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C O I M B R A

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ANDRÉ DE RESENDE AND THE 11,000 HOLY VIRGINS

Portugal's most talented Latin poet and Classical scholar, and the Peninsula's first real archaeologist, André de Resende (1), was also a Dominican priest, and an authority on religious matters, and for two years or so he was professor of Sacred Theology at the University of Coimbra (2). In this article, I shall present one of his religious compositions, his account of the discovery and transfer of two holy skulls from a Carmelite monastery in Cologne to a new shrine in southern Portugal. My English translation is the first ever; the Latin was originally published in Venice, when Resende was in northern Italy late in 1532. As his account reveals, Resende played an important part himself in authenticating the remains of the two virgins, while

(1) Lúcio André de Resende, Portugal's leading Latin poet, Classical scholar and archaeologist of the 16th Century, was born in Évora probably on Dec. 13, 1498, and died there on Dec. 9, 1573. As late as Spring 1573 he was still working on his definitive study of Iberian archaeology (*De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*), while having his less official Latin poems copied down (over 5000 vv., discovered by me in 2 Portuguese miscellanies). There is no modern biography of this important humanist, well known in Northern Europe and Italy, that takes into account the biographical evidence recently discovered. The best, now 80 yrs old, is by Francisco Leitão Ferreira (†1735), 'Vida de André de Resende', with notes by A. Braamcamp Freire (who edited a hard-to-find *Separata*), in *Arquivo Hist. Port.* vii, 1909, 339-75, 393-417; viii, 1910, 62-9, 161-183, 338-336; ix, 1914, 177-285, 310-334.

(2) In the dedication to his *Officium Sanctissimae Elizabet Portugalliae quondam reginae* (Coimbra, 1551), he calls himself *sacrae theologiae professor*, at Coimbra University, or at the Royal College nearby, from 1551 to 1553, or even 1555. As well as several thousand lines of religious Latin poetry, he wrote many such works in Latin and in Portuguese prose, such as his *Oratio de Synodis* (1565), *Officium Sancti Gundisalvi de Amarantho* (c. 1545), *Conversio Divi Aegidii* (1586), *Sancta vida e religiosa conversaçam de Frey Pedro Porteyro* (1570), *Catalogo dos Santos de Portugal* (c. 1560), *Pro Sanctis Christi Martyribus* (1567) and *Sermão Latino no Synodo em Évora* (1534).

assisting his patron, Pedro de Mascarenhas, the ambassador of King John III of Portugal to the Court of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor (3).

The story of the 11,000 Virgins can be found in the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (4). According to his account, long-since shown to be mythical, the Christian King of Brittany had a daughter called Ursula, who 'shone full of merveylous honeste, wysdome and beaute, and her fame was born al aboute' (5). The powerful King of England sent an embassy to her father seeking her as bride to his son. Despite promises and threats, her father refused, but Ursula agreed, provided the English King sent her 10 virgins, and 1000 more for her and each of the 10, and allowed her 3 years for a pilgrimage, while his son got baptized. This overcame the main obstacle to their union, the non-Christian English royalty. Virgins duly arrived from all parts, joined by many priests, including Pantulus, Bishop of Basle. The Queen of Sicily also joined them with her 4 daughters, young

(3) Pedro de Mascarenhas (c. 1490 — June 6, 1555) was an outstanding diplomat, military leader, scholar and patron of the Arts, under Manuel I and John III. After serving as a diplomat in Rome, dealing with the tricky problems of Portugal's tithes and demands for the Inquisition, he did military duty in North Africa and Gibraltar (1516-50), finally being in charge of the defence works at Tangier and Alcácer-Kebir. From 1554-5, he was Viceroy of India, finally dying in Goa, where he would have known Luis de Camoens, who was indebted to Resende for the title of his great epic, and for material on Lisbon and on Ines de Castro (see Jose V. de Pina Martins *André de Resende: Vincentius Levita et Martyr*, Braga, 1981, 15-21 & 34-53, and J. R. C. Martyn 'Lúcio André de Resende and António Ferreira: an unknown relationship', *Euphrosyne* xv, 1987, 202-4). The defence works devised by Mascarenhas interested Charles V, who welcomed him to his Court in Germany on December 4, 1530, as John III's official ambassador, before they visited Cologne. A year before they had both been in Bologna, for Charles V's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. To judge from his great wealth, Mascarenhas must have also been involved in the lucrative trade brought into Flanders through the Portuguese discoveries, although his father was a man of substance at Alcácer do Sal (see n. 13).

