83; see also Lawless 2003: 26). This third person is included in the unfolding events: 'Vult lector breviter ejus scire virtutes' (135). The narrator confirms that he will outline Paula's virtues for the audience, indicating his awareness that this intradiegetic *vita* is read by an outside source, which enhances the tale-like element of Paula's legend. The reader is even asked to pass judgement on Paula's noble status: 'Quid ergo referam amplae et nobilis domus et quondam opulentissimae omnes paene divitias in pauperes erogatas?' (136). Anastasia's legend is instead extradiegetic, with no reference made to an outside reader or narrator. Paula also explicitly observes the behaviour of other holy characters, namely that of the 'episcopi Antioceni et Epiphanii' (136), and tries implicitly to model her behaviour on theirs. The same cannot be said for Anastasia. The role of Saint Chrysogonus, the main holy man mentioned, is to guide Anastasia rather than to act as a saintly paradigm on which Anastasia can model herself. From the perspective of independence, therefore, Anastasia

is arguably the stronger of the two due to her awareness of what is expected of her from the beginning.

## ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY

The next saintly widow chronologically in Voragine's collection is Elizabeth of Hungary. Also known as Elizabeth of Thuringia, she is a patron saint of widows, similarly to Anastasia (Herbermann 1913: v, 389). Born in 1207 (and so considerably later than the other widows), she was the daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary and wife of Landgrave of Thuringia. Her life was dedicated to charitable acts before her death in 1231 and she is today commonly pictured with a basket of roses (McNamer 1996: 10-11). From an initial literary perspective her *vita* resembles the legend of Anastasia in that neither rely on an external narrator to recount their legend. Elizabeth's name itself is defined in meaning in the incipit of her legend as 'Deus meus cognovit' (752). Similarly to Paula, the emphatic use of the word 'God' alongside the first person pronoun immediately establishes Elizabeth's close relationship with God. Although each widow experiences such a close celestial tie, the latter is more enhanced in Elizabeth's case, as for example in 'Deus eam cognovit, id est, suo bene placito observavit et approbavit vel cognovit' (752).

Whereas Anastasia and Paula are of noble birth, Elizabeth is placed at a higher, royal level, as an 'illustris Ungariae regis filia, genere nobilis, sed fide ac religione nobilior stirpem tam nobilem nobilitavit exemplis, illustravit miraculis et decoravit gratia sanctitatis' (753). This bears a striking similarity to Paula in that their noble beginnings are accentuated by their faith, although again no such information is made as explicit with Anastasia. Elizabeth's nobility is reinforced by her position as princess, her royal status placing her above that of both Paula and Anastasia. Elizabeth is defined in similar terms to Anastasia regarding her spiritual status, however. Anastasia's name means to be raised on high, and God has elevated Elizabeth above all things natural: 'Quam auctor naturae supra naturam quodammodo extulit' (753).

Elizabeth's childhood is greatly detailed, with numerous references to the strength of her faith at a young age. As a young child, Elizabeth eschews all forms of recreation, choosing fervent prayer and attending church in favour of accepted childhood pastimes. She does this to the extent of extreme asceticism, punishing herself for missing a single prayer. Such early dedication to religion in the life of Anastasia is not mentioned, presumably deemed unnecessary. Emphasis on Elizabeth's inherent love of

religion merely accentuates her holiness. As with Paula, Elizabeth's emotions are highlighted, both characters forming a contrast with Anastasia. Elizabeth's tears of joy are paralleled by numerous references to her face which is radiant with wonder when praying and experiencing visions. This accentuates her close relationship to the divine (754). Both Paula and Elizabeth refer to themselves either as miserable or wretched, as proof of their awareness of their supposed lowly status. Yet this is not the case for Anastasia.

Both Elizabeth and Paula exhibit instances of saintly prostration, here seen in Elizabeth kneeling or lying down on the church floor (753). The desire for *imitatio Christi* is also visible to a greater extent in both legends, when for Elizabeth, 'ex hoc obedientiae perciperet meritum et domini salvatoris, qui factus est obediens usque ad mortem' (755). *Imitatio Christi* 'consisted in the repetition of the first and universally meaningful Passion, for through his sacrifice, the martyr not only achieved eternal life but strengthened the faith of his community' (Wyatt 1983: 5). Saints should not only die for Christ but be like him as well (Woodward 1990: 53). Similar instances of such physical demonstrations, heightening the saint's ability to identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ, are not as prevalent with Anastasia. Just as Paula models herself on exterior sources, Elizabeth is said here to model herself on the Virgin Mother, carrying a child, lamb and candle up to the altar in the church (755). This instance of *imitatio Mariae* rather than *Christi* at this point reinforces instead the notion of female spiritual emulation (Scott 1999). The image of Christ as a lamb (the passion of Christ) features prominently within both psalms and prayer, as recognized by the traditional phrase 'ecce Agnus dei'. Again, no such paradigms of virtue are made as explicit in Anastasia's *passio*.

Just as Anastasia wears humble clothes, the same applies to Elizabeth during her attendance of liturgical services, in 'monilia deponeret et caetera capitis ornamenta in imo locaret' (754) and 'in rogationibus semper processionem nudis pedibus' (755). Humble dress is a concrete sign of female chastity, always evident in the soul and to the physical eyes (Coon 1997: 37). Elizabeth wants to be seen without her wealth, similarly to Anastasia, to increase her reverence to God. The type of clothes worn by Elizabeth and Anastasia are virtually identical, described in Elizabeth's *vita* as: 'religiosum habitum induit, vestes scilicet grisias humiles et abjectas' (760). Elizabeth also undergoes a disguise, her poor clothing meaning that she is unrecognizable as a princess (760). The use of superlatives incorporated in Elizabeth's *vita*, for much the same effect as the comparatives used to describe Paula, draws attention to Elizabeth's religious



devotion: 'Quantae autem fuerit devotionis et humiliationis ad Deum, quantae austeritatis et abstinence ad se ipsam, quantae largitatis et misericordiae ad pauperes' (754). Such exaggeration is again not included in Anastasia's legend. Elizabeth has here assumed the appearance of a man (see also Chapter 5) and achieved the purest of states of mind (one free from desire). Transformation into a 'manly woman' would enable the virgin to achieve true equality with her male counterparts, as well as being perceived as an ideal, complete human being. Women are identified as 'male' through *askēsis* and exhibit this through their wearing of a 'pauper's dress' (Elm 1994: IX & 122).<sup>7</sup>

As with Anastasia and Paula, Elizabeth is unafraid to exhibit her humility as she too willingly takes part in menial tasks normally deemed fit only for the serving maids. She conducts such work with 'devotione nimia' (755), demonstrating clear enjoyment in participation of a task recognized as menial. She sits with poor women to hear a church sermon so as to be identifiable with them. Just as Anastasia visits the Christian prisoners, no social divide exists between them. In Elizabeth's *vita*, there is a clear inversion of the roles of princess and serving lady:

Tanta se humilitati deprimebat, ut nullatenus pateretur, quod ancillae  
eam dominam appellarent, sed singulari tantum ad eam numero  
loquerentur, eo modo scilicet, quo inferioribus loqui solemus. (761)

However, Elizabeth deliberately puts herself in an inferior position to that of her serving maids, whereas Anastasia is cast on the same level as hers. Curiously, both incidents occur in a kitchen environment. Reference is made to Elizabeth washing kitchen implements and Anastasia's serving maids are enclosed in a kitchen. This theme appears rarely in hagiographic texts: the domestic sphere of the kitchen seems to draw a combined source of strength from the women within it, granting them more spiritual power through an area traditionally associated with the feminine, supposedly subordinate, gender. Any social distinction is disregarded in this communal environment (see also Elm 1994: 16-17). Anastasia is identically categorized with her serving maids, required to suffer similar forms of punishment

Elizabeth takes her lowly status to an extreme, debasing herself by asking her servants to flog her and granting them power over her in what could be argued an attempt at satisfying her carnal desires. An important distinction between the legends arises, however, when Elizabeth is ordered to be separated from her female companions so that she may further devote herself to God (760). In contrast, Anastasia is never

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<sup>7</sup> See also Voragine's legends of the transvestite saints: Marina (Graesse 1846: ch 84), Pelagia (ch 150), and Margaret (ch 151).

ordered to go on her way alone. She is instead accompanied by others each time she is tortured. The public expectation of virgins was that they 'should not leave the house under some frivolous pretence, but may do so to perform works of charity'. If obliged to leave the house, this could only be done with the virgin's greatest diligence, and only when joined by a female companion, at a suitable moment in time (Elm 1994: 116 & 21).

Elizabeth chooses to shelter in a place 'ubi porci jacuerant' (758), incorporating the animalistic imagery previously seen with Paula and further reinforcing the low level on which Elizabeth believes she belongs. This act grants the servants power again over Elizabeth, despite the latter being financially richer. Spatially, she is often described as being lower, lying on the ground of the church, sleeping lower than bed level on mats on the floor, and she would be crouched or lying during her flogging (755). Paradoxically, a low mortal level grants her the most elevated of spiritual ones. Elizabeth remains positive and virtuous, even when physically pushed down to the level she originally aimed for, by others who are not so persuaded by her kindness (759). Elizabeth is pushed down into the mud below her, inciting further instances of pig imagery, although she appears content with this association. This is an unusual phenomenon, one not expressed in Anastasia's *passio*.

Regarding the good deeds of each saint, the charitable acts of Elizabeth are seen as similar to Anastasia's assistance to the Christian prisoners:

Ipsa namque nudos vestiebat, siquidem vestimenta impendebat nudis  
peregrinorum et pauperum corporibus sepeliendis et pueris  
baptizandis, quos quidem pueros saepe de sacro fonte levabat et  
propriis manibus eorum vestimenta suebat, ut compaternitate contracta  
iis liberior subveniret. (756-57)

Both saints carry out similar physical acts of kindness, donate their wealth to the poor, and displace themselves a considerable distance to help others. They equally believed it better to 'cum pauperibus malens in paupertate degere, quam divitiis multis cum divitibus abundare' (760). Elizabeth's good deeds are arguably, however, greater in magnitude. Although such extensive charity may be implied in Anastasia's *passio*, it is not specified. Elizabeth persuades numerous individuals throughout her *vita* to convert to religion, as with a young lady featuring in the legend, 'Radegundis' (763), arguing that their lascivious desires will inevitably lead to their downfall. Anastasia is not described as wielding such power over others, nor does she convert those around her. Due to the sheer number of Elizabeth's charitable acts those she helps call her 'matrem'

(757), reminiscent of a Virgin Mother figure. Anastasia is not seen in this sort of capacity.

Elizabeth's good deeds are also, in contrast to those of Anastasia, often related to miracles. For example, in serving beer to the thirsty poor, the jug she uses never becomes empty, instead miraculously replenishing itself (757). This is reminiscent of the wedding feast at Cana (John 2:1-11), in which Christ miraculously changes water into wine. This allusion demonstrates more of a biblical emphasis in Elizabeth's *vita*. The latter also prays so ardently for someone in the hope of redeeming their spirit that she sets them alight (762). Being physically capable of setting another on fire is a rarity in this hagiographic collection. Even after Elizabeth's death, these miracles continue, with oil flowing miraculously from the monument in which her body is buried (765). In contrast, Anastasia herself is set alight, although evidently the power of faith and prayer connects these incidents in the two saints' lives. Elizabeth and Paula are described as having miraculous visions (761), however, whereas Anastasia's failure to suffer at the hands of her aggressors is arguably a miracle, she performs no such public act of marvel. This may be explained by the fact that before the tenth century, popular saints such as Anastasia were simply regarded as saints due to popular opinion. Later saints, such as Elizabeth in the thirteenth century, were generally required to prove themselves to a stronger degree, however, hence the inclusion of dozens of miracles justifying their saintly abilities.

Elizabeth's marriage in 1221 was described as happy and fulfilling with the couple being 'clearly devoted to each other' (Herbermann 1913: v, 389). Elizabeth's husband, just as that of Paula, is more understanding than that of Anastasia. The landgrave asks her not to torment herself with excessive prayer out of care and worry for her. His understanding of Elizabeth's maid customarily waking her up during the night for prayer shows his acknowledgment of the necessity of these religious practices. He even embraces these (754). Their marriage is exemplary, with Elizabeth's husband consenting to her good works: '*salvo jure matrimonii et consentiente marito, obedientiae adeo se subjectit*' (755). His own encouragement and religious faith are increased through their marriage:

Inter haec laudanda est devotio viri sui, qui licet negotiis multis esset  
implicitus, in Dei tamen obsequio erat devotus et quia ipse talibus  
personaliter intendere non valebat, uxori suae potestatem concesserat  
agendi omnia, quae Dei honorem respicerent et animae suae salutem  
afferrent. (758)

Husband and wife are devoted to God and desire their respective souls to be purified. Anastasia's marriage furnishes a completely different scenario. Whereas the landgrave is described as 'gravius princeps fidelis, devotus et inclutus fide integra et devotione sincera Deo reddidit spiritum' (758), Publius is instead from the outset completely against anything religious in which Anastasia shows an interest. Elizabeth's husband offers her money to keep her alive, whereas paradoxically, the men in Anastasia's life are concerned only with taking her wealth. Both saints use money which would have benefitted their marriage, either in the form of a dowry for Elizabeth, or which would have gone directly to Anastasia's husband, to benefit the poor and sick. Elizabeth also demonstrates greater influence over her husband. The two legends are thus very different. The attitude of Elizabeth towards her children is even more extreme than that of Paula. The only love Elizabeth is able to give must, in her view, be reserved for God alone (760), hence why she treats her children as if they were mere acquaintances.

Elizabeth and Anastasia hold a similar relationship with their respective husbands regarding their attitude to conjugal union, however. Both saints avoid their husbands' beds and neither sleep through the night, in an ultimate bid to avoid having sex. Anastasia feigns illness to do this whereas Elizabeth engages in prayer instead with her other husband, Christ. The phrase, 'cumque somni interpellaret necessitas, super strata tapetia dormiebat, sed cum maritus abesset, cum sponso coelesti in orationibus pernoctabat' (756), through such deliberate juxtaposition of Elizabeth's heavenly husband with her mortal one, insinuates her unfaithfulness to her husband with Christ. In waiting until her husband sleeps to pray in secret to Christ her adoration for the spiritual outweighs her love for the mortal. Both Elizabeth and Anastasia thus offer and devote themselves completely to God. However, only Elizabeth bids farewell to her spouse properly, alongside the remains of his bones (759). A husband's death usually permitted the woman to continue or intensify a penitential state commenced a considerable time beforehand (Lawless 2003: 37). Anastasia, in contrast, does not ask to see her husband's remains. No love has been lost between them, with this chapter of her life closing the moment he passes away.

The image of Christ inviting Elizabeth into an eternal world (764) heightens the image of him as her husband. He has prepared the bridal home and is providing for Elizabeth in a spiritual sense. Elizabeth herself makes particular reference to the 'coelestes nuptias' (764) awaiting her following her death. The recurring topos of the *sponsa Christi* is at its most explicit in Elizabeth's legend: she refers to her 'coelesti

sponso' (754), reminiscent of Paula's words. This extended image of the *sponsa Christi* is not found with Anastasia. The two husbands are directly compared in one of Elizabeth's speeches, in which she declares that despite her love for both, her love for Christ is superior to her love for her husband: 'tu scis, domine, quia, licet ipsum te amantem multum amaverim, tamen ob tui amorem ejus praesentia carui et in sanctae terrae tuae subsidium destinavi' (759). Woodward confirms that the church has honoured the principle that love of God should take precedence over the love of a spouse for centuries (1990: 345).

A type of hierarchy of Elizabeth's states of life is provided, indicating the extent to which she values marriage:

Ipsa namque fuit primo in statu virginali, secundo in statu conjugali,  
tertio in statu viduali, quarto in statu activo, quinto in statu  
contemplativo, sexto in statu religioso et nunc septimo est in statu  
glorioso. (752)

Although this hierarchical prioritization is only implied, logically, as virginity is cited first, it is presumably considered the most important, closely followed by marriage, and thirdly widowhood. This in turn shows that virginity was regarded as a purer state than widowhood. The life of a widow was potentially more difficult to lead than that of a virgin, as the latter was seen to have always possessed the good, whereas the former had to find it solitarily, having faced temptation (Carlson & Weisl 1999: 1). None of the other widows are defined as being so holy at such an early stage in their *vita*. 'At ubi gradum virginalem prudenter rexit et innocenter percurrit' (754) emphasizes the extent to which Elizabeth values virginity as a virtue. She marries only to obey her father. The phrasing of her justification for getting married, having sexual intercourse and bearing children, is such that it excuses her from any preconceived notion that conjugal union is unacceptable:

Consensit igitur licet invita in copulam conjugalem, non ut libidini  
consentiret, sed ne patris praeceptum contemneret et ut filios  
educandos ad Dei servitium procrearet. (754)

Emphasizing her lack of enjoyment highlights her desire to remain virginal combined with her vow to practice continence, should she live longer than her husband (754). Her marriage is even considered here as a type of religious instruction to others, a model demonstrating how to live in marriage without sin. Anastasia's marriage is never presented in this manner.

In terms of torture, Elizabeth's sufferings are similar to those of Paula in that they are incurred voluntarily. Decisions to conduct excessive prayer, self-flagellation, and extreme fasting are her own. By fasting, for example, 'the Christian joined with Christ, who, in the garden and on the cross, kept the rule of abstinence that Adam had violated in paradise and became himself sacrificial food, propitiating God and saving sinners' (Walker Bynum 1987: 35). Elizabeth is punished for missing a church service and not being sufficiently religious. Paradoxically, Anastasia is tormented due to her excessive religious desires, the prefects instead attempting to dissuade her from obeying her faith. Elizabeth's food intake is rationed to such an extent that it could be considered fasting (756), just as the prefect forbids Anastasia to eat in her cell (see Chapter 5). Yet Elizabeth expresses a desire to go without food, whereas this decision is imposed upon Anastasia. The latter would understand, however, the need to endure this to achieve true purity.

Both saints are involuntarily imprisoned, Elizabeth in a castle (759) and Anastasia in a prison, kitchen, and ultimately an island. Yet Elizabeth resembles Paula more at this point in severely limiting her own food intake and being more than generous with her food offerings to the poor around her. She actually gives thanks to God for the sufferings she endures, considering herself lucky to receive them (759). In a further attempt to dissuade men from the temptation of her body, following her husband's death, she vows to disfigure herself so horribly that no-one could possibly desire her: 'confido in domino, pro cuius amore continentiam vovi perpetuam, [...] et si nullum aliud mihi evadendi superesset remedium, nasum mihi proprium detruncarem, ut me sic deformem quilibet exhorreret' (759). This type of self-mutilation does not feature in Anastasia's *passio*.

Elizabeth and Paula die similarly, again forming a contrast with Anastasia. Elizabeth eventually passes away because of a fever, not through torture (764). The element of heat relating to ardent faith in each legend relates to the heat of the fever and in turn the fire killing Anastasia. Fever is a natural cause of death, however, whereas Anastasia is physically burnt alive. Both Elizabeth and Paula leave their consolatory words to their followers before their passing, whereas Anastasia remains silent following her arrival at the island. She is thus arguably less powerful than her counterparts from the perspective of discourse. Elizabeth's celestial superiority is accentuated again at the end of her legend: God is included as a character, given both voice and emotion, which is not the case in the legend of Anastasia. Christ informs Elizabeth that her time in the mortal realm has expired, using the term of endearment,

'dilecta mea' (764), and Elizabeth draws attention to the time prior to her death, it being almost midnight. She associates this with the time of the birth of Christ (764).

Emphasis is given in the *vitae* of Elizabeth and Paula to a posthumous period, speaking of the saints' miracles and good deeds. The death of Anastasia instead finishes her legend. There are sixteen different posthumous stories recounted after Elizabeth's death, constituting a large proportion of the end of her *vita*. These tales discuss how different individuals have had their lives changed in some way by Elizabeth. She cures intolerable pain, restores the use of limbs (766-67), and brings back to life those previously thought dead (767-68). Elizabeth's powers are also extended to restoring eyesight, a prominent feature of Anastasia's own *passio*, paralleling the miracle of Christ of healing a blind man at Bethsaida (Mark 8). For example, Dietrich, a five year old boy, is given the ability to see when his mother rubs his eyes with earth from Elizabeth's tomb (769). Rather than reinstating peoples' eyesight, Anastasia reverses this role, depriving one prefect of his eyesight to the extent not only that is he blind but his vision is deformed. He sees the complete opposite to those around him. Elizabeth and Anastasia are linked through this ability as no mortal able can control such a vital human sense.

Paula's devotees flock to her resting place to mourn their loss, as do those of Elizabeth. In contrast, the obsequies following Anastasia's death are understood to be those of a more private affair, in that no one's attendance is specified at them. There are no mourners or devotees flocking to pay their last respects. Elizabeth is also described as being accompanied by an angel, similarly to Paula, although this time it appears in the form of a bird who sings with Elizabeth. This animal could represent a multitude of concepts, although the most common is that of the human soul. The bird and others are depicted as having taken Elizabeth's soul up to heaven (765). Anastasia has no such angel nor is her soul described as physically joining God. The latter fact is only presumed. Both Elizabeth and Paula are subsequently presented as more publicly prominent figures than Anastasia.

## CECILIA

The final saintly widow is Cecilia. In the incipit of the legend, the importance of Cecilia's name is highlighted, as with Anastasia and Elizabeth. Three of the five possible derivations of Cecilia's name are based on the form 'coeli' or 'coelum' (771), meaning 'of heaven', immediately establishing her close relationship to the

divine. Juxtaposition of this noun with the flower 'lilium' emphasizes Cecilia's purity and virginity in relation to the divine. Both virginity and flowers are pure, untarnished. These semantic connotations associate Cecilia with Elizabeth, in her frequent pictorial representations alongside flowers, and Anastasia, whose name is indicative of her spiritual elevation.

The other two derivations of Cecilia's name are based on the word stem 'caecis' (771), meaning blind. Cecilia is free from blindness, creating further parallels between the themes of sainthood and the recurring blindness in three of the four saintly widow legends (explicit reference not found in Paula's *vita*). Like Anastasia, Cecilia sees and understands true devotion perfectly. Only her and her husband Valerian possess sufficient spiritual discernment to be able to see the invisible crowns of flowers offered them by Cecilia's guardian angel.<sup>8</sup> Their faith similarly remains unblurred. Valerian is able to see the true path to Christ, hence his resistance to physical love. Publius is incapable of allowing his wife to love others and the first prefect in Anastasia's *passio* is so obsessed with the physical aspect of love that he loses his sight, symbolic of his inability to truly understand the divine. At a later instance, Cecilia finds the prefect Almachius unable to see the truth in his mistaken beliefs that his idols are real and that he has the power to control life and death: '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' (776). The second and third prefects in Anastasia's life similarly pray to their idols, proving that each man is unable to truly see and understand the world.

Cecilia is born into a noble Roman family, the reference to her as a 'virgo praeclarissima ex nobili Romanorum genere' (771) semantically paralleling the initial description of Anastasia. Any further similarities between the two are somewhat reduced hereafter, however. Cecilia appears more like Elizabeth, with reference to her inherent love of Christ from a young age: 'ab ipsis cunabilis in fide Christi nutrita absconditum' (771). She prays continually, asking God to preserve her virginity, although such in-depth conversations between the saint and the divine (773), as with Elizabeth, do not feature in Anastasia's legend. Cecilia's constant carrying of Christ's gospel again accentuates her celestial proximity, reminiscent of Paula's attachment to the Holy Scripture. The love of religion that Anastasia holds is not specified until she is of marriable age. The introduction to Cecilia's legend draws attention to her

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<sup>8</sup> This is significant as, although Paula and Elizabeth also have a guardian angel, its feature in these legends is not that common.



perseverance, wisdom, and constant charitable acts, just as for Elizabeth and Paula, and her distribution of her goods amongst the needy (776) resembles that of Anastasia.

Cecilia curses the temptations and pleasures of marriage in a sin-filled mortal world, proving that she does not condone wedlock, despite her marriage (773). Cecilia's asceticism is visible even before her marriage in her incessant prayers, her fasting, her wearing of a hair shirt, and in the way that she begs that her body not be destroyed by temptation. Her decision to punish herself occurs despite her chaste status and despite the fact that she has not committed any sin. Anastasia's actions are not so dramatic: no ascetic behaviour is evident in her legend, before her wedding or otherwise. Cecilia wears her hairshirt under outer garments made of golden cloth: 'illa subtus ad carnem cilicio erat induta et desuper deauratis vestibus tegebatur' (771). Despite Cecilia's rich appearance and background, identical to Anastasia, her clothes are more humble, reflecting her true humility. Both saints esteem earthly riches to be worthless. During Cecilia's final days, an allusion is made to the only treasure of immeasurable value being found in heaven. Cecilia argues that God can spiritually offer a hundred times the wealth than is possible to acquire on Earth (776).

Cecilia turns to God for help, hoping his reassurance will guide her through her mortal life and prevent her from erring. Cecilia's prayers before her wedding reflect a desire to keep her virginity and body intact. Anastasia turns not directly to God but to Saint Chrysogonus, her spiritual advisor, for spiritual comfort. The latter relies on a different form of communication, letter-writing, rather than prayer. Cecilia's prayers are in the form of song, accompanied by the sound of music: 'Les Actes de sainte Cécile sont le poème de la virginité. Au milieu de l'éclat des fêtes profanes, Cécile ne songe qu'à son céleste époux, et, tandis que retentit la symphonie [...] elle chante dans son cœur l'hymne de la pureté virginale' (Delehaye 1934: 139-40). There is no musical accompaniment to Anastasia's request for help. In addition, she asks more for guidance through difficult periods rather than specifically for help resisting temptation. This could suggest that Anastasia is already inherently a stronger and more independent character than Cecilia, not needing to beg for help in resisting temptation.

Cecilia's relationship to Christ is heightened, emphasizing the topos of the celestial spouse to perhaps a greater degree than in the *vita* of Elizabeth. As with Elizabeth, however, Cecilia physically juxtaposes her two husbands in her speech, although she refers to an 'amatorem' (772), indicating a lover more than a spouse. The sexualized imagery is highlighted. Whereas Elizabeth implies that she is having an affair with Christ, Cecilia makes this explicit:

Tunc illa ait: angelum Dei habeo amatorem, qui nimio zelo custodit  
 corpus meum. Hic 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 diligit  
 te sicut me et ostendet tibi gloriam suam. (772)

Cecilia informs Valerian that he must keep this information a secret, reinforcing the nature of this affair as illicit and private. She explicitly states that Christ is in sole possession of her, despite no such ownership being implied with Anastasia. The *sponsa Christi* thus avoided becoming the chattel of man (Kempton 1995: 24). The presumption here is that Cecilia is referring to Christ, although the exact term employed is 'angelum Dei' (772), bearing a similarity to Paula's guardian angel. This custodial imagery is enhanced with a reference to how her lover watches over her body with the greatest of zeal, an image of guardianship not reproduced in Anastasia's legend. The most direct reference to Christ's sexuality appears in an allusion to him sowing his seeds in Cecilia: 'domine Jesu Christe, seminator casti consilii, suscipe seminum fructus, quos in Caecilia seminasti' (772).<sup>9</sup> The physical aspect of their relationship could not be made more explicit.

Cecilia obliges Valerian to accept her celestial relationship by threatening him with Christ's wrath if he does not. Valerian's reaction is bipartite, accepting her relationship wholeheartedly if indeed it is with a celestial angel, although threatening a duel with the lover should he prove to be mortal. This adheres to a previously established hierarchy. The divine is placed at the top, above all mortals, undeniably unbeatable. Valerian realises this, knowing that he could only feasibly beat a mortal lover. Christ will always be above men, mortal competition proving futile, resulting only in the latter's inevitable loss and emasculation. Valerian could penetrate only the mortal with his phallic sword, asserting his masculinity and proving to be the stronger male. In similar hagiographic legends, the effect of the threat is identical: the woman convinces her husband that God will kill him should he attempt to bed her, and this threat works. The wife attains her independence, rendering her free from sexual indebtedness (Heffernan 1988: 187).

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<sup>9</sup> The Annunciation in the Bible (Luke:1) contains similar images of fecundity when the Angel Gabriel speaks to Mary. Such expressions as 'barren' (36), 'seed' (55), and 'fruit of thy womb' (42) greatly parallel the imagery featuring in this legend.

Valerian is forbidden from touching Cecilia. Any physical contact can only be through Christ. Cecilia distinguishes here between physical and spiritual love, condoning the former in mortal union:

The language of the Song of Songs spelled out the theme of unswerving loyalty and of abiding, intimate protection. Espousal to Christ rendered the virgin sacred and unavailable to any other marriage partner. (Brown 1988: 274)

The aforementioned invisible crowns of flowers Valerian and Cecilia have received, symbolic of the purity and virginity of their souls, will stay in bloom only if both retain their chastity. Whereas Valerian and Cecilia agree to love each other emotionally, Anastasia and Publius are incapable of so doing. Although Cecilia, similarly to Anastasia, is given in an arranged marriage at an early stage, Valerian resembles the other saintly widows' husbands more than he does Publius. Seated in the bridal chamber on their wedding night, Cecilia begs Valerian not to tarnish her virginity, as she already belongs to another. Valerian understands Cecilia's predicament, himself moved by the empowering force of religion. Christ is here the solution to sexual temptation, with a female saint able to 'transcend sexual temptation by transferring her desires to a more suitable object, Christ' (Robertson 1991: 284).

