

Donatism

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Entry tags: Early Christianity, Christian Traditions, Religious Group

Donatism emerged in North Africa as a result of disagreements over the proper way to deal with Christians who lapsed during the persecutions. Against the mainstream, Donatists argued that the lapsed could never re-enter the Church. A contested episcopal election of 311, in which the Donatists and the Catholics each elected their own bishop, led to the Donatists appealing to Constantine in 313 to determine the rightful bishop. Constantine sided against the Donatists. From 317-321, he ordered their suppression using measures akin to those of the persecuting emperors: confiscating property, exile, and death. A brief but violent revival of the persecution occurred in 347-348 under his son, Constans. The emperor Julian (361-363) supported Donatism and brought Donatist bishops back from exile as part of a broader program to undermine Catholic Christianity. Augustine of Hippo often wrote against them, and the Council of Carthage in 411 also condemned them. Nevertheless, Donatists made up the majority of North African Christians from the fourth to fifth centuries. The Donatists faded from view during the Vandal invasions of the mid-fifth century.



Date Range: 311 CE - 427 CE

Region: North Africa/Africa Proconsularis

Region tags: Africa, Northern Africa, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia

This represents roughly the borders of the Roman province of Africa Proconsularis during the Donatist period of the 4th and 5th centuries CE.

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite ✓ Religious Specialists ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: W.H.C. Frend. *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Source 2: Maureen A. Tilley. *The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist World*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997.
- Source 3: Richard Miles, ed. *The Donatist Schism: Controversy and Contexts*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016. (Within this text, John Whitehouse provides a comprehensive overview of Donatist scholarship, in "The Scholarship of the Donatist Controversy," pp. 34-53.)

Notes: On Christian violence in fourth and fifth century North Africa, see Brent D. Shaw. *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. On Christianity in Roman North Africa in general, see J. Patout Burns and Robin M. Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014 and Francois Decret, *Early Christianity in North Africa*. Trans. by Edward L. Smither. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2009. For a comparison with the Melitians, see Heather D. Barkman, "The Church of the Martyrs in Egypt and North Africa: A Comparison of the Melitian and Donatist Schisms", *Journal of the*

Canadian Society for Coptic Studies 6 (2014): 41-58.

– Source 1: Maureen A. Tilley. *Donatist Martyr Stories: The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996.

– Source 2: Jean-Louis Maier. *Le dossier du donatisme*. TU 134, 135. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987, 1989.

– Source 3: Mark Edwards. *Optatus: Against the Donatists*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997.

Notes: Primary sources on Donatism also include several sermons and letters of Augustine. See online primary textual corpora below.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

– Source 1 URL: <https://www.zotero.org/groups/301130/donatism>

– Source 1 Description: Zotero Online Digital Library -- devoted to collecting sources on Donatism. Contains 2800 items.

Relevant online primary textual corpora (original languages and/or translations):

– Source 3 URL: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102.htm> and <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1603.htm>

– Source 3 Description: Translations of the letters and sermons of Augustine of Hippo.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: Donatists were in cultural contact with mainstream (Catholic) Christians as well as "pagans" (practitioners of traditional Roman religions) and Jews (see J.B. Rives, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, pp. 17-96 (on public Roman cults); 132-172 (on traditional African cults); and 214-222 (on the scant evidence for Jews in Carthage). As the schism between Catholics and Donatists emerged as a result of disagreements over the treatment of lapsed Christians rather than over any major doctrinal or theological issues, Donatists and Catholics retained a shared cultural heritage. For example, Catholics and Donatists revered the same martyrs, such as the bishop Cyprian, who was martyred in 258. The Catholic "Life and Passion of Cyprian", written by his deacon Pontius may be found online here: <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05.iv.iii.html>. The "Donatist Passion of Cyprian" appears in Maureen Tilley's *Donatist Martyr Stories: The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa*, 1-5. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996. Augustine takes great pains to legitimize Catholic martyrs and delegitimize Donatist ones, which was a particularly difficult rhetorical task given the shared history. He argued that Donatist martyrs did not die for the right cause, and therefore their deaths were not true martyrdoms. See Augustine, *Serm. 53A.13* (text: Hamman, 1961: 684; translation: Hill, 1990: 83-84): "Blessed are those who suffer persecution for the sake of justice. The addition of these last words distinguishes the martyr from the bandit; the bandit too, after all, suffers persecution for his evil deeds, and he is not competing for a prize, but paying the penalty that is his due. It is not the penalty that makes the martyr but the cause." This shared culture was also reinforced by the fact that Donatism did not spread far outside of North Africa (although small pockets appeared briefly in Rome and Spain); thus, the cultural

influences particular to North African Christianity affected both Catholics and Donatists. On North African Christian culture, see J. Patout Burns and Robin M. Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014.

↳ Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Notes: Competition between the Donatists and the Catholics was at times heated and violent. For example, Augustine justified the use of force as sometimes necessary in order to convince Donatists to return to the Catholic ("true") church in part because Donatists themselves were accused of using violence. He writes: 'If, then, we scorned and endured these people who were once our fierce enemies and who were attacking our peace and quiet with various sorts of violence and ambushes, so that we devised and did nothing at all that might be able to frighten and correct them, we would really have repaid evil with evil' (Augustine, *Epistula* 93.2 [text: Goldbacher, 1898: 446; translation: Teske, 2001: 378]). The mid-4th century Catholic bishop Optatus of Milevis likewise asserts that any use of force by the Catholics was precipitated by Donatist violence. In 347, imperial forces (working on behalf of the Catholic emperor Constans) massacred a Donatist congregation at Bagai. However, Optatus refuses any responsibility for such violence, arguing that it was the Donatists themselves who escalated the confrontation with Paulus and Macarius (the imperial representatives), and therefore they are responsible for their own deaths: "Whatever harsh measures may have been taken to bring about unity, you see, my brother Parmenianus, who ought to bear the blame for it. You say that we Catholics requested military force; if that is the case, why did no one at that time see an armed military force in the proconsular province? Paulus and Macarius were coming to relieve the poor in every place and exhort individuals to unity" (Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum* 3.4 [text: Ziwsa, 1893: 81; translation: Edwards, 1997: 68]). However, there were also periods of relative peace and non-violence between the groups.

↳ Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– No

Notes: Both Catholics and Donatists viewed their religion as exclusive, leading to the competition between groups over who was the legitimate church. See, for example, the way that Augustine argues that Donatist martyrs are not "true" martyrs because they do not die for the proper (Catholic) cause: "Blessed are those who suffer persecution for the sake of justice. The addition of these last words distinguishes the martyr from the bandit; the bandit too, after all, suffers persecution for his evil deeds, and he is not competing for a prize, but paying the penalty that is his due. It is not the penalty that makes the martyr but the cause" (Augustine, *Serm.* 53A.13 [text: Hamman, 1961: 684; translation: Hill, 1990: 83–84]).

↳ Is the cultural contact neutral:

– No

↳ Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Yes

Notes: There were periods of violent conflict, including persecutions perpetrated by imperial authorities (under Constantine from 317–321 and Constans from 347–348). In 313, the Donatists wrote to Constantine to determine the rightful bishop of Carthage. Needing to consolidate

support, Constantine sided with the more inclusive Catholics against the more rigorist and exclusionary Donatists. Between 317 and 321 Constantine used measures akin to those of the persecuting emperors like Valerian and Diocletian, including exile, confiscation of property, and death. Nevertheless, Donatists continued to thrive and saw those who died under Constantine's persecutions as martyrs in the traditions of the past. Constantine suspended the persecutions in 321, perhaps in order to focus more closely on consolidating power from Licinius. Donatists were again persecuted under Constantine's son, Constans. In 347, Constans called for the forced unification of Christianity in North Africa and sent two officials, Paulus and Macarius, to enforce the edict. Violence broke out in the town of Bagai after the Donatist bishop organized a group of supporters to defend themselves against the imperial representatives and their military. The Donatists attacked the military scouts; in response, the soldiers massacred the entire group of Donatists in Bagai. However violent, this persecution was short-lived. In 348, Gratus, the Catholic bishop of Carthage, called a council where both the Catholics and Donatists acknowledged that they had committed errors. On these persecutions, see e.g., Michael Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 50-58, 104-111). Catholic attempts to use imperial interference to punish Donatist apostates led to sporadic outbreaks of violence on both sides during the reigns of Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II. The Conference of Carthage in 411 in particular represented a showdown between Catholic and Donatists, with the Catholic bishops advocating for violence. On the Donatist arguments in this conference, see Maureen A. Tilley, "Dilatory Donatists or Procrastinating Catholics: The Trial at the Conference of Carthage." *Church History*. Vol. 60, No. 1 (1991): 7-19. Donatists were threatened "financial, legal, and physical punishments" for their apostasy (see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman North Africa*, 54-57; Decret, *Early Christianity in North Africa*, 124-128). Violent rhetoric was also fairly common between religious authorities of opposing groups (see the comment under "Is the cultural contact competitive" for examples). Violence also occurred a more local, interpersonal level (see Brent Shaw, *Sacred Violence: Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). However, there were also extended periods of peaceful interaction.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 317 CE - 427 CE



Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

— No

Notes: Although the persecutions perpetrated by the imperial authorities under Constantine and Constans were initiated from Rome, they did not spread beyond the region of North Africa.

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

— Yes

Notes: The rite of baptism was used to initiate members into Christianity. In North Africa the early-second century, adult baptism was the norm so that individuals could make an informed decision (see Tertullian, *de Baptismo* 18). By the mid-third century, infant baptism was more frequent, but adult baptism still occurred (see Cyprian, *Epistula* 64.4.2; cf. de Lapsi, 25). Baptism was also practiced within Donatism, but the debate about rebaptism loomed large. Following the Decian persecution (250 CE), a debate emerged about whether those who denied Christ during the persecutions needed to be rebaptized in order to re-enter the Christian community (see the anonymous mid-3rd c. *Treatise on Rebaptism* [<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0515.htm>], and Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in*

Roman Africa, 187-190). The Donatists asserted that anyone who had been baptized into the mainstream (Catholic) church were not really baptized at all, since their baptisms were tainted by impure bishops and clergy. Thus, the only true baptisms were ones given by Donatist bishops, who did not fall into apostasy during the persecutions. Those who had been baptized by outside bishops would need to be rebaptized in order to join the Donatist church. In practice, however, this was not uniformly imposed and contact between Donatists and other Christians continued. On rebaptism and Donatism, see Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam* 1.2; 4.4; 6.1; 6.8 and Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 195-198. It should be noted that there is no evidence about any difference between the way the rituals themselves were performed.

