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## THE ANONYMOUS LIFE OF SAINT EUPHROSYNE

A STUDY AND CRITICAL EDITION  
OF THE GREEK AND LATIN REDACTIONS  
(SIXTH-TWELFTH CENTURIES)

by

Paulo Farmhouse Alberto

Preface by Francesco Santi



SISMEL · EDIZIONI DEL GALLUZZO

The *Life of Saint Euphrosyne* tells the story of a young woman, allegedly in fifth-century Alexandria, who refused both the social conventions of the time and the wealth of her family, and embraced an ascetic life hidden away in a monastery. It was originally written in Greek, perhaps in the sixth century or shortly after, when this sort of text was very popular. Soon translations were made into several languages: Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, and various medieval vernaculars. At least three Latin translations emerged by the late eighth and early ninth century in Carolingian Francia and northern Italy, respectively. Translation A corresponds to a model in a high stemmatic position. The earliest surviving manuscript was copied around 800, perhaps in Troyes. A later version of the same translation, known as the *Life of Saint Castissima*, circulated in northern Spain in the tenth century. The earliest extant witness of Translation B was produced in the region of Würzburg, in the late eighth century. Translation C surfaced in the scriptorium of Pacificus of Verona.

This book offers critical editions of the Greek and Latin redactions produced prior to the late twelfth century and a study of their transmission. An appendix presents a different Latin version based on Translation B, copied in a manuscript from Montecassino. The *Life of Saint Euphrosyne* is a remarkable example of the plasticity and vitality of anonymous hagiographical texts.

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*Optimo patri*



## PRESENTAZIONE

### L'AGIOGRAFIA MEDIEVALE E LA CONDIZIONE ANONIMA DEI SUOI TESTI NELLO SPECCHIO DI EUFROSINA<sup>1</sup>

Tra le diverse tipologie letterarie sperimentate nel Medioevo latino l'agiografia è forse quella che meglio lo rappresenta. Avvicinare il suo profilo alle forme antiche di biografia è in effetti piuttosto forzato perché il soggetto dell'agiografia non è la vita di una persona ma la rappresentazione di come una persona possa aver vissuto la vita stessa di dio<sup>2</sup>. Questo costituisce la santità per i nostri autori e questo tipo di santità corrisponde a una specifica figura di dio, presupponendo «il dio che si fa uomo perché l'uomo possa farsi dio», secondo l'insegnamento di Ireneo di Lione (*Adversus haereses*, III.19,1), ripreso da Agostino (*Sermo ad populum* 344) e dallo stesso Tommaso (*Officium de festo corporis Christi*, Ad Mat., In I Noct., Lectio 1). Delle molte figure di dio che l'umanità può sperimentare il Medioevo mise alla prova questa, il cui legame intrinseco con la scrittura agiografica è evidente: di qui nasce la convinzione che la persona può essere pienamente perfetta, pienamente libera, pienamente capace di porre le condizioni della sua esistenza e condurle alla loro mèta.

L'idea della santità che il racconto agiografico esprime sul piano della storia della società corrisponde al fatto (propriamente *medievale*) che la dimensione politica e la dimensione religiosa sono considerate due dimensioni diverse, in una consapevolezza progressivamente più forte. La differenza tra le due dimensioni corrisponde infatti al riconoscimento che nell'uomo esiste una realtà che non è accessibile ad alcun potere perché ogni uomo può vivere nella

1. Ringrazio Antonella Degl'Innocenti e Pierluigi Licciardello per aver discusso con me le problematiche che affronto in queste pagine e per averle lette prima della loro pubblicazione, rendendole meno imperfette.

2. Claudio Leonardi, *Agiografia*, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo I Il Medioevo latino I 2* Roma 1993 pp. 421-62, ora anche in Id., *Agiografie medievali*, cur. Francesco Santi - Antonella Degl'Innocenti, Firenze, SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo 2011 (Millennio medievale 89. Strumenti e studi 28), pp. 31-72.

familiarità divina. È evidente che in riferimento a ciò si poteva costruire uno spazio ideologico (lo spazio in cui si stabilisce il potere ecclesiastico come alternativo al potere civile) ma anche è evidente come si costituisca uno spazio spirituale (in cui diventa possibile ogni creatività). L'ambivalenza crea una tensione che certamente si riflette nel racconto agiografico e nelle dinamiche della tipologia letteraria.

Non ci sorprende che proprio nel tipo di scrittura che è più intimo al Medioevo, appunto l'agiografia, la realtà dell'anonimato risulti avere un grande incentivo. Il fatto è subito evidente per l'importanza dei dati quantitativi, facilmente rilevabili nelle banche dati e in particolare nella banca dati OPA, che censisce e opere anonime dal VI al XV secolo<sup>3</sup>. Le ragioni di questa vivacità dell'anepigrafia agiografica sembrano altrettanto evidenti. In primo luogo il protagonista del racconto (il santo) risulta assolutamente più importante dell'autore del testo, che spesso resta così sconosciuto. Favorisce poi l'anonimato la possibilità del riuso dei testi: visto che la ricerca di un significato spirituale prevale sull'esigenza di specificare notizie biografiche, spesso non si mostra interesse a documentare con il testo i dettagli storici degli eventi, quanto piuttosto l'esecuzione di uno schema, il possibile ripetersi di un'esperienza; in questa sussidiarietà degli aspetti propriamente biografici del racconto, poteva dunque verificarsi che non si avvertisse alcuna difficoltà a riutilizzare per un santo il testo che era stato composto per ricordarne un altro; a sua volta il riuso poteva comportare alternativamente ripetizioni o innovazioni, magari rivelate queste ultime da interventi di lieve consistenza capaci però di riformulare il significato del testo senza per altro suscitare l'esigenza di dichiarare il nome di chi avesse preso tale iniziativa autoriale. In terzo luogo il testo agiografico è facilmente disponibile all'anonimato perché esso è sentito come *spazio pubblico*, nel senso che le esigenze del pubblico e il loro

3. Per una presentazione dei risultati di questa ricerca e l'accesso alla banca dati della ricerca (che documenta attualmente seimila testi) si veda OPA. *Opere perdute e anonime* a cura del Dipartimento di Filologia Classica e Italianistica. Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna (<https://site.unibo.it/anonimi-medievali/it>), ma anche si veda *Mirabile. Archivio digitale della cultura medievale* (<https://www.mirabileweb.it>), a cura della Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino (S.I.S.M.E.L.), selezionando *testi anonimi*. Gli studi sulla problematica non mi sembrano invece abbondanti. Tra essi vorrei ricordare Jeroen Deplouge, *Anonymat et paternité littéraire dans l'agiographie des Pays-Bas méridionaux (ca. 920-ca. 1320). Autour du discours sur l'«original» et la «copie» hagiographique au Moyen Âge*, in «Scribere sanctorum gesta»: recueil d'études d'agiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart, éd. E. Renard et alii, Turnhout 2005 (Hagiologia, 3), pp. 77-107; Monique Goullet, *Quelle autorité pour une réécriture hagiographique?*, in *Auctor et auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris. Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature. Proceedings of the VIth Congress of the International Medieval Latin Committee (Benevento-Naples, November 9-13, 2010)*, ed. E. D'Angelo - J. Ziolkowski, Firenze 2014, pp. 435-45.

contesto (spirituale e liturgico) prevalgono mettendo in movimento la ripetizione, provocando rifacimenti più o meno intensi. Le tre condizioni che stanno all'origine della disponibilità anepigrafa dei testi agiografici (relative ad autore, finalità del testo e pubblico) moltiplicano i loro effetti nella vicenda della trasmissione, floridissima in ragione della sete di agiografia che il Medioevo conobbe e solo molto parzialmente ricostruibile.

La dimensione ideologica della santità favoriva da parte sua l'anonimato, perché le modalità nelle quali la santità doveva essere rappresentata dovevano corrispondere ed essere congrue con l'azione del potere ecclesiastico, stereotipandosi. Anche la dimensione spirituale della santità poteva però spingere nella stessa direzione: il centro vitale del racconto agiografico, il fatto che la persona potesse compiere gesti di assoluta gratuità, provocava la responsabilità di chi ne scriveva, poneva la sua stessa storia in una dimensione metastorica, interpellando e stringendo l'autore nell'angolo della sua persona, lontano dalle esigenze della notorietà e dell'anagrafe.

La fluidità del testo agiografico, così ricca di diversi significati, è perfettamente documentata in questo libro di Paulo Alberto Farmhouse, che mostra una sensibilità nuova al problema dell'anonimato. In un certo senso è la stessa protagonista che crea questa possibilità: nell'Alessandria del V secolo, Eufrosina mette in gioco la sua identità a vantaggio della sua libertà, fingendosi maschio e mutando il suo nome; in questo modo ella sfugge al matrimonio sgradito rifugiandosi in un monastero e soltanto dopo molti anni potrà rivelarsi di nuovo per quella che è, trovando per altro la comprensione del padre, che ne segue l'esempio ritirandosi in monastero e rinunciando ad ogni altro bene. Lo stesso nome di Eufrosina è instabile anche nella tradizione, chiamandosi la santa nei testi latini a volte *Eufrosina* e altre volte *Castissima*. Il testo originario che le venne dedicato, probabilmente nel tardo VI secolo, è un testo greco ma esso stesso dovette conoscere riscritture, diffondendosi nei mondi così diversi del Mediterraneo d'Oriente e d'Occidente, da Costantinopoli all'Italia meridionale. Tutto intorno si diffondono le innumerevoli traduzioni in latino, siriano, armeno, arabo, slavo antico (per l'alto Medioevo) e poi (nel basso Medioevo) in francese, italiano, portoghese, tedesco, inglese e olandese medio. In nessun punto emerge un nome d'autore, ma noi vediamo innumerevoli autori alla prova della santità, ciascuno con il suo linguaggio, in una ripetizione ostinata che non riesce mai ad essere identica.

Ovviamente per comprendere a pieno la fluorescenza bisogna lavorare con sicurezza su ciascuno dei raggi che in essa si generano; bisogna lavorare con sicurezza sui testi. Paulo Alberto Farmhouse lo fa a proposito dei testi greci e latini fino al secolo XII, suscitando la nostra ammirazione e la nostra gratitudine, riuscendo a documentare quello che altrimenti rischiava di restare un

mero schema astratto. Oltre a dipingere un panorama, che mette in comunicazione e in tensione la Tarda Antichità e il Medioevo, egli con questo libro dà anche uno strumento di lavoro per chi volesse occuparsi degli altri mondi nei quali Eufrosina navigò, ponendo il Medioevo latino in quel contesto multidisciplinare che gli è necessario. I due elementi, la completezza e l'apertura, faranno di questo libro un libro di riferimento per i nostri studi.

Ancora una volta e con più sicurezza ancora rispetto ad altre circostanze, noi constatiamo come l'anonimato sia condizione di pluralità e di creatività. Creatività nelle strategie ideologiche, ma soprattutto – nel nostro interesse – creatività nelle strategie dello spirito umano, sempre alla ricerca di racconti per rendere pensabile l'esperienza della libertà, che in ogni momento sembra possibile e sempre di nuovo sfugge. La santità è il suo rifugio, per il quale l'anonimato non è per niente segno di debolezza.

Francesco Santi

## FOREWORD

The purpose of this book is to explore one of the most fascinating and challenging aspects of late antique and early medieval textual transmission: the fluidity of the anonymous text. This is always a complicated class of texts. But in the case of hagiography, this fluidity, this permanent change of a narrative core into new forms, is even more complex.

First, these are texts frequently intended to be read and transmitted without the author's name, and often seen as a collective narrative to be reworked and reshaped by whoever wishes to do so. At the same time, the hagiographical text, like any other classical, late antique, or medieval text, was subject to the usual constraints and vicissitudes of late antique and medieval textual transmission. In most cases, we are left with crumbs from a long chain of countless operations of copying a copy of a copy over the span of many centuries. Often these texts become difficult to reconstruct from a line of transmission in which most elements are lost.

Finally, the hagiographical text is subject to a number of conditions not experienced by other classes of classical and medieval text: their belonging to the history and development of the cult of a particular saint or saints has certain implications. They are recurrently adapted to the liturgical, or simply spiritual, needs of each audience in a particular time and geographical and cultural context. This entails reshaping the text constantly into different styles and linguistic registers, either to make them more suitable to a sophisticated audience or to make them more accessible to the less learned.

The *Life of Euphrosyne* is a good example. The text tells the story of a young girl from a wealthy family in fifth-century Alexandria, supposedly in the time of Theodosius II, who turned her back on earthly riches and social conventions, and, disguised as a man, dedicated herself to God in a monastery. Written originally in Greek, possibly in the sixth century, the account underwent many changes in subsequent centuries. It was reworked into different redactions that travelled across the eastern and western Mediterranean, from Constantinople, Macedonia, and the Middle East to the Greek communities in southern Italy. Exemplars of the Greek text were then translated into several of the languages of early medieval Christianity: Latin, Syriac, Armenian,

Arabic, Old Slavonic. In Latin, we have at least three different translations, stemming from different lines of transmission of the Greek account. In the Middle Ages, the *vita* was translated into a number of vernacular languages: French, Italian, Portuguese, German, English (in Aelfric's collection of saints' lives), and Middle Dutch.

One thing is clear: the extraordinary success and dissemination of this narrative owes a great deal to the concept of anonymity in hagiographical literature. Each agent of the transmission can be *an* author. The textual forms change time after time, century after century, according to the audience and purpose in each moment. But the core of the narrative remains with the same inspiring essence and scope. In two of the main Latin redactions, even the name of the heroine changes, from the Greek Euphrosyne to its Latin equivalent Castissima. But the story remains the same.

The present book deals with a small portion of the life and dissemination of the *Life of Euphrosyne*: only the extant Greek and Latin versions produced prior to the late twelfth century will be explored. The introductory chapters to each version elucidate their textual history, and the critical editions provide the reader with a sound base for the study of the texts.