(4) The story of Ursula's martyrdom was exposed as absurd by the Magdeburg Centuriators, although the Jesuit Crombach was still defending it in 1647. It appeared in the 12th Century Chronicle of Sigebert of Gemblours, but was made famous by being included in the *Legenda Aurea*, or Lives of the Saints, by Jacobus de Voragine. A summary is included here for scholars not familiar with Mediaeval hagiography.

(5) Taken from *The Golden Legend of Master William Caxton done anew*, Vol. 3, p. 958.

son and company of knights, who put on plays and jousts. Once all were converted, Ursula sailed to France, and came by foot to Cologne. From there they travelled through Basle to Rome, where Pope Ciriacus, born in Brittany, gladly welcomed them, and that night was shown that he would be martyred with them. After baptizing many, he resigned as Pope, after 15 months in office, despite opposition from his Cardinals, who struck his name off the catalogue of Popes. Two 'felon princes of chivalry' sent messengers to the Huns' leader, Julian, who was their cousin, warning him to meet and destroy this crowd of Christians. Meanwhile Ethereus succeeded his father as King, and after baptizing his mother and sister, left to die with his bride in Cologne, with them and Bishop Clement. When they all reached Cologne, the Huns were ready for them, and killed and beheaded all of them. Ursula's beauty made the Huns' leader offer to marry her, but when she refused, despising him, he shot her with an arrow. With the Bishops, King, lords, knights and servants, 15,000 men were also martyred, 26,000 in all. The year was 238 AD. Voragine gives alternative dates (as during Constantine's war against the Goths), and ends with two miracles to prove the power of the Virgins' relics. *Responsa* was one of them, and possibly the 11,000 came from another, called *Undecimilla*.

The legend may be totally fictitious, but in Resende's day it was one of many such miracles still believed. His final prayers to *Responsa* would have been as authentic to him as the monk's final prayer was to the Virgins as they received him at death, in return for the 11,000 *Pater Nosters* he had said for their souls (6). Mascarenhas may have been a hard-headed military leader and businessman, but he too was certain, it seems, of the sanctity of the Virgins' remains. As Resende tells us, his patron, who had had his first official audience with the Emperor only a month before (7), when they were together in Cologne

(6) The monk's devotion to the Virgins is Voragine's second proof of their holiness. In return, one of them appeared to him when sick, telling him he would be rewarded if he said a *pater noster* for each of them. He did so, and as his Abbot anointed his dead body, he suddenly cried 'Make room for the holy Virgins, and leave so that they may come to me'. They withdrew, and on returning found that he had left this world, for the Lord. Voragine follows this with a prayer to the Holy Trinity.

(7) On December 4, 1530, in Spira, viz *Corpo cronologico* I.46.32. See Ferreira *op. cit.* p. 324.

in Jan. 1531, visited the shrine of the 11,000 Virgins and tracked down the remains of two of them in a Carmelite monastery. After agreeing to rebuild and redecorate their abbey, Mascarenhas obtained permission from the Pope's legate to transfer them to Portugal.

A year later, on Jan. 25, 1532, the Emperor was back in Cologne with his Court, this time collecting troops for his campaign against the aggressive Ottoman Sultan, Suleiman II (8). By now Resende was part of the Court, and as an expert on theology and on history, he was the ideal person to give Mascarenhas technical advice on the relics he had discovered. Unfortunately he was unable to turn up any hard evidence on the background and martyrdom of Responsa. Shortly before this, Mascarenhas had staged a very lavish and very expensive three-day banquet in his mansion in Brussels, with the Emperor and his relatives as the guests of honour. Its ostensible purpose was to celebrate the recent birth of King John III's son, Dom Manuel (9). Unfortunately an anti-papal comedy by Gil Vicente, probably his lost *Jubileu de Amor* (10), was staged at the end of the celebrations, which proved a flaw in what was otherwise a splendid glorification of both Charles V and of John III. It is likely that Resende was himself present

(8) Suleiman the Magnificent (1496-1566) was the most dangerous of the Ottoman Sultans from the Christian point-of-view. He conquered Hungary in 1521 and 1526, when he killed Louis II, King of Hungary and husband of the Emperor's sister, Mary of Austria, at the battle of Mohács (Aug. 2). In 1523 he had conquered Rhodes. In 1529, he forced the Emperor out of Buda, and besieged him in Vienna (Sept.-Oct.), before retreating after an unsuccessful assault. His fleets conquered all of North Africa except for Morocco, although Charles V led a successful attack on Tunis in 1535. He died while fighting in Hungary on Sept. 4, 1566.

