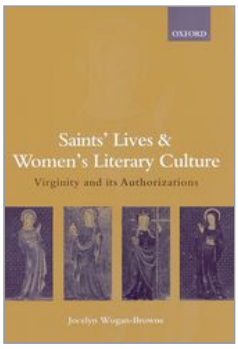

Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture, 1150-1300: Virginity and its Authorizations
Jocelyn Wogan-Browne

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Virgin Passions: Romance, Raptus, Ritual

JOCELYN WOGAN-BROWNE

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter further places the romance of virgin martyr hagiography by looking not only at the virgin's nuptial and dotal relation with Christ, but at her argument with the pagan tyrant. This involves attention to both historical development and to literary structural analysis of the *passio*. It argues that by the later 12th century, the central conflict of hagiography is shifting to a conflict seen in gender rather than generational terms, in what is generally understood as romancing and feminizing development.

Keywords: virgins, virginity, martyr, hagiography, passio

3.1. The Virgin Heroine and the Properties of Romance

It is often argued that the high Middle Ages brought a fundamental change in the representation of saints—from admirable to imitable, from figures who were as distant as possible to figures closer to the lives and aspirations of their audiences—and that this involved a 'feminization of sanctity'.[1] As with 'courtly love' and the 'discovery of the individual', this formulation usefully points to important issues for which it remains an inadequate label. The efflorescence of vernacular virgin *passio* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is difficult to see as a straightforward measure of increased visibility and power for women, even though, as argued in Chapter 2, it has resonances with the importance of female patronage and the role of women in securing land and lineage in Anglo-Norman society. As has long been recognized, such resonances tend to be expressed in the rewriting of established figures of female sanctity, not in the veneration of contemporary medieval women.[2] Nevertheless, change as well as continuity is observable in the representation of virgin martyrs.

For Ælfric (d. 1004), pre-eminent writer of vernacular hagiography in late Anglo-Saxon England, the virgin is the leading type of female sanctity, and the narrative morphology of his representation of virgin martyrs is often very similar **(p. 93)** to that of post-Conquest *passio*.[3] Unlike saints' relations with their families in later *passio*, and unlike Anglo-Saxon models of more eremitic styles of sanctity, however, Ælfric's lives carefully omit or reduce their Latin source's representations of social disruption consequent on saints' cults.[4] Ælfric's virgins, as one might expect from a royalist partisan of monastic reform, are representations designed to defend the disposition of genealogical and territorial capital to the church, figures of Benedictine churchmanship.[5] They illustrate, to borrow Stephanie Hollis's formulation, the tendency of late Germanic societies to assimilate women to men, as opposed to high medieval alterization of women.[6] Very differently from Simon of Walsingham's Faith and Caprais (Chapter 2.2 above), Ælfric's aristocratic saintly partnerships reinscribe a model of Anglo-Saxon social order focused on the king's royal household: the women are complementary (Anglo-Saxon nunneries were under the queen's patronage in subordination to the king's patronage of the monasteries) and

die either with their husband or quietly with their female attendants in a coda to his death.[7]

Later saints are indeed more other', that is to say, more feminized, than Ælfric's but this change cannot be seen in isolation from other shifts. Change in the thematics of female sainthood is complemented, for instance, by shifts in **(p.94)** conceptions of childhood and parenthood, Ælfric was writing in a world where child oblation—the gift of a living sacrifice, *hostia viva*—was a common practice and one still deemed on the whole meritorious: by the time of Lateran IV in 1215 the theory and practice of oblation was disputed and uncertain.[8] The imagery of the virgin saint as treasure reveals this shift together with the changing focus of conflict, Ælfric's Eugenia is recurrently shown as gold: as a statue of gold made by her mourning parents, as a woman adorned with gold after her trial and recognition scene, as a gold-adorned saint seen by her mother in a heavenly vision.[9] The meanings of gold develop from image to image, accreting all the tensions, ambivalences, and competing desires inscribed in Eugenia, as social and spiritual capital is reassigned from her pagan family to the church in the Life's reformulation of that family as a church-supporting Christian entity. Ælfric's Eugenia signifies differently from a later virgin such as Simon of Walsingham's Faith. As a golden statue, she represents the desire of her parents to withhold her from the church in quasi-idolatrous attachment to a mortal child. Faith is represented as treasure not to her parents but to rival sexual and ideological suitors, the emperor Dacien and Christ, and to the rival monasteries of Agen and Conques. Ælfric's Eugenia resolves conflict by leaving the parental household to enter an abbey in disguise as a monk. Unlike post-Conquest virgins she does not seek intensified occupation of the *sponsa Christi* role as a defence against her parents and, again unlike them, she converts her father in the end. In post-Conquest lives, not only are there almost no new vernacular lives of transvestite saints,[10] but the idolatrous overvaluation of a female child functions to paganize courtly love, rather than to reproach parental retention of possible oblates. Thus the golden statue of St Catherine proposed by the pagan emperor Maxentius is an offer to put Catherine's image on a pedestal for worship (and is duly mocked by the saint). Although the disposition of the resources represented in a child remains a common concern in Ælfric's and in post-Conquest virgin lives, lives of post-

Conquest composition focus on conflict as between patriarchy (i.e. suitor and father), and daughter, rather than between generations.[11]

(p.95) Given the persistence of Ælfric's lives alongside new lives in the vernaculars and in Latin, audience experience in the twelfth century must have been capable of considerable variation depending on what books and texts were in question.[12] Nevertheless, twelfth- and thirteenth-century virgin *passio* can in general be said both to be romanced in newly intense and different ways from the earlier instantiations of this long-enduring model and to become itself intertextual with romance.[13] The white stag who distracts St Osith's pagan husband from his climactic assault on her virginity is present in earlier Latin *vitae:* he has a literary pedigree in monastic foundation legends and their sacralizing of monastic sites and identities, and he is also associated with the hermit saints of the eleventh- and twelfth-century eremitic reform.[14] Mystic and sacred properties for the stag (whiter than snow') are signalled in the Latin's brief evocation. But in the later twelfth-century vernacular Life, rather as the 'birth' of Arthurian romance can be mapped onto Chretien de Troyes' white stag, we may take this animal as a metonym of the shift to romance.[15] The Anglo-Norman text's greatly expanded account of the aventure'(v. 547) of the completely white' stag (v. 558) shows the sacred received within the register of courtly quest and love hunt as the stag deflects the pagan king-ruler-bridegroom's pursuit of Osith's **(p.96)** virginity.[16] King Sigher has never seen a stag 'of such whiteness', but it vanishes before his eyes in the sea at Dunwich, leaping out of his grasp for ever (vv. 625–6). As well as Sigher's desire, the stag signifies God's: it is providentially sent by him to save his bride Osith from the pagan rival, whose grasp and territory is thereby shown as limited. But, equally, the stag represents not only the person of Osith but what she herself wants by way of conforming her desire to God's. Female desire and dissent are stressed well beyond anything in Ælfric or earlier hagiography.[17]

