THE PASSION OF PERPETUA

A Latin Text of the
Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis
with Running Vocabulary and Commentary
THE EXPERRECTA SERIES

Women Latin Authors

Volume 1: The Passion of Perpetua

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We would also like to express our gratitude to several people who provided inspiration for different aspects of this volume. Among the leaders in bringing to light Latin texts written by women, we would especially like to highlight the work of Laurie Churchill, Phyllis Brown, and Jane Jeffrey (Women Writing Latin); Joan Ferrante (epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu); Skye Shirley (skyeshirley.com); and Jane Stevenson (Women Latin Poets). Carlos Noreña provided a model for student-teacher co-publication in the humanities. Dickinson College Commentaries, Eleanor Arnold (latinteachertoolbox.com), Faenum Publishing, and Geoffrey Steadman (geoffreysteadman.com) have led the way in offering open-access editions of Greek and Latin texts for students.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to Geoffrey Steadman in particular. Steadman was among the first to grasp the possibilities of print-on-demand publishing for classical works. In addition, his preferred format (a text with running vocabulary and commentary) anticipated the current trend of prioritizing ease of comprehension so that students can benefit from reading extensively. Steadman provided us not just inspiration but material aid: the foundation of this project was a text and running vocabulary that he had created for his own publications but generously passed on for us to use.

Finally, we would like to thank the many friends and family members who helped us and supported us over the course of this last year. The global pandemic has made it a hard year for all, and we are especially grateful for the members of our various overlapping communities, whose care has allowed this project to flourish even in these difficult times.
ABOUT THE EXPERRECTA SERIES

Women have written a good deal of Latin literature, but there are very few editions of that literature geared to student use. The goal of the Experrecta series is to create student editions of Latin texts written by women. The aim of each edition is to assist students in reading the works of these authors in the original Latin. To that end, each edition will include help with the author’s vocabulary and grammar, as well as an introduction to provide historical background on her life and works. Our primary focus will be those authors for whom there are no student editions available, though we will also produce editions of those few women authors whose works do exist in student editions if we feel that we can improve on those editions in some way. We have decided to start with Vibia Perpetua since she was among the first women to write a surviving Latin work. The name of the series comes from Perpetua herself. In Perpetua’s narrative she recounts a series of visions, each of which ends with the phrase *Et experrēcta sum* (“And I awoke”). This series will be populated by texts that have long been slumbering and are now waking to a new dawn and a new readership in Latin classrooms.
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Joint authorship is uncommon in the humanities. A byline with ten names might well prompt questions, so we wanted to say a few words about our methods.

This book is the culmination of a project undertaken in an advanced Latin course at Stanford Online High School in the academic year 2020–2021. Hendrickson taught the course and organized the project. Geoffrey Steadman provided the Latin text, for which he had already added macrons and drawn up a preliminary running vocabulary. (Steadman declined an authorship credit.) Hendrickson divided the text into nine sections, and each student (Donato, Engargiola, Gendreau-Distler, Hasapis, Nguyen, Pant, Podila, Riordan, and Thompson) became section editor for one section of the text. As a first stage in the project, section editors checked the macrons in their sections. The macrons had been added through a software program (alatius.com/macronizer) which was generally effective but did need corrections. As a second stage, students revised the vocabulary in their sections. As a third stage, each section editor wrote a commentary for their section, deciding what needed to be explained in the text and how to explain it. Section editors also provided peer review for each other after every stage of the project, and Hendrickson provided a final round of revisions. Hendrickson wrote the Introduction, which the students then revised in turn. Given this truly collaborative effort, a shared byline seemed the most appropriate way to describe the authorship of this edition.
INTRODUCTION

I. THE PURPOSE OF THIS EDITION

Perpetua was a young African woman who fell in with an obscure religious sect that must have seemed to outsiders like a kind of death-cult. She was arrested around the year 203 CE along with several other practitioners on unspecified charges, and it appears that her group was believed to pose a threat to the safety of the larger community. Given the opportunity to renounce the group and walk free, Perpetua chose execution in the arena.

The Passiō, an account of her death, includes Perpetua’s prison diary, in which the already-radicalized woman describes her progressive alienation from her family. Perpetua was a prophet and a leader in her sect, and her narrative describes a series of visions: a ladder rigged with lacerating blades and tearing hooks, the torment of a family member, and a final climactic vision in which she becomes a man and fights hand-to-hand against the devil. Transgressive, radical, and determined to face down a violent death: Perpetua is a formidable figure.

Perpetua was a Christian. Her beliefs would have seemed strange and alarming to many in the high Roman empire, a fact that can be easy to forget in the modern day, given that Christianity is relatively well-known and mainstream in most English-speaking countries. We have created this edition with the hope of better understanding Perpetua in the context of her own place and time.¹

The Passiō is an ideal text for students. One immediate advantage of the Passiō is the relative simplicity of the prose. Sentences are generally short and grammatically straightforward, which makes it easier for students to read substantial portions and thereby build their familiarity with the Latin language. Indeed, one of our

¹ We do not mean to suggest that we are the first to see how radical Perpetua was in her own context (on which, see e.g., Gold 2018, Cooper 2011, and Shaw 1993). Rather, we mean to bring this aspect of her character, well known to the scholarly world, to a student audience.
guiding pedagogical principles is that student time is spent more effectively reading and comprehending Latin than it is flipping through a dictionary or a grammar book. As such, we offer vocabulary and grammatical help directly on each page.

The Passió is also an ideal text for students because Perpetua’s voice makes a distinct contribution to the canon of Latin authors. Perpetua was almost certainly from a wealthy background, but as an African woman and a member of a then-minority religion, she presents us with a different perspective from the ones we usually see in ancient Latin texts. Her narrative is among the earliest pieces of Latin prose written by a woman. It is also the perspective of a member of an unpopular religious minority, a minority that was in the process of going mainstream, but that, at least in Perpetua’s time and place, involved radical practices like female leadership and a seemingly fanatical embrace of suffering and death.

Moreover, Perpetua is a useful figure for thinking about Roman culture precisely because she is a boundary-crosser. She was a woman who defied her father and defied the expectations placed on her as a daughter and a mother. She also defied the religious traditions of the mainstream community by refusing to sacrifice to the gods and the emperors. This refusal would have been seen as politically subversive and as risking real, material danger by alienating the community from the gods’ goodwill. Perpetua’s narrative provides an ideal jumping-off point for discussions about gender, class, religion, race, and social order in the Roman world.

This introductory chapter seeks to provide students with background information about the Passió. We have tried to make each section of the introduction intelligible on its own, since students might read different sections as needed rather than the whole start-to-finish. As such, there is necessarily some occasional repetition from section to section.

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2 Clyde Pharr made this point in his justification for providing an on-page vocabulary for his 1930 edition of the Aeneid, and research on language acquisition has certainly reinforced this approach.

3 It is worth noting, however, that Cooper (2011) argues that Perpetua came from a non-elite background (for more, see Introduction IV.A).
II. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PASSIŌ

This book is an edition of the full work in which Perpetua’s narrative comes down to us, which has traditionally been called the Passiō Sāncērūm Perpetuæ et Félicitātis (The Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicity). This work contains, or purports to contain, the writings of three authors: Perpetua, whose narrative takes up chapters 3–10; Satyrus, one of Perpetua’s companions, whose narrative is chapters 11.2–13.8; and an embedding narrative frame by an anonymous editor whom we refer to as the “Redactor” (chapters 1–2, 11.1, and 14–21). Felicity was an enslaved woman who was arrested and executed with Perpetua. She did not author any portion of the work, and her name in the title probably reflects her prominence in the narrative: she fears that her pregnancy might keep her from execution (and therefore martyrdom), and she miraculously undergoes a premature labor (ch. 15). Felicity’s name in the title may also reflect the co-celebration of Perpetua and Felicity on the same feast day (March 7) in Christian communities.

The Redactor claims to have collected and presented verbatim the narrative “written by Perpetua’s own hand, showing her own perspective” (ch. 2.3), and likewise Satyrus’s narrative “which he himself wrote up” (ch. 11.1). Yet there is some question as to whether the Redactor might have not just collected these narratives, but edited them as well. At the very least, the Redactor added inquit (“she/he said”) as the second word of each narrative to mark the transition to a new speaker (ch. 3.1, 11.2). There is debate as to whether the Redactor might have made other alterations to the text as well.6

Indeed, it has even been argued that Perpetua never existed, and that the Redactor composed her narrative. A frequently cited reason for doubt is that conditions in Roman prisons could be atrocious, which calls into question whether someone could write a lengthy narrative there.7 Yet Perpetua might have dictated the narrative.

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4 We translate the Latin word passiō here as “passion,” but the word has other relevant meanings, such as “endurance” and “suffering.”
5 This title goes back to the first print edition in 1663, but a similar title is found in most of the manuscripts (see the apparatus in Heffernan 2012: 104), and it might be more useful to think of this name as a description rather than a title in the modern sense.
6 Heffernan (1995) argues for several possible editorial insertions.
7 Gold (2018: 15–18) surveys various arguments for and against Perpetua’s authorship of her narrative.
tive to one of her many guests (ch. 9.1), and in addition she describes the prison as having better and worse places—the former being available for a bribe (ch. 3.5–8).

Other scholars have expressed some doubts about the Passio’s authorship without going so far as directly asserting that the Redactor must have written the whole: Perkins (2007) argues that the descriptions of childbirth and nursing in the Passio seem to dramatize contemporary theological debates about whether Jesus had real, physical flesh and a real, physical birth; Adams (2016: 337–339) notes that Perpetua, Satyrus, and the Redactor share a linguistic tick in their usage of *ille / illa / illud* as an unemphatic pronoun (on this see Introduction VI.II).8 Yet the descriptions of childbirth and nursing could be both true and symbolically significant; moreover, Perpetua and Satyrus likely come from the same speech community as the Redactor, making it unsurprising that they would share some linguistic features. As a final point, it seems unlikely that the Redactor wrote the entire text, given that his portrayal of Perpetua is at odds with her portrayal of herself.

The Redactor clearly tried both to capitalize on Perpetua’s extraordinariness and at the same time to tone down the most radical aspects of her character, as Shaw (1993) first argued. The Redactor is deeply concerned with convincing readers that the Holy Spirit is still active in the world, and that it is bringing about visions and prophecies (see especially ch. 1 and 21). Perpetua’s visions make her a compelling illustration of this belief. And yet the Redactor also attempts to present Perpetua as conforming to traditional gender expectations, such as when he writes that when her clothes were torn in the arena, she stopped to cover her thigh, “more mindful of her propriety (*pudor*) than of her pain” (ch. 20.4).9 Whatever one can say about Perpetua, she does not seem mindful of her propriety. She argues with her father and defies his wishes (ch. 3, 5–6, 9), she undermines the wellbeing of her family (ch. 5.4), and she is even apparently ready to abandon her son to death (ch. 5.3). Indeed, she repeatedly inverts the power structure of gender hierarchies. She uses language throughout that portrays her metaphorically as a

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8 See also the broader analysis of the linguistic differences between the narratives at Adams 2016: 342–351.

9 The Redactor’s description of Perpetua here is especially suspect because there was a description of an identical action in a well-known play of Euripides (*Hecuba* 568–70). In the play Polyxena, a Trojan princess, covers her body in modesty while she is being killed as a human sacrifice to the ghost of Achilles.
wrestler, grappling with male authority figures and casting them down. In her final vision she even sees herself becoming a man and engaging in a wrestling match with the devil (ch. 10). It would seem strange for the Redactor to have invented Perpetua when he seems to wish she were different than she was.

III. SUMMARY OF THE PASSIÔ

In order to help students better navigate this introduction and the Latin text itself, we provide here a short summary of the Passiô.

**Chapters 1–2: The Redactor’s Preface**

The Redactor begins by presenting the purpose of sharing this story: so that people will see that the Holy Spirit is still active in the world and still granting prophecies and visions (ch. 1). He then provides a bit of brief background information: that Perpetua was arrested along with four others, named Revocatus, Felicity, Saturninus, and Secundulus (ch. 2). All five were “catechumens,” that is, students of Christianity who had not yet been formally initiated into the religion through baptism.¹⁰

**Chapters 3–10: Perpetua’s Narrative**

Perpetua begins her narrative by recounting an argument she had with her father while under house arrest (ch. 3). He wants her to abandon Christianity, but she replies that she cannot be other than she is: a Christian. Perpetua and her companions are then baptized, and sometime later they are taken to prison. Perpetua has a brief visit from her mother and brother, and she decides to keep her infant son in prison with her.

When one of her fellow prisoners asks her for a prophecy about their fate, Perpetua receives a vision in her sleep: a bronze ladder to heaven, full of danger (ch. 4). The ladder has already been climbed by Satyrus, who had been teaching the catechumens and who had turned himself in after their arrest. When Perpetua climbs

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¹⁰ For more on the terms “catechumen” and “baptism,” see Introduction V.A. For the legal status of Christianity in Perpetua’s day, see Introduction V.B.
the ladder she finds a gray-haired shepherd who gives her a bite of food. She wakes up and interprets this vision as foretelling her death.

Perpetua’s father then visits her in prison, again seeking to dissuade her (ch. 5). He points out the harm she will inflict on her family, both because they love her and because they will become suspect themselves. Perpetua is resolute.

Perpetua then receives her trial (ch. 6). The procurator asks Perpetua to perform a sacrifice for the health and safety of the emperors. (At the time, Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla were joint emperors). She refuses. He asks if she is a Christian. She affirms it. He condemns her to be thrown to the beasts, and her father takes away her son.

Perpetua then receives a vision of her brother Dinocrates, who had died in childhood (ch. 7). In the vision Dinocrates is being tormented in the afterlife. He thirsts and there is a pool of water, but he is unable to reach it. Perpetua prays for Dinocrates, confident that she can help him. She is also transferred to a military prison where she will fight at Games held in celebration of Geta, son of Septimius Severus and younger brother of Caracalla.

Perpetua receives another vision of Dinocrates (ch. 8). He is now refreshed, and he drinks and plays in the water.

The warden of Perpetua’s military prison, Pudens, is deeply impressed by Perpetua and her companions (ch. 9). Perpetua’s father visits her for a final time, grieving and in utter despair. Perpetua feels sorry for him but stands firm.

On the night before the Games, Perpetua receives a final vision, in a dream as always (ch. 10). She sees herself in the arena, preparing to fight. Her clothes are stripped off and she becomes a man. She fights against a mysterious Egyptian, over whom she is victorious. She awakes and concludes that she will be fighting against the devil.
Chapters 11–13: Satyrus’s Narrative

The Redactor now introduces the narrative of Satyrus, whom Perpetua had mentioned as her teacher. Satyrus recounts a vision of the afterlife, in which angels bring him and Perpetua to a heavenly garden where they see other martyrs who had died previously (ch. 11). Angels then bring Satyrus and Perpetua before the throne of God (ch. 12). Finally, Satyrus and Perpetua encounter a bickering bishop and priest, whose dispute Perpetua mediates (ch. 13).

Chapters 14–21: The Redactor Describes the Fate of Perpetua and her Companions

The Redactor concludes the visions of Perpetua and Satyrus, then recounts some stories of their time in prison, beginning by noting the death of a martyr named Secundulus who died while incarcerated (ch. 14). The Redactor then recounts the story of Felicity, an enslaved woman who was arrested with Perpetua (ch. 15). Felicity was eight months pregnant, and she feared that her pregnancy would delay her execution. She wanted to die along with her companions, but the law did not allow pregnant women to be executed. Her fellow Christians were also saddened and they prayed for her. She then went into labor prematurely. The Redactor tells a story of Perpetua confronting their jailer over the conditions in the prison; the jailer relents (ch. 16). The Redactor also describes their last meal in prison, which they turn into a Feast of Love (ch. 17; for the term see Introduction V.A).

Finally, the Redactor narrates the day of the Games (ch. 18–21). Perpetua and her companions enter the arena; Perpetua convinces the tribune not to force them to wear costumes (ch. 18). The Redactor describes the mauling of Saturninus, Revocatus, and Satyrus, who are attacked by various animals (ch. 19). The Redactor also describes the mauling of Perpetua and Felicity, who make a final stand together (ch. 20). The Redactor ends by describing the death of Satyrus, who directed his last words to the warden Pudens, now converted to Christianity, and the Redactor describes the death of Perpetua, who grabbed a gladiator’s sword and pulled it into her throat (ch. 21).
IV. PEOPLE IN THE \textit{PASSIÔ}\textsuperscript{11}

A. Perpetua

Perpetua had a multifaceted identity. She was (probably) from a high-status background, she was a woman with a complex gender identity, she was an African Roman, and she was a Christian. This section of the introduction will explore the evidence about Perpetua’s background.

Our only knowledge about Perpetua comes from the text of the \textit{Passiô} itself. In introducing Perpetua, the Redactor provides the following information (ch. 2.1–3):

\begin{quote}
...Vibia Perpetua, respectably born, liberally educated, lawfully wed, having a father and mother and two brothers, one of whom was, like her, a catechumen, and an infant son at her breasts. She was around 22 years old.
\end{quote}

The Redactor’s description has aroused some doubts. The Redactor is at pains to emphasize Perpetua’s elite status, and yet there are hints that the picture does not quite add up. If she had been “respectably born,” how can it be that a Roman official summarily ordered her father to be beaten, given that citizens could not receive corporal punishment without a trial? If Perpetua herself were a citizen, how could she have been sentenced to be thrown to the beasts, a method of execution usually reserved for non-citizens? If she were “lawfully wed,” why is her son returned to her family rather than her husband’s, as required by Roman law? And where is that husband anyway? Perpetua herself never mentions him once.

Due to questions like these, Cooper (2011) has suggested that the Redactor cannot be trusted on Perpetua’s background. If she were a woman of lower status, many of these problems would be solved.

And yet, these problems might not require such a drastic conclusion. After all, the Roman official might have been overstepping his bounds in having Perpetua’s father beaten, or perhaps Perpetua is exaggerating the confrontation. And it might

\textsuperscript{11} For more information on the people in the \textit{Passiô}, see Heffernan 2012: 3–59.
have been the case that Perpetua had been offered a different form of execution but preferred to be thrown to the beasts, which would both keep her with her fellow Christians (clearly a priority, see ch. 15.2–3) and offer her a public demonstration of her resolve. It also weighs in favor of her elite status that she was clearly “liberally educated,” given that she spoke Greek (ch. 13.4), made allusions to Plato (ch. 3.1–2), and authored her own narrative. This is not to say that the Redactor is necessarily to be believed in claiming elite status for Perpetua; rather, it is simply the more likely option, though the conclusion is not without its problems.

Whatever her class status, Perpetua was clearly in a position of leadership among her fellow Christians. She was a prophet, and when one of her companions in jail asks her to foretell whether they will be killed or released (ch. 4.1), Perpetua responds that she speaks with the Lord and that she has no doubt she can receive a vision to learn the future (ch. 4.2); her prayers can evidently release someone from suffering in the afterlife (ch. 7–8); Satyrus depicts Perpetua as mediating a dispute between a priest and a bishop in his vision (ch. 13.1–4); and the Redactor describes Perpetua speaking on behalf of her companions in disputes with state officials (ch. 16.2–4, 18.4–6).

In addition to her leadership, one of Perpetua’s most striking characteristics is her resolve. Perpetua’s father and Hilarianus the procurator both urge her to desist from her path and to consider the pain and hardship she will inflict on her loving family (ch. 5–6). She grieves for their pain, but she does not for a moment flinch in her determination. Indeed, Perpetua and her companions joyfully embrace suffering and death. When sentenced to be thrown to the beasts, a death that is terrifying, painful, and humiliating, Perpetua reports that she and her companions were in cheerful high-spirits (hilarēs, ch. 6.6). The Redactor likewise describes them as rejoicing when they learn that they will be brutally scourged before their execution (ch. 18.9). Yet Perpetua stands apart from the rest. She is so fierce that when a novice gladiator’s hand trembles as he tries to kill her, she grabs the sword herself and pulls it into her throat. “Perhaps such a woman could not have been killed otherwise,” concludes the Redactor (ch. 21.10), “than if she herself had willed it.”
Perpetua’s leadership and resolve are all the more unusual for the time because they defied gender-based expectations. Indeed, given that Romans saw strength and power as masculine characteristics, a woman who was strong and powerful would be seen as acting male, and might see herself as such. In that sense, Perpetua is gender non-conforming even apart from her final vision, in which she becomes male even while remaining female (facta sum masculus, ch. 10.7). Perpetua is not unique here; there is a larger phenomenon of women in the early Christian world being said to “become male,” a notion that could entail the rejection of a range of expected female characteristics or behaviors in favor of male characteristics and behaviors. “Becoming male” might sometimes be a source of criticism, as a transgression of boundaries, but it might also be a source of praise, as transcending a state deemed to be inferior (that is, being a woman). To be clear, Perpetua sees herself as a woman throughout the narrative, and she foregrounds her motherhood and nursing. That said, it is also clear that she presents some of her actions and traits as masculine, and clear that some contemporaries were bothered by this violation of gender norms.