↳ Assigned at birth (membership is default for this society):

– No

Notes: While infant baptism was somewhat more common in North Africa by the 4th century, initiation was not automatic. See comment under Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation (above).

↳ Assigned by personal choice:

– Yes

Notes: Donatists were characterized by their view of those who lapsed during the persecutions as being apostates who might contaminate the rest of the community, particularly those in positions of authority.

↳ Assigned by class:

– No

↳ Assigned at a specific age:

– No

Notes: As noted above, infant baptism did occur, but generally individuals were expected to be baptized only when they had the ability to understand fully what initiation into the Christian community meant. There was no set age at which this was to occur.

↳ Assigned by gender:

– No

↳ Assigned by participation in a particular ritual:

– Yes

Notes: Initiation was symbolized through the ritual of baptism, but baptism was not performed at the moment of conversion. Rather, individuals participated in a limited way in the community as catechumens, who underwent training and education in matters of Christianity. On the process during the period of Augustine (fifth century), see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 202-204.

↳ Assigned by some other factor:

- Yes [specify]: Donatists viewed anyone who lapsed (lapsi) during the persecutions as potentially contaminating the entire community. Thus, one could not be a lapsed Christian and belong to the community. Donatists opposed the election of Caecilian to bishop of Carthage on the grounds that had been ordained by Felix of Apthungi, who was said to have denied food to imprisoned martyrs.

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– Yes

Notes: Tentative yes, although the details are unclear and there likely was not an official program of proselytizing per se. Augustine certainly tries to recruit Donatists to Catholicism, including by means of force if necessary (see for example Augustine, *Epistula* 93.2 (text: Goldbacher, 1898: 446; translation: Teske, 2001: 378)). The rigorist nature of Donatism and their insistence on the ritual purity of the community against the polluted Catholics suggests that widespread proselytizing would be difficult. (On the Donatists' self-conception as a ritually pure group, see Maureen Tilley, *Sustaining Donatist Self-Identity: From the Church of the Martyrs to the Collecta of the Desert*. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, Volume 5, Number 1 (1997):21-35). However, it should be noted that there is evidence of Donatists accepting former Catholics into their midst, seeing anyone baptized by "Caecilianists" (i.e. supporters of Caecilian, the Catholic candidate for bishop of Carthage during the contested episcopal election) as being no different than the unbaptized pagans (see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 196).

↳ Is proselytizing mandated for religious professionals:

- No

↳ Is proselytizing mandated for all adherents:

- No

↳ Is missionary work mandated for religious professionals:

- No

↳ Is missionary work mandated for all adherents:

- No

↳ Is proselytization coercive:

- No

Notes: No evidence of Donatists forcibly converting pagans or Catholic Christians, although some violent rhetoric is present on the other side, with Augustine allowing for use of force in conversions if necessary including by means of force if necessary (see for example Augustine, *Epistula* 93.2 (text: Goldbacher, 1898: 446; translation: Teske, 2001: 378)).

Does the religion have official political support

— No

Notes: Quite the opposite: it was opposed by emperors Constantine and Constans with persecutions in 317-321 and 347-348 and later emperors including Theodosius I, Honorius, Arcadius, and Theodosius II occasionally interfered on behalf of the Catholics and instituted violence against the Donatists. Constantine's affiliation with Christianity following his defeat of Maxentius in 312 and the Edict of Milan in 313 created the first opportunity for Christians to seek imperial intervention in their disputes. In 313, the bishop of Carthage died, and both the lenient Catholics and the rigorist Donatists sought to fill the position with one of their own. When they were not able to reach an agreement with the Catholics, the Donatists appealed to Constantine. After a series of consultations, Constantine sided with the Catholics (who had a presence through the Empire and whose more inclusive policy towards lapsed Christians provided him with a larger base of potential supporters). Thus, Donatists were considered to be an imperial enemy. Constantine instituted persecutions against the Donatists between 317 and 321. The persecution was likely called off in part because it was not working (Donatist self-identity as a church of the martyrs allowed them to unite around the newly-created martyrs from Constantine's persecution) and because war with Licinius for sole rule was becoming more imminent, and he needed to focus his attention elsewhere. Donatist persecution was rekindled under Constantine's son Constans, who issued an edict that called for the forced unification of North African Christianity in 347. He sent two officials, Paulus and Macarius, who were involved in a violent incident in a town called Bagai. There, the local bishop summoned supporters to help defend the Donatists. In response, Macarius received military protection from the comes Africae, Silvester. The Donatists attacked the military scouts; in response, the soldiers massacred the entire group of Donatists in Bagai. However violent, this persecution was short-lived. In 348, Gratus, the Catholic bishop of Carthage, called a council where both the Catholics and Donatists acknowledged that they had committed errors. Catholic attempts to use imperial interference to punish Donatist apostates led to sporadic outbreaks of violence on both sides during the reigns of Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II. The Conference of Carthage in 411 in particular represented a showdown between Catholic and Donatists, with the Catholic bishops advocating for violence. On the Donatist arguments in this conference, see Maureen A. Tilley, "Dilatory Donatists or Procrastinating Catholics: The Trial at the Conference of Carthage." *Church History*. Vol. 60, No. 1 (1991): 7-19. Donatists were threatened "financial, legal, and physical punishments" for their apostasy (see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman North Africa*, 54-57; Decret, *Early Christianity in North Africa*, 124-128). On Constantine's relationship with the Donatist bishops, see Drake, H.A. *Constantine and the Bishops*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. 210-223. On the hearings that Constantine held, see Gaddis, "There is No Crime," 50-52. On possible reasons for Constantine to call off the persecutions, see (Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 159-162; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 191-193). For more on Constans' persecution, see Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 163-171.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 317 CE - 348 CE

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: The fact that they generally shared the same view of scripture, use of liturgy, ritual practices, and reverence for past leaders like Cyprian did not stop Donatists and Catholics from considering each other to be apostates. Donatists considered themselves to be the pure church, and indeed the only church that was unblemished by the sins of the lapsed. Both Catholics and Donatists venerated martyrs, but Donatists venerated post-Constantinian martyrs (that is, those who were killed by imperial/Catholic authorities). Likewise, Donatists were considered to be apostates by the Catholics largely because of their different views on the lapsed martyrs and their practices of rebaptism. However, there was also the conception (particularly in the late-4th and early-5th centuries) as schism being equivalent to apostasy. Thus, by refusing to unite with the Catholics, the Donatists were guilty of apostasy. In addition to the persecutions under Constantine and Constans, Catholic attempts to use

imperial interference to punish Donatist apostates led to sporadic outbreaks of violence on both sides during the reigns of Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II. Donatists were threatened "financial, legal, and physical punishments" for their apostasy (Burns and Jensen, *Roman Christianity in North Africa*, 54-57; cf. Decret, *Early Christianity in North Africa*, 124-128).

↳ Are apostates prosecuted or punished:

— Yes

Notes: See above comment for the more detail about the ways in which Catholic (through the authorities of the sympathetic imperial government) punished Donatists with persecutions under Constantine, Constans, and sporadic violence under later emperors like Theodosius I, Honorius, Arcadius, and Theodosius II. The Donatist martyr text, "The Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs", is particularly focused on condemning the actions of Catholics who either turned over books to the Roman authorities during the imperial persecutions or who block Donatist supporters from bringing food and supplies to the imprisoned confessors. The text asserts, "it is necessary that all those who handed over the divine testaments and the honoured laws of the omnipotent God and of the Lord Jesus Christ to be burned in profane fires should be tormented in the eternal flames of Gehenna and inextinguishable fire." (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 21. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 46). Furthermore, simply communicating with individuals who turned over books results in rejection from the heavenly kingdom. Divine judgment is also referred to in general, as the author writes, "Would anyone who is strong in the knowledge of divine law, endowed with faith, outstanding in devotion and most holy in religion, who realizes that God the Judge discerns truth from error, distinguishes faith from faithlessness, and isolates false pretence from sure and intact holiness, God who separates the upright from the lapsed, the unimpaired from the wounded, the just from the guilty, the innocent from the condemned, the custodian of the Law from the traitor, the confessor of the name of Christ from the denier, the martyr of the Lord from the persecutor, would that person think the church of the martyrs and the conventicle of traitors is one and the same thing? Of course, no one does. For these repel each other so and they are as contrary to each other as light to darkness, life to death, a holy angel to the devil, Christ to the Antichrist" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 22. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 46-47).

↳ Apostates are socially shunned and/or publicly vilified:

— Yes

Notes: Donatists believed that Christ had given the power to baptize to his apostles, whose traditions they upheld through the purity of their church. Bishops who committed apostasy, or who were in communion with the lapsed, were expelled from the community as a way of preventing contamination (Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman North Africa*, 197-198). In some cases, social segregation of anyone associated with these bishops was also encouraged. Social shunning more in rhetorical writing of religious authorities like Augustine than in the practice of everyday Christians. Catholics and Donatists continue to live alongside each other, communicate with each other, etc. Interestingly, both Augustine and an anonymous Donatist writer use the occasion of raucous martyr feasts to condemn the other side for being more focused on drinking and merriment than on properly venerating the martyrs. This shared rhetoric about similar rituals demonstrates the significant areas of cultural overlap between the groups. For the Donatist sermon, see *Pass. Donati et Advocati* 3-4 (PL 8: 752-58), trans. Tilley, 52-60. Augustine writes a great deal against martyr feasts, see for example, Ep. 55.18.34 (CSEL 34.2: 208-9), trans. Teske, 233-34; and Ep. 29.11 (CSEL 34.1: 121-22), trans. Teske, 100.

↳ Wealth, civil rights, and/or social capital are taken by authorities:

— Yes

Notes: The confiscation of goods and property was a standard method for punishing the subjects of persecution; Constantine and Constans both employed this tool in their persecutions of the Donatists.

↳ Do apostates receive corporal punishment:

— No

Notes: Violence used not as a means of punishment but as a means of coercion to convince Donatists to return to the Catholic church. See Augustine's argument that Catholics must repay Donatist violence with coercive violence of their own. He writes: 'If, then, we scorned and endured these people who were once our fierce enemies and who were attacking our peace and quiet with various sorts of violence and ambushes, so that we devised and did nothing at all that might be able to frighten and correct them, we would really have repaid evil with evil' (Augustine, Epistula 93.2 [text: Goldbacher, 1898: 446; translation: Teske, 2001: 378]).