The idea for this book was born in Bologna, when in 2021 I was Invited Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Studies (ISA) of the University of Bologna. It was a challenge proposed by Francesco Santi. My first words of gratitude are addressed to him. I would also like to thank so many people who helped me, directly or indirectly, in the completion of this work, but I am afraid I will omit many of them. I'll simply mention some of those who contributed directly to this book. First, Guy Philippart, who provided me with the initial information about the manuscripts containing the different versions of the *Vita Euphrosynae*, and Monique Goulet, an enthusiastic supporter of my study and a most influential master in *écriture* and *réécriture*; my colleagues Fernand Peloux and Renaud Alexandre, with their sound knowledge about many important points in this study; Eftychia Bathrellou and Fotini Hadjittofi, my colleagues at my university, and also Anna Lampadari-di, who kindly helped me with the Greek text; Annunziata Di Rienzo, who provided me with information about the Syriac translation, and Mariapia Muccigrosso, who likewise enlightened me about the Armenian texts; Guglielmo Cavallo and Mirella Ferrari, with details on certain manuscripts, and François Dolbeau, with details on a biblical passage; Robert Godding and the Société des Bollandistes, for their generosity with bibliography and other material; Laura Albiero about some liturgical terms; Vanni Veronesi for his help with a Gorizia manuscript; Federico de Dominicis for his bibliographi-



cal help. To Alwyn Harrison my sincere gratitude for helping me render this book legible. Several other fine scholars will be mentioned at various points. Finally, to the Institute of Advance Studies of the Università di Bologna, the Alma Mater Studiorum, which made it possible to start working on the fascinating and multifaceted *Life of Euphrosyne*.



## INTRODUCTION



I.  
THE HAGIOGRAPHICAL DOSSIER  
OF EUPHROSYNE OF ALEXANDRIA

According to the late antique narratives, Euphrosyne was a wealthy young woman in fifth-century Alexandria who disguised herself as a man and lived in a monastery for the rest of her life<sup>1</sup>. By this ruse, she escaped her father, who wanted her to marry and to take on the business and wealth of the family. Euphrosyne thus belongs to a well-known gallery of late antique women in the eastern Mediterranean who fought against their parents and marriage, refusing the social conventions of the time in order to choose freely a Christian life of full dedication to God in an ascetic environment<sup>2</sup>.

Many of these heroines achieved immense popularity: Eugenia, Pelagia, Euphrasia, Thais, Marina, among many others. A number of them share with Euphrosyne the motif of the *monachoparthenos*, the female transvestite who enters a monastery or becomes a hermit in the desert: Pelagia (adopting the name of Pelagius), Marina (Marinus), Eugenia (Eugenius), Athanasia of Antioch (Athanasius), Theodora of Alexandria (Theodorus), Hilaria (Hilarion), Apollinaria (Dorotheus), and Anastasia the Patrician, among others<sup>3</sup>. Already

1. On Euphrosyne of Alexandria, see H. Grieser, *Euphrosyne*, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3, Freiburg 1995, col. 993; J. Darrouzès, 2. *Euphrosyne*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris 1963, vol. 15, p. 1417; F. W. Bautz, *Euphrosyne*, in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 1, 1990, 1559; P. Bertocci, s.v. *Eufrosina*, in F. Caraffa and G. Morelli (eds.), *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Roma 1964 (vol. 5), cols. 175.

2. An introduction to Euphrosyne and her significance in the history of late antique mentalities can be found in Joseph Reisdorfer, «C'est l'habit qui fait le moine». *Édition de la version valenciennoise de la «Vita Sanctae Euprosynae» (BHL 2722)*, «Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum», 15 (2011), pp. 227-48, at pp. 227-34. See also L. Lozzi Gallo, *S. Eufrosina: La Vita in inglese medio nella prospettiva della tradizione europea occidentale*, in A. Cipolla and M. Nicoli (eds.), *Testi agiografici e omiletici del medioevo germanico: Atti del XXXII Convegno dell'Associazione Italiana di Filologia Germanica* (Verona, 8-10 giugno 2005), Verona 2006 (Medioevi. Studi 7), pp. 255-86, at pp. 255-64.

3. E. Patlagean, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance*, «Studi Medievali», 3/17 (1976), pp. 597-623 (a list of transvestite female saints is provided on pp. 600-2). See also J. Anson, *The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Ori-*

Thecla, one of the earliest paradigms of female sanctity, used garments modelled on male clothes for a certain period of time<sup>4</sup>. A few assumed the identity of a eunuch, such as Euphrosyne, who called herself Smaragdus ('emerald', or any precious stone of a bright green colour)<sup>5</sup>. The stories are usually staged in the cities of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, and were probably composed in the sixth century in that area. All of them share a common feature: the refusal of social conventions and earthly riches, and the rejection of the role that was predetermined for, and imposed upon, them.

This group of hagiographical accounts and these sorts of themes achieved a large circulation in ascetic and monastic milieux in the eastern Mediterranean in the sixth and seventh centuries. They travelled in clusters, often together with other works of ascetic and edificatory literature, usually related to Egypt and the Middle East, such as the so-called *Vitae patrum*. Symptomatically, Euphrosyne's father is called Paphnutius, a typical name in this sort of story: this is the name of three distinct monks in Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*;

*gin and Development of a Motif*, «Viator», 5 (1974), pp. 1-32 (pp. 15-6 on Euphrosyne); V. L. Bullough, *Transvestites in the Middle Ages*, «American Journal of Sociology», 79 (1974), pp. 1381-94, at pp. 1384-7; Id., *Cross Dressing and Gender Role Change in the Middle Ages*, in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, London 1996, pp. 223-42, at pp. 228-9; J. T. Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100*, Chicago 1998, pp. 155-66 (on tonsure and male clothing); M. Delcourt, *Female Saints in Masculine Clothing*, in *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, trans. J. Nicholson, London 1961, pp. 84-102, at p. 101; Id., *Le complexe de Diane dans l'hagiographie chrétienne*, «Revue de l'Histoire des Religions», 153 (1958), pp. 1-33 (on Euphrosyne, pp. 4-5); P. E. Szarmach, *St. Euphrosyne: Holy Transvestite*, in P. E. Szarmach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, Albany (NY) 1996, pp. 353-66; N. Delierneux, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine dans l'hagiographie orientale du IV<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, «Byzantion», 67 (1997), pp. 179-243; V. R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe*, New York 1996, pp. 13-4; C. L. Lubinsky, *Removing Masculine Layers to Reveal a Holy Womanhood: the Female Transvestite Monks of Late Antique Eastern Christianity*, Turnhout 2013 (Studia Traditionis Theologiae, vol. 13), pp. 33 and 187-9; Lozzi Gallo, *S. Eufrosina* cit., pp. 260-4.

4. G. Dagron, *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle*, Brussels 1978 (Subsidia hagiographica 62), p. 37 (see *Vita*, 14, p. 224; 25, p. 268); K. Aspegren, *The Male Woman: A Feminine Ideal in the Early Church*, Stockholm 1990 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 4: Uppsala women's studies: A, 4), pp. 99-114. Some authors associate this sort of story with the encratism and the doctrines of Eustathius of Sebaste, condemned at the Council of Gangra (A.D. 345): D. G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy*, Oxford 2007, pp. 133-4; S. Elm, «*Virgins of God*»: *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 1994, pp. 106-11; Aspegren, *The Male Woman* cit., pp. 116-8; Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex* cit., pp. 162-3; Anson, *The Female Transvestite* cit., pp. 10-1.

5. Patlagean, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée* cit., pp. 606-8; K. M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*, Chicago 2003, pp. 13 and 120. An earlier study is B. de Gaiffier, *Palatins et eunuques dans quelques documents hagiographiques*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 75 (1957), pp. 17-46.

it is also the name of a monk in Rufinus' *Historia Monachorum*, among other examples.

The history of the transmission and circulation of the narrative of Euphrosyne's life and deeds, and of her father Paphnutius, is complex and fascinating. Very early, probably in the late sixth century, a Greek *Bios* was composed (BHG 625-625b). This anonymous account circulated widely. It was copied, modified, and adapted to different audiences, always anonymously. More than fifty medieval manuscripts survive, the earliest dating to the early tenth century. Eventually, Euphrosyne was introduced into the Byzantine liturgy. The Synaxarion Constantinopolitanum, which assembled materials of the ninth and tenth centuries, celebrated Euphrosyne on 25 September, and incorporated a short account of her life<sup>6</sup>. Likewise the so-called Typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople, composed in the late ninth century<sup>7</sup>, and the menology produced for Basil II (976-1025). Most of the extant copies of the *Bios* from the tenth to the twelfth century are in menologies, produced in the eastern Mediterranean and in Italo-Greek communities. Her feast day is always 25 September<sup>8</sup>.

The *Bios* was translated into other languages. In the eastern Mediterranean, we have versions in Syriac (BHO 288-9)<sup>9</sup>, Armenian (BHO 290-

6. H. Delahaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis*, Brussels 1902 (*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*), cols. 77-8.

7. J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, Ms. Ste.-Croix 40, X<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, t. I. *Le cycle des douze mois*, Rome 1962 (*Orientalia christiana analecta*, 165). Other than Jerusalem, Sainte Croix 40, copied around 950/959, we have one other early manuscript, Patmos 266, s. IX-X (the *Bios* is on fols. 110r-2r).

8. In the Middle Ages, other texts telling the story of Euphrosyne were composed. In the tenth century, Symeon Metaphrastes wrote a *Life of Euphrosyne* (BHG 626; PG 114, 305-22, from Paris, BnF, gr. 1526). See L. Franco, *Rewriting the Life of Euphrosyne* (BHG 625, BHG 626), in P. Farmhouse Alberto, P. Chiesa and M. Goullet, *Understanding Hagiography: Studies in the Textual Transmission of Early Medieval Saints' Lives*, Florence 2020 (*Quaderni di Hagio-graphica*, 17), pp. 113-126. In the thirteenth century, a *Life* in verse appears in a *synaxarium metricum* (BHG 626n).

9. The version BHO 289 (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, ed. P. Peeters, Bruxelles 1954 (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 10)), is a translation *ad verbum* of the Greek *Bios*, copied by John the Stylite, of Beth-Mari-Ḳaddisha, in Qanūn, near Antioch, in 778. John copied an anthology of fifteen female saints' *Lives*. Some of them are common in this sort of context, such as Thecla, Eugenia, Pelagia, Marina, Euphemia, Theodosia, among others. John's copy is today in MS Sinai, St- Catherine Monastery, Syr. 30 (Kamil 74). It is a palimpsest, our anthology in the upper script (in the under script we have a copy of the Old Syriac Gospels). It is worth noting that we have a few Greek manuscripts from this monastery (see Chapter 2). The anthology is edited and translated by Anne Smith Lewis, in *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest as Written Above the Old Syriac Gospels by John the*

1)<sup>10</sup>, and Arabic<sup>11</sup>. Some centuries later, we have translations in a variety of vernacular languages<sup>12</sup>. But it was in the Latin-speaking world that this anonymous text achieved its greatest success<sup>13</sup>. As far as we can reconstruct from the available evidence, we have three different translations, each one deriving from a particular line of transmission of the Greek text.

*Stylite, of Beth-Mari-Qanūn in A.D. 778*, London 1900 (Studia Sinaitica, 9-10), vol. I. *Syriac Text*, pp. 61-80; vol. II. *Translation*, pp. 46-59 (the translation was reprinted in «Vox Benedictina. A Journal of Translations from Monastic Sources», 1/3 (1984), pp. 140-56). Version BHO 288 is published in P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, t. V, Paris 1895, pp. 386-405. Bedjan used Paris, BnF, Syriac 23, a. 1192, Antioch (Syria), fols. 213v-21v, collated with London, BL, add. 14649, fols. 19 fols., s. IX. For the manuscripts, see Jeanne-Nicole Mellon Saint-Laurent et al., "Euphrosyne (text)", in J.-N. Mellon Saint-Laurent and D. A. Michelson (eds.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Syriaca Electronica*. The Syriac Reference Portal, 2015. Entry published 5 November 2015.

10. The editions are identified in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (BHO). BHO 290 and 291 are different redactions of the same text. The latter is in Nerses Sarkissian (ed.), *Lives of the Holy Fathers and Their Politeia According to the Double Translation of the Ancestors*, Venice 1855, vol. 1, and is based on Jerusalem, Library of the Armenian Patriarchate, 228, which is a copy of Jerusalem, Library of the Armenian Patriarchate, 285, made in 1430 at the monastery of St. Anthony the Great in Kaffa, Crimea. In 1443, it was transferred to Jerusalem, where it was the model of Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, 228. In this manuscript, a colophon after the *Vita Onophri* (f. 299) states that in 1110 Gregory III revised an earlier translation of this *Vita* in Egypt. We do not know if the same applies to the *Vita Euphrosynae*. See A. Avagyan, *The Armenian Transmission of the «Apophthegmata Patrum»*, in S. Ashbrook Harvey, T. Arentzen, H. Rydell Johnsen, and A. Westergren (eds.), *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation. Essays in Honor of Samuel Rubenson*, Leiden and Boston 2020 (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 161), pp. 147-65, at pp. 159-61, with bibliography. On Jerusalem 228, see N. Bogharian (ed.), *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Jerusalem 1966, vol. 1, p. 615; N. Stone, *The Kaffa Lives of the Desert Fathers: A Study in Armenian Manuscript Illumination*, Louvain 1997 (CSCO 566, Subs. 94), pp. 30-2; on Jerusalem 285, see N. Stone, *The Kaffa Manuscript of the Lives of the Desert Fathers* in T. Samuelian and M. Stone (eds.), *Medieval Armenian Culture*, Chico CA 1983 (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6), pp. 329-342, repr. in N. Stone, *Studies in Armenian Art: Collected Papers*, Leiden and Boston 2019 (Armenian Texts and Studies 2), pp. 11-24; Stone, *The Kaffa Lives of the Desert Fathers* cit., pp. 27-45 (a description of the manuscript), pp. 165-9 (on Euphrosyne). I am most grateful to Mariapia Muccigrosso for her kind help on the Armenian redactions.