Much of Cecilia's *passio* focuses not on her own circumstances but on events in the lives of Tiburtius and Valerian, exploring their devotion and imitation of Cecilia's good deeds and manner of thinking. They appear to have acquired much of her wisdom. Valerian sees a spiritual vision of an aged man clothed in white, thanks to Cecilia's guidance. This disparity is prominent in comparison with Anastasia's *passio*, as the latter concentrates predominantly on the adventures of the main protagonist. No information is divulged, for example, concerning the excursions of Publius. Cecilia's words clearly inspire and influence exterior parties, whereas those of Anastasia are not specified as so doing. Cecilia has established her role as instructor and influencer, attempting to guide others in the ways of religion, whereas Anastasia is not granted such a position of influence. Valerian and Tiburtius imitate Cecilia just as the latter imitates Christ, demonstrating the theological perspective taken by this *passio*. Cecilia is clearly in control, reversing the traditionally accepted stereotypes. Publius orders Anastasia into a cell, whereas conversely Valerian is instructed by Cecilia to do as she tells him:

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 illie invenies, dices: Caecilia me misit

ad vos, ut ostendatis mihi sanctum senem Urbanum, quoniam ad  
ipsum habeo secreta mandata, quae perferam. Hunc dam tu videris,  
indica ei omnia verba mea, et postquam ab eo purificatus fueris et  
redieris, angelum ipsum videbis. (772)

The constant use of the imperative within this speech and others (for example when Cecilia instructs Valerian's brother to go the bishop) emphasizes who is in control.

From the outset, Cecilia is the dominant woman in a typically patriarchal society. Recurring animal imagery reinforces this: 'nam sponsum, quem quasi leonem ferocem accepit, ad te quasi agnum mansuetissimum destinavit' (772). The dominant lion, a symbol traditionally associated with the male, is here reduced to the dominated lamb, taken control of by a woman. Furthermore, these animals denote religious images.<sup>10</sup> The lamb represents the passion of Christ, the lion his resurrection. In Ambrose's text of Saint Thecla, the figure of the lion represents 'the subjugating force of male sexual violence' (Burrus 1995: 33), to which Fernando Baños Vallejo adds:

Los animales suelen aparecer como símbolos [y el león] en la  
literatura hagiográfica puede tener valor positivo o negativo [...] El  
león, tanto devorador como reverente, adquiere pues en la hagiografía  
una formulación simbólica específica, en cuanto que, como rey de los  
animales, se constituye en representación de la fuerza de la naturaleza,  
sólo sometida al poder sobrenatural de Dios. (1994: 139-41)

The image of the sheep, by contrast, is one of meekness, an animal in need of protection and guidance, hence the role of the saint. Cecilia has potentially taken the position of the powerful lion, with higher authority over the male, representing the figure of the lion identifiable with Christ. Anastasia, without a prominent voice, is not able to exert her control over anyone.

Cecilia's instruction to Valerian to devote himself to the faith ultimately has him martyred, just as Elizabeth's husband suffers in death because of her instructions. Their deaths are necessary, however, for the saint to become a widow. Most hagiographical accounts present the state of marriage as a necessity forced upon the saint, from which she is liberated by widowhood (Lawless 2003: 31). As argues Allison Levy, 'the widow was not a traditional hagiographic model as she was neither a beautiful virgin nor a penitent whore; the state of chastity was visited upon her by the

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<sup>10</sup> Louise Mirrer uses the example of the *Estoria de España* which employs animal metaphors to distinguish between Christians and Muslims: Muslims were 'sheep' or 'lambs', to be slaughtered by Christians, who were 'lions' and 'wolves', signifying their power (1996: 52).

death of her husband and was not due to a denial of self or a miraculous conversion' (2003: 22).<sup>11</sup> Valerian and Tiburtius have clearly attained purity in devotion, with Maximus perceiving their souls ascending heavenwards in a vision. This image is described as 'animas eorum quasi virgines de thalamo exeuntes' (775): their movement resembling that of virgins exiting the bridal chamber parallels a description of Cecilia when she was first married. The brothers' imitation of her continues even after their death. When both express their fear about burning alive and having their reputation tarnished in heaven, Cecilia reassures them of the contrary. Although Valerian and Cecilia appear almost to be placed on an equal footing, at the point of Valerian's baptism, Cecilia is still spiritually elevated in comparison, when Valerian states; 'nihil mihi in hac vita exstitit dulcius, quam unicus fratris mei affectus' (773). His love for God is not as highly prioritized as his love for his brother.

Another form of Cecilia's *imitatio Christi* features in her legend, paralleling Paula and Elizabeth once more:

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. (771)

Just as Christ kisses others in order to bless them, Cecilia imitates this and other acts. She appears as a messenger, her role to transmit the message of God through imitation of holy practices. The exemplary conduct of saints was in turn an example for others to aspire to (Reames 1985: 103). Indeed, 'Christ's behaviour in the Gospels was the single authenticating norm for all action' (Heffernan 1988: 5) She accepts her brother-in-law into her elevated spiritual circle, following his rejection of idols and all material objects. The reference to her as a heaven of the people makes of her a model for others to aspire to, just as Christ is a model for her: 'The lives of female virgin martyrs were the staple of monastic and lay reading and spectatorship in plays and sermons and iconography. Martyrdom was preserved as a tradition which provided some guide-lines for perfect lives' (Rubin 1993: 157). Through imitation of Cecilia's own virtues, others are brought closer to an imitation of the virtues of Christ, and thus to heaven.<sup>12</sup> No such clear comparison to Christ is made as explicit in Anastasia's *passio*.

<sup>11</sup> Saint Jerome describes the widow as a 'member of the "second rank of purity" (which means she is almost like a virgin)' in *Epistula* 22.15 (Mirrer 1996: 126).

<sup>12</sup> 'We know that saints' lives were read aloud and listened to, that they were especially popular at the shrines of the saints, that hagiographic reading material was available in monastic churches, and that aspiring saints were influenced by the stories of earlier saints and martyrs' (Rapp 1996: 314).

Cecilia is spiritually wise, understanding already that mortal life is an essential test permitting ascension into the important celestial life. Knowledge of such concepts as the constitution of the Holy Trinity meant that her line of communication with God must be wide open: 'filii Dei et passione praedicare' (774). Her explanation of Christ's teachings and miracles, ascertaining the facts in a definitive manner, highlights her comprehension and close working relationship with the divine. She is an instructor, reassuring those who sway in their faith. Cecilia never refers to herself as wretched, even though Almachius, a prefect who has the brothers burned, treats her as this. This is an aspect of Cecilia's personality resembling Anastasia to a greater extent than Paula or Elizabeth. Anastasia, however, never consoles or reassures friends or family members as does Cecilia, due to her less active role and less dominant voice than the other saintly widows. Cecilia, similarly to Elizabeth, speaks in confident tones during the moment preceding her martyrdom, distinguishing her again from Anastasia.

Almachius turns to Cecilia to take possession of her properties, just as one of the prefects in Anastasia's legend demands to take charge of her riches. Cecilia is also commanded to sacrifice to the idols or be killed, in 'ut ydolis immolaret aut sententiam mortis incurreret' (776), as is Anastasia. This returns to a similarity between the two in that the men in the legend attempt to force the female saint to renounce both their wealth and beliefs. The virginal female saint would instead begin 'to give away her possessions, which alarms and angers her intended. After all, what she distributes to the poor was to be his. (We can discern traces of an antique pagan *realpolitik* in this tale of an unauthorized distribution of wealth)' (Kelly 1999: 151). This explains the assumption of one prefect in Anastasia's legend, this being that she will surrender her money to him. However, in Anastasia's eyes, only God possesses any control over her and so she gives him her possessions to distribute to the needy.

Cecilia is brought before a man to be judged and asked to renounce her previous way of life, as is Anastasia. However, Cecilia stands firm in her argument with Almachius, rising to his strong words with a retort just as powerful in dismissing his own supposed strength. This, in turn, results in another role reversal, her intelligence enabling her to win this gendered battle:

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. [...] 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. (776)

Anastasia's few words also demonstrate her steadfastness in her faith, ensuring that she remains the more spiritually powerful. Cecilia's death resembles that of Anastasia more than either Paula or Elizabeth, in that it finishes her *passio*. Both are also buried by another saint following their death. Their manner of death, however, does prove a disparity between the two. Cecilia, unlike Anastasia, is martyred alone, and in front of many witnesses, circumstances resembling the *vitae* of the other saintly widows. Whereas Anastasia is burned alive, an unsuccessful attempt is made to burn Cecilia in a bath full of boiling water. The two are juxtaposed through the element of heat. The adjective 'ardens' (771) is used twice to describe Cecilia, emphasizing the ardent, fiery element prevalent within all legends, relating also to the imagery of burning passion. After a further four unsuccessful blows from a headsman trying to cut off her head, Cecilia lays for three and a half days before she dies (777), whereas the duration of Anastasia's death is not specified. Cecilia is tortured and killed, however, as is Anastasia. She does not die of natural causes as is the case for Elizabeth and Paula.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the element of widowhood stands as the most prominent link between Anastasia and other saints in Voragine's collection, amongst other common characteristics such as the healing of the blind, redistribution of one's wealth, or enclosure in a restrictive space: '*Legends of the martyrs are always repeating themselves, for they have almost wholly got rid of the personal element and only an abstract figure is left*' (Delehaye 1962: 19). Cecilia, Elizabeth, Paula and Anastasia are all virtuous, despite their formally married status, however there are evident disparities which do not permit the four saintly widows to be generally classified under the heading 'widow', demanding instead further subdivision. There are evident differences in their manner of death, their self-perception, their charitable acts and, in particular, their marriages. Cecilia, Elizabeth and Paula all had husbands who were highly devoted and respectful to God. Far from understanding Anastasia's faith or encouraging her to practice numerous acts of charity, her husband removes her from society rather than letting her help those in it, punishing her as if she were the one sinning, ironically. Any element of happiness in Anastasia's married life is far from visible.

## CHAPTER 3 - THE THREE SPANISH MANUSCRIPT VERSIONS

### INTRODUCTION

The object of this chapter is to analyse the relationship between the three extant Spanish manuscript versions of Anastasia's legend: Escorial h-III-22 (fols 51<sup>va</sup>-53<sup>rb</sup>) 'De la vida e pasión de Santa Anastasia', Biblioteca Nacional 12688 (fols 92<sup>ra</sup>-94<sup>ra</sup>) 'Aquí comienza la istoria de Santa Anastasia', and Escorial K-II-12 (fols 27<sup>vb</sup>-29<sup>ra</sup>) 'Capítulo de Santa Anastassia.' These are labelled respectively in this chapter as  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$ .

Escorial h-III-22 is held by the library of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, the texts within it copied between approximately 1440 and 1460. Biblioteca Nacional 12688 is entitled *Santoral* and was copied between 1440 and 1460 (an identical time frame to Escorial h-III-22). Finally, Escorial K-II-12 is also held in the library of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, although may have been copied earlier or later than the previous two. This text was written between 1400 and 1500, and so attempts at accurate dating prove more challenging. Both Escorial manuscripts were bought by the library in 1576. The language of all three texts is Castilian and there is an approximate three hundred year gap between the appearance of these texts and Jacobus de Voragine's original Latin legend, written in 1264. Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh (1986) offer further information regarding the history of the manuscripts, stating that h-III-22 and Biblioteca Nacional 12688 derived from the same source, itself a derivation of the *Legenda aurea*, known as Compilation A, or the *Gran Flos sanctorum*. K-II-12, on the other hand, is derived from another source, known as Compilation B.<sup>1</sup> This helps us understand the extent of the similarities between the first two manuscripts (1986).

The first part of this chapter explores similarities and contrasts between the language used and ideas expressed in both  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , proceeding to an analytical comparison of the critical edition  $\alpha\beta$  (in which  $\alpha$  is used as a base text) with the other critical edition  $\gamma$ . The chapter has been subdivided in this way due to the similarity of versions  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , resembling each other to a greater extent than either do  $\gamma$ . The structure of this chapter is such that for the first part, comparisons will be classified according to grammatical or lexical function. For the second part, comparisons will be

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<sup>1</sup> See Zarco Cuevas 1926: II, 164-65 for information on the physical description of the K-II-12 manuscript and 1924: I, 231 for h-III-22.



formulated linearly, working from the incipit to the closing lines of Anastasia's legend. This structure is preferable due to the reduced number of differences between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  in comparison with  $\alpha\beta$  and  $\gamma$ .

## COMPILATION A

Comparison of the Escorial h-III-22 version of Saint Anastasia's legend,  $\alpha$ , and Biblioteca Nacional 12688's version,  $\beta$ , shows the two to be remarkably similar. Differences between them tend to be orthographic as opposed to semantic. An example of the latter, however, appears in an initial disparity in the incipit:

De la vida e pasión de Santa Anastasia:	Aquí comienza la istoria de Santa Anastasia,
Santa Anastasia es dicha de 'Anna' [...] ( $\alpha$ : fol. 51 <sup>va</sup> )	declaración del su nonbre: Santa Anastasia es dicha de 'Anna' [...] ( $\beta$ : fol. 92 <sup>ra</sup> )

Although both similarly introduce the legend the incipits themselves are dissimilar.  $\beta$  leans towards a presentation of the legend endowed with a fable-like quality, whereas  $\alpha$  indicates that it collectively pertains to that of the saints' *vitae*. The expression 'Aquí comienza la istoria de Santa Anastasia' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>ra</sup>) conjures an image of a fable-type narrative, almost echoing the English fairy-tale introduction 'Once upon a time'. This simple distinction in terminology arguably brings version  $\alpha$  enhanced credibility from the outset. The latter recounts the legend immediately: 'E Santa Anastasia [...]' (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>), while  $\beta$  maintains the reader's interest through its incorporation of occasional phrases, such as 'Síguese su ystoria' (fol. 92<sup>rb</sup>), designed as a reminder of the version's story-like quality. This tendency is not appropriated within the other accounts ( $\alpha$  and the Latin).

The simple omission of occasional sub-clauses or nouns from one version to the other highlights the small differences between the two.  $\alpha$  contains several words and phrases excluded from  $\beta$ : 'mártir' (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>), 'encendido' (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), 'que ama' (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>), 'grant' (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>), 'con' (fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>) and 'Santa' (fol. 52<sup>va</sup>). The latter is particularly curious as saints' names almost always appear with their respective title of *Sant* or *Santa*, this distinction enabling their differentiation from mere mortals. Although each lexical difference offers no concrete conclusion in itself as to the derivation of each text, it is likely, given the textual similarities, that they are the result of scribal error. Words were frequently missed out as a result of eye-skip, meaning scribes copied on from an identical word featuring later in the original text. Alternately, extra words could be

inserted into the copy that were absent from the original. If a preceding or following word triggered a related lexical item in the scribe's mind, he may include it subconsciously.

Paradoxically, however, in infrequent instances the opposite occurs.  $\beta$  irregularly inputs extra clauses which are not present in  $\alpha$ , often perceived as religious flourishes. Their absence from the Latin source text means that there is no valid reason for including them in the critical edition, despite being recorded in the critical apparatus. These are:

A onrra ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>)

a honrra e gloria ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>vb</sup>)

Para siempre ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>)

para sienpre un Dios, Amén ( $\beta$ : fol. 94<sup>ra</sup>)

reyna [...] ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>)

regna con el padre e con el Espíritu Santo  
( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>vb</sup>-94<sup>ra</sup>)

Occasionally, the critical edition includes lexis featuring in  $\beta$  which has been omitted from  $\alpha$ , as its presence is confirmed in the Latin: 'que eran hermanas' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>va</sup>) is omitted from  $\alpha$  (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), 'heredat' ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>vb</sup>) is favoured over 'hedat' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>), and 'dioses' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>va</sup>) replaces 'diablos' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>).  $\alpha$ 's overall stricter adherence to the Latin, however (as will be discussed in the following chapter), provides a firm basis to opt for it as a base text in the critical edition.

There are also occasional grammatical disparities between the versions. The divergence between 'quisiesen' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>) and 'quisiese' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>va</sup>), and 'maravillábase' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>) and 'maravillávanse' ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>ra</sup>), are merely questions of singular or plural specification, showing a difference in verb and person agreement. The former could suggest that either Anastasia or her serving maids refuse to submit themselves to the prefect, and the latter could refer to either the *adelantado*'s amazement or that of his servants at seeing him in such a state. It is likely that the confusion created through the original manuscript's 'maravillavā se' has given rise to a bad copy. Although the meaning would be clear in the original, the addition or removal of the consonant 'n', depending on the version, is most likely to be accidental, slightly changing the meaning in the copied version.

There are further grammatical variations.  $\alpha$  includes 'son' (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), 'sy' (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>), 'abraçava' (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>) and 'e' (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), whereas  $\beta$  incorporates slightly different terms: those of 'só' (fol. 92<sup>va</sup>), 'sy a' (fol. 93<sup>vb</sup>), 'abraçava a' (fol. 92<sup>vb</sup>), and 'e a' (fol. 92<sup>vb</sup>). The first difference shows a distinction between third person plural specification and first person singular, and the other grammatical dissimilarities only

occur through additional prepositions used in  $\beta$ .  $\alpha$  is more grammatically accurate. Once again, these distinctions are so minor that it is almost certain that  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are closely related. Another difference occurs between 'Estudo' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 51<sup>va</sup>) and 'estado' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>ra</sup>), the slight alteration most likely indicating that the internal vowel has been incorrectly copied by the scribe. William Granger Ryan's English translation from the Latin interprets this phrase as 'standing or stand,' (1993: I, 43) referring semantically to the fact that Anastasia's name is suggestive of her spiritual and moral elevation over the average human. 'Estado' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>ra</sup>), the more recognizable of the two, denotes status or standing, which is the meaning required here.

Conjunctions featuring in  $\beta$ , although excluded from  $\alpha$ , are commonplace. This occurs with 'asaz' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>), 'era' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>), and 'e a darle' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>) which differ from 'e asaz' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>va</sup>), 'era el' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>vb</sup>), and 'e dar' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>vb</sup>). The former is always more contextually favourable. There is a similar pronoun distinction with 'les' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>va</sup>) and 'veyéndole' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), dissimilar to 'los' ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>rb</sup>) and 'veyéndolo' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>vb</sup>), which could be regional. On occasion, prepositions and nouns differ, with 'ado' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>) and 'casa' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>) as opposed to 'do' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>rb</sup>) and 'cámara' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>va</sup>). Most probably a scribal error, the contrastive lexis in the latter case suggests two different notions however: although both denote enclosed spaces, the bedroom is a more sexually explicit and suggestive concept than that of the house. The house represents a more generalized domesticated area (fitting in aptly with all kitchen utensil-related imagery), whereas the bedroom is predominantly for sleeping and sexual relations.

In relation to tense formation of verbs, discrepancies between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  present themselves in 'adurmióse' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>va</sup>) and 'adormiese' ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>ra</sup>), 'fue' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>va</sup>) and 'fuése' ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>rb</sup>), 'diere' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>) and 'diese' ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>va</sup>), and between the future tense of 'conpliré' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>) and the conditional 'cunpliría' ( $\beta$ : fol. 93<sup>va</sup>). Regardless of which is the more accurate form, the discrepancies are minute, and so the likeliness is that the same word has been copied in slightly varying ways. Curiously, names used to denote characters between versions also alternate. Whereas the Christian names 'Fausta' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 51<sup>va</sup>), 'Anastasia' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>ra</sup>), 'Apolonia' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>), and 'Ágapis', 'Chiónia', and 'Yrénea' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>va</sup>) remain unchanged throughout the two,  $\alpha$ 's 'Públio' (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>), 'Petraxato' (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>), and 'Grisógono' (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>) differ from  $\beta$ 's 'Plúbio' (fol. 92<sup>rb</sup>), 'Pretaxato' (fol. 92<sup>rb</sup>), and 'Grisóstomo' (fol. 92<sup>rb</sup>). Despite the divergence in naming of the three latter characters, these types of disparity are rare and most probably merely a matter of orthographic difference.

Syntactical disparities are more striking, occurring on three separate occasions:

por aver ayuntamiento con ellas ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52 <sup>ra</sup> )	por ayuntamiento de aver con ellas ( $\beta$ : fol. 92 <sup>vb</sup> )
el adelantado, oyendo esto ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53 <sup>ra</sup> )	él, oyendo esto, el adelantado ( $\beta$ : fol. 93 <sup>va</sup> )
a ella cada día ( $\alpha$ : fol. 53 <sup>ra</sup> )	cada día a ella ( $\beta$ : fol. 93 <sup>va</sup> )

The positioning of subclauses in each case evidently differs: the syntactic formation of each sentence thus sheds light on the individual backgrounds of the texts. Although the above present a small possibility that both  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are descended from different manuscripts, it is unlikely. The meanings are identical even though the first of the above examples for  $\beta$  is incoherent, having been mistranscribed. Positioning of sub-clauses occasionally varied in transcription from one text to the other, thus supporting the argument that the two versions were most probably copied from the same manuscript.

To conclude, therefore, despite the inclusion in  $\alpha$  of such words as 'mártir' (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>) and 'que ama' (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>), which are omitted from both  $\beta$  and the Latin, these words could have been included or omitted at the discretion of the scribe. This is no solid indication of the texts deriving from two different originals. There also exists only one instance of a noun being semantically different between the two texts, with 'casa' ( $\alpha$ : fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>) versus 'cámara' ( $\beta$ : fol. 92<sup>va</sup>). Syntactic discrepancies, occasional expansion of certain clauses in  $\beta$ , and the existence of some material in  $\alpha$  omitted from  $\beta$  are all evident. However, the fact that any significant modifications noted between the texts are few and far between shows that  $\beta$  is not a copy of  $\alpha$ . Both have been instead independently copied at different moments in time from a translation of the Latin.

## COMPILATION A VERSUS COMPILATION B

The differences presented upon comparison of  $\alpha\beta$  with the third Spanish manuscript, Escorial K-II-12,  $\gamma$ , are often incurred through  $\gamma$ 's use of divergent terminology. Again, the incipit is dissimilar to  $\alpha\beta$ . Conversely,  $\gamma$  uses 'Capítulo de Santa Anastassia' (fol. 27<sup>vb</sup>) to lead into the legend, although 'Capítulo' indicates in a similar fashion to  $\alpha\beta$  that this Saint's legend belongs to a wide collection of saints' legends. The first paragraph of  $\gamma$  is, arguably, the least comprehensible of the three manuscripts: confusing syntax, unrecognizable lexis, and unnecessary repetition all contribute to a generally esoteric read. 'Abeja' in  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), for example, is unique

only to this manuscript, and bears no correlation to any known versions of the legend. Contextually, it is inappropriate. I have therefore emended this to 'Ana' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), using  $\alpha\beta$  as a textual precedent. This confusion is prolonged throughout the rest of the paragraph: 'suzio' is a mistranscription of 'suso', with its syntactic and semantic incoherence in 'como suzio estante' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) justification enough for modification. This in itself suggests that  $\gamma$  cannot be an archetype, only a copy of poor quality. The Latin 'sursum' logically translates as 'suso' into Castilian and therefore 'suzio' is feasibly a mistranscription. Semantically,  $\gamma$ 's 'estante' denotes a shelf, and so a link to 'standing' or 'stasis' (as is the case in the Latin), although weak, can be seen (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>).

$\gamma$  also excludes an equivalent of 'porque estudo alçada' ( $\alpha\beta$ : fol. 51<sup>va</sup>). The notion of Anastasia being raised in both a moral and spiritual sense is one paramount to the understanding of her legend, and one which ideally needs to be addressed in  $\gamma$ . The concept is further developed in  $\alpha\beta$  through Anastasia's description of being 'allegada a las virtudes' (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>), almost as if the 'virtudes' here are metaphorically connected to a higher plane, that of heaven. The noun 'virtudes' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) is uniform to both versions, whereas the terminology incorporated relating to sin alters, expressed as 'pecado' in  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) and 'vicios' in  $\alpha\beta$  (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>). The expression 'guardando a sy mesma de pecado' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) insinuates Anastasia's conscious decision to keep away from sin, whereas 'apartada de los vicios' ( $\alpha\beta$ : fol. 51<sup>va</sup>) rather hints that this is one of her inherent characteristics.

Anastasia is intriguingly described as a 'dueña' in  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), although not in  $\alpha\beta$ , and she is also described as a 'virgen' only in  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) prior to this. This comment is salient in view of the prerequisite of Anastasia's chastity in determining her suitability for sainthood. The expression used in  $\gamma$  in 'dueña muy noble como fuese de los romanos' (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) juxtaposes her noble quality with that of her Roman lineage. In  $\alpha\beta$ , these two clauses are also presented, but as independent and incidental facts (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>). In both texts, Anastasia's parents are consistently characterized as 'noble', although her mother Fausta is described as a 'dueña' in  $\alpha\beta$  (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>), and a 'dona' in  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>). This distinction is, however, superficial. Anastasia's father is noble and kind in  $\alpha\beta$  (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>), although simply defined as noble in  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>).

Furthermore, Anastasia's father is of pagan origin in both  $\alpha\beta$  (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>) and  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>). The name 'Fausta' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) is identical in both texts, however  $\gamma$  differs from  $\alpha\beta$ 's choice of 'Públio' (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>), adapting it to 'Púbel' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>). The decision to employ 'Peccayat' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), when referring to Anastasia's father, is dissimilar to  $\alpha\beta$ 's 'Pretaxato' (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>). 'Peccayat' pertains to the same semantic field as 'pecado', a

term employed consistently in  $\gamma$ , hence why the name is apt in this version. The element of sin suggested in her father's name could relate to his pagan depiction in a juxtaposition of the two terms.

The religious overtones in  $\gamma$  are more prominent than they are in  $\alpha\beta$ . Anastasia 'fue enseñada del bienaventurado mártir Sant Grisógono' ( $\alpha\beta$ : fol. 51<sup>va</sup>), however in  $\gamma$  'en la fe de Jhesu Christo fue enseñada' (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>). The reference in  $\gamma$  to Anastasia's teaching having been conducted in the faith of Christ displays a semantic divergence from  $\alpha\beta$  and highlights  $\gamma$ 's preference for religious terminology. Another distinction between  $\alpha\beta$  and  $\gamma$  concerns the manner in which Anastasia enters into her marriage contract:

casó con un onbre gentil ( $\alpha\beta$ : fol. 51<sup>va</sup>)

fue dada por mujer a don Púbel ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>)

The latter casts her in a more passive role, typifying her as her husband's possession, whilst the former almost implies that Anastasia took the decision to get married voluntarily, despite the decision to marry in the medieval era generally being imposed upon an individual. There is also a distinction here between 'don Púbel' and 'onbre gentil'.  $\alpha\beta$  seems to suggest that Anastasia's first husband was a kind man, although one who mysteriously remains nameless at this point.  $\gamma$ , conversely, employs the term 'don', accrediting her husband with the status of a gentleman. Further reading of the legend proves, ironically, that this is far from the case.

Similar ideas are often expressed in the two texts, although with notable lexical deviations:

apartábase sienpre de aver ayuntamiento la qual sienpre se fazia doliente, porque

con él so color de alguna enfermedat ( $\alpha\beta$ : todavía esquivase la compañía de su marido

fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>)

porque tovese abstinencia ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>)

In this semantic distinction,  $\alpha\beta$  puts Anastasia's rejection of sexual contact with her husband down to her pretence of being ill.  $\gamma$  is more explicit in its justification for this, instead recounting that she pretends to be asleep, evading rather than distancing herself from her husband's company. The word 'ayuntamiento' ( $\alpha\beta$ : fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>) is replaced with 'compañía' ( $\gamma$ : fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), the former more sexually implicit than the latter. The declaration in  $\gamma$  following this that she 'sienpre amava las cosas de Jhesu Christo' (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) does not feature in  $\alpha\beta$ , further emphasizing  $\gamma$ 's prevalent religious overtones.

There are further instances of such semantic distinction between the texts, as for example in their description of how Anastasia's husband learns of her faith. In  $\alpha\beta$ ,

he is simply aware of this whereas in  $\gamma$  he specifically hears her speaking in reference to Christ, as well as singing with her serving maid:

E entendiendo el marido que era <i>christiana</i>	su marido vióla cantar con una su servienta, e
( $\alpha\beta$ : fol. 51 <sup>vb</sup> )	fablavan de la fazienda de Jhesu Christo ( $\gamma$
	: fol. 28 <sup>ra</sup> )

The contrast is factual:  $\alpha\beta$  is here more evasive than its counterpart.  $\gamma$  fails to mention those Christian prisoners attended to by Anastasia in  $\alpha\beta$  (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>). Alternately,  $\gamma$  firstly declares that Anastasia's husband hears her singing and talking about Christ, and then follows this with a reference to her husband's order for her imprisonment (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>).

Added to this, the 'ábito de onbre' worn by Anastasia in  $\alpha\beta$  (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>) is depicted as an 'ábito de *christiano*' in  $\gamma$  (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), highlighting once more the version's scriptural emphasis in its description of the dress as Christian, as well as 'muy vil' (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), although not in  $\alpha\beta$ . This 'ábito' is one that Anastasia has been instructed to wear by her husband in  $\gamma$ , although one which she freely wears at her own will in  $\alpha\beta$  as a disguise, enabling her to leave her husband's abode and help her prisoner friends. The distinction is important. Her own religious qualities, and not those of the Christian prisoners, are emphasized through the specification that she is wearing Christian dress.