↳ Do apostates receive divine punishment:

— Yes

Notes: It was generally believed that God's wrath would fall upon anyone who did not properly support the martyrs, or who worked with the authorities during the persecutions (i.e. the Catholics). The Donatist martyr text, "The Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs", is particularly focused on condemning the actions of Catholics who either turned over books to the Roman authorities during the imperial persecutions or who block Donatist supporters from bringing food and supplies to the imprisoned confessors. The text asserts, "it is necessary that all those who handed over the divine testaments and the honoured laws of the omnipotent God and of the Lord Jesus Christ to be burned in profane fires should be tormented in the eternal flames of Gehenna and inextinguishable fire." (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 21. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46). Furthermore, simply communicating with individuals who turned over books results in rejection from the heavenly kingdom. Divine judgment is also referred to in general, as the author writes, "Would anyone who is strong in the knowledge of divine law, endowed with faith, outstanding in devotion and most holy in religion, who realizes that God the Judge discerns truth from error, distinguishes faith from faithlessness, and isolates false pretence from sure and intact holiness, God who separates the upright from the lapsed, the unimpaired from the wounded, the just from the guilty, the innocent from the condemned, the custodian of the Law from the traitor, the confessor of the name of Christ from the denier, the martyr of the Lord from the persecutor, would that person think the church of the martyrs and the conventicle of traitors is one and the same thing? Of course, no one does. For these repel each other so and they are as contrary to each other as light to darkness, life to death, a holy angel to the devil, Christ to the Antichrist" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 22. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46-47).

↳ Punished in the afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: The Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs suggests that anyone who handed

over texts to the Roman authorities during the persecutions asserts, "should be tormented in the eternal flames of Gehenna and inextinguishable fire." (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 21. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46).

↳ Cursed by "high god":

— Field doesn't know

Notes: In the Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, God's judgment is expected on those who turned over Christian texts to the Roman's authorities. Unclear if this would go so far as being "cursed": "Would anyone who is strong in the knowledge of divine law, endowed with faith, outstanding in devotion and most holy in religion, who realizes that God the Judge discerns truth from error, distinguishes faith from faithlessness, and isolates false pretence from sure and intact holiness, God who separates the upright from the lapsed, the unimpaired from the wounded, the just from the guilty, the innocent from the condemned, the custodian of the Law from the traitor, the confessor of the name of Christ from the denier, the martyr of the Lord from the persecutor, would that person think the church of the martyrs and the conventicle of traitors is one and the same thing? Of course, no one does. For these repel each other so and they are as contrary to each other as light to darkness, life to death, a holy angel to the devil, Christ to the Antichrist" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 22. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46-47).

↳ Cursed by other supernatural being(s):

— No

↳ Other divine punishment:

— No

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

— Estimated population, numeric: 1500000

Notes: It is notoriously difficult to estimate ancient population sizes. Decret (2009, pg. 144) estimates that the North African population was 6 million, and all Christians (Catholics and Donatists) never exceeded a population of about 2 million in Late Antiquity. The number of Donatists fluctuated over time, but did form a majority of the Christian population for much of the period. However, how great of a majority, and exact numbers of membership, are difficult to discern. An indication of the majority nature of the Donatists can be gleaned through records of church councils in which the affiliations of the bishops were recorded. John Whitehouse presents a breakdown of the bishops mentioned at the Council of Carthage in 411, and finds 55% were Donatist and 45% were Catholic. See chart in Whitehouse, "The Course of the Donatist Schism" in *The Donatist Schism: Controversy and Contexts*, page 17.

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Estimated population, percentage of sample region: 33

Notes: Decret (2009, pg. 144) estimates that all Christians (Catholics and Donatists) made up about 33% of the entire population--Donatists were the majority of this, but how large of a majority is difficult to say.

Nature of religious group [please select one]:

– Large religious group (intolerant of other affiliations)

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

↳ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

– Yes

↳ "Regional" leaders who oversee one or more local leader(s) (e.g. bishops):

– Yes

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– Yes

↳ Other leaders in the religious group choose that leader:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Elite ✓ Religious Specialists

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

– Yes

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– Yes

Notes: On Donatist use of scripture, see Maureen Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist World*. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1997. In addition to texts of the Hebrew Bible and scriptures that

would come to make up the New Testament (which would not be codified until c. 367), Donatists also viewed the works of Cyprian as having authority. Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage from 248-258 (thus, during two periods of imperial persecution, under Decius and Valerian) and wrote a great deal about issues that concerned the Donatists, namely unity, purity, rebaptism, and martyrdom. Donatists considered themselves to be heirs of Cyprian's thought in these respects. Finally, Donatists also made use of martyr texts and viewed these as important for demonstrating both proper behaviour for future martyrs as well as the legitimacy of their rigorist perspective.

↳ Are they written:

– Yes

Notes: On Donatist use of scripture, see Maureen Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist World*. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1997. In addition to texts of the Hebrew Bible and scriptures that would come to make up the New Testament (which would not be codified until c. 367), Donatists also viewed the works of Cyprian as having authority. Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage from 248-258 (thus, during two periods of imperial persecution, under Decian and Valerian) and wrote a great deal about issues that concerned the Donatists, namely unity, purity, rebaptism, and martyrdom. Donatists considered themselves to be heirs of Cyprian's thought in these respects. Finally, Donatists also made use of martyr texts and viewed these as important for demonstrating both proper behaviour for future martyrs as well as the legitimacy of their rigorist perspective.

↳ Are they oral:

– No

Notes: However, excerpts from written scripture (including biblical and martyrdom texts) would be read aloud as part of church services. As the literacy rate was low, many people would only have been familiar with these texts from hearing, rather than reading, them.

↳ Is there a story associated with the origin of scripture:

– Yes

Notes: Scripture was believed to be divinely inspired.

↳ Revealed by a high god:

– Yes

Notes: It is unclear what the difference is between "revealed" and "inspired" (below). The Donatists followed Cyprian in viewing the Bible as being "the voice of God or God's Spirit filling the human writer". Further, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit also "provided directly to the reader a communication from God, a direct interpretation of a text" (Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 31). On Tertullian and Cyprian's use of scriptures, see Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 20-42.

↳ Revealed by other supernatural being:

– Yes

Notes: It is unclear what the difference is between "revealed" and "inspired" (below). The Donatists followed Cyprian in viewing the Bible as being "the voice of God or God's

Spirit filling the human writer". Further, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit also "provided directly to the reader a communication from God, a direct interpretation of a text" (Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 31). On Tertullian and Cyprian's use of scriptures, see Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 20-42.

↳ Inspired by high god:

— Yes

Notes: It is unclear what the difference is between "revealed" (above) and "inspired". The Donatists followed Cyprian in viewing the Bible as being "the voice of God or God's Spirit filling the human writer". Further, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit also "provided directly to the reader a communication from God, a direct interpretation of a text" (Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 31).

↳ Inspired by other supernatural being:

— No

↳ Originated from divine or semi-divine human beings:

— Yes

↳ Originated from non-divine human being:

— No

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

— Yes

Notes: Like other Christian groups, Donatists initially met within people's private homes. Some architectural modifications were likely made as the community grew and became more solidified (such as the removal of walls to expand rooms, for example). There was some construction of purpose-built structures before the Diocletian persecution, but archaeological evidence of these does not survive. Post-Constantine, Donatist construction of basilicas and cathedrals continued, although the buildings were occasionally confiscated (or transferred to the Catholics) during the various periods of persecution. Donatist churches existed in cities that also had Catholic ones, including Carthage (the Donatist cathedral was known by its Greek name, Theoprepia [Divine Majesty]), Thamguadi, and Hippo Regius. Augustine notes that the Donatist building was close enough to the Catholic one that his congregation could hear the Donatists' singing (Augustine, Ep. 29.11) (Burns and Jensen, *Roman Christianity in North Africa*, 87-91). It should be noted that there is no way to tell from the archaeological structure itself whether or not a building was Donatist. Those churches that have been classified as Donatist have been identified based on inscriptions that reference either Donatist bishops (known from records of church councils in which their affiliation is made clear), or by martyrs usually associated with Donatism (but whose affiliation is often more murky). The phrase "Deo laudes" was once thought to be enough to identify an inscription as Donatist, but the existence of this phrase in otherwise recognizably Catholic churches and writings has rendered this classification less solid. Furthermore, Catholics often reappropriated Donatist buildings after 411, which erased what other

evidence might have remained. For more on the difficulties with identifying Donatist archaeology, see Anna Leone, "Tracing the Donatist Presence in North Africa: An Archaeological Perspective," in *The Donatist Schism: Controversy and Contexts* (2016): 317-344.

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

— Yes

Notes: Christians in North Africa (both Donatists and Catholics) built basilicas (modelled on the Roman civic structure) and converted Roman temples into churches (as with Carthage's Temple of Caelestis). Other types of structures included monasteries (beginning in the late fourth century), saints' shrines, tombs, cemetery churches, and baptistries. For an overview of the archeological evidence, including a breakdown of the ecclesiastical structures by city, see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman North Africa*, 87-163). For detail specifically about martyr shrines and other structures related to the cult of the martyrs, see Duval, Yvette. *Loca sanctorum Africae: Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle*. Tomes I et II. Paris: École française de Rome, 1982.

↳ Tombs:

— Yes

Notes: Christians in North Africa buried their dead in cemeteries (including surface tombs), catacombs (underground communal burial spaces), as well as in shrines, basilicas, and cemetery churches. Catholic and Donatist cemeteries cannot be readily distinguished from one another based on either archaeological style or inscriptions (Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 120-124).

↳ Cemeteries:

— Yes

Notes: Christians in North Africa buried their dead in cemeteries (including surface tombs), catacombs (underground communal burial spaces), as well as in shrines, basilicas, and cemetery churches. Catholic and Donatist cemeteries cannot be readily distinguished from one another based on either archaeological style or inscriptions (Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 120-124).

↳ Temples:

— No

↳ Altars:

— Yes

Notes: Altars located within the nave of the church, although not uniformly within this space. The separation of the altar from the rest of the space suggests that access was restricted for clergy. Altars were covered with cloth and may have held martyrs' relics (Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 101-102).