11. M. Kamil, *Sainte Euphrosyne, vierge d'Alexandrie*, in *Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie*, Alexandria 1953 (Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la Bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie, 2), pp. 231-60. On the *dossier* of Euphrosyne in Arabic, see pp. 233-4.

12. Information and bibliography can be found in Joseph Reisdorfer's website *Vita Sancte Eufrosine* (see below p. 60).

13. A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*, Munich 1949 (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie 5), p. 235.



One of them, classified 2722 in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, which I designate «Translation A», Redaction 1, descends from an exemplar in a high stemmatic position. It may have been produced between the seventh and the mid-eighth century. The earliest extant copy, Montpellier H 55, was produced in Francia in the early ninth century, possibly for a high-ranking female audience in Troyes, and presents indications of being copied from an ancient Merovingian exemplar. Another redaction of the same translation is the *Vita Castissimae* (BHL 1640), which Baudouin de Gaiffier classified as a “doublet” of Euphrosyne<sup>14</sup> – actually, Castissima, the Latin translation of the heroine’s name, is also the name of the protagonist in the manuscripts of BHL 2722. This redaction is found in a tenth-century collection of female saints’ *lives*, assembled in the south of Burgos, Kingdom of León.

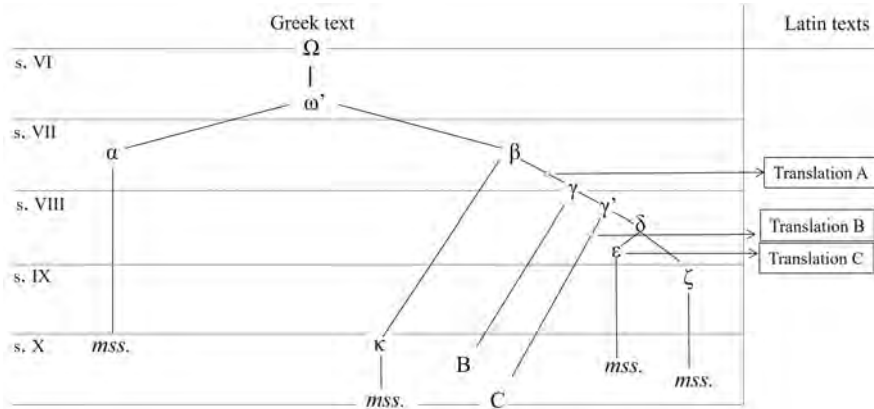
A second translation (BHL 2723-2723A, «Translation B») derives from a different line of transmission. This line of transmission was a reworked redaction offering substantial additions, represented, among the manuscripts used in the present edition, by the tenth-century Paris, BnF, grec 1538. This translation was by far the most widely read Latin version of the *Vita Euphrosynae* in the Middle Ages. Over one hundred copies produced up to the fifteenth century survive. The earliest copies were produced in the late eighth and early ninth century in Carolingian Francia (Würzburg, M.p.th.q. 26; Düsseldorf B. 3). Usually, this version circulated in ascetic and monastic contexts, often connected with a female audience.

A third translation (BHL 2725, «Translation C») descends from a line of the Greek transmission which I call ε. Unlike the two Latin translations, this one never achieved a wide circulation. It is found in a manuscript of Pacificus of Verona (Verona, Bibl. Cap. XCV [90]), inside a collection of female saints’ *lives*, and in a few later Italian manuscripts<sup>15</sup>.

14. B. de Gaiffier, *Les «doublets» en hagiographie latine*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 96 (1978), pp. 261-9, at p. 264.

15. In the Middle Ages, other texts on Euphrosyne were composed. In Montecassino, Biblioteca della Badia, 140, eleventh century, we have a different *Vita* (BHL 2724): inc. *Fuit vir quidam in Alexandria, Paphnutius nomine, dives valde et honorabilis*. This text is given in Appendix 1. In a manuscript of the third quarter of the thirteenth-century (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 377, fols. 109r-10v), we have a metrical *Life* (BHL 2725d). In fifteenth-century Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare, 27, fols. 29r-32r, we find a different text (BHL 2725e). A *Vita metrica* (BHL 2726f), possibly composed by Gehard of Grafschaft (†1172), is found in Darmstadt Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek 749, Part II (fols. 89-146), fols. 129r-36v, a manuscript written in the third quarter of the twelfth century in Grafschaft, St. Alexander abbey. See F. Dolbeau and J.-Y. Tilliette, *Vie métrique de sainte Pélagie attribuable à Gevehardus de Grafschaft*, in *Pélagie la Pénitente: métamorphoses d'une légende, Tome II. La survie dans les littératures européennes*, Paris 1984, pp. 129-44, at p. 129. Another *Vita metrica* survives in Wien, ÖNB 488, fols. 47r-49r (BHL 2726d), and was published by Franz Unterkircher in *Zwei Vers-Viten des 13 Jhs.* (Hl.

In sum, the main lines of transmission of the Greek text and Latin translations in the Middle Ages can roughly be represented as follows:



The meaning and details of this diagram will be discussed in the following chapters.

In general, the diffusion of the *Vita Euphrosynae* in the western regions of the Mediterranean prior to the twelfth century in its various redactions and translations was not especially connected to liturgical needs, in contrast to what we observe in the eastern Mediterranean. The Latin copies are usually not found in hagiographical collections *per circulum anni* – and whenever they are, they lack the feast day – but in anthologies of ascetic and edificatory literature, together with similar *Vitae*, such as those of Marina or Pelagia.

Nevertheless, Euphrosyne is recorded in the major Carolingian martyrologies, though she was not included in earlier martyrologies, such as the *Martyrology of Jerome* and that attributed to Bede. She appears for the first time in the so-called *Anonymous of Lyons*, composed in the first years of the ninth century<sup>16</sup>. Modelled on an exemplar of the so-called “second family” of the martyrology attributed to Bede, it presents a summary of the *Vita Euphrosynae* on 1 January<sup>17</sup>:

*Ursula und Hl. Euphrosyne* in der Wiener Handschrift cod. 488, «Analecta Bollandiana», 88 (1970), pp. 301-16 (at pp. 311-6). A *Vita metrica* (BHL 2726), inc. *Euphrosyna, tuam fer opem mihi*, expl. *ciuis Alexandriae Paphnutius fuit urbis*, is printed in AASS, Febr. t. II, p. 536, from a manuscript from Trier.

16. A synthesis of the origins and the date of composition, at some point before 806 or 807 at the latest, is offered in F. Peloux, *Lyons au temps d'Agobard, réceptacle hispanique et laboratoire hagiographique*, in M.-C. Isaïa, F. Bougard, and A. Charansonnet (eds.), *Lyons dans l'Europe carolingienne. Autour d'Agobard* (816-2016), Turnhout 2019 (HAMA 36), pp. 75-92, at pp. 79-82.

17. Paris, BnF, lat. 3879, fols. 68r-96v, on fol. 68v. The text is in J. Dubois and G. Renaud, *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'Anonyme Lyonnais, et de Florus*, Paris 1976, pp.

Et apud Alexandriam, transitus sanctae Eufrosinae uirginis, quae orationibus patris sui Pafnutii de sterili matre progenita, in puellari aetate constituta, clam se tonderi fecit et monasticam uitam expetiuit, Smaragdi sibi nomen imponens. Deinde etiam recludi se fecit, atque in eadem reclusionem uiginti et octo annis in omni sanctitate perdurans, tacta aegrotationis incommodo et mortem sibi adesse cognoscens, manifestauit se patri. Cumque quieuisset, sepulta est a fratribus in ecclesia.

The martyrology attributed to Florus, the “first recension” of which is considered to have been compiled before 837, does not follow the *Anonymous of Lyons*, its main source, giving instead a very short entry: *apud Alexandriam sanctae Euphrosynae uirginis*<sup>18</sup>.

The martyrology of Ado, compiled between 853 and 860, perhaps around 855, offers the same entry as the *Anonymous of Lyons*, with a small addition: instead of *manifestauit se patri*, it has the more emotional *manifestauit se religioso et lacrimis multoties quaerenti patri*<sup>19</sup>. Wandalbert of Prüm, in his metrical martyrology composed between 830 and 850, likely in 848, only records the name of the saint: *Eufrosina simul nitet*<sup>20</sup>. In contrast, Hrabanus Maurus’ martyrology, written between 843 and 854, ignores the saint entirely<sup>21</sup>. The martyrology of Usuard, finished shortly after 858 and before the acquaintance of Usuard with Eulogius of Córdoba’s death, in March 859, repeats Florus’ notice<sup>22</sup>.

Finally, the martyrology of Notker the Stammerer, composed between 890 and 912 at the abbey of St Gallen, reproduces Ado’s entry found in the MS St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 454, and adds a concluding *cuius nomen et conuersatio sub interpretatione Castissimae apud Romanos celebris habetur*<sup>23</sup>.

5-6. The edition exhibits some changes relative to the manuscript: *alexandriam*: *alexandrinam* cod.; *smaragdi*: *ismaragdi* cod.; *includi*: *inclusi* cod.; *cum*: *cumque* cod. The date 1 January is found in copies of the eleventh century. Interestingly, the *Martyrology of Jerome* offers a bishop of Nicomedia *Euphrosynus* on 1 January (AASS Nov. 2.1, p. 57; see Paris, BnF, lat. 10837, Part I (fols. 2-33), written in 703/710 at Echternach by Laurentius for Archbishop Willibrord, fol. 3r, and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 81, copied in 772 at, or for, St Servatius of Maastricht, fol. 12r: *Nicomedia Eufrosini episcopi, Primiani (Priani in the Paris manuscript) et aliorum VIII*). Perhaps this may explain the day of Euphrosyne.

18. I quote from Paris, BnF, lat. 9085, s. X ex.-XI in., poss. Notre-Dame de Clermont-Ferrand, fol. 8r. The text is in Dubois and Renaud, *Édition pratique* cit., p. 165 (not a critical edition).

19. J. Dubois and G. Renaud, *Le martyrologe d’Adon. Ses deux familles, ses trois recensions. Texte et commentaire*, Paris 1984 (Sources d’Histoire Médiévale), p. 43.

20. Paris, BnF, lat. 2832, s. IX med., copied by Manno of Saint-Oyan in Lyons, fols. 72r-97r (on fol. 80v). edited by E. Dümmler, *Poetae latini Aevi Carolini*, Berlin 1884 (MGH), vol. 2, p. 578, v. 7. In Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 438, a. 855-864, Reichenau, made for Lothar I, it is on fol. 2v.

21. J. McCulloh, *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, Turnhout 1979 (CCCM 44), p. 5.

22. See Paris, BnF, lat. 13745, a. 858-865, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, fol. 6v. J. Dubois, *Le martyrologe d’Usuard. Texte et commentaire*, Brussels 1965 (Subsidia hagiographica, 40), p. 152.

23. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 456, p. 3.

In spite of the martyrologies, a fact is that the *Vita Euphrosynae* rarely appeared as a liturgical piece in western medieval Christendom up to the twelfth century. Above all, the account of Euphrosyne's life remained a beautiful story for enlightenment and inspiration<sup>24</sup>.

Over the course of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the *Vita Euphrosynae* was transmitted from generation to generation, providing one more example of female sanctity and a source of inspiration to a large audience. The text and its multiple textual versions always travelled anonymously, either in a liturgical context, as in the eastern Mediterranean, or within ascetic and hagiographical literature, as in the western Mediterranean. All these forms of the same text are conspicuous examples of a well-studied phenomenon: the fluidity and the plasticity of the hagiographical text, as shown by Monique Goullet in her remarkable study *Écriture and réécriture hagiographiques*<sup>25</sup>. This phenomenon is even more fascinating when every version of the text, each one depending from another, is anonymous. In what follows, I shall inquire into the main lines of transmission of the Greek and Latin texts and their history and dissemination up to the late twelfth century. This will provide a picture of the main paths of the text and the transformations it underwent in the Middle Ages. In the Appendix, I give an example of a distinct *Vita Euphrosynae*, incorporated into an eleventh-century assemblage of ascetic literature, modelled on Translation B.

24. The *Vita Euphrosynae* may have inspired authors of other hagiographical accounts: see, especially, J. Van Pelt, *Disguised Identity and Recognition in the Life of Gregory of Agrigento* (BHG 707), «Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies», 60 (2020), pp. 272-89 (at pp. 284-8).

25. The bibliography is vast. Besides Goullet (*Écriture and réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval* (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> s.), Turnhout 2005), I shall only mention a few recent essays: R. Macchioro, *Identità di testo in agiografia: testi latini, testi greci, testi in movimento nello specchio di P.A.L.M.A.*, in F. Santi and A. Stramaglia (eds.), *Identità di testo. Frammenti, collezioni di testi, glosse e rifacimenti*, Florence 2019, pp. 113-34; P. Chiesa, *Come trasformare la Vita. Riscritture dell'agiografia di Pelagia*, in Id., *Venticinque lezioni di filologia mediolatina*, Florence 2016 (Galluzzo Paperbacks 3), pp. 130-8; E. D'Angelo, *Riscrittura della riscrittura (la scuola napoletana del periodo ducale)*, in «Hagiographica», 10 (2003), pp. 139-60; M. Goullet, *Une typologie des réécritures peut-elle éclairer la nature du discours hagiographique?*, «Hagiographica», 10 (2003), pp. 109-22; G. Orlandi, *Pluralità di redazioni e testo critico*, in C. Leonardi (ed.), *La critica del testo mediolatino. Atti del Convegno (Firenze 6-8 dicembre 1990)*, Spoleto 1994 (Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino 5), pp. 79-115 (repr. in P. Chiesa, A. M. Fagnoni, R. E. Guglielmetti and G. P. Maggioni, *Scritti di Filologia mediolatina*, Florence 2008 (Millennio Medievale 77), pp. 27-61); M. Lapidge, *Editing Hagiography*, in Leonardi (ed.), *La critica del testo mediolatino* cit., pp. 239-58; finally, the contributions of Martin Heinzelmänn, Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, Klaus Herbers, Monique Goullet, Joseph-Claude Poulin, Anne-Marie Helvétius, François Dolbeau and Patrick Henriët gathered in M. Goullet and M. Heinzelmänn (eds.), *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval. Transformations formelles et idéologiques*, Ostfildern 2003 (Beihefte der Francia, 58).