Perpetua was an African Roman, and modern students might well wonder whether she was Black. The question is a complex one. First, it is worth noting that there is a risk of anachronism in using modern racial categories to describe ancient people, and skin-color was not a primary marker of race in the ancient Mediterranean. Yet if we look at race as a social construction rather than a biological fact, the study of racial formation can shed critical light on the history of the ancient Mediterranean, as McCoskey (2012) and others have shown. A second reason for caution is that even in the modern world the term “Black” does not have fixed and absolute boundaries, and the term sometimes includes and sometimes excludes the Berber and Semitic peoples of North Africa. For our part, we do not feel that it is

12 For more detail on Perpetua and gender, see Gold 2018: 23–46.
13 This gender non-conformity, it should be noted, is distinct from sexual orientation, although some have speculated about the relationship between Perpetua and Felicity, largely on the basis of the absent husbands and on Perpetua and Felicity standing together in the face of death. Boswell (1994: 139–161), for instance, suggests that they might have been perceived as a couple in early Christian communities, and in the modern day the two have been embraced by many in the LGBTQ Christian community.
14 For more on the rhetoric of “becoming male” in early Christian texts, see Gold 2018: 37–39.
our place to claim Perpetua as Black (nor to deny it). A further complication is that it is not clear whether Perpetua was descended from North Africa’s Punic inhabitants, from Roman colonists, or from both. Her name is Latin, but the name tells us nothing about her ancestry. As the province of Africa increasingly adopted and adapted Roman customs, there were many examples of individuals having both a Punic and Latin version of their name, and we can even see evidence of families that changed their names from Punic to Latin over the course of a few generations.

Finally, Perpetua was a Christian. It is the only part of her identity that she explicitly comments on, and she considers it an unalterable part of her being. When her father tries to persuade her to leave jail and abandon her Christianity, she points across the room at a pitcher. “Can that pitcher be called by any other name than what it is?” she asks, “In the same way I can’t call myself something other than what I am, a Christian” (ch. 3.2). It is this part of her identity that Perpetua sees as most important, and it is what drives her defiance of authority figures, her abandonment of her family, her endurance, and her resolve to undergo a brutal death.

B. Perpetua’s Biological Family

Over the course of Perpetua’s narrative, she becomes increasingly alienated from the living members of her biological family as she embraces her identity in her new spiritual family.

Perpetua’s father is her chief antagonist through most of her narrative (ch. 3–9). At times angry, at times grief-stricken, he tries to dissuade Perpetua from her resolution to suffer and die. Her father represents the traditional values of the mainstream community: that she should obey him, that she should care for her child, and that she should be concerned about how her actions will affect their wider family. Perpetua not only defies these values, she depicts herself as triumph-

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15 We do note that several Black Catholic groups embrace Perpetua as part of their heritage.
17 For more background on early Christianity, see Introduction V.
ing over them. The familial and gender power-structure is inverted: his threats are empty and his pleas do not sway her, even as he supplicates her and ultimately calls her “master” (ch. 5.5).

Perpetua’s mother and one of her brothers visit her in prison, and she briefly entrusts her son to them (ch. 3.8). Perpetua also had a deceased brother, Dinocrates, who is the only family member whom she refers to by name. Dinocrates had died in childhood from a tumor (ch. 7.5). In a vision she sees him suffering in the afterlife, thirsting but unable to drink (ch. 7.4–8). She and her fellow prisoners pray for Dinocrates, and she receives another vision of him happy and refreshed: he has been released from torment (ch. 8).

Perpetua had a son who was young enough to be nursing. The son was with her in prison when she was first incarcerated (ch. 3.8–9), but her father took him away once she had been tried and convicted (ch. 6.6–7). Her father’s action has aroused some debate, since under Roman law the child should go to her husband; or, if her husband were dead, to his family.

Perpetua’s son brings up the question of the absent husband. The Redactor refers to Perpetua as “lawfully wed” (ch. 2.1), yet there is no mention of Perpetua’s husband anywhere in her narrative. Various theories have been advanced as to his identity. Perhaps he had died. Perhaps he had abandoned her, or she him, whether before or after she took up Christianity. Perhaps she was not married after all, but rather a concubine (Cooper 2011). Perhaps her husband was in fact Satyrus, whose narrative follows hers in the text (Osiek 2002). In the end, whatever her marital circumstances, Perpetua herself did not find them relevant to telling her story.

As for the family’s background, the Redactor characterizes it as high status, and Perpetua was clearly well educated. She claims that all her relations apart from her father will rejoice in her suffering (ch. 5.6), which suggests that they might be Christian, even apart from the one brother that the Redactor specifically names as a catechumen. Even so, Perpetua’s remark about their joy might be an exaggeration: she elsewhere writes that her mother and one brother visited her in prison and grieved for her circumstances (ch. 3.8). Perpetua repeatedly emphasizes her sympathy for her family members and her consciousness of the pain they feel for her (regarding her mother and brother at ch. 3.8, her son at 3.9, and her father at
5.6, 6.5, and 9.3). Yet she expresses no hesitation or doubts about her course of action, and no diminishment of the joy she expresses at the prospect of her suffering and death.

C. Perpetua’s Religious Family

The authors of the Passiō saw their fellow Christians as members of a spiritual family. They referred to each other as “brother” (fräter, ch. 1.6, 13.8), “sister” (soror, ch. 15.7), “papa” (papa, ch. 13.3) and “dear little sons” (filioli, ch. 1.6). Indeed, there are cases where it is not clear whether a “brother” in question is Perpetua’s biological brother or spiritual brother (ch. 4.1, 16.4, 20.10).

The Redactor writes that Perpetua was arrested with four other catechumens: Revocatus, Felicity, Saturninus, and Secundulus (ch. 2.1). The Redactor refers to Felicity as the “fellow slave” (conserva) of Revocatus, which provides an indication of their status. It is possible that Saturninus and Secundulus were freedmen, given that they are each referred to by a single name, but this status is not certain. We only get a few details about the male catechumens, mostly the details of their deaths (ch. 18–21), but the Redactor spends a significant amount of space on Felicity.

The Redactor writes that Felicity was pregnant when arrested, and that she feared that her pregnancy would keep her from being executed with her comrades (ch. 15.2). He writes that she was saved from this fate by the prayers of her fellow Christians, which were able to miraculously bring about a difficult, premature labor (ch. 15.4–5). As with Perpetua, the father of her child is not mentioned. And as with Perpetua, there is a seeming illegality with the child’s fate: Felicity gives the child, a daughter, to a fellow Christian to raise (ch. 15.7), though legally the child would belong to whoever was holding Felicity in slavery.

Perhaps the most significant member of Perpetua’s religious family is Satyrus, the man who had been a teacher to Perpetua and the other catechumens and had turned himself in once they were arrested (ch. 4.5). Perpetua sees him as a companion in her first vision (ch. 4), and his own vision makes up chapters 11–13. His death and final words take up a prominent place in the Redactor’s description of what happened at the Games (ch. 19–21).
A handful of other co-religionists make minor appearances in the narrative: the deacons Pomponius and Tertius (ch. 3.7, 6.7, 10.1), a man who asks Perpetua to foretell the future (ch. 4.1), the woman who raises Felicity’s daughter (ch. 15.7), various other martyrs (ch. 11.9, 14.2), a feuding bishop and priest (ch. 13.1–5), and a catechumen named Rusticus who was particularly attached to Perpetua (ch. 20.8).

D. Government Officials

Three named figures are part of the machinery of the Roman state. Several other figures are unnamed: prison guards who cajole and mock (ch. 3.6, 15.5), as well as a tribune in charge of the prison (ch. 16.2–4) and the gladiatorial games (ch. 18.6).

The most significant named figures are Hilarianus, a procurator, and Pudens, the warden of Perpetua’s prison. The procurator Hilarianus oversaw Perpetua’s trial and conviction (ch. 6), and he was also present at her execution (ch. 18.8). Hilarianus seems to have been of equestrian rank, and his position was a relatively senior one among lower-level officials. Hilarianus would not normally have had the authority to carry out executions, but he had taken over for the third named official, a deceased proconsul, who is identified as Minucius Timianus in the Latin manuscripts of the Passio and Minucius Oppimianus in the Greek translation. Oppimianus is more likely correct, since we have other evidence of a proconsul of Africa named Oppimianus who died in early 203 CE, which also provides the best evidence for Perpetua’s date.

Pudens, on the other hand, was a relatively lower-ranking soldier known as an optio: basically a centurion’s assistant. Pudens was in charge of the military prison holding Perpetua and her fellow companions, who apparently impressed him greatly (ch. 9.1). The Redactor writes that he later converted to Christianity at some point while overseeing their incarceration (ch. 16.4), and Satyrus addresses Pudens with his last words and gives him a bloody ring as a remembrance (ch. 21.1–5).

E. The Redactor

The identity of the Redactor is unknown. Robinson (1891: 47–58) argued that the Redactor should be identified as Tertullian, a Christian author from North
Africa who lived in the late-second and early-third centuries. The Redactor does share some of Tertullian’s views, but that does not mean that we can identify the Redactor as Tertullian, since any number of people might have held similar views. The Redactor is particularly concerned to show that the Holy Spirit is still active in the world, just as it was in the days of the scriptures (ch. 1.1–2, 21.11). Indeed, from the Redactor’s perspective, it is a false division to separate our own days from those of the scriptures, since the Holy Spirit should be, if anything, more active as the end times draw near (ch. 1.3). This was a belief shared by those in the New Prophecy movement, which was later called Montanism.

The Redactor was presumably a member of Perpetua’s community. He suggests that he, and many in the community, were present for the events of the narrative (ch. 1.6), which would have taken place around 203 CE. Whether or not we trust the Redactor, it does seem likely that he was a contemporary of Perpetua, or at least that he did not live long after her, since the Passiô has several linguistic features that suggest that the whole was written in the third century, rather than the fourth or fifth (Adams 2016: 317).

V. PERPETUA’S RELIGION

A. Early Christian Beliefs, Books, Rituals, and Organization

This section offers some background on early Christianity that will be helpful for understanding the Passiô. The first goal of this section is to familiarize students with Christianity, in particular early Christian beliefs, texts, rituals, and organization. This information is especially important for students with a limited knowledge of Christianity in general. The second goal of this section is to defamiliarize students with Christianity. That is, students who are already familiar with Christianity are in danger of missing how strange, and alarming, all of this would have seemed in the Roman world.

Early in the first century, a Jewish prophet from humble beginnings started to make a splash in Galilee. His teachings were evidently deemed a threat to social order, and he was executed sometime around 30 CE. Soon a figure named Saul, also known as Paul, started spreading the message beyond the Jewish community, particularly in urban areas of the Greek-speaking world.
We have scant contemporary evidence for the beliefs and practices of Jesus and his followers—indeed, none from Jesus’s own lifetime. The earliest evidence comes from letters written by Paul (c. 30s–50s CE), which show a conviction that Jesus was the son of the Jewish God Yahweh, that he had come back to life shortly after his execution, and that he could offer eternal life to his followers. These letters likewise suggest that the end of the world was imminent, though none could know exactly how imminent. Another set of documents, written in the following generation (c. 70–120 CE), provide accounts of Jesus’s life which likewise emphasize that he was able to return to life after a gruesome execution; the four earliest of these are now called the gospels of Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. Other documents date to a period not long after the gospels. These include the *Apocalypse of John* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which recount fantastical visions. Another document that dates to roughly the same era is the *Didache* (Grk. *Teaching*), which describes some of the early organization for the movement and early rituals.

These early Christian documents provide important context for understanding the *Passiō*. All of these documents were written in Greek, and there likewise existed a Greek translation of the books of the Hebrew Bible. Perpetua spoke Greek, but Latin translations would also have been available to her. These translations are now called the Old Latin versions, to differentiate them from the Vulgate version created by Jerome in the fourth century. Not all of these documents are still considered to be a part of the Christian Bible: *The Shepherd of Hermas*, for instance, is no longer considered scripture, though it seems to have had a strong influence on Perpetua.¹⁸ There is further significance to the fluidity of the biblical canon at this period because the Redactor seems to claim that the *Passiō* should be on equal footing with sacred scriptures (ch. 1), and the rhetorical style of Perpetua and Satyrus mimics biblical narrative.¹⁹ So the authors of the *Passiō* may have seen themselves as, in a sense, adding a book to the Bible.

These various early Christian texts mention three rituals that the *Passiō* refers to:

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¹⁸ Robinson (1891: 26–36) points out some parallels between *The Shepherd of Hermas* and the visions of Perpetua and Satyrus.

¹⁹ Adams details the rhetorical and linguistic similarities between the Old Latin versions of the Bible and the narratives of Perpetua and Satyrus in his commentary on the *Passiō* (2016: 317–353); Adams suggests that there is significant “biblical pastiche” (351) in Perpetua’s Latin.
1) **Immersion** (Grk. *baptisma*) was a ritual bath taken by adherents to mark their official induction into the group. The Redactor describes Perpetua’s companions, Satyrus and Felicity, as receiving a “second immersion” when they are drenched in blood at their execution (ch. 18.3, 21.2). There, the Redactor is using the ritual to mark an important turning point, as they are essentially now being initiated into their new rebirth in the afterlife.

2) The **Love Feast** (Grk. *agape*) was a communal meal that was associated with the ritual **Thanksgiving** (Grk. *eucharistos*). This meal paradoxically recreates the last meal eaten by Jesus, and at the same time enacts a ritual in which participants eat the flesh and drink the blood of Jesus. It is a ritual of fellowship among the believers, and of communion with the divine. Perpetua herself alludes to this practice in her first vision, in which a heavenly shepherd shares with her a bite of food (ch. 4.9). The Redactor refers explicitly to the *Love Feast*, which he says that Perpetua and her companions shared as their own last supper before their execution (ch. 17.1). The *Love Feasts* gave rise to malicious rumors about Christians. These meals were held in private houses, and the secrecy caused suspicions in the larger community: several early Christians report that these rumors accused them of incest and cannibalism.

3) The **Kiss of Peace** was used as a greeting and also had a role in the *Love Feast*. It is a mark of recognition and fellowship among believers. Perpetua describes receiving such a kiss from a heavenly figure in a vision (ch. 10.13), and the Redactor writes that Perpetua and her companions shared such kisses as a final act before their deaths (ch. 21.7).

These documents also mention various positions within the movement, several of which appear in the *Passiō*. The movement itself is called the “Assembly” (Grk. *ecclesia*, ch. 1.5, 21.11), a word now usually translated as “Church.” In this Assembly there are “supervisors” (Grk. *episcopoi*), “elders” (Grk. *presbyteres*), “assistants” (Grk. *diaconoi*), and “students” (Grk. *catechoumenoi*)—these offices are

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20 English-speakers refer to this practice as “baptism,” simply anglicizing the Greek word. We use the term “immersion” here to keep the active meaning that it would still have had for a Greek-speaker like Perpetua.

17
also translated as “bishops,” “priests,” “deacons,” and “catechumens.” The supervisors and elders are leadership positions, and Satyrus’s narrative describes a dispute between one particular supervisor, Optatus, and an elder, Aspasius (ch. 13.1–6). “Assistants” come up occasionally in the narrative, and one assistant in particular, Pomponius, frequently comes to the aid of Perpetua and her companions once they are imprisoned. Finally, “students” (catechumens) are those who are learning the tenets of the religion but have not yet been formally inducted by the rite of immersion. Perpetua and her companions (Felicity, Revocatus, Saturninus, and Secundulus) are students at the start of the narrative when they are arrested (ch. 2.1), and they receive their immersion during a period of house-arrest before they are imprisoned (ch. 3.5). Their teacher is Satyrus, who turns himself in after they are arrested (ch. 4.5). Another student, Rusticus, is described as being particularly attached to Perpetua, and is in the arena with her (ch. 20.8–10).

These documents provide information about one other aspect of early Christianity that is crucial to understanding the narrative: Christians worshipped their God exclusively and refused to participate in sacrifices or rituals for any other gods. This refusal contributed to the group’s deep unpopularity. In the Roman world, it was expected for all community members to sacrifice to the gods. The gods had an impact on just about every aspect of life, and the goodwill of the gods was necessary for peace and prosperity. Slighting the gods could result in bad harvests, natural disasters, civil unrest, or foreign invasion. A refusal to sacrifice to the gods suggested ill-will to one’s community, ill-will that could result in real, material harm, and even lives lost.

B. The Legal Status of Early Christianity

The legal status of Christians in Perpetua’s day was hazy. There was no specific law against Christianity in the early third century, nor was there any universal law requiring sacrifice, which would have the result of de facto criminalizing Christianity. At the same time, Christians had a bad reputation, and there seems to have

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21 In this section we favor the more direct translations of those positions that are now ecclesiastical offices (bishop, priest, deacon), since the latter terms bring associations that probably misrepresent what they would have meant to Christians in late-second and early-third century Africa.

22 A legal requirement to offer sacrifice was instituted only later, in 249 CE, under the emperor Decius.
been an assumption that anyone in the group was likely involved in malicious acts. A perplexed Roman governor, Pliny the Younger, wrote in 112 CE to the emperor Trajan for advice when he found Christians in his courtroom: among his questions was whether they should be punished simply for membership in the group, or only for the specific bad acts that they (surely) were involved in (Plin. *Epistles* 10.96.2). In Pliny’s case the point proved moot because he found the Christians so recalcitrant that he punished them simply for their defiance. He asked the accused if they were Christians. He had heard that Christians would be unwilling to sacrifice, and so he made it his litmus-test. He ordered them to sacrifice: those who did could go free, while those who did not would be punished for disobeying a Roman magistrate. Defiance of a magistrate was a defiance of imperial authority.

Hilarianus, the magistrate conducting Perpetua’s trial, followed the same procedure as Pliny. He commanded her to make a sacrifice to the safety of the emperors: she refused (ch. 6.3–4). He asked if she were a Christian: she assented (ch. 6.4). He convicted and sentenced her (ch. 6.6).

VI. THE LATIN OF THE PASSIŌ

The Latin of the Passiō is relatively straightforward and simple, which makes it ideal for students. Yet there are several minor features that will differ from what students might expect based on what they will have learned in most textbooks, so we highlight these non-standard features here.23

The Passiō was written in the early third century. In the history of the Latin language, this date falls after, though not long after, the period called “Classical Latin,” which is usually considered to be roughly 100 BCE to 100 CE. Some of the features of the Passiō that differ from what students will have learned in textbooks could be called “post-classical,” in that they only start to be attested from the third century or later. Other non-standard features of the Passiō are attested in Classical Latin, but seem to be informal and so rarely appear in the high literature that most textbooks are based on. Still other features seem to be influenced by contact with the Greek language, and others show the influence of the Old Latin versions

23 For more details on all these features, see the linguistic commentary on Perpetua in Adams (2016: 317–353).
of the Bible (see Introduction V.A). These various categories can overlap. For instance, the word order subject-verb-object is characteristic of informal speech, of post-classical Latin, and of the Old Latin versions of the Bible. Because of this overlap, it would not be possible to divide each of these non-standard features into discrete categories, so we present them together in a single list.

As a final point, this list is not meant to suggest that the Latin of the Passiō is particularly strange. Most of the features on this list are found in classical authors as well, though they tend to be less common there and so are typically avoided in textbooks.

A. Ablative of Extent of Time

Though most textbooks teach that duration of time is expressed with an accusative, the ablative can also be used, as when Perpetua writes that she gave thanks when her father was gone “for a few days” (paucīs diēbus, 3.4). This usage is more common in post-classical Latin, but it goes back to the classical period and can be seen in (e.g.) Cicero (Dé Ōrāt. 3.138) and Caesar (BC 1.46).24

B. In + Abl. to Express Motion Towards

Most Latin textbooks teach that the preposition in governs an accusative when it indicates motion towards (“into,” “onto”) and an ablative when it indicates static location (“in,” “on”). In the Passiō, however, this distinction has started to break down, as when Perpetua writes that she went “into the middle of the arena” (in mediā arēnā, 10.4) or was lifted “into the air” (in āere, 10.11). The Redactor likewise uses this construction, writing about Perpetua and others going “into the middle” (in mediō, 21.7) of the arena, and writing about when the sword went “into their body” (in eōrum corpore, 21.7). This usage appears in pre-classical literature as well as in post-classical literature.25

24 For more on the ablative of extent of time, see Pinkster (2015: 845–846).
25 For more on the phenomenon of “in + abl.” indicating motion towards, see Adams (2016: 327).
C. Ablative of Means with the Preposition \( \text{dē} \)

In post-classical Latin, the preposition \( \text{dē} \) came to be used with the ablative in a wider range of uses than it had in the classical period. The \textit{Passiō} sometimes uses \( \text{dē} \), for instance, with the ablative of means, as when Dinocrates plays “with water” (\( \text{dē aquā}, 8.4 \)). This usage becomes common in literary prose in the sixth century, but it occurs earlier in informal Latin and in the Old Latin versions of the Bible (Adams 2013: 302–303).

D. Verbs Governing Unusual Cases

There are a few cases in the \textit{Passiō} in which a verb governs a different case than it would in Classical Latin. The verb \textit{carēre} (“to lack”) takes an accusative object rather than an ablative (3.4); the verb \textit{nocēre} (“to hurt”) takes an accusative object rather than a dative (ch. 4.6); and the deponent verb \textit{miserēri} (“to pity”) takes a dative rather than a genitive (ch. 5.2, 6.2).