(9) Manuel was the 5th of the 9 children born to John III and Catherine. Their eldest daughter married Philip II of Spain, but died in 1545; by then all of her brothers and sisters had died, the youngest, Prince John, dying 18 days before his Spanish bride, Joanna, gave birth to a son, Sebastian (Jan. 20, 1554). The banquet and lavish masquerades on the occasion of Manuel's birth were really in honour of his father and of Charles V. They lasted for 3 days, and were brilliantly described by Resende in his 878 verse *Genethliacon*.

(10) See Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos *Notas Vicentinas*, Lisbon, 1949, Vol. I 'Gil Vicente em Bruxelas ou O Jubileu de Amor'. This 'manifesta satyra contra di Roma' offended the Papal nuncio Girolamo Aleandro, she points out, and was excluded from Vicente's 1562 *Compilação* by the Inquisition, although the 1551 Portuguese Index had included an *Auto do Jubileu de Amores*, by Vicente it seems. I owe this note to Alberto Rosa, who also drew my attention to Voragine.

at the performance, and he may have helped in the staging of the play (11).

It appears that this *faux pas* acted as an incentive for Resende to compose and quickly publish a short religious work, his *Translatio Sacrarum Virginum*, designed both to reaffirm his own true faith and to publicize the generosity and piety of Mascarenhas, who must have handed over a lot of gold in exchange for the dubious relics. Besides restoring the Abbey at his own expense, he probably had to contribute generously to the coffers of the elderly Cardinal, Lorenzo Campeggio, who earlier had had to watch the scurrilous comedy by Gil Vicente (12). He also paid for a suitable chapel to be built to house the relics, at his home-town of Alcácer do Sal, on the river Sado southeast of Lisbon, where Mascarenhas senior had served as Lord-mayor (13). Resende's work was in fact published in Venice in November 1532, when Resende was visiting northern Italy, still in the entourage of the Emperor. In January 1533, they reached Bologna, where Resende was able to use the fine Press to publish his lengthy *Genethliacon*, a poem describing the extravagant birthday party and all its entertainments, and dedicated by Resende to King John III. Shortly afterwards he published a far

(11) Besides Resende, the brilliant young humanists Damião de Gois and Sperato Martinho Ferreira were also at the banquet, a very talented trio who saw Erasmus as their idol. They may have helped with the play's staging, in honour of the great Vicente, who rivals Menander and the wittiest of the Roman comedians (*Genethliacon* 843-53).

(12) The frail old Cardinal Campeggio (1472-1539) was carried into the second banquet at the birthday celebrations in Brussels just in time for satyrs and Bacchantes, and the anti-Rome comedy by Vicente. He would not have been amused. His appearance in Cologne also is no coincidence. Pope Clement VII had given him a roving commission in Germany to suppress heresy, but he proved as ineffectual as he was in England earlier on, acting for Pope Leo X, trying to get Henry VIII's support against the Turks (1518) and trying to prevent his divorce (1528). In 1529/30, he took part in the coronation of Charles V in Bologna, where he was the Archbishop. In his early life he had practised Law, but the premature death of his wife led him to a Church career, with great success, becoming a Cardinal in 1517, and Bishop of Salisbury and Archbishop of Bologna (1524).

(13) The beautiful chapel can still be seen there. Mascarenhas senior had also been in charge of the Spanish horses of Kings John II and Manuel I, Lord of Loure, and was a very courageous man, whose services deserved to be remembered. He died on Nov. 13, 1501, at Almodôvar (see Carolina M. de Vasconcelos *op. cit.* p. 45).

sadder poem, an *Epicedion*, lamenting the premature death of the Emperor's nephew and foster-son, the young Prince of Denmark (14). With it he enclosed a poem of a very different nature, an *Epistola de Vita Aulica*, a 327 verse satire on the decadence and corruption of the Courtiers around the Emperor, and of his Court in general (15). Resende was very much an humanist, and at this point of time he was very close to Erasmus both with his wicked wit and with his rejection of dogmatic theology (16).