## II. THE GREEK «LIFE OF EUPHROSYNE» («BHG» 625)

The anonymous pre-metaphrastic *Vita Euphrosynae*, which was the source of the Latin translations that emerged in the late eighth and early ninth century in Francia and northern Italy, was transmitted by a good number of menologies and other types of hagiographical collections, produced both in the eastern Mediterranean area and in a number of Italo-Greek communities. In the present edition, only manuscripts from the tenth to the twelfth century will be used. They are fairly representative of the earliest stages of the textual history and the configuration of the sources used by the Latin translators.

On the following pages, I briefly present the manuscripts used in the edition, before studying the transmission of the *Bios*<sup>1</sup>.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS

#### 1. Ohrid, Naroden Muzej, 4 (= O)

s. X <sup>2</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, Macedonia (?), 253 fols., 38 × 22.5 cm, 38 lines in two columns; owner: Archbishopric of Ohrid<sup>2</sup>.

1. Bibliography and discussion of other relevant elements of each manuscript can be found in *Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs* database of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, which incorporates the database *BHGms* compiled by the Société des Bollandistes, Brussels. The complete list of manuscripts containing *BHG* 625-625a can also be found in *Pinakes*. It records fifty-four manuscripts so far (note that Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, 8, copied in the eleventh century, fols. 173v-81v, contains Symeon the Metaphrast's *vita*, *BHG* 626, not our anonymous *BHG* 625). This chapter presents the manuscripts in chronological order. To find a particular manuscript, the reader should use the *Index Codicum*.

2. A. Lampadaridi, *Traduire et réécrire la «Vie d'Hilarion»* («BHL» 3879): *l'apport d'une nouvelle version grecque*, in S. Marjanović-Dušanić and B. Flusin (eds.), *Remanier, métaphraser: fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin*, Belgrade 2011, pp. 45-60 (pp. 54-5); A. Džurova, *Le rayonnement de Byzance. Les manuscrits grecs enluminés des Balkans (VI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles), Catalogue d'exposition (XXII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Sofia, 22-27 août 2011)*, Sofia 2011, pp. 153-4, no. 66 (dating the manuscript after 913/914 and before the mid-tenth

According to Axinia Džurova, this quarterly menology (September–November) was produced in the second quarter of the tenth century. Paul Canart suggested that it presents similarities to other manuscripts copied in Macedonia<sup>3</sup>. Today, it only covers the month from 20 September (*Vita Eustathii et soc. Romae*, BHG 641) to 22 October (*Pueri VII dormientes in Epheso*, BHG 1596). This last text is mutilated at the end, for the subsequent leaves are lost. The *Vita Euphrosyne* is copied on pp. 36–47, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (BHG 1712–4, pp. 17–29), followed by the *Miracula* (BHG 1718m, pp. 29–35), and a dossier of the *Acta Iohannis theologi apostoli* (pp. 47–96)<sup>4</sup>.

2. Ohrid, Naroden Muzej, 44, part II (pp. 47–668, 699–812) (= O1)

s. X ½, area of Constantinople; 406 fols.; 27.5 × 18.5 cm; 28/32 long lines; owner: Archbishopric of Ohrid<sup>5</sup>.

Axiana Džurova dated this section of the codex to the first half of the tenth century, and considered that it may have been copied in some centre on the periphery of Constantinople. O1 is an annual pre-metaphrastic collection. In the surviving leaves, many of which are out of order, we have from the feast of the *Innocents of Jerusalem* on 29 December (BHG 827b), truncated at the beginning, followed by Amphilochius of Iconium's *Vita et miracula Basilii Magni*

century); V. Mošin, *Les manuscrits du Musée National d'Ochrida*, in *Musée National d'Ohrid. Recueil de Travaux. Édition spéciale publiée à l'occasion du X<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la fondation du Musée et dédiée au XII<sup>e</sup> congrès international des études byzantines*, Ohrid 1961, pp. 163–243 (p. 231, no. 76); E. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis. Praefatio, textus*, Turnhout 1983 (CCSA, 1–2), p. 17; M. L. Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, Vatican City 1992 (*Littera Antiqua* 9.2), pp. 112–3; F. Halkin, *Manuscrits byzantins d'Ochrida en Macédoine yougoslave*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 80 (1962), pp. 5–21, at pp. 7–9, and Id., *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou*, Brussels 1963 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 38), p. 11; G. Garitte, *Une nouvelle vie grecque de S. Grégoire d'Arménie dans le ms. 4 d'Ochrida*, «*Byzantion*», 32 (1962), pp. 63–79, pp. 63–4, and Id., *La vie grecque inédite de saint Grégoire d'Arménie (Ms. 4 d'Ochrida)*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 83 (1965), pp. 233–90, at pp. 255–6; G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange: édition critique*, Louvain 1973 (*Publications de L'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain* 7), pp. 57–9.

3. P. Canart, *Apophryges et récits monastiques dans le ms. 33 d'Ochrida*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 80 (1962), pp. 22–32, at p. 25 n. 2, comparing the handwriting on pp. 204–17 of O with Athens, National Library, 2641, copied in 913/914 by cleric Joseph of Thebes, of the monastery of St John, Serres, Macedonia.

4. See Halkin, *Manuscrits byzantins d'Ochrida* cit., p. 7.

5. See Halkin, *Manuscrits byzantins d'Ochrida* cit., pp. 14–6; Id., *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida* cit., p. 56; Mošin, *Les manuscrits du Musée National d'Ochrida* cit., pp. 225–7, no. 70; Džurova, *Le rayonnement de Byzance* cit., pp. 179–80, no. 79; F. J. Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople. Tradition manuscrite, inédits, études connexes*, Vatican City 1967 (*Studi e testi* 247), pp. 108–9. Former shelf mark: «30». Fols. 1–46 and 669–98 are portions of a manuscript copied in the twelfth or the thirteenth century.

(BHG 247), celebrated on 1 January, up to 29 August with the *De decollatione Iohannis Baptistae* (BHG 867), followed by other texts. The *Vita Euphrosyne* is found on p. 264, after a sequence of February saints: the Hypapante (BHG 1925) on 2 February, the *Passio Blasii episcopi Sebastiae* (BHG 276) on 11 February, and the *Vita Martiniani eremitae in Palaestina* (BHG 1177) on 13 February. After this last text, we have the beginning of the *Vita Euphrosynae*, up to 1.4 οἶκος ἀναλώσσα (p. 264). The following folios are lost. In the present configuration of the manuscript, after this gap, from p. 265 onwards we have the *Vita Eugenii et Mariae* (BHG 615), celebrated on 12 February, and the *Passio Theodori tironis* (BHG 1761), commemorated on 17 February.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1454 (+ Coisl. 105) (= A)

s. X; 180 fols.; 36 × 25 cm (Paris gr. 1454) + 297 fols., 36,5 × 28 cm (Coisl. 105); 2 cols. 36 lines; owners: St Neophytos, Paphos, Cyprus (s. XII); Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) (fol. 1r: «Colb. 427»); Bibliothèque royale (1732) (fol. 1r: «2014<sup>2</sup>»)<sup>6</sup>.

This menology for the winter semester is today split into two manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Grec 1454 runs from 1 September (*Vita Symeonis Stylitae senioris*, BHG 1682-5) to 15 November (*Vita Guriae, Samonae et Abibi*, BHG 739, numbered 27). This last text is truncated at the end. Coisl. 105 runs from 17 November (Gregory of Nyssa's *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, BHG 715b, numbered 29, truncated at the beginning) to 24 February (*Iohannes Baptista praecursor Domini, Prima inventio et translatio capitis Emesam*, BHG 839, numbered 60, and Marcellus Archimandrita, *S. Iohannis Baptistae capitis inventio secunda*, BHG 840bc, numbered 61)<sup>7</sup>. In the late twelfth century, it was in the monastery of St Neophytus in Paphos,

6. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. Erster Teil. Die Überlieferung*, Leipzig 1937 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur 50), vol. 1, pp. 234-9; J. Darrouzès, *Les manuscrits originaux de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, «Revue des études byzantines», 8 (1950), pp. 162-96, at p. 187; P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Théodoret de Cyr. Histoire des moines de Syrie. «Histoire Philothée» I-XIII*, Paris 1977 (SC 234), pp. 66-9 (ms. J), and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *A propos de la «Vie» de Syméon Stylite (Théodoret de Cyr, «Histoire Philothée», chap. XXVI)*, «Byzantion», 34 (1964), pp. 375-84; siriDarrouzès, *Les manuscrits originaux de Chypre cit.*, p. 169; F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique*, Brussels 1968 (Subsidia Hagiographica 44), p. 164. The first quaternion is signed β', although it starts with 1 September, and the first text would have been numbered 1 (the fourth text is numbered 4). On Coisl. 105 (former shelf mark 114), see R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. II. Le fonds Coisl.*, Paris 1945, pp. 91-4.

7. At the end, on fols. 289v-97v, there are two extra texts presented out of calendrical order: 6 September, *Miraculum a s. Michaelis Chonis patratum* (BHG 1282); 8 November, John Chrysostom's *hom.* 6 (BHG 124).

known as the Enclistra. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is found on fols. 77v-83v, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, 24 September (BHG 1710, 1712, 1714), and the *Acta S. Iohannis theologi*, 26 September (BHG 917e).

4. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1506 (+ gr. 1540) (= *B*)

s. X, 204 fols., 28 × 20 cm (Paris gr. 1506) + 213 fols. 27.5 × 21 (Paris gr. 1540); 24/25 long lines. Owners: Athos, monastery of Esfigmenou; Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) (gr. 1506, fol. 1r: «Colb. 1931»; gr. 1540, fol. 1r «1932»); Bibliothèque royale (1732) (gr. 1506, fol. 1r: «2447<sup>3</sup>», gr. 1540, fol. 1r: «2447<sup>4</sup>»)<sup>8</sup>.

Paris gr. 1506 and gr. 1540 contain a two-month menology, covering the initial part of the calendar, September and October. The first manuscript runs from 1 September (*Vita Symeonis Stylitae*, BHG 1682) to 3 October (*Martyrium Dionysii Areopagitae*, BHG 554). The second runs from 6 October (*Acta Thomae ap.*, BHG 1800-7g; fols. 126r-v and 1r-10r) to 29 October (Ephrem, *In vitam beati Abrahamii et neptis eius Mariae*; BHG 5-6, truncated at the end). The *Vita Euphrosynae* is found on fols. 40r-51r, between the *Vita Theodorae Alexandrinae*, 11 September (BHG 1727-9), and the *Vita Iacobi eremitae*, 10 September (BHG 770, truncated at the end, for the subsequent folios are lost), followed from fol. 52r onwards by the *Martyrium Eustathii et soc. Romae*, usually celebrated on 20 September (BHG 641).

5. Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 519 (+ London, BL, Add. 26114) (= *S*)

s. X; 244 fols., 39 × 28.5 cm. 2 columns of 38 lines. Owner: Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery<sup>9</sup>.

*S* presents a menology corresponding to the winter semester. It starts on 1 September, with the *Vita Symeonis Stylitae* (BHG 1685), and ends on 13 February, with the *Vita Martiniani* (BHG 1177), truncated at the end. Nine folios missing in Sinai 519 are today London, BL, Add. 26114<sup>10</sup>.

8. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 405-8; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris* cit., p. 189; Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne* cit. pp. 63-6; Garitte, *La tradition*, pp. 200-2; P. Podolak, *L'agiografia di Dionigi fra Oriente e Occidente: edizione della Passione greca Μετὰ τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτην* («BHG» 554), «Byzantion», 87 (2017), pp. 299-321, at pp. 302-3. Previous catalogues: H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1898, vol. 2, p. 71 (gr. 1506) and p. 85 (gr. 1540).

9. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 239-46 (dating the manuscript to the eleventh century); V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxford 1886, pp. 126-7; V. Vasiljev, *Notizen über einige griechischen Hss von Heiligenleben auf dem Sinai*, «Vizantijskij vremennik», 14 (1907), pp. 276-333, at pp. 277-84; M. Kamil, *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 91, no. 742.

10. See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 257-8. It belonged to Constantin



The *Vita Euphrosynae* is found on fols. 33r-7v, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, 24 September (BHG 1710), and the *Acta Iohannis theologi apostoli*, 26 September (BHG 916).

6. Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 526 (= *S*1)

s. X, 235 fols.; 29 × 25.2 cm; 2 columns of 36 lines. Owner: Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery<sup>11</sup>.

The manuscript presents a menology for the winter semester. It runs from 1 September (*Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris*, BHG 1685), truncated at the beginning, to the *Martyrium Blasii ep. Sebastiae*, celebrated on 11 February (BHG 276-276c), followed by the *Martyrium Agathae m. Catanae*, 5 February (BHG 37) and two texts out of order, the *Vita Theodoraе Alexandrinae*, 11 September (BHG 1727-9) and the *Vita Iohannis Calybitae ascetae*, 15 January (BHG 868).

The *Vita Euphrosynae*, with an identical title to that in *S*, is found on fols. 42r-7v, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, 24 September (BHG 1710, 1718n, 1716, 1716<sup>a</sup>), and Iacobus diaconus' *Paenitentia Pelagiae*, 8 October (BHG 1478d).

7. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 92 sup. (= *M*)

s. X<sup>2</sup>, Calabria; 274 fols.; 31 × 24.5 cm; two columns of 42 lines. Owners: Federico Borromeo (1564-1631); Biblioteca Ambrosiana (1607: fol. 1)<sup>12</sup>.

von Tischendorf (1815-1874), who visited St Catherine's Monastery, in Sinai, in 1844, 1853 and 1859.

11. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 239-46 (type A); Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum* cit., p. 128; Vasiljev, *Notizen* cit., pp. 288-92; Kamil, *Catalogue* cit., p. 91, no. 749; C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconensis Opera. Orationes pluraque alia quae supersunt, nonnulla etiam spuria*, Turnhout 1978 (CCSG 3), p. 16 (ms. S); Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* cit., pp. 126-7.

12. C. Pasini, *Inventario agiografico dei manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana*, Brussels 2003 (Subsidia hagiographica 84), pp. 60-3; A. Prinzi, *Una redazione inedita della «Passio ss. Caesaris et Iuliani»: la «Passio Graeca minor»* (BHG 285D) trädita dal ms. Ambr. D 92 sup., «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici», 53 (2016), pp. 59-102, at pp. 62-7; S. Lucà, *L'apporto dell'Italia meridionale alla costituzione del fondo greco dell'Ambrosiana*, in C. M. Mazzucchi and C. Pasini (eds.), *Nuove ricerche sui manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana, Atti del Convegno* (Milano, 5-6 giugno 2003), Milan 2004 (Vita e Pensiero), pp. 191-242 (p. 219); Id., *Georgios Taurozes, copista e protopapa di Tropea nel sec. XIV*, in S. Lucà and L. Perria, «*Opora*»: studi in onore di Mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno, «Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata», 53 (1999), pp. 245-346, at pp. 299-300: «s. X<sup>2</sup>»; Id., *Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano: da S. Nilo a S. Bartolomeo da Simeri (secoli XI-XII)*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, 28 settembre - 1° ottobre, 1986, Grottaferrata 1989, p. 63 n. 169; Id., *Il Diodoro Siculo Neap. B.N. gr. 4\* è italogreco?*, «Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata», 44 (1990), pp. 33-79, at p. 57

This hagiographical non-menological collection, produced in some centre in Calabria, was associated to the «school of Nilus» by Santo Lucà, who dated the manuscript to the second half of the tenth century<sup>13</sup>. It arrived in Milan in 1607. It comprises some eighty texts. The *Vita Euphrosyne* is copied on fols. 128r-32r, between Ps.-Eusebius Alexandrinus, *Sermo 5 (De presbyteris)*, BHG 635i, CPG 5514) and the *Vita Donati ep. Euroeae in Epiro* (BHG 2112).

8. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1987 (= V2)

s. X <sup>3</sup>/<sub>3</sub>, southern Italy; 143 fols.; 20.5 × 15 cm; 29-31 long line; owners: San Basilio de Urbe, Rome (1697-1699: «Bas. 26»); Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (1786)<sup>14</sup>.

This non-menological hagiographical collection was produced in southern Italy, as the *Vita Erasmi* and several other texts seem to imply. On palaeographical grounds, it shows some influence of the «school of Nilos», as suggested by Santo Lucà<sup>15</sup>. It was brought from Calabria by Pietro Menniti, General Abbot of the Basilians (1696-1718), to the monastery of San Basilio de Urbe, Rome, between 1697 and 1699. In the list of manuscripts compiled after 1700 by Giovanni Crisostomo Scarfò (1685-1740) it was numbered «26».

n. 100: «s. X-XI»; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 3 (1937), pp. 782-3 («s. X-XI»); Id., *Forschungen zur Hagiographie der griechischen Kirche vornehmlich auf Grund der hagiographischen Handschriften von Mailand, München und Moskau*, in «Römische Quartalschrift», 11 (1897), pp. 67-206, at pp. 182-7; F. Halkin, *Suppléments ambrosiens à la Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 72 (1954), pp. 325-42, at pp. 329-35, 339-40; Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* cit., pp. 120-1. Previous catalogue: E. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milan 1906, pp. 284-91, no. 259.

13. Lucà, *L'apporto* cit., p. 219.

14. I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*. Band 6.1-3, *Corpus der italo-griechischen dekorierten Handschriften der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Stuttgart 2022, pp. 67-9; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 3, pp. 780-2 («s. X-XI»); S. J. Voicu, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*. VI: *Codicum Ciuitatis Vaticanae I*, Paris 1999 (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 15), pp. 223-4; S. Lucà, *Scritture e libri della «scuola niliana»*, in G. Cavallo, G. De Gregorio and M. Maniaci, *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988)*, Spoleto 1991 (Biblioteca del Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici nell'Università di Perugia, 5), vol. 1, pp. 319-87, at p. 386; P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City 1970 (Studi e Testi 261), p. 666; M. Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968-1980)*, Vatican City 1986 (Studi e Testi 318-9), 1986, pp. 946-7.

15. Lucà, *Scritture e libri della «scuola niliana»* cit., p. 386. Irmgard Hutter is more prudent in attributing the manuscript to a pupil of Nilus: *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* cit., p. 69.

It entered the Vatican Library in the time of Pius VI. The leaves are very much out of order. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is unnumbered, unlike many of the other texts, and there are no other elements for establishing its original position within the anthology. Currently it is found on fols. 24r-30v, between two portions of the *Vita Theodorae* (BHG 1727-9; fols. 46v, 31r-38v, 23r-v), which is itself preceded by the *Passio Ciryçi et Iulittae* (BHG 315; fols. 40r-42v) and the *Passio Anastasiae* (BHG 76z; fols. 42v-46v), all three also unnumbered.

9. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 797 (= V)

s. X ex.; 380 fols.; 36 × 26 cm; 2 columns of 25/28 lines; owner: Biblioteca Vaticana (s. XV-XVI)<sup>16</sup>.

V is a quarterly menology corresponding to the months of September, October, and November. It begins with Antonius hagiographus' *Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris* (BHG 1685; 1 September), and runs to the *Passio Iacobi Persae* (BHG 772b; 27 November), truncated at the end. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is copied on fols. 105v-15v, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (BHG 1710; 24 September) and the *Confessio Cypriani et Iustinae* (BHG 453; 2 October).

10. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 63 sup. (= M1)

s. X ex., Calabria; 176 fols., 24.5 × 18.5 cm; two columns of 31 lines<sup>17</sup>.

16. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (604-866), Vatican City 1950, pp. 323-5 («s. X ex.»); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, I, pp. 383-5. It is recorded in the catalogue of 1504/1505, in the pontificate of Julius II: see G. Cardinali, *Inventari di manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana sotto il pontificato di Giulio II (1503-1513). Introduzione, edizione e commento*, Vatican City 2015 (Studi e testi 491), p. 135, no. 297. In the time of Nicholas V, see A. Manfredi and F. Potenza, *I codici greci di Niccolò V. Edizione dell'inventario del 1455 e identificazione dei manoscritti con approfondimenti sulle vicende iniziali del fondo Vaticano greco della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatican City 2022 (Studi e testi, 552), pp. 403-4. Giacomo Cardinali identifies this item as no. 41 of the 1481 catalogue of Sixtus IV. See R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V*, Vatican City 1965 (Studi e Testi 244), p. 83. Former catalogue: P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Brussels 1899 (Subsidia hagiographica 7), pp. 33-5.

17. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 2 (1937), pp. 188-9 (dating «s. XI-XII»); C. Pasini, *Inventario agiografico* cit. pp. 109-11; Lucà, *L'apporto* cit., p. 227 («s. X ex.»); Id., *Su origine e datazione del Crypt. B.β.VI* (ff. 1-9). *Appunti sulla collezione manoscritta greca di Grottaferrata*, in L. Perria (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio et l'Italia*, Rome 2003 (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neellenici 14), pp. 145-224, at p. 146 n. 2: «manoscritti niliani»; J. Mossay and B. Coulie, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus*. 6. *Codices Aegypti, Bohemiae, Hispaniae, Italiae, Serbiae. Addenda et corrigenda*, Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zürich 1998 (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, N.F., 2. Reihe. Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz 14), p. 162, no. 166. Brief reference in F. Bovon and B. Bouvier, *La translation des reliques de saint Étienne, le premier martyr*, «Analecta

This 'Halbjahrespanegyrik', as Albert Ehrhard calls it, produced in Calabria, in the context of the «school of Nilus», according to Santo Lucà<sup>18</sup>, contains the winter semester. The first five quaternions and the first two folios of the sixth quire are lost, which correspond to the months of September and October. So today it begins with the *Vita Cosmae et Damiani* (BHG 372; 1 November) and runs to Amphilocheus of Iconium's sermon on the Hypapante (BHG 1964; 2 February). This last text is followed by a set of texts, the first of which is the *Vita Euphrosynae* (ff. 149r-56r). Then we have two apocryphal texts, the *Apocalypsis Mariae* (BHG 1050b) and the *Testamentum Abrahae* (BHG 2002), John Chrysostom's *Apocalypsis de die dominica* (BHG 881w), and the *Didascalia de quadragesima* (BHG 812a).

11. Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 497 (= S2)

s. X-XI, Constantinople; 398 fols.; 31 × 25 cm, two columns of 37 lines. Owners: Sa'id ibn Daniel ibn Bishr (s. XII); Saint Catherine's Monastery<sup>19</sup>.

As Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli have remarked in their study of the transmission of chapters 55-6 of the *Acta Iohannis*, this manuscript is extremely similar to Laura Δ 50 (= L), presenting the same texts (except for the last two in L, which are missing in S2), the same layout and number of lines. Like L, it presents four months from September to December<sup>20</sup>. It starts on 1 September with the *Vita Symeonis Stylitae* (BHG 1684) and ends on 29 December with the *In Herodem et innocentes* (BHG 827c). The *Vita Euphrosynae* is copied on fols. 87v-94r, within the usual context, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* and Proclus' *Acta Iohannis theologi apostoli*.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1538 (= C)

s. X-XI; 224 fols.; 27 × 21 cm; two columns of 28/29 lines; owners: Demetrios Katergares, ἀναγνώστης of Abydos (s. XIII-XIV, fol. 223v); Basileios, deacon of Aby-

Bollandiana», 131 (2013), pp. 5-50, at p. 15. It was bought in 1606 in Otranto. Previous catalogue: Martini and Bassi, *Catalogus* cit., vol. 1, pp. 483-6, no. 405. Two portraits of Euphrosyne are depicted on fol. 152r-v. See. A. Narro and I. Muñoz Gallarte, *La imagen de Santa Eufrosine en el Relato de su vida* (BHG 625) *del códice Ambros. G 63 Sup.* (s. XII), «Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval», XIII, n° 23 (2021), pp. 1-19.

18. See Lucà, *Su origine e datazione* cit., p. 146 n. 2, and *L'apporto* cit., p. 227.

19. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 349-53; Gardthausen, *Catalogus* cit., p. 121; Kamil, *Catalogue* cit., p. 90 (no. 720); Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis* cit., p. 25; Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* cit., pp. 128-9. On Sa'id ibn Daniel ibn Bishr, see P. Géhin and S. Frøyshov, *Nouvelles découvertes sinaïtiques. À propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits grecs*, «Revue des études byzantines», 58 (2000), pp. 167-84, at p. 172, n. 18.

20. On its relation to Athos, Lavra, Δ 50, a. 1039 (= L), see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 352-3.

dos; Gerasimos hieromonachos of the monastery of St George, Rhinia (Cyzikus) (s. XIII-XIV); Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) (fol 2r: «850»); Bibliothèque Royale (1732) (fol. 2r: «2459<sup>3</sup>»)<sup>21</sup>.

This non-menological collection of *lives* comprises 22 texts<sup>22</sup>. It begins with Epiphanius of Constantinople's *De vita beatae Virginis* (BHG 1049, fols. 2r-7r), truncated at the beginning. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is the fourth text, and is a very reworked version. It is found on fols. 28v-38v, between the *De gestis in Perside* (BHG 803), and the *Martyrium of Demetrius of Thessalonica* (BHG 497).

### 13. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 866 (= VI)

s. X ex.-XI in., southern Italy (Campania?); 37.5 × 29 cm; two columns of 43 lines; owners: diocese of Catania (?); Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585)<sup>23</sup>.

It is a large-format annual menology arranged according to the Byzantine calendar, with beautifully decorated initials. Santo Lucà<sup>24</sup> suggested that it

21. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 3, pp. 776-7, considering the codex among «die italogriechischen Sammlungen» (n. 1). See, however, Lucà, *Il Diodoro Siculo* cit., p. 57 n. 100: «non mi sembra italo-greco ... il volume soggiornò in Asia Minore»; «s. X-XI»; D. Jackson, *Colbert Greek Manuscript Binding 1679-1683*, «Codices Manuscripti», 76-7 (2011), pp. 51-9, at p. 59; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris* cit., pp. 202-3; previous catalogue: H. Omont, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae nationalis parisiensis*, Paris 1896, pp. 237-8. The owners are identified in *Pinakes*.

22. Fol. 1 and fol. 224 did not originally belong to this manuscript.

23. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 338-46; Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* cit., pp. 434-40 («s. XI-XII»); Id., *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale (Histoire, classement, paléographie)*, Vatican City 1955 (Studi e testi 183), pp. 18 and 33; Lucà, *Scritture e libri della «scuola niliana»* cit. pp. 343-4; Id., *Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano* cit., pp. 50-1; G. Cavallo, *Manoscritti italo-greci e cultura benedettina (secoli X-XIII)*, in *L'esperienza monastica benedettina e la Puglia. Atti del convegno di studi organizzato in occasione del XV centenario della nascita di san Benedetto* (Bari, Noci, Lecce, Picciano, 6-10 ottobre 1980), Congedo 1983, pp. 169-95, at p. 187; J. Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* cit., pp. 132-3; I. Hutter, *La décoration et la mise en page des manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale: quelques observations*, in A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé, *Histoire et Culture dans l'Italie Byzantine*, Rome 2006 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 363), pp. 69-93, at pp. 85-6; P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City 1970 (Studi e Testi 261), pp. 503-4; Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis* cit., p. 33. Ancient catalogue: Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum* cit., pp. 83-93.