E. Pluperfect Subjunctive Functioning as an Imperfect Subjunctive

In later Latin, the pluperfect subjunctive comes to be used in place of the imperfect subjunctive. Indeed, the imperfect subjunctive in most modern romance languages clearly shows its origins as a Latin pluperfect (e.g. French \textit{je parlasse}, Italian \textit{io parlassi}). In the \textit{Passiō} the pluperfect subjunctive occasionally functions as an imperfect, as when Perpetua writes “I was without my father” (\textit{caruissem patrem}, 3.4).

F. Perfect rather than Imperfect Stem in Compound Verb Forms

In passive verb forms, the \textit{Passiō} sometimes uses forms of “to be” using the perfect stem rather than the imperfect stem, as when Perpetua’s father says “you will have suffered” (\textit{fueris passa}, 5.4) rather than \textit{eris passa} for the future perfect. The same phenomenon occurs when the Redactor writes that Felicity “had been arrested” (\textit{fuerat apprehēnsa}, 15.2) rather than \textit{erat apprehēnsa} in the pluperfect. There is
no real difference in meaning between these forms. Rather, they are alternate forms that start in the classical period and gradually become more common.26

G. Subjunctive in Quod-Clauses

Perpetua tends to use the subjunctive in quod-clauses where we would normally expect the indicative (ch. 5.6, 7.1, 10.5, 18.9, and perhaps 3.4 and 7.8). There is no clear reason for the subjunctive in these cases, but the usage becomes common in post-classical Latin.27

H. Non-Standard Vocabulary

The Passiō contains some words that are non-classical and some that are classical but informal. The verbs mandūcāre/commandūcāre (“eat,” 4.9–10), bāsiāre (“kiss,” 5.5), and improperāre (“curse,” 9.2) are all classical but relatively informal. Among post-classical words, the verb cōnfōrtāre, for instance, is used by Perpetua (5.6) but is otherwise not commonly attested until the fourth century. The deponent verb fābulāri occurs in the Passiō (4.2) with a sense of “to speak,” which is otherwise found only in Plautus and in post-classical Latin, ultimately becoming falar in Portuguese and hablar in Spanish (after the change of word-initial f > h-). The verb dictāre is technically frequentative (“to say repeatedly”), but Perpetua uses it with the simple sense of “to speak” (3.5). The Redactor uses the comparative novītiōra (“newer,” 1.3) and novīssimiōra (1.3), both of which are post-classical in both form and meaning. In novītiōra, we see that the word novīcius (“newly bought”) came to replace novus (“new”), and the spelling <ci> came to be replaced with <ti>. In novīssimiōra, the comparative ending -ior has been redundantly added to the superlative -issimus. Finally, Perpetua treats the verb cupere as if it were fourth conjugation when she uses it in the imperfect subjunctive (cupiēret, 3.1). This form is non-standard, but it does appear in one classical author (Lucretius Dē Rērum Nātūrā 1.71).

The Passiō also contains some turns of phrase that, while not strictly non-standard, are less common and worth noting for students. The verb introīre, for

26 For more on forms of the perfect stem in compound verbs, see Pinkster (2015: 473–476).
27 For more on the unmotivated subjunctive in quod-clauses, see Adams (2016: 328–329).
instance, is strongly preferred to *intrāre* ("to go in"), and the adjective *ūniversī* is preferred to *omnēs* ("all"). Finally, *invicem* is regularly used in place of a reflexive pronoun.

### I. Repetition of *et*

Sentences and clauses are constantly joined with *et* rather than with more complex coordinating or subordinating conjunctions, in particular in the narratives of Perpetua (ch. 3–10) and Satyrus (ch. 11–13). This stylistic feature is common in informal usage, but it is also characteristic of biblical narrative and of the Latin translations of the Bible in particular.\(^{28}\)

### J. Greek Words and Forms

Some Greek words in the *Passiō* come from a specifically Christian milieu: *prophētīā*/prophētāre* (ch. 1.4–5 and elsewhere), *ecclēsia* (1.5 and elsewhere), *catēchūmenus* (throughout), *martyr/martyrium* (throughout), *diābolus* (3.3), *tegnon* (4.9), *horōma* (10.1), *angelus* (ch. 11–13), *agios* (12.2), *presbyter* (13.1), *episcopus* (13.1), and *ekstasis* (20.8).\(^{29}\) Apart from words related to the world of Christianity, Perpetua uses the words *dīstēma* ("chasm," 7.6), *fīalā* ("cup," 8.3), *afa* ("sand," 10.7), *agōn* ("contest," 10.7), and the name of Perpetua’s brother, *Dīnocratēs*. Perpetua and the Redactor sometimes use the Greek form of the accusative (*Dīnocratēn* at 7.1, *agapēn* at 17.1).\(^{30}\) Other Greek words had diffused into Perpetua’s cultural world in an indirect form: *catasta* ("platform," 6.2 and elsewhere) is ultimately from Greek *katastasis* ("establishment") and *cata-ractāriōrus* ("prison guard," 15.5) from Greek *katarēktēs* ("waterfall," "portcullis").

### K. Subject-Verb-Object Word Order

The most typical word order for the formal prose of Classical Latin is subject-object-verb, which is the order favored by the Redactor. Both Perpetua and Saty-

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\(^{28}\) For details on the use of paratactic *et* in the *Passiō*, see Adams (2016: 323–324).

\(^{29}\) On the specifically Christian meanings of these words, see Introduction V.A.

\(^{30}\) Some manuscripts of the *Passiō* end these words with the Latin accusative ending -em rather than the Greek -ēn, and the two are equally plausible.
rus tend to favor a subject-verb-object word order, which is more common in informal Latin and in post-classical Latin, as well as in the Old Latin versions of the Bible.31

**L. Ille / illa / illud as an Unemphatic Pronoun (he/she/it)**

The *Passiō* frequently uses *ille / illa / illud* as an unemphatic pronoun (he/she/it) rather than as a demonstrative (that/those). Frequently, this unemphatic usage comes when the word occurs after a form of *is / ea / id*, as when Satyrus writes “while we speak with them, the angels said to them” (*dum loquimur cum eis, dixerunt illis angeli*, 13.5). This usage occurs from the early empire onwards.32

**M. Dialectical Features of African Latin**

Native speakers of Latin, both inside and outside of Africa, saw African Latin as a recognizably distinct way of speaking, and there were probably multiple dialects of Latin in Africa at different times and places, and among different social groups.33 There are no uniquely African features identifiable in the *Passiō*, yet this fact is not too surprising. The regional dialects of Latin seem to have differed more in pronunciation and vocabulary rather than in morphology and syntax. As a result, these differences will not necessarily be apparent in literary texts like the *Passiō*, which generally make use of standardized spelling and a relatively standardized vocabulary.

**VII. THE TEXT OF THIS EDITION**

It has been a long journey for the words of the *Passiō* to travel from Perpetua’s stylus to the pages of this edition. In this section we will provide some background on that journey and an explanation of how it affects what students will read here.

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31 For more detail on word order in the *Passiō*, see Adams (2016: 320–322 and 341–346); Adam suggests that Perpetua and Satyrus might be imitating biblical narrative.
32 For more detail on the use of *ille / illa / illud* as an unemphatic pronoun in the *Passiō*, see Adams (2016: 337–339).
Perpetua and Satyrus probably wrote or dictated their narratives while incarcerated, sometime around 203 CE. Not long afterwards the Redactor combined, and perhaps edited, these narratives—unless, of course, the Redactor himself wrote the whole Passio (see Introduction II). At some later point there came into being a condensed version of the narrative, traditionally called the Acta Perpetuae. A Greek translation was also made. As more people wanted to read the Passio, copies had to be made of the originals, and then copies of those copies, and so on. It is a difficult process to copy out an entire book, and mistakes creep into even the most careful of copies. Whatever Perpetua, Satyrus, and the Redactor wrote, the original is long gone, and so we have to reconstruct their words from the copies that survive. There are nine surviving Latin manuscripts of the full Passio, and one of the Greek translation. All surviving manuscripts of the Passio date from the ninth to twelfth centuries, which means that they are the product of 600–900 years of copying and recopying.

The first print edition of the Passio was made by Lucas Holstenius in 1663. Since then there have been a multitude of editions, most recently the excellent critical edition of Thomas Heffernan (2012).

In this present Pixelia edition, we largely follow the text of J. Armitage Robinson (1891). We have used Robinson’s edition to help keep the cost of this volume economical, since Robinson’s text is the most recent critical edition in the public domain.

There are a number of places in which we depart from Robinson’s text, which we list below. In two of these cases we reject emendations made by Robinson, who wanted to change the manuscript reading of cadēbant to canēbant (ch. 11.6) and viā lātā to violātum (ch. 11.8). The remaining cases involve instances in which there was a problem in Robinson’s primary source, the manuscript Monte Cassino

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34 J. Rendell Harris, who discovered the Greek translation in 1890, originally argued that the Greek version of the Passio was the original and the Latin version was a translation, though he later changed his mind (Heffernan 2012: 79). Heffernan outlines why the Latin version is almost certainly the original (2012: 79–99). Shaw (2020) provides more detail on the Greek translation, its history, and its cultural context.

35 Robinson’s explanation (1891: 38–40) of these emendations will probably convince few readers.
204, which is the most complete surviving manuscript and has the fewest errors. Robinson only had access to the readings of two of the other eight surviving Latin manuscripts, and these two were not always helpful when there was a problem with the text of Monte Cassino 204. As other manuscripts have been better studied, particularly in the editions of Van Beek (1936), Amat (1996), and Hef-fernan (2012), it has been possible to find better readings when there is an issue with Monte Cassino 204.

Textual differences between this Pixelia edition and the edition of Robinson 1891:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Robinson’s Edition</th>
<th>Pixelia Edition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>dulce</td>
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<td>5.5 mē nōn</td>
<td>mē iam nōn</td>
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<td>6.5 percussit</td>
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<td>6.8 dēsiderat</td>
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<td>complūrēs erant</td>
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<td>10.2 distinctam candidam</td>
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<td>10.5 datam</td>
<td>damnātam</td>
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<td>10.7 dēfrigere</td>
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<td>10.8 habēns galliculās</td>
<td>habēns, et galliculās</td>
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<td>11.2 tangēbat</td>
<td>tangēbant</td>
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<td>11.6 canēbant</td>
<td>cadēbant</td>
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<td>11.8 violātum</td>
<td>viā lātā</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.9 ubi</td>
<td>ibi</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.1 indignē</td>
<td>indignī</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.2 eī respondit</td>
<td>eī Perpetua respondit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.1 verba ista</td>
<td>verba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.2 est, quod</td>
<td>est? Quid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.2 nōbīs</td>
<td>vōbīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.2 lūcidō incessū</td>
<td>lūcidō vultū et placidō incessū</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.8 dē hoc</td>
<td>dehinc</td>
</tr>
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</table>

36 See Robinson’s discussion of his use of manuscripts (1891: 10–15).
18.8 pervēnerint \hfill pervēnērunt
18.9 pró ordine \hfill per ordinem
19.3 revocātus...expertus...erat vexātus \hfill ipse et Revocātus...expertī...vexātī sunt
19.5 post diēs \hfill post diem
20.5 dehinc requīsīta \hfill dehinc acū requīsītā
20.8 instupentibus \hfill stupentibus
20.8 nesciō \hfill nesciōquam
21.2 ēiectō \hfill obiectus

The chapter divisions in the *Passiō* are not ancient but go back to the 1766 edition of Andrea Gallandi. We have kept these chapter divisions as a matter of convenience, and for the same reason we have prefaced each chapter with a brief summary in English.

We have changed the punctuation and paragraphing from Robinson’s edition, and we have added the now-standard sentence numbers to the chapter numbers. We have also changed two minor orthographic matters: we capitalize the first word of sentences and allow the assimilation of consonants in prepositional prefixes (e.g. *attonitus* rather than *adtonitus*).

We have added macrons to the Latin used throughout this edition. Since macrons are not commonly used in editions of Latin authors, especially prose authors, this decision requires a few words of explanation.

We have decided to include macrons primarily because they make the Latin easier to read by distinguishing forms that would otherwise be identical, like *puella* and *puellā*. In addition, macrons help to better represent the sounds of the Latin language, and so they are an aid to *reading* the Latin— that is, to saying or thinking the Latin words and understanding them, rather than looking at the Latin words and trying to remember their English equivalents.

While it is true that ancient Roman texts did not include macrons, it is worth noting that they likewise did not include lowercase letters and punctuation— at least

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of the sort that modern texts employ. Yet we use lowercase letters and modern punctuation because they make Latin texts easier to read, and the same rationale should apply to macrons.

VIII. A NOTE ON THE VOCABULARY AND COMMENTARY

Each page of Latin text has a running vocabulary and commentary. The vocabulary contains words that are less likely to be known by students and words that occur infrequently in the Passio itself, while more common and repeated words can be found in the glossary at the back of the book. In the running vocabulary we have tried to ensure that the definition given is applicable to its use on that page. If the meaning of the word in context on the page is different from its primary definition, we place the primary definition first, followed by its meaning in context. The commentary aims primarily to help students understand the Latin, although it sometimes includes points of historical background when those serve to help make sense of the Latin. In cases where more than one interpretation of the Latin is possible, we only explain the grammar of the most likely meaning rather than exploring all possible meanings. For deeper investigation into textual and grammatical difficulties, we refer readers to the commentaries of Heffernan (2012) and Adams (2016: 317–353).

IX. FURTHER READING

There has been such a profusion of work on the Passio that it would be hard to provide a bibliography of even the last ten years. All the same, we do want to point students and teachers to a few resources they might find particularly helpful.


38 Romans did employ cursive scripts, especially in informal documents, and they likewise had some punctuation marks, like the stigmê, hypostigmê, corônis, and paragraphê, not to mention interpuncts.

A digital text of both the Latin and Greek versions of the Passió has been made available by Open Latin and Greek,39 and students will still find much value in Halporn’s 1984 edition for the Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries series.

39 Available at https://scaife.perseus.org/library/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg2016/ (last access April 17, 2021)
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ablative</td>
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<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
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<td>act.</td>
<td>active</td>
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<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<td>cf.</td>
<td>compare to <em>(cōnfēr)</em></td>
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<td>ch.</td>
<td>chapter</td>
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<td>comp.</td>
<td>comparative</td>
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<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>dat.</td>
<td>dative</td>
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<td>e.g.</td>
<td>for example <em>(exemplī grātiā)</em></td>
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<td>fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
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<td>fut.</td>
<td>future</td>
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<td>gen.</td>
<td>genitive</td>
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<td>Grk.</td>
<td>Greek</td>
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<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>that is <em>(īd est)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>ind.</td>
<td>indirect</td>
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<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
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<td>masc.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<td>neut.</td>
<td>neuter</td>
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<td>nom.</td>
<td>nominative</td>
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<td>pass.</td>
<td>passive</td>
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<td>perf.</td>
<td>perfect</td>
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<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
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<td>pres.</td>
<td>present</td>
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<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
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Passiō Sanctūrum Perpetuae et Felicītātis

with Running Vocabulary and Commentary
The Redactor argues that this story should be shared so that people will see that the Holy Spirit is still active in the world.

1.1 Si vetera fidei exempla et Dei grâtiam testificantia et aedicificatio nem hominis operantia propterea in litteris sunt digesta ut lectione eorum quasi repraesentatione rērum et Deus honōrētur et homō confortētur, cur non et nova documenta (aequē utrique causae convenientia) et digerantur? 2. Vel quia proinde et haec vetera futūra quandōque sunt et necessāria posteris, si in praeuenti suō tempore minōri deputantur auctōritāti propter praesūmptam venerātionem antiquitātis.

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aedicificatio, -onis f.: edification; improvement
aequē: equally
antiquitas, -tātis f.: antiquity, earlier times
auctūritas, -tātis f.: authority, influence
confortō (1): to strengthen
convenio, -ire, -vēnī, -ventum: to assemble, be suitable, be convenient
dēputō (1): to consider, esteem, count as
digēro, -ere, -gessi, -gestum: to distribute; arrange, set in order; write down
documentum, -i n.: example, lesson, proof
exemplum, -i n.: example
honōrō (1): to honor, confer honor
lēctū, -ae f.: reading
littera, -ae f.: letter (alphabetical); literature (pl)
minor, minus: lesser, smaller

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Si vetera fidei exempla ... cur non et nova documenta: If old examples of faith ... why not also new examples; the Redactor is saying if the old examples were good, then why not write down new examples too, since these new ones will be good for the same reasons that the old ones were

vetera fidei exempla: old examples of faith; a reference to previous sacred literature
et ... testificantia et ... operantia: both ... testifying and ... producing; both testificantia and operantia modify exempla, and are the subject of sunt digesta
ut ... honōrētur ... confortētur: purpose clause explaining why these examples should be recorded
et Deus ... et homō: both God... and man
cur non et nova ... et digerantur: why are not new examples too ... also written down; each et translates as "also" or "too" here
aequē utrique causae convenientia: convenientia modifies nova documenta; the phrase utrique causae is the indirect object of convenientia
Vel quia: Because certainly; the word Vel here just intensifies quia
et haec: these too; the haec refers to nova documenta
vetera: will become old; the predicate of futūra ... sunt
3. Sed viderint qui ūnam virtūtem Spīritūs ūniūs Sāncṭī prō aetātibus iūdicēnt temporum, cum maiōra reputanda sunt novitīōra, quaeque ut novissimiōra, secundum exūperātiōnem grātiae in ultima saeculī spatia dēcrētām.


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aetās, -tātis f.: age, lifetime, time
ancilla, -ae f.: female slave, enslaved woman
decernō, -ere, -crēvi -crētum: to decide, judge
effundō, -ere, -fuī, -fūsūm: to pour out
exūperātiō, -onis f.: abundance (spelled exūperatiō in Classical Latin)
iūdicō (1): to decide, judge
iūvenis, -is m.: youth, young man
maior, maius: greater
novitūris, -ārum, -ī, -ūm: new, recent, last

prophetō (1): to prophesy, foretell, predict
quīae, quaesae, quidque: each one, each thing
reputō (1): to count, calculate, reckon
secundum: following, in accordance with (prep. + acc.)
servus, -i m.: male slave, enslaved man
somniā (1): to dream, dream of
somnium, -i n.: dream
tempus, temporis n.: time, occasion
ultimus, -a, -um: last, final

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viderint: they will figure it out; the fut. perf. of vidēre can have a sense of deferment, “to attend to something later”
quī ūnam ... ūniūs ... iūdicēnt: those who judge the singular power of the singular Holy Spirit; virtūs as “power” is common in early Christian writings; the Redactor’s point is that these people are wrong to believe the Holy Spirit is no longer active, since it is the same spirit with the same power in all eras
prō aetātibus ... temporum: according to the ages of time; this phrase goes closely with iūdicēnt
cum maiōra reputanda sunt novitīōra: although newer things must be reckoned greater; the sense is that not only is the Holy Spirit still active, but it is if anything more active, given that recent times are closer to the end times; a cum-clause can be concessive with the indicative, though the usage is non-standard; novitīōra is the subject of the pass. periphrastic, maiōra the predicate
novitūra: newer things; two aspects of this word are non-standard: first the use of novīcius
(often “newly bought”) for novus (“new”), second the spelling novitūra for the comparative noviōciā
quaeque ut novissimiōra: each one just as (they are) more recent; another non-standard formation: the comparative ending -ior has been added to the superlative novissimus
exūperātiōnem grātiae ... dēcrētām: abundance of grace ... decreed; the Redactor wants to show that the Holy Spirit is active in granting visions, like those of Perpetua and Satyrus, because many Christians thought that the end of time was coming and that the Holy Spirit would be stronger than ever, hence the abundance of grace
in ultima saeculī spatia: for the last spans (of time) of the world; here in + acc. has a sense of “for” and saeculum here means “our present world,” as often in early Christian writings
In novissimīs ... diēbus: In the last days
5. Itaque et nōs quī sīcut prophētīās ita et visiōnēs novās parīter reprōmissās et agnōscimus et honōrāmus cēterāsque virtūtēs Spīritūs Sāncτī ad instrūmentum Ecclēsiae dēputāmus (cuī et missus est idem omnia dōnātīva administrāns in omnibus, prout ūnicuique distribuit Dominus) necessāriō et dīgerimus et ad glōriam Dēi lēctiōne celebrāmus, ut nē qua aut imbēcillītās aut dēspēratiō fideī apud veterēs tantum aestivalīetat grātiam divīnitātīs conversātam, sīve in martyrum sīve in revelātiōnum digniōtēne, cum semper Deus operētur quae reprimīsit, nōn crēdentibus in testimōnium, crēdentibus in beneficium.

| administrō (1): to manage, regulate, direct | instrūmentum, -i n.: implement, tool; instruction |
| aestivalī (1): to assess, judge | lēctiō, -tīōnis f.: reading |
| agnōscō, -ere, -nōvī, -nītum: to recognize | martyr, -tyrīs m.: witness; martyr |
| apud: among; at the house of (+ acc.) | necessāriō: necessarily (adv.) |
| celebrō (1): to frequent; honor, celebrate | operor, -āri, -ātus sum: to work, produce, bring about |
| conversō (1): to turn around; to exist along with, to be among | pariter: equally |
| dēputō (1): to consider, esteem, or count as | prophētīa, -ae f.: prophecy, prediction |
| dēspēratiō, -tīōnis f.: hopelessness | prout: just as, in as much as |
| dīgerō, -ere, -gessi, -gestum: to distribute, arrange, set in order; write | reprimītō, -ere, -mīsī, -missum: to promise in return |
| dīgnātiō, -tīōnis f.: deeming worthy, granting | revisiō, -ōnis f.: an unveiling, a revelation |
| distribuō, -ere, -bui, -būtum: to distribute | sīc: just as, so as |
| divīnitās, -tātis f.: divinity | sīve, seu: whether, or |
| dōnātīvum, -i n.: gift | testimōnium, -iī f.: witness, evidence |
| Ecclēsia, -ae f.: assembly; church | unusquisque, unaquaeque, unumquodque: each and every one |
| honōrō (1): to honor, confer honor |
| imbēcillītās, -tātis f.: weakness |
6. Et nōs itaque quod audivimus et contractāvimus, annūntiāmus et vōbīs, frātres et filiolī, ut et vōs qui interfuistis rememorēmini glōriae Domīni et qui nunc cognōscitis per auditum commūniōnem habeātis cum sāntīs martyrībus (1 John 1.1-3), et per illōs cum dominō Iēsū Christō cui est cλaritās et honor in saecula saeculōrum. Āmēn.