↳ Devotional markers:

— Yes

Notes: Martyr shrines (martyrium) were established often at the place of burial, in cemeteries outside of the city walls. Major figures like Cyprian (a martyr in both Catholic and Donatist traditions) may have more than one shrine. There was a shrine to Cyprian on the site of his execution, as well as the place of his burial. Shrines may have different designs, and may contain inscriptions indicating the martyr being honoured, artistic designs, and even mensae (tabletops) for partaking in the funerary feasts in celebration of the martyrs.

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

– No

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes [specify]: Martyria (churches related to martyrs), martyr shrines

Notes: The largest martyrium is located in Theveste, dedicated to the martyr Crispina. Crispina was claimed by both Catholics and Donatists, and it is unclear which group claims the martyrium (although Theveste is known for a strong Donatist population). Churches also contained inscriptions to martyrs, but this did not necessarily mean their remains were contained there. See Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 113-120; Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae* (throughout).

Is iconography present:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: There is no known iconography that is recognizably "Donatist". It is difficult to identify churches and other archaeological remains as "Donatist" because they do not differ from their Catholic counterparts. Those churches that have been classified as Donatist have been identified based on inscriptions that reference either Donatist bishops (known from records of church councils in which their affiliation is made clear), or by martyrs usually associated with Donatism (but whose affiliation is often more murky). The phrase "Deo laudes" was once thought to be enough to identify an inscription as Donatist, but the existence of this phrase in otherwise recognizably Catholic churches and writings has rendered this classification less solid. Furthermore, Catholics often reappropriated Donatist buildings after 411, which erased what other evidence might have remained. For more on the difficulties with identifying Donatist archaeology, see Anna Leone, "Tracing the Donatist Presence in North Africa: An Archaeological Perspective," in *The Donatist Schism: Controversy and Contexts* (2016): 317-344.

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body.

Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

Notes: There was no single understanding of the soul in late antiquity, although in general it was considered to be something related to God, and distinct from the body. It is not clear whether the Donatists had a particular viewpoint on the soul, or whether they and the Catholics held shared views (which were likely diverse, but not necessarily split along Catholic-Donatist lines). Augustine has complex views on the soul, but generally considers it to be incorporeal, mutable, and created (see Roland J. Teske, "Soul" in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. by Allan D. Fitzgerald. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999, 807-812).

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other body parts:

— Yes

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

— No

↳ Other spirit-body relationship:

— No

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: Yes, although a focus on the afterlife as a reward in martyr texts is not as prominent in post-Constantinian Donatist works as it is in pre-Constantinian texts. See, for example, the beautiful garden that awaits Perpetua and her fellow martyrs, in *Passio Perpetuae* 1.3, composed sometime around 203, in comparison to the lack of discussion of heavenly reward in the Donatist *Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*, in which the audience is simply told that they "rested in peace, with our Lord Jesus Christ reigning, who lives with God the Father and reigns with the Holy Spirit forever and ever" (*Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*, 6. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 24). Instead, Donatist texts were more focused on how one's closeness with God allowed for the endurance of suffering on earth (Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 63). This can be seen in the elevation of military and athletic imagery (which, though present in pre-Constantinian martyr texts, is more central in Donatist works). For example, one martyr text describes itself as "an account of celestial battles and struggles undertaken anew by the bravest soldiers of Christ, the unconquered warriors, the glorious martyrs...these enormous battle lines of confessors flew into the field of combat from all sides, and where any of them found the enemy, there they pitched the camp of the Lord" (*Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs*, 1-2. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 27-29). There is still an expectation of the afterlife, but the focus is on the actions of the martyrs, not on the location or form of heaven.

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: While the afterlife is generally considered to be "above", the precise location and appearance of the afterlife is not a main focus of extant Donatist literature. Instead, the eternal

nature of the heavenly kingdom is emphasized.

↳ Afterlife in specified realm of space beyond this world:

– No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined “above” space:

– Yes

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined “below” space:

– No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

– No

↳ Afterlife located in "other" space:

– No

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

Notes: Not particular to Donatists, but in general Christian burial practices in North Africa consisted of washing the body, anointing it with oil, and dressing it in clean clothes (similar to contemporary Roman and Jewish practices). Burial should take place relatively quickly after death (some evidence in Augustine's writings indicates same-day burial, but this was not essential). Beginning in the middle of the 3rd century, the clergy became more involved with providing burial for the dead, although funerals were still largely centred around the family and there were no specific prayers or liturgy required throughout (rather, this varied based on individual status, location, circumstances of death, etc.). On death rituals in late ancient Christianity, see: Carroll, Maureen. *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; Rebillard, Éric. *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*. Translated by Elizabeth Trapnell Rawlings and Jeanine Routier-Pucci. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009; Volp, Ulrich. *Tod und Ritual in den christlichen Gemeinden der Antike*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

↳ Cremation:

– No

↳ Mummification:

– No

↳ Interment:

– Yes

Notes: The proper interment of bodies is particularly emphasized in martyr texts, and the location of martyr burials became pilgrimage sites for believers. For example, in the Passion of Maximian and Isaac, some martyrs are killed at sea, but their bodies miraculously wash to shore so that they can be properly buried. The text reads: "Thus the blessed martyrs received the interment due to them. The sisters and brothers provided the burial rites for which they all had hoped. Thus Christ discredited the ineffectual plans of the traitors. He would not permit the bodies of such people to remain unburied and he would not defraud the devotion of the people in any way, nor would he watch unmoved as the impious fulfilled their vows of cruelty with their blasphemy of his name" (16; trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 74).

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– No

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

↳ Secondary burial:

– No

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

– No

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

– No

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– No

Are grave goods present:

– No

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Notes: Formal burials were not specific to Donatists. Christians largely adopted the structure of Jewish

and Roman burials, but different geographic regions had different rituals. In general, the body was washed, anointed, and dressed, usually by female relatives. There might be a short period during which the body was displayed in the home and mourners could pay their respects. The family would then take the body to the cemetery in a procession that could be witnessed by the public. At the cemetery, the body was buried (at least initially, no clergy was required to be present for the burial, but some prayers and hymns may be said. In the late-3rd and early-4th century, clergy participation increased, and formalized funeral liturgy began to develop). At the graveside following burial, there may be a funerary feast in which family members shared food and wine and told stories about the deceased. These commemorative feasts for the dead (called *refrigeria*) seem to have been slowly phased out by the Catholics (see Augustine, *Confessions* 6.2 on Monica bringing food and wine to the graves of martyrs, and on Ambrose forbidding this practice), but there is some archaeological evidence to suggest that the Donatists continued this practice. On evidence for Donatist *refrigeria*, see Anna Leone, "Tracing the Donatist Presence in North Africa: An Archaeological Perspective," in *The Donatist Schism: Controversy and Contexts*. Ed. Richard Miles. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016, 335, 341. The proper interment of bodies is particularly emphasized in martyr texts, and the location of martyr burials became pilgrimage sites for believers. For example, in the *Passion of Maximian and Isaac*, some martyrs are killed at sea, but their bodies miraculously wash to shore so that they can be properly buried. The text reads: "Thus the blessed martyrs received the interment due to them. The sisters and brothers provided the burial rites for which they all had hoped. Thus Christ discredited the ineffectual plans of the traitors. He would not permit the bodies of such people to remain unburied and he would not defraud the devotion of the people in any way, nor would he watch unmoved as the impious fulfilled their vows of cruelty with their blasphemy of his name" (16; trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 74).

↳ As cenotaphs:

— No

↳ In cemetery:

— Yes

Notes: Christians in North Africa buried their dead in cemeteries (including surface tombs), catacombs (underground communal burial spaces), as well as in shrines, basilicas, and cemetery churches. Catholic and Donatist cemeteries cannot be readily distinguished from one another based on either archaeological style or inscriptions (Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 120-124).

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

— Yes

Notes: Christians in North Africa buried their dead in cemeteries (including surface tombs), catacombs (underground communal burial spaces), as well as in shrines, basilicas, and cemetery churches. Catholic and Donatist cemeteries cannot be readily distinguished from one another based on either archaeological style or inscriptions (Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 120-124).

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

— No

↳ Other formal burial type:

– No

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: Although they do not feature prominently in Donatist writings, Christians generally believed in angels (benevolent spirits) as well as daemons (evil spirits, usually). Different groups had different understandings of the exact composition of angels and daemons, although many Christians drew on examples from Scripture. For example, Paul writes of different kinds of spirits (angels, daemons, archangels, etc.) in Romans 8:38 and 1 Thessalonians 4:16. Many Christian thinkers were also influenced by philosophical views on spiritual beings. The supernatural figure of Satan also appears frequently in martyr texts.

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

Notes: All Christians, including Donatists, believe in one all-powerful God, as described in the Old and New Testaments. He is often referred to as the Father.

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– Yes

Notes: God is often described as "Father". For example, this can be seen in the Donatist *Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*. In this text, Secunda, a 12-year-old girl, asserts, "It is better for me to defy my father according to the flesh and to love my spiritual Father" (*Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda* 4. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 22). However, there is no specifically Donatist art that depicts God in humanized form.

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

– No

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

– No

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

– No

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– No

- ↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:
 - Yes
- ↳ Other feature(s) of supreme high god:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:
 - Yes
- ↳ The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted within the sample region:
 - Yes
- ↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted outside of sample region:
 - Yes
- ↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):
 - Yes
- ↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):
 - Yes

↳ The supreme high god can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

— Yes

↳ The supreme high god knows your basic character (personal essence):

— Yes

↳ The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

— Yes

↳ The supreme high god has other knowledge of this world:

— No

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— Yes

Notes: God is all-powerful within the world and has the ability to influence individual lives. Within the context of Donatism, it is helpful to look at the way God is discussed in martyr texts. For example, God's presence allows the Abitinian martyrs to "[bear] the palm of victory over suffering" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs 2. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 29-30). In another section of the same text, a Christian woman named Victoria flung herself from a cliff rather than be forced into a marriage. She was saved by "compliant breezes" (i.e. provided by God) and immediately took refuge in the Church (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs 17. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 42).

↳ The supreme high god can reward:

— Yes

↳ The supreme high god can punish:

— Yes

Notes: Divine judgment is referred to in the Donatist Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs: "Would anyone who is strong in the knowledge of divine law, endowed with faith, outstanding in devotion and most holy in religion, who realizes that God the Judge discerns truth from error, distinguishes faith from faithlessness, and isolates false pretence from sure and intact holiness, God who separates the upright from the lapsed, the unimpaired from the wounded, the just from the guilty, the innocent from the condemned, the custodian of the Law from the traitor, the confessor of the name of Christ from the denier, the martyr of the Lord from the persecutor, would that person think the church of the martyrs and the conventicle of traitors is one and the same thing? Of course, no one does. For these repel each other so and they are as contrary to each other as light to darkness, life to death, a holy angel to the devil, Christ to the Antichrist" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 22. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46-47).

