

Baptists and Baptisms in Post-Tridentine Hagiography (1567)¹

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This work is the fourth in a series where I propose to study, within the scope of an Iberian research project, the way in which the guidelines that emerged from the Council of Trent can be found in the first legendary in Portuguese that followed it. First printed in 1567, the *History of Lives & Heroic Deeds & Great Works of the Saints* (*Historia das vidas & feitos heroicos & obras insignes dos sanctos*, Braga: António de Mariz) was commissioned for Fr. Diogo do Rosário by the Archbishop of Braga D. Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires, who, after having actively participated at Trent, brought the program to Portugal that emanated from the Council. After a first general overview of the selection and use of sources, which made it possible to reach some conclusions with respect to Diogo do Rosário's working method and his understanding of the provisions of Trent regarding the cult of the saints (Sobral 2017), I analyzed the function of one of the traditional hierophanic spaces in the new legendary, the sea, in search of elements of continuity and innovation in the treatment of hagiographic material. Finally, I considered the particular case of two saints, Magdalen and Martha, who, due to their position in the medieval hagiographic tradition, could have been “reformed” after Trent, not only because they were preachers but also because their status could have been questioned because of the conciliar declaration on the expurgation of apocryphal texts (Jedin, 370) and the statement by Diogo do Rosário about the function of his legendary as announced in the paratext:

Note, pious reader, that in the stories of the lives of saints that are printed in vernacular language, there are many flaws and one is that they have written some very uncertain and apocryphal things. So it seemed good to the lord Archbishop that since this book was to be printed, it should be revised and amended.²

It should be noted that the lives of the saints in Portuguese that were printed in vernacular language had to have been contained in the *Flos Sanctorum* of 1513 (National Library of Portugal Res. 157 A; BITAGAP Manid 1021), the only legendary printed in Portuguese known before the text by Diogo do Rosário. In all of these previous works, I have tried to find — in a legendary that claims to be reformed (“*reuísto e emendado*”) —, the guidelines of this reform and how it is seen as a real novelty compared to the “uncertain and apocryphal” medieval tradition. The idea of the apocryphal (that is, its conceptualization and application) is fundamental to keep in mind when analyzing the hagiographic compilation Diogo do Rosário carried out. In all of the analyzes undertaken in the present project, a concept of apocryphal emerges that does not assume a direct relationship with verifiable historicity, nor does it propose any method of verification,

¹ This article is the result of research carried out in the ambit of the project “Hispanic Hagiography before the Protestant Reformation” (FFI2017-86248-P), granted by the Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness of Spain. The revision of the text was granted by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (ref. UIDB/00214/2020).

² “Nota pio leitor que nas historias das vidas de sanctos que andam impressas em vulgar, ha y muitas falhas: e hũa he, que trazem escriptas algũas cousas muy incertas e apocriphas. Polo que pareceo bem ao senhor Arcebispo que ja que se auia de imprimir este liuro, fosse reuísto e emendado...” (“Proemio,” n.p.).

and it does not question the narrated matter in terms of any rationalist understanding of the world. To contain the marvelous, which we could expect in response to the criticisms of Luther's disciples and in accordance with the orders of the Council Fathers to contain abuses, is by no means a tendency of the new compilation. The operative concept of the apocryphal is essentially based on the authority of the sources; these were often governed by doctrinal criteria, as is the case with the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree, and which Diogo do Rosário invoked several times as an authority for the exclusion of texts, and also lists *non recipiendi* books due to their use by heretical communities (Mamouni).

In this context, the present study will be another case study that offers conclusions for a future comprehensive critical description of the reformist outlines of hagiography in 1567. I will evaluate how Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires' collaborator considered three saints from medieval tradition whose legends perform the sacrament of baptism in a way that can be considered unorthodox: Thecla, Barbara and Christine.

Baptism was a subject that was given special attention at Trent, as were the other sacraments. With respect to its nature and function, there was a great deal of dissident discourse that led to the need for the Council. For this reason, it is not surprising that it dedicates fourteen canons to it (*O Sacrosanto...*, 179-185), condemning all these speeches to excommunication, and it also reaffirms baptism as a necessary means of salvation: "The instrumental [cause of justification] is the Sacrament of Baptism, which is the Sacrament of Faith, without which no one is justified anymore."³

The concern of the Council fathers was above all the clear denunciation of the unorthodox allegations made about the baptism – about its nature, validity, effectiveness and necessity under the exact conditions in which the Church of Rome administered it – and the rejection of all of these allegations. It was, therefore, a sharp reaffirmation of the contours of the orthodoxy of baptism, as the Church had already defined it in previous councils, in the canonical texts, and in the work of the Church Fathers.

1. Thecla, the almost absent one

Tertullian (ca.155– ca.230) highlights, in *De baptismo*, that the possibility of women administering sacraments was a serious matter and extremely undesirable. He specifically mentions the sacrament of baptism, in order to suppress the insolence of those who usurped the right to teach and he questions himself if they dare to claim also the right to baptize.⁴ A significant hagiographic character emerges from his speech: Saint Thecla, the alleged companion of Saint Paul that the apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclae* describe as evangelizing and self-baptizing. If some reckless women, says Tertullian, who read the writings of St. Paul without any discernment, dare to justify their claim by the example of Thecla (to whom, it is said, this apostle gave the power to teach and to baptize), they must know that the book of the *Acta* they are based on is not really by St. Paul but by a priest from Asia, who composed it under the name of the Apostle. For this falsehood, which he confessed to, this priest was deposed from his duties. Indeed, Tertullian wonders, how could St. Paul give women permission to teach and baptize if he does not

³ "A [causa] instrumental [da justificação] he o Sacramento do Bautismo, que he o Sacramento da Fé, sem a qual ninguém já mais se justificou" (*O Sacrosanto...*, 109).