The description of Resende's enquiry into the authenticity of the relics is of interest, although the outcome was far from encouraging. Mascarenhas had to be persuaded as to their authenticity, even though Resende's research had ended with equal uncertainty, which might have made him suspect a religious fraud. Instead he compensates for the tenuous evidence of Abbot Spanemensis by strongly supporting the case for the Virgins' sanctity, who had chosen death before dishonour, whatever their origins may have been. He argues that true nobility belongs to the person who defends the Christian faith,

(14) The Prince's demise, on Aug. 12, 1532, was especially poignant to the Emperor, then at Ratisbona, who loved the 14 year old boy as a son, and had recently heard that his Catholic father, Christian II of Denmark and Southern Sweden, had been defeated in battle and was in prison in Denmark; and his mother, Isabella of Burgundy, Charles' second eldest sister, had died in Flanders in 1526. This was a severe loss to his great Catholic empire. In the poem, Resende calls him *Princeps Daciae*, although the Mediaeval confusion over *Dania*, *Dacia* had long-since been sorted out (originating from a passage in Caesar, it seems). Resende's poem is full of pathos and sympathy for the grieving Emperor, and of indignation over the boy's premature death, from a stomach disorder and travel fatigue (see Vasconcelos *op. cit.* p. 42).

(15) His main target was a permanent member of the Emperor's Court, the corpulent Luis Lobera de Avilá, a doctor who specialized in the diseases of the rich. His loathsome sycophancy is depicted, as he advises Charles to read his latest book on bowel movements (77-102), either his *Remedio de cuerpos humanos* (1542), or his *Libro de las quatro enfermedades cortesianas*, namely catarrh, gout, kidney stones and syphilis. His books were based on Arabic versions of Galen.

(16) By 1531, Resende had published two powerful attacks on the critics of Erasmus, in Basle, his 397 verse *Encomium Erasmi* and his satirical *Carmen ... adversus stolidos polittoris literaturae oblatratores*, similar in tone to Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. He wrote several long poems bewailing the death of Erasmus, but in his later years he had to lessen his support for him. See Odette Sauvage *L'itinéraire Erasmién d'André de Resende* (Paris, 1971) and Américo da Costa Ramalho 'A Conversação Maravilhosa do Português D. Gil... de André de Resende' in his *Estudos sobre o século xvi* (Lisbon, 1983), 341-366.

despite atrocious tortures and murderous tyrants. As a contrast to his violent denouement, he adds a postscript of three tranquil prayers in honour of the saintly virgin Responsa.

The Latin text is a modernised version of the 1532 original (17). Although Resende's major literary triumphs were in the field of Latin poetry, a work like this can illustrate his equal ability in the pedestrian medium (18). The work is brief (only 83 lines of Latin in my text), but it is very expressive. For its structure, Resende followed Classical norms, his *exordium* (1-15) balancing the *peroratio* (71-83), with the main *narratio* (16-70) in between. This is divided into Mascarenhas' enquiries (16-59) and Resende's research (60-70). In the *exordium* Resende apologises for his inability to find a genealogy for Responsa, explaining his failure in the *narratio* (60-70).

Resende's artistry can be exemplified in the opening paragraph. The sibilant superlative, *sacratissimae*, at the start, is neatly balanced by the subjunctive *involvisset* at the end. The smooth mildness of *veniam benignus lector concedat* is in contrast to the stinging finale, with the triple dental *tantis tenebris*, and the loaded *perversa* and *negligentia*. The criminal neglect is emphasised by the chiasmus of *divorum memoriam perversa hominum*. Finally, Resende emphasises his personal diligence with the repeated *ego* (not needed with the verb) in *scio ego* and *et ego sponte mea*. These short words are in contrast to the heavy polysyllabic ones in the first and last sentences, which help to give special dignity to the martyred Responsa. By now her remains were in Portugal, ready for housing and worship in a shrine, and Resende was at pains to prove their sanctity.

The Latin text follows, with my English version:

TRANSLATIO SACRARUM VIRGINUM ET MARTYRUM CHRISTI,
RESPONSAE ET SOCIAE EIUS

Lectori pio, L. Resendius Lusitanus S.

Sacratissimae virginis et martyris Christi Responsae translationem enarraturo, veniam benignus lector concedat, si quaecunque super ea

(17) Besides resolving the many ligatures and abbreviations in the original text, I have used the normal *c-* for *qu-* (*cum* for *quum* etc.), *-es* for *-eis* (*annales* for *annaleis* etc.), *all-* (*app-*, *acc-*, *agg-*) for *adl-* (*adp-*, *adc-*, *adg-*), *corr-* for *conr-*, *recepit* for *recaepit*, *feminae* for *foeminae*, *presbyt-* for *praesbyt-* etc.

legatum adiit, auctoritatem impetrat, ut certa pecuniarum summa in coenobii fabricam et ornatum numerata, duo illa capita a monachis accipere, et suo arbitrio quoquo vellet, deportare posset libere et suo iure.