- ↳ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:
 - Yes
- ↳ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:
 - Yes
- ↳ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:
 - Yes
- ↳ The supreme high god possesses hunger:
 - No
- ↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god possesses/exhibits some other feature:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:
 - Yes
 - Notes: God is believed to speak directly to the martyrs, often through dreams or visions. Martyrs are also seen as being able to intercede with other Christians on behalf of God by virtue of being willing to die for him.
- ↳ In waking, everyday life:
 - Yes
 - Notes: Visions may appear in waking as well as sleep.
- ↳ In dreams:
 - Yes
 - Notes: Martyrs and others might have dreams in which God offers guidance or support. God is usually represented symbolically, as in Perpetua's first vision, in which God appears as a shepherd (Passion of Perpetua 4; trans. Musurillo, 111).
- ↳ In trance possession:
 - Field doesn't know
 - Notes: Unclear how some visions might be best understood/described, as often the focus is on the content of the vision rather than on the demeanour of the person receiving the vision.

↳ Through divination practices:

— Field doesn't know

Notes: Unclear--visions might be requested, although it doesn't seem as though there is a set divination process for this. For example, in the *Passion of Perpetua*, Perpetua is asked by her companions to request a vision so that they might know whether they are to face martyrdom. The text reads: "Then my brother said to me, 'Dear sister, you are greatly privileged; surely you might ask for a vision to discover whether you are to be condemned or freed.' Faithfully I promised that I would, for I knew that I could speak with the Lord, whose great blessings I had come to experience." (*Passion of Perpetua* 4; trans. Mursurillo, 111). Her subsequent vision includes a shepherd (usually understood to represent God) as well as "many thousands of people clad in white garments", perhaps representing other martyrs or saints. While this text was written before the Donatist period, it was widely promulgated in North Africa and influenced the way other martyr texts were written.

↳ Only through religious specialists:

— No

↳ Only through monarch

— No

↳ Other form of communication with living:

— No

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— Yes

Notes: There was a understanding that martyrs could intercede on behalf of Christians (in the form of healing miracles that may occur after visiting shrines or tombs, for example). Although written before the Donatist period, *The Martyrdom of Marian and James* is from Numidia (where Donatism would be prominent) and contains a dream in which Marian sees the martyr-bishop Cyprian welcoming him to heaven (*Martyrdom of Marian and James* 6; Musurillo, 203). The presence of Cyprian within the dream serves to comfort Marian and his fellow martyrs. Another North African text from around the same time, *The Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius* contains a vision by a female martyr named Quartillosa, who sees her husband and son (who were martyred 3 days earlier) in an afterlife. Her deceased martyr son offers her comfort (*Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius* 8; Musurillo, 221). Both of these texts also contain references to disunity within the church community, and place the blame for the persecutions not on the Roman officials but on the behaviour of other Christians, which suggests that they would be appealing to the Donatists, who considered themselves to be the inheritors of the entire martyr tradition. The martyrs were not only able to influence others in full bodily form. For example, in *The City of God* 22, Augustine recounts miracles that took place when Stephen's relics were brought to North Africa. Healing miracles occurred when individuals brought items of clothing of the sick or the deceased to the shrine, or when a body

was anointed with oil from the shrine.

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: Occasionally deceased individuals appear in visions/dreams. For example, in the Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius, contains a vision by a female martyr named Quartillosa, who sees her husband and son (who were martyred 3 days earlier) in an afterlife. Her deceased martyr son offers her comfort (Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius 8 (Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 221). Martyrs are not the only human spirits that can be seen in dreams/visions, however. In the Passion of Perpetua, Perpetua has two visions of her deceased brother, Dinocrates (Passion of Perpetua 7-8 (Musurillo, 115, 117). Again, these texts are not specifically Donatist, but they are from North Africa. As Donatists considered themselves to be the inheritors of the entire martyr tradition, it is possible that they claimed these texts as well.

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

— Yes

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

— No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits know your basic character (personal essence):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

— No

↳ Human spirits have other form(s) of knowledge regarding this world:

— No

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— No

Notes: The spirits or relics of martyrs are linked to miracles, but the rewards of the miracles are ultimately a result of the power of God, not the martyrs.

↳ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

— Yes

Notes: In some martyr texts, though not specifically Donatist ones, confessors have visions or dreams in which previously-deceased people provide comfort, support, or encouragement. For example, in the Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius, Quartillosa sees a vision of her husband and son, who had been martyred days prior. Her son comforts her and seems to know who she is (Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius 8. Musurillo, 221). However, it is unclear whether this is always the case, or whether martyrs are special in this regard.

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

— Yes

Notes: Often, martyr texts depict visions in which previously-deceased martyrs or other religious figures welcome the confessors to heaven or act to otherwise comfort and support the martyrs. For example although written before the Donatist period, The Martyrdom of Marian and James is from Numidia (where Donatism would be prominent) and contains a dream in which Marian sees the martyr-bishop Cyprian welcoming him to heaven (Martyrdom of Marian and James 6; Musurillo, 203). The presence of Cyprian within the dream serves to comfort Marian and his fellow martyrs. Another North African text from around the same time, The Martyrdom of Montanus

and Lucius contains a vision by a female martyr named Quartilosa, who sees her husband and son (who were martyred 3 days earlier) in an afterlife. Her deceased martyr son offers her comfort (Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius 8; Musurillo, 221).

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Typically, the visions reveal the previously-deceased martyrs providing positive emotions that serve to comfort and support. While not directed at the person receiving the vision, in the Passion of Perpetua, Perpetua's deceased brother Dinocrates is shown as suffering in the afterlife. He died of a cancer of the face, and the wound is still visible. He is also dirty and unable to reach the water to quench his thirst. Prayer is revealed to heal and clean him in a subsequent vision, and he is then also able to drink. (Passion of Perpetua 2.3-3.4). This text was written before the Donatist period, but was popular throughout North Africa and influenced other martyr texts.

↳ Human spirits possess hunger:

– No

↳ Human spirits possess/exhibit some other feature:

– No

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:

– Yes

Notes: In general, it was believed that martyrs could intercede with God on behalf of the living. Lay Christians could visit martyr shrines to ask for miracles, but would not necessarily expect to receive direct communication from the martyrs (although they might see a vision in which the martyr provided instructions). Martyrs did communicate with confessors (martyrs-to-be) through visions, usually to offer comfort or reassurance. For example, although written before the Donatist period, The Martyrdom of Marian and James is from Numidia (where Donatism would be prominent) and contains a dream in which Marian sees the martyr-bishop Cyprian welcoming him to heaven (Martyrdom of Marian and James 6; Musurillo, 203). The presence of Cyprian within the dream serves to comfort Marian and his fellow martyrs. Another North African text from around the same time, The Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius contains a vision by a female martyr named Quartilosa, who sees her husband and son (who were martyred 3 days earlier) in an afterlife. Her deceased martyr son offers her comfort (Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius 8; Musurillo, 221). Both of these texts also contain references to disunity within the church community, and place the blame for the persecutions not on the Roman officials but on the behaviour of other Christians, which suggests that they would be appealing to the Donatists, who considered themselves to be the inheritors of the entire martyr tradition. Usually, there is a sense that the communication is requested by the living participant, by virtue of asking for guidance or strength during their trials, if not directly asking for a vision.

↳ In waking, everyday life:

— Field doesn't know

Notes: In the martyr texts, confessors communicate with martyrs in the specific context of visions or dreams, but these can come spontaneously. For example, in the Passion of Perpetua (which is not specifically Donatist, but is a significant text in North Africa), Perpetua spontaneously speaks the name of her deceased brother, Dinocrates, while praying, and then has a vision of him. He does not technically visit her in waking, everyday life, however.

↳ In dreams:

— Yes

Notes: Confessors' visions of martyrs often occur in the context of dreams while imprisoned. For example, although it was written before the Donatist period, The Martyrdom of Marian and James is from Numidia (where Donatism would be prominent) and shows Marian having a dream in which the martyr-bishop Cyprian welcomes the martyr Marian to heaven (Martyrdom of Marian and James 6; Musurillo, 203). The presence of Cyprian within the dream serves to comfort Marian and his fellow martyrs.

↳ In trance possession:

— Field doesn't know

Notes: Unclear how some visions might be best understood/described, as often the focus is on the content of the vision rather than on the demeanour of the person receiving the vision.

↳ Through divination processes:

— Field doesn't know

Notes: Unclear--visions might be requested, although it doesn't seem as though there is a set divination process for this. For example, in the Passion of Perpetua, Perpetua is asked by her companions to request a vision so that they might know whether they are to face martyrdom. The text reads: "Then my brother said to me, 'Dear sister, you are greatly privileged; surely you might ask for a vision to discover whether you are to be condemned or freed.' Faithfully I promised that I would, for I knew that I could speak with the Lord, whose great blessings I had come to experience." (Passion of Perpetua 4; trans. Mursurillo, 111). Her subsequent vision includes a shepherd (usually understood to represent God) as well as "many thousands of people clad in white garments", perhaps representing other martyrs or saints. While this text was written before the Donatist period, it was widely promulgated in North Africa and influenced the way other martyr texts were written.

↳ Only through specialists:

— No

Notes: Anyone, whether male or female, lay or clergy, could receive a vision. Confessors (those imprisoned awaiting martyrdom) were believed to have a

closer connection to God by virtue of being willing to die for their faith, and may have subsequently been seen as being more likely to have visions.