In  $\gamma$  the scribe describes the emotional reaction of Anastasia's husband, having learnt of his wife's love for Christ, as it 'pesó mucho de corazón' (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>). His sentiments are not addressed in  $\alpha\beta$ , only his order to have her imprisoned. Anastasia is enclosed in a 'cárcel' in  $\gamma$  with her 'serviente' (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), whereas in  $\alpha\beta$  she is described as being shut in a 'cámara' (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>). The semantic field associated with the latter is domestic, concerned specifically with a private room, most likely to be the bedroom. The former is primarily a prison, a place of confinement. Enclosure in a bedroom is thus sexual, with Anastasia's husband in  $\alpha\beta$  punishing her in a location in which she refuses, ironically, to surrender anything to him.

Anastasia's mother Fausta is said in  $\gamma$  to fear that Anastasia will lose her life in this prison (fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>), whereas in  $\alpha\beta$  Fausta is not mentioned at this point. The one allusion to Fausta in the latter text is at the beginning of the legend, when Anastasia and her family history are introduced (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>). Such differences between the editions confirm the theory that  $\alpha\beta$  and  $\gamma$  cannot have been derived from the same source. This becomes even more apparent in view of  $\gamma$ 's tendency to expand upon points briefly cited in  $\alpha\beta$ . One such example emerges in the description of what is refused Anastasia during her time in prison:

non le dava aún la vianda nescesia (αβ: fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>) enpero todo lo que avía mester les fazía dar  
 [...] non les diesen a comer nin a beber (γ: fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>)

Anastasia subsequently sends letters to 'Sant Grisógono' (αβ: fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>) which are 'llenas de dolor' (αβ: fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>). This sub-clause is not present in γ, and neither is the fact that Saint Chrysogonus is stated in αβ as being physically in prison here: 'ado estava preso con muchos otros por el nonbre del Señor' (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>). Anastasia's letters are sent 'encubiertamente' in γ (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>) whereas there appears to be no suggestion of any element of secrecy in their delivery in αβ.

Although in both versions Anastasia leaves her enclosed chamber after the death of her husband, the manner in which she does so differs between the two. In αβ, she is 'librada de aquella prisión' (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>- 52<sup>ra</sup>), whereas in γ this is not specified. 'Grisógono' (γ: fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>) is at this point termed 'don' in γ (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>), and 'santo mártir' in αβ (fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>), proving an important disparity in status. A saint is in no way comparable to a mere 'don'. The further omission of 'mártir' from γ disregards the status of 'Grisógono' as a martyr. This is relevant, particularly in view of the fact that Anastasia herself exhibits behaviour characteristic of the martyrs (for example, that of enduring physical torments).<sup>2</sup> Following this, Anastasia's husband dies 'en Dios' (γ: fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>), however God is dissociated, supposedly, from her husband's death in αβ.

The serving maids within the legend are referred to as Anastasia's 'tres amigas christianas que eran hermanas' in αβ (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), although conversely in γ, the same women are characterized as 'tres servyentas, que eran muy apuestas e eran hermanas' (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>). The first anomaly presented appears in the fact that friends and serving maids have different semantic connotations. Secondly, γ is syntactically different from αβ as it refers to the depiction of these serving maids as Christian after they have been named. Thirdly, αβ does not include γ's description of these women as 'muy apuestas' (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>). A similar difference arises when Anastasia is given to an 'adelantado' in αβ (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), although to a 'pretor de la cibdat' in γ (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>), with both terms having slightly different connotations. Again, such divergence in information aids in establishing the origins of each version, confirming the assumption that the texts were not copied from the same source. The names denoting the three serving maids in γ differ slightly from those used in AB. C's 'Áganpe', 'Anómia', and 'Ciréne' (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>) differ

<sup>2</sup> Curiously, 'Grisógono' (γ: fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>) is a closer orthographic form to α's own 'Grisógono' (fol. 51<sup>va</sup>) than β's 'Grisóstomo' (fol. 92<sup>rb</sup>).



from *AB*'s 'Ágapis', 'Chiónia', and 'Yrénea' (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>). The relationship between these orthographic forms, however, is evident.

The expression relating to the refusal of the serving maids to obey the orders of the prefect differs in each version:

como non quisiesen consentir a su mandado	el pretor de la cibdat amonestava segunt su
e sacrificar a los dioses, fizolas encerrar en	ley <i>que</i> ellas non queriendo obedescer a los
una casa ado estavam muchas cosas que son	sus mandamientos, fizolas encerrar en una
a la cozina nescasarias ( <i>AB</i> : fol. 52 <sup>ra</sup> )	cárcel ( <i>C</i> : fol. 28 <sup>rb</sup> )

As well as the contrast in nouns between 'casa' and 'cárcel', the verbs used in both texts also differ. The distinction between consenting to and being forced to obey a person's order is prominent, the latter of which is more emphatic. References to the kitchen and cooking utensils appear syntactically later in *C*, and the fact that the women are not asked to make a sacrifice to the Gods in *C*, only in *AB* (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>), is noteworthy. The terminology describing the sexual intent on the prefect's behalf is also employed in different ways in each version:

E el adelantado, encendido en amor dellas	E este pretor <i>que</i> era mayoral entró a ellas
porque eran muy fermosas, fuése para ellas	por conplyr con ellas su voluntad ( <i>C</i> : fol.
por aver ayuntamiento con ellas ( <i>AB</i> : fol.	28 <sup>rb</sup> )
52 <sup>ra</sup> )	

There is no reference in *C* to the beauty of the serving maids, nor any synonym indicating the prefect's overwhelming love or passion for them.<sup>3</sup> *C*'s adaptation is cruder: rather than stating that the prefect went to the maids in order to be joined with them (as a literal translation), its expression 'entró a ellas' (*C*: fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>) is more explicit. The meaning is ambiguous, either designating his entrance of the maids' room to be with them, or his physical entrance of the maids themselves (see Chapter 5). The final expression in 'por conplyr con ellas su voluntad' (*C*: fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>) is equally blunt, transmitting a more physical image of his sexual relations with them.

*AB* and *C* continue along similar lines. Occasional terms are modified, for example, the 'sártenes' in *AB* (fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>) are referred to as 'padrellas' in *C* (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>), again indicative of two different original manuscripts being at play. The prefect exits the kitchen 'todo negro e feo' (*AB*: fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>) but 'todo ensuziado' in *C* (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>). Through specific reference to his colour in *AB* there is a suggestion here that the element of sin, so clearly juxtaposed with his actions, is further emphasized through his black colour.

<sup>3</sup> 'Corporeal beauty is an essential part of the portrayal of female sanctity', as states Brigitte Cazelles (1991a: 28).

The prefect's servants in *AB* see him exiting the kitchen as the devil (fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>), whereas those in *C* see him only as a sinful apparition (fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>). The wording incorporated in both versions is disparate. Furthermore, one section of text is not present in *C*:

diéronle muchas pañadas e muchos palos, e

echaron a foyr e dexáronlo solo en su cabo

(*AB*: fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>)

*C* picks the thread up straight after at the moment in which both versions state the prefect's departure to the 'enperador' (*AB*: fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>) to complain about his servants. The beating is recounted in slightly incongruous ways between the versions:

E començaron unos a le dar con palos e      Los unos le davan con las vercas e los otros

otros a le escopir e a darle bofetadas en la      le escopían la cara (*C*: fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>)

cara (*AB*: fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>)

Yet again, although semantically similar, these are lexically different. The servants throw dust at him in *AB* because they esteem that 'era tornado loco' (fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>), however their justification for this in *C* is that they see him as 'algunt pecado' (fol. 28<sup>va</sup>).

*C* creates a further disparity to *AB* when it makes no allusion to the prefect's belief in *AB* that his appearance is due to the serving maids' magical intervention:

Pensó que le fizieran aquellas mugeres      E contó toda su fazienda como lo pasará, que

algunt encantamiento (*AB*: fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>)      fuera aquellas por las desnuyar (*C*: fol. 28<sup>va</sup>)

*AB* describes how the prefect orders the women to be sent before him and to undress themselves (fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>), whereas this is not explicitly mentioned in *C*. A large section of text in *AB*, referring to the prefect's belief that it is due to the devil's intervention that he sees his own clothes 'todas linpias e él todo blanco' (fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>), is not present in *C*. The latter chooses only to announce the servants' fear of their prefect (fol. 28<sup>va</sup>), this paragraph providing yet again a fuller version than can be seen in *AB*:

E a la postre fueron martirizadas aquellas      e por el martirio que levaron e sofrieron,

vírgenes santas (*AB*: fol. 52<sup>va</sup>)      ganaron coronas en el cielo, porque son en

paráyso (*C*: fol. 28<sup>va</sup>)

The celestial and spiritual references in *C*'s expanded version provide one of the many examples supporting a theory that this version is written from a copy assuming a more theological perspective.

There exists a discrepancy between *AB* and *C* in the allusion to Anastasia's sacrifice of her God, as well as to the manner in which she is handed over to her next male keeper:

Para que la tomase por muger sy la pudiese      si la pudiese fazer adorar los ydolos que ge la  
 apartar de la *christiandat* e fazer sacreficar      darié por muger (C: fol. 28<sup>va</sup>)  
 (AB: fol. 52<sup>va</sup>)

Both imply that she is given as a possession to another male (as supports another later reference in C, in 'otro pretor *que* la guardase,' fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>), however only AB makes the renunciation of her Christian beliefs explicit. On this rare occasion it is AB which assumes a more religious perspective. C takes the concept in AB of Anastasia sacrificing her love for her God to another level in its version, to that of physically worshipping other idols.

C gives no indication of the sexually implicit line in AB of the second *adelantado*'s wish to enter either Anastasia's room, or her, or both (fol. 52<sup>va</sup>), however it does refer to the physical affection he wishes to grant her, termed 'ayuntamiento' in AB (fol. 52<sup>va</sup>) and 'para la abraçar' in C (fol. 28<sup>va</sup>). Rather than a direct reference to blindness, however, as is the case in AB, the expression 'luego *mano* a *mano* fallóse seco' (fol. 28<sup>va</sup>) is instead incorporated in C, perhaps indicative of the prefect's eyes or his sexuality drying up.<sup>4</sup> Any relationship to blindness proves weaker in C. The allusion to the prefect asking his Gods in C 'sy podría guaryr de aquella enfermedat' (fol. 28<sup>va</sup>) relates to the concept of blindness as an illness but there is no such explicit reference to the prefect losing his eyesight, which is a thematically salient comment in AB (fol. 52<sup>va</sup>).

The equivalent of 'ydolos' in C (fol. 28<sup>va</sup>) is given as 'dioses' in AB (fol. 52<sup>va</sup>), and the terms, although different, denote similar concepts, both contrasting with Anastasia's own single God. However, 'ydolos' as a term is more disparaging than 'dioses'. The gods' reply to the prefect, when asked whether they can help him in his pitiful state, is again more concisely reproduced in AB than in C:

Porque feziste enojo a Santa Anastasia, eres	Nos non podemos nin estamos a nuestro
dado a nos para que seas atormentado para	mandamiento: ca Santa Anastasia es mucho
sienpre con nos en los tormentos del	amiga de Dios. Mas por quanto la acometiste
ynfierno (AB: fol. 52 <sup>vb</sup> )	para fazer lo que non devéis, sepas que
	después que morieres yrás conusco a los
	ynfiernos (C: fol. 28 <sup>va</sup> )

The 'ynfiernos' of C aptly parallel AB's reference to the ending of the prefect's 'vida por manera mesquina' (fol. 52<sup>vb</sup>). The instruction to Anastasia to 'faz esto *que* te manda él tu Dios' in C (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>), and 'obedesce a tu Dios y faz lo que te manda' in AB (fol.

<sup>4</sup> As noted in chapter 5, this expression could mean that the prefect's eyes have dried up, or indicate his emasculation.

52<sup>vb</sup>) once again provides analogous meaning through slightly varying expressions. She is also asked to give up all of her possessions to be God's disciple in *AB* (fol. 52<sup>vb</sup>), although *C* takes this a step further in stating that she should renounce all of her material goods for her to be worthy of God (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>), proving marginally more forceful. With the exception of some slight expansions of occasional phrases in *AB*, Anastasia's reply to being ordered to do this is virtually identical in *C* (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>) and *AB* (fol. 52<sup>vb</sup> - 53<sup>ra</sup>).

The final prison in which Anastasia is enclosed is depicted as 'muy grave' in *AB* (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>), although no adjective is offered in *C*, and the 'manjar celestial' referred to in *AB* (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>) is alluded to as 'pan celestial' in *C* (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>). The martyred saint providing Anastasia with food is named 'Sant Theodosyo' in *C* (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>), who is referred to only as a 'santa su amiga' (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>) in *AB*. The description of the latter's martyrdom is again detailed further in *C*, in 'que rescebió es en el cielo coronado' (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>). Anastasia was given celestial food for the specific time period of two months in *C* (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>), however no equivalent time scale is offered in *AB*.

The justification for Anastasia being sent to 'las yslas que son llamadas Palmarias' (*AB*: fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>), although not offered in *AB*, is given in *C*: 'E quando vio que la non podía enpescer' (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>). Those two hundred accompanying Saint Anastasia on the islands of 'Palmarias' (*AB*: fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>, or 'Palmares' in *C*: fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>) are recognized as 'christianos' in *AB* (fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>), whereas they are 'vírgenes' in *C* (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>), paralleling Anastasia's description in *C*'s incipit of the legend. Christianity does not necessarily follow on from virginity or vice-versa and both lexical terms contain strong and specific connotations. It is intriguing why one form has been favoured over the other in both cases.

Once more on a religious note, the word 'Jhesu Christo' is at one point in *C* (fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>) replaced with 'Salvador' (*AB*: fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>). The reference to the palms held by the two hundred virgins before they are burned alive in *C* (fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>) is ignored in *AB*. *C* also gives further information regarding *AB*'s allusion to the various torments given to the prisoners, stating that the former were given 'tantos tormentos con tantas penas fasta que ovieron de morir' (fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>). The following example shows *C* yet again providing further information on a statement reproduced more concisely in *AB*:

<p>estava uno que avía seydo despojado muchas vezes por el nonbre del Salvador de toda su heredat, la qual fuera grande asaz (<i>AB</i>: fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>)</p>	<p>estava y un omen que era siervo de Dios, e muchas vegadas aviase desposado de quanto teníe. E dávalo a los pobres de Dios, e todas sus riquezas (<i>C</i>: fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>)</p>
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The reference to both the *omen's* fortune and faith is further developed in *C*. He declares in each edition of the legend that the rich will never take his money or his faith from him. He refers, however, to 'Jhesu Christo, mi Señor' in *AB* (fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>), and 'Dios' in *C* (fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>). He also states in *C* that the soul of Saint Anastasia will always remain with him (fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>), an interjection curiously not present in *AB*.

Anastasia is buried by Apolonia who is depicted as a 'noble muger' in *AB* (fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>), although *C* does not iterate this quality. The orthography of Apolonia's name (*AB*: fol. 53<sup>rb</sup> and *C*: fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>) remains unchanged between the two versions, whereas the location in which she buries Anastasia differs. In *AB*, it is a 'huerta' (fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>), depicting an orchard and denoting fertility, whereas in *C* it is a 'vergel' (fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>), which denotes a glade. Both evoke the traditional *locus amoenus*. Semantically, the terms are distinctive (see Chapter 5). This in turn leads to the final sentences in both editions which, unsurprisingly again, are contrasting:

E una noble muger que llamavan Apolonia	E en aquel logar do ella fue enterrada en
tomó el cuerpo de Santa Anastasia, e	aquel tiempo non estava y yglesia, e después
enterrólo onrradamente en una su huerta. E	que se fue acercado de la <i>christiandat</i> ,
fizo sobre ella una eglesia a onrra del	oyeron dezir como Santa Anastasia fuera allí
Nuestro Salvador, el qual bive e reyna para	enterrada. E fezieron y una eglesia a onrra de
sienpre ( <i>AB</i> : fol. 53 <sup>rb</sup> )	Santa Anastasia ( <i>C</i> : fol. 29 <sup>ra</sup> )

Once again, the basic meaning behind each coincides, while the articulation of each expression is dissimilar.

## CONCLUSION

Due to the vast number of both semantic and lexical discrepancies between *AB* and *C*, both versions were clearly not derived from the same original. The legend of Saint Anastasia recounted in *AB* and *C* follows much the same path, however the dissimilarities in expression incorporated between these two texts, added to their syntactic disparities, support the argument that *AB* and *C* have been copied from different original manuscripts.

## CHAPTER 4 - COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMPILATIONS A AND B WITH THE LATIN

### INTRODUCTION

The Latin legend of Saint Anastasia was reworked into two different Spanish versions, which can subsequently be read in three manuscript texts. These three manuscript texts are edited in this thesis into two critical editions. This chapter looks at the modifications made from Theodore Graesse's Latin edition (1846) to both Compilation A, here called the *Vida*, and Compilation B, here called the *Istoria*. This systematic and linear analysis of textual differences will therefore attempt to prove which of the *Vida* and *Istoria* is the closer derivation of the Latin.<sup>1</sup>

### ANALYSIS OF COMPILATION A

The Latin's incipit 'De Sancta Anastasia' (47) bears little lexical correlation to the *Vida*'s 'De la vida e pasión de Santa Anastasia', although both introduce the story of a saint. Voragine's 'stasis' (47), meaning 'to stand', or 'standing', is taken to denote a different concept in the *Vida*, that of 'éstasis' (1). Whilst the terms are different, 'éstasis' is a close graphic equivalent to the Latin. Compilation A gives a correct definition of 'stasis' to mean 'estudo' (2) at a later point in its text, corresponding to the Latin's 'status' (47). The Latin employs the term 'peccatis' (47) to refer to the vice above which Anastasia is spiritually raised whereas Compilation A uses a different, although semantically identical term, in 'vicios' (2).

In the Latin, Anastasia's father Praetaxati is 'illustris, sed pagani' (47-48), as is the case in the *Vida*, in which he is also 'un noble onbre gentil' (5). 'Praetaxati' in Voragine (47) is reworked as 'Pretaxato' in Compilation A (5). 'Praetaxati' denotes the Roman status of an upper-class citizen and is not a Latin name. Compilation A fails to capture this denotation, although it is evident that here Anastasia is the daughter of an upper class Roman citizen. The small number of discrepancies between the Latin and Compilation A at this initial stage show that the latter is virtually identical to the Latin in terms of transcription.

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<sup>1</sup> All textual references will be made here by page number for the Latin text and by line number for the Spanish critical editions.

Fausta is alluded to fleetingly in the Latin, however she is in addition 'noble' and a 'dueña' in the *Vida* (5). Chrysogonus is 'beato' in Voragine (48) whereas the *Vida* juxtaposes the noun 'mártir' with Grisógono's name, in addition to the qualifier 'Sant' (6). This expansion in the Spanish is demonstrative of increased theological overtones in the text. Chrysogonus taught Anastasia 'fidem Christi' in the Latin (48) although he simply taught in the *Vida*, with no allusion to Christ at this point. This may be explained as an error in transmission. The Latin has Anastasia 'tradita' (48), or delivered to her first husband, whereas she 'casó con un onbre' in the *Vida* (6-7). However, much the same meaning is conveyed.

Having learnt or heard of his wife's Christian missionary work, Públio orders for Anastasia to be closely watched in a nondescript room in the Latin (48). In Compilation A this room is specified as a 'cámara' (11), although the distinction is minor. The 'consolatorias' letters sent between Anastasia and Chrysogonus in Voragine (48) are expanded upon in the *Vida*, as being to console and promise her 'la ayuda divinal' (15). This addition may have been to incite faith in a religious audience at a point in which Compilation A would have been read aloud. Chrysogonus is not imprisoned in the original Latin, however in the *Vida* he is a prisoner 'a la cárcel, ado estava preso con muchos otros por el nonbre del Señor' (14).

The 'ancillas' in Voragine (48) are Anastasia's 'amigas' in the *Vida* (17), with the latter text failing to retain the original notion of a serving maid. This distinction may have been created in the Spanish to cast the four women on an equal level. The reference to the sisters' Christianity is given after their names in the Latin (48), however Compilation A places this characteristic before their names (17). Syntactic variations were commonplace between a copy and its original, however, as seen in Chapter 3. The Latin claims that the prefect keeps them prisoner due to their refusal to obey him: 'praefecti monitis nullatenus obedirent' (48). This is reproduced in the *Vida*'s 'como non quisiesen consentir a su mandado' (19), although the latter makes an additional reference to the women's sacrifice 'a los dioses' (19-20). The Latin claims that the sisters are enclosed in a 'cubiculum' (48), which is reworked in a slightly different manner in the *Vida*'s 'fueron presas del adelantado' (18-19). The latter expression in its passive form denotes the women here as being possessions to a greater extent than the Latin.

The 'libidinem' (Graesse 48) of the prefect, or lust, is referred to as 'ayuntamiento' in the *Vida* (22). The latter expression could be interpreted as being more sexual than the original, presumably to incite the interest of a contemporary

audience. The concept of lust, although denoting sexual sentiment, is not as explicitly sexual as the concept of a couple being joined together. The prefect's sin is highlighted to a greater degree in this text. His passion is justified as being because 'in earum ardens amorem' in the Latin (48), which is similarly reproduced in Compilation A's 'encendido en amor dellas' (21), although with an additional justification. The expression included at this point in the *Vida*, of 'porque eran muy hermosas' (21) reiterates the original Latin's earlier description of their beauty. The terminology referring to the particular kitchen utensils handled by the prefect varies slightly between texts. In the Latin, these are 'cacabos, patellas, caldaria et similia amplectens osculabatur' (48), although in the *Vida*, these are reduced to 'sártenes' and 'calderas' (23). It is likely that the Spanish diminished the original list when copying, for ease of reading.

The prefect is tormented upon leaving this room in the Latin, in being attacked with dust, mud, and rods. In this text, he is not physically punched. In the *Vida*, however, he is punched in the face. This more physically violent behaviour is perhaps indicative of the great sin committed by the prefect, matched by as great a punishment. The prefect is unable to see his true appearance in Voragine, however the description of this inability is expressed slightly differently in Compilation A:

Oculi autem ejus tenebantur, ne sic se	E así le avía engañado el diablo, <i>que</i> non
deformem videret. Quapropter mirabatur	podía conocer la su fealdad e torpedat e
plurimum, cum sic eum omnes deridebant,	maravillábase, porque le ferían así todos,
quem in tanto honore habere	e fazían dél escarnio ca le parecía que
consueverant. Videbatur enim ei, quod	sus vestiduras estavan todas linpias e él
ipse et omnes albis vestibus essent induti.	todo blanco. ( <i>Vida</i> 29-32)

(Graesse 48)

In the Latin the eyes of the prefect are physically stopped from working. In the *Vida*, the cause of this ignorance is blamed on the devil's deception. The two expressions differ slightly although ultimately they denote the same concept: that of blindness. Voragine refers to his previous publicly honoured position, which has been omitted from the *Vida*, and alludes to the appearance of his clothes as being white. In Compilation A, not only are his clothes white but they are also clean. The remark, whilst slightly tautologous, may be an indication of a scribe in Compilation A adding his own information to emphasize the distinction between what this prefect believes is true and what is actually true.



In Voragine the prefect takes Anastasia to a bridal chamber (48), although it is a mere room in the *Vida*. This distinction reduces the potential marital threat of her next guardian in Compilation A. The justification behind this action in Voragine is because 'eam amplexari vellet' (48), while the *Vida* again makes this sexually more explicit: 'la fiziese meter el adelantado en una cámara e entrase a ella, e quisiese aver con ella ayuntamiento' (40-41). The imagery of the prefect entering the room and potentially Anastasia herself, juxtaposed with that of a joint union, creates a more sexual reference than her simply being embraced in the original Latin. In Voragine, the prefect asks his gods for redemption, to which they reply that his destiny is to be tortured in hell with them for an eternity, for having saddened Anastasia:

Quia sanctam Anastasiam contristasti, nobis	Porque feziste enojo a Santa Anastasia, eres
traditus es et amodo semper nobiscum in	dado a nos para que seas atormentado para
inferno torqueberis. (Graesse 48-49)	siempre con nos en los tormentos del
	ynfierno. ( <i>Vida</i> 43-45)

The verb of saddening Anastasia in the *Passio* is modified slightly to that of angering her in Compilation A. This alteration grants her a stronger personality in the Spanish, her character distinctly less saintly, curiously, than in the original. She experiences what is recognized as human emotion, unable to merely rise above her treatment, and so the audience would find it easier to identify with her reactions.

The prefect is led back to his house at this point by his servants, in whose arms he dies. In Voragine, his life simply finishes (49) whereas the *Vida* further specifies that it finished 'por manera mesquina' (46). This addition further emphasizes the element of sin already prevalent in his character. Anastasia is handed over to another prefect in the Latin so that he can 'eam in custodia detineret' (49). This justification is omitted in the *Vida*, perhaps again as a result of an error in transcription. The prefect advises Anastasia to renounce her possessions to him in the *Passio*, at which point she answers that God asks her directly to sell all that she owns, whereas in the *Vida* God 'mandó que el que quería ser su discípulo vendiese todas las cosas que ama' (52-53). The reference to merely a disciple of God is more objective in the latter in a specification that all Christians, and not just Anastasia, should sell their belongings (although this evidently applies to her). The moral relayed here is more universal in scope. In the Latin, Anastasia should sell all that she owns, whereas in Compilation A it is all she loves: the verbal distinction here results in the latter being more suggestive of her making a greater sacrifice. Again, this would identify her character to a greater extent with a contemporary audience.

'Sancta Theodora' in Voragine (49), the saint feeding Anastasia celestial food when she is imprisoned yet again, remains curiously anonymous in Compilation A, in 'una santa su amiga' (56-57). She becomes a type rather than an individual, the message conveyed in the legend subsequently becoming more universal in the Spanish. As a friend, she is unidentified, merely an individual helping Anastasia, and so this situation could equally apply to any of the other *passiones* or *vitae*. Although Theodora's visits are not quantified in the *Passio*, in the *Vida* she visits Anastasia every day. The help relayed between the two saints is thus emphasized in the Spanish, perhaps offering a greater explanation as to how Anastasia is able to survive for so long in an isolated area. Anastasia is sent in Voragine with two hundred 'virginibus' to the island of 'Palmarias' (49), banished there in the name of Christ. These virgins are curiously modified to 'christianos' in the *Vida* (59). Some days later, the prefect summons before him all those on the island, who are this time referred to as 'omnes' in Voragine (49) and 'christianos' in the *Vida* (61). This twofold repetition of the prisoners as Christians emphasizes their relationship to Anastasia: both groups have evidently been imprisoned on this island for identical reasons, through devotion to their faith, and are subsequently punished in a similar manner. Identification of the two reinforces Anastasia's religious conviction in the *Vida*.

Voragine alludes to Anastasia's burial at the hands of Apollonia, although he does not delve into much detail concerning the latter character. Compilation A refers to her as a 'noble muger' (64), emphasizing her religious qualities which are identifiable with those of Anastasia. The church built in Apollonia's garden is built in Anastasia's honour in the Latin, whereas it is in that of God in Compilation A. The latter text presents here a final religious iteration. Voragine refers to the sufferance Anastasia endures under Diocletian and the time in which this occurred, which are both curiously omitted from the *Vida*. The effect of this is again one of homogenization. This legend could relate to that of any other saint, the fact that no date is given in this version means that the time frame is unfixed, indicative of Anastasia's continual influence each time her *passio* was read aloud. The modifications presented between Voragine and Compilation A are relatively minor and few in number, however, suggesting that it is a direct derivative of Voragine.

## ANALYSIS OF COMPILATION B

The Latin's reference to the derivation of the word 'Anastasia' as being from 'Anna', defined as being 'on high', is similarly reproduced in the *Istoria* (1-2), however the latter edition's original nonsensical 'abeja' (1) has been incorrectly transcribed from the Latin's 'ab ana,' (47), explaining an otherwise contextually inappropriate term.<sup>2</sup> The *Istoria* exhibits a distinct lack of resemblance to the Latin at this stage. The Latin 'stasis' (47) has instead been taken to denote 'estante' (2), meaning shelf, in Compilation B. This definition could be distantly linked to Voragine's previous 'sursum' (47), meaning 'upwards' or 'on high', however any connection between the two is weak. The name of Anastasia's father, as 'praetaxati' in Graesse (47), is differently reworked by the *Istoria* in 'Peccayat' (5), which, as mentioned previously, is more identifiable with the element of sin and pagan aspect of his character.

Anastasia is not characterized as a 'dueña' or a 'virgen' in the *Passio*, however both descriptions have been included in the *Istoria* (4 and 2 respectively). The effect of this additional information gives the audience a greater indication of her chaste and independent character, as an indication of events to follow. The tale-like aspect of this Spanish text is evident. Grisógono's saintly status in the *Passio* is omitted in Compilation B, which refers to him instead simply as 'don' (6). Whilst this may be an error in transmission, the distinction is crucial. Anastasia receives celestial guidance at this point in Voragine, which is why she is able to survive her horrific ordeal in prison. The *Istoria*'s erroneous description of Grisógono as a 'don' rather than a saint does not explain how a regular gentleman would assist Anastasia in such a manner.