The Redactor introduces Perpetua and those arrested with her, then informs the audience that the following narrative was written by Perpetua herself.

2.1 Apprehēnsī sunt adolēscēntēs catēchūmenī: Revocātus et Fēlicitās, cōnserva eius, Sārturnīnus et Secundulus. Inter hōs et Vibia Perpetua, honestē nāta, liberāliter iñstitūta, mātrōnāliter nūpta,

| adolēscēns, -entis: | young |
| amēn: | amen |
| annūntiō (1): | to announce, proclaim |
| apprehendo, -ere, apprehendī, apprehēnsum: | to seize; arrest |
| catēchūmenus, -i m.: | a catechumen (a Christian who has not yet been baptized) |
| clāritās, -tātis f.: | brightness; glory |
| commūniōnem, -onis f.: | association, communion |
| cōnserva, -ae f.: | fellow slave |
| contractō (1): | to touch, handle (spelled contractō in Classical Latin) |
| filiolus, -i m.: | little son |
| honestē: | honorably, respectfully |
| honor, -ōris m.: | honor, glory |

| Instituō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum: | to set up; educate |
| intersum, -esse, -fūi: | to take part in, be present |
| liberāliter: | like a free person; nobly; liberally |
| martyr, -tyris m.: | witness; martyr |
| mātrōnāliter: | like a matron |
| nāscor, nācī, nātus sum: | to be born |
| nūbō, -ere, nūpsi, nūptum: | to veil; marry |
| rememor (1): | to remember (+ gen.) |
| Revocātus, -i m.: | Revocatus (on Revocatus and the other figures arrested with Perpetua, see Introduction IV.C) |
| Sārturnīnus, -i m.: | Saturninus |
| Secundulus, -i m.: | Secundulus |
| Vibia, -ae f.: | Vibia (the name for any female member of Viban family) |

(id) quod audivimus: that which we have heard; the quod is a relative pronoun here. In this sentence the Redactor quotes from the biblical letter 1 John but changes the words in a few places; only the directly quoted material is italicized. |
2. habēns patrem et mātrem et frātrēs duōs, alterum aequē catēchūmenum, et filium infantem ad ūbera. 3. Erat autem ipsa circiter annōrum vigintī duo. Haec ērōdīm tōtum martyriī suī iam hinc ipsa nārrāvit sīcūt cōnscripsum manū suā et suō sēnsū reliquit.

Perpetua begins her narrative with an argument she had with her father while under house arrest. She is then taken to prison.

3.1 Cum adhūc (inquit) cum prōsecūtōribus essem et mē pater verbīs ēvertere cupīret et dēicere prō suā affectiōne persevērāret, “Pater,” inquam, “vidēs verī grātiā vās hoc iacēns, urceolum sive aliud?”

aequē: equally; likewise
affectiō, -tōnis f.: feeling, attitude
alter, -tera, -terum: one (or the other) of two
circiter: around, about
cupiō, -ere, -ivi, -itum: to desire
ēvertō, -ere, -i, -sum: to overturn
hinc: from here
iaceō, -ère, -cui: to lie down
martyrium, -ī n.: testimony; martyrdom
nārrō (1): to narrate, relate
ōrdō, -dinis m.: order, line, series (of events)
persevērō (1): to continue, persist
prōsecūtor, -ōris m.: prosecutor; escort
sēnsus, -ūs m.: feeling, sense; perception
sīcūt: just as
sīve, seu: whether, or (if)
tōtus, -a, -um: whole, entire
ūber, -beris n.: breast
urceolus, -i m.: litter pitcher, little pot
vās, vāsīs n.: vessel
vīgintī duo, -ae, -o: twenty-two

annōrum vigintī duo: she was twenty-two (of) years; gen. of description
I Haec … ipsa: This woman … herself; these words refer to Perpetua, who is the subject of nārrāvit and reliquit
sīcūt cōnscripsum manū suā et suō sēnsū reliquit: just as she left it written in her own hand and from her own perspective
inquit: she said; the Redactor added inquit to signal to readers that this is the start of Perpetua’s narrative
Cum … essem: While I was …; Perpetua’s narrative begins while she is under house arrest
cupīret: this verb is fourth conjugation here, but is more regularly an -iō third conjugation verb
dēicere: to throw down; this verb (and ēvertere) would typically be used in reference to wrestling or physical combat, but here Perpetua uses them metaphorically, as she does throughout her narrative
prō suā affectiōne: because of his affection; lit. “in accordance with his affection”
persevērāret: this verb is subjunctive because it is in a circumstantial cum-clause (coordinated with essem)
verbi grātiā: for the sake of example
Et dixit, “Videō.”

2. Et ego dixi ei, “Numquid aliō nōmine vocāri potest quam quod est?”

Et ait, “Nōn.”

“Sic et ego aliud mē dicere nōn possum nisi quod sum, Christiāna.”

3. Tunc pater mōtus hoc verbō mittit sē in mē ut oculōs mihi ērueret, sed ēruvit tantum et profectus est, victus cum argūmentīs Diāboli. 4. Tunc paucīs diēbus quod caruissem patrem, Dominō grātiās ēgi et refrigerāvī absentiā illius. 5. In ipsō spatiō paucōrum diērum baptizātī sumus, et mihi Spīritus dictāvit non aliud petendum ab aquā nisi sufferentiam carnis. Post paucōs diēs recipimur in carcerem;

**Videō:** I see it; repeating a verb from a question is a way of saying “yes”

**quam quod est:** than what it is; the *quam* is comparative; *quod* is the relative pronoun

**ego aliud ... sum:** I am not able to call myself another thing except what I am; the *me* is a direct object of the complementary infinitive dicere; *quod* is a relative pronoun

**ut ... ērueret:** like he would tear my eyes out; purpose clause; lit. “to tear out my eyes”

**tantum:** only; take closely with *vexāvit*

**victus ... Diāboli:** defeated along with the arguments of the Devil; perfect passive participle with abl. of accompaniment

**paucīs diēbus:** for a few days; abl. of extent of time (see Introduction VI.A)

**quod ... patrem:** the *quod* could mean “because” but it is more likely “when”; it typically takes the indicative but can take the subjunctive with no real difference in meaning

**caruissem:** I was lacking; in later Latin a pluperfect subjunctive often has an imperfect meaning; this verb takes an abl. object in Classical Latin but an acc. in later Latin

**grātiās ēgi:** I gave thanks; common idiom, *agere + grātiās,* “to give thanks”

**refrigerāvī:** I was refreshed; the verb *refrigerāre* can have an active sense (“to refresh”) or a passive sense (“to be refreshed”)

**dictāvit:** dictāre was a frequentative verb that meant “to say repeatedly,” but at this point in time it has lost frequentative meaning

**nōn aliud petendum (esse):** that nothing else ought to be sought; literally “that another thing is not to be sought”
et expāvī, quia numquam experta eram tālēs tenebrās. 6. Ō diem asperum: aëstus validus turbārum beneficiō; concussūrae mīlitum.

Novissimē màcerābar sollicitūdine ḵīnantis ibi. 7. Tunc Tertius et Pompeii, benedīctī diáconi qūi nōbis ministrābant, cōnstituērunt praemīo ut paucīs hōrīs ēmissī in meliōrem locum carcerīs refīrgerārēmus. 8. Tunc exeuntēs dē carcerē ĵūnīvīsī sībi vacābant. Ego ĵīnantem lactābam iam inediā dēfectum; sollicita prō eō adloquēbar màtrem et cōnfortābam frātrem, commendābām filium. Tābēscēbam ideō quod illōs tābēscere videram mei beneficiō. 9. Tālēs sollicitūdinēs multīs diēbus passa sum; et ĭūsurpāvī ut mēcum ĵīfāns in carcerē manēret;

adloquō, -qui, -locūtus sum: to address, speak to
aëstus, -ūs m.: heat, glow, fire
asper, aspera, asperum: harsh, rough
benedictus, -a, -um: blessed
commendō (1): to entrust, deposit with
concussūra, -ae f.: shaking; extortion
cōnfortō (1): to strengthen
cōnstituō, -ere, -ui, -úrum: to arrange
deficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum: to fail, exhaust
diāconus, -i m.: deacon
ēmittō, -ere, -mīsi, -missum: to send forth
expavēscō, -ere, expāvī: to panic, be terrified
exprior, -irī, -ritis sum: to experience
hōra, -ae f.: hour
inedia, -ae f.: lack of food, starvation
lactō (1): to nurse
mācerō (1): to weaken, make soft
maneō, -ēre, mānṣī: to remain, await
melior, melius: better
ministrō (1): to minister, attend to, serve
numquam: never
Pompeius, -ī m.: Pomponius (a deacon)
praemium, -ii n.: reward, prize; bribe
sollicitūdō, -inis f.: anxiety, worry
sollicitus, -a, -um: anxious, worried
tābēscō, -ere, tābūi: to melt, waste away, languish
tenebrae, -ārum f.: darkness
Tertius, -ī m.: Tertius (a deacon)
turba, -ae f.: crowd
ūsurpō (1): to use; to obtain (here: to obtain the right to do something)
vacō (1): to be empty, be vacant; have free time
validus, -a, -um: strong

Ö diem asperum: What a rough day!: acc. of exclamation
turbārum beneficiō: because of the crowds; beneficiō + genitive ("because of") is an idiom
concussūrae: the shakedowns; plural nom.
Novissimē: finally; superlative adverb; novus can mean “new,” but also “recent” or “final”
cōnstituērunt praemīo: they arranged, for a price; basically a bribe
paucīs hōrīs: for a few hours; abl. of extent of time (see Introduction VI.A)
commendābām filium (illis): I entrusted my son to them; to Perpetua’s mother and brother
mei beneficiō: because of me; again the idiom beneficiō + genitive ("because of")
multīs diēbus: for many days; abl. of extent of time (see Introduction VI.A)
et statim convalui et relevata sum a labore et sollicitudine infantis, et factus est mihi carcer subitum praetorium, ut ibi mallem esse quam alicubi.

*Perpetua narrates a vision: a bronze ladder to heaven, full of danger.*

4.1 Tunc dixit mihi frater meus: “Domina soror, iam in magna dignatione es, tantà ut postulès visionem et ostendatur tibi an passio sit an conmeatus.”

2. Et ego, quae me sciébam fábulāri cum Dominó, cuius benefició tanta experta eram, fidenter reprōmísì ei dicēns: “Crastinā diē tibi renuntiābō.” Et postulāvi, et ostènsum est mihi hoc:

3. Videō scalam aeream mirae magnitūdinis pertingentem usque ad caelum et angustam, per quam nōnnisi singulī ascendere possent,

*aereus, -a, -um:* of bronze, brazen  
*alicubi:* anywhere  
*angustus, -a, -um:* narrow  
*conmeātus, -ūs m.*: a free pass; the ability to leave  
*convalēscō, -ere, convalui:* to recover  
*crastinus, -a, -um:* (of) tomorrow  
*dignātīō, -ōnis f.*: esteem; grace  
*domina, -ae f.*: master; lady (a term of respect for superiors)  
*experior, -īri, -ritis sum:* to experience  
*fābulor, -āri, -ātum sum:* to speak, converse  
*fidenter:* confidently, boldly  
*labor, -ōris m.*: labor, hardship  
*magnitūdō, -inis f.*: magnitude, size  
*mīrus, -a, -um:* wonderful, marvelous  
*nōnnisi:* not unless, only  
*percingō, -ere:* to reach, extend, stretch out  
*praetorium, -ī n.*: officer’s residence; palace  
*relevō (1):* to lift up, raise; ease, relieve  
*renuntiō (1):* to bring back word, report  
*reprōmītō, -ere, -mīsī, -mīsum:* to promise in return  
*singulī, -ae, -a:* one by one, individuals  
*sollicitūdō, -inis f.*: anxiety, worry  
*subitō:* suddenly

factus est ... praetorium: the prison became a palace; the subject is *carcer* and *praetorium*  
frater meus: probably “brother” in the sense of fellow-Christian rather than biological sibling  
in magnā ... tantā ut: you are in great grace, so great that; the *tantā* is ablative in agreement with *dignatione*, the *ut* introduces a result clause  
an passio sit an conmeātus: whether it will be suffering or a free pass; that is, whether they will be killed or released  
quae mē sciēbam fábulari: since I knew that I spoke; lit. “I, who knew that I spoke”  
Crastinā diē: tomorrow; lit. “on tomorrow’s day”; abl. of time when  
Videō: Perpetua switches to present tense when describing her visions (cf. 7.4, 8.1, and 10.1)  
pertingentem ... angustam: both agree with *scalām aeream*  
per quam nōnnisi singulī ascendere possent: which could only be climbed single file; lit. “through which only individuals could climb”
et in lateribus scâlae omne genus ferrâmentôrum īnfixum. Erant ībī gladiî, lanceae, ĭmî, macheræ, ut sî quis neglegenter aut nôn sîrsum adtendêns ascenderet, laniârêtur et carnês eius inhaerêrent ferrâmentîs.

4. Et erat sub îpsâ scâlā drâcō cubâns mirae magnitûdinis, quī ascendentibus insidîas praestâbat et exterrêbat nê ascenderent.

5. Ascendit autem Satûrus prior, quī posteâ sê propter nös ultrô trâdiderat (quia ipse nös aedificâverat), et tunc cum adductî sumus, praesêns nôn fuerat. 6. Et pervênit in caput scâlae et convertit sê et dixit mihi: "Perpetua, sustineō tê; sed vidê nê tê mordeat drâcō ille."

Et dixi ego: "Nôn mê nocêbit, in nômē Iêsû Christî."

10. Et ad sonum vōcīs experrēctα sum, commandūcāns adhūc dulce nescioquid.

buccellā, -ae f.: small mouthful, morsel
candidātus, -a, -um: white-robed
cāsem, -i n.: cheese (masc. caseus in Classical Latin)
circularō, -āre, -stetātī: to stand around
clāmō (1): to shout, call out to
commandūcō (1): to chew
dēsub: below, beneath (+ abl.)
dulcis, -e: sweet
eīciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum: to cast out, put out
expurgiscor, expurgiscī, experrēctus sum: to wake
gradus, -ūs m.: step
grandis, -e: large; great; old
habitūs, -ūs m.: dress, attire
hortua, -i m.: garden
iungō, -ere, iūnxī, iūnctum: to join, attach

lentē: slowly
levō (1): to lift up, raise up
mandūcō (1): to chew, masticate, eat, devour
medium, -i n.: the middle
mille pl. milia, -ium n.: thousand
mulgēō, -ēre, -īstī, -īsum: to milk
nescoquīs, nescoquid: something (I do not know what)
ōvis, -is f.: sheep
pāstor, pāstōris m.: shepherd
prīmus, -a, -um: first
sedēō, -ēre, sēdī, sessum: to sit
sonus, -i m.: sound
tegnon: child (vocative of Grk. τέκνον)
timō, -ēre, timūtī: to fear
vōx, vōcis f.: voice; utterance, word

timēns: agrees with an implied draco
illi caput: his head; a dat. is commonly used with body parts rather than a possessive adj. or gen.
in habitū pāstōris: in the attire of a shepherd; Jesus is often depicted as a shepherd in early Christian art and literature
Et circumstantēs (erant) candidāti, mīlia multa: And standing around (us) were people dressed in white, many thousands (of them); the candidāti is the subject and circumstantēs the predicate; mīlia multa is in apposition to candidāti but is neuter since “thousand” only has neuter forms in the plural
Bene vēnistī: welcome
dē cāseō ... buccellam: suggestive of the Christian ritual of Thanksgiving (see Introduction V.A)
quasi buccellam: about a mouthful; the word quasi can have a sense “nearly” or “almost”
ad sonum: at the sound
experrēctα sum: I awoke; the standard way in this narrative for a vision to end (cf. 7.9, 8.4, 10.13, and 13.8)
Passiō Sāncṭārum Perpetuae et Félicitātīs 4.10-5.3

Et retuli statim frātri meō; et intellēximus passiōnem esse futūram, et coepimus nūllum iam spem in saeculō habēre.

Perpetua’s father pleads with her, but she is resolute.

5.1 Post paucōs diēs rūmor cucurrit ut audirēmur. Supervēnit autem et dē civitāte pater meus, cōnsūmptus taediō, et ascendit ad mē, ut mē dēiceret, dīcēns: 2 “Miserēre, filia, cānis meīs; miserēre patri, si dignus sum ā tē pater vocāri. Si his tē manibus ad hunc flōrem aetātis prōvēxiō, sī tē praeposuī omnibus frātribus tuīs, nē mē dederīs in dēdecus hominum. 3. Aspice frātres tuōs, aspice mātre tuam et māterteram, aspice filium tuum qui post tē vive re nōn poterit.

aētās, aētātīs f.: age, life
civitās, civitātīs f.: city
cōnsūmō, -ere, cōnsūmpsiō, cōnsūmpsumptum: to consume
currō, -ere, currūrī, currum: to run, rush, fly
dēdecus, -orīs n.: disgrace, dishonor, shame
dignus, -a, -um: worthy
flōs, flōris m.: flower, blossom
māterterea, -ae f.: aunt (mother’s sister)
miserēor, -erī, -erītus sum: to pity, have mercy on (+ dat.)
nūllus, -a, -um: none, no, no one
praepōnō, -ere, praeposuiō, praepositure: to place in front (+ dat.)
prōvēhō, -ere, prōvēxiō, prōvectum: to carry forward, move, advance
referō, -ferre, -tuliō, -lātum: to report
rūmor, -ōris m.: rumor
supervenīō, -ire, -vēnī, -ventum: to arrive (unexpectedly)
taedium, -īn.: weariness
vivō, -ere, vivīxī, vīctum: to live

in saeculō: in this world; the word saeculum here (lit. “age”) meaning the present world, as often in early Christian texts
ut audirēmur: that we would have a hearing; lit. “that we would be heard”; this clause is a noun clause in apposition to rūmor
ut mē dēiceret: to throw me down; Perpetua again uses the language of wrestling
Miserēre ... miserēre: have mercy; second person singular imperative of miserēor, a deponent verb; here this verb takes the dative, though in Classical Latin it takes the genitive (see Introduction VI.D)
Si his ... prōvēxiō: If I raised you up with these hands to this blossom of life; the phrase flōs aetātis is an idiom for “the prime of life”
nē mē dederīs in dēdecus: do not deliver me into dishonor; jussive subjunctives often use the perfect tense in second person
aspice filium ... poterit: Look at your son, who will not be able to live after you (die); the father could be saying that her son will not flourish without her, but he could also be threatening to use his right to kill or abandon the child unless she yields


*Perpetua’s trial: she refuses to sacrifice to the emperors.*

### 6.1 Aliō diē cum prandrērēmus, subitō raptī sumus ut audīrēmur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animus, -i m.: mind, spirit; courage, pride (pl.)</td>
<td>lacryma, -ae f.: tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāsiō (1): to kiss</td>
<td>liberē: freely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāsus, -is m.: misfortune; fate</td>
<td>loquor, loquī, locūrus sum: to speak, say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catastā, -ae f.: platform</td>
<td>nēmō, nēminīs: no one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cōnfertō (1): to strengthen; comfort</td>
<td>nōminō (1): to name, to call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cōnstituō, -ere, -uī, -ātum: to arrange; decide</td>
<td>pietās, pietātis f.: devotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contristō (1): to sadden, cast gloom over</td>
<td>potestās, -tātis f.: power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dépōnō, -ere, -posuī, -positum: to set aside</td>
<td>prandeō, -ere, -dī: to eat lunch, eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domina, -ae f.: master; lady (term of respect for a superior)</td>
<td>rapiō, -ere, rapuī, raptum: to seize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exterminō (1): to put an end; destroy</td>
<td>recēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum: to depart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genus, generis n.: family, kind, sort</td>
<td>sōlus, -a, -um: alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iactō (1): to throw</td>
<td>subitō: suddenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>totūs, -a, -um: whole, entire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nē ... exterminēs: *do not destroy us all; jussive subjunctive*
Nēmō ... nostrum: *no one of us; partitive genitive*
*sī tū aliquid fueris passa: *if you suffer anything; fueris passa = eris passa (see Introduction VI.F)*;
the condition is future more vivid
prō suā pietāte: *because of his devotion; lit. “in accordance with his devotion”*
quod sōlus ... dē tōtō genere meō: *because he alone ... out of all my family*
gāvisūrus nōn esset: *would not rejoice*; Perpetua uses a future active participle with *sum* since there
is no future tense in the subjunctive
Hoc fiet ... quod Deus voluerit: *What will happen on that platform is what God has willed; lit. “This thing will happen ... which God has willed”*
Scītō: *Know; future imperative of scīre*
in dei (potestāte): *but in (the power) of God*
ut audīrēmur: *for our (judicial) hearing; lit. “in order that we might be heard”*

3. Et Hilariānus prōcūrātor, qui tunc locō prōcōnsulīs Minūcī Timiniānī défunctī iūs gladiī accēperat, “Parce,” inquit, “cānīs patris tui, parce infantiae puerī. Fac sacrum prō salūte imperātorum.”