Indicta igitur dies testesque huic donationi sunt adhibiti, et notarius, ut vocant, apostolicus. At vero interrogati monachi, quidnam de reliquiis illis certitudinis haberent, iurati religionem et sacerdotalem fidem responderunt se nihil aliud habere comperti, quam perpetuam et constantem per multa saecula famam, iam olim a principio, dum eorum sacra aedes conderetur, maiores suos duo illa corpora ex collegio sacrarum virginum xi milium, ab episcopo eius urbis dono accepisse, coenobii ornamento. Semperque alterum tamquam verum beatae Responsae corpus habitum et nuncupatum, alterum cuiusnam virginis esset, temporum iniuria excidisse. Quibus ita gestis, vir pius duo illa sacrarum virginum capita in suam recepit potestatem, et per fidorum familiarium quorundam ministerium, in Lusitaniam transmisit, matrique suae feminae pietatis et religionis innocentissimae, custodienda commisit, dum ipse regia legatione peregre cogebatur abesse.

Insequenti vero anno, Caesare iterum Germanias petente, ut contra immanissimum Turcarum tyrannum Pannonias aggressum, copias suas et exercitum cogeret, denuo mense Februario Coloniam regius legatus advenit. Ibi nos quantam adhibuerimus diligentiam, quam anxie annales et virginum historiam scrutati simus, si quo pacto humanae curiositati satis possemus facere, superfluum arbitror admonere, cum praecipue historia ipsa partim truncate, partim inepte, ne iam barbariem obiiciam, sit composita. Quam si quis nosse in summa aliquanto veracius desiderat, ex Abbate Spanemensi, et ex eo quem ipse citat auctore, petat.

Nos illud satis superque esse ducimus has virgines Christi martyres fuisse, et pro virginitatis integritate, ne profanis libidinibus polluerentur, caedem mortemque sibi praeposuisse. Quis enim praepostere adeo religiosus est, qui divos quod hac vel illa patria orti sint, hos vel illos parentes habuerint, non quod pro Christi sanguinem fuderint, tyrannorumque minaciam spreverint, veneretur. Absit a Christiano animo quidquam terrenum ponderis alicuius esse aestimare, prae in deum pietate et religione firmissima. Absit parentum nobilitatem in martyrum veneratione postulare. Sat enim nobilitatis consecuti

sunt, qui tormentis quantumvis atrocibus, et mortibus, ut tyrannorum voluit saevitia, crudelibus, a Christi optimi maximi caritate avelli nequaquam potuere.

Oratio

Amator virginum Iesu Christe, pro cuius amore beata virgo Responsa supplicium elegit, eius meritis et precibus, fidei constantiam in nobis corrobora, ut te agnum immaculatum nullo terrore sequamur. Qui vivis.

Secreta

Hoc purissimum sacrificium, quod tibi sancte pater in honore beatae Responsae virginis offerimus, mundet nostra delicta, et ad mystica haec pangenda reddat idoneos. Per dominum.

In fine

Haec vota quae tibi solvimus, omnipotens deus, intercessione beatae Responsae virginis et martyris tuae, piacula nostrae mentis absolvant, et aeternae vitae nos faciant aptiores. Per dominum.

Impressum Venetiis Per Bernardinum de Vitalibus
Venetum MDXXXII Mense Novembri.

Transference of the Sacred Virgins and Martyrs of Christ,
Responsa and her Companion

Lúcio Resende of Portugal, to the pious reader, greetings.

I shall describe the transference of Responsa, the most sacred virgin and martyr of Christ. The reader must kindly pardon me if I provide minimal information on whatever he wants on that topic, and what I should properly provide. I know there will be people who want to know about her homeland, her family and the details of her martyrdom, and I was going to provide them without being asked, if only the perverse negligence of humans had not covered the records of the saints with such thick shadows.

When I had reached Cologne, I certainly did my very best, with all possible diligence, leaving no stone unturned (as they say), but I could not discover anything else, anywhere, except that the blessed Responsa and her companion belonged to that beautiful company of virgins led by the incomparable maiden, Ursula, all of whom suffered martyrdom under the barbarous Huns. And so, to avoid undue anxiety over an hopeless quest, let us hurry to the story of the transference, which is all that is left.