The courtly and nuptial virgin is the heroine of 'rumanz' in both its major Anglo-Norman meanings: she is the predominant *vernacular* female saint and her passion is an extended and stylized display of romance constancy to the highest-ranking bridegroom of all.[18] *Her passio* can be related both to chivalric courtly romance and to the romance modes of

modern popular culture. It is worth briefly pursuing this latter comparison for what it reveals of the dynamics of romance in the medieval *passio*.[19] With virgin martyr *passio* identified as romance, the question of gendered violence and the role of rape in the *passio* has become an issue both in accounts of the genre and in discussion of the roles of saints in the reading of medieval women.[20] It is important here to see what kind of narrative structure and encoding characterizes the *passio* as well as to consider historically its relations with its contexts and audiences.

The principal difference between the *passio* and the modern form of nuptial romance (see Figure 3) lies in the distribution of the suitor role. In the modern romance the hero (‘sign of the patriarchy, enemy and lover’, as Jan Cohn calls the romance and novel hero) is a single figure, offering emotionally warm and emotionally cruel behaviour to the heroine in turn.[21] (His cruelty is later **(p.97)** ‘revealed’ as not really intended to damage her and as a sign of his vulnerability/love/need.) The medieval *passio* uses Christ and the pagan for these opposed aspects of the hero role. Christ sums up all aspects of the romance hero role in himself. The Campsey manuscript's life of Paphnutius explains that it is a mark of Christ's gentleness (‘douzour’) that he prefers a gentle heart (un quer pitous’) and disapproves of ravishment (‘ravyne’, in its senses both of abduction and rape).[22] But although presented as a gentle spouse and supremely courtly lover, Christ can also resort to emotional blackmail and threats of violence at which a pagan might blush and which suggest an area of identity between the male rivals in the suitor role.[23] Christ can boast bigger and longer-lived fires and more torturers in hell than any pagan empire can command, as well as a bigger, better, and higher-ranking court in heaven and an unchallengeable role as the most powerful and desirable bridegroom in the universe. (That Christ is also so often represented as a maternal healer and nourisher, comforting and feeding heroines in their dungeons, completes the romance parallel: modern romance heroes are also both superheterosexual heroes and, at the peripeteia of the narrative, the providers of maternal nurture and care.)[24]

As in the classic analyses of Mills and Boon (Harlequin) romance by Janice Radway and of chivalric romance by Roberta Krueger, the virgin's opposition to her father-suitor-ruler in hagiography is an opposition that triangulates desire: the virgin is the medium of male exchange through which the

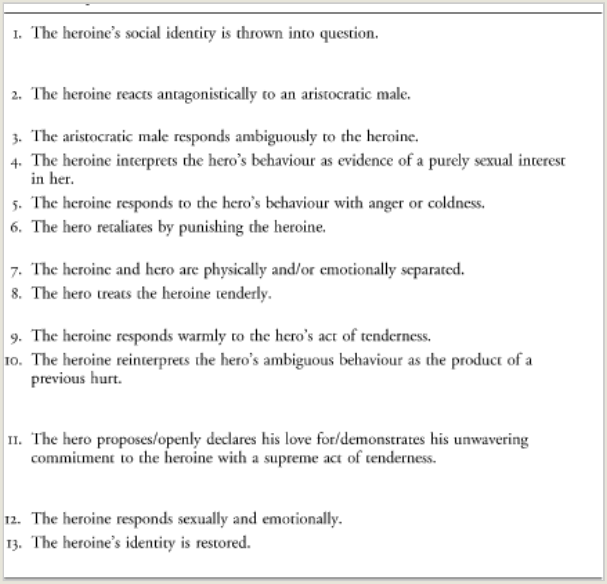
hero competes with (and is bonded to) other men in order to gain the heroine. Acting as the medium of rivalry between Christ and the pagan, the virgin enables their relation and their difference. In this exchange, patriarchal violence to women is both represented and masked in the separating out of good and bad aspects of the suitor-hero role. The ambiguities of the heroine's position, considered as the representation of a female subject, and the question of how far she can represent female agency, are complicated issues. Even as it incorporates the triangu-lation of desire endemic to romance, the historically prior genre of hagiography provides the grounds for a critique of romance, at least in the secular form attributed **(p.98)**

in the *passio* to pagan desire. This is revealed as a delusion and rejected as such by the virgin, who is free to enjoy feminized romance with Christ, leaving the pagan' concomitants of socialized heterosexuality behind her. In this form there are none of the *molestiae* of secular sexual desire—Christ is a supremely acceptable and adequate lover, and one who poses no risk of pregnancy. Transferred from being pagan, illegitimate, and male, desire becomes Christian, licensed, and female. We need not see women's romance reading of *passio* as their textual containment, a fantasy of desire without political implication. While the romancing of the *passio* is an ambiguous and problematic measure of its importance and attraction for women, its complex version of romance is hospitable to a number of reading positions. An important potential of the genre is the decoding and reinscription of courtly desire in favour of the virgin heroine, a feminizing or romancing of passion that includes female subjects.

(p.99)

1. The heroine is young, beautiful, rich and noble [i.e. nuptial], and brought up in a pagan household. Her social [pagan] identity is thrown into question by her own and the audience's knowledge of her true [Christian] identity.
2. When approached by an aristocratic [pagan] male suitor/tyrant, she refuses him (she has already accepted an aristocratic [Christian] male suitor/lord).
3. The pagan insists that he loves/honours/desires her and that she must give in to him.
4. The heroine interprets his insistence as evidence of idolatrous [sexual] interest in her [as opposed to the Christian [romance] interest in her of her Christ bridegroom].
5. She responds with anger and coldness.
6. The [pagan] bridegroom-hero responds by punishing the heroine, often by having her stripped, whipped, and thrown into a dungeon in order to bring her to compliance.
7. The heroine and [pagan] bridegroom-hero are now physically separated.
8. The [Christ] bridegroom-hero gives the heroine care and nurture in the dungeon [angels or Christ himself appear to feed her/tend her wounds].
9. The heroine responds warmly to the [Christ] bridegroom-hero.
10. The heroine interprets the duality of the bridegroom [pagan/Christian; cruel/kind; idolatrously sexual/romantically desirous] as a function of the fallen world's sinfulness, for which the [Christ] bridegroom has previously suffered enormous hurt [on the cross].
11. The [Christ] bridegroom now openly invites the heroine into his heavenly bower, while the [pagan] bridegroom demonstrates his unwavering committment to [lacerating, dismembering, and consuming] the heroine, and openly threatens her with beheading.
12. The heroine says yes to the bower/beheading of the [Christ]/[pagan] bridegroom.
13. The heroine's eternal identity is confirmed as she becomes what she was always going to be, a bride of Christ and a saint in heaven.