24. Lucà, *Scritture e libri della «scuola niliana»* cit., p. 344 («è il prodotto di un discepolo di Nilo che non segue il maestro a Serperi, ma realizzato con il concorso economico dell'abbazia di Montecassino»); S. Lucà, *La «Parva Catechesis» di Teodoro Studita in Italia meridionale: un nuovo testimone ritrovato a Melfi, in Basilicata*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici», N.S. 52 (2015), pp. 93-164, at pp. 147-50 («s. X ex.-XI in.»), 152; Hutter, *La décoration et la mise en page* cit., pp. 85-6. A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*,

may have been copied in the late tenth or early eleventh century by a pupil of Nilus connected to Montecassino. It belonged to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto before entering the Vatican Library in 1585<sup>25</sup>.

It may have been produced for the diocese of Catania, as the contents suggest<sup>26</sup>. The initial textual set, preceding the assemblage in calendrical order, seems to support this idea. After the index on fol. 1r-v, which is mutilated at the beginning (it starts on 30 November), the rest of the verso and the following recto have been left unused<sup>27</sup>. On the verso of fol. 2 the copyist wrote John Chrysostom's epistle 125 to Cyriacus (BHG 881y), with a beautifully decorated initial in blue ink (ff. 2v-4r), followed by the *Life of Leo of Catania*, called the Thaumaturgus (BHG 981; fols. 4r-6v)<sup>28</sup>. At the end, there is an epigram addressed to a certain bishop Isidore, presented by the author as a devotee of Leo Thaumaturgus, and a sort of commissioner of the menology. Then comes Ephrem's *Encomium in gloriosos martyres* (BHG 1183; fols. 6v-7v). The sequence of *Vitae* and *Martyria* in calendrical order begins on fol. 8r. The first is Antonius Hagiographus' *Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris* (BHG 1685), celebrated on 1 September.

The *Vita Euphrosynae* is on fols. 33v-6r, between the *Acta Iohannis theologi* (BHG 912-3; 26 September) and the *Passio Sozonis m. Pompeiopolis* (BHG 1643; 7 September).

#### 14. Athos, Monastery of the Great Lavra, Δ 50 (= L)

s. XI (a. 1039, fol. 407v), Constantinople; 407 fols., 31 × 25 cm; two columns of 37 lines<sup>29</sup>.

Paris 1972 (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 8), pp. 38-39, associates *VI* with a group of manuscripts produced in Capua and Calabria in the mid- and late tenth century.

25. S. Lucà, *Guglielmo Sirleto e la Vaticana*, in M. Ceresa (ed.), *La Biblioteca Vaticana tra Riforma cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio (1535-1590)*, Vatican City 2012 (Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2), pp. 145-88, at pp. 150-1.

26. A. Messina, *La sede vescovile di Catania e il codice Vat. gr. 866*, «Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata», 10 (2013), pp. 145-55. I indicate the foliation which is written in pencil.

27. In the available space of fols. 1v-2r, the *Martyrion of Orestes of Tyana* (BHG 1384-5) was written some time later.

28. A. Acconcia Longo, *La vita di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro*, «Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici», N.S. 26 (1989), pp. 3-98, at pp. 76-7 (ms. V).

29. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 349-53; S. Lauriotès and S. Eustratiadès, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos. With notices from other Libraries*, Cambridge, MA. 1925 (Harvard Theological Studies 12), pp. 60-1, no. 426; J. Mossay, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus. 4. Codices Cypri, Graeciae (pars altera), Hierosolymorum*, Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, and Zürich 1995 (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, n. f., 2. Reihe. Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz 11), p. 132; Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis* cit., p. 25; E. Lambez, *Die Handschriftenproduktion in den*

The manuscript presents a menology for the winter months (September to December), very similar to Sinai, St Catherine 497, our S<sub>2</sub> (see above). Both manuscripts were most likely produced in Constantinople<sup>30</sup>. It begins with Antonius hagiographus' *Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris* (BHG 1684; 1 September), and ends with the *In Herodem et innocentes* (BHG 827c), celebrated on 29 December. This last text is followed by Menander Protector's *Visio Constantini, inuentio Crucis et clavorum* (BHG 396-409z) and a sermon on the Holy Cross (BHG 420k). The *Vita Euphrosyne* is on fols. 93v-100r, as usual between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (BHG 1710; 24 September) and the *Acta Iohannis theologi* (BHG 916; 26 September).

15. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1537 (= P)

s. XI, southern Italy; 143 fols., 27 × 22 cm; two columns of 26 lines. Owner: Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) (1682) (f. 1: «Colb. 3021»)<sup>31</sup>.

The manuscript, possibly copied in southern Italy according to Albert Ehrhard, contains a portion of a non-menological hagiographical collection. Some of the texts are related to Egypt:

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                        |          | <i>BHG</i> |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------------|
| 1r-20v       | Probus, Tarachus et Andronicus mm. Anazarbi                         | 12 Oct.  | 1574d      |
| 20v-46r      | Arethas et socii mm. Nagrae                                         | 24 Oct.  | 166        |
| 46r-61v      | Acindynus, Pegasius, Aphthonius et soc. in Perside                  | 2 Nov.   | 22         |
| 62r-81v      | Eustratius, Auxentius et soc. mm. in Armenia                        | 13 Dec.  | 646        |
| 81v-90r      | Euphrosyna v. Alexandrina                                           | 25 Sept. | 625        |
| 90r-112r     | Febronia m. Sibapoli                                                | 28 Oct.  | 659        |
| 112r-21r     | Patermuthius et Copres mon. in Aegypto                              | 15 Dec.  | 1429       |
| 121r-38v     | Acepsimas, Ioseph et Aeithalas (truncated at the end)               | 3 Nov.   | 18         |
| 139r-43v     | Petrus ep. Alexandrinus (truncated at the beginning and at the end) | 25 Nov   | 1502a      |

*Athosklöstern bis 1453*, in G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio, and M. Maniaci (eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del Seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988)*, Spoleto 1991, pp. 25-78, at p. 68 n. 187: the author states that Δ 50 was probably not produced on mount Athos; K. Treu, *Byzantinische Kaiser in den Schreibernotizen griechischer Handschriften*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift», 65 (1972), pp. 9-34, at p. 12.

30. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, p. 352.

31. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 3, p. 783; Jackson, *Colbert Greek Manuscript Binding* cit., p. 53. Previous catalogues: Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris* cit., p. 202; Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs* cit., vol. 2, pp. 83-4; Omont, *Catalogus* cit., p. 236. Brief references in P. Devos, *Une passion grecque inédite de S. Pierre d'Alexandrie et sa traduction par Anastase le Bibliothécaire*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 83 (1965), pp. 157-87 (see pp. 161-2 for the edition of the *Passio Petri Alexandrini*); P. Chiesa, *Le versioni latine della «Passio sanctae Febroniae»*. *Storia, metodo, modelli di due traduzioni agiografiche altomedievali*, Spoleto 1990 (Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino 2), p. 339 (for the *Passio Febroniae*).

16. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin, 237 (= *P4*)

s. XI, 1 folio (f. 1); 34 long lines; owners of the codex: monastery τοῦ Μετεώρου; Pierre Séguier (1588-1672); Henri-Charles du Cambout, duc de Coislin (1665-1732); Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-prés (1720); Bibliothèque royale (1824-1830)<sup>32</sup>.

This fragment consists of a single leaf attached to the beginning of an eleventh-century manuscript, once owned by the Monastery of Great Meteoron, containing epistles of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus, which arrived in Paris in 1653. The folio, written in the eleventh century, presents the text from 12.4 φίλοι to 14.5 ἀπήγαγε πρὸς αὐ<τὸν><sup>33</sup>.

17. Athos, Philotheu Monastery, 9, part III (ff. 208-368) (= *F*)

s. XI *ex.*; two columns of 36 lines; owner: Philotheu Monastery<sup>34</sup>.

This is a fragment of a menology covering four months (September to December). It has large gaps due to the loss of several folios, and the quaternions are frequently out of order. Currently, it runs from 24 September (Ps-Basil of Seleucia's *De vita et miraculis sanctae Theclae*, BHG 1717, fols. 219-33v, 244-61v, truncated at the beginning)<sup>35</sup>, to 11 November (*Passio Menae*, BHG 1254, fols. 367-8v, truncated at the end). The *Vita Euphrosyne* is found on fols. 312r-6v and 265r<sup>36</sup>. According to Ehrhard's reconstruction of the original structure of the hagiographical collection, the *Vita* preceded the *Acta Cypriani et Iustinae* (BHG 452), usually celebrated on 2 October, which starts on fol. 265r. Before the *Vita Euphrosynae* there is a gap: the preceding text, the *Vita Gregorii Illuminatoris* (BHG 7122), is truncated at the end (f. 311v). The beginning of the title of our text may be truncated.

32. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Le fonds Coislin* cit., pp. 216-17; Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris* cit., p. 260; D. C. Agoritsas, *Western travellers in search of Greek manuscripts in the Meteora monasteries (17th-19th centuries)*, «Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies», 6 (2020), pp. 115-60, at pp. 121-3 n. 22 and p. 141. Former shelfmarks: «anc. 74», «Séguier 68».

33. At the top of the leaf, there is one line, today illegible. It was perhaps still visible to Devreesse, who stated that the folio began with <ἀναζητή>σαις ἐγγίνοντο. Interestingly, ἐγγίνοντο is a conjecture by Boucherie, absent from his model (Paris gr. 1454) and from all other copies used in the present edition.

34. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 353-5; F. Halkin, *Un nouveau témoin de la Passion des Saints Probus, Tarachus et Andronicus*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 85 (1967), p. 330 (on the *Passio Probi, Tarachi et Andronici*, BHG 1574, fols. 359r-v and 346r-52v, which had not been identified by Ehrhard); Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, Cambridge 1990, vol. 1, p. 151, no. 1772.

35. I use the foliation written in the bottom margin.

36. This corresponds to fols. 308r-12v and 261r in the foliation in the top margin.



18. 's-Gravenhage, Huis van het boek (*olim* Rijksmuseum Meermannno-Westreenianum), 10 A 5-6 (= G)

s. XI *ex.*, 138 fols., 41 × 30 cm; two columns of 36 lines<sup>37</sup>.

G is a September menology. It presents large gaps (the first fifteen quaternions are lost and several other quires and many leaves are missing), and in many places it is out of order<sup>38</sup>. Of the original codex, we have today the text from the final lines of the *Passio Euphemiae*, celebrated on 16 September (BHG 619a, fol. Ar-v and p. 1), to the *Passio Dadae, Gobjelae et Casdiae in Perside* on 29 September (BHG 480a, pp. 107-16), according to Ehrhard. The *Vita Euphrosyne* is found on pp. 132-6 and 119-20, following the *Vita Paphnutii et sociorum in Aegypto* (BHG 1419a, pp. 121-4, 117-18, 125-32), celebrated on 24 September. The text presents the first eight chapters (1.1 ἐγένετο to 8.10 γύνοι μὴ) and chapters 12.6 (ὁ πατήρ) to 16.2 (ἡ ψυχὴ μου).

19. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi R. VI. 39 (gr. 31) (= V3)

s. XI <sup>2</sup> / s. XI *ex.*-XII *in.*, Calabria; 219 fols., 28.5 × 19 cm; two columns of 34 lines; owner: Santa Maria del Patire, Rossano<sup>39</sup>.

37. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 442-4; P. J. H. Vermeeren and A. Dekker, *Inventaris van de handschriften van het Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum*, 's-Gravenhage 1960, pp. 51-2; F. Halkin, *Eusèbe martyr en Phénicie*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 84 (1966), pp. 335-42, at p. 336; id., *Saint Phocas*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 30 (1911), pp. 252-95, at p. 271; C. Van de Vorst et H. Delehay, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae*, Brussels 1913, pp. 254-6. Former catalogues: H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques publiques des Pays-Bas (Leyde exceptée)*, «Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen», 4 (1887), pp. 185-214, at p. 202; former shelf marks: «Cod. 32», «cod. 2». Fols. 1-35 form manuscript A 10 5, fols. 36-70 form 10 A 6. A few folios are today in another manuscript, Edinburgh, University Library, 225, once owned by David Laing (1793-1878). Here we find fragments of the *Passio Dadae, Gobjelae et sociorum* (p. 1), one leaf with a portion of the *Vita Paphnutii et sociorum* (pp. 16-7), and a portion of the *Acta Theclae* followed by the *Miracula* (BHG 1710, 1718m, pp. 1-16). This manuscript is very similar to a *Medicaeus regis Franciae*, if it is not the same one, used by the Bollandistes for AA SS Sept., t. 5 (1755) and t. 6 (1757). See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, p. 442 n. 2.

38. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, p. 442 n. 1.

39. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 317-9; Lucà, *Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano* cit., p. 65-6; id., *Il Diodoro Siculo* cit., p. 57 n. 100: «Calabria, s. XI-XII, ex Patire 71»; id., *Frammenti di codici greci in Calabria*, «Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania», 67 (2000), pp. 171-88, p. 179 n. 18 («Calabria, s. XI-XII»); id., *Teodoro Sacerdote, copista del Reg. gr. Pii II 35. Appunti su scribi e committenti di manoscritti greci*, «Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata», 55 (2001), pp. 127-63, at p. 138: «s. XI-XII, hand of Iohannis, who copied Vat. gr. 1554»; Id., *Un codice greco del 1124 a Siracusa*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici», N. S. 38 (2001), pp. 69-94, at p. 90; C. Torre, *La Passio dei santi Senatore, Viatore, Cassiodoro e Dominata: redazioni greche BHG e Novum Auctarium 1622, 1623, 1623c*, Roma,

This is a fragment of a hagiographical collection for the winter semester, covering September to the end of February, copied in Calabria in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, according to Santo Lucà. Today, it contains only the months of September to December. It begins with Antonius hagiographus' *Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris* (BHG 1685, 1 September) and ends with the *Passio Barbarae* (BHG 213, 4 December). A later hand, perhaps of the thirteenth century, completed the text and copied the *Acta Nicolai Myrensis* (BHG 1350, fols. 211-16v; 6 December), now the last piece of the codex. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is copied on fols. 53r-9r, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, followed by the *Miracula* (BHG 1710 and 1718n; 24 September), and the *Acta Iohannis theologi* (BHG 916-17; 26 September).

20. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 32 sup. (= M2)

1 fol., s. XII <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, Calabria?; 218 fols, 21 × 16.5 cm; 29 long lines; owners of the codex: possibly Santi Pietro e Paolo di Arena (Calabria) (f. 218r); Federico Borromeo (1564-1631) (1607)<sup>40</sup>.

This sole leaf (f. B) is presently attached to the beginning of a manuscript containing Isaac Ninivita Syrus' *Sermones ascetici* (CPG 7868.1, fols. 1r-159v) and Maximus the Confessor's *Capita de caritate* (CPG 7693). The manuscript is datable to the first quarter of the twelfth century and was produced in the style of the «school of Rossano»<sup>41</sup>. In the sixteenth century it was possibly in the abbey of Santi Pietro e Paolo di Arena. In 1607, it arrived in Milan<sup>42</sup>. Folio B belonged to a manuscript written in the twelfth century. According to Santo Lucà, the script also shows some affinity with the «school of Rossano». The fragment – presenting only section 1.7 to 4.6 – exhibits many textual coincidences with other copies from southern Italy, namely *P*, *M*, and *V*<sub>3</sub>.

2020 (Philoponia. Contributi di filologia e letteratura greca e latina 1), pp. 47-51 («s. XI <sup>2</sup>», «già Patir 71»). Former shelf mark: «Chig. gr. 31».

40. Pasini, *Inventario agiografico* cit., p. 73; Lucà, *L'apporto* cit., p. 219. Brief references in Lucà, *I copisti Luca χαρμυλός et Paolo ταπεινός*, «Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania», 68 (2001), pp. 149-71, at p. 163: «rossanese» style, s. XII <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>; id., *La distribuzione calendariale delle Catechesi di Teodoro di Studio nel Vat. gr. 2112*, in A. Binggeli, A. Boud'hors, and M. Cassin (eds.), «Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia. Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin», Leuven 2016 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 243), pp. 497-522, at p. 506. Previous catalogues: Martini and Bassi, *Catalogus* cit., vol. 1, pp. 383-7, no. 334.

41. Lucà, *L'apporto* cit., p. 219, and *I copisti* cit., p. 163.

42. S. Lucà, *Una donazione al monastero dei SS. Pietro e Paolo di Arena*, in *Calabria* (1184-1185), in P. Cherubini and G. Nicolaj (edd.), «*Sit liber gratus quem servulus est operatus*». Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno, Vatican City 2012 (Littera Antiqua 19), pp. 317-36, at pp. 329-30.

21. Athos, Karakallou Monastery, 14 (mon. 9), part II (Ff. 6-293) (= **K**)

s. XII; 27/28 lines in two columns<sup>43</sup>.

In this collection of hagiographical and theological works, produced in the twelfth century as confirmed by Santo Lucà, the *Vita Euphrosynae* is copied on fols. 268v-77r, between John Chrysostom's *De Susanna sermo* (BHG 2406) and Ephrem's *In vanam vitam et de paenitentia* (BHG 2103n).

22. Saint Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja biblioteka, Ф. N. 906, Gr. 213 (= **Sp**)

s. XII, 309 fols.; 33.5 × 27 cm; two columns in 32/35 lines<sup>44</sup>.

A quarterly menology covering September, October, and November. It begins with Antonius hagiographus' *Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris* (BHG 1684; 1 September), and ends with the *Epistula presbyterorum et diaconorum Achaiae* (BHG 93; 30 November). It has a number of gaps, due to the loss of folios. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is copied on fols. 86r-94r, between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (BHG 1710, 1716; 24 September) and the *Acta Iohannis theologi* (BHG 916-17; 26 September).

Finally, I can mention Athos, Monastery of the Great Lavra, K 122 B, s. XI, a post-metaphrastic, non-menological collection<sup>45</sup>. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is copied on fols. 145-56, between Constantinus Tionensis' *In inuentionem reliquiarum S. Euphemiae* (BHG 621) and Ammonius monachus' *De sanctis Patribus barbarorum incursione peremptis* (BHG 1300). Unfortunately, I have not been able to examine the manuscript, as the monastery is currently closed due to building and restoration works, nor have I found a reproduction of the folios.

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The earliest extant witnesses of the Greek *bios* date from the tenth century. They number almost a dozen, produced both in the eastern Mediterranean

43. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts* cit., p. 131, no. 1527; S. Lucà, *Chrysostomica minima e il Monte Athos*, «Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici», 56 (2019 [2020]), pp. 85-109, at pp. 104-6; P. Magdalino, *Une prophétie inédite des environs de l'an 965 attribuée à Léon le philosophe* (Ms Karakallou 14, f. 253r-254r), in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, Paris 2002 (Travaux et mémoires 14), pp. 391-402.

44. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 1, pp. 375-7; E. E. Granstrem, *Katalog greceskikh rukopise leningradskikh kbranilisc*, «Vizantijskij vremennik» 19 (1912), pp. 194-239, at pp. 234-5, no. 283.

45. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand* cit., vol. 3, p. 874.

and in southern Italy. Study reveals a long story of transmission and dissemination. Over the centuries, slightly different versions emerged, corresponding sometimes to stylistic refinements, at other times to changes caused by errors committed by scribes, features which descendants inherited, or to intentional modifications of the text.

All extant copies studied in the present edition – all of them prior to the late twelfth century – may descend from an early model already containing a few errors (= ω'). The conjunction ὥσπερ is Anatole Boucherie's proposal for 15.4, in the face of the variety of solutions to the corrupt passage in the manuscripts. In 12.4, ἐγίνοντο was suggested by Boucherie in order to provide the sentence with a verb<sup>46</sup>.

Two tenth-century manuscripts offer an almost identical text, as demonstrated by a number of common and exclusive readings and variants. I designate their common ancestor as α. One of them is *O* (Ohrid, 4), a quarterly menology covering September-November, copied in the second quarter of the tenth century, possibly in the Macedonian area, containing several texts in peculiar textual versions. The other is *A* (Paris gr. 1454), a menology for the winter semester, owned in the twelfth century by the monastery of St Neophytos in Paphos. This is the manuscript transcribed by Anatole Boucherie in his article published in 1883 (see below). I give a few examples of readings exclusively found in *O* and *A* (see also the subsequent table).

|      | β              | α (= O A)   |
|------|----------------|-------------|
| 5.4  | δύο εἰσὶν      | <i>om.</i>  |
| 5.4  | —              | ἀποκριθεῖσα |
| 10.4 | λόγιον         | ἄγιον       |
| 11.6 | καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις | <i>om.</i>  |

On the other hand, the consensus between *O* and the other Greek witnesses permits us to identify the deviations of *A* from its ancestor. For instance, in 21.2 *A* lacks ἡσύχασεν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς, given by *O*, all other Greek witnesses, the Latin translation *A*, and the Syriac translation. In 12.9, ἐκείνη τῶν μόχθων ἢ ἀνάπαυσις is missing in *A*, against all other Greek manuscripts, the Latin translation *A*, and the Syriac translation. In 11.6, ἦν ἡσυχάζων ἐν τῷ ἀναχωρητικῷ κελλίῳ ... προσεδρεύων τῷ Θεῷ, *A* exhibits ἡσύχαζον ἐν τῷ ἀναχωρητικῷ κελλίῳ ... προσεδρεύοντες, against all the other witnesses and the ancient translations, giving the bizarre phrase “both

46. Boucherie considered 12.10 γῆ μὴ ἐπικαλύψης ἐφ' αἵματι σαρκὸς μου a truncated passage. But the sentence is Job 16.18.

Smaragdus and Agapius entered the same cell and prayed and fasted together”, an impossibility when the whole passage is considered. A is not a copy of O since it does not present several errors in O. See, for instance, 3.2 δεξιᾶς εἶναι φύσεως: ἐπιδέξιος οὐσα O; 20.1 τῶν ἀδελφῶν *om.* O, among others.

All other manuscripts represent a different line of transmission, hereafter β. Their lost common ancestor is characterised by a number of variants. Below are a few of them:

|      | α                          | β                                      |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 5.2  | ὁ ἀδελφὸς                  | <i>om.</i>                             |
| 6.1  | μοναχικοῦ                  | μονήρους                               |
| 7.2  | ἀπέστειλén με ... πρὸς σε  | εἶπεν (ἦκαν καὶ εἶπεν C, ἐγκαλεῖ σε B) |
| 7.5  | καὶ ἄγει                   | <i>om.</i>                             |
| 9.2  | ἐσπέρας βαθείας            | ἐσπέρας γενομένης / καταλαβούσης       |
| 15.2 | ὥρμησεν περιπλακῆναι θέλων | οἷος ἦν περιπλακῆναι θέλων             |

See also some specific constructions in β. For instance, 12.1 ὁ δὲ πατήρ ... ἐλθὼν and 16.4 ἀπελθὼν οὖν ὁ Παφνούτιος καὶ ἐπιπεσὼν are rendered as τοῦ δὲ πατρός ... ἐλθόντος and ἀπελθόντος οὖν τοῦ Παφνουτίου καὶ ἐπιπεσόντος in β. It was a β-exemplar in a high stemmatic position that was the model of Translation A.

S<sub>2</sub> (Sinai 497), a late tenth- or early eleventh-century menology for the winter semester, and L (Lavra Δ 50), an eleventh-century menology covering four months (September-December), both copied in Constantinople, are twin copies of the same model (= κ). See, for instance, from the huge amount of evidence, some examples:

|      | α B C δ                                            | κ (= S <sub>2</sub> L)                         |
|------|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 4.5  | ισάγγελοι / ἄγγελοι                                | ἴσοι ἀγγέλων                                   |
| 4.7  | δεῦρο                                              | δέου                                           |
| 4.10 | εὐάρεστος                                          | εὐχαριστῶν                                     |
| 5.6  | ναί, εἴ τις θέλει ἐλθεῖν, δέχεται αὐτὸν<br>ὁ ἄββας | ὅτι ὅστις ἂν ἔλθῃ δέχεται<br>αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγούμενος |
| 7.1  | ἔλεγεν ὁ μοναχὸς ... ἐσκύλης                       | <i>om.</i>                                     |
| 7.2  | λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ μοναχός                               | λέγει ὁ μοναχὸς πρὸς κύριν<br>παφνούτιον       |
| 10.4 | ἀδελφῶν                                            | μοναχῶν                                        |
| 12.4 | κατοχαὶ πλοίων καὶ ζητήσεις                        | <i>om.</i>                                     |
| 12.6 | οἱμοὶ φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν                        | <i>om.</i>                                     |
| 12.7 | τίς τὸν ἐμὸν πλοῦτον ἐσκόρπισεν                    | <i>om.</i>                                     |
| 20.2 | ὑπογραμμοὺς σωτηρίας                               | <i>om.</i>                                     |

In both *S*<sub>2</sub> and *L*, section 5.6 is copied twice; later, one of these was erased. A few details seem to suggest that *L* is not a *descriptus* of *S*<sub>2</sub>. See, for instance, 3.4 ἔφασκεν: ἔφασεν *S*<sub>2</sub>; 7.11 καὶ δὴ is missing in *S*<sub>2</sub>, but not in *L*, 12.8 τόπος τὸ is missing in *S*<sub>2</sub>, but not in *L*. But this evidence is not enough to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that *L* is not a copy of *S*<sub>2</sub>.

All other copies derive from a common ancestor, hereafter γ, as shown by a number of common readings, all too insignificant to be explained by an operation of emendation and too numerous to be a coincidence. Some examples of the variants of γ:

|      | α κ                     | γ               |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1.2  | καὶ πλουσίαν σφόδρα     | om.             |
| 4.9  | εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν         | om.             |
| 5.4  | κύρι ἄββᾶ               | om.             |
| 8.4  | αὐτῷ ἐστι               | τῷ πατρί σου    |
| 8.7  | Εὐφροσύνη               | κόρη            |
| 8.8  | τοῦ μοναχοῦ             | om.             |
| 9.5  | ὕμιν                    | σοι             |
| 9.7  | ἡ εὐλογημένη (ἡ ἁγία Α) | om.             |
| 13.1 | τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ           | om.             |
| 13.7 | ἐκδοῦσα ἑαυτήν          | om.             |
| 13.7 | ὁ Θεὸς παρείδεν         | παρείδεν ὁ Θεός |
| 16.6 | κύριέ μου               | om.             |
| 17.5 | καὶ αὐτὸς               | om.             |
| 18.2 | δραμὼν                  | εἰσδραμὼν       |
| 18.3 | πράγματα                | om.             |
| 19.4 | τὸ τίμιον               | τὸ ἅγιον        |
| 20.2 | πράγματα                | θαύματα         |

No γ-reading proves beyond any reasonable doubt that it is better than α and κ, that is, that γ derives directly from ω'. In the absence of such proof, and considering the common readings of κ and γ, it is more likely that both κ and γ descend from a common ancestor<sup>47</sup>.

The tenth-century *B* (Paris gr. 1506), possibly produced on Mount Athos, offers the closest text to γ. It presents a few omissions (3.3 πολυμαθίας ... σώματος αὐτῆς; 12.5 ὁ νεανίας τὴν ὁρμαστήν; 13.3 καὶ κοπιάσατε καὶ νηστεύσατε μίαν ἑβδομάδα; 16.6-7 καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆς ... ἐκέλευσας), additions (12.8 ἐν βυθῷ κατέχει τὸ φαινὸν πρόσωπον. ποῖος δὲ βασιλεὺς *add. post* πέλαγος), and rephrasing (10.5 ὥσπερ σὺ ἄρκετὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν μαθητὴν ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ, instead of ἵνα υπερβάλλῃ τὸν διδάσκαλον). Instead, *C* (Paris gr. 1538), which incidentally is a non-menological collection of saints' lives

47. See the *stemma codicum* below.

copied in the late tenth or early eleventh, is by far the most heavily reworked textual form of the dossier of the *Vita Euphrosynae*. It presents large additions. The most evident passages are in chapters 15 and 16. The redaction represented by *C* was the model of the author of *BHL* 2723, our Translation B, composed prior to mid-eighth century.