'Públio' in the Latin (48) is altered to 'Púbel' in the *Istoria* (7), revealing a small orthographic difference between the two.<sup>3</sup> Voragine's description of the abstinence Anastasia exhibits from conjugal union differs somewhat from Compilation B:

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<sup>2</sup> Curiously, the Catalan edition of the legend of Saint Anastasia also incorporates the term 'ab ana' at the same point (Maneikis Kniazzezh & Neugaard 1977: 76). Although it is possible that the Latin may have been defective, it is only through further investigation of any additional instances of textual similarities between the *Istoria* and the Catalan that it may be possible to evaluate the possibility of the former being a closer derivative to the Catalan than it is to the Latin.

<sup>3</sup> Despite clearly not agreeing with the Latin, the *Istoria*'s 'Púbel' duplicates the name featured in the Catalan edition (Maneikis Kniazzezh & Neugaard 1977: 77). This could be of some significance, however further investigation would need to be carried out into the Catalan text itself to analyse its possible bearing upon Compilation B.

In uxorem languorem simulans semper se  
ab ejus consortio abstinebat. (Graesse 48)

Sienpre se fazia doliente, porque todavia  
esquivase la compaña de su marido porque  
toviese abstinencia. (*Istoria* 7-8)

Although the latter's 'doliente' (7) is also suggestive of illness, Voragine's 'se ab ejus consortio abstinebat' (48) is expanded upon in the *Istoria*'s 'esquivase la compaña de su marido porque toviase abstinencia' (8). The latter adopts a different perspective on Anastasia's abstention from conjugal relations. 'Esquivase' (8) emphasizes the ideas of escapism and deception rather than the abstention suggested in the Latin.

Públio learns that Anastasia visits Christian prisons with one of her serving maids in Voragine. This is reworked to a substantially different degree in the *Istoria*:

Qui audiens eam cum una tantum ancilla in  
vili habitu Christianorum carceres circuire  
et iis necessaria ministrare. (Graesse 48)

E una vegada su marido vióla cantar con una  
su servienta, e fablavan de la fazienda de  
Jhesu Christo. E él, quando lo oyó, pesól  
mucho de coraçon e fizol vestir un ábito de  
*christiano* muy vil. (*Istoria* 9-11)

In the Latin Publius does not physically see Anastasia singing and talking about Christ with her serving maid, nor does this text allude to his grief. Both have been included in the Spanish, however, again enhancing the story-like element throughout much of Anastasia's *passio*. The *Istoria* also makes a syntactic error in transcription: the adjective 'Christianorum' juxtaposed with the 'carceres' in Voragine (48) has been juxtaposed instead with Anastasia's dress, giving a translation of 'ábito de *christiano*' (11). As a result, no reference is made in Compilation B to the Christian prisoners. Although such syntactic errors were commonly made in translation, this significant divergence shows that the *Istoria* is not a close derivative of the Latin.

In the Latin, Fausta is not specified as having provided food and drink to sustain her daughter, whereas this is explicitly stated in the *Istoria* (14). This textual expansion further explains how Anastasia is able to survive her ordeal for such a long period of time. At this point, Anastasia's room of enclosure is not expressly depicted as a prison in the *Passio*, although in the *Istoria* it is described as a 'cárcel' (11). This term is more restricting, with the Latin referring to Anastasia's prison enclosure instead at a later point. Syntactic variations in transcription, however, as seen previously, were fairly commonplace. The 'letras' Anastasia sends to Chrysogonus in Voragine are not sent in any particular manner, whereas the method of delivery is specified as being 'encubiertamente' in Compilation B (15). Públio subsequently dies in the *Passio*, a

point which is developed further in the *Istoria* in its statement that his death occurs 'en Dios' (16). The suggestion here is that God has taken his life for the torture he has enforced upon his wife. Anastasia's freedom in Voragine is not adequately reproduced in the *Istoria*. The latter's expression of 'sacáronlas luego de la cárcel' (17) is syntactically ambiguous, as it could imply the removal of one of three objects from the prison: either Anastasia, the serving women or the letters.

The names of the three sisters in the Latin are reworked differently in Compilation B, as 'Áganpe', 'Anómia', and 'Ciréne' (19). These transcriptions prove more extraneous to the Latin than can be seen at the same point in Compilation A, providing further justification for arguing that the *Istoria* cannot be a direct derivative of Voragine. The Latin claims that the women are imprisoned through failure to obey the prefect's orders, which is reiterated in the *Istoria* in conjunction with the additional piece of information that the prefect believes the women to go against 'su ley' (21) in disobeying him. No such law was originally mentioned in the Latin. The 'libidinem' in the *Passio* (48) is rendered more sexually explicit in the prefect's movement towards the women in the *Istoria*, in his 'voluntad' (23), denoting his sexual intent. This is further emphasized in its additional 'entró a ellas' (22), which suggests that the reworking is attempting to highlight the sexual temptation with which Anastasia is faced, and thus also underlining her chastity. In Voragine the prefect is 'in earum ardens amorem' (48), a vital point which has been omitted by Compilation B. Any notion of love or desire is disregarded from the Spanish, with the effect of rendering the prefect emotionless to some extent.

The Latin's reference to the prefect's madness in embracing the kitchen utensils is reproduced in a more tautologous manner in the Spanish. Its description of 'quando cuydava que las besava e las abraçava, besava a las padrellas e a las calderas' (24-25) is not as laboured in Voragine. The *Passio*'s allusion to the original black and deformed appearance of the prefect is modified in the *Istoria*, to the extent that he is only described 'todo ensuziado' (25-26). This does not reflect the full extent as to why his servants see him as the devil, nor does it indicate as great a physical transformation. His servants await his exit at a doorway in the Latin, seeing him as the devil as soon as he comes out of the room, whereas Compilation B omits the detail of this door and modifies the description of the devil slightly to 'algunt pecado' (26). However, both terms are mutually complementary, as both denote sin. This reference to sin reiterates the allusion made previously in this text to the element of immorality associated with

'Peccayat'. The first set of beatings given to the prefect and the servants' ensuing abandonment of their master in Voragine are not acknowledged in the *Istoria*.

The *Passio*'s description of the second series of beatings given to the prefect is again conveyed differently in the *Istoria*:

Alii virgis percutiebant, alii lutum et	Los unos le davan con las vercas e los otros
pulverem in eum projiciebant, suspicantes,	le escopían la cara. E los otros le echavan en
quod in furiam versus esset. (Graesse 48)	el lodo. E los otros en el polvo, pensando que
	era algun peccado. ( <i>Istoria</i> 27-29)

The prefect is tormented with dust and mud and struck with rods in the Latin, although in Compilation B he is attacked only with dust and mud, and in addition, in a similar manner to the *Vida*, he is punched in the face. This increased description of violence in the Spanish is seen as a fitting punishment for having attempted to rape three women. The people of the town recognize the prefect to be the devil in Voragine, and similarly in Compilation B, they see him as a sinful creature.

The inability of the prefect to see his true appearance as expressed in the Latin is reworked in a different manner in the *Istoria*, to a greater extent than is the case for Compilation A:

Oculi autem ejus tenebantur, ne sic se	E sy asý nol espantasen, avién miedo que se
deformem videret. Quapropter mirabatur	tornarié en su oficio, e desende a días,
plurimum, cum sic eum omnes deridebant,	acordó este pretor. ( <i>Istoria</i> 29-30)
quem in tanto honore habere consueverant.	
Videbatur enim ei, quod ipse et omnes albis	
vestibus essent induti. (Graesse 48)	

Whereas the Latin describes the events in substantial detail, depicting the prefect's inability to see his deformed state, his verbal torments and his insistence in believing that his clothes are white, the *Istoria* is instead reduced in detail, appearing more concise. It displays reduced correspondence in its retelling of events to the original Latin, stating only that the appearance of the prefect scared those around him and that he discovered his true state after a few days. The revelation of the prefect's discovery is from an exterior source in the *Passio*, however this is not the case for Compilation B. He holds the sisters responsible in the Latin, accusing them of having deceived him with magic, which is only partly reiterated in the Spanish. The prefect in the *Istoria* does blame the women although he does not accuse them of having performed magic. He desires to see them naked in the Latin, which is also mentioned in the *Istoria*, but the

specification that the women should be brought before him in Voragine is not reproduced in Compilation B (31). Voragine stresses the physical proximity of the sisters' clothes to their bodies (48), which Compilation B does not make as explicit. The Latin's allusions to the prefect's slumber or to the difficulties in arousing him (48) are similarly omitted from the Spanish. The crowning of martyrdom for the sisters in the *Passio* is expressed in more theological terms in the *Istoria*: 'E quando esto vieron oviéronles a dar martirio, e por el martirio que levaron e sofrieron, ganaron coronas en el cielo, porque son en paraíso' (32-34). This textual expansion provides further justification that, of the two Spanish editions, Compilation B cannot be the closer derivation of Voragine.

The conditions of Anastasia's impending marriage contract are referred to in the Latin as involving Anastasia's sacrifice of her religion (48). Conversely, in the *Istoria*, the prefect attempts to force her to adore 'los ydolos, e él tomóse a sacrificar e ella non quiso adorar' (37). The pagan element appears more enhanced in the *Istoria*. Rather than being asked to sacrifice Christianity, as indicates the Latin, the *Istoria*'s expression alludes to the prefect's own gods, as well as Anastasia's reluctance to devote herself to them. The implication here is that she must do more than simply renounce her own God. The original bridal chamber in Voragine (48) is modified in Compilation B, as it was with Compilation A, to a mere room (36), and the allusion to the prefect's blindness in Voragine is altered somewhat in the *Istoria*. It is reduced to 'fallóse seco' (38) in the Spanish.<sup>4</sup> The element of blindness is evident but not expressed as directly as in Voragine (or as in Compilation A).

The Latin 'Deos adiit quaerens, si evadere posset' (48) forms a contrast with the *Istoria*'s 'luego tornóse adorar los ydolos. E demandávas que sy podría guarir de aquella enfermedat o sy podría escapar' (38-40). Although escaping this affliction equates to being cured from it, no such statement is expressly made in the Latin. Voragine does not allude to the prefect physically turning to adore his gods to plead for his freedom, however this has been included in Compilation B. His reply from the Gods, expressed simply in the Latin, is again subsequently changed in translation:

Quia sanctam Anastasiam contristasti,  
nobis traditus es et amodo semper  
nobiscum in inferno torqueberis. (Graesse  
48-49)

Nos non podemos nin estamos a nuestro  
mandamiento; ca Santa Anastasia es mucho  
amiga de Dios. Mas por quanto la acometiste  
para fazer lo que non deviés, sepas que después

<sup>4</sup> Once more, the Catalan edition is similar to K-II-12 in its specific allusion to the prefect becoming 'tot sec' (Maneikis Kniazzezh & Neugaard 1977: 78).

que morieres yrás conusco a los ynfiernos.

(*Istoria* 40-43)

The gods do not provide a direct reply to the prefect's question or specify their inability to cure him in Voragine. Both expressions are, however, present in the *Istoria*. Saint Anastasia is also not referred to as God's friend in the Latin, whereas the Spanish does expressly state this. Whereas Voragine refers to Anastasia's annoyance, the verb that Compilation B incorporates denotes a more physical attack, again with the effect perhaps of inciting the audience's interest to a greater degree. In Voragine, the prefect's eternal posthumous tortures are emphasized to a greater extent than the prefect's death, whereas in in Compilation B this is the opposite.

The Latin mentions the prefect's death as taking place in the arms of his servants, a point which is not repeated in the *Istoria*. This omission perhaps reduces any sympathy the audience would feel for this character by rendering the situation more impersonal. In the *Passio*, his death finishes this section of the legend, whereas Compilation B includes the additional phrase 'E fuése para los ynfiernos' (43-44). As well as providing yet another example of differing information being divulged in Voragine and the *Istoria*, this textual expansion reiterates the sinful nature of this prefect and therefore also justified punishment. Through the prefect's speech to Anastasia the Latin states that God teaches of renouncing all possessions. The Spanish expands this slightly, in its inclusion of 'Ca dize Dios que non es digno de ser con él, el que non renuncia todas las cosas que ha' (47-48). In the *Istoria*, he who fails to do so remains in addition unworthy of God. Anastasia's reply in Voragine makes a reference to 'Deus' (49), whilst the *Istoria* incorporates a more forceful and glorifying overtone in 'señor Dios Christo' (50).

The awfulness of Anastasia's prison in Voragine is lost in the *Istoria*. In addition, Theodosyo's martyrdom, relayed in quite minor detail in the Latin, is given unnecessary flourish in the *Istoria*, in 'por martirio que rescebió es en el cielo coronado' (55). The celestial food provided by Theodora in the Latin (49) becomes 'pan' in Compilation B (56), provided instead by God. Anastasia is banished to the island of Palmarias in the *Passio*, although no particular justification is given, whereas in the *Istoria* this is expressly because the prefect saw that 'la non podía enpescer' (56). Added to this, Voragine does not expressly mention that the prefect orders Anastasia to be sent with the virgins, whereas the *Istoria* does. The prisoners are tormented in various manners in the *Passio*, although their torture is divulged in greater detail in the Spanish:



Anastasiam ad palos ligatam ignibus  
concremavit, alios vero diversis suppliciiis  
interemit. (Graesse 49)

E vino cada una con su palma e luego  
fizolas quemar con fuego, e a las otras  
dioles tantos tormentos con tantas penas  
fasta que ovieron de morir. (*Istoria* 59-61)

The Latin makes no reference to the virgins on this island arriving with their own palm, however in the *Istoria* this point has evidently been included. The latter text also makes a tautologous remark in 'tormentos' and 'penas', which simply expands upon a point cited more briefly in the other versions. The one man detained on the island in the name of Christ in Voragine is instead a 'siervo de Dios' in Compilation B (61). This man states in the *Passio* that the robbers will never take his money as he has already given it to the poor in God's name. Compilation B expands upon his original speech, adding his affirmation that neither Christ nor Anastasia's soul will be taken from him, as the latter 'con Dios es desposada' (*Istoria* 64). As this later allusion to the *sponsa Christi* does not originally feature in the Latin, this provides further evidence that Compilation B is not as close a derivative to Voragine as Compilation A.

The brief ending of the Latin legend is again expressed in greater detail in the Spanish:

Apollonia autem corpus sanctae  
Anastasiae in viridario facta ibi ecclesia  
honorifice sepelivit. Passa est autem sub  
Dyocletiano, qui coepit circa annos  
domini CCLXXXVII. (Graesse 49)

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 tiempo non estava y  
yglesia, e después que se fue acercado de la  
christiandat, oyeron dezir como Santa  
Anastasia fuera allí enterrada. E fezieron y  
una eglesia a onrra de Santa Anastasia.  
(*Istoria* 64-68)

Anastasia's sufferance under Diocletian and the time in which this occurred, as cited in Voragine, is clearly omitted from the *Istoria*. Voragine states that Apolonia takes and buries Anastasia's body in two separate actions, whereas in the *Istoria* the body is simply buried. The garden in the Latin is particularised as a 'vergel' in Compilation B and the *Passio* does not allude to Anastasia's proximity to Christianity through her death, whereas this is prominent in the *Istoria*.

## CONCLUSION

To summarize, all three texts are evidently closely related, with both *Vida* and *Istoria* being derivatives of the Latin in view of the numerous textual parallels between them. Any minor discrepancies between the Latin and the *Vida* (the latter infrequently either giving additional information to or omitting minor factual points from the former) pale into insignificance, however, when observing the disparities between the Latin and the *Istoria*. Due to the immense syntactic and semantic variety between these two latter texts, it can be affirmed with great confidence that the *Vida* is the closer derivative of the Latin, descending as an immediate copy. The *Istoria*'s origins have yet to be determined with absolute certainty, possibly having been transcribed from another copy of the Latin itself. This would account for any human error made in translation.

## CHAPTER 5: THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE LEGEND OF SAINT ANASTASIA

### INTRODUCTION

The *Vida* and the *Istoria* introduce Anastasia's legend with an etymological definition of her name and immediately identify her as 'Santa' (*Vida* 1, *Istoria* 1), drawing emphasis to her holy disposition in distinct recognition of her saintly attributes.<sup>1</sup> Theodosyo (in the *Istoria* only) and Chrysogonus are equally revered by a medieval audience as they possess similar miraculous capacities. Agape, Chionia, and Irene, through their martyrdom in this legend, are all also similarly distinguished as saints here. Apolonia is recognized as a saint in Jacobus de Voragine's hagiographic compilation (1846: 293) although is not recognized as such in this legend. Descriptions of the three sisters, however, as '*christianas*' (*Vida* 17), or of Apolonia as '*una noble muger*' (*Vida* 65) equally serve to grant the aforementioned special status above other mortals. These vernacular legends often present hyperbolic, stereotypical portraits of the saints and their heroic virtues, creating an unbridgeable gulf between themselves and the average mortal (Robertson 1989: 438). Sainthood offered a

comparison between superior and 'standard' notions of holiness. The 'solution' that these heroes offer is to the problem of a paterfamilias God, the image of the divine moulded in and by the patriarchal process in Christianity 'beyond', 'above' and 'other', so distant from the base of the pyramid as to be invisible, to be only 'heard about' from those closer to the apex. (Stuart 1996: 40)

The *Vida* and the *Istoria* define the noun 'Anastasia' as meaning 'suso' and 'éstasis' (or 'estante' in the *Istoria* 2), literally signifying that this saint stood on high. Distance denotes her spiritual perfection, complementing the idea that remoteness from the world is a prerequisite for sainthood (Cazelles 1991b: 2). Hagiographic tradition identifies that saints stood apart from society, enabling their identification as paradigms of moral virtue. By attaining a higher physical and spiritual plane, Anastasia achieves closer proximity to Christ, with both the *Vida* and the *Istoria* specifying her proximity to virtue and her distance from vice. This description of '*porque estudo alçada e apartada de los vicios e allegada a las virtudes*' (*Vida* 2-3) juxtaposes the nouns of vice

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<sup>1</sup> References to the Spanish editions are given by line number only.

and virtue, emphasizing the distinction between the two. The opposition is heightened through the use of the contrasting adjectives accompanying these nouns; 'apartada' and 'allegada'. Synecdoche identifies the image of virtue with that of heaven, with Anastasia being extremely close to both.

## ANASTASIA'S FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Only the *Vida* characterizes Anastasia as a 'dueña', although both versions describe her as a 'fija' (*Vida* 4). The term *dueña* suggests a woman in control, a lady of the house, asserting her independence even as a young *fija* under the guardianship of her father (see also Alonso 1986: 975-76). Although Anastasia's age is not specified, she is clearly virginal and inexperienced in the ways of the world. The audience is aware that she must remain chaste from herein to reap the celestial benefits. With the description of Anastasia being religiously 'enseñada' by the 'bienaventurado mártir Sant Grisógono' (*Vida* 6, *Istoria* 6), the image of her as young, innocent, perhaps also naïve at this point, is reinforced. She must be taught a basis upon which to build her faith to understand what is expected of her. Naturally, this teaching occurs towards the beginning of her life to demonstrate her spiritual and personal progression before her final days on Earth (see Weinstein & Bell 1982: 73).

Anastasia and her family are described as Roman, with her father depicted as a pagan in the *Istoria* (5). These characteristics are interrelated. The pagan, Roman element associated with Anastasia's father is contrasted with the Christian definition given to her mother in each text (*Istoria* 5-6). Anastasia's father in the *Istoria* is 'don Peccayat' (4-5), unlike the *Vida*'s 'Pretaxato' (5), which further highlights the already established element of *pecado* concerning this character (see Weinstein & Bell 1982: 23). The latter gives Anastasia in marriage against her will, subjecting her to the very mortal temptation from which she should abstain.<sup>2</sup> Her ability to resist makes her a paradigmatic exemplum for married women (Cooper 1996: 119). In a familial context, she descends from 'noble linaje' (*Vida* 4), which may suggest a background of wealth from the outset.<sup>3</sup> The noun 'noble' is repeated twice in the *Istoria* (4-5) and three times in the *Vida* (4-5), which reinforces the importance of Anastasia's elevated familial situation. She must learn at a later point how to part with her money. She must begin

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<sup>2</sup> For an insight into marriage unions at a young age, see Grubbs 2002: 88.

<sup>3</sup> 'At all times many more saints originated in the upper than in the lower classes. Over 40 percent of the total number of saints [...] came from noble or "good family" backgrounds' (Weinstein & Bell 1982: 196).

life possessing something of great monetary value to distribute it later amongst those needier than her. Drawing particular attention to her wealth early on in the *passio* suggests that this theme will return at a later point, as indeed it does. Regarding poverty, 'inherited poverty was commonplace; voluntary poverty was sanctifying. Chastity was a greater virtue for nobles, who were expected to behave licentiously, than for commoners, who were not' (Weinstein & Bell 1982: 199).

The description of Anastasia's marriage is conveyed through two distinct images. The *Istoria* describes her as being 'dada por muger a don Púbel' (7), whereas the *Vida* states that she 'casó con un onbre gentil que avía nonbre Públio' (6-7). Although medieval marriage was generally an obligation rather than a choice, the latter implies that the decision to marry was taken mutually and respectfully, taking her feelings into consideration. The *Istoria* offers the more credible of the two situations, in which she is physically delivered to another. Its passive 'fue dada' (7) casts her into the role of the subservient wife. Marriage in the medieval era was often seen as an economic exchange, symbolically related to the overriding theme of material wealth prevalent in many hagiographic legends. The decision to marry Anastasia off, as was frequently the case for many marriages at that time, is one evidently taken by the traditional head of the family, the dominant *pater*. The *Istoria* explains that the latter is a pagan and hence uninterested in her commitment to preserving herself solely for Christ. Her marriage is a familial obligation, taking place regardless of her sole desire to be Christ's bride. Few female saints in Voragine's *Legenda aurea* are married, aspiring instead to become *sponsae Christi*.

The unexpected death of Anastasia's husband is thus convenient, leaving her free to be united with Christ. The death of Púbel, described in such lack of detail that it could be viewed almost as incidental, is necessary to ensure that nothing impedes her union with Christ: 'E entre tanto en Dios morió el marido della' (*Istoria* 16-17). From a religious perspective, married saints were problematic, as the predominant ideal for any saint was devotion only to God. This proved difficult if they had already given themselves in marriage. Through avoidance of any sexual contact with either her husband or any other man Anastasia is able to continue her celestial quest:

In the view of churchmen, there was only one way in which women could transcend their unfortunate sexuality, only one possibility through which they could deny their relationship with Eve and absolve themselves from their primary guilt in the original sin, and this was through a life of virginity, of sexless perfection. For the Church,

virginity was the perfect life and this state was a prerequisite for most women saints. It is in following this model defined by theologians that women came closest to resemble man and adopt his attributes.

(Schulenberg 1978: 117-18)

Anastasia's resistance to sexual relations with her husband highlights her intelligence. Her lies regarding the state of her health, whilst perhaps underhand, are necessary, proving her capacity to retain her independence through intelligent aforethought. This is shown in such language as 'so color de alguna enfermedad' (*Vida* 8) and 'sienpre se fazia doliente' (*Istoria* 7). Anastasia is aware of her actions throughout this pretence: the verbs 'apartábase' (*Vida* 7) and 'esquivase' (*Istoria* 8) highlight an intentional action, one with the ultimate consequence of being removed from a situation of temptation, thus enabling her to retain her chastity through her 'abstinencia' (*Istoria* 8). As Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell argue, 'Christian culture internalized the belief that the body polluted the spirit, and that nothing polluted the body more than sex' (1982: 74). Anastasia reverses the traditionally accepted hierarchy of male dominating female. She asserts herself and deceives a man who, in this era, was traditionally believed to be more competent and gifted than his female counterpart. The nature of the woman was deemed to be inferior: 'The Roman belief in *infirmitas sexus* sprang not from any opinion on their physical state, but rather from the idea that they had inferior critical faculties' (Jones 1993: 25). Anastasia overrides this belief however, taking control. In a type of *mundus inversus*, or reversal of roles, her pretence of sickness ironically contrasts the first and second prefects' actual illness of blindness: she has the ability to pretend to be ill herself and inflict an actual illness on another.

Sexual intercourse is often thought to be one of the few areas in which women are in control (see Karras 1996: 108), as men continually succumb to their lustful desires. Physical illness was one of the few reasonable justifications for not engaging in sex and Anastasia's awareness of this enables her to work this excuse to her advantage (see Cooper 1996: 121). Her ploy is evident: she pretends to be too ill for sex, although she is healthy enough to visit imprisoned Christians (Winstead 1997: 80). The sexual act itself is strongly implied in both 'aver ayuntamiento con él' (*Vida* 7-8) and 'la compañía de su marido' (*Istoria* 8). A contrast between Anastasia's mortal husband and Christ, her celestial one, is emphasized in the *Istoria*'s 'e ella sienpre amava las cosas de Jhesu Christo' (8-9). This expression, juxtaposed with Anastasia's consistent avoidance of the company of her husband, gives her celestial relationship a disturbingly sexual

slant. Christ possesses everything she requires in a lover, everything which is absent from her relationship with Púbel. This direct comparison of both proves both Christ's ability and Púbel's inability to satisfy her. In highlighting Púbel's defects, there is paradoxically an automatic accentuation of Christ's qualities.

Subsequently, the two texts diverge in content. The *Vida* describes how Anastasia, a '*christiana*', visits other '*christianos*' in their prisons, and '*les dava todo lo que avían nescenario*' (10). Linguistically, the repetition of the noun *christiano* through polyptoton stresses the Christian element within the legend, strengthening Anastasia's alliance with the Christian prisoners. Each are placed on equal footing through these identical adjectives. Despite their societal distinction, Anastasia charitably donates her possessions in a bid to identify herself further with the prisoners' situation, which in turn raises them to her former level of wealth, in a type of chiasmic structure.<sup>4</sup> These prison visits are also conducted with Anastasia in disguise, and thus in secret, joined by a female companion. The *Vida* suggests that they occur for a substantial period of time prior to Anastasia's husband finding out, seen in the use of tenses. The gerundive '*entendiendo*' indicates a recent action, brought about by something specific, comparable with the imperfect '*era christiana*' (*Vida* 8-9), which represents an habitual action in the past. Públio's lack of awareness of these visits is indicative of a deliberate attempt by Anastasia to hide them from him. He is not Christian and thus unlikely to tolerate any religious practice.

Anastasia's secrecy is further emphasized by the altering of her appearance throughout these visits, wearing an '*ábito de onbre*' (*Vida* 9).<sup>5</sup> The concept of transvestism or assuming the clothes of another gender to hide one's true identity is not unfamiliar in hagiographic tradition. John Anson argues 'male attire represented communion with Christ. It signaled and effected a transformation of self, the birth of a new identity, not only in the name of Christ but in the body as well' (1974: 11).<sup>6</sup> It was often directly related to the marital state of married saints, with a wife wearing men's clothes to escape their husbands (Dekker & Van de Pol 1989: 13). Virtue was connected to masculinity, hence why virtuosity was linked to acting like a man (Stuart 1996: 28,

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted, however, that this is the only charitable act conducted by Anastasia throughout the whole of her *passio*. The majority of the other saints featuring in Voragine's collection participate in many more acts of kindness (see Chapter 2).

<sup>5</sup> 'We know from Augustine's letter to Edicia that for a married woman of standing to adopt humble garb during public appearances might be understood as an advertisement that sexual relations between the couple had ceased. This may have been understood as the implication of Anastasia's gesture – which, if the contrary to the wishes of Publius, would have represented a substantial insult to his honour' (Cooper 1996: 122).

<sup>6</sup> Anson focuses on Saint Thecla in arguing that the assuming of a different disguise represents a type of baptism. The saint arguably puts on the body of Christ, hence why it is logical that the female saint should assume a new male form (1974: 7).

see also Salih 1999: 99). To enter the prisons, Anastasia must forcibly dress as a man, as only the physical altering of the appearance of her gender would enable her acceptance into the community. Extending this analysis, Anastasia is disguising her feminine forms, covering up that which is quintessentially sexually enticing. Vern Bullough & James Brundage refer to the passage of Deuteronomy 22:5, stating that, despite the Church's negative interpretation of the act of transvestism, men were commonly perceived as the more rational and acceptable gender, and so women were instead encouraged to assume male clothing:

'Women transvestites were tolerated and even encouraged since they were striving to become more malelike and therefore better persons. [...] The women shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are an abomination unto the Lord thy God [6]' (1982: 44)

Her physical beauty, that which is inherently feminine and the reason that women are perceived as the arousers and corrupters of men's chastity, is identifiable with Eve, the negative ideal of the feminine. Eve, unlike the Virgin Mary, succumbed to temptation, and was thus publicly humiliated. She is the scapegoat for the downfall of humanity. It was commonly believed that without women's sexual advances, men would have nothing to resist. Anastasia, by rejecting this characterization and covering her femininity and ultimately her sexuality, proves her closer relationship to the virtuous Virgin Mary rather than the fallen Eve.

Saint Theodora, appearing at the end of Anastasia's *passio*, takes the appropriation of the male role to a different extreme in her own legend, cutting her hair and using a male name to remove any evidence of her gender (Graesse 1846: ch 92). Likewise Saint Marina was only accepted into a monastery because her father disguised her as the monk *Marinus*, ordering her never to reveal her true female identity (Graesse 1846: ch 84). Margaret and Pelagia gave themselves the name 'frater Pelagius' (Graesse 1846: 675), with Pelagia exhibiting similarities to Anastasia in giving all of her worldly goods and moving into a small cell to be a servant of God (Graesse 1846: chs 150 & 151).<sup>7</sup> Women within such legends are instead often portrayed as sinners, with young anonymous women in particular frequently falling pregnant. Such similarities among the legends, such as breaking from the female past, refusing parental control and

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<sup>7</sup> 'In the legend of Pelagia, the notorious courtesan of Antioch signalizes her repentance by exchanging her sumptuous gowns and the pearls for which she was called Margarite for a hair shirt and a monastic habit apparently to represent the ultimate reversal of her shame as a woman' (Anson 1974: 13). See also Bullough & Brundage 1982: 46.



rejecting sexuality (Dekker & Van de Pol 1989: 45) were intentional, for the genre of hagiography aimed to suppress individualizing detail and emphasize the saints' resemblance to one another and to Christ (Winstead 1997: 1-3).