4. Et ego respondi, “Nōn faciō.”
Hilariānus “Christiāna es?” inquit.
Et ego respondi, “Christiāna sum.”

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**appāreō, -ēre, appārui, -ītum**: to appear
**catasta, -ae f.**: platform
**Christiānus, -a, -um**: Christian
**cōnfitēri, cōnfitēris, cōnfitēsus sum**: to confess
**cūrrī, -ere, cucurrit, cursus**: to run, rush, fly
**dēfungō, -i, -ēactus sum**: to die, finish
**extrahō, -ere, -trāxi, -tractum**: to drag off
**forum, -i n.**: forum, marketplace
**gradus, -ūs m.**: step
**ilicō**: there, right there
**imperātor, -āris m.**: commander; emperor
**infantia, -ae f.**: infancy
**interrogō (1)**: to ask, question, interrogate
**iūs, iūris n.**: law, right

**Minūcius, -i m.**: Minucius
**misereor, -ēri, -itus sum**: to pity (+ dat.)
**parcō, -ere, pepercī**: to spare (+ dat.)
**pars, partis f.**: part
**prōcōnsul, -īs m.**: proconsul, the official in charge of the province
**prōcūrātor, -āris m.**: procurator, a senior administrator
**rūmor, -ōris m.**: rumor
**sacrum, -i n.**: a sacrifice
**salūs, -ūsis f.**: safety; health
**supplīcō (1)**: to fall to one’s knees; beg
**Timiniānus, -i m.**: Timinius
**vicinus, -a, -um**: neighboring

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**factus est populus immēnsum**: a huge crowd gathered; the factus est is literally “was made” (from fīō, fīerī, factūs sum); the word populus means “crowd” here and elsewhere in the Passiō

**Ventum est**: it came; impersonal passive

**Miserērē infantī**: Pity your child; second person singular imperative of misereor, a deponent verb; here this verb takes the dative, though in Classical Latin it takes the genitive

**Hilariānus**: Publius Aelius Hilarianus, an equestrian (see Introduction IV.D)

**locō prōcōnsulīs Minūcī Timiniānī défunctī**: in place of the deceased proconsul, Minucius

**Timiniānus**: on the name see Introduction IV.D

**iūs gladiī**: right of the sword; the right to carry out capital punishment

**Fac sacrum prō salūte imperātorum**: Perform a sacrifice for the health of the emperors; in 203 CE the emperors were Septimius Severus (r. 193-211) and his son Caracalla (r. 198-217)
Et cum stāret pater ad mē dēiciendum, iussus est ab Hilariāno dēici, et virgā percussus est. Et doluit mihi cāsus patris mei quasi ego fuissem percussa; sic dolui prō senectā eius miserā. 6. Tunc nōs ūniversōs prōnūntiat, et damnat ad bēstiās; et hilarēs dēscendimus ad carcerem. 7. Tunc quia cōnsuēverat ā mē ūnōs mammās accīpere et mēcum in carcere manēre, statim mittō ad patrem Pomponium diāconum, postulāns īnfantem. Sed pater dare nōluit. 8. Et quōmodo Deus voluit, neque ille amplius mammās désiderāvit, neque mihi fervōrem fēcērunt nē sollicitūdine īnfantis et dolōre mammārum mācerārēr.
Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis 7.1-4

Perpetua relates a second vision: her brother suffering in the afterlife.

7.1 Post dies paucos, dum universi oramus, subito mediā oratiōne profecta est mihi vox, et nōmināvī Dinocratēn. Et obstipuī quod numquam mihi in mentem vēnisset nisi tunc, et doluī commemorātā cāsus eius. 2. Ēt cognōvī mē statim dignam esse et prō eō petere débere. Et coepī dē ipsō oratiōnem facere multum et ingemiscere ad Dominum. 3. Continuō ipsā nocte ostēnsum est mihi hoc:

4. Videō Dinocratēn exuentem dē locō tenebrōsō ubi et complūrēs erant, aestuāntem valdē et sitientem, sordidō vultū et colōre pallidō; et vulnus in faciē eius, quod cum morerētur habuit.

aestū (1): to be burning hot
caeus, -ūs m.: misfortune; fate
color, -ōris m.: color, complexion
commemorō (1): to recall (+ gen.)
complūrēs, -plāra: very many
continuō: immediately (adv.)
dēbeō, -ēre, -nū, dēbitum: to owe; ought
dignus, -a, -um: worthy
dum: while, as long as, until
ingemiscō, -ere, -nū: to groan, sigh, moan
mēns, mentis f.: mind
nōminō (1): to name, call by name, to call
nox, noxītis, f.: night
numquam: never

obstipescō, -ere, obstipuī: to be astounded
ōrō (1): to plead; pray
pallidus, -a, -um: pale, pallid, bloodless
petō, -ere, petīvī, petītum: to ask; pray
proficiōscor, -i, -profectus sum: to go out
sitiō, -ēre, -īvī: to be thirsty, thirst
sordidus, -a, -um: dirty
subiō: suddenly
tenebrōsus, -a, -um: dark, gloomy
valdē: very, exceedingly
vōx, vocīs f.: voice; utterance, word
vulnus, -eris m.: wound
vultus, -ūs m.: face

mediā oratiōne: in the midst of prayer; abl. of time when
Dinocratēn: Dinocrates is Perpetua’s deceased brother; the form here is a Greek accusative
quod ... vēnisset: because it had never come; there is no clear reason for the subjunctive here (see Introduction VI.G)
commemorātā cāsus eius: remembering his fate; the verb commemorāre sometimes uses passive forms with a middle sense (“to recall to one’s own mind”)
prō eō petere: to pray for him; the verb petere is most literally “seek” but can mean “pray” in early Christian texts
ōratiōnem facere multum: to pray repeatedly; the multum here is an adverb (“greatly,” “repeatedly”)
ostēnsum ... hoc: this was shown to me; Perpetua uses this phrase to mark the beginning of new visions (cf. 4.2, 8.1)
Videō: Perpetua uses the present tense where the perfect would be expected so as to take readers through her vision as she experienced it (cf. 4.3, 8.1, 10.1)
sordidō vultū et colōre pallidō: with a dirty face and pale complexion; abl. of description
cum morerētur: when he was dying; imperfect subjunctive of moriō, morī, mortuus sum
Passiô Sâncþarum Perpetuae et Fèlicitâtis 7.5-8

5. Hic Dînocratês fuerat frâter meus carnâlis, annôrum septime, quì per ïnfirmitâtem facië cancerâtâ male obiit ita ut mors eius odiò fuerit omnibus hominibus. 6. Prò hoc ergò òrâtioñem fèceram; et inter mè et illum grande erat diastême ita ut uteque ad invicem accèdere nòn possèmus. 7. Erat deinde in ìpsò locô ubi Dînocratês erat piscîna plèna aquâ, altiòrem marginem habèns quam erat statûra puerì; et extendèbat sè Dînocratês quasi bibitûrus. 8. Ego dolèbam quod et piscîna illa aquam habèbat et tamen propter altitùdinem marginis bibitûrus nòn esset.

altior, -iùs: higher, taller (altus)
altitùdô, -dinis f.: height, depth
bibô, -ere, bibï: to drink (fut. act. participle bibitûrus, -a, -um)
cancerâscô, -ere, cancerâvi, cancerâtùs: to become cancerous, be afflicted with cancer
carnâlis, -e: of the flesh
deinde: then; moreover
diastême, -matis n.: interval, space (between)
ergô: therefore
extendô, -ere, extendî, extentum (extênsum): to stretch, spread out
grandîs, -e: large, great
ïnfirmitâtès, -tâtis f.: weakness; sickness
male: badly; tragically
mors, mortiâ f.: death
obeô, -ire, -iì (-îvi), -itum: to die, pass away
odîum, -iî n.: hatred; loathing
piscîna, -ae f.: pool
plènus, -a, -um: full, filled with (+ abl.)
septem: seven
statûra, -ae f.: stature, size, height
uterque, utraque, utrumque: each (of two), both

frâter meus carnâlis: biological brother; Perpetua specifies carnâlis to avoid ambiguity between a biological brother and fellow Christians
annôrum septime: seven years old; lit. “(a boy) of seven years”; gen. of description dependent on Dînocratês
facië cancerâtâ: from a cancer in the face; lit. “from a cancered face”; abl. of means
ita ut: in such a way that; begins a result clause governed by obiit
odiô ... omnibus hominibus: a source of loathing for all; the odiô is dat. of purpose, and omnibus hominibus is dat. of reference; together they form a double dative construction
Prò ... fèceram: I prayed on his behalf; lit. “I made a prayer on behalf of this (child)”
invicem: each other; used in place of a reflexive pronoun
altiòrem ... puerî: having an edge higher than was the height of the boy; the habèns modifies piscîna and has direct object marginem, which is compared to statûra puerî with altiòrem quam (comparative + quam)
quasi bibitûrus: as if desiring to drink; future active participle here expressing intention
dolèbam quod: I was sad because; the quod acts as a conjunction, not as a relative pronoun
bibitûrus ... esset: he would not be able to drink; the future participle with sum is a future periphrastic form, equivalent to the non-existent future subjunctive
Passiō Sāncūrum Perpetuae et Fēlicītātīs 7.9-8.1


Perpetua relates a third vision: her brother no longer suffering.

8.1 Diē quō in nervō mānsimus, ostēnsum est mihi hoc:

Caesar, -aris m.: Caesar
castrēnsis, -is: of a military camp (castra)
dōnō (1): to give, grant
expergiscor, expergisci, expergēctus sum: to wake
fidō, -ere, fisus sum: to trust
gemō, -ere, -uī, -itum: to groan, sigh
Geta, -ae m.: Geta
labor, -ōris m.: hardship, suffering
labōrō (1): to labor, struggle, suffer
lacrimō (1): to weep, cry

maneō, -ēre, mānsī, mānsum: to remain, stay
mūnus, -eris n.: duty, gift; gladiatorial games
nātāle, -is n.: birthday (masc. in Classical Latin)
nervus, -i m.: fetter, cord; stocks
nox, noctis f.: night
ōrō (1): to plead; pray (for)
prōsum, prōdesse, prōfū: to be useful, beneficial (fut. act. participle prōfutūrus, -a, -um)
quōūque: until, up until
tránseō, -ire, -ī (-īvi), -itum: to go over

Et experrēcta sum, et cognōvi: And I woke, and I understood; the standard way in this narrative for a vision to end (cf. 4.10, 8.4, 10.13, and 13.8)
mē prōfutūram (esse) labōrī eius: that I would be useful for his hardship; the verb prōsum takes a dative object (labōrī)
omnibus diēbus: every day; abl. of extent of time (see Introduction VI.A)
Mūnere ... castrēnsi: Perpetua has been sentenced to die fighting beasts at the military games
nātāle tunc (erat) Getae Caesarīs: at that time it was the birthday of Geta Caesar; the games are part of the birthday celebrations for Geta Caesar, who later became co-emperor with his brother, Caracalla, and their father, Septimius Severus
ut ... dōnārētur: an indirect command governed by gemēns et lacrimāns; the implied subject of dōnārētur is the prayer for Dinocrates
Diē quō: On a day in which; abl. of time when
ostēnsum ... hoc: this was shown to me; Perpetua uses this phrase to mark the beginning of new visions (cf. 4.2, 7.3)
Passiō Sāctarum Perpetuae et Fēlicitātis 8.1-4

Videō locum illum quem retrō videram et Dīnocratēn mundō corpore, bene vestītum, refrigerantem; et ubi erat vulnus videō cicātricem; 2. et piscīnām illum, quam retrō videram, summissō margine ūisque ad umbilicum puerī; et aquam dē eā trahēbat sine cessātione; 3. et super margine fīala aurea plēna aquā; et accessit Dīnocratēs et dē eā bibere coepit; quae fīala nōn dēficiēbat. 4. Et satiātus accessit dē aquā lūdere mōre infantium gaudēns.

Et experrēcta sum. Tunc intellēxi trānslātum eum esse dē poenā.

---

*aureus, -a, -um:* golden  
bibō, -ere, bibi: to drink  
cessātio, -tiōnis f.: cessation, letup  
cicātrix, -trīcis f.: scar  
corpus, corporis n.: body  
dēficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum: to fail, exhaust; empty  
fīala, -ae f.: cup  
lūdō, -ere, lūsī, lūsum: to play  
mōs, mōris m.: custom, manner  
mundus, -a, -um: pure, clean, elegant  
piscīna, -ae f.: pool  
plēnus, -a, -um: full, filled with (+ abl.)  
poena, -ae f.: punishment; suffering  
retrō: back; previously, before (adv.)  
satiō (1): to satisfy, sate  
summissō, -ere, -missī, -missum: to lower  
trahō, -ere, trāxī, tractum: to draw  
trānsferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum: to carry across, transport; free  
umbilicus, -ī m.: navel; middle  
vestīō, -ire, -ī (īvi), -ītum: to clothe, dress  
vulnus, -eris n.: wound

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**Videō:** Perpetua uses the present tense where the perfect would be expected so as to take readers through her vision as she experienced it (cf. 4.3, 7.4, 10.1)

**locum ... et Dīnocratēn:** both are direct objects of Videō; the ending of Dīnocratēn is a Greek accusative

**mundō corpore:** with a clean body; abl. of description

**refrigerantem:** getting refreshment; lit. “being refreshed”; the verb refrigerāre can have an active sense ("to refresh") or a passive sense ("to be refreshed")

**summissō ... puerī:** with the edge having been lowered all the way to the boy’s middle; abl. absolute

**(erat) fīala aurea:** there was a golden cup

**quaes fīala:** and this cup

**accessit:** began; the verb accēdere is most literally “to approach” but can mean “undertake” or “begin”

**dē aquā:** with the water; unlike in Classical Latin, the abl. of means takes the preposition dē (see Introduction VI.C)

**mōre infantium:** in the manner of children

**Et experrēcta sum. Tunc intellēxi:** And I woke. Then I understood; the standard way in this narrative for a vision to end (cf. 4.10, 7.9, 10.13, and 13.8)

**trānslātum ... poenā:** that he had been freed from suffering; the word trānslātum suggests that

Dinocrates was transferred from one place to another, but it is not certain what these places are: Purgatory (or Hell) to Heaven? One part of Hades to another?

51
9.1 Deinde post diēs paucōs Pudēns miles, optiō praepositus carceris, qui nōs magnificāre coepit intellegēns magnam virtūtem esse in nōbīs, multōs ad nōs admittēbat ut et nōs et illīs invicem refrīgerārēmus.


3. Ego dolēbam prō Ínfelici senectā eius.
Perpetua recounts a fourth vision: her battle in the arena.

10.1 Prīdiē quam pugnārēmus, videō in horōmate hoc: vēnisse Pompōnium diāconum ad ābstium carceris et pulsāre vehementer. 2. Et exīvī ad eum et aperuī ēī; qui erat vestītus discīncūtā candidā, habēns multipliceōs galliculās. 3. Et dīxit mihi: “Perpetua, tē expectāmus: venī!” Et tenuit mihi manum et coeptimus īre per aspera loca et flexuōsā.


Prīdiē quam pugnārēmus: On the day before we were going to fight; the quam here is comparative and is often idiomatically paired with prīdiē; though it is best left out of translation

videō: Perpetua uses the present tense where the perfect would be expected so as to take readers through her vision as she experienced it (cf. 4.3, 7.4, 8.1)

vēnisse Pompōnium diāconum ... et pulsāre: that Pomponius the deacon had come ... and was knocking; Perpetua begins with an ind. statement and switches to simple indicative at 10.2

quis: and he (Pomponius); lit. “who”

discīncūtā candidā (tunicā): an unbelted white (tunic)

multiplicēs galliculās: strappy sandals; it is not clear exactly how these sandals are “manifold” (multiplicēs), but it suggests some kind of elaborate footwear

venī: come!; imperative

mihi manum: my hand; the dative is commonly used to express possession with body parts

aspera loca et flexuōsā: rough and winding places

in mediā arēnā: into the middle (of the) arena; here in + abl. indicates motion towards (see Introduction VI.B)

Nōlī pavērē: Do not fear; standard form of the negative imperative
5. Et aspiciò populum ingentem attonitum; et quia sciēbam mē ad bēstias damnātam esse, mīrābar quod nōn mitterentur mihi bēstiae. 6. Et exīvit quīdam contrā mē Aegyptius foedus speciē cum adiūtōribus suīs pugnātūrus mēcum. Veniunt et ad mē adolescentēs decōri, adiūtōres et faūtōres mei. 7. Et expoliāta sum et facta sum masculus; et coepērunt mē faūtōres mei oleō dēfricāre, quōmodo solent in agōnem. Et illum contrā Aegyptium videō in afā volūtāntem.