Fig. 3.1. Hagiographic romance



1. The heroine's social identity is thrown into question.
2. The heroine reacts antagonistically to an aristocratic male.
3. The aristocratic male responds ambiguously to the heroine.
4. The heroine interprets the hero's behaviour as evidence of a purely sexual interest in her.
5. The heroine responds to the hero's behaviour with anger or coldness.
6. The hero retaliates by punishing the heroine.
7. The heroine and hero are physically and/or emotionally separated.
8. The hero treats the heroine tenderly.
9. The heroine responds warmly to the hero's act of tenderness.
10. The heroine reinterprets the hero's ambiguous behaviour as the product of a previous hurt.
11. The hero proposes/openly declares his love for/demonstrates his unwavering commitment to the heroine with a supreme act of tenderness.
12. The heroine responds sexually and emotionally.
13. The heroine's identity is restored.

Fig. 3.2. Popular romance
Source: Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature*, Table 4.2: an analysis of Harlequin [Mills and Boon] romances.

But it also remains important that, though coded as personal and individual, romance in the medieval *passio* is a way of figuring (and glossing as desirable and inevitable) a complex series of social transactions focused on women and territory and occurring in a society whose exchange systems are located more in gift-giving than in commodity exchange. To put this in the terms which Chapter 2 has argued are especially pertinent to twelfth- and thirteenth-century insular *passiones*, nuptiality' in the virgin heroine figures the broader structure of 'dotality' in a gift-giving society. Just as nuptiality' is part, but not the whole, of 'dotality', so, in addressing the issue of sexualized violence, it is useful to remember that what may appear to be a representation of *stuprum* (the defloration of virgins) is dealt with in the *passio* within a framework of *raptus*. A primary meaning of *raptus* is the incorrect disposition of treasure/property in marriage **(p.100)** arrangements. In thirteenth-century England, *raptus* remained largely a crime against male property rather than a crime against the female person, a matter of trespass and not felony[25] There are cases of *raptus* by guardian widows: there are also cases where *raptus* serves the interest of the abducted woman if she wishes to marry her abductor against her parents' wishes.[26] Most pagan tyrants, even when considering rape and/or *raptus*, have a socially inflected sense of the relations of person and property in their

transactions rather than a private rape fantasy in mind: although the saint is an unarmed woman and they have a militia at their command, they still consider the terms on which they may acquire the noble virgin. So in St Margaret's many insular lives, even though Olibrius sends his soldiers to fetch the saint once he has seen her, he still works out a scale of treatment according to class distinctions, for example:

> s'ele ert de fra[n]c lingnage
>
> Tout l'esposeroit sans manage,
>
> Et s'ele fu ancele et de basse gent né *[sic]*
>
> Avoir li dorroit a grant plenté,
>
> Et ele seroit sa soignante
>
> Et il le feroit riche et manante.[27]
>
> If she were of free rank he would marry her without dowry and if she were a handmaid born of low family he would give goods for her in great plenty and she would be his concubine and he would make her rich and powerful.

While the pagan here provides the virgin with yet another opportunity for transcending his terms (Margaret responds with the *ancilla Dei* topos to say that **(p.101)** she is nobly born, but also a handmaid of God), his terms are still significant in themselves. The pagan's power to take is complicated by the relation of nuptial and sexual desire to the social code of gift-exchange. It is also located in a transaction to which heaven and earth are party, and in which a number of relations of patronage and donation are refracted and echoed.

One of the saintly figures in whose *passio* rape is most explicitly thematized is the fourth-century virgin martyr, Lucy of Syracuse. In the mid-thirteenth-century *South English Legendary* Life, as in the later thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman Life by Bozon, Lucy refuses to marry her pagan fiance and to sacrifice to the pagan gods, and is sentenced to the public brothel by the judge Paschasius. She cannot, however, be dragged to the brothel by ‘ropes strongue i-nouȝ’, by a thousand men with al heore main’, or by Oxene mani on’ (Bozon: ‘mil double des boufes forz’), nor does trying to burn her where she stands succeed, and a sword

through her throat does not hinder her preaching to the spectators and announcing the death of the pagan emperor-tyrants Diocletian and Maximian before she herself goes to heaven.[28]

The argument between Lucy and the judge Paschasius arises as a property dispute. Lucy has persuaded her mother to give her her inheritance, rather than keeping it for her dowry, arguing (in what in the Bozon version becomes an eloquent piece of Franciscan mendicant rhetoric) that what her mother has set aside to be given to Lucy's bridegroom should go to the poor (vv. 68–71, 82–95). In Bozon's striking elaboration of his *Legenda Aurea* source, Lucy asks her mother never to appoint for her a husband or corruption of her body, or to seek from her 'bodily fruit by way of mortal children' ('ja ne nomez a moy barun | Ne a mon cors corruptiun | Ne frut ne querez de mon cors | Par enfanz ki serrunt mors', vv. 64–7). What persuades the mother to agree is the efficacy of Lucy's prayers in curing her of four years of bloody flux when they visit the tomb of St Agatha of Catania and hear at mass the gospel of Christ's healing of the Hemorrhissa (the bleeding woman of the Gospels, cured by touching Christ's robe, Matt. 9: 20, Mark 5: 21, Luke 7: 42, explicitly alluded to in the *SEL* version, 11. 27–30). When Lucy's pagan fiance realizes she has given everything to the poor, he takes her before Paschasius on the charge of being a Christian. The *SEL* judge claims that Lucy's prior obligation is to her pagan betrothed: Lucy claims that her betrothed is Christ, to whom she is pledged in her baptismal vows ('I-wedded ich was to Ihesu crist … tho ich was i-baptized', ll. 91–2). To the deployment of her inheritance in Christ's service, she declares, she will add her body: the judge can do what he likes but her every limb will be a sacrifice to Christ (l. 82). The judge accuses her of having spent her goods 'In hore-dom and In lecherie' (l. 86) and claims that when she speaks of following her **(p.102)** emptied purse with her body she is speaking as a whore who means to forsake her wedded lord (ll. 87–90),[29] He declares that Lucy will be made to forsake the spouse she claims for herself by being sentenced to the brothel (in Bozon's version this is explicitly linked with the question of ideological faithfulness: the charge is of being secretly a Christian, v. 105, and the threat of the brothel is the punishment for not giving it up, vv. 115–17).