⁴ Tertullian had already severely condemned (in the treaty entitled *De virginibus velandis*) the possibility of women performing any priestly function: "Women are neither allowed to speak in the church, nor to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer sacrifice, nor to assume any of the functions that belong to the man, nor the ones that belong to the priests." ("Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui (1 Cor XIV, 34; 1 Tim 11,12), sed nec docere, nec tinguere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem vindicare." (*De virginibus velandis*, 901-902).

even give them permission to educate themselves publicly, as in, for example, 1 Cor 14:35?⁵

The hagiographic narrative is dated from the second century and it would soon have a considerable diffusion in the east, where the cult of Thecla was quite popular. Lipsius (*Acta Apostolorum* I, 235-272) edited the Greek version of *Acta Pauli et Theclae* based on eleven Greek manuscripts, and also drew upon the Syriac, Slavic and Arabic versions (*Acta Apostolorum* I, 94-96). At least four independent Latin versions are known (Hennecke, 326; Vouaux, 12-19). Such diffusion contrasts with the condemnation that this text suffered from an early age. Not only did Tertullian condemn it, but also St. Jerome⁶ – who has had a more significant influence on the Christian literary tradition. All elements in this text indicate that its authorship should be attributed not to the priest in Asia who admired St. Paul (the one mentioned by Tertullian), but to a woman who writes for a female community (Kaestli, 294). It is, in fact, the use of the text by heretical communities, close to Gnosticism, Manichaeism and its radical factions, such as Encratites (Erbeta II, 8-9), that should explain its rejection, more than the fictionality of the narrative. Bremmer argues that Tertullian's reference to the text, and using it as a reprehensible example of feminine claims to sacramental ministry, is difficult to understand given that Thecla does not baptize anyone but herself.⁷ This suggests that the narrative sequences where the baptism was performed by the companion of St. Paul were eliminated from the text, giving it the form we know today. Moreover, it seems that this textual mutilation was done with the objective that the text would not be used by communities that re-claimed the sacramental ministry of women (Bremmer, 162-163).

⁵ “Petulantia autem mulieris quae usurpavit docere, utique non etiam tinguendi jus sibi pariet, nisi si quae nova bestia evenerit similis pristinae: ut quemadmodum illa Baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat. Quod si quae Paulo perperam adscripta sunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt; sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. Quam enim fidei proximum videretur, ut is docendi et tinguendi daret foeminae potestatem, qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit: Taceant, et domi maritos suos consultant (I Cor., XIV).” (*De baptismo*, 1219-1220). The use of the pluperfect supposes reference to concrete cases, undoubtedly evoking usual practices within heretical circles. On the doctrine of Tertullian, see Rankin, 175-180. On this step of the treaty on baptism, see Bremmer, 150-158.

⁶ “Ἰgitur περιόδους Pauli, et Theclae, et totam baptizati Leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus.” (Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, 7, 619C). See Hennecke, 322-325, 330-333; Bremmer, 158-161.

⁷ According to the legend edited by Lipsius (*Acta Apostolorum* 1891-1903) and re-edited and translated by Vouaux (*Les Actes de Paul*, ed. Vouaux), Thecla is converted by Paul, at Iconium, upon listening to the apostle preach about chastity, from the window of her house (ed. Vouaux 159-161). As a result, she leaves her fiancé, who orders Paul to be arrested. Thecla visits him in prison, which leads to the expulsion of the apostle and the condemnation of the virgin to death by burning. At the time of execution, however, providential rain and hail save the saint, who was free to follow Paul to Antioch. Here she aroused the interest of Alexander, a powerful Syrian who, seeing himself rejected, condemned her to death in the arena. On the appointed day, Tecla was taken to the arena, naked, only wearing a short skirt. Once in the arena, the animals were released against her. However, the ferocious lioness, who was supposed to attack, reclined softly at her feet and defended her from all the other animals. Meanwhile, Thecla prayed. At the end of the prayer, seeing a large pit filled with water, she said: “Now is the time to receive the bath” (ed. Vouaux 211). And, throwing herself into the pit, she pronounced the sacramental words: “In the name of Jesus Christ, I baptize myself on my last day” (ed. Vouaux 213). A sudden flash of light killed all of the animals and a cloud of fire spread around her protecting her. After being released, she spent the rest of her days preaching and converting pagans.

The most serious judgement, nevertheless, was the fact that this text was included among the apocryphal books in the aforementioned Pseudo-Gelasian Decree (ca. 500).⁸

In the most important legendary in medieval hagiographic transmission, the *Golden Legend*, the Life of S. Thecla does not appear as an independent text. The Iberian translations documented in *Leyenda de los Santos* (British Library IB.53312; BETA manid 2243; Aragüés Aldaz) and *Flos Sanctorum* of 1513 do not add it either. Jacopo of Varazze's exclusion of the text cannot be explained by the condemnation of the same, since his intolerance for the apocrypha was far from strict (Dubreil-Arcin). As we will see later, the reasoning behind this will be found in the sources the Archbishop of Genoa had available. However, the edition undertaken by Theodore Gräesse in 1846,⁹ which was "realizzata... sulla base di una delle prime edizioni a stampa" (Maggioni, 3), contains a Life of St. Thecla where the most bizarre element of this narrative – self-baptism ("Tunc in aquam inter feras projicitur et dixit: in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sit mihi haec aqua fons baptismi..." chap. 208, p. 905) – is present, which reveals the Jacopo of Varazze legendary's fifteenth century editors' progressive acceptance of the legend and its potentially heterodox elements.

As already found in previous studies, Diogo do Rosário is, in general, limited with respect to what his sources can offer him and rarely adds material of his own¹⁰. Let us examine what the sources did provide for this saint.

Claudius of Rota (1554) does nothing more than transmit Jacopo of Varazze's version, so his text does not contain a Life of Thecla. Lippomano also does not contain one (1565). Antoninus of Florence (1527), one of the sources Diogo do Rosário gives greater authority to and to which he often refers even when he does not use it, contains an independent text (Part 1, 447-448) – a version that is purged of the auto-baptism. He warns the reader that the text is apocryphal but that, even so, he will provide an abbreviated version ("Sed quia inter apocryphas scripturas connumeratur distin, 15. sancta Romana, ideo abbreviabitur" Part 1, 447). Thus the fight against the ferocious animals in the arena, where the primitive version of the *Acta Theclae et Pauli* places self-baptism in the water pit, ends without this element. Hence, Thecla joins Paul and is baptized by him, after which she dedicates himself to preaching:

... ad Paulum accessit, qui timuit ne aliquatentatio accidisset. Quod illa intelligens, vt eum confortaret, baptizatam se esse dixit, & sic in eius hospitium introiuit. Demum de licentia Pauli Iconium rediens defuncto Tamiro sponso eius, cùm matrem ad fidem inducere non valeret, Thecla in Seleuciam pergens, & multos prædicando conuertens tandem in pace quieuit. (Part 1, 448)

For Antoninus of Florence, it seems clear that women preachers are permissible, but they are not allowed to perform the ministry of baptism (especially bizarre self-baptism). It is also clear that historicity does not concern Antoninus, because he does not

⁸ "Liber qui appellatur Actus Theclae et Pauli apocryphus" (Dobschütz, 12); Erbetta I/1, 27-31; Hennecke, 324-325.