Anastasia is accompanied by 'una su servienta' (*Vida* 9) throughout her Christian visits and is even imprisoned with her in the *Istoria* (11-12). This sense of female companionship is continued throughout the legend: Anastasia is accompanied by three Christian sisters, she stays with Theodosyo during her final imprisonment, she is accompanied by hundreds of other Christian prisoners (of unspecified gender) on the island of Palmaria, and even after her death, her body remains with Apollonia in a garden outside the latter's home. Regarding female solidarity, women were advised not to exit the safe confines of their family or marital home alone, especially during the late hours. To do so would be to throw suspicion on the woman's chastity (Karras 1996: 109). Accompaniment would guarantee protection of her reputation and safety. Anastasia does everything possible to attract the least amount of attention to herself: as she is almost never alone, her innocence is emphasized.

Despite the Christian prisoners not being mentioned in the *Istoria*, Anastasia's husband still discovers his wife with her servant, here singing and talking about Christ. The religious overtones are powerful. It is instead at this point in the *Istoria* that Púbel obliges her to wear a horrid, although Christian, 'ábito' (11). Although disguise features in both texts, intriguingly Anastasia decides to wear a male garment voluntarily in the *Vida*, although under duress in the *Istoria*. Often in hagiography, as recounts the *Vida*, the assumption of another gender's clothing was voluntary undertaken for a specific purpose, with the intention of hiding the female form. In the *Vida*, this goal is so that Anastasia is not recognized leaving her family home to help others. In the *Istoria*, arguably Púbel wants to cover her female figure, determined that as he can not have her, no other man may be seduced by her.

## THE FIRST IMPRISONMENT

Anastasia's first imprisonment by her husband evokes numerous images:

In the first place, it points to a comparison between Anastasia and the married heroines of the Apocryphal Acts, at least one of whom faced imprisonment by her husband. Second, it serves a narrative purpose of identifying Anastasia with the imprisoned Christian confessors to

whom she has ministered and among whom she will take her place as  
the story progresses. (Cooper 1996: 122)

The two nouns denoting this enclosed space, a 'cámara' in the *Vida* (11) and a 'cárcel' in the *Istoria* (11), evoke images of small, confined areas, a location for imprisonment. The 'cámara' sexualizes this imprisonment in its denotation of a private room, most probably a bedroom, however, whereas the 'cárcel' reduces the status of Anastasia to that of a mere prisoner, heightening the element of suffering with reduced sexual overtones. Through her imprisonment, Anastasia is placed on the same level as the servants to whom she attends. The helper ironically becomes the sufferer of the same pain she was aiming originally to reduce. By identifying her pain with that of the prisoners, she subsequently identifies her pain with that of Christ, who also suffered for others. As mentioned previously, *imitatio Christi* was commonly exhibited by medieval saints, as through identification of pain with Christ, the distance between saint and the divine was reduced.

Although Anastasia is similarly categorized with other prisoners, she is directly contrasted with her husband: the former is prepared to give all of the prisoners everything they need, whilst the latter is unwilling to give his wife even the most basic of commodities, such as food. Syntactically and stylistically, 'les dava todo lo que avían nescenario' forms a contrast with the phrase succeeding it, 'non le dava aún la vianda nescitaria' (*Vida* 10-11). Both main verb and adjective are identical, although the phrases elsewhere oppose each other. The verb 'dava' becomes negated, and the qualifier 'todo' inverts to its opposite, 'aún'. Such a direct comparison heightens Anastasia's generosity and inherent goodness while accentuating her husband's selfishness. Públio's primary objective is to take all of Anastasia's wealth, even if this leads to her death, whereas that of Anastasia is to give it all away, and ironically not to him. Again the moral distance between husband and wife is underlined. She is selfless, her husband selfish.

The *Vida* refers to Anastasia's worry at her impending death (see Weinstein & Bell 1982: 147). This is shown in the unspecified number of letters she writes to her spiritual teacher, delivered 'encubiertamente' in the *Istoria* (15). Once again, the elements of secrecy and discretion are prevalent. Written material plays an essential role in early Christian communities, as in the epistolary exchange here between Chrysogonus and Anastasia (Boureau 1984: 69). The letter, an object indicative of intelligence and literacy, empowers both the saint and his or her spokesperson to channel the communication between heaven and earth, contrasting the average believer's relative

lack of verbal or exegetical sophistication (Cazelles 1991b: 2). Anastasia's letters are 'llenas de dolor' (*Vida* 13), although her demeanour is not specified in the *Istoria*.<sup>8</sup> She fears for her life throughout her first significant torturous ordeal: 'the saints foresaw, frequently with the aid of a divinely inspired vision, their impending deaths' (Head 1990: 132). Grisógono returns these letters, full of consolatory messages, 'prometiéndole la ayuda divinal' (*Vida* 15). Anastasia's religious beliefs are strong, her request for help indicative of her awareness of the power religion yields. However, she still requires reassurance. These words of spiritual reassurance come from the one man who helped her from the outset, now in a 'cárcel' himself (*Vida* 14), which juxtaposes him on the same level as the other Christian prisoners and Anastasia. Each experiences similar emotions, brought together through their enclosure in identical locations.

In both versions, Públio's death is announced, despite no evident cause of death being discussed, permitting Anastasia's release (*Vida* 15-16).<sup>9</sup> The quick, unexplained succession of events suggests that the death of Anastasia's husband is a deliberate act of God, a miraculous consequence of the aforementioned letters. This is made explicit in the *Istoria*, as her husband is said to have died 'en Dios' (16). Públio's death is necessary to make room for her new husband (see Cazelles 1991a: 72). Following this episode, Anastasia no longer fears for her life, despite her subjection to further torturous interludes, as she has seen the power of her celestial faith. Whatever should happen now, she is now convinced that she will be protected by a higher force. She expresses no grief for the loss of her husband despite the contemporary belief in Rome that widows should express their grief at such a loss (Levy 2003: 3).

## THE KITCHEN EPISODE

The three sisters Agape, Chionia, and Irene are subsequently introduced into the *passio* (although their names vary orthographically), with their identity remaining somewhat elusive. Anastasia is identified with these women through the binding force of mutual Christian faith which appears in each of the four characters. Despite this common denominator, the *Istoria* presents the sisters as lower in status than Anastasia, as her 'servyentas' (18), rather than as her 'amigas' in the *Vida* (17). Their position as servants

<sup>8</sup> Although the Spanish reworkings do not delve into the content of these letters, Antonio Maria Bonucci emphasizes Anastasia's horror as regards her marriage; she desires her husband's death, reiterating her commitment to her faith (1888: 28).

<sup>9</sup> In earlier versions, such as that edited in Hippolyte Delehaye's *Étude sur le Légendier Romain* (1936), the cause of Publius' death is made explicit: he is killed whilst travelling to Persia, having been sent there on a military mission.

complements the notion of Anastasia as a giver and helper, aiding those less fortunate. Regardless of their status, they are placed on an equal footing, as is consistently the case in this *passio*. Anastasia must be humble and identify herself with others to get closer to God. The bonds of loyalty and protection between a saint and his servants are here evident (Head 1990: 287).

In the *Vida*, a prefect is introduced whose role is to take command of these women, one conforming to the idea of the dominating public figure prevalent in so many hagiographic legends (Winstead 1997: 6). He orders the imprisonment of the three sisters in both texts. It is only these three women who are mentioned as being imprisoned, Anastasia not specified as accompanying them. The traditionally dominating male gender attempts to control the subservient female gender, however obligation is the only technique available to this prefect, due to his apparent lack of intellect or guiding faith: 'E aquel tiempo, el pretor de la cibdat amonestava segunt su ley que ellas non queriendo obedescer a los sus mandamientos, fizolas encerrar en una cárcel' (*Istoria* 20-22). The women in this legend are similarly treated, offered a chance to conform to male demands, tortured when they refuse to succumb, and subsequently handed over to another man. They are objects, transferred from one owner to the next, and ordered to perform various acts or recite certain words.

Rather than mere objects, these women are sexual objects, their sole role to satisfy the greedy lust of their guardian. The sexual intent of the prefect is heavily underlined in both versions:

E este pretor que era mayoral entró a ellas  
por conplyr con ellas su voluntad. E así,  
como fue entrado, dentro luego fue perdido  
el su entendimiento. (*Istoria* 22-23)

E el adelantado, encendido en amor dellas  
porque eran muy hermosas, fuése para  
ellas por aver ayuntamiento con ellas.  
(*Vida* 21-22)

There is a physical movement towards both the room and the women, with the prefect's specific intention of getting closer to the women to seduce them. The *Istoria* reinforces an animalistic image of giving into one's primal desires by concentrating on the prefect's 'voluntad'. The vocabulary used centres on the action of entering and joining, creating a visually graphic sexual image. This description of the animal is extended by Peter Brown. He explains how saints are able to escape an 'animal world', one he interprets as sinful and without soul, which is certainly an apt interpretation in the context of the prefect: 'by renouncing all sexual activity the human body could join in Christ's victory: it could turn back the inexorable. The body could wrench itself free from the grip of the animal world' (1988: 32). Both texts also refer to the loss of the

prefect's 'entendimiento' (*Istoria* 21), or the shift created in his brain, referring to his shaken mental state. His decision to give in to his carnal desires results in a loss of reason which deprives him of all rationality and logic. This explains why, when he encounters the kitchen implements, he is able to satisfy himself, erroneously convinced that they are the women. This image of sin resulting in madness is one frequently seen in hagiographic legends. The prefect is concentrating solely on the physical and material, having lost sight of the relevance of the spiritual. He is burning with desire, the appearance of the sisters provoking feelings of lust within him. Whereas the flames which ultimately burn Anastasia highlight the strength of her character and warmth of her soul, the flames of desire in conjunction with the prefect are associated with those of hell, creating a link between him and the devil.

An outward suggestion of the prefect's madness as sin is reinforced when he exits the room. His servants' first impression upon seeing their master is one of disbelief. His transformation is such that they believe him to be the devil himself: 'e veyéndole sus servidores que le esperavan a la puerta, pensaron que era diablo' (*Vida* 25-26), and likewise, 'E quando la su compañía le vio asý venir pensava que era algunt pecado' (*Istoria* 26). The 'puerta' at which the prefect's servants await their master is given particular prominence, with the door often symbolic of an entrance, exit, or change in situation. One interpretation is that these servants are awaiting the prefect's arrival to judge him at the other side of an invisible boundary, just as Saint Peter judges at the gates of heaven. These elements of judgement and of forsaking one's place in heaven because of sin are reinforced at a point in which the gods warn the prefect that his wicked actions bear the consequences of an eternity of torture in hell.

The three sisters are enclosed in a room in which crockery, pots, and pans are stored, although not expressly a kitchen. This imagery of utensils is expanded, with reference in both *Istoria* and *Vida* to 'las sártenes e las calderas' (*Vida* 23).<sup>10</sup> These objects are physically identifiable with a predominantly female-dominated zone, the kitchen. The notion of food was important in piety. Women in sanctity 'focused their devotions on the reception of the Eucharist, often rejecting all other forms of food in fasts of heroic - even mortal - length' (Head 1990: 6). Anastasia herself undertakes an involuntary fast before her death. The construct of virginity 'was largely founded upon passive and introverted values and easily fits in the much-used model of feminine space belonging to the private world of domesticity and restriction' (Levy 2003: 22). The male

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<sup>10</sup> The Middle English collections of Saint Anastasia's legend, notably the *North English Legendary*, offer a more dramatic version of the kitchen episode of the legend, even though this aspect features in a relatively minor fashion in the Spanish *passiones*. See Karen A. Winstead 1997: 77-78.

space is traditionally one of hierarchy, domination, and conquest, whereas conversely the female space represented an area isolated from everything else, constituting precisely what men failed to understand of her (Ashton 2000: 71). Whereas the woman was constantly associated with the domestic as well as the preparation of food, the man tended to be both bread-winner and guardian of the woman. It is, then, ironic that the attempted abuse is occurring in a female-orientated area. As Brigitte Cazelles argues, this spatial manipulation is linked to forced enclosure, forced exposure, and woman's mercantile worth (1991a: 63).

The sisters are able to benefit from this familiar territory, drawing upon personal courage to use this internalized space to their advantage, to the extent that they can physically deceive a man into thinking he has been victorious.<sup>11</sup> As Elizabeth Robertson states, 'the wondrous spiritual world must be realized for her through the physical world, through the objects of her daily life that surround her – including that most domestic of all mundane objects – the washbasin' (1991: 287).<sup>12</sup> Anastasia is undoubtedly involved in making the prefect believe that his needs have been magically satisfied. The concept of him feeling these pots and pans potentially diffuses onto a deeper level: he is satisfied with what women quintessentially represent, their basic and domestic stereotype. Ironically he has not been satisfied by their actual worth. The punishment Anastasia receives from her husband for doing something she believed in is mirrored through the punishment these women receive for not renouncing their convictions.

The shape and feel of kitchen utensils differ notably from those of a woman, however this prefect 'fue farto' (*Vida* 24) having exited the room nonetheless. Evidently some type of miracle is responsible. Although the justification is left unexplained, the suggestion is that these women use magic to their advantage: 'As evidence of a close relationship with God, [miracles] served as an authentication of sanctity' (Head 1990: 16). The prefect certainly blames their magic, thinking 'que le fizieran aquellas mugeres algunt encantamiento' (*Vida* 33), although both audience and the women believe that the strength of religion is responsible. Women were commonly believed to have practiced sorcery in the medieval era to exacerbate their control over men to the extent of rendering them impotent in some cases.<sup>13</sup> The identification of women with sorcery

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<sup>11</sup> Lynda L. Coon also discusses the importance of domesticity in her discussion of Queen Radegund in Fortunatus's *vita* (1997: 147).

<sup>12</sup> See Joan M. Petersen 1996: 390 for information on the similar activities of Saint Radegunde in a kitchen environment.

<sup>13</sup> An example of such control can be seen in the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, in which Doña Llambla orders a blood-filled cucumber to be thrown at the chest of Gonçalo Gonçález, symbolic of an attempt at

and magic was perceived as ultimately male-defined, and magic was seen as a means by which women tried to influence or control men (Murray 1995: 21-25). The image of the kitchen could also relate to the association of women with the element of magic through the link of the witch: the latter used cauldrons to make their spells (Classen 2005: 73), corresponding with the cooking imagery present in Anastasia's *passio*.

## THE PREFECT'S ALTERATION

Having embraced various kitchen utensils under the misapprehension that they are the sisters, the prefect exits the room not only satisfied following his embrace, but also covered in soot: 'negro e feo' (*Vida* 25) or 'todo ensuziado' (*Istoria* 25-26). Firstly, the verb 'abraçar' (*Vida* 24) in secular romance generally denoted an erotic embrace, occasionally acting as a euphemism for the sexual act (Chewning 1999: 117). Secondly, the distinction between black and white is particularly marked: the prefect exits the room a distinctive black, whereas he entered it white. The colour distinction suggests a spiritual and physical fall: blackness is associated with sin, deception, and filth, whiteness with purity, virginity, and innocence (Classen 1993: 76; see also Stuart 1996: 88). The original sense of the English word 'black' was that of smoke-black from fire (here the fires of hell), with the figurative meanings of sad and evil (Classen 1993: 61). The *Vida* heightens this distinction, in 'le parecía que sus vestiduras estaban todas linpias e él todo blanco' (31-32), demonstrating that it is an erroneous self-perception which has led him to believe that he is wearing the same coloured clothing as those around him: white. The immediate juxtaposition of the adjectives 'linpias' and 'blanco' reinforces the link between white and purity. The reality is that their whiteness contrasts his black appearance. His erring has led to a divide between him and his peers. He is 'algunt pecado' (*Istoria* 26), yet again specified as being unable to see things clearly. Gail Ashton argues that the man's 'insecurity and confusion mirror a phallogentric universe's fear of the feminine, an inability to know and contain the threat of the powerful unknowable' (2000: 59).

The prefect's dirty appearance and damaged clothes are invariably tied to his sinful behaviour. He has become imperfect and damaged, his soul as torn as his clothes. Individuals surrounding him regard him as little more than an animal: 'diéronle muchas puñadas e muchos palos, e echaron a foyr e dexáronlo solo en su cabo' (*Vida* 26-27).

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emasculating him (Burt 1982: 350). The Spanish ballad of Mariana also refers to the main protagonist who succeeded in making don Alonso's teeth all fall out, again symbolic of his castration (see for example Cummins 1989: 1011).

Although his servants are below him in status, they attack him with dust and mud, as well as verbally abuse him. This is for the simple reason that they are unconcerned about any potential repercussions, as he is unrecognizable to them. The role reversal between master and servant is marked in another example of *mundus inversus*: a mental image is created of the prefect cowering on the floor, physically and morally below his own servants who tower above him. He who would beat his slaves and violently assert his control is now the recipient of such abuse, ironically from those lower in status than him. The prefect's deception is interpreted by his servants as stupidity, the latter duly mocking their master for his mistake. The figure of the devil was often portrayed as a comic figure due to his inability to corrupt the saint (Wyatt 1983: 46). The servants abandon the prefect for some time, leaving him time to repent and reflect upon his actions as to why he is punished and judged in such a manner.

The servants throw objects into their master's face and cover him with natural dirt from the earth which serves to darken him further, highlighting his sin. It also reduces him to an animalistic level. This type of alien rejection from society merely accentuates the gravity of his actions. Once again the prefect's madness is repeated, the justification for such assault given as being that the servants 'pensando que era tornado loco' (*Vida* 29). He is treated like an animal having succumbed to his bestial, primitive instincts. The repetition in the *Vida*, then, of 'se le trastornó el seso' (23) and 'era tornado loco' (29) underlines the common ethos of numerous similar hagiographic legends. Madness is inextricably linked to sin and, in turn, attraction, highlighting the traditional analogies of love and lust to both a deprivation of sense and a grave illness:

The metaphoric use of illness and health to indicate a person's moral and spiritual condition is very common among ancient philosophers.

Vice and ignorance are seen as illnesses of the souls for which philosophy can effect a cure. (Thom 1995: 213)

The prefect's lust and the attractiveness of these sisters, combined with man's basic urge to procreate, send the prefect into such a disillusioned, obsessed mental state that he can think of nothing else but to possess the sisters. Although he blames them for the mysterious spell he appears to be under, the devil is instead cited as the culprit (*Vida* 30).

Blindness is cited as the cause of the prefect's inability to see himself in his actual state, as 'non podía conocer la su fealdad' (*Vida* 30) indicates his incapacity to see his transformation, his eyes having been physically stopped from working. This blindness reoccurs with the second prefect in the *passio*, who also attempts to abuse Anastasia. The pattern is evident: identical acts of sin are punished with similar



consequences. Expressions denoting these losses of sight, particularly regarding the second perfect, for example, 'luego mano a mano fallóse seco' (*Istoria* 38) and 'fue luego ciego' (*Vida* 42), draw attention to eyesight as one of the most significant concepts in Anastasia's legend, especially given its correlation with the themes of colour, sin, and purity. As well as describing a loss of sight, 'fallóse seco' (*Istoria* 38) could also indicate a type of emasculation for the prefect. Although the analysis may appear crude, he is depicted as having physically dried up, which may indicate some form of impotence, his masculinity having been taken from him. Sigmund Freud, for example, finds blindness to be analogous to castration (1989: 389).<sup>14</sup>

Aristotle ranked eyesight generally first among the senses in medieval Europe (Classen 1993: 3), with the defect of blindness providing physically visible evidence of sin to the public. A saint's eyesight, by contrast, is perfect: she can look at the body of Christ and truly see it (Chewning 1999: 127), which in turn relates the theme of eyesight to that of knowledge (Classen 1993: 9): 'of particular interest is the sensory terminology used to convey mental processes [...] Common examples of such terms are: point of view, overview, observation, enlighten and focus. Indeed, we say "I see" to mean "I understand"' (Classen 1993: 58). The first recorded use of the verb to see as to indicate to perceive mentally, to understand, was in 1200 (Classen 1993: 72). David Hook and Alan Deyermond's discussion of *Synagoga* in the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* draws a similar analogy, in stating that *Synagoga*'s 'ojos vendados significan la ceguedad voluntaria ante la revelación divina [que] se encuentra por todas partes' (1983: 277). The image of being unable to see, or, more accurately, understand, the divine is evidently a common one.

Ironically, Classen defines sight as primarily pertaining to the male domain while smell, taste, and touch belong to that of the female (1993: 31). For sight to triumph over blindness, then, a male connotation dominating a primarily female one, demonstrates this role reversal as female triumphs over male. As a saint, Anastasia, like Elizabeth of Hungary, can control the power of eyesight precisely because of her ability to see the celestial truth, reinforced by the strength of her faith. The prefect, in contrast, having erred on his mortal path, is deprived of one of his vital senses, his imperfection a reminder of his sin and inability to see goodness. Purity and goodness increases one's

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<sup>14</sup> Bullough and Brundage mention a belief of the danger of men drying up once they had ejaculated (1982: 205).

sense of rationality, foresight, and closeness to Christ, whereas sin conversely increases one's distance from Christ, and thus one's inability to see things clearly.<sup>15</sup>

In taking his revenge then, the first prefect of the *passio* orders that the women be brought before him and disrobed, purely for his viewing pleasure and seduction: 'Spectacle was an important element in martyrdom in the early Church' (Bowersock 1995: 50). The reader is once again reminded that women were deemed responsible for inciting men's lust (Murray 1995: 19). Despite his previous punishment, he remains obsessed with the women's physical attributes. The prefect '*contó toda su fazienda como lo pasará, que fuera aquellas por las desnuyar*' (*Istoria* 31), using the supposed culpability of the sisters as an excuse to strip them of their clothing in a final attempt to enjoy their physical attributes. His bid is unsuccessful, however, as '*Más asy se les allegaron las vestiduras a los cuerpos*' (*Vida* 35), to such an extent that no amount of force can remove their clothes: '*E ellos nunca tanto podieron fazer que las vestiduras podiesen dellas quitar*' (*Istoria* 31-32). It is essential that the women remain clothed throughout, just as God re-clothed Adam and Eve in Genesis to preserve their dignity (Coon 1997: 29).

Although unsuccessful, the disrobing serves to present the women with an opportunity to challenge the strength of their faith, as proof of their sanctity (Heffernan 1988: 280). Just as for many other virgin martyrs, where the protagonist's hair grows to cover their entire body, the sisters here remain clothed, preserving at once their dignity and virginity. This act affirms the male's ever-vanishing control of a futile situation: the act of rape in these legends is never successful, with there being no extant saints' lives featuring a successful rape in a brothel or by a Roman consul. The saint's virginity must remain intact at all costs by necessity, in order to reap the celestial rewards (Kelly 1999: 137-38). The prefect is desperately trying to maintain the hierarchy of power, determined to finish victorious, in '*fizolas traer delante sy e mandólas despojar por que si ál non se fartase de las acatar*' (*Vida* 34-35), however he finishes unsatisfied. This is one of four occasions in which Anastasia is summoned before or sent to a man above her on the hierarchical ladder. Although she is presented as inferior in such a gender-divided situation, her spiritual elevation is ironically greater than that of those surrounding her.

This prefect subsequently falls into a '*grant espanto, e començó a roncar tan fuertemente que non le podían despertar*' (*Vida* 37-38). Not even the severest of blows awakens him, which questions why he is specified as having fallen into so deep a sleep. The answer is debatable, although to advance a theory, asleep, the prefect's senses and

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<sup>15</sup> 'In France, for example, St Clare is evoked in cases of eye trouble, because she enables people to see clearly (*voir clair*)' (Delehay 1962: 33).

bodily functions are rendered useless. He is emasculated on a certain level: 'Sleep, apart from being associated with sex, is also connected with sloth' (Thom 1995: 130). The depth of the sleep is emphasized as he cannot be awoken physically: this could indicate his death as he no longer proves a danger. In addition, sleep could be construed as a form of blindness. Both result in one's eyes being closed and thus prevented from seeing anything, despite the fact that the women remain fully clothed. This mysterious repose is not mentioned in the *Istoria*; the prefect is simply never alluded to again. Despite his removal from the scene, the sisters are martyred anyway, through which they 'ganaron coronas en el cielo' (*Istoria* 33-34), with a final emphasis on their characterization as 'vírgenes santas' (*Vida* 38). They must become properly crowned with martyrdom in heaven to join Christ. They and Anastasia can be collectively identified, as just as Anastasia is described as being raised above vice at the incipit, these sisters are martyred 'en el cielo, porque son en paráyso' (*Istoria* 34).

## THE SECOND PREFECT

Anastasia is then handed over to yet another man who tries to impose conditions upon her. He is similarly categorized with the other two prefects who have tried and failed to control her, and inevitably this prefect experiences the same consequences. A figure of male authority conducts this transferral, with the 'enperador' handing her over to the next 'adelantado' in the *Vida* (39). The expressions 'para que la tomase por muger' (*Vida* 39-40) and likewise 'que ge la darié por muger' (*Istoria* 36), through distinctive denotation of subject and object, demonstrate ownership and possession, supporting the theory of marriage as an economic transaction. In attempting to force Anastasia to sacrifice her religious beliefs and adopt his way of life, this prefect is ironically punished by the same 'ýdolos' (*Istoria* 36) that he worships. The gods sentence him to an eternity in hell for having tormented Anastasia. This hell is evoked through the loss of his eyesight. Anastasia's refusal to sacrifice to pagan idols is frequently mirrored in other hagiographic *passiones*: the version of Agnes' legend as recounts the lay acetic Aurelius Prudentius emphasizes Agnes' refusal to sacrifice to other gods, despite the flattery and threats of torture with which she is faced. An implicit reference to blindness is also made in this account, whereby one man attempting to look at Agnes' naked body is punished: his 'offending eyes are struck with "a swift flame, like a flash of lightening"' (Burrus 1995: 35), linking to the theme of blindness in Anastasia's legend.

The prefect's marriage intentions with the female protagonist are made evident when he leads her into a 'cámara' so that he might 'entrarse a ella' (*Vida* 41). The comment is deliberately ambiguous, as the entering could refer to the room, to Anastasia, or indeed both.<sup>16</sup> This 'cámara', in view of the intended marriage proposal, could be interpreted as the marriage chamber, in the prefect's hope to consummate the marriage prior to any wedding even taking place. The wedding chamber, ironically intended by the prefect for himself and Anastasia to use, is instead interpreted as a wedding chamber for Christ and Anastasia. As a typical *sponsa Christi*, Anastasia cannot enjoy a marriage with a mortal when the bridal chamber has prepared her paradoxically for marital union with Christ. In a cruel twist of fate, the prefect can only see himself as blind (*Vida* 42), which is the most painful outcome. This serves as a constant reminder of his sin.

His only option is to plead for mercy and forgiveness from his own gods, yet they justly rebuff him. Blindness is described as an illness, however whereas illness can often be cured, it proves impossible here: 'E demandávaes que sy podría guarir de aquella enfermedat o sy podría escapar' (*Istoria* 39-40). The verb 'escapar' is identically employed in the *Vida* (43), indicative of the prefect's entrapment in his own personal hell. This physical attribute again marks the perpetrator's sin to outsiders. Carmen Joy Wyatt offers a useful analogy of this in relation to Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*: 'In Berceo, sin, a spiritual reality, manifests itself through the physical illness of the sinner. Santo Domingo, having cured Johan of blindness, warns: "cúriate que non peques e non fagas folía / ca será por tu tidio si faces recadía." God's wrath is revealed through external signs' (1983: 18).

The gods accuse the prefect of having 'feziste enojo a Santa Anastasia' (*Vida* 44), when she is 'mucho amiga de Dios' (*Istoria* 41). The resulting distinction between prefect and saint explains that while the latter is close to God, the former is not. He is accused of having attacked her: 'Mas por quanto la acometiste para fazer lo que non deviés, sepas que después que morieres yrás conusco a los ynfiernos' (*Istoria* 41-43). This act of aggression can in turn be linked to the act of consumption, linking food with sexual intercourse (Brown 1988: 78, see also Walker Bynum 1987). The act of devouring is again reminiscent of bestial and primal urges. The stomach is often associated with sex, with Johan C. Thom referring to one commonly held belief that to rule over one's stomach will in turn mean ruling over one's sexual desires (1995: 129).

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<sup>16</sup> Andrew M. Beresford makes a similar comment concerning Saint Agnes' legend, in which a band of young men are also depicted as ambiguously either entering Agnes or the chamber in which she resides. It appears that this ambiguity is deliberate, in order to highlight the sexualized nature of the predatory male in the legend (2007: 56).

Women and food were invariably related, as men tried to consume both. This in turn relates back to the kitchen imagery.