↳ Only through monarch:

— No

↳ Communicate with living through other means:

— No

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

— Yes

Notes: Although they do not feature prominently in Donatist writings, Christians generally believed in angels (benevolent spirits) as well as daemons (evil spirits, usually). Different groups had different understandings of the exact composition of angels and daemons, although many Christians drew on examples from Scripture. For example, Paul writes of different kinds of spirits (angels, daemons, archangels, etc.) in Romans 8:38 and 1 Thessalonians 4:16. Many Christian thinkers were also influenced by philosophical views on spiritual beings. The supernatural figure of Satan also appears frequently in martyr texts. Often the struggle between martyrs and the Roman persecutors is reframed as a struggle between martyrs/God and Satan. For example, in the Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, the martyrs are described as "the army of the Lord" engaged in a battle "to be fought not so much against human beings as against the devil" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs 2. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 28).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

— Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

— Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

— Yes

Notes: While not Donatist, Augustine was writing during the Donatist controversy and there may have been some overlap of ideas. Augustine argues that angels have direct access to the divine will of God. He also believes that they are able to have knowledge of creatures within the divine realms and knowledge of created things (Augustine, On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis). On Augustine and angels, see Frederick Van Fletteren. "Angels" in Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia, 20-22.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:
 - No
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:
 - Yes
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:
 - Yes
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):
 - Yes
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):
 - Yes
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings knows your basic character (personal essence):
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):
 - Yes
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have other knowledge of this world:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:
 - Yes

Notes: Angels appear to humans in visions/dreams as well as when they are awake and act as intermediaries for God. Donatists (as well as Catholics) generally see angels

as deputies of God. For example, the Catholic bishop Optatus interprets the Donatist bishop Parmenian as describing angels as the ones who prepare the way for the Spirit to enter the baptismal waters (see Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 105).

↳ These supernatural beings can reward:
– No

↳ These supernatural beings can punish:
– No

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:
– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:
– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:
– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:
– No

Notes: While not Donatist, Augustine believes that angels do not need nourishment (Augustine, sermon 362).

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:
– No

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:
– No

Notes: This is a difficult question to answer, since Augustine describes Christ in various writings as both mortal and divine/equal with God. The uniqueness of Jesus in this case leads me to select "no", as there are no other figures within north African Christianity/Donatism who would qualify as "mixed human-divine beings".

↳ Does the religious group possess a pantheon of supernatural beings:
– Yes

Notes: Although they do not feature prominently in Donatist writings, Christians generally believed in angels (benevolent spirits) as well as daemons (evil spirits, usually). Different groups had different understandings of the exact composition of angels and daemons, although

many Christians drew on examples from Scripture. For example, Paul writes of different kinds of spirits (angels, daemons, archangels, etc.) in Romans 8:38 and 1 Thessalonians 4:16. Many Christian thinkers were also influenced by philosophical views on spiritual beings. The supernatural figure of Satan also appears frequently in martyr texts. Often the struggle between martyrs and the Roman persecutors is reframed as a struggle between martyrs/God and Satan. For example, in the Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, the martyrs are described as "the army of the Lord" engaged in a battle "to be fought not so much against human beings as against the devil" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs 2. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 28).

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– No

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– Yes

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

– No

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

– No

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Yes

↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:

Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously "moral" or "ethical" norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about taboos:

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists:

– Yes

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Adultery:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Incest:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Other sexual practices:
 - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about lying:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sorcery:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about shirking risk:
 - Yes

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about gossiping:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about property crimes:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about economic fairness:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene:
 - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about other:
 - No

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

Notes: The Donatists believed that God's wrath would be sent down upon the Catholics (and other apostates) because of their actions during the persecutions (such as handing over scriptures to authorities, etc.) The Donatist martyr text, "The Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs", is particularly focused on condemning the actions of Catholics who either turned over books to the Roman authorities during the imperial persecutions or who block Donatist supporters from bringing food and supplies to the imprisoned confessors. The text asserts, "it is necessary that all those who handed over the divine testaments and the honoured laws of the omnipotent God and of the Lord Jesus Christ to be burned in profane fires should be tormented in the eternal flames of Gehenna and inextinguishable fire." (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 21. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46). Furthermore, simply communicating with individuals who turned over books results in rejection from the heavenly kingdom. Divine

judgment is also referred to in general, as the author writes, "Would anyone who is strong in the knowledge of divine law, endowed with faith, outstanding in devotion and most holy in religion, who realizes that God the Judge discerns truth from error, distinguishes faith from faithlessness, and isolates false pretence from sure and intact holiness, God who separates the upright from the lapsed, the unimpaired from the wounded, the just from the guilty, the innocent from the condemned, the custodian of the Law from the traitor, the confessor of the name of Christ from the denier, the martyr of the Lord from the persecutor, would that person think the church of the martyrs and the conventicle of traitors is one and the same thing? Of course, no one does. For these repel each other so and they are as contrary to each other as light to darkness, life to death, a holy angel to the devil, Christ to the Antichrist" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 22. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46-47).

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

— Yes

Notes: God is the only one who can punish. The Donatists believed that God's wrath would be sent down upon the Catholics (and other apostates) because of their actions during the persecutions (such as handing over scriptures to authorities, etc.) The Donatist martyr text, "The Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs", is particularly focused on condemning the actions of Catholics who either turned over books to the Roman authorities during the imperial persecutions or who block Donatist supporters from bringing food and supplies to the imprisoned confessors. The text asserts, "it is necessary that all those who handed over the divine testaments and the honoured laws of the omnipotent God and of the Lord Jesus Christ to be burned in profane fires should be tormented in the eternal flames of Gehenna and inextinguishable fire." (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 21. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46). Furthermore, simply communicating with individuals who turned over books results in rejection from the heavenly kingdom. Divine judgment is also referred to in general, as the author writes, "Would anyone who is strong in the knowledge of divine law, endowed with faith, outstanding in devotion and most holy in religion, who realizes that God the Judge discerns truth from error, distinguishes faith from faithlessness, and isolates false pretence from sure and intact holiness, God who separates the upright from the lapsed, the unimpaired from the wounded, the just from the guilty, the innocent from the condemned, the custodian of the Law from the traitor, the confessor of the name of Christ from the denier, the martyr of the Lord from the persecutor, would that person think the church of the martyrs and the conventicle of traitors is one and the same thing? Of course, no one does. For these repel each other so and they are as contrary to each other as light to darkness, life to death, a holy angel to the devil, Christ to the Antichrist" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 22. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 46-47).

↳ Done only by high god:

— Yes

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

— No

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

— No

↳ Done by other entities or through other means [specify]

– No

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: God's punishment is a result of the sin of lapsing during the persecutions (that is, turning over texts to the Roman authorities, avoiding martyrdom, or otherwise failing to properly support the martyrs).

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– Yes

Notes: God's punishment is a result of failure to stand firm in the face of persecutions. In some later Donatist writings, this is associated with idolatry--the Catholics knew God and yet turned away from him towards earthly things. On this, see Tilley, "The Bible in Christian North Africa", 165-166.

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Somewhat--the Donatist expectation was that their members would retain the purity of the community at first through their actions during the persecutions (of resistance to the Roman authorities, and martyrdom, if called upon). After the persecutions were over, the expectation was that the Donatists would not associate with anyone (especially officials) who had lapsed during the persecutions because their sin would act as a contagion to the rest of the community. However, the punishment itself was not specifically to enforce these norms, but rather a result of these norms not being followed.

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:

– No

↳ Done randomly:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: Those who sinned by lapsing during the persecutions or associating with those who did could be rejected from heaven and face God's wrath. The Donatist martyr text, "The Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs", is particularly focused on condemning the actions of Catholics who either

turned over books to the Roman authorities during the imperial persecutions or who block Donatist supporters from bringing food and supplies to the imprisoned confessors. The text asserts, "it is necessary that all those who handed over the divine testaments and the honoured laws of the omnipotent God and of the Lord Jesus Christ to be burned in profane fires should be tormented in the eternal flames of Gehenna and inextinguishable fire." (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 21. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 46). Furthermore, simply communicating with individuals who turned over books results in rejection from the heavenly kingdom.

↳ Supernatural punishments in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– No

Notes: While those who sinned by lapsing during the persecutions or associating with those who did could be rejected from heaven and face God's wrath, the actual nature of this punishment in the afterlife is not a particular focus of Donatist writings. See in general Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*.

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as an inferior life form:

– No

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in an inferior realm:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– No

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Yes

Notes: Just as God punished those who lapsed during the persecutions, he also rewarded those who stayed strong and either became martyrs or supported the martyrs. The reward of eternal life in paradise with God is available to all pure faithful Christians, as emphasized in martyr texts such as "The Sermon on the Passion of Saints Donatus and Advocatus": "A multiplicity of battles tests you on earth,

crowns you in heaven, and commends you to the Lord Christ" (14; trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Texts, 60).

↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:

— Yes

Notes: God rewards those who remain faithful. This includes martyrs, who die rather than renounce their faith, as well as those who support martyrs during the persecution or venerate martyrs once the period of persecution is over. For example, "The Sermon on the Passion of Saints Donatus and Advocatus" notes: "Scrutinizing the hearts of all, God honours with the reward of the martyrs those whom He saw suffering with the full measure of devotion, for He seeks not the blood but the faith of believers" (9; trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Texts, 58).

↳ Done only by high god:

— Yes

Notes: Only God can reward, just as only God can punish.

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

— No

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

— No

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

— No

Notes: Not necessarily specific ritual behaviour, but devotion is important. God rewards those who remain faithful. This includes martyrs, who die rather than renounce their faith, as well as those who support martyrs during the persecution or venerate martyrs once the period of persecution is over. For example, "The Sermon on the Passion of Saints Donatus and Advocatus" notes: "Scrutinizing the hearts of all, God honours with the reward of the martyrs those whom He saw suffering with the full measure of devotion, for He seeks not the blood but the faith of believers" (9; trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Texts, 58).

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

— No

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:

— No

↳ Done randomly:

— No

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: The reward is specifically related to receiving eternal life in paradise with God.

↳ Supernatural rewards in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Eternal life is frequently mentioned as a reward in Donatist martyr texts, both for martyrs and for their adherents.

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– No

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– No

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of eternal happiness:

– Yes

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as a superior life form:

– No

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in a superior realm:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The focus is primarily on heavenly rewards (eternal life) after death, which is fitting of a religious group whose identity is focused on martyrdom.

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– Yes

Notes: Yes - as with other Christian groups, Jesus was considered to be the Messiah who had come to

save the world through his teachings, death, and resurrection. It was believed that he would one day return to usher in a new kingdom.

↳ Is the messiah's whereabouts or time of coming known?

— No

Notes: Although the life and death of Jesus could be placed in history, the time and place of his return were unknown.

↳ Is the messiah's purpose known:

— Yes

Notes: The purpose of the messiah was to save humans from sin, although the exact nature of this salvation was debated among various Christian groups.

Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: Donatists and Catholics followed the same broad set of social norms. They were expected to follow Scripture for guidance on behaviour and to generally to behave in a modest way.