When Paschasius sentences Lucy, it is quite true that he is asserting rape and property rights in her body as a cornerstone of patriarchal control. He is not just trying (like Christina of Markyate's parents) to get Lucy deflowered by her bridegroom as a technical matter of ensuring her submission. In threatening her with the common brothel, he asserts a common right of men in women as property. It is also true that, although his rule is purportedly illegitimate and pagan, it mirrors Christian patriarchy's stances towards its daughters and their disposition in wedlock. Nevertheless, this is an argument about the disposition of property, in the person and in the dowry, and not simply a voyeuristic and covert expression of a sexual desire not otherwise representable. Lucy is accused of whoredom not simply because she is a nubile virgin whom Paschasius or his narrator wishes to make imaginatively available for rape, but because she has given away her dowry to an unsanctioned bridegroom, with all that connotes for shame/honour distinctions and lineage propagation.

Even as Paschasius reasserts a fundamental appropriation of women as property, the Lucy legend offers footholds for women to resist being traded or to trade themselves. The dispositions of selves and property represented here, while serving a clerical patriarchy's rewriting of secular Anglo-Norman property concerns as pagan, none the less coincide with agendas historically pursued by upper-class women in Anglo-Norman England. The virgin—pagan confrontation here is part of an action which begins in a female household, and it may be significant that in so far as Lucy is initially opposed by her mother, persuasion and conversion of the saint's opposition is possible (as not for the fathers of Agnes, Agatha, Juliana, Christine, Margaret). Although only a small proportion of households in Anglo-Norman England are estimated to have been headed by widows or other *femmes seules*, the high profile of many aristocratic widows and the conventions of cultural and ecclesiastical patronage and almsgiving by women of high rank make such women significant figures.[30] In the Bozon version especially, it might be objected that to argue in this way merely makes Lucy and her mother objects of clerical economic instead of sexual desire. While it is true (here as in Ælfric's and any other hagiography) that church agendas shape the *passio*, these texts, especially but not exclusively in their vernacular versions, must **(p.103)**

function in and respond to a society whose ecclesiastical and secular members are constantly negotiating the disposition of land and lineage between their overlapping and competing interests. It is the women's as well as the church's agenda which triumphs here: the church, even if sometimes more accidentally than on purpose, could serve Anglo-Norman women in allegiance against secular patriarchy, *clerc* versus *chevalier*. And if the church is represented in the legend, so too is a certain amount of female networking, role-modelling and co-operation. These are household-centred (mother, daughter, nurse, peer-group female saint and spiritual sister), but, as with the religious patronage of Anglo-Norman women, not without public implication. Lucy's course of action, especially in Bozon's version, is inspired by a vision of St Agatha and the argument that her virginity equips her to propagate Christian faith in her community and become its patron saint (vv. 35–57). Taught by her sister saint, the daughter teaches the mother here: once the end of her sexo-biological duties is survived and marked in the cessation of bloody flux, Lucy's mother learns to redistribute dowry and to lead an independent life.

The canon law status of vowed virginity as a prior betrothal endorses the Vertical' plot separations of hagiographic romance in which the apparently metaphoric marriage with Christ is more 'real' than the literal suit of the pagan, and Lucy draws on this in claiming Christ as her true groom (*SEL*, ll. 91–2).[31] However, in the later twelfth century, consummation had begun to be regarded as definitive of marriage, and even a consummation secured by rape could invalidate prior betrothal as *sponsa Christi* and transfer a woman's rights of self-dedication to her husband. If Lucy were to lose her virginity to her earthly fiance, her option of consecrated career virginity would be lost, not so much through the loss of virginity itself as through changed legal status.[32] The potential usefulness for women of the church's stake in the disposition of their property and themselves nevertheless emerges in an alternative reading of women's persons. To Paschasius' sentence of the brothel, the *South English Legendary's* Lucy replies:

> Ne mai no wumman … of hire maiden-hod beo ido

For no dede that men deth the bodie: bote [h]ire herte beo therto.

For the more that mi bodi ayein mi wille: here defouled is

The clenore is mi mayden-hod: and the more mi mede, i-wis.

(ll. 99–102)

(p.104)

No woman can be deprived of her virginity through any deed men do to her body, unless her heart consents. For the more my body is defiled here against my will, the purer will be my virginity, and the greater, indeed, my reward.

while Bozon's Lucy is equally firm:

N'ert ja perdue virginité

Ne ja mon cors n'ert soilé

Fors par assent de volenté (vv. 119–21)

Virginity will not be lost, nor my body defiled except through the assent of my will.

This is a position ultimately based on Augustine's discussion of the relations between virginity and chastity, rape, and martyrdom, and one reiterated in contemporary medieval virginity theory.[33] The late thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman *Compileison* decrees that the will to virginity is

tant *precius* … ke se par force e de tut encontre sa uolunte fust une pucele *corrumpue* ele nekedent serreit entre les uirgines de deu en ciel corone. si ele se gardast fermem*ent* apres en purpos de chastete e de uirginite.[34]

so precious … that if a maiden were to be corrupted by force and completely against her will, she would nevertheless be among the virgins crowned by God in heaven, as long as she firmly kept her will to chastity and virginity thereafter.

For Augustine, purity is a matter of the will, not just of the body.[35] Ironically enough, the choice of death rather than dishonour is therefore not of itself martyrdom, but needs extra evidence that it is a choice taken for the sake of Christian faith. In the thirteenth century, Aquinas builds on this position in discussion of whether death is essential to the definition of martyrdom. He explains that ‘if a woman loses her physical virginity, or is condemned to lose it, because of her Christian faith, it is not clear to other people whether she suffers this for love of the Christian faith or because she puts little stock in chastity’.[36] The grounds on which Lucy can claim double merit in being violated as well as put to death are therefore not that loss of virginity alone constitutes one martyrdom and execution another one, but that *if in the judgement of God the martyred woman is losing her virginity for the sake of the faiths* this loss can be considered for extra reward in addition to that merited by the loss of life in martyrdom for the faith. Aquinas concludes that Lucy has a case in claiming, **(p.105)** as she does in the *Breviary* and in the *Legenda Aurea*, that her chastity ‘will be crowned twice over’ (*ST* 2a2e. 124, 4.2, pp. 52–3). It is unspecified by Aquinas whether this means that Lucy will continue to have the special crown normally worn in heaven by virgins (since her will to virginity is unchanged by threats of rape), and that she will also gain a martyr's crown, or whether it means that God will judge both the rape and the execution as martyrdom and give her two virgin-martyr crowns. As defined by Aquinas, in this situation only God can judge how many of which sort of crown any woman deserves. The reading of the virgin's volition is thus confided to a transcendent force (to which she has, at least theoretically, privileged access).