Presented in the light of a wild animal, the punishment of this prefect proves fitting as he will be tortured for an eternity for having offended another. The gods affirm that God himself has ordered them not to help the prefect. 'Eres dado a nos' (*Vida* 44) indicates how, ironically, the prefect is handed over to another, just as Anastasia is handed over to men throughout her *passio*. The use of an identical passive construction in both cases is intentional to relate the two characters, whilst presenting an essential difference between them. Whereas Anastasia rises above the prefect's greediness and lust due to her celestial relationship, despite the imposition of any mortal hierarchy, he instead is obliged to remain a possession. The prefect does not understand why his countless attempts at seduction are futile. He is unaware of the priceless celestial benefits awaiting her to reward her chastity: 'When forced to choose between the world and their faith, virgin martyrs exhibit a contempt for earthly possessions that would gratify the most zealous ascetic' (Winstead 1997: 13). The metaphorical price of Anastasia's virginity is more valuable than anything this prefect can offer her. Christ can always offer her more, the celestial lover inevitably victorious over the potential mortal one. Claudia Rapp draws attention to how this literary topos of promoting the heroine above other characters in the text extols her accomplishments which surpass those of her male companions, despite her having 'started out from the disadvantaged position of the weaker sex, forever tainted with the sinfulness of Eve' (1996: 323-24; see also Clark 1999: 40).

Ironically as the prefect goes to the bridal chamber to devour his prize, instead 'fuése para los ynfiernos' (*Istoria* 43-44) as he dies in the arms of his servants. In attempting to enter both bedroom and female to experience pleasure, he paradoxically only experiences pain in entering hell. There is a potential pun on the verb 'morir' here, with death perhaps acting as a euphemism for the sexual climax: one, ironically, he was not able to achieve with Anastasia. The fact that he has to be physically carried home by his servants reinforces his spiritual fall: he now relies on others for help, having lost his power. The repetition of the noun 'ynfiernos' (*Istoria* 43-44) emphasizes a significant polarity between the depths of hell associated with the prefect and Anastasia's *paraíso*. As the prefect 'acabó su vida por manera mesquina' (*Vida* 46), his sinful character is repeated for a final time. Just as the first prefect is transformed into a black apparition, this prefect's life is dark, infused with sin, with little opportunity for redemption.

## THE FINAL PREFECT

Anastasia is in turn 'dada' (*Istoria*: 45) to the final prefect of the *passio*, who occupies the similar role of guardian to the other men of Anastasia's legend. This prefect firstly expresses his predominant interest in Anastasia's wealth. He realises that Anastasia's husband's timely death has left her as a wealthy widow, thus why he is one of many to be attracted to her great riches and beauty (Winstead 1997: 80). Another form of greed is presented here. Rather than specifically desiring her body, he desires her possessions, although by possessing her wealth, he would also in part possess the female. As Karen A. Winstead notes, 'the villain's desire for financial gain is closely associated with sexual desire' (1997: 80). Wealth and virginity are interlinked: the prefect is unable to access her wealth or her chaste state. Just as a virgin distributes her money to the poor, her antithesis, the whore takes her money from the wealthy. Anastasia is as valuable as her 'posiciones' (*Istoria* 46).

Hearing of her great wealth, the prefect takes her to one side and he speaks to her 'secreitamente' (*Vida* 49) or 'privadamente' (*Istoria* 46). The deliberate discretion in taking her to one side and speaking to her highlights the prefect's need to keep this away from public attention. He is aware that he has no claim to Anastasia's wealth. He attempts to blackmail her emotionally into parting with her money, using suggestive terminology rather than forceful imperatives which emphasize the slyness of his character:

Anastasia, si quieres ser *christiana*, 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 quisieres e serás verdadera *christiana*. (*Vida*  
49-51)

Using her name at the beginning of his speech personalizes the situation, although this technique is not employed in the *Istoria*. The childlike structure of his suggestion, using her name and presenting her with what he believes to be a tempting offer, accompanies his imposition of conditions upon her faith. He does not credit her with intelligence, believing she will be easily swayed.

In order to deceive her, the prefect declares that it is God's will that Anastasia should give him all of her money, attempting to use her religion against her. This speech is detailed, with his efforts to achieve his goal clearly structured in a combination of future and conditional tenses as he posits his suggestion. He insists that the only way to be God's disciple is the following: 'dize Dios *que non es digno de ser*

con él, el *que non renuncia todas las cosas que ha*’ (*Istoria* 47-48). He realizes that obedience to God is Anastasia’s utmost priority and so tries to bribe her with those areas of life she considers most dear. However, he underestimates her knowledge and insight. His ignorance of the importance of strength of conviction in religious belief is ironic in the face of his pretence to be knowledgeable about religion. Chrysogonus and Christ have prepared her for the trials she would inevitably face before receiving martyrdom. Anastasia sees through this tirade quickly, as does the audience. His greed is indicated in his request, in ‘Onde por aquesto todas las cosas *que* has, dalas a mí’ (*Istoria* 48-49), proving that he desires not a small part but all of her *riquezas*.

Anastasia remains in control, her guardian appalled at what he deems to be a flouting of his authority when she refuses to grant him access to these possessions (Winstead 1997: 80). She stays steadfast, firm in the belief that any money she possesses must go only to the poor. Martyrs like Anastasia were given numerous occasions to betray the name of Christ, yet always persisted in their faith (Jones 1993: 30). As Anastasia affirms in her response: ‘El mi Dios mandó que él *que* quería ser su discípulo vendiese todas las cosas que ama e las diese a los pobres. E como tú seas rico, si yo diere a ti lo que tengo, non conpliré su mandamiento’ (*Vida* 51-54). The dichotomy of the nouns ‘pobres’ y ‘rico’ (*Vida* 53) situates the prefect and the needy as polar opposites. Anastasia cleverly uses his discourse against him, maintaining his hypothetical suggestions which are composed in conditional and future tenses and expanding them to include subjunctives. The result is that his hypothetical proposition emerges as futile.

Her argument is carefully constructed, rejecting his offer.<sup>17</sup> By incorporating his own phrasing, as for example with ‘ser su discípula’ (*Vida* 50), and working it to her advantage, she emerges as the stronger and more eloquent of the two. She reiterates the personal possessive construction as employed by her guardian, explaining that they are discussing her God and therefore she is better disposed to know what he wants from her. The use of polyptoton in the repetition of ‘manda’ (*Vida* 50, 52 & 54, *Istoria* 47, 51 & 52) creates a distinction between the orders of both prefect and God to Anastasia, with the latter’s evidently carrying more weight. Her argument is structured, logical, and thus the most persuasive. Anastasia, as with other female virgin martyrs, is ‘anything but submissive, anything but dominated by the traditional male figures in [her life]’ (Heffernan 1988: 297).

Anastasia’s faith is constantly reaffirmed. She is questioned numerous times, asked to sacrifice to the gods, however consistently rejects these propositions. It is

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<sup>17</sup> See also Louise Mirrer 1996: 83 for a discussion concerning women and the power of language.

evident that 'continued refusal to renounce the faith permits the hagiographer to record a debate about Christianity, usually in the form of a diatribe against paganism' (Ashton 2000: 1). This is indicative of her consistent resolution, her confidence having increased throughout her *passio*. She does not flinch before her horrifying ordeal (Winstead 1997: 66). The audience is assured that, following Anastasia's death, her money will be justly distributed. The accumulation of wealth as a goal in itself is imprudent, as one cannot take it beyond the grave. Saints held a particular contempt for all things worldly, known as the ethos of *de contemptu mundi*, and so concentration on a virtuous life instead proved the better option, as it cannot be lost through a change in fortune (Thom 1995: 138). Plato and Origen support the etymological evidence that 'the word "hagios" (meaning "saint") was derived from "a-gios", that is, external to the earth and consequently to worldly concerns' (Vauchez 1991: 23), meaning that the saint is detached from worldly things and sensuality. This rejection of imposed conditions is the first identifiable instance in which Anastasia speaks in these Spanish reworkings. These legends are, in part, presented as gender conflicts, with the voice of the female virgin martyrs forming a contrast with that of the male voices of authority (Winstead 1997: 76).<sup>18</sup> The prefect is not as gifted with the power of speech. He is obliged to resort to physical control because he is unable to control her spiritually. He does not even attempt to combat her argument in a debate, instead automatically opting for imprisonment, as was the case with her previous guardians.

## THE FINAL IMPRISONMENT

Anastasia's imprisonment is consistent with the imagery of enclosure encountered in other hagiographic legends. Anastasia is not an anchoress as she does not enclose herself voluntarily, however her involuntary imprisonment here evokes numerous themes common to the anchoress' imprisonment. A closed area is symbolically a powerful one (Ashton 2000: 72), just as the virgin is powerful because she remains closed to the advances of others. With imprisoned saints, 'the restriction of the body is contrasted with the liberation of the spirit' (Carrasco 1991: 52). The doorway to any cell is a frequent literary denotation of the female genitalia, the common denominator here being penetration. Furthermore, a closed or locked door was often representative of a virgin or woman disinterested in sexual activity, whether or not she is

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<sup>18</sup> The female's success in this gender conflict is found in her 'greatness [, and] consists in suffering, endurance, and dependence on God. Saint Anastasia, for example, is given no swift, automatic triumph over the greedy prefect who persecutes her' (Reames 1985: 205).



locked away of her own free will. The tombs and cells of the anchoress' were places of piety, representing the women's inviolable chastity (Coon 1997: 76), with the anchorite cell imitating the sealed tomb of Christ as well as that of the womb, evoking images of resurrection and rebirth (Ashton 2000: 72). Although Anastasia is not an anchoress her enclosure is also most definitely symbolic of her chastity, with her cell arguably granting her spiritual power before her final death. Anastasia's cell is described as 'muy grave' (*Vida* 55-56), accentuating the arduousness of surviving this torture, however her miraculous survival provides further proof of her saintly abilities. To be chaste involved being solitary, at any cost (Todd 1999: 70). A saint could never die from the outset; endurance of a series of trials and tribulations proved their level of resistance before they eventually passed away. Anastasia's final ordeal, in being burned alive, was a common way of killing the martyr if all other attempts had failed.

Anastasia is deprived of food in this prison, the prefect adamant she should starve to death. Although the starvation is not undertaken voluntarily, Anastasia resists her hunger. Her hunger is only for her celestial husband (Bell 1985: 149), symbolic of her desire only for him. This is not an example of voluntary anorexia, however, as described by Bell, which is unusual in the female *passiones*. Anastasia is still capable of foregoing basic daily necessities: 'the saint [...] proves indifferent to compelling physical needs, and so demonstrates [her] special status' (Robertson 1989: 439). This sort of fasting was deemed almost political, linked to women's domestic stereotype. Creating a distance between themselves and food in turn created a distance between themselves and what society believed to be their natural vocation or domestic duty (Stuart 1996: 104). Abstinence from certain food was believed to aid the purification and release of the soul (Thom 1995: 215). Anastasia's victory is enabled through the provenance of celestial food given to her by 'Sant Theodosyo', the *Istoria* reinforcing the transmittance of this food through God (56).<sup>19</sup>

This nourishment is stressed as being of divine rather than of mortal nature, in 'e trayale manjar celestial' (*Vida* 57). It is the food of faith, serving to feed Anastasia's religious beliefs:

The contrast between earthly food, sacrificed in fasting, and the spiritual nourishment derived from prayer is a frequent theme in

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<sup>19</sup> Rudolph M. Bell describes how, similarly, Benevenuta Bojani's 'only nourishment was from an angel who at noon each day brought her heavenly food in a shining little vase and fed her with his fingers' (1985: 129). The notion here is that celestial food is superior. God similarly feeds manna to the Israelites in Exodus 16.

hagiographic writing, particularly in the lives of the female saints.

(Carrasco 1991: 55)

This 'pan celestial' (*Istoria* 56), although not physically concrete, sustains Anastasia for two months, much to the disbelief of the prefect. The number two here could go unnoticed, if it were not for the fact that, as a number, it is repeated frequently throughout the legend. The significance of this time period as being expressly two months is intriguing, as in terms of biblical representation, the numbers three and seven were the most common. The number two, however, is thought to represent numerous different images: that of the female in the Bible, the church and the elect, union, division, and separation, jezebels, and finally the mother of harlots (Vallowe 1998: 94-97). Three of these images are presented in the bonding of Theodosyo and Anastasia as both females and Christians. The number two is also present in Anastasia's journey to Palmaria with two hundred virgins.<sup>20</sup> Repetition of this number is unlikely to be coincidental.

## ANASTASIA'S DEATH

Theodosyo remains unnamed in the *Vida*, defined only in relation to Anastasia as 'una santa su amiga, que fuera antes martiriada' (56-57). She visits Anastasia every day in her cell during her torment, her assistance enabling the saint's survival in conjunction with her faith. The prefect is rendered powerless in the *Istoria*: 'E quando vio que la non podía enpescer [...]' (56). His strength is inferior to any divine intervention. Once more the object of an action when she is sent to 'las yslas Palmares' (*Istoria* 57), Anastasia remains excluded from yet another decision regarding her future. She is sent to this island together with two hundred companions, depicted as 'christianos' in the *Vida* (59) and as 'vírgines' in the *Istoria* (57). Anastasia satisfies both characteristics, perhaps justifying the banding together of both categories at the end of her *passio*. The 'vírgines' in the *Istoria* are detained on the island 'por el nonbre de Jhesu Christo' (57-58). The latter figure is not only Christ in the *Vida*, but more specifically the 'Salvador' (60): he is the Saviour, this particular aspect of his character highlighted. This provides an indication of the extent to which the *Vida* is interpreted as more moralistic in content, suitable to be read out as clergy sermon material. The *Istoria* was perhaps more appropriate for the lay members of society, as in this text such religious

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<sup>20</sup> 'S. Adone, Archbishop of Vienna, who died in 875, tells us in his Martyrology that the number of men put on board was two hundred, and that of the women five hundred; but other writers, with greater probability, affirm there to have been two hundred men and seventy women' (Bonucci 1888: 84).

interjections appear on fewer occasions, as postulates Andrew Beresford<sup>21</sup>. The mere fact that the *Vida* refers to '*christianos*' and the *Istoria* to '*vírgines*' further serves to illustrate this assumption.

On the island of 'Palmares', Anastasia is once again ordered to be brought before the '*adelantado*' (*Vida* 60) with the other prisoners, similarly categorizing her with these other Christians and virgins. Religion binds them together, making them distinct from their dominant pagan captivators. Expressions including verbs of influence, such as '*e mandó quemar a Santa Anastasia*' (*Vida* 61) and '*fizolas quemar con fuego*' (*Istoria* 60) are prevalent, in an attempt to cast Anastasia as yet another passive object. The desperate attempt of the men in the *passio* to regain control proves in vain: although she is martyred, she has ultimately achieved her goal and been united with her celestial husband. Death was always preferable to rape, as it forbade any further interference with the virgin or her body. If the virgin lost her life with her virginity intact, her recompense in heaven would be immense (Kelly 1999: 150). Anastasia is tied to '*unos palos*' (*Vida* 62) and burned alive, with a suggestion that the flames that consume her are the flames of passion for her religion. The flames of faith have engulfed her when the mortal men of her life have proven incapable of so doing. Similarly, Saint Margaret is burned to death and, having been burned with torches, '*the fire becomes the fire of divine love and of the Holy Spirit sanctifying her*' (Stuart 1996: 77-78).

The heat of these flames figuratively evokes excitement, passion, and intensity (Classen 1993: 67-68). The more heat an individual possessed the more power they were thought to have. The women of this legend power become powerful and in possession of this heat, despite the perception of men around them that they are cold and inferior:

Heat is associated with order and power, coldness with disorder and impotence. The classification of men as hot, therefore, makes them dominant instruments of order [...], while women's classification as cold makes them subordinate instruments of disorder. (Classen 1993:

137)

Women were thought not to have male's inherent element of heat, the latter's apparent surplus of 'heat' and fervent 'vital spirit' amassed in the early stages of their coagulation

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<sup>21</sup> My thanks go to Dr. Andrew. M. Beresford, who discussed with me his idea regarding the difference in target audience between Compilation A and B. His upcoming publication posits the theory that Compilation A was possibly put together in a monastic context, designed to be read aloud, whereas Compilation B was arguably more for private consumption, diluting the religious concepts in its texts to a much greater degree. The latter's target audience consisted more of lay people, hence the reduction in complex language in this Compilation.

in the womb.<sup>22</sup> As this heat was not sufficiently present during the females' development in the womb, women were synonymous to failed males (Brown 1988: 10; see also Bullough & Brundage 1982: 45). Pere Torroella makes a similar analogy in his 'Quien bien amando persigue'. The tenth stanza concerning the overall inferiority of the female to the male maintains:

Muger es un animal  
que se diz' hombre imperfecto,  
procreado en el defecto  
del buen calor natural. (1994: 213)

The final image of Anastasia's death, then, of being publicly burnt alive in one of the most physically striking final images of the *passio*, reverses these associations, indicative of her final victory. She is reborn into her celestial life, having risen above her male keepers and emasculated them. Christians understood the burning ritual to be a baptism of fire, a purification of the soul (Jones 1993: 30). Her death is climatic, enjoyable, and welcome as she is finally united with her true love: 'In this, the raw convergence of Love and Death – Eros and Thanatos – is the terrible claim that death is the utmost exploration of pleasure, and the truest token of love' (Rubin 1993: 182). Marriage was seen as the food of death and, conversely, death the food of life (Bynum 1987: 116).

Anastasia's death, her wrists and ankles being tied to individual stakes, also produces an image of *imitatio Christi*, reminiscent of how Christ was tied to the cross in his crucifixion. Her power at this point is at its greatest through her assimilation with her spiritual husband (Cazelles 1991b: 10):

First and foremost, saints' lives commanded all Christians to emulate the exemplary life of Christ: "Be imitators of me as I am of Christ" (1 Corinthians 2:1). The primary model for constructing the lives of holy women and men is the evangelical life of Christ; however, the *imitatio Christi* offers the pious Christian a paradoxical model of behaviour. (Coon 1997: 13)

The word martyr, derived from the Greek μάρτυς, primarily signifies 'witness' (see also Bowersock 1995), and from the beginnings of antiquity has served as a distinctive title for those who have spilled their blood for Christ himself (Delehay 1927: 74). Rather than the female being perceived in terms of her gender, she was a sacred vessel of the Lord rather than a woman (Brown 1988: 260; see also Scott 1999: 143). This is also the

<sup>22</sup> Brown affirms that medieval thought justified this argument in stating that the hot ejaculation of male seed proved the latter's superiority. See also Bullough & Brundage 1982: 204.

case for Anastasia. She has shown herself the equal of any man through her endurance (Jones 1993: 34).

Those around her are tortured to death, this punishment made explicit in the *Istoria*: 'E vino cada una con su palma e luego fizolas quemar con fuego, e a las otras dioles tantos tormentos con tantas penas fasta que ovieron de morir' (59-61). The graphic, mediated appeal of this text is again greater than can be found in the *Vida*, reinforced through the hyperbolic degree of the victims' pain. Death was the only possible consequence of such an ordeal, the lexis *tantas* indicative of such exaggeration. Both Anastasia and prisoners are burnt to death, the two again similarly categorized, although the prisoners advance to their deaths holding a 'palma'. Some works depict Anastasia's iconographic representation with her holding of a palm (Anon 1987), which may have originated from this scene of the legend.

Anastasia's transferral to an island to be killed, rather than remaining in her original location, is curious. It potentially provides her with an opportunity to exhibit further examples of her saintly abilities preceding her ultimate martyrdom. Having survived the journey, she strengthens the faith of Christians accompanying her on the island. One man speaks out, affirming his religious beliefs and faith in the soul of Saint Anastasia, repeatedly saying 'Si ál non, non me quitaredes a Jhesu Christo, mi Señor' (*Vida* 65). From an exterior perspective he reinforces the already prevalent link between religion, Christ, and Anastasia. This man remains anonymous in both texts, appearing 'en aquella ora' (*Istoria* 61) which in itself is indicative of Anastasia's death. He is a 'siervo de Dios' (*Istoria* 61), deprived of his wealth countless times due to his religious ties. A parallel is drawn between him and Anastasia. Both are punished for their faith and both are targeted for their similar levels of wealth: the expression 'la qual fuera grande asaz' (*Vida* 64) applies to the extensive worldly possessions of both individuals. Identification of each character with one another enhances one moral of this *passio*: the choice of these wealthy saints to distribute their riches amongst the needy is rewarded with the promise of a spiritually richer life. As Wyatt notes regarding the distribution of Saint Anthony's wealth to the poor, 'worldly riches are not useless but simply inferior to religious ones' (1983: 7). Members of the audience would understand the need to emulate these actions to reap similar celestial rewards. The time spent on Earth was deemed as a test, initiated by God, as a type of 'training ground for the restoration of our souls' (McGuckin 1985: 35).

In the *Istoria*, the Christian's speech assumes a different perspective. In relation to his riches, he declares: 'Esto al menos nunca me lo robaredes, nin el ánima de

*Santa Anastasia*, ca ella con Dios es desposada' (63-64). Both material and spiritual wealth are under threat of being stolen, the imagery of thieving extended in the inability of the 'robadores' (*Istoria* 63) to steal either the wealth of the Christian or Anastasia's soul. The latter is presented as being as spiritually valuable to this 'omen que era siervo de Dios' (*Istoria* 61) as his riches are to the robbers. The former desire is spiritual, the latter physical. The 'omen' describes Anastasia as being married to God, a final insult to each prefect considering their inability to wed her. The powerful link between God and Anastasia ensures the infusion of her soul in the lives of many, with no man able to break this bond. Despite constant attempts to enforce Anastasia to conform to barriers and rules, she is ultimately victorious at the end of her life, remaining chaste and devoted.

Anastasia's body is honourably buried by 'una noble muger que llamavan Apolonia' (*Vida* 65-66), defined only as noble in the *Vida*. It is fitting for this saint to honour Anastasia with the burial she deserves. Anastasia is buried in a 'huerta' in the *Vida* (67), a 'vergel' in the *Istoria* (65). Both nouns denote an image of the garden, representing all at once fecundity, nature, and mother Earth. The orchard suggests fecundity, whilst the glade evokes a notion of the *locus amoenus*, the traditional meeting place for lovers in medieval Hispanic literature. The lovers here are Christ and Anastasia. The garden is 'an especially salient feature [of one] entering the ritual world' (Kondo 2005: 198). The image of the 'hortus conclusus' or enclosed garden is one of the Virgin Mary and of her corporeal integrity. The beginning of Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* displays Mary's power in a similar *locus amoenus*, believed to encompass spiritual sustenance and fecundity:

The enclosed garden and sealed fountain of the passage are associated with Mary's paradoxical chastity, the fruit and sweet-smelling plants with her spiritual beauty, and the flowing wind with the gracious effect of her virtue. (Ackerman 1983: 20)

Identification of the virgin with the meadow in this prologue is evident. Anastasia is in turn returned to natural Earth: her *meollo*, or inner soul, remains alive, despite the extinguishing of her *corteza*, or outer shell:

The soul is not to be located in one solitary and invariant quasi-position in the body, the pineal gland, but rather in the contingencies of the body with itself, and with its environment. (Connor 2005: 320)

Anastasia's living spirit will benefit the plants, fruit, and vegetables grown in this garden, her soul diffused into the earth.<sup>23</sup> Anastasia appears with God in every part of nature, in his garden of paradise. Brown interprets the virgin body as a mirror, in which humans could see the immense purity of the image of God. Her untouched flesh mirrored the purity of her soul as well as a physical image of the virgin earth of the garden of Eden (1988: 299). A church built in Anastasia's honour is built near to this garden, in order for her to be 'acercado de la *christiandat*' (*Istoria* 66-67). The church, as a place of worship, provided the main site to attain greatest proximity to Christ. It would powerfully preserve Anastasia's spirit, just as her body kept her soul (Woodward 1990: 63).

## CONCLUSION

Many of the prominent themes in Anastasia's *passio*, such as the attempted rape and control by numerous male figures of authority, the virgin's determination to remain chaste, transvestism, and connotations of madness with blindness, sin and darkness, are in turn all common key themes of medieval *passiones* and *vitae*. Other evident themes in her legend, however, such as the kitchen imagery, animalistic imagery, and burial specifically in a garden, may not be as familiar. However, their inclusion in Anastasia's *passio* is necessary to intensify the message already conveyed through the recurring hagiographic themes: they reinforce the spiritual distance travelled by this saint to be united with Christ, despite attempts to thwart her along the way. They specifically centre on demonstrating Anastasia's strength of faith as a female, her ability as a woman to rise above societal roles imposed in a patriarchal community. A combination of these themes presents the audience with an image of a strong female able to rise above her male captors in her ongoing quest to spur mortal offers of marriage in exchange for a celestial one. Each theme offers an explanation as to how Anastasia is able to reverse her predetermined status as a domestic and subjugated wife in order to attain her ultimate goal: to be a celestial spouse.

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<sup>23</sup> Anastasia's capacity to control sight is still evident even after her death. Having been burnt, she will have been reduced in part to ashes, upon which Classen comments: 'Ashes also have the characteristic of causing temporary blindness when blown in the eyes, and thus are associated with the spirits' (Classen 1993: 129).

## CHAPTER 6 – A COMPARISON OF VORAGINE'S *PASSIO* WITH ÁLVARO DE LUNA'S *LIBRO*

### INTRODUCTION

As seen previously, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* is not the only collection to offer a version of the legend of Saint Anastasia. Álvaro de Luna produced a similar account in his *Libro de las virtuosas é claras mujeres*. This proves spatially close to Voragine's Latin and resembles it in content. My aim in this chapter, through comparative source analysis of both Voragine's legend of Anastasia and that found in Luna's *Libro de las virtuosas é claras mujeres*, is to prove that despite minor distinctions between the two, their numerous semantic and linguistic similarities show that Luna's version is derived from that of Voragine. For ease of reference I shall refer to Voragine's version as the *Passio* and that of Luna as the *Libro*.<sup>1</sup>

### ÁLVARO DE LUNA AND THE OTHER SPANISH VERSIONS

Despite the close link between Jacobus de Voragine and Álvaro de Luna, I have chosen not to compare the latter text to any of the Spanish reworkings. The three manuscript versions lack in similarity to Luna to such an extent that it is impossible to draw a link between them. Initial semantic disparities between the *Libro* and the *Vida*, the latter based upon Spanish manuscripts Escorial h-III-22 and BNM12688, rule out any possibility that Luna based his version on either one. For example, Anastasia's father is described as a pagan 'ilustre' and Anastasia is herself a virgin in the *Libro* (292). Neither term appears in Compilation A. The adjective 'ilustre' is distinctive, its omission in Compilation A one of numerous indicators that it was not used as a basis for Luna's version. Anastasia's 'ávito' is 'vil' and the three sisters 'de noble gesto' in the *Libro* (292). By contrast, in Compilation A, Anastasia wears an 'ábito de onbre' (7) and the nobility of the three sisters is not depicted. Although K-II-12 describes Anastasia's father as a pagan and her 'ábito' as 'muy vil' (9), it makes no reference to her aiding any Christian prisoners, nor to the prefect's black appearance. Both feature prominently in the *Libro* (292-93). Such semantic disparities show from the outset that Luna could not

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<sup>1</sup> Quotations taken from the *Legenda aurea* and the *Libro de las virtuosas é claras mujeres* are from editions by Graesse (1846: 292-94) and Menéndez Pelayo (1891) respectively and will be referred to by page number only. José Manuel Fradejas Rueda offers further bibliographic information regarding Menéndez Pelayo's editions (1997: 146-48).



have used any of the Spanish reworkings as a basis for his own version. I shall, instead, demonstrate that his version derived predominantly from Voragine's Latin *Passio*, which will be the focus of this chapter.

## LUNA AND VORAGINE

A linear comparison of the *Libro* with the *Passio* shows that there are striking similarities between the two versions of the legend of Anastasia. There is, however, an immediate evident disparity between the incipit of each legend. The *Passio* states that she is 'sursum stetit a vitiis et a peccatis ad virtutes' (47), whereas the *Libro* explains only that she is of 'muy loable santidad' (292). Although this equates to the *Passio*'s definition of her as being raised above vice, the *Libro* does not offer such a strict, semantic definition concerning the distinct components of Anastasia's name. It makes no attempt to define it on either a religious or symbolic level, delving instead straight into her legend in presenting her first and foremost as a virgin and daughter of a poet (a profession not given to Anastasia's father in the *Passio*). Voragine defines Anastasia's father as an illustrious pagan, proving identical to the definition given in Luna. Whereas the *Passio* refers to Anastasia's mother, however, the *Libro* fails to do so, here and throughout the legend.

Further similarities between both *Passio* and *Libro* beyond this point can be found in abundance. Anastasia is identified as being a virgin of Roman origin in Voragine, which is reiterated in the *Libro*. Anastasia is taught in the faith of Christ in the Latin (48), which is identically reproduced in the *Libro*'s reference to her as being 'enseñada en la fée de Jesuchristo' (*Libro* 292) by her spiritual adviser, although the name of the latter differs somewhat between versions. He is 'Chrysogono' in the *Passio* (48) and 'Gusóno' in the *Libro* (292). The similarity is clear, despite the orthographic difference. A similar situation applies regarding the name of Anastasia's husband, who is 'Públio' in the *Passio* (48), although 'Papilo' in the *Libro* (292). These differences, however, are arguably negligible.