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

— Field doesn't know

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

— No

Notes: Donatist martyr texts reveal that Donatists could be married or celibate. For example, the Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs attests to Donatists who were married ("another married woman named Januaria"), who had children ("Saturninus and his four children"), as well as individuals who remained celibate ("Maria, the consecrated virgin") (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs 2; trans. Maureen A. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories: The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997. 27-49).

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

— No

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

— No

Notes: While it was not required, fasting was an important penitential practice that evolved in formality and function over the years. Tertullian, for example, emphasized fasting in relation to martyrdom in that it helped to prepare the body to undergo the austerity of prisons and the pain of torture (Tertullian, *De Ieiunio* 8.3). Cyprian also emphasized the importance of fasting during persecution, both as a way of gaining divine support for one's prayers, and especially as part of the repentance of sins (Cyprian, *De Lapsi*, 29-31, 35). During the time of Augustine, fasting was formalized and he emphasized connections between fasting days and the life of Jesus (for example, Christians typically fasted on Wednesday and Friday, which Augustine highlighted as being related to the day of Jesus' arrest [Wednesday] and his execution [Friday]) (Augustine, *Ep.* 36.13.30). For further information on fasting, see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 563-569). Donatist martyr texts occasionally refer to moderation with food, if not official fasting. In *The Passion of Maximian and Isaac*, the martyr Maximian drinks a bit of wine that miraculously comes to reflect a crown (representing the crown of martyrdom). Despite this sign and the fact that he only drank a small amount, he vomits it up the next day as he prepares to be martyred (*The Passion of Maximian and Isaac*, 4. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 65-66).

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— No

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

— No

Notes: While suicide was not a requirement of Donatism, critics commonly associated Donatists with having an uncomfortable desire for death and with practicing self-killing. While some Donatists likely did kill themselves (or volunteer for martyrdom), the frequency of this (and the discrepancy between the Donatists and Catholics who engaged in such practices) was certainly exaggerated for rhetorical effect. For example, Augustine writes in a letter to an imperial official: "Then it has become a daily sport...for them to kill themselves by jumping off sheer cliffs or by fire or by water. The Devil taught them these three kinds of death, so that, when they wished to die and could find no one to frighten into killing them with a sword, they would hurl themselves from precipices or expose themselves to fire or to water" (Augustine, Ep. 185.3.12). For more on suicide, Augustine, and the Donatists, see Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, 721-770.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

— Yes

Notes: Like Catholics, Donatists held weekly church services (on Sundays) in addition to other celebrations such as commemorative feasts on the anniversary of martyrs' deaths. Prayer at home also occurred, although this would have varied on an individual level.

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

— Yes

Notes: Yes, to some extent - Donatists expected to face persecution and potential torture/execution if the opportunity presented itself (other Christian groups asserted that individuals could try to avoid persecution through various methods including flight or bribery of officials). Donatist martyr texts include stories of individuals volunteering for martyrdom, such as the young female martyr Secunda, who is inspired to leave her family and join other martyrs when the procession passes by her window. See the *Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda* in Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 17-24.

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

— Yes

Notes: The main difference between Donatists and other Christian groups (most prominently, the Catholics in North Africa) was not based on ethical behaviour in every day life; rather, it was based on the perceived actions of the Catholics during the persecutions of the Christians. The Donatists accused some Catholic leaders of lapsing during the persecutions (by handing over scriptures, sacrificing to the gods, etc.), thereby polluting the entire community. The Donatists saw themselves as being the pure group, untainted by these ethical breaches during the persecutions, or by subsequently being baptized or ordained by those who had lapsed. Thus, Donatists were expected to not give in to persecutions, and valued martyrdom as the highest ideal. On other general ethical precepts, such as obeying the teachings of the Scriptures and behaving in a broadly moral way, the Catholics and Donatists broadly agreed. On the Donatist self-perception as the pure group among the impure Catholics, see Maureen Tilley, "Sustaining Donatist Self-Identity: From the Church of the Martyrs to the

Collecta of the Desert." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5 (1997), 21-35. On the Donatist use of Scripture see Maureen Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997.

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

— Yes

Notes: Donatists strongly believed that sin within the Catholic community was contagious, and so social segregation was necessary, especially at the level of church officials. That is, if an official was ordained by someone who was deemed to be an apostate, or who had lapsed during the persecutions, that sin was passed on to the official as well as everyone else in their community. Therefore, the Donatists were able to claim to be the only "pure" community.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

— Yes

Notes: Prayer at home, etc.



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

— Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

— Yes

Notes: Church services, celebratory feasts in honour of the martyrs on the anniversaries of their deaths. Little is known about the details of the Donatist celebrations, as descriptions largely survive in anti-Donatist writings.



On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:

— Field doesn't know



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

— Field doesn't know



Are there orthodoxy checks:

Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.

— Yes

Notes: The precise nature of these is unclear, as we do not have Donatist texts that provide

such information, but it seems likely given their general focus on ensuring the martyrs were properly venerated and the Catholic attempts to regulate their own members' behaviours with regards to martyr veneration.

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

— Yes

Notes: The precise nature of these is unclear, as we do not have Donatist texts that provide such information, but it seems likely given their general focus on ensuring the martyrs were properly venerated and the Catholic attempts to regulate their own members' behaviours with regards to martyr veneration.

↳ Does participation entail synchronic practices:

— Field doesn't know

↳ Is there use of intoxicants:

— No

Notes: Wine seems to have been an important element of martyr feasts and contributed to the celebratory atmosphere, however it does not seem to have been necessary to drink in order to participate in the ritual. Indeed, there were no spiritual benefits to becoming intoxicated; in fact, over-indulgence was discouraged.

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

— No

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

— Yes

Notes: Like other Christian groups, Donatists conceived of their fellow members as belonging to a metaphorical family, and they used familial terms like "brother" and "sister" to refer to each other in a general sense. See for example, the Donatist Passion of Maximian and Isaac, in which the audience for the text is addressed as "brother and sisters", and in which a group of Christians having a meal together is described as "a meal with some of the sisters and brothers..." (Passion of Maximian and Isaac 1, 4. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 62, 64). Beyond sibling language, however, familial terms like father and spouse were also used in a metaphorical sense by some Christians. For example, individuals who converted to Christianity, or who sided with the Donatist sect, did so despite their families' objections; thus, the Christian community took the family's place. An example of this can be seen in the Donatist Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda. Secunda is only 12 years old when she decides to flee her family and join the other martyrs Maxima and Donatilla. They try to dissuade her by pointing out her obligations to her father, but she replies: "It is better for me to defy my father according to the flesh and to love my spiritual Father." Likewise, Secunda replaces her earthly spouse with a heavenly one: "I seek a spiritual spouse, Jesus Christ" (Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda

4. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 22).



Fictive kinship terminology universal:

— No

Notes: Used for all members of the group, but not universally for outsiders



Fictive kinship terminology widespread:

— Yes

Notes: Kinship terminology is not reserved only for martyrs, but rather is used for everyone within the religious community (esp. phrases like "brother and sister" for fellow worshippers, and the conception of God as "Father").



Fictive kinship terminology employed but uncommon:

— No

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

— An empire

Notes: Donatism was localized within North Africa, although small communities developed in Rome and Spain. Still, North Africa was an important province within the Roman Empire. Its capital, Carthage was a large and wealthy city, and the province provided much of the grain for Rome. Additionally, the early 3rd century emperor Septimius Severus was from the province. Donatists interacted with the Empire because they initially sought imperial intervention on their behalf, and were ultimately the targets of imperial persecution.

Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

— No

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

— Yes

Notes: In general, Christians in North Africa were expected to provide support for the poor, widows, orphans, etc. whenever possible. For example, writing in the late second century, Tertullian asserts: "Though we have our treasure-chest, it is not made up of purchase-money, as of a religion that has its price. On the monthly day, if he likes, each puts in a small donation; but only if it be his pleasure, and only if he be able: for there is no compulsion; all is voluntary. [6] These gifts are, as it were, piety's deposit fund. For they are not taken thence and spent on feasts, and drinking-bouts, and eating-houses, but to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons confined now to the house; such, too, as have suffered shipwreck; and if there happen to be any in the mines, or banished to the islands, or shut up in the prisons, for nothing but their fidelity to the cause of God's Church, they become the nurslings of their confession" (Apology, 39.5-6; Trans. Thelwall <http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-05.htm>). During the middle of the third century, almsgiving and care for the poor became more central as wealthier Christians provided for those who were arrested or who fled. Almsgiving was also an important part of repentance for apostasy under Cyprian (see Cyprian's treatise, *On Works and Alms*). Augustine likewise emphasized the importance of giving alms, and even the poor were expected to give what they could. For further discussion, see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa, 570-580*. Evidence that Donatists continued the practice of providing food and other goods for imprisoned confessors can be seen in the Acts of the Abitinian martyrs, wherein the Catholic bishop refused to allow Donatists to do so: The Catholic bishop, Caecilian was "stationed...before the doors of the prison, armed whips and lashes so he might turn away from the entrance and exit all those who brought food and drink to the martyrs in prison, further harming those already wronged by grave injustice. People who came to nourish the martyrs were struck down right and left by Caecilian. The cups for the thirsty inside in chains were broken. At the entrance to the prison food was scattered only to be torn apart by the dogs" (Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs, 20. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 45).

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

— Yes

Notes: In general, Christians in North Africa were expected to provide support for the poor, widows, orphans, etc. whenever possible. For example, writing in the late second century, Tertullian asserts: "Though we have our treasure-chest, it is not made up of purchase-money, as of a religion that has its price. On the monthly day, if he likes, each puts in a small donation; but only if it be his pleasure, and only if he be able: for there is no compulsion; all is voluntary. [6] These gifts are, as it were, piety's deposit fund. For they are not taken thence and spent on feasts, and drinking-bouts, and eating-houses, but to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons confined now to the house; such, too, as have suffered shipwreck; and if there happen to be any in the mines, or banished to the islands, or shut up in the prisons, for nothing but their fidelity to the cause of God's Church, they become the nurslings of their confession" (Apology, 39.5-6; Trans. Thelwall <http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-05.htm>). Evidence that Donatists continued the practice of providing food and other goods for imprisoned confessors can be seen in the Acts of the Abitinian martyrs, wherein the Catholic bishop refused to allow Donatists to do so: The Catholic bishop, Caecilian was "stationed...before the doors of the prison, armed whips and lashes so he might turn away from the entrance and exit all those who brought food and drink to the martyrs in prison, further harming those already wronged by grave injustice. People who came to nourish the martyrs were struck down right and left by Caecilian. The cups for the thirsty inside in chains were broken. At the entrance to the prison food was scattered only to be torn apart by the dogs" (Acts of the

Abitinian Martyrs, 20. Trans. Tilley, Donatist Martyr Stories, 45).