In 1531 A.D., a diet had been held at Augsburg over these disorders that had driven most of the Germans away from the ancient concord of the Fathers, once Martin Luther's new sect had sent them mad. The ever-majestic Emperor Charles was therefore returning to Belgium, when he was approached by Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, a nobleman famous both for his achievements and for his ancestral busts, who was acting as ambassador to the Emperor, sent by the pious, fortunate and unconquered King of Portugal, John.

When he had reached Cologne, washed by the Rhine, and had visited the shrine of the 11,000 holy virgins, the pious gentleman desired to deport some of these relics with him to Portugal. He had long turned this over in his mind, and was regularly attending the churches of that City, in his usual manner, and when he had discovered that, in the monastery of those monks commonly called Carmelites, the body of the holy virgin, Responsa, was worshipped with highest and ancient religion, he began to test the minds of the monks to obtain his end.

Nor did they refuse over much, only arguing that it was certainly difficult for them to remove the whole body from the Church in which it had long been worshipped. In addition, it was illegal, without the Pope's authority. Obtain this, they said, and they would grant to his devotion the head of the virgin Responsa, and that of another virgin worshipped with her.

Taking this assurance, the noble ambassador approached the legate of Pope Clement, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, and in return for a fixed sum of money for the building and decoration of the abbey, sought the authority to accept those two heads from the monks, and

to be able to deport them freely wherever he wanted, on his own authority and judgement.

And so the day was fixed, and witnesses called for this donation, as well as an apostolic notary (as they call him). However, when the monks were asked how certain they were concerning the relics, swearing by their religion and sacerdotal vow, they replied that they had discovered nothing other than a perpetual, constant rumour, going right back for many centuries to the beginning, when their holy church was founded, that their ancestors had accepted those two bodies from the College of the 11,000 holy virgins, as a present from that city's bishop, to adorn their monastery. And one of the two bodies, as if it was really the body of the blessed Responsa, had always been clothed and given her name, whereas the other, of an unknown virgin, had been forgotten through the ravages of time. After these proceedings, the pious gentleman received the two heads of the holy virgins into his keeping, and through the services of some of his reliable servants, he sent them to Portugal, and entrusted them to his mother, a woman of piety and most innocent religion, for safekeeping, while he himself was forced by his royal ambassadorship to be away overseas.

But the next year, when the Emperor was again travelling to Germany to collect his supplies and army to fight the most monstrous Turkish tyrant, who was attacking Hungary, the royal ambassador again came to Cologne, during February. I think it superfluous to mention how much diligence I showed there, how anxiously I pored over the annals and history of the virgins, in case I could somehow satisfy human curiosity, especially since the actual history was partly mutilated and partly ineptly written, not mentioning its barbarity. In short, should anyone want to double check this, he should consult Abbot Spanemensis, and the authority quoted by him.

I consider it to be more than enough that these virgins were martyred for Christ, and for the integrity of their virginity; to avoid being defiled by profane lusts, they chose instead murder and death for themselves. For who is so confused about religions that he would worship saints because they were born in this or that country, and had these or those parents, and not because they shed their blood for Christ's sake, and spurned the threats of tyrants? Let the Christian mind avoid

valuing any earthly thing highly, when compared with piety towards God and a truly firm religion. Let this mind avoid demands for nobility of parents in the veneration of martyrs. For plenty of nobility is obtained by those whom men have been unable to tear from the love of Christ, the best and greatest, despite tortures as atrocious as you like, and cruel deaths dictated by the savagery of tyrants.

Public Prayer

Jesus Christ, lover of virgins, for whose love the blessed virgin, Responsa, chose punishment, strengthen the constancy of faith within us, so that we may follow you, the immaculate lamb, without any fear, who livest

Private Prayer

May this purest sacrifice which I offer to you, holy Father, in honour of the blessed virgin, Responsa, cleanse my sins, and render me suitable for describing these mysteries.

Final Prayer

May these prayers which we have offered to you, omnipotent God, through the intercession of the blessed virgin, Responsa, your martyr, absolve the sins of my mind, and make me more suitable for eternal life. For the Lord

Printed in Venice, by Bernardino de Vitalis, November, 1532.

JOHN R. C. MARTYN

Classical Studies

University of Melbourne