⁹ The Gräesse edition was re-edited four years later and this is the edition I used. A second edition so close to the *princeps* is an eloquent testimony of how, in the 19th century, Jacopo of Varazze's legendary continued to be frequently read.

¹⁰ The life of Saint Mary Magdalen was, until now, the only exception identified. There, Diogo do Rosário attempts to truly rewrite the text (see Sobral 2020). On the main sources where Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires' collaborator collected his hagiographic material, the criteria with which he chose them and the way he used them, see Sobral 2017.

refrain from adding Paul's orthodox baptism, even though he knows that it was not in his sources. In this case, doctrinal convenience overrides historical convenience. As for Peter of Natali (1506), he has two lives of St. Thecla. In the first, the saint is part of a group of four holy virgins of Aquileia (Euphemia, Dorothy, Thecla and Erasma, book 8, chap. 29, fls. 177-178) and has the surprising characteristic of duplicating some of the most typical elements of St. Barbara's legend, such as the tower with two windows where the saint orders a third window to be built. For this reason, Peter of Natali's Life of Saint Thecla deserves a detailed study that explains the genesis of this legend and what it implies for the perception of similarities between Thecla and Barbara (although the element of self-baptism is not found here, but a miracle performed by the virgins on the waters of a river so that they can be properly purified for baptism, which is administered by a bishop, is present)¹¹. In addition to this narrative, Peter of Natali also transmits the Life of Thecla of Iconius, that of *Acta Theclae et Pauli* but, like Antoninus he also criticizes the element of self-baptism and preserves that of the conversion of pagans without, however, using unequivocally the verb *praedicare* ("Multus etiam gentiles uirgo domini ad fidem perduxit," 193c).

It seems, therefore, that female preaching causes less doctrinal conflict than baptism, which is censored by the two authors. With this kind of material available in two of his favorite sources, Antoninus and Peter of Natali, Diogo do Rosário could have included a life of St. Thecla that was purged of its problematic element (just like theirs). Why did he not include her, especially since Thecla, like Magdalen and Martha, preached and also converted non-believers? This theme was clearly important for Diogo do Rosário, as can be seen in his rewriting of the Life of St. Mary Magdalen. The answer to this question undoubtedly resides in the fact that the text was condemned in the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree, which was the reason for excluding the version of the *Passio* of St. George that includes the dragon and princess sequence in addition to the *Passio* of Cyricus and Julitta where a little child speaks like an adult. (Sobral 2017).

Thecla's presence must also be investigated in the texts related to St. Paul, since the *Acta Theclae and Pauli* present them acting in collaboration. In chapter 85 of the *Legenda Aurea* (576-597), about St. Paul, there is no reference to the saint of Iconium. It is not necessary to see this as a conscious act of selection, because this may be due to the fact that the sources did not contain it; the Life of St. Paul from the *Legenda Aurea* is indebted to the *Martyrium* of St. Paul by Pseudo-Linus, which is the final piece in the *Acta Pauli*.¹² Jacopo of Varazze is not likely to have known the *Acta Pauli* in their entirety, which included the *Acta Theclae et Pauli*.¹³ Therefore, it would have been a

¹¹ Notice the point at which this narrative is placed: in spite of the fact that the sacrament is not ministered by women, but rather, in a very Catholic way, by a priest, the baptized virgins still have an active and extraordinary participation in the preparation and facilitation of the act: "Cum autem die quadam descendissent ad fluuium ut ex more se lauarent superuenerunt et germane ipsarum thecla et erasma et orantibus uirginibus ut aqua fluuii mūdaretur quatenus digne baptizarentur: natus fluuii retraxit undulas et stetit. Eadem hora superuenit ualentianus cū beato hermacora: et uiso miraculo gratias deo egerunt. quas sanctus hermacoras cōtinuo baptizauit et deo uirgines dedicauit: easque ualentiano cōmendauit" (177d).

¹² The *Acta Pauli* were frequently reformulated and paraphrased throughout the Middle Ages. His final piece, *Martyrium Pauli*, was paraphrased in a *Passio* attributed to Pope Linus from the fourth through fifth centuries. The author is an unknown pope and, from this text, which amplifies the original text through the addition of a few episodes more than eighty manuscripts are known that date from the tenth through the fifteenth centuries.

¹³ On the knowledge of the life of St. Paul in medieval literature in Portuguese, see Sobral 2012. Thecla, or a saint of that name, is twice referred to in the *Legenda Aurea*: in Life of Martin of Tours (claiming Sulpício Severo's *Dialogues* as a source, cf. *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Maggione, 1143, cl. 102, see apparatus), where it is said that Martin confided to two of his companions that in a moment of prayer he had received a visit

question of availability of sources rather than a rejection of apocryphal texts. This is a status that should also be attributed to the source of the *Legenda Aurea*, the *Passio* of Paul by Pseudo-Linus. His sixteenth-century editor, Claudius of Rota, follows him, adding nothing about Thecla in the Life of Saint Paul. Nor does Peter of Natali or Antoninus mention it. However, Diogo do Rosário includes, in the Life of Saint Paul, an unexpected and surprising reference:

And from there [Paul and Barnabas] went to Iconium and remained for a long time in this land; they converted many Jews and Gentiles to the faith and to the blessed Saint Thecla and they were insulted and affronted and also stoned by the Jews and the Gentiles who did not believe.¹⁴

The alleged source of this quote is Symeon the Metaphrast, which means that the real source is Luigi Lippomano. In fact, in his *Hystoriae*, on page 314, we read:

Et cum nenissent [*sic*] Iconium, & illic longo tempore versati essent, multosque Iudaeos, & Gentiles atque etiam Theclam ad fidem Domini euocassent, a Iudaeis qui non crediderant, & Gentilibus, afficiuntur contumeliis, & appetuntur lapidibus.

From this we ask: what exactly does it mean that they converted many Jews and Gentiles to the faith and to the blessed Saint Thecla? Can we interpret it as a reference to some type of ministry performed by Thecla in Iconium, so that the city's recent converts were under her tutelage? It is difficult to confirm this, but it seems at least possible that in the post-Tridentine legendary of Diogo do Rosário there is a fleeting image of Santa Thecla associated with apostolic functions of evangelization. She perhaps did not have the responsibility of conversion but had the responsibility of reinforcing and supervising the work that was being done there. This effect in the text is the result of Diogo do Rosário choosing some sources to the detriment of others.