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— No

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

— No

Notes: No state-sponsored education system. Formal education via either schools or private tutors dependent on social status, family priority, etc. Children also learned life skills at home from same-gender parents, sons followed their fathers' profession.

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

— Yes

Notes: I take bureaucracy to mean officials within the church. By the early fourth century, there was an established clerical hierarchy in North African Christianity. Indeed, the Donatist schism emerged in part because of a failure to follow proper procedures in electing a new Bishop of Carthage (the delegates were supposed to wait for the Numidian bishops to arrive, but instead voted to elect a Catholic bishop before the Numidians arrived to cast their votes). On the development of the order of the clergy in North Africa, see Burns and Jensen, *Roman Christianity in Africa*, 363-439. The purity of the clergy was also central to Donatist identity. They regarded anyone who had lapsed during the persecutions as having the capacity to contaminate the community. Thus, they were illegitimate and were excluded from the Donatist hierarchy. See, for example, the heavily critical way that the Donatists *Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs* treats the Catholic bishop, who is accused of violently preventing Donatists from providing food for the imprisoned confessors (*Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs*, 21. Trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, 45).

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

— Yes

Notes: Donatism emerged because of a contested episcopal election, which resulted in competing institutional bureaucracies. Donatist officials engaged with Catholic officials (i.e. bishops) frequently both in-person (informally and at church councils) and through letters. Additionally, in many communities, there was both a Catholic and Donatist church, and the congregations would have interacted in many informal ways through the course of daily life. The Donatists also engaged with the imperial bureaucracy, as Donatist bishops sought imperial support for their position (this was ultimately futile, and emperors such as Constantine and his son Constans initiated persecutions

against the Donatists).

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— No

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Imperial/provincial authorities (but not specifically for Donatists alone)

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

— No

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Water supply was the domain of the imperial government, executed by local officials. Carthage's water supply came from springs in the mountain near the current town of Zaghuan, about 130km from the city. The aqueduct that carried the water from Zaghuan to Carthage (and the smaller towns along the way) was constructed at some point in the second century, with portions being added as necessary. Once in Carthage, the water was collected in massive cisterns (today known as the Cisterns of La Malga) for distribution throughout the city (the cisterns seem to pre-date the aqueduct, but it is not known from where they received their water prior to the aqueduct's construction). For further information, see Wilson, A. I. "Water Supply in Ancient Carthage." *Carthage Papers: The Early Colony's Economy, Water Supply, a Public Bath and the Mobilization of State Olive Oil*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series. Portsmouth, RI: 1998. 65-102.

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Throughout its history, the Roman Empire constructed an extensive network roads, primarily for military purposes. Carthage was destroyed in the Third Punic War in the mid-2nd c. BCE and the city was rebuilt by Rome in the mid-1st c. BCE. The Romans also built roads throughout the region of North Africa as they expanded their territory.

Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

— No

Notes: In general, Christians in North Africa were expected to provide support for the poor, widows, orphans, etc. whenever possible. For example, writing in the late second century, Tertullian asserts: "Though we have our treasure-chest, it is not made up of purchase-money, as of a religion that has its price. On the monthly day, if he likes, each puts in a small donation; but only if it be his pleasure, and only if he be able: for there is no compulsion; all is voluntary. [6] These gifts are, as it were, piety's deposit fund. For they are not taken thence and spent on feasts, and drinking-bouts, and eating-houses, but to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons confined now to the house; such, too, as have suffered shipwreck; and if there happen to be any in the mines, or banished to the islands, or shut up in the prisons, for nothing but their fidelity to the cause of God's Church, they become the nurslings of their confession" (Apology, 39.5-6; Trans. Thelwall <http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-05.htm>). During the middle of the third century, almsgiving and care for the poor became more central as wealthier Christians provided for those who were arrested or who fled. Almsgiving was also an important part of repentance for apostasy under Cyprian (see Cyprian's treatise, *On Works and Alms*). Augustine likewise emphasized the importance of giving alms, and even the poor were expected to give what they could. Augustine advised wealthy Christians that they did not need to give away all possessions, but that a tithe was appropriate. He argues: "So, are they to lose their possessions? Let them share, he said, not "Let them give everything away." Let them keep what's enough for them, let them keep more than enough. Let us give away a certain part of that. How big a part? A tithe, or tenth part. The scribes and Pharisees used to give tithes. We should be ashamed of ourselves, brothers and sisters. Those people for whom Christ had not yet shed his blood used to give tithes. The scribes and Pharisees used to give a tenth of their possessions, in case you should imagine, perhaps, that you are doing something terrific when you break your bread to the poor; and it's scarcely one part in a thousand of your wealth." (Augustine Sermon 85.4.5. Trans. Edmund Hill. *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century. Sermons, (51-94) on the Old Testament. Volume III/3. Page 393*). It is unclear whether the Donatists held rigorist views on wealth like Cyprian, or whether they adhered to tithing like Augustine advocated, or something else altogether. For further information on the way property and wealth were discussed in Christian North Africa, see Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa, 570-580*.

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Imperial/provincial authorities (but not specifically for Donatists alone)

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

— No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– Yes

Notes: Bishops and other officials may intercede in disputes between congregants, whether religious in nature or not, and in that way take the place of judges. The Donatist text "Gesta apud Zeonphilum" contains a letter to a community that tried to take their bishop to a civil court. Bishop Fortis advises the clergy to follow the words of Paul in 1 Corinthians 6:5-6, which advises the Corinthians to solve problems within their own community, not within Roman courts (Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 81).

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Many Donatist martyr texts feature transcriptions of interrogations and trials in which the martyrs-to-be interact with Roman officials within the judicial system. The Christians are condemned to death as a result of legal rulings. See for example *The Donatist Passion of Cyprian*, *The Acts of Saint Felix Bishop and Martyr* (both translated by Tilley in *The Donatist Martyr Stories*, 1996). Additionally, the Donatist text "Gesta apud Zeonphilum" contains a letter to a community that tried to take their bishop to a civil court. Bishop Fortis advises the clergy to follow the words of Paul in 1 Corinthians 6:5-6, which advises the Corinthians to solve problems within their own community, not within Roman courts (Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, 81).

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Roman imperial forces sporadically initiated persecutions, in general aimed at creating "unity" by forcing the Donatists to conform to Catholic teachings with regards to lapsed Christians. Punishment included confiscation of property, forced exile, torture, and execution.



Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

– Yes

Notes: Roman imperial forces sporadically initiated persecutions, in general aimed at creating "unity" by forcing the Donatists to conform to Catholic teachings with regards to lapsed Christians. Punishment included confiscation of property, forced exile, torture, and execution.



Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

– Yes

Notes: Roman imperial forces sporadically initiated persecutions, in general aimed at creating "unity" by forcing the Donatists to conform to Catholic teachings with regards to lapsed Christians. Punishment included confiscation of property, forced exile, torture, and execution.



Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

– Yes

Notes: Roman imperial forces sporadically initiated persecutions, in general aimed at creating "unity" by forcing the Donatists to conform to Catholic teachings with regards to lapsed Christians. Punishment included confiscation of property, forced exile, torture, and execution.



Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

– Yes

Notes: Roman imperial forces sporadically initiated persecutions, in general aimed at creating "unity" by forcing the Donatists to conform to Catholic teachings with regards to lapsed Christians. Punishment included confiscation of property, forced exile, torture, and execution.



Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

– Yes

Notes: Roman imperial forces sporadically initiated persecutions, in general aimed at creating "unity" by forcing the Donatists to conform to Catholic teachings with regards to lapsed Christians. Punishment included confiscation of property, forced exile, torture, and execution.

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Donatists were subject to Roman imperial law. Many Donatist martyr texts feature transcriptions of interrogations and trials in which the martyrs-to-be interact with Roman officials within the judicial system. The Christians are condemned to death as a result of legal rulings. See for example *The Donatist Passion of Cyprian*, *The Acts of Saint Felix Bishop and Martyr* (both translated by Tilley in *The Donatist Martyr Stories*, 1996).

Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– No

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Christians (not just Donatists) in the Roman army occasionally became martyrs if, for example, they refused to swear allegiance to the emperor. For pre-Donatist examples from North Africa, see the *Acts of Maximilian* and the *Acts of Marcellinus* (both translated in Mursurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 1972).

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: The Roman military was charged with carrying out Constantine's persecution orders in 317-321. See the account provided in the Sermon Given on the Passion of Saints Donatus and Advocatus (trans. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Texts*, 1996, 51-61). Another period of persecution began in 347. The emperor sent two officials, Paulus and Macarius, who were involved in a violent incident in a town called Bagai. There, the local bishop summoned supporters to help defend the Donatists. In response, Macarius received military protection from the comes Africae, Silvester. The Donatists attacked the military scouts; in response, the soldiers massacred the entire group of Donatists in Bagai.

Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

— No

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: By the 4th century, Latin was the liturgical language of the North African church, although many religious officials would also have spoken Greek.

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

— Yes

Notes: Tertullian acknowledges the importance of commemorating martyrs, but he does not indicate any formal celebrations on the anniversaries of their deaths. By the time of Cyprian, however, it is clear that the cult of the martyrs was becoming more organized and that celebrations of the martyrs' "birthdays" were becoming more common. For example, in one letter, Cyprian emphasizes the importance of keeping a record of the dates of the martyrs' deaths so that they might be included in future celebrations. In another, he asserts that such annual commemorations had been going on for generations, as he refers to a confessor, Celerinus, knowing what would happen after his martyrdom since his grandmother and uncles had also been martyrs. In their cases (and therefore in Celerinus' also), Cyprian writes, "[W]e offer sacrifices for them always, as you remember, as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs with an annual commemoration." (Cyprian, Ep. 39.3. [CCSL 3B: 188-89], trans. ACW 44: 55. Augustine likewise preached special sermons on the feast days of certain martyrs, and seems to have followed a particular liturgical calendar. A calendar of the church of Carthage is extant, but it is from the fifth century and it is not clear whether it was promulgated throughout the province (indeed, some of the celebrations do not correspond to those found in

Augustine's works). See Burns and Jensen, *Roman Christianity in Africa*, 534-535. No Donatist calendar survives, but the focus on celebration of martyrs suggests that they would have kept track of these days and honoured them accordingly.

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– No

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No