Lucy's argument cannot overturn the medieval legal and social codes whereby a deflowered bride of Christ could be repossessed by her earthly bridegroom. Nevertheless, it is an argument with doctrinal underpinning, some ecclesiastical support, and something to offer to female readers. In the vernacular lives, it makes a much clearer space for women's wills than Aquinas's statement that it may not be clear whether a woman suffers death ‘from love of the Christian faith or because she puts little stock in chastity’, a view that leaves women no middle position between martyrdom and whoredom.[37] Seen alongside patristic and sometimes legally institutionalized beliefs that, for instance, pregnancy as the

result of rape showed consent to the rape (since conception was theorized as impossible without pleasure), this virgin martyr legend has a lot to offer. It articulates a position where no' means no', even if that no' cannot of itself prevent rape. A courtly heroine of romance, if she is to exercise her *courtly pi té* and *mercy*, has no position from which to say a final no', unless her suitor is already publicly characterized as a 'losengier' or in some other way unworthy.[38] To the pagan tyrant suitor on the other hand, the virgin martyr can return a no' of unusually strong legitimation for a courtly heroine. As with the *molestiae nuptiartim* rhetoric of virginity treatises, saints' lives can offer a more subversive place than many romances in which to represent enforced betrothal and marriage.

Sarah Kay argues that the Saracen princess figure in the *chansons de geste* 'does not merely ventriloquize a controlling masculine fantasy: she helps to shape it, **(p.106)** and thereby disrupts assumed hierarchies'. The princesses' choice of their own husbands confuses the distinction between persons and things and elicits 'the potential for irony and ambiguity in a gift economy.'[39] This is even more the case in virgin *passio*. The virgin not only chooses her own husband, but simultaneously occupies the positions of the Other (as woman and object of desire) and of the rival, Christ, for whom she speaks. These roles are normally distributed between a female figure and a male chivalric one, not combined in a single woman. The virgin's confrontation with the pagan throws all exchanges and desires askew even as it reconfirms the potential of women as gift, setting up disturbing and disruptive inversions as it seeks to settle binaries of good and evil, legitimate and illegitimate. If a treasure and gift can negotiate its own status and speak from a subject position the romance triangle is made unstable: rejecting one's suitor is, so to speak, to reinvent one's father and his household. Although this is arguably less subversive than refusing to choose any suitor, the identities which the *passio* strives to fix are still brought into question. Not only does the heroine's power to give receive endorsement, the powers of the pagans—who may be fathers, suitors, husbands, clerical and ecclesiastical associates, and/or heathen raiders—can all be looked at again with a critical scrutiny. When the foot is tutor, inversion and outright *bouleversement* are never far away.

(2) Post-Conquest Britain venerated disproportionately small numbers of contemporary holy women. Only St Margaret of Scotland (d. 1093) and Christina of Markyate (d. *c*.1155/66) received *vitae*, and Christina remains uncanonized, as do the only two women candidates from England in Michael Goodich's 'Master List of Thirteenth-Century Saints' (*Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982), Appendix), Ela of Lacock and Margaret of Catesby (see further Ch. 6 and Ch. 5, n. 58 below). On the under-representation of women as saints see Schulenberg, 'Sexism and the Celestial Gynaceum'. For lists of post-Conquest vernacular lives, see the works cited above, Introduction, nn. 6 and 13.

(3) Ælfric's saints' lives continued to circulate in post-Conquest manuscripts and women's reading (see Joyce Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints:* A Preliminary Survey', in Szarmach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women*, 235–60). For a Rochester manuscript containing Ælfrician pieces modernized in the 12th to 13th c. alongside French sermons, see Mary P. Richards, 'MS Cotton Vespasian A. XXII: The Vespasian Homilies', *Manuscripta*, 22 (1978), 97–103 (102). Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* were in female ownership in the 12th c: London, MS Cotton Vespasian D xiv (which also contains Ælfric's letter on chastity to Sigeferth) adds a 12th-c. prayer to the Virgin by her 'ancilla' (N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 271–7 (esp. 277 and 276, art. 54)). Etheldreda C/ Elfthryth) is Ælfric's leading native female saint, as she had been for Bede (Ch. 2.1 above). Among his 47 saints' lives, Ælfric includes 7 virgin martyrs of the universal church, two abbesses (one transvestite, one British), and two chaste female consorts. All of Ælfric's lives of female saints concern virgins (though not all of Ælfric's virgins are female). For a valuable survey,see E. Gordon Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography, ca. 950–1150', in Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies*, 429–99.

(4) Evidence for this point is assembled in a comparison of Ælfric's virgins and their sources in my unpublished paper, 'Ælfric's Virginities', given to the Italian National Association for Germanic Philology, Udine, 1991. See now the excellent studies cited in n. 7 below; on non-Ælfrician lives see Hugh Magennis, 'St Mary of Egypt and Ælfric: Unlikely Bedfellows in

Cotton Julius E.vii?', in Poppe and Ross (eds.), *The Legend of Mary of Egypt*, 91–112.

(5) For Ælfric's world as 'deeply divided about the wealth and role of the churches', where the realignment of property following the Benedictine-driven church reform was bitterly resented by many Anglo-Saxon nobles (though supported by others such as Ælfric's patron yEthelweard), see Eric John, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1966), 203.

(6) Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NH: Boydell Press, 1992), 10–12.

(7) See further Clare Lees, 'Engendering Religious Desire: Sex, Knowledge, and Christian Identity in Anglo-Saxon England', *JMEMS* 27 (1997), 17–45 (44 n. 46); Catherine Cubitt, 'Virginity and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Gender and History*, 12 (2000), 1–32.