For now, we can therefore conclude that the traditional condemnation of a text as apocryphal in sources whose authority is not questioned, such as the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree, has a significant influence on Diogo do Rosário's assessment of the texts. This means that the compiler's judgment is manifested in the selection of sources and not in the application of empirical verisimilitude or doctrinal coherence criteria. On the one hand, we cannot say that the absence of the *topos* of Thecla's baptism was a reformist choice made by Diogo do Rosário, since his sources did not convey it. On the other hand, the evidence points to the fact that he had no reservations about assigning teaching and apostolate functions to female figures. It is the external rejection of the text and not its internal evaluation that counts. Thus, we do not know what the compiler would have

from Agnes, Thecla and Mary ("Agnes, Thecla et Maria ad me uenerunt"); and at the celebration of the beheading of John the Baptist, where it is said that Saint Thecla had taken the finger with which John the Baptist pointed Jesus to a city in the Alps and deposited it in a church in Maurienne (the alleged source here is Peter Comestor, *Historia Escolastica*, cf. *Legenda Aurea*, 884, cl. 156, see apparatus): "Quem postmodum, ut habetur in hystoria scholastica, santa Thecla inter Alpes attulit et in ecclesia Maurianensi collocauit". The church in question is the Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, in Savoy, which still preserves the relic and it is represented on the city's coat of arms.

¹⁴ "e dali vindo [Paulo e Barnabé] a Jconio, e detendo se por muito tempo nesta terra conuerteram muitos judeus e gentios aa fee, e aa bemaumenturada sãcta Tecla: e dos judeus que nam creerã e dos gentios foram injuriados e afrontados, e tambem apedrejados." (II-32c)

thought about Thecla's self-baptism. It may be possible, nevertheless, to know what he thought about Barbara's self-baptism.

2. Barbara, a little bit apocryphal...

The "history" of Saint Barbara is announced, on the first part of the legendary by Diogo do Rosário (I-9v-11r), "according to Antoninus in the first part and others."¹⁵ The text occupies four columns in *folio* format, with forty-seven lines each, plus eleven lines. In the First Part of the *Chronicon* by Antoninus of Florence, the text relative to Barbara occupies only forty-one lines. Therefore, he was not the author who contributed the most to the allegedly reformed version of the "history" by Diogo do Rosário. It must have been the "others." But who are these others? And why did they not deserve proper credit?

Jacopo of Varazze does not include Barbara in his *corpus*. The editions of the *Legenda Aurea* from the end of the fifteenth century do include it, which also reveals the fascination of the time with what Delehaye called "passions romanesques" (Delehaye, 227) and this also explains Barbara's presence in both the Claudius of Rota and the Gräesse editions, respectively. Barbara, like Thecla, is also a completely fictional saint, and whose cult dates back only to the seventh century – three hundred years after the time the narrative takes place (during Maximian Herculus' reign, from 286-305 CE). The *passio* was included in the *Menologium* by Symeon the Metaphrast (*PG* 116, 301-315) and only in the eighth and ninth centuries was it transmitted to Western martyrologies (*Martyrologium romanum parvum*, ca. 700; martyrologies of Adon and Usuard, ninth century).¹⁶ She is almost always said to be from Nicomedia, but sometimes she is also said to be from Egypt (Heliopolis) and even Tuscany and Rome. The saint was widely popularized in the West as a protector against thunderstorms and lightning. There are several versions of her story, with significant variants, but they all share certain elements: Barbara is the daughter of a noble pagan, Dioscorus; In order to protect the young girl's beauty from outside eyes, he confined her to a tower. She became a Christian by an act of the Holy Spirit, and the girl thus ordered a third window to be built in the construction of a secluded pool (or in the tower itself) where her father had only ordered two windows to be built. From the evidence of the third window, which illustrates the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and the way in which she refused the proposals of suitors all revealed her religious affiliation. This aroused the ire of her father, who turned her in to the prefect Martinianus. After a sequence of dialogues and torments typical of epic passions, Barbara was condemned to death by beheading. Her father himself made a point of taking her to the place of martyrdom and executing the sentence. Soon after, upon returning home, he was struck by lightning and crumbled into dust. After the beheading, a Christian named Valentinus collected Barbara's body and buried her with dignity.

The literary and symbolic nature of this narrative is evident: the father, Dioscorus, who evidently refers to Zeus's twins – Castor and Pollux, protectors against sea storms – is associated with evil and prison. This is because he cut off the light that would pass through the windows of the tower's pool, and from the lightning with which the true God punished him (thus revealing the supremacy of Christianity over paganism in the domain of the indomitable forces of nature). Other versions of Barbara's history contain other symbolic elements – for example, there is an episode involving two shepherds, one of whom helps the saint hide from her father while the other one denounces her (in this story the denouncer is turned into stone, or into a beetle, in other versions, as well as his sheep).

¹⁵ "segundo a escreuem Antonino na primeira parte e outros" (I-9v).

¹⁶ On these martyrologies, their composition, dates, and editions, see Dubois & Lemaitre.

In addition to their diegetic role as a peripeteia, the shepherds can be seen as the figures of the two thieves who were crucified beside Christ.

The most significant episode in the history is of course that of baptism, which is first and foremost put forward through the example of the pool. To fulfill the symbolic objective of opening three windows, any type of construction would be effective, even in the tower itself. The need for a pool is not understood unless the water element is necessary to produce additional meaning in the text. We have reason here to argue that versions of the story that do not include baptism, or in which baptism is not somehow related to the pool, may not be original and are the result of truncation and/or revision of the story. This is what happens in the version transmitted by Claudius of Rota (and by Gräesse), where Barbara is baptized by a priest named Valencius. This priest was sent by Origen, with whom she corresponded, and who prepares her for baptism by explaining to her the mystery of the Holy Trinity (“et ab eodem presbytero Valentio, quem Origenes ad ipsam miserat, baptizata est in turri in qua pater eam posuerat” 168b). We cannot imagine a more orthodox retelling¹⁷ and there is no relationship between baptism and the pool. The priest who will be doing the baptizing seems to be clearly a duplication of the good man who collects and buries the body after the passion; and the *topos* of indoctrination through correspondence with a wise man is typical in many female passions. This suggests that, at the end of the fifteenth century, a perfectly orthodox version of the Life of St. Barbara was in circulation and it was probably rewritten to exhibit a baptism according to canonical rules.