---

adītus, -ōris m.: helper
adolēscēns, -entis m./f.: a young person
afa, -ae f.: dust; sand
agōn, -ōnis m.: struggle; contest; fight
aspiciō, -ere, aspexī, aspectum: to see
attonitus, -a, -um: astonished, stunned
contrā: against (prep. + acc.); on the other hand, opposite (adv.)
damnō (1): to condemn
decōrus, -a, -um: seemly, handsome, fine
dēfricō, -āre, -ūi, -ātum: to rub down
etiam: also, even, besides
ex(s)poliō, -ire, -īvi, -ītum: to strip naked
faūtus, -ōris m.: favorer, supporter
ferō, ferre, tuli, lātum: to carry, bear, endure
foedus, -a, -um: foul, ugly
ingēns, ingentiōs: huge, immense
masculus, -a, -um: male, masculine; a male
mīrōr, -āri, -ātus sum: to wonder, be amazed
oleum, -ī n.: oil, olive oil
quīdam, quaedam, quiddam: a certain (person or thing)
quōmodo: as, in the way that (adv.)
soleō, -ēre, -itus sum: to be accustomed, to usually (do something)
speciēs, -ēī f.: appearance
volūtō (1): to roll, twist

---

populum ingentem attonitum: a huge crowd, stunned; this meaning of populus is frequent in the Passiō
quod nōn mitterentur mihi bēstiae: because the beasts were not sent to me; there is no clear reason for the subjunctive (see Introduction VI.G)
contrā mē: against me; here contrā is a preposition
Aegyptius foedus speciē: an Egyptian, ugly in appearance; the speciē is abl. of description
pugnātūrus mēcum: in order to fight with me; future participle expressing purpose
facta sum masculus: I became a man; the verb agrees with its feminine subject (Perpetua), the predicate nominative is masculine (masculus), reflecting what Perpetua has now become
quōmodo solent (facere): as they usually (do); athletes would be rubbed down with oil before exercise
in agōnem: for a fight; here in + acc. means “for” with a sense of purpose
illum contrā Aegyptium: that Egyptian, opposite (to me); the contrā here is an adverb
in afā volūtāntem: rolling in the sand; wrestlers would be sprinkled with a light dust in order to be able to grip each other better

amphitheātrum, -ī n.: amphitheater, arena
argentum, -ī n.: silver
aureus, -a, -um: golden
aurum, -ī n.: gold
clāvus, -i m.: nail; stripe
discīngō, -ere, discīnxi, discīncĭtum (discīncītātum): to unbelt, loosen
duo, duae, duo: two
efferō, efferre, extulĭ, ēlātum: to carry out; raise up
excèdō, -ere, excessī, excessūm: to exceed, go beyond
fastīgium, -īī n.: top, roof
gallicula, -ae f.: Gallic shoe, sandal
lanista, -ae m.: trainer (of gladiators)
magnitūdō, -tūdinis f.: magnitude, size
mālum, -ī n.: apple
mīrus, -a, -um: marvelous
multiformīs, -e: many-shaped, intricate
occīdō, -ere, occīdi, occīsis: to kill, cut down
ōsculōr, -ārī, -ātus sum: to kiss
pectus, pectoris n.: breast, chest
purpurā, -ae f.: crimson, purple
rāmus, -i m.: branch
recēdō, -ere, recessī, recessūm: to go back, withdraw
silentium, -īt n.: silence
vincō, -ere, vici, victum: to conquer, defeat
virga, -ae f.: rod
viridis, -e: green

mîrae magnitūdinis: of such a marvelous size; genitive of description modifying vir quidam
ut ... amphitheatrī: such that he even exceeded (the height of) the top of the amphitheater; result clause
purpuram (tunicam) ... per medium pectus habĕns: having a tunic (that was) purple between two stripes through the middle of the chest; this is a difficult clause whose meaning is disputed
et galliculās: and sandals; like the purpuram (tunicam), the sandals are the direct object of habĕns;
the tall man is wearing both a purple tunic and strappy sandals
purpuram (tunicam) ... habĕns, et galliculās: habĕns takes purpuram (tunicam) and galliculās as objects; the tall man is wearing both a purple tunic and strappy sandals
efferēns: holding up; the participle efferēns (like habĕns) is modifying the man; it takes virgam and rāmum as direct objects; the tall man is carrying both a rod and a branch
māla aurea: golden apples; perhaps a reference to the apples won by Hercules from the garden of the Hesperides, a kind of mythic paradise
Passió Sæctàrum Perpetuæ et Féliçitátis 10.10-15


Et experrēctā sum. 14. Et intellēxi mē nōn ad bēstiās, sed contrā Diabolum esse pugnātūram; sed sciēbam mihi esse victōriam. 15. Hoc ūsque in prīdiē mūneris ēgī; ipsīus autem mūneris āctum, sī quis voluerint, scribāt.

aēs, āeris m.: air
cadō, cadere, cecidi, cāsum: to fall
cadēdō, -ere, cecidi, caesium: to cut; strike
calx, calcis f.: heel
clāmō (1): to shout, cry out
contrā: against, opposite, facing (+ acc.)
Diabolus, -i m.: Satan (Grk. Slanderer)
digitus, -i m.: finger
fāutor, -oris m.: faver, supporter
iungō, -ere, iūnxi, iūntum: to join, attach
lanista, -ae m.: trainer (of gladiators)
mora, -ae f.: delay, hesitation
pāx, pācis f.: peace
prīdiē: on the day before, the previous day
psallō, -ere, psalli: to sing; sing a hymn
pugnus, -i m.: a fist
rāmus, -i m.: branch
Sanavivāria, -ae f.: “Safe-Alive,” the gate through which surviving gladiators could exit
scribō, -ere, scripsi, scriptum: to write
tollō, -ere, sustuli, sublātum: to raise
victōria, -ae f.: victory

ad invicem: to each other; here invicem is used as a reflexive pronoun
mittere pugnōs: throw punches
illī calcibus faciem caedēbam: I was striking his face with my heels; here illī is dative with faciem, a common way to show possession of body parts
sublāta sum in āere: I was raised into the air; here in + abl. indicates motion towards rather than static location (see Introduction VI.B); sublāta sum is from tollō, -ere, sustuli, sublātum (“to raise”)
Filīa, pāx (sit) tēcum: Daughter, peace be with you; on the “Kiss of Peace,” see Introduction V.A
Et experrēctā sum. Et intellēxi: And I woke. And I understood; the standard way in this narrative for a vision to end (cf. 4.10, 7.9, 8.4, and 13.8)
mihi esse victōriam: that I had the victory; lit. “that there was victory for me,” dat. of possession
Hoc ūsque ... ēgī: This (is what) I did up until the day before the games; the word ūsque as a preposition is sometimes preceded by its acc. object (here Hoc)
āctum: as for the action; lit. “the thing done”; Perpetua cannot write the account of her own death so she leaves it to whoever wishes to do so
Passiō Sānctārum Perpetuae et Fēlicitātis 11.1-5

Perpetua’s narrative has ended. The Redactor now introduces the narrative of Satyrus: a vision of a heavenly afterlife.

11.1 Sed et Satūrus benedictus hanc visiōnem suam ēditit, quam ipse conscripsit.


5. Et dum gestāmur ab ipsis quattuor angelīs, factum est nōbīs spatium grande, quo tāle fuit quasi viridārium, arborēs habēns rosae et omne genus flōrēs.

arbor, -oris f.: tree
benedictus, -a, -um: blessed
clivus, -ī m.: slope
cēdō, -ere, -ēdī, -ēditum: to put forth, publish
cērō, ferre, tuli, lātum: to carry, bear, endure
flōs, -oris m.: flower, blossom
genus, -ēris n.: kind, sort
gestrō (1): to carry, bear
grandis, -ē: large, grand, great
lātus, -ēris n.: side
liberō (1): to free; to pass over
mollis, -e: soft, gentle
mundus, -ī m.: world

oriēns, orientis: east, lit. “(sōl) oriēns” (“the rising sun”)
percipīō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum: to receive, get, take in completely
prīmus, -a, -um: first
prōmissiō, -onis f.: promise
prōmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missum: to promise
supīnus, -a, -um: lying on one’s back
sūrum: upwards
tangō, -ere, tetigī, tactum: to touch
vertō, -ere, vertī, versum: to turn
viridārium, -ī n.: orchard, garden

Passī ... erāmus: from the verb patiō, this statement can mean “we had suffered” or “we had endured”;
Satyrus begins his narrative after their deaths in the arena
inquit: he said; the Redactor added inquit to mark the beginning of Satyrus’s narrative
nōn supīnī sūrum versī ... ascendentēs: not on our backs turned upwards but as if ascending a gentle slope; they are climbing upwards, not being carried after death
liberātō prīmō mundō: with the first world having been passed over (by us); abl. absolute; liberāre can have a sense of “to pass over”
in latere meō: at my side
factum est ... spatium grande: a great space appeared; the spatium grande is the neuter subject of the perfect passive verb
quod tāle fuit quasi: which was like; lit. “which was of such a sort as if”
omne genus flōrēs: flowers of every sort; the omne genus is a fixed idiom, which remains acc.


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clariorēs cēteris: brighter than the others; the word clariorēs is a comparative adjective with the abl. of comparison cēteris
quit: and these; lit. “which (angels)” ; a connecting relative whose antecedent is the four other angels
Ecce sunt (hic)! Look, they are here!
pedibus nostrīs: on foot; abl. of means
viā lātā: by a broad path; abl. of means
Iocundum et Sāturnīnum et Artaxium ... et Quintum: we have no information about these figures except what Satyrus writes here
eādem persecutiōne: in the same persecution; abl. of time when
quaerēbāmus dē illis ubi essent: we asked them where they were; lit. “we asked from them where they themselves were”; this is an indirect question
Venite ... introite et salūtāte: Come ... enter and greet; plural imperatives
Passiō Sāncūrum Perpetuae et Fēlicītātis 12.1-5

_Satyrus’s vision continues: a meeting with God._

12.1 Et vēnimus prope locum, cuius locī parietēs tālēs erant quasi dē lūce aedificāti; et ante ostium locī illius angeli quattuor stābant, qui introeuntēs vestiērunt stolās candidās. 2. Et introivimus, et audīvimus vōcem ūnitam dicentem “Agios agios agios” sine cessatioōne. 3. Et vidīmus in eōdem locō sedentem quasi hominem cānum, niveōs habentem capillōs et vultūs iuvenīli, cuius pedēs nōn vidīmus. 4. Et in dextrā et in sinistrā seniōrēs quattuor, et post illōs cēterī seniōrēs complūrēs stābant. 5. Et introeuntēs cum admiratioūne stetimus ante thronum, et quattuor angeli sublevāvērunt nōs et osculātī sumus illum,

| admīrātiō, -tōnīs f.: admiral, wonder | ostium, -īnīs n.: entrance, opening; door |
| aedificō (1): to build | pariēs, -etis m.: wall |
| candidus, -a, -um: bright white | prope: near (+ acc.) |
| capillus, -ī m.: hair | sedeō, -ēre, sēdi, sessum: to sit |
| cessātiō, -tōnīs f.: cessation, cease | sinister, -tra, -trum: left, the left side |
| complūrēs, -plūrā: very many | stola, -ae f.: stola, long upper garment, robe |
| dexter, -tra, -trum: right, the right side | sublevō (1): to lift up, raise up, support, assist |
| gestō (1): to carry, bear, wear | thronus, -ī m.: throne |
| iuvenilis, -e: youthful | ūnitus, -a, -um: united |
| lūx, lūcis f.: light | vestīō, -īre, -īvi, -ītum: to clothe, dress |
| niveus, -a, -um: snowy, snow white | vōx, vōcis f.: voice; utterance, word |
| ōscularī, -āri, -ātus sum: to kiss | vultus, -ūs m.: face; expression |

cuius locī parietēs: whose walls; lit. “of which place the walls”
quī introeuntēs vestiērunt stolās candidās: who clothed those entering in bright white robes; vestiērunt takes a double accusative here, so it has the sense of clothing someone (introeuntēs) in something (stolās)
Agios agios agios: Holy holy holy; “(h)agios” is Greek for “holy” (ᾨγίος), in the nom./sg./masc.
quasi hominem cānum: one like an old man; the word cānum (“gray”) can have a sense of “gray-haired” or “old”
vultūs iuvenīli: with a young face; abl. of description
in dextrā (manū) et in sinistrā (manū): on the right-hand side and on the left-hand side; both dextrā and sinistrā are feminine because there is an implied manū with each, and manus is a feminine noun (erant) seniōrēs: there were elders; the comparative form of the adj. senex (“old”) used substantively
Passiō Sāntārum Perpetuae et Fēlicitātis 12.5-13.1

et dē manū suā trāiēcit nōbis in faciem.

   Et stetimus et pācem fēcimus.
   Et dixērunt nōbis seniōrès: “Īte et lūdite.”

   Et dixit mihi: “Deō grātiās, ut, quōmodo in carne hilaris fui, hilarior
   sum et hic modo.”

Satyrus’s vision concludes: Perpetua mediates a dispute.

13.1 Et exivimus et vidimus ante forēs Optātum, episcopum, ad
dexteram et Aspasium, presbyterum doctōrem, ad sinistram, sēparātōs
et trīstēs.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspasius, -i m.</td>
<td>Aspasius (priest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dexter, -tera, -terum</td>
<td>right, the right side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doctor, -ōris m.</td>
<td>instructor, teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>episcopus, -i m.</td>
<td>overseer; bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foris, -is f.</td>
<td>door, gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīc</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūdō, -ere, lūsī, lūsum</td>
<td>to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optātus, -i m.</td>
<td>Optatus (bishop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāx, pācis f.</td>
<td>peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presbyter, -erī m.</td>
<td>elder; priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēparō</td>
<td>(1): to separate, divide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinister, -tra, -trum</td>
<td>left, the left side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trācīō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum</td>
<td>to throw across, cause to go across, put over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trīstis, -e</td>
<td>sad, sullen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dē manū suā trāiēcit nōbis in faciem: he put his hand over our face; lit. “with his hand he crossed over (onto) our face.” This is a difficult sentence both because the Latin is unclear and the gesture obscure. The dē manū here is probably an abl. of means, which sometimes takes the preposition de in later Latin (see Introduction VI.C); the in emphasizes the placing of hands on the face.

Stēmus: Let us stand (still); jussive subjunctive

pācem fēcimus: we kissed; lit. “we made peace”; this is the ritual “kiss of peace” (see Introduction V.A)

Īte et lūdite: Go and play; plural imperative; this command may order a return to childlike innocence in the same way that Dinocrates played in Perpetua’s earlier vision. Alternatively, lūdite here may have a sense of “to be carefree”

Deō grātiās (agō): Thanks to God

ut ... hilarior sum et hic modo: because ... I am more cheerful even here now; the ut here is “because,” so sum is in the indicative

ad dexteram (manum) ... ad sinistram (manum): toward the right-hand side ... toward the left-hand side; the dexteram and sinistram are both feminine because of the implied manum

Aspasium, presbyterum (et) doctōrem: Aspasius, the priest and teacher
2. Et misāreunt sē ad pedēs nōbis et dixērunt: "Compōnite inter nōs, quia existis, et sic nōs reliquistis."

3. Et diximus illis: "Nōn tū es pāpa noster et tū presbyter, ut vōs ad pedēs nōbis mittātis?" Et mōtī sumus et complexī illōs sumus.


Et dixērunt Optātō: "Corrige plēbem tuam, quia sīc ad tē conveniunt quasi dē circō redeuntēs et dē factiōnibus certantēs."

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**arbor, -oris f.:** tree  
**certō (1):** to fight  
**circus, -i m.:** circle; chariot racetrack  
**completor, -i, complexus sum:** to embrace  
**compōnō, -ere, -posui, -positum:** to put together; end strife, reconcile  
**conturbō (1):** to confound; rebuke  
**conveniō, -ire, -vēni, -ventum:** to come together, convene, assemble  
**corrigō, -ere, -rēxi, -rectum:** to straighten out, correct  
**dimittō, -ere, -mīsi, -missum:** to send away; let go, forgive  
**dissēnsiō, -ōnis f.:** disagreement, dissension  
**dum:** while  
**factō, factōnis f.:** faction; charioteer team  
**Graecē:** in Greek  
**loquor, -i, locūtus sum:** to speak, say  
**moveō, movēre, móvi, mótem:** to move, rouse  
**Optātus, -i m.:** Optatus (bishop)  
**pāpa, -ae m.:** father, papa; bishop  
**plēbs, plēbis f.:** common people; crowd  
**redeō, -ire, -ivi, -itum:** to go back, return  
**rosa, -ae f.:** rose  
**sēgregō (1):** to set apart, separate  
**sinō, -ere, sīvi, situm:** to allow, let, permit  
**sub:** under, below, beneath, underneath  
**viridārium, -i n.:** orchard, garden

---

Nōn tū es pāpa noster et tū presbyter (noster): *Are you not our bishop and you our priest; they address Optatus and Aspasius each individually*  
(quarērus) ut vōs ad pedēs nōbis mittātis: *(we ask) how could you throw yourselves at our feet; this is an indirect question set up by an implied verb of questioning; ut means "how" here*  
Sinite illōs refrigerrēnt: *Let them rest; lit. "Allow them (that) they be refreshed"; sinere can take either an infinitive complement or (as here) a subjunctive; refrigerāre can have an active sense ("to refresh") or a passive sense ("to be refreshed")  
si quās habētis inter vōs dissēnsiōnēs, dimittite vōbis invicem: *(if you have any disagreements between you, forgive each other for your own sakes; the quās is in place of aliquās, as usual after sī, nisi, num, or nē, dimittitē is an imperative, vōbis is a dat. of advantage, and invicem a reflexive pronoun ("each other")*  
dē factiōnibus certantēs: *fighting over teams; the sense is that they are clashing like rowdy sports fans*
7. Et sic nōbis visum est quasi vellent claudere portās. 8. Et coepimus illic multōs frātrēs cognōscere, sed et martyrs. Úniversī odōre inēnārrābili alēbāmur qui nōs satiābat.

Tunc gaudēns experrēctus sum.

The Redactor concludes the visions of Perpetua and Satyrus, then notes the death of a martyr who died in prison.

14.1 Hae visiōnēs insigniōrēs ipsōrum martyrum beātissimōrum Saturī et Perpetuae, quās ipsis cōnscrispērunt. 2. Secundulum vērō Deus mātūriōre exitū dē saeculō adhūc in carcere ēvocāvit nōn sine grātiā ut bēstīās lucrārētur. 3. Gladium tamen etsī nōn anima certē carō eius agnōvit.

agnōscō, -ere, -nōvī, -nitum: to recognize
alō, -ere, aluī, altum/alitum: to nourish, feed
anima, -ae f.: breath, soul, life
beātus, -a, -um: blessed, happy
certē: certainly
claudō, -ere, clausī, clausum: to close, shut off
etsī: even if, although, though
ēvocā (1): to call out, summon
exitus, -ūs m.: death

illic: there, in that place
inēnārrābils, -e: indescribable
insignis, -e: extraordinary, remarkable
lucrōr, -āri, lucrātus sum: to gain, win, make
mātūrus, -a, -um: early, timely
odor, -ōris m.: scent, smell, odor; perfume
satiō (1): to fill, satisfy
Secundulus, -i m.: Secundulus
vērō: but; and (postpositive)

visum est: it seemed; the verb vidēre in the passive can be “to seem”
frātrēs: brothers; that is, fellow Christians
Úniversī (nōe) odōre inēnārrābili alēbāmur: We were all nourished by an indescribable odor
experrēctus sum: I awoke; the usual expression for ending a vision in the Passiō (cf. 4.10, 7.9, 8.4, 10.13)

Hae (erant) visiōnēs insigniōrēs: these (were) the quite remarkable visions; the word insigniōrēs is the comparative form of insignis, here with a sense of “very” rather than “more”
mātūriōre exitū: by an early death; abl. of means
dē saeculō: from this world; the word saeculum here meaning “this present world,” as often in early Christian texts, rather than “age”
adhūc in carcere: (while) still in prison; these words to be taken together
ut ... lucrārētur: so that he might gain by escaping the beasts; the verb lucrāri can have a sense of “to gain through avoiding/escaping (something)”

Gladium tamen etsī nōn anima certē carō eius agnōvit: Nevertheless his flesh if not his spirit knew the sword; the language here is clear but the meaning obscure; there seems to be a reference to Luke 2:35 (“and a sword will pierce your own soul too”)
The Redactor describes the labor of Felicity.

15.1 Circā Felicitātem vērō et illī grātia domīnī eiusmodī contigit. 2. Cum octō iam mēnsium ventrem habēret (nam praegnāns fuerat apprehēnsa), īnstante spectāculī diē, īn magnō erat lūctū nē propter ventrem dīfferētur (quia nōn licet praegnantēs poenae repraesentārī) et nē inter aliōs postea scelērātōs sāncrum et innocentem sānguinem funderet. 3. Sed et conmartyrēs graviter contrīstābantur nē tam bonam sociam quasi comitem sōlām in viā eiusdem speī reliquerent.

circā: about; in regard to
comes, -itis m./f.: companion, comrade
conmartyr, -martyris m./f.: fellow martyr
contingō, -ere, -tigī, -tāctum: to happen (+ dat.)
contrīstō (1): to sadden, cast gloom over
differō, differre, distulī, dilātum: to differ; delay
eiusmodī: in such manner, of such kind (adv.)
graviter: heavily, severely, seriously
innocēns, -entis: innocent; harmless
instō, -āre, -stītī, -stātum: to stand on; draw near
licet, -ēre, -uit, -ītum: to be allowed, permitted
lūctus, -ūs m.: grief, distress, anxiety
mēnsis, -is m.: month
nam: for, because
octō: eight
poena, -ae f.: punishment, penalty
postea: thereafter, afterwards
praegnāns, -antis: pregnant
repraesentō (1): to show, exhibit, display
scelerātus, -a, -um: wicked, criminal
socius, -ī m.: comrade, ally, companion
sōlus, -a, -um: alone, lone, sole
spectāculum, -ī n.: spectacle, game, show
tam: so, so much, so very, such
venter, ventris m.: belly; womb
vērō: but; and (postpositive)

et illī: even to her; that is, to Felicity
octō iam mēnsium: of eight months; gen. of description
fuertā apprehēnsa: she had been arrested = erat apprehēnsa (on the form see Introduction VI.F)
in magnō erat lūctū: she was in (a state of) great anxiety (fearing); this phrase sets up two fear clauses: nē ... dīfferētur and nē ... funderet
nē ... dīfferētur: (fearing) that (her execution) would be delayed; pregnant women could not be executed, so she feared she would not be martyred alongside her fellow Christians
nōn licet ... repraesentārī: it is not allowed that pregnant women be put on show for their punishment; that is, they cannot be executed
poenae: for punishment; dat. of purpose
nē ... funderēt: (fearing) that she would pour out; another fear clause, coordinated with nē ... dīfferētur and set up by in magnō ... lūctū
contrīstābantur nē ... reliquerent: were saddened, (fearing) that they would leave behind; fear clause in viā eiusdem speī: on the road to the same hope; that is, martyrdom
4. Coniunctō itaque unitō gemitū ad Dominum óratiōnem fūderunt ante tertium diem mūneris. 5. Statim post óratiōnem dolōres invāsērunt. Et cum pró nātūrāli difficultāte octāvī mēnsis in partū labōrāns dolēret, ait illī quidam ex ministris cataractāriōrum: “Quae sic modo dolēs, quid faciēs obiecta bēstīis, quās contempsistī cum sacrificāre nōluistī?”