The reasoning behind the evident necessity in maintaining Anastasia's virginity, through her deliberate abstinence from sexual union, is emphasized in the *Passio* as being because 'in uxorem languorem simulans semper se ab ejus consortio abstinebat' (48). This expression is similarly justified in the *Libro* as 'auía propuesto en su voluntad de guardar sin tocamiento tesoro de virginidad, é assí escarnecía santamente al marido' (292). The Latin claims that Anastasia's husband physically hears that his

wife is visiting the Christians prisoners, dressed in rags and accompanied by one of her female servants (48), which is similarly reproduced in Luna's version (292). Such an accumulation of similarities between the two, even at this initial stage, supports the theory that the *Libro* derives from the *Passio*. Anastasia attends to the particular needs of these prisoners in Voragine, resulting in her husband giving an order for her imprisonment. She is in this prison deprived of material comforts such as food to induce her death, so that her husband may benefit from her riches. Her charitable acts and prison enclosure are also alluded to in Luna, as are her husband's intentions.

Following this, letters are sent between Anastasia and Chrysogonus in Voragine, providing a thematic link between the two. This episode is, however, excluded in the *Libro*. The *Passio* also comments on Anastasia's sadness and belief that she is going to die in prison, as well as referring to her spiritual advisor's comforting words to her. Yet both points are omitted from the *Libro*. The effect of excluding Anastasia's voice and reactions to her situation potentially alters the audience's interpretation of her character. She becomes a voiceless figure, the element of religion within her legend notably less important. This may be explained by a difference in target audience between the texts. The *Passio* was originally intended to be delivered as sermon material (see Reames 1985). It formed part of a collection of holy legends which were read aloud to increase the religious devotion of audience members by introducing them to holy characters to which they could hope to aspire. Hence the necessity in including Anastasia's state of worry with regards to her impending fate and how religion served to reassure both her and those listening to her legend. The target audience for Luna's *Libro* was arguably different. Given the tone of his version, although Anastasia is still a morally admirable figure, the focus on the strength of her faith is less important. Luna's texts were arguably written instead to indoctrinate his female audience, hence the difference in perspective of each text.

Having omitted this episode, the *Libro* resumes the thread of the *Passio* at the death of 'Papilo' and Anastasia's subsequent freedom from prison. The *Passio*'s mention of the three sisters at this point is reiterated in the *Libro*'s three 'mozas' (292) and their characterization as Christian in Voragine is duplicated in Luna. They are, however, 'ancillas pulcherrimas' in the *Passio* (48), although their beauty remains unmentioned in the *Libro*. The Latin does not refer to either their nobility or age, whereas in the Spanish, the women are instead 'de noble gesto, é de entera edad' (292). The names of the sisters are specified in the *Passio* as 'Agapete', 'Thionia', and 'Yrenia' (48), however in the *Libro* these women remain anonymous, heightening the

effect of this particular text as being more universal in scope due to the sisters becoming less personalized. These women are imprisoned in Voragine by a prefect because they 'monitis nullatenus obedirent' (48), which is expressed in a similar fashion in the *Libro*'s 'nin por sobervios amonestamientos' (292), although the two expressions differ slightly. Despite this disparity, significant textual developments prove once more identical between the two versions.

The *Passio*'s simple declaration of the desire of the prefect to empower the ladies is described in much greater detail in the *Libro*:

<p>Praefectus autem in earum ardens amorem ad eas ivit, ut suam libidinem exerceret. (<i>Passio</i> 48)</p>	<p>El adelantado se enamoró dellas, é tanto valieron por la castidad, que nin por blandos, nin por sobervios amonestamientos, aquéllos sus santos cuerpos non pudieron ser sacados de la excelencia de su dignidad; por lo qual las mandó meter en una casa, donde tenían guardadas las preseas de la cocina. (<i>Libro</i> 292)</p>
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The prefect's desire is expressed at a later point in the *Libro*'s 'é queriéndolas deshonorar, ardiendo con amor' (292), corresponding exactly to the above expression in the *Passio*. He is enamoured by the women's appearance and imprisons them because they refused to obey his orders in the *Passio*. These orders are not specifically sexual in Voragine, however they take on a particular sexual dimension in Luna's text. The latter version expands upon an expression given in the original in order to underline the sisters' chastity and dignity when they prove unwilling to surrender their bodies to their keeper.

In Voragine the women are kept in a room in which cooking utensils are stored, although not expressly a kitchen. This text acknowledges that the prefect turns to madness in embracing these kitchen utensils, convinced that he can feel the sisters. All of these points are reiterated in Luna's text. The expression denoting this madness suggests a physical change in mental state in the Latin, in 'amentiam versus' (48), which is similarly evoked in 'tornando en locura' (*Libro* 292).<sup>2</sup> The utensils specified in Voragine are 'patellas [...] et similia amplectens' (48), although these are reduced to cauldrons in Luna, in 'calderas' (292). The prefect is specified as being satisfied at the

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<sup>2</sup> Similarly, this prefect turns physically sinful in the Latin, in 'daemonem versus' (48) and also in the Spanish 'tornado diablo' (293).

time in which he exits this room, in 'cum ex hoc satiatu fuisset' (*Passio*: 48), and also in 'farto' in the *Libro* (292). His black and deformed appearance in Voragine is similarly alluded to in Luna. Only in the Latin, however, are his clothes ruined, as the Spanish omits this point.

At the door to this room the prefect's servants await their master in the *Passio*, which is also the case in the *Libro*. They are aware of his transformation to such an extent that the servants are convinced that he has become the devil in Voragine (48), also specified in Luna (293). This prefect is beaten by his servants in the Latin due to his sinful appearance, and is subsequently left alone. Once more, the Spanish follows a similar linear development. The prefect approaches the emperor to complain of his treatment and is attacked on the way with rods, dust and mud. The latter material, 'lutum' in the *Passio* (48), is thrown at him after his decision to go to the emperor, whereas the 'fuir' (*Libro* 293) is thrown at him at an earlier point, upon his exit from the room. However, this syntactic disparity is arguably negligible.

Another disparity appears at this point as the Latin specifies that the prefect is attacked because his servants suspect 'quod in furiam versus esset' (48). No mention of this alteration in mental state is made in the Spanish. The Latin also alludes to the prefect having gone blind, or rather that his eyes were stopped from working, rendering him unable to see the effect of this self-transformation. This point has also been left out of Luna's text. Although the *Libro* mentions that 'non sabía su mal', and that 'marauillóse mucho el cuytado' (293), the cause of his miscomprehension is not fully explained. These disparities are relatively small, however, in comparison to the greater number of similarities between the *Passio* and *Libro*, hence the supposition that the latter version derives from the former. The audience is informed in the *Passio* that the prefect is mocked by those around him, much to his amazement. His mocking and incredulousness at his state are similarly described in the *Libro*. The Latin divulges the effect that this deformed vision has upon him: 'Videbatur enim ei, quod ipse et omnes albis vestibus essent induti' (48). Nothing is said in the *Libro* regarding these consequences. The prefect's perception of himself is not alluded to in the Spanish, and neither is the fact that everyone around him is dressed in white. He suspects an intervention on the women's behalf in the *Passio*, finding this to be the only reasonable cause for this anomaly. This is also specified in the *Libro*. The Latin mentions that he is informed of his deformed state by other individuals, however the cause of his sudden awareness is not defined in the *Libro*.



An order is given by the prefect for the three sisters to remove their clothes (perhaps Anastasia also at this point, although whether or not she is included is left unclear). This results in the clothes clinging so tightly to the women's bodies that no individual can physically remove them, despite the greatest of efforts. As this act is unexplained in the Latin it is rendered more mysterious and miraculous. In the Spanish, however, an outside influence is cited as the perpetrator: Christ, or 'Aquel Soberano Príncipe de todos' (293). Textual allusions given to miracles and heaven confirm this impression: 'que sólo face marauillas, obró divinalmente' (*Libro* 293). The effect of describing Christ as a Prince humanizes him somewhat in the Spanish, emphasizing his connection to the saints of the mortal realm. It also establishes a notion of hierarchy, as the status of a prince differs from that of an ordinary human. In the *Passio* it is taken for granted that Christ is behind these miracles, the audience by now accustomed to the occurrence of miracles in hagiographic legends. The contents of the *Libro* may not have been read in such a religious environment, hence the need to specify the capacities of Christ. The noun 'Príncipe' also highlights the fairy-tale, legend-like element of the *Libro*, ensuring that the reader is aware that this is a tale. Luna follows Voragine in the conclusion of this section of the legend, with the prefect mysteriously falling into a deep sleep, unable to be awoken from his snoring, despite the powerful blows he receives.

The sisters are crowned with martyrdom, in 'virgines martirio coronantur' (*Passio* 48) and similarly in the Spanish 'por corona de martirio' (*Libro* 293), following the mysterious repose of the prefect. Anastasia is in turn given to another prefect on the emperor's request, on the condition she renounce her faith so he can have her as his wife. The auxiliary verb used in the Latin to denote this possession, 'in uxorem eam haberet' (48), is identically incorporated in Luna's expression: 'la abría por mujer' (293). The prefect leads Anastasia to the 'thalamum' in the *Passio* (48) although 'el Palacio' in the *Libro* (293). Despite the two being semantically linked, only the Latin specifies that this prefect has taken Anastasia to a bridal chamber. This is important in view of his wish to accept her as his wife, a union which is unacceptable as she is already married to Christ. Once again, the *Passio* hints towards the sexualized, religious relationship between Saint and Christ. The notion of the *sponsa Christi* could not be clearer here. Through further rejection of a mortal husband, the *Passio* is underlining the increasing closeness of Anastasia to Christ. In this chamber, the prefect tries to embrace Anastasia in the Latin, in 'eam amplexari vellet' (48), whereas he attempts to dirty, or even besmirch, her in the Spanish – queriéndola ensuciar' (293). Although the Latin makes no attempt to define the sexual act as impure, the suggestion of chastity

becoming dirtied in this situation of temptation is clear, in view of previous hagiographic tradition. The moral fall at having erred through sexual temptation is emphasized in the *Libro*, highlighting the prefect's already evident iniquitous character.

The prefect's sin results in his loss of sight in Voragine following his attempt to seduce Anastasia, although again the *Libro* expresses his blindness in a more metaphorical manner: 'luego se le cubrieron los ojos de obscuridad' (293). The dark shroud descending upon him is a more prominent reminder of his sin: his vision has evidently been obscured as a form of punishment. Luna narrates a similar account of unfolding events in the legend to the original Latin following this blindness. The prefect turns to the gods, pleading with them to reinstate his eyesight. They provide a similar response to his demands, accusing him of saddening Anastasia. This in turn means that he is doomed to suffer torturous ordeals in hell with them for an eternity. As a result of the prefect's subsequent death in the arms of his servants during his journey home, Anastasia is handed over to yet another prefect, again to be closely supervised. The latter, having learnt of Anastasia's great riches, instructs her to give her possessions to him if she desires to attain the status of devoted Christian. The Latin states that she should do this because this is what God teaches Christians to do: 'Ille enim praecepit: qui non renuntiaverit omnibus, quae possidet etc' (49). Such teachings are not expressed in such a direct manner in the *Libro*. Christ is an evident influence on Anastasia's reply in the Latin, but his name is not expressly mentioned at this point. In the Spanish, however, she responds 'alumbrada del Espíritu de Dios' (294), highlighting her saintly capacities as being a direct result of God's influence which would serve to religiously inspire an audience. She mentions in Voragine the order given by God that she should renounce her wealth to the poor and needy, and, as the prefect is neither, to give him her wealth would mean to disobey God's will. A similar reply features in the *Libro*. The correspondence between the versions is striking.

Following Anastasia's refusal to obey the demands of the prefect she is imprisoned in the Latin, in an attempt to starve her to death. She is helped at this point by Saint Theodora, who, described as already martyred, nourishes her with celestial food for two months. These inclusions are similarly expressed in the Spanish, with Luna reiterating both the name of this saint and the time period stated in Voragine. Anastasia is eventually transferred to the island of Palmaria (*Passio* 49), or 'Palmar' (*Libro* 294), together with 'ducentis virginibus' (*Passio* 49). The Latin's inclusion of the numerous other individuals being detained on the island in the name of Christ, each suffering various torments, is reproduced in the *Libro*, however no exact number of prisoners is

provided in the latter.<sup>3</sup> Once more, however, the main components of Anastasia's legend continue to parallel each other between the texts, further supporting the argument that the *Passio* gave way to the version of Anastasia's legend as it is presented in the *Libro*.

The one Christian given a voice in the *Passio* is not alluded to in the *Libro*. This man, who 'pluries propter Christum multis divitiis spoliatus' in the Latin (49), constantly affirmed that Christ could never be taken from him. Once more, the religious overtones are more prevalent in the *Passio*. The Latin sees Anastasia killed and ordered by the prefect to be burned alive, an inclusion of which appears similarly in the Spanish. Her body is taken by Apollonia and buried in a holy garden, although the date of her martyrdom is offered only in the Latin as being during the reign of Diocletian, 'circa annos domini CCLXXXVII' (49). No such dates are given in the Spanish, the latter instead finishing its version complete with a sacred homage to Anastasia. This in turn renders the legend more universal. None of the following information concerning Anastasia's sanctity is originally included in the *Passio*:

¡O virgen muy famosa en santidad! Cuya sagrada intención tanto ardía  
en el amor de Dios, que por manera alguna non la pudieron sacar del  
estado de su virginidad. (*Libro* 294)

This flowery interjection is typical of Luna's traditional and rhetorical texts (Beresford 2007: 43). Although this type of epilogue was a common device ending the *vita* or *passio* of any given saint, it does not originally feature in the *Passio*. It highlights the saint's virginity, state of purity and devotion to God. Anastasia's strength of character, as defined in the *Libro*, accounts for her ability to combat the numerous treacherous ordeals thrown at her. Once more, the justification for a different tone between the two versions could be explained by a shift in audience. The *Libro*'s reader is more likely to be the average woman, learning virtuousness in abstinence from sexual fornication and temptation. The potential message reaped in the reading of the *Libro*, notably the epilogue, is that, as a woman, similar conduct in lifestyle will reap identical rewards to the female saint, emphasized through polyptoton in the repetition of 'virgen' and 'virginidad.' Regardless of the religious perspective taken in this epilogue, the emphasis is evidently on female virtue.

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<sup>3</sup> The verb 'transferred' is erroneously represented through the verb 'llamada' in Luna's *Libro de las Virtuosas é Claras Mujeres*. This is presumably an incorrect copying of the correct 'llevada', as the former verb proves nonsensical, given the context.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the two versions of the legend of Anastasia featuring in Voragine and Luna are extremely similar. Slight incongruities exist between the two, potentially explained due to a difference in the religious nature of respective target audiences for each text, however all similarities in both semantic content and stylistic expression far outweigh any of the minor discrepancies. Due to the extent of the similarities between them, therefore, it can be concluded that the version of Anastasia's legend encountered in the *Libro* was taken from Voragine's *Passio*.



## CHAPTER 7: CRITICAL EDITIONS

### EDITORIAL CRITERIA

The editions in this chapter aim to render the two medieval Spanish versions of the legend of Saint Anastasia accessible to modern-day readers whilst retaining as many of the original manuscript's individual characteristics as possible. These are taken from microfilm readings of Escorial h-III-22 (fols 51<sup>va</sup>-53<sup>rb</sup>) and Biblioteca Nacional 12688 (fols 92<sup>ra</sup>-94<sup>ra</sup>), in Compilation A, and Escorial K-II-12 (fols 27<sup>vb</sup>-29<sup>ra</sup>), in Compilation B.

Changes of folio are given in brackets, with superscript *r* and *v* denoting recto and verso, and *a* and *b* for columns. A vertical bar (|) indicates a folio division in a single word. Omissions, syntactical variations, tense discrepancies, and semantic distinctions are listed in footnotes. Emendations are marked with an asterisk. Scribal abbreviations are expanded and indicated by the use of italics. Insignificant scriptural markings, however, are silently ignored.

When names of characters fluctuate between editions, as between 'Públio' (*A*) and 'Plúblio' (*B*), the critical edition favours the term closest to the Latin, as it does the more contextually appropriate or recognizable lexical form between the two texts. The name of Christ, abbreviated to 'Jhu xpo', is restored to 'Jhesu *Christo*.' Medieval variants of common Spanish words, such as 'nescesario' and the common medieval imperfect subjunctive 'feziese', are maintained as evidence of the evolution of Castilian in the period. Although certain scriptural consonants such as *i* / *j* and *u* / *v* are used interchangeably, they are here regularized to aid legibility. Initial doubled consonants are also regularized. Punctuation conforms to modern practice.

## COMPILATION A

### Critical edition of Escorial h - III - 22 and Biblioteca Nacional

#### 12688:

##### [fol. 51<sup>va</sup>] De la vida e pasión de Santa Anastasia<sup>1</sup>

Santa Anastasia es dicha de 'Anna' *que* quiere dezir 'suso', e 'éstasis', que quiere dezir 'estudo'<sup>2</sup>, porque estudo alçada e apartada de los vicios e allegada a las virtudes.

5 E<sup>3</sup> Santa Anastasia fue de noble linaje, natural de la cibdat de Roma, fija de un noble onbre gentil que avía nonbre Pretaxato<sup>4</sup> e de una noble dueña *christiana* que avía nonbre Fausta. E fue enseñada del bienaventurado mártir Sant Grisógono<sup>5</sup>. E casó con un onbre gentil que avía nonbre [fol. 51<sup>vb</sup>] Públio<sup>6</sup>, e apartávase sienpre de aver ayuntamiento con él so color de alguna enfermedat. E entendiendo el marido que era *christiana*, e que yva con una su servienta en ábito de onbre a las cárceles ado<sup>7</sup> estaban presos los *christianos*, e les dava todo lo que avían nescenario, fizola encerrar tan estrechamente en una cámara<sup>8</sup> que non le dava aún la vianda nesceria, deseándola asý matar por que pudiese aver toda su hereditat, que era grande asaz<sup>9</sup>. E pensando Santa Anastasia que morría allý, enbiava sus cartas llenas de dolor al bienaventurado mártir<sup>10</sup> Sant Grisógono<sup>11</sup> a la cárcel, ado estava preso con muchos otros por el nonbre del Señor.

10 E el santo mártir enbiávala con sus cartas a consolar, prometiéndole la ayuda divinal. E entre tanto murió su marido e fue ella librada de aquella [fol. 52<sup>ra</sup>] prisión.

15

E Santa Anastasia tenía tres amigas *christianas* que eran hermanas<sup>12</sup>, e a la una llamavan Ágapis, e a la otra Chiónia e a la otra Yrénea. E estas tres hermanas fueron presas del adelantado, e como non quisiesen<sup>13</sup> consentir a su mandado e sacreficar a los

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<sup>1</sup> De la vida e pasión de Santa Anastasia A : Aquí comienza la istoria de Santa Anastasia, declaración del su nonbre B

<sup>2</sup> estudo A : estado B

<sup>3</sup> E A : Síguese su ystoria. Esta B

<sup>4</sup> \* Pretaxato B : Petraxato A

<sup>5</sup> Grisógono A : Grisóstomo B

<sup>6</sup> Públio A : Plúbio B

<sup>7</sup> ado A : do B

<sup>8</sup> \* cámara B : cámara A

<sup>9</sup> asaz A : e asaz B

<sup>10</sup> mártir A : om. B

<sup>11</sup> Grisógono A : Grisóstomo B

<sup>12</sup> que eran hermanas B : om. A

<sup>13</sup> quisiesen A : quisiese B

20 dioses<sup>14</sup>, fizolas encerrar en una casa<sup>15</sup> ado estavan muchas cosas que son<sup>16</sup> a la cozina  
necesarias. E el adelantado, encendido<sup>17</sup> en amor dellas porque eran muy fermosas,  
fuése para ellas por aver ayuntamiento<sup>18</sup> con ellas. E desdeque entró a la casa ado estavan  
asý se le trastornó el seso que abraçava<sup>19</sup> las sártenes e<sup>20</sup> las calderas, pensando que  
abraçava a ellas. E desdeque fue farto de abraçar e besar las sártenes e las calderas, salió  
25 todo negro e feo, e veyéndole<sup>21</sup> sus servidores que le esperavan [fol. 52<sup>rb</sup>] a la puerta,  
pensaron que era<sup>22</sup> 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<sup>23</sup> palos e otros a le escopir e a darle<sup>24</sup>  
bofetadas en la cara, e otros a le lançar polvo e lodo, pensando que era tornado loco. E  
30 así le avía engañado el diablo, que non podía conoscer la su fealdat e torpedat, e  
maravillábase<sup>25</sup> 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  
fizolas traer delante sy e mandólas despojar [fol. 52<sup>va</sup>] por que si ál non se fartase de las  
35 acatar. Mas asý 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<sup>26</sup> por grant espanto, e començó a roncar tan fuertemente que non le podían  
despertar. E a la postre fueron martirizadas aquellas vírgenes santas.

E Santa<sup>27</sup> Anastasia fue dada del enperador a un adelantado para que la tomase  
40 por muger sy la pudiese apartar de la *christiandat* e fazer sacrificar. E como la fiziese  
meter el adelantado en una cámara e entrase a ella, e quisiese aver con ella ayuntamiento,  
fue<sup>28</sup> luego ciego. E veyéndose ciego, fuése a encomendar a sus dioses, e a les<sup>29</sup>  
preguntar sy podría escapar. E sus dioses [fol. 52<sup>vb</sup>] respondiéronle, diziendo: 'Porque  
feziste enojo a Santa Anastasia, eres dado a nos para que seas atormentado para sienpre

<sup>14</sup> \*dioses B : diablos A

<sup>15</sup> casa A : cámara B

<sup>16</sup> son A : so B

<sup>17</sup> encendido A : om. B

<sup>18</sup> aver ayuntamiento A : ayuntamiento de aver B

<sup>19</sup> abraçava A : abraçava a B

<sup>20</sup> e A : e a B

<sup>21</sup> veyéndole A : veyéndolo B

<sup>22</sup> era A : era el B

<sup>23</sup> con A : om. B

<sup>24</sup> e a darle A : e dar B

<sup>25</sup> maravillábase A : maravillávanse B

<sup>26</sup> adurmióse A : adormiese B

<sup>27</sup> Santa A : om. B

<sup>28</sup> fue A : fuése B

<sup>29</sup> les A : los B

45 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 mesquina.

E desde que aqueste adelantado fue muerto, fue dada Santa Anastasia a otro adelantado. E él, oyendo dezir que avía muchas riquezas, apartóla e díxole secreitamente: 'Anastasia, si quieres ser *christiana*, 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  
50 ve ado quisieres e serás verdadera *christiana*.' E respondióle Santa Anastasia e dixo: 'El mi Dios mandó que el *que* [fol. 53<sup>ra</sup>] quería ser su discípulo vendiese todas las cosas *que* ama<sup>30</sup> e las diese a los pobres. E como tú seas rico, si yo diere<sup>31</sup> a ti lo que tengo, non compliré<sup>32</sup> su mandamiento.'

55 E el adelantado, oyendo esto<sup>33</sup>, fizo poner a Santa Anastasia en una cárcel muy *grave*, e mandóla atormentar allí de grant<sup>34</sup> fanbre. Mas venía a ella cada día<sup>35</sup> una santa su amiga, que fuera antes martiriada, e traýale manjar celestial. E después de aquesto, fue enbiada Santa Anastasia a desterrar a las yslas que son llamadas Palmarias con dozientos *christianos*, ado estavan otros muchos desterrados por la confesión del nonbre  
60 del Salvador. E después de algunos días, fizo el adelantado traer delante sy a<sup>36</sup> todos los *christianos* que estavan allý desterrados. E mandó *que* | mar [fol. 53<sup>rb</sup>] a Santa Anastasia atada a unos palos, e fizo matar a los otros con diversos tormentos. E entre los otros *christianos* que allý estavan desterrados, estava uno que avía seydo despojado muchas vezes por el nonbre del Salvador de toda su heredad<sup>37</sup>, la qual fuera grande asaz, e dezía  
65 sienpre: 'Si ál non, non me quitaredes a Jhesu Christo, mi Señor.' E una noble muger que llamavan Apolonia tomó el cuerpo de Santa Anastasia, e enterrólo onrradamente en una su huerta. E fizo sobre ella una eglesia a onrra<sup>38</sup> del Nuestro Salvador, el qual bive e reyna<sup>39</sup> para sienpre<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> *que ama A : om. B*

<sup>31</sup> *diere A : diese B*

<sup>32</sup> *compliré A : cunpliría B*

<sup>33</sup> *el adelantado, oyendo esto A : él, oyendo esto, el adelantado B*

<sup>34</sup> *grant A : om. B*

<sup>35</sup> *a ella cada día A : cada día a ella B*

<sup>36</sup> *\* sy a B : sy A*

<sup>37</sup> *\* heredad B : hedat A*

<sup>38</sup> *a onrra A : a honrra e gloria B*

<sup>39</sup> *reyna A : regna con el padre e con el Espíritu Santo B*

<sup>40</sup> *para sienpre A : para sienpre un Dios, Amén B*

## COMPILATION B

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#### [fol. 27<sup>vb</sup>] *Capítulo de Santa Anastassia*

[fol. 28<sup>ra</sup>] Santa Anastasia es dicha de 'Ana'<sup>1</sup>, *que quiere tanto dezir 'suso' como quiere dezir 'estante'*,<sup>2</sup> do esta virgen estido en virtudes guardando asý mesma de pecado.

Anastasia, dueña muy noble como fuese de los romanos, fue fija<sup>3</sup> de don<sup>4</sup>  
5 Peccayat, varón muy noble e era de los paganos. E la su madre era dona Fausta *que era christiana*; por el bienaventurado don Grisógono en la fe de Jhesu Christo fue enseñada. E después fue dada por muger a don Púbel, la *qual* sienpre se fazia doliente, porque todavia esquivase la compañía de su marido porque toviere abstinencia. E ella sienpre amava las cosas de Jhesu Christo. E una vegada su marido vióla cantar con una su  
10 servienta, e fablaban de la fazienda de Jhesu Christo. E él, quando lo oyó, pesól mucho de corazón e fizol vestir un ábito de *christiano* muy vil, e mandóla meter en una cárcel con su serviente, enpero todo lo *que* avía mester les fazia dar e fizolas meter en un estrecho logar. E después dende, el<sup>5</sup> adelantado mandó *que non* les diesen a comer nin a  
15 beber demás, *que* fuese tal el fundamento *que* cuydava aquella dueña Fausta, su madre desta Santa Anastasia, *que* allý morrié. E enbió sus letras [fol. 28<sup>rb</sup>] encubiertamente a don Grisógono. E él enbió luego sus letras de consolación. E entre tanto<sup>6</sup> en Dios morió el marido della, e sacáronlas luego de la cárcel.

Esta dueña avía tres servyentas *que eran* muy apuestas e eran hermanas, e la una dellas avía nonbre Áganpe, e la otra avía nonbre Anómia e la otra avía nonbre Ciréne. E  
20 estas tres hermanas eran *christianas*. E aquel tiempo, el pretor de la cibdat amonestava segunt su ley *que* ellas non queriendo obedescer a los sus mandamientos, fizolas encerrar en una cárcel. E este pretor *que* era mayoral entró a ellas por conplyr con ellas su voluntad. E asý, como fue entrado, dentro luego fue perdido el su entendimiento. E en aquella casa adobavan de comer, e quando cuydava *que* las besava e las abraçava,  
25 besava a las padrellas e a las calderas, e quando desto fue farto, salió fuera todo

<sup>1</sup> de 'Ana' : abeja MS

<sup>2</sup> 'suso', como quiere dezir 'estante' : como 'suzio' 'estante' MS

<sup>3</sup> fue fija : non fue *que* fue fija MS

<sup>4</sup> don : doz MS

<sup>5</sup> el : om. MS

<sup>6</sup> entre tanto : tan MS

ensuziado. E quando la su conpañia le vio asý venir pensava<sup>7</sup> que era algunt pecado. E desende él fué para el enperador querellándose dellas, e quando lo vieron asý venir los unos le davan con las vercas e los otros le escopían la cara. E los otros le echavan en el lodo. E los otros en el polvo, [fol. 28<sup>va</sup>] pensando<sup>8</sup> que era algunt pecado. E sy asý nol  
30 espantasen, avién miedo que se tornarié en su oficio, e desende a días, acordó este pretor. E contó toda su fazienda como lo pasará, que fuera aquellas<sup>9</sup> por las desnuyar. E ellos nunca tanto podieron fazer que las vestiduras podiesen dellas quitar. E quando esto vieron oviéronles a dar martirio, e por el martirio que levaron e sofrieron, ganaron coronas en el cielo, porque son en paraýso.

35 E después Santa Anastasia fue dada al pretor, en tal manera que si la podiese fazer adorar los ydolos que ge la darié por muger. E esa ora apartóla él en una cámara en tal que adorasen y los ydolos, e él tomóse a sacrificar e ella non quiso adorar. E luego tornóse para ella para la abraçar, e luego mano a mano fallóse seco. E luego tornóse adorar los ydolos. E demandáuales que sy podría guaryr de aquella enfermedat o sy  
40 podría escapar. E ellos dixieron: 'Nos non podemos nin estamos a nuestro<sup>10</sup> mandamiento, ca Santa Anastasia es mucho amiga de Dios. Mas por quanto la acometiste para fazer lo que non deviés, sepas que después que morieres yrás conusco a los ynfiernos.' E en esa ora le levaron a casa e luego morió. E [fol. 28<sup>vb</sup>] fué para los ynfiernos.