In the version by Lippomano, which faithfully reproduces that by Symeon the Metaphrast, the baptism is missing. There is, however, another symbolic episode. After sending the workers to open a third window in the tower’s pool, Barbara makes the sign of the cross on a marble column and the sign is carved into it as if with an iron. After that, the pool acquires healing powers:

... stans ad piscinam , et ascipiens ad Orientem, ijs que erant in ipsa marmoribus, digito impressit figuram diuinae crucis: et vt posteris quoque notum esset id quod factum fuerat et Christi virtus praedicaretur, crucis figura quae digito erat signata ostenditur in marmore, non ad tactus solum admirationem, sed etiam ad maiorem fidē adducens spectatores. Verumenimvero in hodiernum vsque diem hoc quoque lauacrum conseruatur, quod iis qui sunt Christi amantes curat omnem dolorem. (Lippomano II, 107; Metaphrast, *PG* 116, 306)

Instead of baptism, we have a symbolic sacralization of the aquatic space where it could occur. There is nothing missing for a baptism to take place, neither water nor its sacralization are absent. If metonymically and reflexively the sign of the cross can extend to whoever does it and if we understand that Barbara could bathe in the pool, thereby fulfilling the function that her father had ordered it to have, we can perhaps glimpse a subtle stylization of self-baptism. Let us suppose that this unorthodox element was removed from the text. Peter of Natali seems to show that it was, and thus another version circulated simultaneously in the fifteenth century that was less orthodox. In his very abbreviated narrative, where the story of the construction of the three windows is contained in one sentence, baptism plays a central role. We find here a perfect articulation

¹⁷ Claudius of Rota is attentive to orthodoxy. After telling the story of the miracle of the transformation of the bad shepherd and his sheep into stone, he ends the episode with a warning: “Hoc apocryphum est” (168c).

of all of the essential elements: Barbara makes the sign of the cross on the marble column of the pool and it is engraved there as though it were made with an iron (note that this is a metaphor common to Metaphrast / Lippomano). Then, upon entering the pool, she baptizes herself:

Et descendens puella in concam inundantibus aquis, orauit ut sanctificaret aqua et submergens corpus se ipsam baptizauit in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. (book 1, chap. xxv, p. 5)

Antoninus of Florence knew a fourth version, which did not contain the miracle of the sign of the cross on the marble column. His version has another miracle, which is necessary for self-baptism: Barbara miraculously makes water appear (he does not say where) and baptizes herself. However, similarly to what he did in other cases, the Florentine archbishop warns his readers about the illegitimacy of the act:

Cumque ibi esset aqua oratione eius diuinitus procurata: seipsam in ea baptizauit. Hoc vtique factum est supra legem communem Ecclesiae de speciali priuilegio Dei, qui potentiã suam non alligauit sacramentis, ita quod nõ possit cum vult sine sacramentis hominẽ sanctificare. Nam de lege communi certũ est, quod nullus potest seipsum baptizare, nec talis est baptizatus extra de bap. debitum. (I, 522-523)

Antoninus' position in this respect is not clear. He is vehement in his pedagogical alert to the reader: only baptism administered by the Church is valid and no one who baptizes themselves is considered to be baptized. However, in reflection on the case of Barbara, whose self-baptism as a historical fact he does not question, those statements are ambiguous. On the one hand, he considers the saint to be the object of a special privilege from God, which presupposes that he accepts the validity of self-baptism; on the other hand, he says that God has the power to sanctify men even without receiving the sacraments and this presupposes that he does not consider self-baptism valid.

Therefore, among his sources, Diogo do Rosário had at his disposal four different versions of the baptism of Barbara to choose from:

- a) an orthodox sacramental baptism administered by a priest (Claudius of Rota);
- b) a non-baptism or baptism implied in the miracle of the sign of the cross on the marble column (Lippomano);
- c) a self-baptism preceded by the miracle of the sign of the cross (Peter of Natali);
- d) a self-baptism preceded by a miracle of producing water (Antoninus of Florence).

We would expect that, observing what the Council had said about this sacrament, Diogo do Rosário would choose Claudius of Rota's version. Surprisingly, his choice is that of a narrative with self-baptism, faithfully translating Antoninus' brief and ambiguous passage:

And being there, having water for her divine prayers sought, she was baptized in it. (This was done outside of the common law of the Church; for it is the special privilege of God, and He did not leave His power in the sacraments in such a way that he cannot justify us whenever he wants to without the sacraments. It is

common law that no one can baptize himself nor in that way will he be baptized.
18

How can we understand that the reforming hagiographer, who should adapt the legendary to the principles of Trent, conveys the idea that God can justify men without the sacraments, even when the Council pronounced itself on baptism as an instrumental cause of justification, “without which [cause] no one has justified themselves” (*O Sacrosanto...*, 109)? If Diogo do Rosário wanted to value only the exceptional character of Barbara’s baptism, nothing would prevent him from replacing the generalizing first person plural (“justify us”) with an exceptional third person (for example, “justify someone special”). It was certainly not due to a lack of alternative versions that Rosário chose Antoninus. The reason is quite to the contrary. He drew on this source only for the purpose to include this short excerpt. Everything else in his narrative comes from another source, which is not any of the other usual three sources, although there are elements that are common to all versions. Diogo do Rosário tells the story of the construction of the tower and it is here that the three windows are opened. There is no pool, but only a vague appearance of water, neither the miracle of the sign of the cross on the marble column, nor the episode of the shepherds. With the exception of Antoninus’ excerpt, there are no other sequences that reveal a direct translation from any of the usual sources. Rosário does not translate literally, so the narrative of interrogations, torments and Barbara’s death may come from both Claudius of Rota and Lippomano, as both essentially tell the same story. But there is a small prologue that denounces another probable provenance:

Eternal God is the true light, which illuminates every man who comes to this world and he is the father of the flames, who by his will orders everything as he pleases, and causes light to be born in darkness. This was manifested clearly in the virgin Barbara, as her story tells us.¹⁹

Only after this introduction does Diogo do Rosário start on the narrative, locating it in both time and space: “At the time of Emperor Maximian, in the city of Nicomedia, there was a man, noble by birth, and rich in wealth, by the name of Dioscorus, who had a daughter, by the name of Barbara...”²⁰ The *Biblioteca Hagiographica Latina (BHL)* records the *incipit* of thirty-four versions of the Saint Barbara *passio* (BHL 912-921). They all start with the location of the action, both in time and space, and not one of them contains this metaphorical introduction. There seems to be only one text that contains it: the *Leyenda de los Santos*, which represents the Castilian translation that was the origin of the Portuguese translation of the *Flos Sanctorum* of 1513:

God, who is true light and illuminates all men in this world, he who is light and the father of light, who by his will orders how much he wants and how he wants

¹⁸ “E ali estando, auêdo agoa per suas orações diuinamête procurada, nella se baptizou. (Isto foy feito fora da ley cômum da igreja, por especial priuilegio de Deos, que não atou de tal maneira o seu poder aos sacramêtos, que não possa quando quiser sem sacramêtos justificar nos: de ley cômum certo he que ninguê se pode baptizar nem o tal sera baptizado)” (I,10a).