**äō: to say, affirm (ait 3rd/sg./pres.)**
**cataractārius, -i m.: prison guard**
**coniungō, -ere, -iunctum, -iunctum: to join**
**contemnō, -ere, -psī, -ptum: to look down on**
**difficultās, -tātis f.: difficulty**
**doleō, -ēre, -uī, -itum: to feel pain, suffer**
**ēdūco (1): to bring up, rear, foster**
**ēnitor, -i, ēnīxus sum: to struggle; give birth**
**ergō: therefore, consequently**
**fundō, -ere, fūdi, fūsum: to pour (out)**
**gemitus, -ūs m.: groan, sigh**
**īlic: there, in that place**
**invādō, -ere, -vāsi, -vāsum: to enter, go into**
**labōrō (1): to labor; struggle; suffer**
**mēnsis, -is m.: month**

**ādō: to say, affirm (ait 3rd/sg./pres.)**
**modo: now (adv.)**
**nātūralis, -e: of birth; natural**
**obiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum: to throw at or to**
**octāvus, -a, -um: eighth**
**ōratiō, -onis f.: a speech; prayer**
**partus, -ūs m.: birth, giving birth**
**patior, pati, passus sum: to suffer; endure**
**quīdam, quaedam, quiddam: a certain (person or thing)**
**sacrificō (1): to sacrifice, perform sacrifice**
**statim: immediately**
**tertius, -a, -um: third**
**ūnītus, -a, -um: single, united**

**ante tertium diem mūneris: two days before the games**; lit. “before the third day”; Romans counted inclusively when counting days, so “two days” is the “third day” from the one on which counting begins

**dolōres: (labor) pains**
**ait illī: said to her; referring to Felicity**

*Quae sic modo dolēs: since you suffer so much now;* lit. “you who suffer in such a way now”

*obiecta:* *when you have been thrown*; nom./fem./sg. of the perfect passive participle of *obicere,* acting as the subject of *faciēs*

**cum sacrificāre nōluistī: when you were unwilling to sacrifice; temporal *cum* clause; Felicity could have been spared if she had sacrificed to the emperors (cf. 6.3)**

*Modo ... illic:* *now ... there (in the arena)*

*in filiam ēducāvit:* raised as a daughter
The Redactor tells a story of Perpetua’s confrontation with a jailer.

16.1 Quoniam ergō permīsit et permettendō voluit Spīritus Sānctus ōrdinem ipsius mūneris cōnscribī, etsī indignī ad supplēmentum tantaē glōriae dēscribendae, tamen quasi mandātum sānctissimae Perpetuae, immō fīdeīcommissum eius exsequimur, ūnum adicientēs documentum dē ipsius cōnstantiā et animī sublimitātē. 2. Cum ā tribūnō castīgātiōs eō tractantur, quia ex admonitionibus hominum vānissimōrum verēbātur nē subtraherentur dē carcere incantātiōnibus aliquibus magicīs, in faciem eī Perpetua respondit:

adiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum: to add
admoniiō, -ônis f.: warning, admonition
animus, -i m.: mind, spirit
castigātiōs: more/very strictly (comp. adv.)
cōnstantia, -ae f.: perseverance, resolve
dēscribō, -ere, -scripsī, -ptum: to describe
documentum, -i n.: example; proof
eō: for this reason (adv.)
etsī: even if, although, though
exsequor, exsequī, execūtus sum: to carry out; execute
fīdeicommissum, -i n.: a bequest (in a will)
illo: there, to that place (adv.)
immō: in fact rather; actually
incantātiōs, -tiōnis f.: enchantment
indignus, -a, -um: unworthy
magicus, -a, -um: magical
mandātum, ī n.: an order, command
ōrdō, -inis m.: order, line, series (of events)
permittō, -ere, -misī, -missum: to permit
quoniam: since, because
sublimitās, -tātis f.: loftiness, elevation
subtrahō, -ere, -trāxi, -tractum: to take away secretly
supplēmentum, -i n.: completion
tractō (1): to handle; treat
tribūnus, -i m.: tribune
vānus, -a, -um: empty; lying, deceptive
vereor, -ērī, veritus sum: to fear

et permittendō voluit: and by permitting, willed; gerund as an abl. of means
etsī indignī: although we are unworthy; the indignī is nom./pl., exsequimur is the verb; the Redactor is using plural for singular, as is common in the first person
ad supplēmentum tantaē glōriae dēscribendae: for the completion of describing such great glory; lit. “of such great glory to be described”; as often, a gerundive phrase replaces a gerund + acc. (dēscribendī tantam glōriam/ “of describing such great glory”)
dē ipsius cōnstantiā: concerning the resolve of this very woman; referring to Perpetua
castigātiōs eō tractantur, quia: they were treated very strictly for the following reason, since; the adverb eō (“for this reason”) sets up the explanation in the following clause
ex admonitionibus hominum vānissimōrum: because of the warnings of extremely deceptive men; ex has the root meaning “out of” but can carry a sense of cause
nē subtraherentur: that they would be carried off; fear clause
in faciem eī: to his face; the eī is dative because body parts often take a dative of reference instead of a possessive adjective or genitive
“Quid utique nōn permittis nōbis refrigerāre noxiīs nōbilissimīs, Caesaris scilicet, et nātāli eiusdem pugnātūris? Aut nōn tua glōria est, sī pinguiōrés illō prōdūcāmur?”

Horruit et ērubuit tribūnus; et ītā iussit illōs hūmānīus habērī ut frātribus eius et cēterīs fācultās fieret introeundi et refrigerandī cum īs, iam et ipsō opțiōne carceris crēdente.

The Redactor describes a last supper in prison.

17.1 Prīdiē quoque cum īllam cēnam ultimam, quam “liberam” vocant, quantum in īpis erat, nōn cēnam liberam sed agapēn cēnārent,
Passiō Sāntārum Perpetuae et Fēlicitātis 17.1-18.1


3. Ita omnēs inde attonitī discēdēbant, ex quibus multi crēdidērunt.

The Redactor recounts the entrance into the arena: Perpetua convinces the tribune not to force them to wear costumes.

18.1 Illūxit diēs victōriae illōrum, et processērunt dē carcere in amphitheatrōm quasi in caelum hilarēs, vultū decōrī, sī forte gaudīo paventēs nōn timōre.

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amphitheatrōm, -i n.: amphitheater, arena
attonitus, -a, -um: astonished, stunned
comminantō, -āri, -ātus sum: to threaten
concurreō, -ēre, -currī, -cursus: to assemble
cōnstantiā, -ā f.: resolve; steadfastness
contessor, -āri, -ātus sum: to attest
crās: tomorrow
crastinus, -a, -um: (of) tomorrow
cūriōsitās, -ātis f.: curiosity
decōrō, -a, -um: handsome; radiant
diligenter: carefully, diligently
discēdō, -ēre, -cessi, -cessum: to go away
forte: by chance (adv.)
gaudium, -iī n.: gladness, joy
hodiē: today, this day
iactō: (1) to throw, hurl, cast
illūcescō, -ère, illūxi: to dawn
inde: from there, then, afterward
inimicus, -a, -um: unfriendly, hostile; enemy
inrideō, -ēre, -risi, -risum: to laugh at, mock
iūdicium, -i n.: judgment
libenter: gladly, willingly, with pleasure
notō (1): to note, mark
ōdī, odisse: to hate (perf. with pres. sense)
paveō, -ēre, pāvī: to tremble
prōcédō, -ēre, -cessi, -cessum: to proceed
recognōscō, -ère, -nōvī, -nītum: to recognize
satis: enough, sufficient
timor, -ōris m.: fear, dread, anxiety
victōria, -ae f.: victory
vultus, -ūs m.: face; expression

verba iactābant: they were shouting; lit. “throwing words”
comminantēs ... contestantēs ... inridentēs: threatening ... attesting ... mocking; these participles agree with the implied subject of iactābant
Crastinus (diēs): Tomorrow; lit. “Tomorrow’s day”
Quid libenter vidētis: Why do you enjoy looking at
in diē illō: on that day; perhaps referring both to the day of spectacle and the day of judgement
ex quibus multī: many of whom; lit. “from whom, many” referring to the crowd
crēdidērunt: have believed; that is, have become believers in Christianity (cf. 1.5, 16.4)
vultū decōrī: with a radiant expression; lit. “radiant in respect to their face(s)”
sī forte gaudīo paventēs nōn timōre: if, by chance, trembling, it was from joy, not fear
2. Sequēbātur Perpetua lūcidō vultū et placidō incessū, ut mātrōna Christī, ut Deī délicāta, vigōre oculōrum déiciēns omnium cōnspectum.

3. Item Fēlicitās, salvam sē peperisse gaudēns ut ad bēstīās pugnāret, à sanguine ad sanguinem, ab obstetrīce ad rètiārium, lōtūra post partum baptismō secundō. 4. Et cum ductī essent in portam et cōgerentur habitum induere, virī quidem sacerdōtum Sārtūni, fēminae vērō sacrātārum Cērerī, generōsa illa in finem úsque cōnstantiā repugnāvit.

baptismum, -i n.: immersion; baptism
Cērēs, Cērēsī f.: Cēra (goddess)
cōgō, cōgere, coēgī, coāctum: to force
cōnspectus, -ūs m.: sight; glance, gaze
cōnstantia, -ae f.: perseverance, resolve, grit
dēlicāta, -ae f.: darling; favorite
finis, -īs m./f.: end
generōsus, -a, -um: noble, dignified
habitūs, -ūs m.: dress, attire
incessūs, -ūs m.: gait, walk (incēdō)
induō, -ere, induī, induātum: to put on
item: also, likewise, in like manner
lavō, -āre, lāvī, lōtum (lautum): to wash, bathe
lūcidus, -a, -um: clear, bright, shining
mātrōna, -ae f.: married woman, wife
obstetrīx, -icīs f.: midwife
oculus, -i m.: eye

pariō, -ere, peperiē, partum: to give birth, bear
partus, -ūs m.: birth, giving birth
placīdus, -a, -um: peaceful, calm, placid
quidem: indeed, in fact, certainly
repugnō (1): to fight against; oppose, resist
rētiārius, -ī m.: net-fighting gladiator
sacerdōs, -dōtisīs m./f.: priest(ess)
sacrātus, -a, -um: consecrated, sacred
salvus, -a, -um: safe
sanguis, -inisīs m.: blood
Sārtūnus, -iī m.: Saturn (god)
sequor, sequī, secūtus sum: to follow
ūsque: continuously (adv.)
vērō: and; but (postpositive)
vigor, -ōrisīs m.: liveliness, strength, force
vultūs, -ūsīs m.: face; expression

ut mātrōna Christī, ut Deī délicāta: like a wife of Christ, like a darling of God; here ut means “like”
vigōre oculōrum déiciēns omnium cōnspectum: the strength of her gaze caused everyone to look away;
lit. “with the strength of her eyes, throwing down the sight of all”
salvam sē peperisse: that she had given birth safely; lit. “that she, safe, had given birth”; this is an indirect statement governed by gaudēns ("rejoicing")
lōtūra (sē): about to wash (herself); future active participle
virī quidem sacerdōtum Sārtūnī, fēminae vērō sacrātārum Cērerī: the men (were forced to put on the garb) of priests of Saturn, and the women that of women consecrated to Cēra; these costumes would have been humiliating to Perpetua and the others who were dying specifically to avoid the worship of those gods; in Africa, Saturn was identified not only with the Greek Cronus but with the Punic Baal Hammon, and Cēra not only with the Greek Demeter but with the Punic Tanit
generōsa illa: that noble woman; i.e. Perpetua
cōnstantiā: with grit; the abl. of manner here lacks the usual preposition (cum)


addīcō, -ere, -dīxi, -dictum: to yield, give up
agnōscō, -ere, -nōvī, -nītum: to recognize
anima, -ae f.: breath, life
comminor, -āri, -ātus sum: to threaten (+ dat.)
concēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum: to yield, allow
cōnspectus, -ūs m.: sight, view
dehinc: from here; then, next
exasperō (1): to provoke, incite
flagellum, -ī n.: whip, scourge
gestus, -ūs m.: gesture, posture, attitude
indūcō, -ere, -duxi, -ductum: to lead or bring in
inīüstitia, -ae f.: injustice
iūstitia, -ae f.: justice, fairness, equity

libertās, -tātis f.: freedom, liberty
nūtus, -ūs m.: a nod, nodding
obdūcō, -ere, -duxi, -ductum: to cover, infringe
ōrdō, -inis m.: order, line
paciscor, -pacisci, pactus sum: agree on/to
psallō, -ere: to sing; sing a hymn
simpliciter: simply, plainly, directly
spectō (1): to watch, look at
sponte: willingly, voluntarily
sub: under, below, beneath, underneath
tribūnus, -ī m.: tribune
vēnātor, -ōris m.: beast-fighting gladiator
vexō (1): to shake; to torment

Ideō ... pervēnimus: That’s why we came; the ideō (“for this reason”) looks ahead to nē ...
obdūcerētur (“so that our liberty not be infringed”)
ideō ... addīximus: that’s why we handed over; the ideō (“for this reason”) here looks ahead to nē ...
facerēmus (“so that we not have to do anything like this”)
hoc vôbiscum pactī sumus: we agreed on this with you; the hoc is the direct object of pactī sumus
Quōmodo erant, simpliciter ĭndūcerentur: Just as they were, they were brought in plainly; that is, they were allowed to go in with no costumes, just dressed as they were

Revocātus et Sāturninus et Satūrus: Revocatus and Saturninus were arrested with Perpetua;
Satyrus, their teacher, turned himself in after their arrest
ut ... pervēnērunt: when they arrived
sub cōnspectū: under the gaze; an accusative word would be expected because of the motion towards (cf. Introduction VI.B)

“Tū nōs (īudicās) ... tē autem Deus (īudicābit)”: “You (judge) us, but God (will judge) you”;
 implied is a verb of judging or condemning
Ad hoc: In response to this; referring to the situation of Hilarianus being threatened
flagellīs eōs vexārī: that they be whipped; lit. “tormented with whips”; an indirect statement set up by postulāvit (“demanded”)
et utique grâtulâti sunt quod aliquid et dé Dominicâs passiônibus essent cônsecûti.

The Redactor describes the spectacle: the mauling of Saturninus, Revocatus, and Satyrus.

19.1 Sed quï dixerat “Petite et accipìêtis” (John 16:24), petentibus dederat eum exitum quem quisque désiderâverat. 2. Nam, si quandô inter sè dé martyriï suï vôtô sermôcinâbantur, Sàturninus quidem omnibus bêstîs velle sè obici profitêbâtur, ut scilicet glôriôsîorem gestâret corônam. 3. Itaque in commissiônem spectâculi ipse et Revocâtus, leopardum experti, etiam super pulpîtum ab ursô vexâtî sunt. 4. Satûrus autem nihil magis quam ursum abôminâbâtur; sed ûnô morsû leopardi cônficî sè iam praesûmêbat.

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abôminor, -ârî, -âtus sum: to hate; abhor
commissiôn, -ônis f.: commencement
cônficîo, -ere, -îcî, -îctum: to finish, kill
cônsequor, cônsequî, cônsecûtus sum: to follow; imitate
corôna, -ae f.: crown (of victory)
dêsiderô (1): to long for, desire
dominicus, -a, -um: of the lord or master
etiam: besides, also, even
exitus, -ûs m.: death
experior, -peîrî, -pertus sum: to experience, try
gestô (1): to bear, wear
glôriôsus, -a, -um: glorious, renowned
gràtulor, -ârî, -âtus sum: to be grateful, thank
magis: more, rather
martyrium, -îi n.: testimony; martyrdom
morsûs, -ûs m.: bire

nam: for
nihil: nothing (indeclinable)
obiciô, -ere, -îcî, -îctum: throw to
præsûmô, -ere, -ûsî, -ûsum: to presume; predict
profiteor, -êrî, professus sum: to declare, say
pulpîtum, -îi n.: platform, staging, scaffold
quandô: ever, at any time
quidem: certainly, actually
quisque, quaque, quodque: each (person or thing)
sclinôt: evidently, clearly
sermôcinor, -ârî, -âtus sum: to converse, talk
spectáculum, -îi n.: spectacle, game, show
ursûs, -îi m.: a bear
texô (1): to shake; to torment
vôtum, -ûn: vow; desire

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quod aliquid et dé Dominicâs passiônibus essent cônsecûtî: because they had obtained some portion of the Lord’s suffering too; a reference to Jesus being whipped before crucifixion
(is) quï dixerat: (he) who said; that is, Jesus
si quandô: if ever
corônam: a crown was a usual prize in athletic competitions, and early Christians used the word to describe martyrdom as a victory
5. Itaque cum aprō subministrārētur, vēnātor potius (quī illum aprō
subligāverat subfossus ab eādem bēstīā) post diem mūneris obiit;
Satūrus sōllummodo tractus est. 6. Et cum ad ursum substrictus esset in
ponte, ursus dē caveā prōdire nōluit. Itaque secundō Satūrus inlaesus
revocātur.

The Redactor describes the spectacle: the mauling of Perpetua and Felicity.

20.1 Puellīs autem ferōcissīmam vaccam ideōque praeter
cōnsuētūdinem comparātam Diabolus praeparāvit, sexuī eārum etiam
dē bēstīā aemulātus. 2. Itaque dispoliātae et rēticularīs indūtae
prōdūcebantur. Horruit populus, alteram respiciēns puellam dēlicātam,
alteram ā partū recentem stillantibus mammīs.

aemulor, -ārī, -ātus sum: to rival; match (+ dat.)
aper, aprī m.: wild boar
cavea, -ae f.: hollow, cavity; cage, stall
comparō (1): to prepare, furnish
cōnsuētūdō, -inis f.: custom
dēlicātus, -a, -um: delicate, tender; alluring
Diabolus, -i m.: Satan (Grk. Slanderer)
dispoliō (1): to strip (naked)
etiam: besides, also, even
ferōx, ferōcia: fierce, ferocious, wild
horreō, -ēre, -ūt, -ūtum: to put on
inlaesus, -a, -um: unharmed, unhurt
obeō, -īre, -īvi, -īvitum: to die, pass (away)
partus, -ūs m.: birth, giving birth
pōns, pontis m.: a bridge, flooring
potius: rather
praeparō (1): to prepare
praeter: beyond; contrary to (+ acc.)
prōdeo, -īre, -īvi, -ītum: to come or go forth
prōdūcō, -ere, -xī, -ductum: to lead forward
recēns, recentis: fresh, new, recent
respiciō, -ēre, -exī, -ectum: to look at; consider
rēticularūm, -ī n.: small net, fishing net, net
revocō (1): to call back, recall
secundō: for a second time (adv.)
sexus, -ūs m.: sex (i.e. male, female)
sōllummodo: only just, merely
stillō (1): to drop, drip, trickle
subfodiō, -ere, -fūdi, -fossum: to dig; stab, gore
subligō (1): to tie up
subministrō (1): to provide, give, supply
substringō, -ere, -nāxī, -nectum: to bind up
trahō, -ere, trāxī, tractum: to drag
vaccā, -ae f.: cow
vēnātor, -ōris m.: beast-fighting gladiator

cum aprō subministrārētur: although he was served up for the boar; concessive cum clause
vēnātor ... qui illum aprō subligāverat: the gladiator who had tied him (Satyrus) up for the boar
ad ursum: for a bear
ideōque: and for this reason; = ideō + -que; this phrase looks ahead to sexuī ... aemulātus
praeter cōnsuētūdinem: contrary to custom
sexuī eārum etiam dē bēstīā aemulātus: having matched their sex even with the beast; meaning that
the cow was also female, to match Perpetua and Felicity
alteram ... alteram: one (Perpetua) ... the other (Felicity)
3. Ita revocātāe et discinctīs indūtāe. Prior Perpetua iactāta est et concidit in lumbōs. 4. Et ubi sēdit, tunicam ā latere discissam ad vēlāmentum femoris redūxit pudōris potius memor quam dolōris. 5. Dehinc acū requīsitā et dispersōs capillōs ūnfibulāvit; nōn enim decēbat martyram sparsīs capillis patī, nē in suā gloriā plangere vidēretur. 6. Ita surrēxit et ēlisam Felicitātem cum vidisset, accessit et manum ei trādidit et suscitāvit illum. Et ambae pariter stetērunt. 7. Et populī dūritiā dēvictā, revocātāe sunt in portam Sanavivāriam.