(8) Permanent oblation seems to have declined at different rates for male and female children in the 12th and 13th c. (see Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry*, 36–50 (39, 42), and more generally John Eastburn Boswell, '*Expositio* and *Oblatio:* The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family', *American Historical Review*, 89 (1984), 10–33). On earlier medieval attitudes to oblation see Janet Nelson, 'Parents, Children, and the Church', in Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood, SCH* 31, 81–114 (107–12), also the works cited in Ch. 1, n. 105, Ch. 2, n. 76 above.

(9) See *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS os 76 and 82 (London, 1881 and 1885; repr. as one vol. 1962), 30/112–32/115; 40/253; 48/416–18.

(10) An exception is the 14th-c. Middle English Euphrosyne in the Vernon manuscript: a French life may also have had some insular circulation (see Florence McCulloch, 'Saint Euphrosine, Saint Alexis and the Turtledove', *Romania*, 98 (1977), 168–85).

(11) Paul Hayward notes the tendency in 8th-c. and later texts to assimilate the Holy Innocents to the one hundred and forty-four thousand of Revelation 14: 1–5 and to see the martyred infants as examples of active virginity (‘Suffering and Innocence in Latin Sermons for the Feast of the Holy Innocents’, in Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood*, 67–80 (78–9); ibid.,‘The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late-Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Hagiography’, in Diana Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies, SCH* 30 (1993), 81–92). Barbara Newman's brilliant account of later representations is concerned with the ‘shift from father to mother as the parent whose child is required of her’ which becomes prominent in 13th- and 14th-c. hagiography and somewhat undervalues the capacity of child sacrifice to change in significance in the earlier period, seeing its meaning as ‘fairly constant from antiquity onward’ (*From Virile Woman to WomanChrist*, 76–107

(12) Shifts in virgin martyr thematics are also accompanied by and to an extent part of the 12th-c. development of eremitic saints: Christina of Markyate's monastic Latin *vita* (which is in part a way of claiming both virgin and eremitic prestige for a figure associated with Benedictine monasticism) is an example (see Kristine E. Haney, ‘The St Alban's Psalter and the New Spiritual Ideal of the Twelfth Century’, *Viator*, 28 (1997), 145–73), as also are the vernacular traditions of Alexis, Giles, and Mary of Egypt.

(13) The most famous post-Conquest case is Clemence of Barking's use of the *Tristam* see William MacBain, ‘Anglo-Norman Women Hagiographers’, in Ian Short (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ANTS OP 2 (London, 1993), 235–50 (243–6); Duncan Robertson, ‘Writing in the Textual Community: Clemence of Barking's Life of St Catherine’, *French Forum*, 21 (1996) 5–28 (18–23), and Ch. 7 below.

(14) On the stag as epiphany see Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Fast*, 58–65. The Anglo-Norman *Vie de saint Gilles* includes one such stag: it leads Charlemagne to the saint's hermitage, and eventually to confession, penance, and full social reincorporation in a classic *vita* of eremitic reform (see G. Paris and A. Bos (eds.), *La Vie de saint Gilles*, SATF (Paris, 1881) and (for Charlemagne's charter of forgiveness), L. Brandin, 'Un fragment de *La vie de saint Gilles', Romania*, 33 (1904), 94–8). Stags often signal saints' ability to restore the right Adamic relations between humanity and the created world: they can also be benevolent helpers for young saints (for an insular example, see the *vita* of Wulfhad and Ruffinus, ed. P. Grosjean, 'Codicis Gothani Appendix', *AB* 58 (1940), 177–204 (184, §§3–4)).

(15) Claude Luttrell, *The Creation of the First Arthurian Romance: A Quest* (Evanston, 111.: Northwestern University Press, 1974).

(16) 'An Anglo-French Life of St Osith', ed. Baker (who prints the Latin text, see 483). On the courtly troping of this stag see Delbert Russell, 'The Secularization of Hagiography in the Anglo-Norman *Vie seinte Osith', Allegorica*, 12 (1991), 3–16, 5–10.

(17) In the 13th-c. Anglo-Norman life of Bede's Etheldreda, *La vie sainte Audrée*, the opposition of virgin and suitor is also sharpened: unlike the 'good' Ecgfrid of Bede or Ælfric, the post-Conquest husband is inflected towards the pagan suitor model and keeps attacking his wife's plans, trying to throw ('geter') her out of his aunt's monastery (*Audrée*, ed. Södergård, vv. 1281, 1321–2).

(18) Such a point is part of the case made by Karl Uitti, 'Women, Saints, the Vernacular and History in Early Medieval France', in Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Szell (eds.), *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, 247–67. But Uitti's argument concerns the image and properties of the vernacular seen as a feminized language, not its capacities as a medium of women's agency and subjectivity.

(19) See Radway, *Reading the Romance*, Ch. 3; Krueger, 'Love, Honor and the Exchange of Women in *Yvain*, and her *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender*, esp. chs. 1 and 2.

(20) See Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens;* and for objections Katherine J. Lewis, '"Lete me suffre": Reading the Torture of St Margaret of Antioch in Late Medieval England', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al*. (eds.), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 69–82; Evelyn Burge Vitz, 'Re-reading Rape in Medieval Literature: Literary, Historical and Theoretical Reflections', *Romanic Review*, 88 (1997), 1–26; Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and its Alternatives* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. Ch. 4.

(21) *Romance and the Erotics of Property: Mass-Market Fiction for Women* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 8.

(22) 'Vie de saint Panuce', ed. A. T. Baker, *Romania*, 38 (1909), 418–24 (416, vv. 72–4).

(23) Christ's wooing speeches in the *Guide for Anchoresses* combine emotional blackmail and threats of violence in all 13th-c. versions (Herbert, 290/35–293/13; the Trinity Anglo-Norman version (with an added rubric, 'Si uostre amur seit a rauir, nostre seignur la deit auer', Trethewey, 148); Millett and Wogan-Browne, 118/37–122/3). See also Hugh of St Victor, *De arrha anime*, PL176.950–70 (and see Ch. 2 above, n. 61), where emotional suasion in wooing is explicitly within a gift-giving paradigm.

(24) See Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982); Radway, *Reading the Romance*, Ch. 4 (and, for the application of Nancy Chodorow's theory of the reproduction of mothering to romance, 135–40). For Christ's crucifixion as a mother's sacrificial bath of blood see *Guide for Anchoresses*, Part Seven (Millett and Wogan-Browne, 118/9–28): he is frequently represented as visiting virgin martyrs in their dungeons and offering consolation, spiritual food, and healing (so for example the lives of Agatha in the *SEL* and Bozon, and of Catherine in Anglo-Norman, the Katherine Group, and *SEL*).