¹⁹ “Deos eterno he a verdadeira luz, que illumina todo homê que vê neste mundo, e ele he o pay dos lumes, que por sua vontade ordena tudo como quer, e faz nacer a luz nas treuas. O qual se manifestou claramête na virgê sãcta Barbara, segundo sua historia nos declara.” (I, 10a).

²⁰ “No tempo do Emperador Maximiano ouue na cidade de Nicomedia hũ homem, em geraçam nobre, e em fazenda muito rico, per nome Dioscoro, que tinha hũa filha, per nome Barbara...” (I,10a).

it and gives birth to light in darkness, which we know was clearly shown in the virgin Santa Barbara.²¹

A literal translation of this introduction was undoubtedly in the Portuguese legendary of 1513, which lacks fl. 8, where it would have been found. By collating the extant text (about four columns on page 9) with the corresponding parts of the *Leyenda*, it appears that the Portuguese translator was limited to literally translating, with very few variants, the Castilian text. Thus, despite the lacuna in the *Flos Sanctorum*, we can say with a high degree of certainty that it contained the literal translation of the introduction that Fr. Diogo do Rosário reproduced with a few variants that are not enough to disguise the provenance. This was probably the reason why the source, which is not Antoninus cannot be openly declared, because it would call into question Rosário's initial program to amend the *Flos Sanctorum* that was printed in Portuguese and full of apocryphal texts.

It is important to ask what was Diogo do Rosário's motivation in his selection of sources. First, there are two criteria that balance each other out: neither too much extension nor too much brevity. Claudius of Rota and Lippomano were too long and Peter of Natali and Antoninus were too short. Diogo do Rosário wanted to maintain the balanced extent that the lives of saints had in the usual reading of lay people. His legendary intends to replace the one that was in use and, therefore, it is not only intended for preachers and priests but above all for the laity who adopted it, since at least 1513, for reading it at home. For this reason, the lives of the saints had to maintain their literary, "romanesques" (Delehay), and delightful qualities, but could not be too long because it would compromise the portability of the book. Therefore, Diogo do Rosário chose what was essential to the legend: the tower with three windows, which is one of the iconographic attributes for the saint is recognized for; martyrdom with its alternating sequence of interrogations, torments, her incarceration and miraculous healing by the presence of the angel of God until her beheading (an essential narrative sequence for the qualification of martyrdom); and Dioscorus' punishment, which underlies the popular notion of protection from storms. As for miracles, in addition to these two (her miraculous healing during torments and the punishment of her father), all of the other miracles found in the other sources were overlooked. This thus explains why the miracle of the shepherds, classified by Claudius of Rota as apocryphal, was excluded. The miracle of the sign of the cross on the column of the pool while it was under construction would not be consistent with the narrative of the baptism that Diogo do Rosário preferred, which is what gave rise to Antoninus' pedagogical warning and where there is no pool construction. In the *Flos Sanctorum* of 1513, the content of which we can conjecture from *Leyenda*, we read a long and detailed description of self-baptism:

And after that Saint Barbara went to some old baths that were carved very wonderfully. But there was no water in them and the virgin of God came and lay on the ground very devotedly before God in the form of a cross. And sighing with tears she said her prayer in this way: [...] make a water fountain come out of this place and let the living water come out of it that leads me to everlasting life; and by the virtue of the Trinity that is never defeated I deserve to be washed in body and soul of all dirt and idols and sins, so that without blemish and without sin I

²¹ "Dios que es verdadera lübre y alübra a todos los õbres deste mundo. el que es luz y padre de la lumbre que por su voluntad ordena quanto quiere: y como quiere: y faze nacer la lumbre en las tiniebras. lo qual conocemos que fue mostrado claramente en la virgẽ sancta barbara." (10a).

will deserve to appear before your face benignly, you who reign and live forever. She barely finished saying this when a living, clear source soon appeared and everything she asked for was fulfilled. [...] she rose from the ground with great joy and went to the source and knelt twice at its entrance and prayed to God saying: Lord Jesus Christ, who consented to be baptized at the hands of Saint John the Baptist in the River Jordan, so that by the touch of your very clean flesh you will be able to create spiritually, bless this water in such a way that in the name of the Holy Trinity I deserve to take in the holy sacrament of holy baptism. And having said this, she undressed and entered it and so she baptized herself in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit amen. And in this way, she deserved to be a Christian through the baptism of both the angel and the Holy Spirit.²²

There is a justification for the appearance of water mentioned by Antoninus: this is not a newly built pool, but old baths without water. This shows that the source for the translator of Compilation B (Aragüés Aldaz) of Iberian legendaries was one that Antoninus knew, since they share this miracle of “divinely sought” water. The ritualization and dramatization make this a very suggestive and attractive episode, whose potential for emulation with the laity should not be left to chance. Furthermore, this is the version of the Life of Saint Barbara that the usual readers of legendaries – that is, the readers of the *Flos Sanctorum* of 1513 – know and, if it can inspire less appropriate behavior the best strategy would not be to simply ignore it. In this case, reforming the legend does not mean replacing a version that has a seductive auto-baptism with another version that does not have auto-baptism; it does mean integrating the potentially disturbing element, pointing out its exceptionality (made “by the special privilege of God”) and warning that “common law” applies to the common faithful people, so that “no one can baptize himself nor in that way will he be baptized.” It is very possible that our compiler has undervalued the doctrinal ambiguity of Antoninus’ text in order to value above all the warning about the danger that those who were tempted to imitate Barbara would encounter. Thus, Diogo do Rosário activates the pedagogical potential that hagiography has traditionally always had and which Trent confirms, declaring the invocation of the saints to achieve the benefits of God that are good and useful (*O sacrosanto...*, 349) and recommending those who are in the profession of teaching to diligently instruct the faithful (*O Sacrosanto...*, 347; Jedin, 280). This is exactly what the Dominican friar does. The option for self-baptism, in the terms that Antoninus uses to