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acus, -ūs f.: pin
ambō, -ae, -ō: both
capillus, -ī m.: hair
concidō, -ere, -cidi: to fall, fall down
decet, decère, decuit: to be fitting, proper
dehinc: from here, then, next
dēvincō, -ere, -vičī, -ctum: to overcome utterly
discindō, -ere, -di, -cissum: to cut or tear apart
discingō, -ere, -xī, -nectum: to unbelt, loosen
dispergō, -ere, -sersi, -sersum: to mess up
duritia, -ae f.: hardness; cruelty
ēlidō, -ere, -lisī, -lisum: to strike down, dash
femur, femoris n.: upper leg, thigh
īactō (1): to throw
īlic: there, in that place
iīduō, -ere, iīduī, iīdūtum: to put on
infibulō (1): to fasten (with pin), clasp
lārus, -eris n.: side
lumbus, -ī m.: loin, hips and buttocks
martyra, martyrae f.: martyr
memor, memoris: mindful (+ gen.)
pariter: equally, side by side
plangō, -ere, -nxī, -nectum: to wail; mourn
potius: rather, more, more preferably
pudor, pudōris m.: sense of shame or honor
redūcō, -ere, -dūxī, -ductum: to draw back
requīrō, -ere, -sivī, -situm: to ask for
revočō (1): to call back, recall
Sanavivāria, -ae f.: “Safe-Alive,” the gate through which surviving gladiators could exit the arena
sedeō, -ere, sēdi, sessum: to sit
spargō, -ere, -sī, -sum: to strew; spread out
surgō, -ere, -rēxi, -rēctum: to rise, stand up
suscitō (1): to lift up, raise
trādō, -ere, -didī, -ditum: to give, hand over
tunica, -ae f.: tunic
vēlāmentum, -ī n.: cover; covering

revocātāe (sunt) et discinctīs (tunicīs) indūtāe (sunt): (they were) called back and dressed in unbelted (tunics)
tunicam ā latere discissam ad vēlāmentum femoris redūxit: she pulled her tunic, which had been torn from her side, back to cover her thigh; lit. “for the covering of her thigh” dispersōs capillōs ... sparsīs capillis: her messed up hair ... with disheveled hair nē ... plangere vidēretur: so that she not ... seem to mourn; disheveled hair was a sign of mourning ēlisam ... vidisset: when she saw that Felicity had been struck down; this is a circumstantial cum-clause
8. Illic Perpetua à quodam tunc catēchūmenō, Rūsticō nōmine, qui eī adhaerēbat, suscepta et quasi à somnō expergīta (adeō in spīritū et in extasī fuerat) circumspicere coepit; et stupentibus omnibus ait, “Quandō” inquit, “prōdūcimur ad vaccam illam nesciōquam?” 9. Et cum audisset quod iam ēvēnerat, nōn prius crēdidit nisi quaśdam notās vexātiōnis in corpore et habitū suō recognōvisset. 10. Exinde accersītum frātrem suum et illum catēchūmenum adlocūta est, dicēns: “In fidē stāte et invicem omnēs diligite, et passiōnibus nostrīs nē scandaliōzēmini.”

accersō, -ere, -ivī, -itum: to summon, send for
adeō: so greatly
adhaereō, -ēre, -ēsī, -ēsum: to cling or stick to
adloquor, -quī, -loctūm: to address
aiō, -ere, -iō: to say (ait 3rd/sg./pres.)
certē: certainly
circumspiciō, -ere, -spexī, -spectum: to look around
concumō, -ere, -psī, -ptum: to consume; destroy; kill
cor, cordĭs n.: heart
diligō, -ere, -lexī, -lēctum: to love, esteem, value
eccē: behold!, look!
ēvenīō, -ire, ēvēnī, ēventum: to turn out, happen
exhortō, -āri, -tātus sum: to exhort, encourage
exinde: from there; then, next
expergō, -ere, -gī, -gitum: to awake, rouse up
extasīs, -is f.: ecstacy
habitūs, -ās m.: dress, attire
illō: there, to that place (adv.)
item: also, likewise, in like manner
morsūs, -ās m.: bite
nesciōquī, -quae, -quod: some; whatever
nōmen, nōminis n.: name
nota, -ae f.: mark, sign
nullus, -a, -um: none, no, no one
praedīcō, -ere, -dīxi, -dictum: to predict
praesūmō, -ere, -mpsī: to presume, predict
prōdēō, -ire, -i(v)ī, prōditum: to go out
prōdūcō, -ere, -xī, -dūctum: to lead forward
Pudēns, Pudentis m.: Pudens (warden, previously seen in 9.1 and 16.4)
quandō: when
recognōscō, -ere, -nōvī, -nītum: to recognize
Rūsticus, -ī m.: Rusticus
scandalizō (1): to cause to stumble, trip up; confuse, upset
sentīō, -ire, -nsī, -sum: to perceive, feel, sense
sicēt: just as, so as
somnūs, -ī m.: sleep
stupeō, -ēre, -ui: to be stunned, be astounded
summus, -a, -um: top of, highest (part of)
suscipīō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum: to take up, take
tōtus -a, -um: whole, entire
vacca, -ae f.: cow
vexātiō, -ōnis f.: shaking; wounding, mauling

à quōdam tunc catēchūmenō: by a certain man who at that time was a catechumen; the tunc suggests that Rusticus has since been initiated as a Christian
Rūsticō nōmine: named Rusticus; lit. “Rusticus, by name”; Rusticus is abl. in apposition to quōdam ...
catēchūmenō, while nōmine is an abl. of respect
qui eī adhaerēbat: who was attached to her; this is most likely referring to emotional attachment
suscepta ... expergīta: picked up ... awoken; each of these nominative participles agrees with Perpetua, who is the subject of coepit
vaccam illam nesciōquam: that cow or whatever; lit. “that cow, whatever one it is”
nōn prius crēdidit nisi: she didn’t believe it before she recognized; in post-classical Latin, nōn prius ...
ensis is an equivalent to nōn prius ... quam
invicem: each other; the word invicem is here used as a reflexive pronoun, as often in this text
The Redactor describes the spectacle: last words and deaths.


5. Simulque ānsulam dē digitō eius petiit, et vulnerī suō mersam reddidit ei hērēditātem, pignus relinquentī illī et memoriam sanguinis.

ānsula, -ae f.: small ring
baptisma, -atis n.: immersion; baptism
cōnfirmō (1): to make strong, strengthen
conturbō (1): to confuse, set in confusion
digitus, -i m.: finger
finis, -is m./f.: end
hēréditas, -ātis f.: inheritance, heirloom
lavō, -āre, lávō, lōtum (lautum): to wash, bathe
memor, -ōris: mindful, remembering (+ gen.)
memoria, -ae f.: memory
mergō, -ere, mersī, -ersum: to dip, immerse
morsus, -ūs m.: bite
obiciō, -ere, -iēciō, -iectum: to throw at or to
perfundō, -ere, -ūdō, -ūsum: to pour over, drench
pignus, pignoris n.: pledge, security
plānē: clearly, plainly, simply
Pudēns, Pudentis m.: Pudens (warden)
reclāmō (1): to shout again; shout repeatedly
reddō, -ere, -dīdi, -ditus: to give back, return
revertō, -ere, revertētō: to turn back, return
simul: at the same time, at once
spectāculum, -i n.: spectacle, game, show
tantō: so much, so greatly (adv.)
testimōnium, -i n.: witness, evidence
valē: farewell, goodbye
vulnus, -eris n.: wound

Ad summam: in sum; in short; lit. “to the whole,” a common idiom
nūllam ... bēstiam sēnsī: I have felt (the touch of) no beast
dē tōtō corde: from your whole heart; the phrase could also be an abl. of means (see Introduction VI.C)
dē ūnō morsū tantō perfūsus est: from a single bite he was so drenched; here tantō is an adverb
Salvum lōtum: Good bath; lit. “sound(ly) washed,” a phrase bathers used for wishing each other well when leaving Roman baths
salvus ... lāverat: he who bathed in this manner was saved; there is some word play with salvus here. In Salvum lōtum the salvus basically meant “good.” Here it means “safe, unharmed,” as in, he has achieved his salvation
vulnerī suō mersam ... hērēditātem: (the ring) having been plunged into his wound, he gave it back to him as an heirloom; the ring is being immersed in blood as a reminder of Satyrūs’s sacrifice
6. Exinde iam examinis prōsternitur cum ceteris ad iugulātiōnem solitō locō. 7. Et cum populus illōs in mediō postulāret, ut gladiō penetrantī in eōrum corpore oculus suōs comitēs homicīdiī adiungerent, ultro surrexerunt et sē quō volēbat populus trānstulērunt, ante iam ēsculātī invicem ut martyrium per sollemnia pācis cōnsummārent.

8. Cēterī quidem immōbilēs et cum silentiō ferrum recēpērunt; multō magis Satūrus, qui et prior ascenderat, prior reddidit spiritum; nam et Perpetuum sustinēbat.

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adiungō, -ere, adiūnxī, adiūnectum: to join
comes, -itis m./f.: companion
cōnsummō (1): to complete, finish
examinis, -e: unconscious
exinde: from there; then
ferrum, -i n.: iron; sword
homicidium, -iī n.: murder
immōbilis, -ē: immovable, immobile
iugulatio, -ōnis n.: slitting the throat
magis: more, rather
martyrium, -īī n.: testimony; martyrdom
medium, -īī n.: the middle, the presence of all
nam: for; because
oculus, -īī m.: eye
ōsculor, -ārī, -ātus sum: to kiss
pāx, pācis f.: peace
penetrō (1): to penetrate, pierce, enter
prōsternō, -ere, -strāvī, -strātum: to throw down
quidem: indeed, in fact, certainly
quō: where, to where (adv.)
recipīō, -ere, recēpi, receptum: to accept
reddō, -ere, -dīdī, -ditum: to give back, return
silentium, -īī n.: silence
solitus, -a, -um: accustomed, usual
sollemne, -īs n.: rite, ritual
surgō, -ere, -rēxī, -rēctum: to rise, stand up
sustineō, -ēre, -uī, sustentum: to support; await
trānsferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum: to carry across; move
ultrō: voluntarily; of one’s will

solitō locō: in the usual place; abl. of place without a preposition; the Redactor is referring to the spoliārium, where the body of a gladiator would be taken to be stripped
cum populus illōs in mediō postulāret: since the crowd was demanding that they (be killed) in the presence of all; here medium is the noun “middle” with a sense of “in the midst of all”; note the non-standard in + abl. for motion toward (see Introduction VI.B)
ut ... adiungerent: in order that they (the spectators) might make their eyes accomplices in the murder to the sword piercing their (the martyrs) bodies; lit. “in order that they might join their eyes ... to the sword ... ”; note the non-standard in + abl. (in ... corpore) to express motion toward (see Introduction VI.B)
ōsculātī invicem: after kissing each other; the invicem is again a reflexive pronoun
per sollemnia pācis: through rites of peace; on the ritual Kiss of Peace see Introduction V.A
multō magis: in particular; lit. “much more,” “more by much,” an abl. of degree of difference
Satūrus, qui ... sustinēbat: a reference to Perpetua’s first vision (ch. 4.5-6)
9. Perpetua autem, ut aliquid dolóris gustáret, inter ossa compúnta exululávit, et errantem dexteram tírunculi gladiatóris ipsa in iugulum suum tránsulít. 10. Fortasse tanta fémina aliter nón potuisset occídi, quae ab inmundó spíritú timébátur, nisi ipsa volúisset.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Word</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adórō (1)</td>
<td>to love; to adore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aedificátiō, -onis f.</td>
<td>edification; improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alter</td>
<td>otherwise, in another way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beátmus, -a, -um</td>
<td>blessed, happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clárítas, -itátis f.</td>
<td>brightness; glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compungō, -ere, -pūnxī, -punctum</td>
<td>to puncture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>débeō, -ère, -uī, -debitum</td>
<td>to owe; ought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dexter, -tera, -terum</td>
<td>right, the right hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclésia, -ae f.</td>
<td>assembly; church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>élígō, -ere, -légī, -léctum</td>
<td>to pick out, choose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erró (1)</td>
<td>to wander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exemplum, -i n.</td>
<td>example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exululō (1)</td>
<td>to howl, scream</td>
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<tr>
<td>fortasse: perhaps</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gladiátor, -óris m.</td>
<td>gladiator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gustō (1)</td>
<td>to taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honórisficō (1)</td>
<td>to honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inmundus, -a, -um</td>
<td>impure, not clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iugulum, -i n.</td>
<td>throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legō, -ere, légi, lectum</td>
<td>to read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magnificō (1)</td>
<td>to esteem, respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minor, minus</td>
<td>less, smaller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occidō, -ere, occídi, occísum</td>
<td>to kill, cut down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omnipoténs, -entís</td>
<td>all-powerful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>operor, -ārī, -átus sum</td>
<td>to work; produce, be productive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os, ossis n.</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potestás, -tátis f.</td>
<td>power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quoque: also</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testificor, -ārī, -átus sum</td>
<td>to testify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timeō, -ère, timuí</td>
<td>to fear</td>
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<tr>
<td>tírunculus, -i m.</td>
<td>novice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tránsferō, -ferre, -tuli, -látum</td>
<td>to carry across; move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véré: truly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inter ossa compúncta:** during the piercing of her bones; lit. "her bones having been pierced"

**Iésu Christi:** of Jesus, the annointed one; the Iésu is gen./sg. (= Grk. Ἰησοῦ)

**Quam (glóriam):** and as for this glory; this is a connecting relative

**et haec:** also these, these as well; object of legere

**legere débet:** the subject of débet is the implied antecedent of the relative clause "he who … adores"

**úsque adhúc:** at all points up to now; the Redactor is once more stating the purpose of recording

Perpetua’s martyrdom: to prove that the same Holy Spirit remembered in older sacred texts continues to work in the same manner

**in saecula saeculórum:** for all time; lit. "into the ages of ages"
GLOSSARY

This glossary contains all the words that are not glossed in the running vocabulary. The words in the glossary are those that occur frequently in the text (four or more times), and words that, while infrequent in the text, are likely to be known by most students (like *puella*).

ā, ab: (away) from; by
ac: and
accēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum: to approach, get close; begin
accipiō, -ere, accēpī, acceptum: to receive, accept, get
ad: to, toward; near, at
adhūc: still, even now
Aegyptius, -a, -um: Egyptian
ago, agere, ēgī, ēctum: to drive, lead, do, act
aliquis, -quīd: some (one/thing), any (one/thing)
alius, -a, -ud: other, another, else
alter, -era, -erum: other (of two)
āmēn: amen
amicus, -a, -um: friendly (*adj.*); friend (*substantive*)
an: whether, or (in alternative indirect questions)
angelus, -i m.: messenger; angel
annus, -i m.: year
ante: before, in front of (*prep. + acc.*)
ante: before, previously (*adv.*)
apprehendō, -ere, apprehendi, apprehēnsum: seize, grab; arrest
aqua, -ae f.: water
ascendō, -ere, ascendī, ascēnsum: ascend, go up
aspiciō, -ere, aspēxi, aspectum: look at; consider
at: but
audiō, -ire, -īvī, -ītum: to hear, listen to
aut: or (*aut ... aut – either ... or*)
autem: on top of that; however; moreover
bene: well
beneficium, -i n.: favor, benefit, kindness; (beneficiō + *gen.*) because of
bēstia, -ae f.: beast
bonus, -a, -um: good, kind(ly), useful
caelum, -īn.: sky; heaven
calcō (1): trample, tread, step on
cānus, -a, -um: white, gray; gray haired; aged
caput, capitis n.: head; topmost part
carcer, carceris m.: prison
carō, carnis f.: flesh
catēchūmenus, -i m.: catechumen, a Christian who has not yet been baptized
causa, -ae f.: reason, cause; case
cēterus, -a, -um: the remaining, rest, others
Christus, -i m.: Christ, the Anointed One
coeptus, coepisse, coeptum: to begin
cognōscō, -ere, -gnōvī, -gnitum: to learn, recognize, come to know, perf. know
cōnscribō, -ere, -scripsi, -scriptum: to write down
corpus, corporis n.: body
crēdō, -ere, crēdidi, crēditum: to believe, trust
cum: with (prep. + abl.)
cum: when, since, although (conj.)
cūr: why?
dē: (down) from; about, concerning (+ abl.)
dēiciō, -ere, -iēci, -iectum: to throw down; dissuade
Deus, -i m.: God
dōcō, -ere, dōxi, dicultum: to say, speak, tell, call, name
dīēs, -ēi m./f.: day
Dinocratēs, -is m.: Dinocrates, Perpetua’s brother (acc. Dinocratēn)
dō, dare, dedi, datum: to give; grant
doleō, -ere, dolui, dolitum: to grieve, feel pain, be saddened; to cause pain
dolor, -ōris m.: pain, grief; labor pain
dominus, -i m.: master, lord
dūcō, -ere, dūxi, ductum: to lead
ed, ex: out from, from, out of (+ abl.)
egō, meī, mihi, mē, mē: I, me
enim: for, indeed, in truth
eō, ire, ii, itum: to go
et: and; also; even
exeō, -ire, -i(-ivi), -itum: to go out; depart; die
expergiscor, expergisci, experrēctus sum: to wake up, awake
faciēs, -ēi f.: face; expression
faciō, -ere, fēci, factum: to do, make, perform; grant
Fēlicitās, -tātis f.: Felicity (an enslaved catechumen arrested with Perpetua)
fēmina, -ae f.: a woman
fidēs, -ei f.: faith, belief
filia, -ae f.: daughter
filius, -iī m.: son; child
flō, fieri, factus sum: to become; be made; happen
fortis, -e: strong; brave
frāter, -tris m.: brother
gaudēō, -ere, gāvīsus sum: to enjoy, rejoice
gladius, -i m.: sword
glōria, -ae f.: glory, fame, praise
grātia, -ae f.: grace; favor; gratitude, thanks
habeō, -ère, -uī, -itum: to have, hold; consider
hic, haec, hoc: this, these
Hilariānus, -i m.: Hilarianus (procurator in charge of Perpetua’s trial)
hilaris, -e: cheerful, joyous
homō, -inis m.: person, human
iam: now, already, soon
ibi: there, in that place
īdem, eadem, idem: the same (person or thing)
ideō: therefore, for this reason
Ịesus, Îsū, Îsū, Îsum, Îsū m.: Jesus
ille, illa, illud: that, those
immēnsus, -a, -um: huge, vast, immense
in: in, on, into, to (+ acc. or + abl.)
infāns, infantis m./f.: infant, child
inquam: to say, speak (inquit 3rd/sg./pres.)
īnsignis, -e: distinguished; extraordinary
intellegō, -ere, -ēxi, -ēctum: to realize, understand
inter: between, among (+ acc.)
introēō, -īre, -īvi (ii), itum: to enter, go into
invicem: in turn; one another
ipse, ipsa, ipsum: himself/herself/itself; the very (person or thing)
is, ea, id: this, that; he, she, it
iste, -a, -ud: this, that
ita: so, thus, in such a way
itaque: and so, therefore; then
leopardus, -i m.: leopard
locus, -i m.: place, region, location (neuter in the plural)
magnus, -a, -um: great, large; important
mālō, mālle, mālūi: to prefer
mamma, -ae f.: breast
manus, -ūs f.: hand; group
margo, marginis m./f.: border, edge, rim
martyr, martyrnis m./f.: witness, martyr
māter, mātris f.: mother
medius, -a, -um: in the middle of
meus, -a, -um: my, mine
miles, militis m.: soldier
mittō, -ere, mīsī, missum: to send; dismiss; throw
modo: only, just now (adv.)
modus, -i m.: way, manner; measure
morior, morī, mortuus sum: to die
multum: greatly, repeatedly (adv.)
multus, -a, -um: much; many
mūnus, -eris n.: duty, gift; spectacle, gladiatorial games
nē: lest, that not, no, not
neque: and not, nor
nisi: if not, unless, except
nōlō, nōlle, nōlui: to refuse, be unwilling
nōmen, nōminis n.: name
nōn: not, by no means, not at all
nōs, nostrī/nostrum (gen.), nōbīs, nōs, nōbīs: we, us
noster, nostra, nostrum: our
novus, -a, -um: new, fresh; young; recent, last
nunc: now, at present
ō: o, oh
omnis, -e: every, all
ōrātiō, -tiōnis f.: speech, speaking; prayer
ostendō, -ere, ostendi, ostēnsum: to show
passiō, passiōnis f.: passion, suffering, endurance
pater, patris m.: father
patrior, patiō, passus sum: to suffer, endure; allow
paucī, -ae, -a: few
per: through, across (+ acc.)
Perpetua, -ae f.: Perpetua
perveniō, -ire, -vēnī, -ventum: to arrive
pēs, pedis m.: foot
petō, petere, petīvī, petītum: to seek; request; pray
populus, -īm.: people, nation; crowd
porta, -ae f.: door, gate
possim, posse, potuī: be able, can
post: after, behind (prep. + acc.)
post: afterward, next (adv.)
postulō (1): to demand, claim, request, ask
prior, prius: earlier, before, previous
prō: before, for, on behalf of, in accordance with (+ abl.)
propter: on account of, because of (+ acc.)
puella, puellae f.: girl
puer, puērī m.: boy
pugnō (1): to fight
quam (1): than (comparative + quam)
quam: how ...! what a ...! (in exclamations)
quasi: as it were, so to speak, as if, just as, almost
quattuor: four
-que: and (enclitic)
quiē, quae, quod: who, which, that
ubi: where, when
universus, -a, -um: entire; all, all together
únus, -a, -um: one
ursus, -i m.: bear
úsque: all the way to, up to (+ acc.)
úsque: continuously (adv.)
ut: as, just as, like; when, because (+ indicative); (so) that, in order that (+ subjunctive)
utique: in any case, at any rate, at least
vel: or, either ... or; even
veniō, -īre, vēnī, ventum: come, go
verbum, -i n.: word, speech
vetus, -eris: old, experienced, ancient
via, -ae f.: road, way, path
videō, vidēre, vidī, visum: to see; (in passive) to seem
vir, virī m.: man
virtūs, -tūtis f.: excellence, virtue; courage, power; an act of courage
visiō, -onis f.: vision, apparition
vocō (1): call, name, address, summon
volō, velle, voluī: will, wish, be willing
vōs, vestrī/vestrum, vōbīs, vōs, vōbis: you (plural)