(25) Sue Sheridan Walker, 'Punishing Convicted Ravishers: Statutory Strictures and Actual Prac tice in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century England', *JMH* 13 (1987), 237–50. I am arguing here for a range of connotations in the hagiographic

representation of *raptus:* I do not, of course, deny that *raptus* could and did involve rape or that medieval conceptions of *raptus* as theft of property could elide and silence rape victims and fail to address rape as a crime against women (see further Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, Ch. 1; and, for a detailed study of the continuing ambiguities of the termino logy, Henry Ansgar Kelly, ‘Meanings and Uses of *Raptus* in Chaucer's Time’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 20 (1998), 101–65. On spiritual aspects of ravishment, see Dyan Elliott, ‘The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality’, in Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (eds.), *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, York Studies in Medieval Theology (York: University of York Medieval Press, 1997) 141–74).

(26) An Anglo-Norman woman accused of *raptus* is Alice Beauchamp, sued for ravishment of her female ward, by marrying her to Alice's own son, in 1279:see Sue Sheridan Walker, ‘Free Consent and Marriage of Feudal Wards in Medieval England’, *JMH* 8 (1982), 123–34 (128).

(27) For the (late 13th-c.) text of this life, see Paul Meyer, ‘Notice du ms. Sloane 1611 du Musée Britannique’, *Romania*, 40 (1911), 541–58 (542, vv. 63–8). For other Margaret lives see the man uals listed in Introduction, n. 13 above. For ‘mariage’ in the sense of dowry as used in v. 64 here, see *AND manage;* cf. also *maritage*, ‘dower’, as defined in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i. 453, ‘que a veve tantost aprés la mort son baron soit rendu son heritage & son maritage’ (wrongly glossed as *dowry* rather than *dower* in *AND). Soignante* (for Latin *concubina),* omitted from *AND*, but given here in v. 67, must mean ‘concubine, attendant’ (cf. Wace, *La Vie de Sainte Marguerite*, ed. Elizabeth A. Francis, CFMA (Paris, 1932), 9/vv. 102–3, ‘Por ço qu'ele ert et gente et bele | En sognantage la tendroit’, also (like the Sloane Margaret Life) following ‘si vero ancilla est, dabo precium pro ea et erit michi concubina; bene enim erit ei in domo mea propter pulchritudinem eius’).

(28) Middle English quotations are from *Early South English Legendary*, ed. Horstmann, 104/111, 105/133, henceforth referenced by line number in the text; Bozon is quoted from *Seven More Poems*, ed. Klenke, 56/v. 142, henceforth referenced by line number in the text. For Lucy's prayer and prophecy, see *SEL* 105/155–106/170; Bozon, 57/vv. 158–67.

(29) In the *Legenda Aurea* the legal status of Lucy's acts rather than a sexual motivation for the charges against Lucy underpin such accusations: she is acting ‘contra leges Augustorum’ (*Legenda Aurea, vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta*, ed. T. Graesse (Bratislava, 1890, 3rd edn. 30), accused that ‘patrimoniam tuam cum corruptoribus expendisti et ideo quasi meretrix loqueris’, 31).

(30) On the proportions of Anglo-Norman households with single heads, see Ch. 1, n. 102 above.

(31) Thomas Head, ‘The Marriages of Christina of Markyate’, 91,100. Contemporary canon law required at least in theory the free assent of both parties in marriage, but constraint could be brought to bear on women for purposes of dynastic exchange and affiliation. See further John T. Noonan, ‘Power to Choose’, *Viator*, 4 (1973), 418–34; Michael M. Sheehan, ‘Choice of Marriage Partner in the Middle Ages: Development and Mode of Application of a Theory of Marriage’, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, NS I (1978), 1–33.

(32) The role of consummation in confirming a marriage (and hence in locking women into careers as wives and mothers) shifted in the 12th and 13th c. Whereas, in the early 12th c, Hugh of St Victor had argued betrothal to be a complete sacrament in itself, Peter Lombard and others later argued that consummation completed and could even constitute marriage, with the result that it became much harder to dissolve a consummated marriage (Head, ibid.;A. Esmein, *Le Manage en droit canonique*, 2nd edn. with R. Genestal (Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1929–35), t. I, ière partie, chs. 1 and 2).

(33) See *City of God*, i. 26 (PL41.39) and cf. Ambrose, *De virginibus*, iii. 7 (PL16.229–32): Augustine values martyrdom above virginity (*De sancta virginitate*, 45, PL40.423).

(34) Paris, BN f. fr. 6276, f. 101va (on this manuscript and text see Ch. 1, n. 93 above).

(35) See *City of God*, i. 18, 28, also xiv. 1–6.

(36) ‘Utrum hoc mulier patiatur propter amorem fidei christiana, vel magis pro contemptu castitatis’, 57”2a2ae, 124, 4, resp. 2 (xlii, Blackfriars, 1966), 53–5.

(37) Ibid. 124, 4.2 (52–3). As Andrew Galloway has shown, in 14th-c. commentaries on Lucretia, the best that can be done for her in the much-discussed Augustinian question of whether she felt pleasure in the rape and if this precipitated her suicide is Ridewall's account of her as ‘the victim of the paradoxes and inadequacies of the [Roman and pre-Christian] ideology in which she lives’ (‘Chaucer's *Legend of Lucrece* and the Critique of Ideology in Fourteenth-Century England’, *ELH 60* (1993), 813–32 (821)). Vernacular hagiography arguably has more to offer female audiences here.

(38) This is not to say that the heroine can say an immediate ‘yes’, either: what is required is reluctance (which enables a verbal taxonomy of deferral articulating the hero's *gentillesse)* and certain eventual submission: see Felicity Riddy, ‘Engendering Pity in the *Franklin's Tale*, in Evans and Johnson (eds.), *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature*, 54–71, and Susan Crane, *Gender and Romance in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 55–92 (61–6).

(39) *Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance*, 46, 45.