²² “E despues desto sancta barbara fue se pera vnos vaños antiguos labrados mucho a marauilla: èpero no auia enellos agua. e vino la virgen de dios y echo se en terra muy deuotamente ante dios en manera de cruz. y sospirãdo con lagrimas fizo su oraciõ enesta manera [...] faz salir vna fuente de agua eneste lugar: y salga ende agua viua que me enderece pera la vida perdurable. y por la virtud de la trinidad que nunca se vence. en que merezca ser lauada el cuerpo y el anima de toda suziedad: y delos ydolos: y de los peccados: en manera que sin mãzilla y sin peccado merezca perescer àte la tu cara benignamente. tu que viues y reynas pera siempre jamas mal ouo dicho esto quando luego perescio ay vna fuente viua y clara. y fue complido todo lo que demãdo. [...] leuanto se de terra con grand alegria y fuese ala fuente. y finco dos vezes las rodillas ante la su entrada y fizo su oraciõ a dios e dixo Señor ihesu christo que consentiste ser baptizado de las manos de sant juan baptista enel rio de jordan. por tal que por el tañimiento de la tu carne muy limpia dieses a las aguas virtud de engẽdrar spiritualmente santigua esta agua en tal manera que enel nombre de la sancta trinidad merezca tomar enella el sancto sacramento del sancto baptismo. e esto dicho despojo se. y entro enella. y asi se baptizou. enel nõbre del padre y del fijo e del spiritu sancto amen. y enesta manera merescio ser christiana: por el baptismo tã biẽ del angel como del spiritu sancto” (*Leyenda*, 10b-d)

report and comment on it, does not present itself as a compromise to the heterodox tradition but, on the contrary, it configures a strategy for the prevention of heterodox behaviors that does not ignore or invalidate the hagiographic knowledge of its readers; instead, it is concerned with pedagogically framing it in an orthodox reading. Having fulfilled this function, there is no danger in adopting an introduction of evident aesthetic and doctrinal value, based on the traditional antithesis of light and darkness as a metaphor for Christianity's victory over paganism – these are metaphors that are particularly suggestive in the case of Barbara, a useful intercessor who can tame the nefarious lightning and replace it with sunlight filtered through three windows in a tower, like the three persons of the Trinity.

3. Christina, goddaughter of Jesus Christ

Christina is the third saint to be baptized in unusual circumstances. In fact, her baptism could give this sacrament an inconvenient image, as it dispenses with both priestly mediation and godparents, since it is administered by Jesus Christ himself, who descends from heaven for this purpose, after the martyr had been thrown into the sea by her father with a stone around her neck:

Christ went down to her and baptized her in the sea, saying: I baptize you in the name of my father and in the name of mine who am his son, and of the Holy Spirit, and commissioned her to the archangel Saint Michael, who put her on the ground.²³

The fact that Christ's intervention is not witnessed by anyone other than the baptized person could possibly be problematic if it inspires emulation statements. Let us consider that, during this period, the first cases of "living saints" began to appear, which had a significant expression in the seventeenth century and was strongly influenced by hagiographic readings.²⁴ These readings could easily slide into heterodoxy if they were not properly accompanied by confessors and spiritual directors. However, this danger does not seem to affect the spirit of Fr. Diogo do Rosário. What gave rise to his justification is the material improbability of the episode:

What we have said of her baptism is something to marvel at, but it is neither incredible nor impossible to the One who can do all things, and can, above the common law, justify men. Vincent in the *Speculum historiale* says that this is to be believed piously.²⁵

What is at stake here is the historical credibility of baptism, the fact that it is "something to marvel at," and is potentially unbelievable because it subverts the rules of "common law" and even those of nature. This rational doubt, which could arise in the reader's mind, is anticipated by a conservative response, which is then validated by an

²³ "Christo desceu a ela e a baptizou no mar dizendo. Eu te baptizo no nome de meu padre e no nome meu que sam seu filho, e do spirito sancto: e encomendou ha ao arcanjo sam Miguel. o qual a pos em terra." (II-61b).

²⁴ In the second half of the sixteenth century, there are records of the cases of Margarida de Chaves († 1575), Elvira de Mendonça († 1575), Melícia Fernandez († 1585) and Catarina da Costa († 1593) (Fernandes 2000, 37). On the "living saints" of this period, see Fernandes 1994.

²⁵ "Ho que dissemos do seu baptismo he cousa pera maravilhar, mas nã he incrediuel, nem impossuiel aaquele que todalas cousas pode, e pode sobre a ley commum justificar os homens. Uicente no specul. histori. diz, que se ha de creer isto piedosamente." (II-61d)

authority (Vincent of Beauvais), and also the same exceptionality that had already served Barbara's baptism: the power of God is invoked to justify men according to His will, without limits or impediments.

Could this justificatory digression be a principle of rationalist criticism that was born from the Tridentine spirit, which sought to contain hagiographic excesses? What we already know about Diogo do Rosário's method advises us to investigate the sources before attributing credit to him for this excerpt.

Christina's legend is essentially a double of Barbara's legend.²⁶ Although there is some evidence of a cult of a saint by this name in Bolsena, Italy, already in the fourth century, the *passio* does not appear prior to the ninth century, and seems to have been composed in order to fill in the gap regarding the martyr²⁷. Jacopo of Varazze transmits her legend (chap. 94, cls. 47-41, I-646-649), taking it from the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (book XIII, chaps. 86-89). Claudius of Rota (76d-77b) reproduces Jacopo of Varazze's version almost without variants. Peter of Natali (141c-d) and Antoninus (533a-534a) have exactly the same report as the previous ones, only with textual variants. Only Lippomano did not include the so-called martyr of Tyre in his *Historiae*. The narrative of the baptism by Diogo do Rosário could have been translated by any of these authors, but he only indicates two: Antoninus and Claudius of Rota. They all date back to Vincent of Beauvais, directly or indirectly, and Antoninus' claim to justify this unusual baptism seems to confirm it:

De baptismo eius mirandum est, nec tamen incredibile, vel Deo impossibile, quia omnia potest et supra legem communem homines iustificare. Vincen. in spe. hist. hoc dicit piè credendum. (534a)

However, Antoninus' quote from Beauvais ("hoc dicit piè credendum") is not found in chapters 86-89 of book XIII of the *Speculum* or in any other chapter in the history by the Belovacense. It is the expression in approximate terms of a principle by the author, which he presents in chapter 79 of the eighth book, to justify the narrative of the Dormition of Mary in the preceding chapter, as it comes among the works listed as apocryphal in the pseudo-Gelasian Decree (Dobschütz, 12; Mimouni):

Hec hystoria licet inter apocriphas scripturas reputetur pia tamen esse videtur ad credendum et credentibus utilis ad legendum.