45 E estonce Santa Anastasia fue dada a otro pretor<sup>11</sup> que la guardase. E él, quando oyó dezir que ella<sup>12</sup> avía muchas posesiones, díxol privadamente: 'Sy quieres ser christiana, faz esto que te manda él tu Dios, desanpara todo quanto has. Ca dize Dios que non es digno de ser con él, el que non renuncia todas las cosas que ha. Onde por aquesto todas las cosas que has, dalas a mí. E después ve do tú quisieres e así serás verdadera  
50 christiana.' E esa ora respondió Santa Anastasia e dixo: 'El mi señor Dios Christo manda e dize: "vende todas las cosas que has, e después el precio que valiere, dala a los pobres e non a los ricos." E tú eres rico, e yo contra el mandamiento de Dios yría,<sup>13</sup> sy a ti alguna cosa diese.' Estonces aquel pretor encerróla en una cárcel, e pensóla de atormentar por fanbre.

<sup>7</sup> pensava : pensavan MS

<sup>8</sup> pensando : pe pensando MS

<sup>9</sup> aquellas : per aquellas MS

<sup>10</sup> al nuestro : a nuestro al nuestro MS

<sup>11</sup> pretor : precor MS

<sup>12</sup> que ella : que ella que MS

<sup>13</sup> yría : non yría MS

55        Enpero Sant Theodosyo por martirio *que* rescebió es en el cielo coronado, e por  
dos meses les dio Dios pan<sup>14</sup> 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 fizolas venir ante sy [fol. 29<sup>ra</sup>] aquellas  
dozientas vírgenes, e a Santa Anastasia con ellas. E vino cada una con su palma e luego  
60        fizolas quemar con fuego, e a las otras dioles tantos tormentos con tantas penas fasta *que*  
ovieron de morir. E en aquella ora, estava y 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<sup>15</sup>'. E desende Apolonia soterró  
65        el cuerpo de Santa Anastasia muy honrradamente en el su vergel. E en aquel lugar do  
ella fue enterrada en aquel tiempo non estava y yglesia, e después *que* se fue acercado  
de<sup>16</sup> la *christiandat*, oyeron dezir como Santa Anastasia fuera allí enterrada. E fezieron y  
una eglesia a onrra de Santa Anastasia.

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<sup>14</sup> pan : pan angelos *que* comién MS

<sup>15</sup> desposada : desposparada MS

<sup>16</sup> acercado de : acercando MS

## CONCLUSION

A thorough analysis of the legend of Saint Anastasia in its varying extant forms has brought to light many significant facts regarding a saint previously granted little attention by scholars. This can hopefully in turn contribute to the current line of thought on the *Legenda aurea*, in finding both similarities and differences between the legend of Anastasia and other hagiographic *passiones* and *vitae*.

Martyred around 304, Anastasia's legend was firstly recorded some centuries later. Jacobus de Voragine based his thirteenth-century version on this account, which was in turn recognized as the original source from which three known Spanish manuscript versions derive. Two of these are in closer proximity to the original Latin than the other. Álvaro de Luna also used Voragine's Latin as a basis for his version of the legend. A thematic and stylistic analysis of the constituents of the two extant Spanish critical editions presents some pertinent conclusions. She resembles many other established virgin martyrs in her noble heritage, her refusal to succumb to sexual temptation, and her determination to maintain her religious devotion above all odds. Her charitable acts towards the Christian prisoners also similarly categorize her with other saints who, despite the wealth they are accorded at birth, choose to disperse their money amongst the needy.

Anastasia does, however, possess certain characteristics which distinguish her from the vast majority of the *Legenda aurea* saints. Not only is she married, thus questioning the previously established ideal of the *sponsa Christi*, she is in turn widowed, which, as has been proven, is the case for only three of the 158 saints in Voragine's collection. She is, therefore, clearly in the minority. Other images appearing within her *passio* are also uncommon in hagiographic tradition. The kitchen imagery, for example, is not often seen in hagiographic legends. The circumstances dictated by the legend of Anastasia have been proven as mostly resembling those of the other saintly widows in the *Legenda aurea*, however a more extensive analysis of this category of saint is needed to establish its relationship and relevance to other saintly groups. An extended continuation of the analysis only briefly touched upon in this work would ascertain the importance of the saintly widow within hagiographic tradition, and the reason for their inclusion in such an established and respected collection. This will in turn attain a broader overview and insight into the hagiographic tradition.



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# **APPENDIX:**

## **MANUSCRIPT RECENSIONS**

- **Escorial K – II – 12**
- **Escorial h – III – 22**
- **Biblioteca Nacional 12688**

beup. siluestre en el nonbre de  
 ihu xpo z queremos todos en el  
 En sy yo podiese fazer el to  
 q visyese aqto terna q sabi  
 algo. En despo sy yo q no po  
 siluestre fazer le beup. En  
 Antone siluestre fizo su opaco  
 allegando se ala oresa del to  
 dyo to da mal diao z muerre q  
 stas aq sal fuera por ma da do  
 ihu xpo. En digo de to enl  
 nonbre de dios q se leuantes z  
 de vayas por tu labana. En tu  
 go se leuato el to z se fue  
 muy manso. En Antone in fi  
 onta z los judios z los alaille  
 los otros todos se apusaron  
 ala fe de ihu xpo. Qu poro di  
 s venepo los obps de los y  
 plos al empador de reno. En  
 empador tanto sepus q tome  
 eta fe de ihu xpo q esta vn dra  
 on alli en vna cuena z ma  
 de cada dia mas de acen  
 ties co su sollo. En de amado  
 stantino sobi esto conselo. se  
 ondio sant siluestre. empador  
 o faze por la fe de ihu xpo qno  
 ayre sin anyno. En Antone pro  
 ceuato los obps de quer en  
 ihu xpo sy el esto fegiese. En  
 ando sant siluestre apete no le  
 mte pdr. diolendi. de pten  
 a el dragon segun z de pdr  
 onzigo z qnd venepes al lo  
 ar do esta desr le as asy. En  
 po señor ihu xpo nasho de la  
 ngen santa maria z fue qu

asfando z muerre z fegado de  
 Jesusito al to dia z se ala  
 diestra de su padre q ha de venp  
 judgar los bynos z los muerres  
 En por end tu siluestre esfeg  
 lo aq faze q venga. En ara  
 tas la su to da vn filo z por  
 nas de sus vn sello q halse  
 it al de la que z to ma po he  
 des amfanoes. salupor am  
 epedes el ppo. En de to de re  
 En sant siluestre de stendio  
 en la cuena am los de pdr  
 q avia en la cuena aeto z anq  
 ma q dgo z leuato consigo  
 de stendio nas. En Antone de to  
 Sant siluestre al dragon las  
 dhas palabras. z ligall la bna  
 de to le fue mado. En sobi  
 endola cuena aqba fahato  
 de stendio de to fegio asy  
 gar pdr. de stendio al  
 dragon. En fallto los fegio  
 muerres del fegio del dragon  
 z aduyo los consigo sanos q  
 guapidos. En to to se con  
 gar conpna ala fe de ihu xpo  
 z asy los Romanos fegio lib  
 ados de de muerres por Sant  
 siluestre. En la vna de venpo  
 del dragon la oja del pdr del  
 diablo. En despus de to Sant  
 siluestre conpno de todos bues  
 fuese pa payso. En de san a  
 nastasia.

**S**anta anastasia  
sia es dicha abeja q que  
se muto de su omo su omo  
fante el do esta virge estada  
en virgen des guastando asy  
mesina de prado el anastasia  
duena muy noble omo fu  
ese de los romanos no fue  
q fue fya de do. percarpar.  
vapo muy noble e era de los pa  
ganos el la su madre era do  
na fausta q era xpiana por el  
bien adventura do don gso go  
no en la se de ihu xpo fue en sen  
ada el de spues fue dada por  
muger a don pabel. la q si  
mpre se facia doliente por q to  
davia esguase la conpania de  
su marido por q conyese abstin  
encia el de ella siempre amaua  
las cosas de ihu xpo e vna de  
guda su marido viola capta  
o vna su sequeta e sablauan  
de la facienda de ihu xpo el de el  
qndo lo ovo pso mucho de co  
acon e fiedol vestu vn abito de  
xpiano muy vil e mado la me  
ter en vna capta o su sequete.  
enp todo lo q avia mester.  
les facia en e fiedol las meter  
en vn estrecho logar el de sps  
ende a delant mado q no les di  
esen a comer ni abeuer. e mas  
q fuese tal el fundameto q ay  
tana a qlla duena fausta su  
madre desta santa anastasia q  
ally morre e cubio sus letas

2  
enabie en meste adon gso  
gono el de et enbiol luego sus  
letas de consolaço e tan en  
dios morio el marido della e  
sacpo las luego de la capta.  
el de sps duena avia tres seza  
ventas q era muy apuestas  
e era hermanas e labna della  
avia nonbre agripe e la ota  
avia nonbre anoma e la ota  
avia nonbre asene el de sps  
tres hermanas era xpianas.  
el de a q tpo el pteor dela ab  
da amonestaua segun su ley  
q ellas no qnando obdeser  
alos sus maridos fiedol las  
enchar en vna capta el de  
ste pteor q era mayoral ent  
a ellas por conplyr con ellas  
su voluntad el de asy vno fue  
enpado dnto luego fue p di  
do el su entendimto el de en di  
qlla casa adbaña de comer  
e qndo aydaua q las besaua  
e las abraua besaua alas  
padiellas e alas cul de rias  
qndo desto fue feto salio fue  
ra todo en su grado el de qndo  
la su conpania le vio asy ve  
ni pensaua q era algut pma  
do el de de sen e el fuese pa el  
enpador qrellando se dellas  
e qndo lo vido asy veni los  
unos le daua con las vestas  
e los ois le estopia la capta  
el de los ois le echaua en ello  
do el de los ois en el polvo pe



pensando q era algũt peca do  
e sy a sy nol espantã sen adie  
miedo q se tornare en su ofi do  
e desende a dias aco rdo este p  
etor. **E** conto toda su fable  
nda como lo pasara q fubnpr  
a aqllas pr las desmayar. **E** a  
ellos nua tanto podiero faser  
qlas vestiduras podiesen de  
llas qm r qndo esto viero ouy  
epo les a dar matupio r pr el  
matupio q lena to r suffierou  
ganapõ coronas en el cielo pr  
q son en payso. **E** despues  
Santa anastasia fue da al  
prietor en tal mana q fela po  
diese faser a dar los ydolos  
q gela dize pr muger. **E**  
esa ora apatola el en vna ca  
mara en tal q adrasen y los  
ydolos r el tomo se asacifia  
r ella nõ qpo a dar. **E** a l  
ego tomo se pa alla pa la ab  
taca r luego ma amana fa  
llo se seor. **E** a luego tomo se  
a dar los ydolos. **E** a dema  
nduales q sy p dpa guarar  
de aqlla en ferno dar o sy po  
tia estapar. **E** a ellos dixier  
on nob nõ podemos m e stan  
os. **A**mpa q nro mandamieto  
e. **E** a sta anastasia es mucho  
amiga de dios e mas pr qm  
la aomen se pa faser. Lo q nõ  
denyes. sepas q despues qmo  
neces ytas conuisto a los yn  
fieros. **E** a enesa ora le leua  
ron aca sa r luego morio. **E**

fuesse pa los yfles. **E**  
estonce sta anastasia fue da  
da lo qo pteor q la guarara  
e a el qndo oyo de q ella  
q avia muchas posesions di  
vol yrua da merte sy qier  
ser xpiana fas esto q te ma da  
el tu dios de sanpata todo q  
nto has. **E** a dize dios q nõ  
es digno de ser onel el q nõ  
fennua todas las cosas q ha  
e on de pr aqsto todas las  
cosas q has dadas any. **E** a  
despues ve do tu q fieres r afi  
seas verdaderã xpiana e a sa  
ora respondio sta anastasia  
dize el my señor dios xpo ma da  
r dize vende todas las cosas  
q has r despues el preso q va  
here dala a los pobres r nõ al  
os fies. **E** a tu eres fies r yo  
vire el ma damento de dios  
põ ypa sy ari alguna cosa die  
se. estonces a ql pteor encesso  
la en vna carcel r yn solda de  
aowmetar pr fante. **E** a y  
San theod syo pr matupio  
q festebia es en el cielo apona  
do r pr dos meses les dio di  
os pan angelox q amie cele  
stial. **E** a qndo vio q la nõ po  
ia en pfer enbiola alas yfles  
palmares co do sientas vir  
gines q fueso desterradas pr  
el nobte de ihu xpo. **E** a des  
pues apocõ de dias a ql pte  
or fies las veni ante sy.

agllas doieutas virgin  
es z asta anastasia con el  
las. Et vino cada vna co  
su palma z luego floo las  
quiaz co fuego z alas ois  
dholes tantos tormentos  
co tantas penas fasta q'o  
uiero de morir. Et en aqlla  
ora estaua y vn ome q' era  
siervo de dios z muchas ve  
gas adia se desposado de  
quito tenje. Et danalo al  
os pobres de dios z todas s  
figas toda via de sa. Als  
sobadores esto al menos.  
nua melo sobades en el  
ayma de sta anastasia ca  
ella co dios es desposado.  
Et desende a ploma por  
to al cuerpo de sta anasta  
sia muy honrrada en terre e  
nel. su vez gel. Et en aqlo  
gar de ella fue en un p'de  
aq'l q'o ud estaua y yola z  
despues q' se fue a p'mo.  
La xpianada de sta anasta  
sia. sta anastasia fue a alh  
ente spada. Et de sta opo. La  
vna esha a opo de santa  
anastasia. Et de sta basilio.

**B**asilio fue vn ome  
muy fidalgo z de bien le va  
ra dios z a viabna sia q' que

2  
fuer: monja mas el dia q'  
siempre se trabaja en mal  
veyendo esto en audio en el  
amor de la uña vno de sus  
manablos. Et dize el en par  
ando mieres q' el no p'dre  
m le conuenie de fazer tal  
fecho fuese pa vn encamador  
z p'meal muy grar auer sy  
el le ayudase en este mudo i  
pa este fecho. Et dize el en  
tador yo no pue de esto faze  
mas vien aca z embia te he  
am. Senor el diablo. Et sy  
feciendes lo q' el te diuere co  
nplias tu de seos. Et dize el  
manablos yo faze q'nto el me.  
ma dize. Et de seende el en  
cama dor. flos vna al pa el  
diablo z embiola co este ma  
celo de p'meal por q' me dize  
de trabaja q'nto p'dre de  
engañar los ymunes. Et  
en q'nto p'meal a dize los  
ay por q' la tu conpina a q'  
acite embio de este mudo q'  
a grar amor de tal yña. Et  
fuego te q' ayudes en q'nto  
p'dre por tal q' ayudes tu  
de seos z por q' yo pue de ayu  
atu conpina a ois muchos  
por tal fazon como esta. Et  
dan do la al diabol vete  
pa tal ora de la noche z p'me  
el sepulgo de tal gen  
al z llama ay a los diablos  
z edha esta carta en el arte.



el nacimiento del salua  
dor en parte fue semejable  
años por que nasho de  
muger y por esa mesma pu  
erza del nacimiento. E en  
parte fue desemejable por  
que fue concebido de espí  
ritu santo y nasho de santa m  
virgen. Desta mesma nas  
cencia fallaras mas a  
fechos

Dela vida y passion de santa  
anastasia

**S**anta anastasia es  
dicha de anna. q  
quiere decir susb  
releuado que quiere decir  
estudo por que estudio al  
menda y apartada de los via  
os y allegada alas virtudes  
E santa anastasia fue  
de noble linaje natural de  
la qdad de roma. fía de  
un noble onbre gentil que  
dava nombre p<sup>er</sup> aya y  
de una noble duena via  
na que dava nombre fausta  
E fue enseñada del bien  
al mudo marín. San  
grigorio E Causa con bi  
onbre gentil que dava non

bre publico y apartada  
siempre de auez ayuntam  
ento con el su color de algu  
na enfermedad E Causa  
endo el marido que en  
viava y que yua con una  
su sueneta en abito de on  
bre alas angeles ad es  
tauan presb los vianos  
y les daua todo lo que un  
an necesitario. fiso la en  
oerra tan estrecha miente  
en una camera que non  
le daua abn la vianda ne  
cesaria descaudo la a su  
matar por que pudiese a  
beuina su heredit que en  
grande asus E pensan  
do santa anastasia que mo  
rra alhy enbriava sus an  
tas llenas de dolor al he  
auenturado marín. San  
grigorio ala angel ad  
estua presb con muchos  
otros por el nombre del se  
ñor. E el santo marín e  
brava la con sus virtas a  
consolar promouendo le  
la ayuda diuina E Causa  
tanto nuirio su marido y  
fue ella librada de aqlla

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puson. **Q**uarta anas  
era una tres amigas  
dellas / y ala vna llama  
uan apuina / y ala otra chi  
oma / y ala otra vrencea.  
**Q**estas tres hermanas  
fueron prelas del adela  
do / y como non quisiese  
consentir a su mandado  
y suavesar a los diablo  
fizo las enrejar en vna  
cusa adonde estaua muchos  
cosas que son ala q'si  
na necesarias. **E**l  
adelantado enendia en  
amor dellas por q' eran  
muy fermosas. fuesen  
ellas por auer apuina  
miento a aquellas. **E**des  
que curro ala casa adonde  
estauan asy se le trasfor  
no el seso que abraua  
las sentenes y las culde  
ras pensando que abra  
ua a ellas. **E**des que  
fue fizo de abrauar y be  
sar las sentenes y las  
culderas saliendo negro  
y feo y leyendo de sus ser  
uidores que le esperaua

ala puerta pensaron que  
era diablo y dieronle mu  
chas puñadas y muchos  
palos y echaron a foyr y  
deuaron lo solo en su ca  
lo. **E**l leyendo esto fu  
escriuia el emperador a  
se querellas de sus serui  
dores. **E** comencaron a  
nos ale dar con palos y  
otros ale estopir y a dar  
le bofetadas en la cara y o  
tros ale lanar poluo y lo  
do pensando que era tor  
nado loco. **E** asy le ama  
enrabiado el diablo q' non  
podia como ser la su real  
dad y arripido y manauilla  
ua se por que le serian asy  
todas y fagian del estir  
mo / aleprecha que sus  
vestiduras estauan todas  
hupias y el todo blanco.  
**E** leyendo que lo desia  
todas que estaua muy  
feo y negro pruso que le  
fagian aquellas muy  
res aljunt enocharamen  
to y fizo las traer delante  
sy y mandolas despojar



por que si al non se finta  
se del ap acan. **Q**uando  
así se les allegaron la  
testimonios a los nuevos q  
non las pudieron desho  
lar a un que porfian on a  
sas. **E** viendo esto el  
adelantado fue muy mara  
uillado / y aduenose por  
grat espanto començo  
a poner un suete men  
te que non le podian des  
pertar. **E** ala vltre fue  
ron matrimoniadas aqllas  
virgenes santas. **E** tan  
ta anastasia fue dada del  
emperador a un adelantado  
para que la tomase por  
muger. **S**ola pudiese ap  
tar dela viandit y fuesen  
sugresion. **E** como la fi  
siese metir el adelantado  
en una camera y en  
trase a ella y quisiere ahr  
con ella apuntamieto  
fue luego a ego. **E** le  
pense se a ego fuese a e  
comendat a sus dioses  
y a los presuntar. **S**y po  
dria elupn. **E** sus di

oses pesson dironle  
siendo. **E** por que  
te enoso a santa anasta  
sia eres dado a nos para  
que seas anastasia  
para siempre con nos e  
los troncava del ym  
no. **E** como fue suen  
res lo tomase en a su  
die el alma entre las  
manos dellos. **E** a un  
su vida por manera me  
na. **E** desde que aqulle  
adelantado fue muerto  
fue dada santa anastasia  
a otro adelantado. **E**  
el oyo de se que una  
muchas travesas apu  
tola y dize lo seuenta me  
te. **E** anastasia si queres  
se yiana obedesce a mi di  
y fag lo que te mandan  
y deya todas las cosas  
que has por que puedes  
ser su discipula y dame  
las aun y he ayo quisiere  
y seas verdad de yiana  
**E** pesson dize a santa  
anastasia y dize. **E** un  
dios mando que el q

guerra se fu discípulo de  
 dize a las cosas q  
 ama. / **E** dize a los po  
 bres. / **E** como se sea  
 pro si se diere en lo que  
 tengo non cumplire su  
 mandamiento. / **E** a  
 delantado oyendo esto si  
 se puer a santa anasta  
 sia en vna arca muy y  
 ue / mandola a dremen  
 tar alla de grant hambre  
**E** da vna a ella en  
 cada dia vna sarta de an  
 ya que fuera antes mar  
 ymada / e trauale masha  
 olesia. / **E** despues de  
 aquello fue enbiada san  
 ta anastasia a desterrar  
 alas yslas que son lla  
 madas palmarias co do  
 sentos yanos ado esta  
 uan otros muchos de ste  
 mudo por la confesion  
 del nombre del saluador.  
**E** despues de algunos  
 dias fizo el adelantado  
 traer delantey todos los  
 yanos que estauan ally  
 desterrados. / **E** mando q

mar a santa anastasia a  
 toda adnos pulos / e hio  
 matar a los otros con due  
 sos tormentos. / **E** entre  
 los otros yanos que ally  
 estauan desterrados esta  
 ua vno que ama sepa del  
 plado muchas veces por  
 el nombre del saluador de  
 toda su hedat la qual fue  
 ra grande asca / e de sta  
 siempre. / **S**i al non / e non  
 me quitaredes ahy ypo m  
 senci. / **E** vna noble muger  
 que llamauan apolonia to  
 mo el cuerpo de santa anas  
 tasia / e enterralo onrada  
 mente en vna su buca. / **E**  
 fizo sobre ella vna eglefia  
 a onra del nuestro salua  
 dor el qual buue e reyna  
 para siempre. / **E** la pafion  
 del bien e virtuado sant este  
 uan pinciro martr

stuan es nombre  
 griego e quiere de  
 su regla en iude  
 go / e corona en nuestra le  
 gua / a fue corona / e onre  
 co de todos los martires  
 del nuevo testamento. / **A**si

escríu en prisiona a santa  
 paula: e de custodia su fip  
 - avna duenna que en llama  
 du marga. loando los lu  
 gres santos: ad el señor: i  
 nashera: e prorianza: e murie  
 ra. **E**n conclusion de aq.  
 tu materia fiso trouado el  
 cunto que se sigue. **P**uis  
 que avemos nueuo fey: e  
 nueua ley: e somos nueua  
 grey: sean en nos nuebas  
 todas las cosas. **E**l que aca  
 ba el tratado de la natu  
 ral del saluador: el qual  
 con el padre: e con el spūs  
 biue: e regna por siempre  
 Dios: amen. **E**l que com  
 ença la istoria de santa an  
 tasia. declaracion del su non  
 bre. **E**l que  
 anta a  
 nashia. es di  
 cha de anna. que  
 quiere de spūs: e estia  
 que quiere de spūs: e estia  
 por que estubo alida: e  
 apartada de los viros: e  
 llegada alas virtudes:

**E** sigue se su ystoria.

**E**sta santa anastasia  
 fue de noble linaje  
 natural de la qbar e fo  
 ma fisa de un noble omē  
 gentil que auia nonbr pre  
 tervato: e de una noble due  
 ña xpiana que auia nonbr  
 fausta: e fue enseñada del  
 bien auetunado marit saint  
 grifostomo. **E**l caso con un  
 omen gentil que auia non  
 br plubio: e apartauase si  
 enpre de auer aduicimj  
 con el. so color de alguna en  
 fermedad. **E**n tendien  
 do el marido que era dāna  
 a que yua con una su se:  
 uenta en abito de omen a  
 las mages de estauan pre  
 sos los xpianos: e les daua  
 todo lo que auian necesario  
 fiso la encerrar tan estrecha  
 mente en una camara que  
 non le daua avn la vianda  
 necesaria. deseando la asy  
 matiz por que pudiese auer  
 toda su heredar que en qñ

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(large scale x 1.40.)



zasas. **E**n pensando santa  
anastasia que morria allí  
cubierta sus ois llenas de  
dolor. al bien auenturado i  
sant. grigostomo ala muela  
co estaua preso con muchos  
otros por el nonbre del señor.  
**E**l santo marit. cubria  
la con sus ois aconsolar. pro  
mencendole la ayueta diu  
nal. **E**ntre tanto mu  
rio su marido. i fue ella libe  
da de aquella prision.  
**E** santa anastasia tenia  
tres amigas xanas que  
eran hermanas. i ala vna  
llamauan agapis. i ala y  
tra dioma. i ala otra yre  
nea. **E**stas tres herma  
nas fueron presas de uel  
lado. **E** como non quisiese  
consentir asu mandado. i su  
crisnar a los dioses fiso las  
enfermar en vna camara. ad  
estauan muchas cosas que se  
ala cosa necessaria. **E**  
el adelantado en amor de la  
por que eran muy fermosas

fuese para ellas por ayunam  
iento de auer conellas.  
**E** desque entro ala muela  
aco. estaua asi se le tristor  
no el seso que cubriaua n  
las sartenes. i alas calderas  
pensando que abrian. **E** des  
**E** desque fue fado de abri  
car. i legar las sartenes. i  
las calderas. salio todo negro  
i feto. **E** veniendo lo sus ser  
uidores que le esproua ala  
puerta. prision que en el  
diablo. i dieron le muchas  
puñadas. i muchos palos. i  
edicion asu. i dearonlo  
solo en su cabo. **E** de  
fendo asi fuese para el en  
fermo. asi quedaua. i  
seruidores. i dearonlo  
unos ale dar palos. i otros  
ale estorper. i dar porfegua  
en la cara. i otros ale la  
car plus. i loo pensando.  
que era tomado lo. **E**  
asi le auia engañado el  
diablo que non podia co  
noscer la su fealdad. i m.

/ prout / e mazaullauan se  
 / por que le ferian asi tows  
 / e faguan al esauio . e alep  
 / resha que sus vestidume q  
 / tauan todas lmpus (e el tows  
 / blanco. **Q**ueyendo que le  
 / desian todos que estuu muy  
 / feo e negro . pens que le fue  
 / ran aquellas mugeres algu  
 / encantamiento (e fiso las m  
 / ez . e lanre sy (e mancolas .  
 / despolar por que si al nonse  
 / fatusse . e las acotiz . mas .  
 / asi se les allegaron las b  
 / tiduras a los cuerpws que  
 / non las podieron despolar  
 / abn que proflaron . asase .  
**Q**ueyendo esto el acla  
 / tado fue muy mazaullado  
 / e adormiese por guino espi  
 / to (e comenyo a fonzar m su  
 / erte mente que non le poi  
 / an desprir. **E**ala postre  
 / fueron martirizadas aque  
 / llas virgines santas. **E**a  
 / nastasia fue dada del empra  
 / dor . abn a celantado para q  
 / la tomase por muger si la p

diese a partir de la xpi . andar  
 e faser sus fias. **C**omo  
 la fese meter el a celanti  
 do en vna camara (e entrase  
 a ella (e quisiese auer con ella  
 ayuntamiento . fuese luego  
 negro. **Q**ueyendo se negro  
 fuese a encomendar a sus do  
 ses (e a los preguntiz si p  
 dia estapar e sus dioses .  
 respondieron le . desientu .  
**P**or que ferasse enolo asha  
 anastasia eres dado anos  
 para que seas atormentado  
 para siempre con nos en los  
 tormentos del infierno. **C**  
 como sus seruidores lo torna  
 sen asu nisa . dio el alma en  
 tre las manos dellos. **E**a  
 calo su vida por mania mes  
 quina. **D**esque a queste  
 a celantado fue muerto fue  
 dada santa anastasia a otro  
 a celantado. **E**el oien  
 do deor que auya mugher  
 fiquesas a partola (e dixole  
 secreta mente . anastasia sy  
 queres ser xana . olreeste a  
 tu dios e fise lo que te maa

2 era todas las cosas que as  
por que pueuas ser su testim  
la 2 damelas am. 2 ve a co  
quisleres 2 feras vendiam  
2 ana. **R**espndiole santa  
anastasia 2 dize. **E**l m di  
os mance quel que qm su  
su despulo vendiese todas  
las cosas 2 las diese a los  
pobres. **C**omo tu seas  
fido si no diese ayo lo que  
tengo no cumpliria su ma  
damente. **E**l oyendo  
esto el a celantido fero po  
ner a santa anastasia en un  
carcel muy guue 2 mance  
la atormentar. **A**lly se fun  
bre. **O**as venga ayda dia  
a ella vna santa su amiga q  
fuera antes martirada. 2  
traya le manjar celestial. **R**  
despus de aquesto fue enbia  
de santa anastasia a destre  
rar a las yslas que son la  
madre palmaras con to  
vientos 2 anos ayo estua  
o flos muchos desterrados.

por la confesion del nonbre del  
saluador. **D**espues de  
algunos dias fero el aze  
lamiento muez delante fero  
todos los ganos que estua  
ally desterrados. **E** man  
do quemar a santa anasti  
sia a cada a vnos palos 2  
fero mance a los otros con  
diuersos tormentos. **E**n  
tre los otros ganos que a  
lly estuan desterrados. q  
tuua vno que aya foy  
despolado muchas vezes  
por el nonbre del saluador  
de toda su heredad. la q  
fueru guate as. **E** de  
sia siempre. **E** al nonbre  
me quate as aya xpo mfe  
nor. **E** vna noble muge  
que llamauan a ploma  
tomo el ayo de santa an  
tasia 2 enterrolo honrra  
mente en vna su buena  
2 fero sobe ella vna eglia  
ahonrra 2 glia del nro  
saluador el qual buue 2  
regna con el padre 2 con el