(40) See Edward Peters, *Torture* (Oxford: Blackwell), 1985, esp. Ch. 2, and on the reappearance of juridical torture in the 13th c, his Appendix I, '*Res fragilis:* Torture in Early European Law', in *The Magician, the Witch and the Law* (Hassocks: Harvester, 1978), 183–95; Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); for its English replacement, H. R. T. Summerson, 'The Early Development of the *peine forte et dure*' in E. E. Ives and A. H. Manchester (eds.), *Law, Litigants, and the Legal Profession* (London: RHS, 1983), 116–25; Klaus P. Jankofsky, 'Public Executions in England in the Late Middle Ages: The Indignity and Dignity of Death', *Omega*, 10 (1979), 43–57 Thomas H. Bestul suggests in his excellent *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996) that development of the Inquisition and its adoption of juridical torture may lead to the increase in represented torture, but as Caroline Walker Bynum points out, the papal inquisition (never established in England, see Peters, *Torture*, 58–9), permitted only pres sure and stretching of its victims' bodies, not the dismemberment so frequently represented in saints' lives ('Material Culture, Personal Survival, and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discourse in its Medieval and Modern Contexts', in *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 239–97 (272–6)). On contemporary attitudes to juridical torture, see now Edward Peters, 'Destruction of the Flesh—Salvation of the Spirit: The Paradoxes of Torture in Medieval Christian Society', in Alberto Ferreiro (ed.), *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 131–48.

(41) See Millett and Wogan-Browne, 76/5–13.

(42) René Girard, *La Violence et Ie sacré* (Paris: Grasset, 1972), trans. Patrick Gregory as *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 24: I draw grate fully here on discussions with Sarah Kay.

(43) See Suzanne Kappeler, *The Pornography of Representation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986): for a lucid argument against reading torture as pornography see Lewis, ' "Let me suffre" ' (cited in n. 20 above).

(44) See Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Ashley and Sheingorn, ‘An Unsentimental View’.

(45) *Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance*, 59.

(46) For discussions of such imagery see Claude A. Luttrell, ‘The Medieval Tradition of the Pearl Virginity’, *Medium Ævum*, 31 (1962), 194–200; Barbara Newman, ‘Flaws in the Golden Bowl’; Margaret Ashton, ‘Gold and Images’, in *The Church and Wealth*, ed. W. J. Shells and Diana Wood, *SCH* 24 (1987), 189–207. Marbod of Rennes's lapidary had wide circulation in Anglo-Norman culture and influenced the highly stylized meditations for women of the Early Middle English Wooing-Group (see Elizabeth Salter, ed. Derek Pearsall and Nicolette Zeeman, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univer sity Press, 1988), 73–4), as did vernacular versions of it and associated works (Paul Studer and Joan Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (Paris: Champion, 1924), 1–11). Precious stones also share in the therapeutic aspects of saints’ cult, being themselves valued medicinally (*Marbode of Rennes (1035–1123): De Lapidibus considered as a Medical Treatise with Text, Commentary and C W King's Translation; together with Text and Translation of Marbode's Minor Works on Stones*, ed. John M. Riddle (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977), 23–5).

(46) Alain Boureau, *La Légende dorée: Ie systéme narratif de Jacques de Voragine (+1298)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984) looks at ‘ I ’ évanescence des opposants’ and concludes that opposition to the saints on the part of devils, pagans, Jews, or heretics is nugatory: they are either defeated or ‘se laissent facilement conduire à la vérité’ (178, 181). This has been a commonly held view, and it is of course true that the pagan never wins and the saint always does. But the easy defeat of pagan opposition is not the same issue as what the opposition is doing in the narrative.

(47) *La Vie de seint Auban: An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. A. R. Harden, ANTS 19 (Oxford, 1968). On the links of this text with women readers see Ch. 5.1 below.

(48) The story is found in the *Quadrilogus* (the 13th-c. compilation of hagiographic accounts of Beckett, PL190.346–9, 'De ortu mirabili beati Thomae'), and in the *SEL* (ed. d'Evelyn and Mill, 610/1–612/54).

(49) See Robertson, *The Medieval Saints' Lives*, Ch. 1, for a helpful survey of *passio* development and the suggestion that the crusades 'inspired a renewal of interest in the traditional passion' (73). See also Steven F. Kruger, 'Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious, and Racial Categories', in Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz (eds.), *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, Medieval Cultures 11 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 158–79.

(50) On heresy see R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250* (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1987) and Herbert Grundmann, *Religiose Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (1934; now tr. by Steven Rowan as *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 111. and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995). For the Gervase of Tilbury story see Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), 121–5 (further references by page number in the text); R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), 183–4 and id.,*The Birth ofPopukr Heresy: Documents of Medieval History* (London: Arnold, 1975), 86–8.

(51) Tr. Moore, *Birth of Popular Heresy*, 87.

(52) 'sed nihil simile habent martyrum Christi constantia et istorum pertinacia, quia mortis contemptum in illis pietas, in istis cordis duritia operatur', Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, 124.

(53) While identifications between the gaze of the courtly lover, the cleric, and the pagan tyrant can certainly be made, there is no reason to privilege this as the dominant and necessary reading of the texts. For valuable work on the use of rape narratives in the formation of medieval clerics, see Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric of Sexual Violence', in Rita Copeland (ed.), *Criticism and Dissent*

in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 56–86.

(54) Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 220–41 (240–1).

(55) *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey ofMonmouth*, ed. Neil Wright (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), i. 9, §16. Etheldreda, as noted in Ch. 2.1 above, is Bede's principal example of English virginity, as against Helen [of Troy] and her ‘wantonness’. See also P. J. Frankis, ‘La3amon's English Sources’, in. *J.R. R. Tolkien, Scholar and Storyteller* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1979), on La3amon's use of Ælfric's ‘De falsiis diis’, 64–5 and, on Diana, Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 107–14. In the 13th c, Matthew Paris retells the story of Brutus and Diana's temple (*Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 57 (London, 1872–80), i. 19–20).

(56) *liber miraculorum sancte Fides*, ed. Robertini, 113; *Book ofSte Foy*, tr. Sheingorn, 10, 78.

(57) ‘une divineresse: | diables esteit, ki la gent | Deceveit par enchantement’ (*le Roman de Brut de Wace*, ed. Ivor Arnold, SATF, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938–40), vv. 636–8): ‘un diesce | Mult deceivante et tricheresce’ (*la Vie de saint Nicolas par Wace*, ed. Einar Ronsjö (Lund and Copenhagen: Gleerup and Munksgaard, 1942), vv. 349–50).

(58) See e.g. Alison Elliott, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brown University Press, 1987), plate opp. p. 112.

(59) See Geoffrey Shepherd (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse, Parts Six and Seven* (London: Nelson, 1959; rev. edn. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1985), 65, n. to 27/11 ff; for Greek fire's use in naval warfare and a recipe, see Mildred Leake Day (ed.), *The Rise ofGawain, Nephew Of Arthur: De ortu Walwanii nepotis Arturi* (New York: Garland, 1984), pp. xx-xxi, 68–76.