Once again, Diogo do Rosário chooses a source; he chooses Antoninus because there he finds the critical work already available. It was enough to literally translate this fifteenth-century source to obtain a text that has the appearance of critical validity. In fact, Diogo do Rosário does nothing more than place himself in a chain of Dominican hagiographic transmission, which goes from Vincent of Beauvais, through Jacopo of Varazze, Claudius of Rota, to Antoninus of Florence. The criticism is, however, nothing rationalistic, since it is limited to refuting the distrust that could emerge in the reader's mind with an unbeatable argument such as God's omnipotence.

It is relevant to consider how Diogo do Rosário understood the term "iustificare," taking into account the centrality that the doctrine of justification had in the discussions of Trent. In fact, since this doctrine is one of the main dividing points between Luther and

²⁶ On the concept of hagiographic double see De Gaiffier and Dolbeau.

²⁷ On the hagiographic *dossier* of Saint Christina, see Reames. See also *BHL* 1748-1762.

the Catholic Church, the Tridentine priests established a doctrine according to which justification is obtained by faith, through the sacrament of baptism, but requires a process in which divine grace intervenes in an “exciting and auxiliary” way and the free will of men, who cooperate with grace in the practice of good works. Neither grace nor human will alone are sufficient to achieve this justification.²⁸ There seems to be no reflection of this issue in the passive reproduction that Diogo do Rosário made of Antoninus’ critical comment, where justification seems to be merely a synonym for sanctification in the most hagiographic sense of the term – that is, as a divine expression of a character’s exceptionality as a saint predestined by God.

Thus, the martyr Christina is, in the legendary of 1567, exactly the same figure that the Middle Ages consecrated: a saint who can represent, as *antonomasia*, the Christian who is named with the name of Christ and baptized in the seawater, in a spectacular and epic episode, where the instrument of death (the sea) is subverted and transformed into life, just as baptism transforms the sinner into the just. In the legend of Christina, we find an impressive narrative about the symbolic and sacramental value of baptism.

Conclusion

As a hagiographic compiler who intended to be reformist and who had promised to review and amend the lives of the saints, Fr. Diogo do Rosário’s behavior can be considered as a little disconcerting, since the trait that appears most clearly in his work is conservatism. With regard to the treatment of the *corpus*, he is essentially an integrator, more willing to admit and justify disturbing elements than to ignore them or eliminate them entirely. As it has already been shown in other studies on this legendary, the author’s critical potential is also manifested here only in the observation of formal condemnations and in the reproduction of critical comments by others.

The articulation of a clear position on baptism, which clearly reflected Tridentine concerns, was not evident. In fact, not only is female preaching not a problem, but potentially heterodox elements, such as self-baptism, do not raise doctrinal doubts. It is possible that this tranquility was influenced by the doctrine that was already current regarding baptism in extreme circumstances and in the event of extreme need. In fact, it established the *Catechism or Christian Doctrine and Spiritual Practices*, ordered by Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires in Braga, for António de Mariz, in 1564, that every Christian should know the words correctly for baptism “so that, if necessary, when there is no one else to baptize, he can complete the rite”²⁹ This will be confirmed in the Roman Catechism, which, in the year prior to the publication of the legendary, had been printed by the son of Aldo Manucio;³⁰ in the Roman Catechism we find detailed rules

²⁸ “aquelles, que pelos peccados estavão apartados de Deos, pela sua graça excitante, e adjuvante se disponhão para se converter para sua propria justificação, assentindo, e cooperando livremente com a mesma graça. Em fôrma, que tocando Deos o coração do homem com a illustração do Espirito Santo, nem o homem deixe de obrar recebendo aquella inspiração, pois a pôde rejeitar; nem tambem sem a graça de Deos, pela sua vontade livre, se pode mover a ser justo na presença do Senhor.” (Chapter IV, of sixth session: I, 101-103).

²⁹ “para que, acontecendo caso de necessidade, onde não houver outro que baptize, possa ele suprir” (*Catechismo ou Doutrina Christã & Praticas spirituais*, fl. 91).

³⁰ *Catechismus, ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, ad parochos, Pii Quinti Pontifex Maximus iussu editus*, Roma, Paulo Manutium, 1566. In the history of the composition of this catechism, emanating from the Council and addressed to the priests responsible for the ministry of the sacraments, the Portuguese Dominican Fr. Francisco Foreiro (1522?-1581) played a key role. Included in the team of theologians sent by king Sebastião in 1561 to participate in the Council, he was appointed secretary of the Board of

established on the ministry of baptism, which define its essential and accessory elements and rank the agents who can minister it (*Cathecismum*, 176-219): in case of urgency, everyone can baptize, that is, all people, including lay people, men and women, whatever their religion.³¹ It is plausible that the knowledge of these two Catechisms framed Diogo do Rosário's notion of the convenience or inconvenience of less-common baptisms performed in extraordinary situations.

In the mind of the compiler, there seems to be a delimitation of the boundary between the hagiographic plane, which represents a more or less epic past, and its contemporary human plane of practices and customs. In the epic plane of the saints, everything is possible because the Almighty God wanted it or granted it exceptionally. Therefore, the female saints can preach, baptize themselves, be personally baptized by Jesus Christ, and all of this can be believed on the basis of the omnipotence of God and the exceptionality granted to the saints. The men of their time, however, must imitate the virtues of the saints but they must not expect the same exceptionality and they must observe the common law, which is the law of the Church.

Prohibited Books. He attracted the attention of the priests with various interventions on the sacraments and was entrusted with the sermon on the first Sunday of Advent in 1563, when the Council was about to close. The good impression that this sermon caused led to it being printed in 1564 (Carreira). He was part of the group appointed by Pius IV for the writing of the Catechism (Carreira 1999: 129-131, Faria 1984: 586-588). About this Portuguese theologian, see Rosário 1984. Only in 1590 was the Portuguese translation of the Roman Catechism published by Father Cristóvão de Matos, by order of the Archbishop of Lisbon D. Miguel de Castro (*Catechismo Romano do papa pio quinto de gloriosa memoria nouamente tresladado de latim em lingoagem*, Lisboa António Álvares, 1590). However, if this translation may have been important for the parish priests' application of the doctrine and the praxis established in the Catechism, it would undoubtedly be dispensable to Fr. Diogo do Rosário, who could read it in Latin in the 1566 edition and whose personal acquaintancy with Fr. Francisco Foreiro can be assumed, given the relevant status that both Rosário and Fr. Francisco Foreiro held in the Order of Preachers.

³¹ "Extremus ordo illorum est, qui, cogente necessitate, sine sollempnibus caerimoniis baptizari possunt: quo in numero sunt omnes, etiã de populo, siue mares, siue feminae, quãcumque illi sectam profiteantur." (*Cathecismum*, 190).

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