All other copies – *S S<sub>1</sub> V F G O<sub>1</sub> P<sub>4</sub> Sp P M V<sub>3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub> K* – derive from a lost exemplar, hereafter  $\delta$ . They all share the same version of the beginning of chapter 2, stating that it did not take long when Paphnutius asked the abbot for help to fulfil his wish to have a child (against the idea that Paphnutius suffered for many years before he had a child), and that Euphrosyne was six years old when she was baptised (2.4). Some other examples of the characteristic errors and variants of this lost exemplar are:

| $\alpha \kappa B C$ |                                                                                                      | $\delta$                                                   |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.4                 | ἐδέετο τοῦ Θεοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὴν δέησιν αὐτῆς                                                          | <i>om.</i>                                                 |
| 3.2                 | —                                                                                                    | ὥς καὶ εὐχῆς καρπός                                        |
| 7.1                 | —                                                                                                    | καὶ γνωρίσας                                               |
| 7.5                 | —                                                                                                    | μέγας                                                      |
| 8.1                 | —                                                                                                    | ἢ ἀδελφάς                                                  |
| 12.3                | ὁ ὀρμασάμενος αὐτὴν                                                                                  | ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ                                               |
| 12.5                | ὁ νεανίας τὴν ὀρμαστήν                                                                               | ὁ νυμφίος γυναῖκα ἀπέκλειεν                                |
| 12.7                | τίς τὸν ἐμὸν λύχνον ἔσβεσεν                                                                          | <i>om.</i>                                                 |
| 12.7                | τίς τοῦ ἐμοῦ οἴκου τὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἔλαβεν<br>(τίς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ἐμοῦ οἴκου ἐχειρόσατο <i>C</i> ) | <i>tr. ante</i> τίς τὰς ἐμὰς ἐλπίδας                       |
| 13.1                | ἡ θυγάτηρ μου                                                                                        | ἡ δούλη σου ἡ θυγάτηρ μου                                  |
| 13.4                | καὶ νηστεύσαντες οἱ πατέρες τὴν ἐβδομάδα ἠύχοντο<br>περὶ τούτου                                      | καὶ νηστευσάντων αὐτῶν<br>ἐβδομάδα καὶ εὐξαμένων<br>πάντων |
| 15.5                | ἀνεχώρησεν                                                                                           | ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν                                   |
| 16.2                | ἄφες (ἄς $\kappa$ , εἰ κελεύεις <i>C</i> )                                                           | κέλευσον                                                   |
| 16.7                | —                                                                                                    | φύσει οὐκ ἀφῶ σε τὰς τρεῖς<br>ἡμέρας                       |
| 17.1                | ὥς οὖν                                                                                               | ἐνστάσης οὖν τῆς τρίτης<br>ἡμέρας ὥς                       |
| 20.2                | οἰκτιρμοῖς σου                                                                                       | οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ                                           |

Redaction  $\delta$  may be connected to the ancestor of *C* rather than that of *B*. But *C* is a very heavily reworked version, and the evidence is fragile. See, for instance, a few variants exclusively found in *C*  $\delta$  (=  $\gamma'$ ):

| $\alpha \kappa B$ | $\gamma' (= C \delta)$ |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1.4 παρασχεθῆναι  | παρασχεῖν              |
| 1.6 ἀνθρωπον      | <i>om.</i>             |

|      |                               |                                                                                 |
|------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3.4  | τοίνυν (οὖν <i>B</i> )        | <i>om.</i>                                                                      |
| 3.4  | τοῦ Κυρίου                    | τοῦ θεοῦ                                                                        |
| 4.3  | αὐτήν <sup>2</sup>            | <i>om.</i>                                                                      |
| 4.7  | Παφνούτιος                    | κύρις Παφνούτιος                                                                |
| 5.5  | ἔρχεται (ἀπέρχεται <i>B</i> ) | θέλει ἐλθεῖν δ, θέλει ἐκεῖ ἐλθεῖν <i>C</i>                                      |
| 9.4  | γνώσιν                        | σχέσιν                                                                          |
| 12.1 | εὐρών (εὐρόντος κ)            | εὐρηκότος                                                                       |
| 16.7 | —                             | φύσει οὐκ ἀφῶ σε τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας<br>(οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας <i>C</i> ) |
| 19.5 | ἐδόξασαν                      | ἐδόξαζον                                                                        |
| 21.1 | πάντα τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ       | ἅπαντα αὐτοῦ τὰ πράγματα                                                        |

Within this class of manuscripts, two groups can be identified. One is formed by *S* (Sinai 519), *SI* (Sinai 526), and *V* (Vat. gr. 797), all of the tenth century, plus the late eleventh-century *G* ('s-Gravenhage 10 A 5), and the twelfth-century *Sp* (Saint Petersburg Φ. 906, Gr. 213). They are all menologies: *S* and *SI* for the winter semester, *V* and *Sp* for the September-November quarterly, *G* for the month of September. Some characteristic errors of the common ancestor, hereafter *ε*, can be exemplified with the following readings (*G* lacks from 8.10 συναπολεσθῆς, *in apparatu*, to 12.5 τὴν δέσποιναν, and from 16.2 ποθεῖ αὐτόν to the end):

|       | <i>rell.</i>                       | <i>ε</i>                                               |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.4   | ἀναλώσασα                          | ἀναλίσκουσα                                            |
| 1.5   | αὐτοῖς πρεσβεῦσαι                  | αὐτοῦ πληρῶσαι                                         |
| 1.7   | —                                  | καὶ εὐξάμενος                                          |
| 1.7   | προσενέγκας                        | καρποφορήσας                                           |
| 3.4   | —                                  | καὶ ζεῦξαι                                             |
| 4.4   | τῶν ψαλμοφιδίων / τῶν ψαλμῶν       | τῆς ἱερᾶς ψαλμοφιδίας                                  |
| 5.2-3 | ὁ ἀδελφὸς ... παίδων εἰπόντων      | ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ μηνύσας<br>ἔμαθεν   |
| 5.4   | εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ἀδελφοί       | ἀδελφοὶ ἐστὲ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ                            |
| 5.5   | ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι             | θέλει ἐλθεῖν καὶ καθίσει μεθ' ὑμῶν                     |
| 6.1   | —                                  | καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς ἔφη καλὸς ὁ λογισμὸς καὶ ἡ<br>κόρη εἶπεν |
| 6.3   | σώζη                               | σῶσον σεαυτήν                                          |
| 7.10  | τῇ ταπεινῇ μου ψυχῇ                | καὶ σῶσαι τὴν ταπεινὴν μου ψυχὴν                       |
| 12.8  | ποῖος τόπος ... κάλλος             | <i>om.</i>                                             |
| 13.5  | ἀλλ' εὐχαρίστει                    | ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαρίστησον                               |
| 13.5  | —                                  | ἡ φιλανθρωπία αὐτοῦ                                    |
| 18.5  | —                                  | οἱμοὶ φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν                            |
| 21.1  | ἀπετάξατο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ | <i>om.</i>                                             |



|      |                                  |                                                   |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 21.2 | καταλείψας                       | προσκυρώσας ἀπετάξατο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ<br>κοινοβίῳ |
| 21.3 | ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους περιουῖσα ἐτίθει | περιουῖσα ἔτι ἡ μακαρία ἐτίθη ἐπὶ τοῦ<br>ἐδάφους  |
| 21.4 | —                                | μετὰ τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς             |

An *ex-emplar* was the source of the Latin translation *BHL* 2725. In a number of passages, *ε* offers noteworthy additions. For instance, in 8.7, after τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου, the author of the *ε*-redaction added:

λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ γέρων· καὶ τί θέλεις, ποιήσω σοι· τί βραδύνεις πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν; ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἵνα κατανύξῃ σε ὁ Θεὸς σῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ ἀποθρίξαι με καὶ δοῦναι μοι τὸ ἅγιον σχῆμα.

A few lines later, at the end of the chapter, after ἐξῆλθεν ὁ γέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου, he added (8.10):

εἰπὼν· σῶζουσα σῶξε σεαυτήν, γύναι, μὴ συναπολεσθῇς τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ πατρὸς σου.

Also the conclusion of the text is amplified (21.5):

εὐζώμεθα οὖν ἅπαντες οἱ τε ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ οἱ ἀκροώμενοι, ἵνα ὁ φιλόανθρωπος θεὸς δώῃ ἡμῖν σύνεσιν καὶ κατάνυξιν ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς πολιτεῦεσθαι καὶ ἀρέσκειν τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἡμῶν Θεῷ. Πρεσβείαις τῆς παναγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ αἰεὶ παρθένου Μαρίας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης καὶ ἁγίας Εὐφροσύνης καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

*V* appears to be in a higher stemmatic position than the other members of this group. For instance, the beginning of chapter 20 (εἰς οὖν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ... τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου) presents a peculiar version in *S I F* (*G* is missing a number of leaves and this passage is lost): θαύματα καὶ διδόντα ὑπογραμμὸν σωτηρίας τοῖς βουλομένοις προστρέχειν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ. *V* has the original sentence. *S I F G* seem to descend from a common model. See, for instance, 6.3 ἐξελθε: *V*, εἴσελθε *S I F G*; 9.1 δι' ἐρευνῆς: διερευνήσας *V*, ἐρευνήσας *S I F* (*def. G*); 17.2 ὀκονόμησεν *tr. post* ἠθέλησεν *S I F* (*def. G*); πάντα *add. post* κατ' ἐμὲ *S I F* (*def. G*).

The twelfth-century *Sp* presents a significantly reworked text. The author modified a huge number of sentences, mostly adding small details. For instance, at the end of chapter 16, after λέγει ὁ Παφνούτιος· ἐκέλευσας, the exemplars descending from *δ* have a unique addition: φύσει οὐκ ἀφῶ σε τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας. In *Sp*, this addition is amplified: φύσει, πάτερ τίμιε, οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι σου τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκέλευσας οὕτως καὶ ποιῶ. Many of *Sp*'s additions seem to be just stylistic improvements. For instance, in 2.3 the text, including in the *ε*-witnesses, reads τὴν τοῦ ἁββᾶ πολιτείαν: the text in *Sp* has a more elaborate τὴν τοῦ τιμίου ἁγίου ἐκείνου ἁββᾶ θεάρεστον πολιτείαν; in 3.1, the

text states that Euphrosyne was taught to read and write by her father καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σοφίᾳ; in *Sp* the text adds καὶ συνέσει τοῦ θεοῦ. In 2.1 the author of the textual version in *Sp* added a detail after χρόνον: πάλιν ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ μονῇ. Two more examples:

|       | <i>rell.</i>                     | <i>S SI VF G</i>                                            | <i>Sp</i>                                                                                          |
|-------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5.2-3 | ὁ ἀδελφὸς ...<br>παίδων εἰπόντων | ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς τὸν<br>οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ<br>μηνύσας ἔμαθεν     | ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἀδελφὸς εἰς τὸν οἶκον<br>τοῦ κυροῦ παφνουτίου καὶ μηνύσας<br>ἔμαθεν παρὰ τῶν παίδων     |
| 6.1   | —                                | καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς ἔφη·<br>καλὸς ὁ λογισμὸς·<br>καὶ ἡ κόρη εἶπεν | ἔφη αὐτῇ ὁ μοναχὸς· καλὸς ὁ<br>λογισμὸς σου ἐστὶν καὶ παράξαι<br>ὅπερ ἐνθυμῆσαι. λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ κόρη |

*Sp* presents many better readings than those in *S SI VF G*. In several cases, we may assume that these copies descend from a common, defective, ancestor. For instance, in 12.8, *S SI VF G* lack ποῖος τόπος τὸ ἡλιόμορφον ἐκεῖνο ἔκρυσεν κάλλος, while *Sp* has it. In 8.3, in the list of the possible beneficiaries of Paphnutius' fortune, the other copies have an altered order and lack ξένοι and λελωθημένοι; *Sp* has the correct list. But on many occasions *Sp*'s good readings are above δ, which requires a different explanation. For instance, in 3.3 δ lacks διέλαμπεν, but the word is found in *Sp* (and *M*). In 3.1 δ lacks ἀνθρώπινον, but not *Sp* (and *M*). In 12.7, all witnesses of δ lack τίς τὸν ἐμὸν λύχνον ἔσβεσεν, while *Sp* offers the correct version. This implies that the text in *Sp*, being an ε-copy, was contaminated at some point by a second model in a higher stemmatic position.

In a number of cases, *Sp* combines both readings, that in ε and that in the second model. In 19.4, ε reads τὸ ἅγιον αὐτῆς λείψανον with *C*, while α and κ offer τὸ τίμιον αὐτῆς λείψανον (in *B* and ζ the sentence is missing). *Sp* combines both attributes: τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον αὐτῆς λείψανον. In 1.7, the text reads προσενέγκας, while ε has καρποφορήσας. In *Sp* we have προσενέγκας χάριν καρποφορίας. In 16.1 (δι' ἧς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν), β's witnesses have δι' ἧς καὶ ἀπέθανεν, while *S SI VF G* offer τὴν ἐπιθάνατον. In *Sp*, we read τὴν ἐπιθάνατον δι' ἧς καὶ ἀπέθανεν. In 18.4 ἐβόα λέγων, we have an example of contamination and amplification. The other copies of ε simply have ἔλεγεν; *Sp* has ἐβόα ὀδυρόμενος καὶ θρηγῶν λέγων ταῦτα. A final example among many others: in 12.8 one of Paphnutius' lamentations reads ποῖον πέλαιος αἰχμάλωτον ἔχει τὸν βασιλικὸν χαρακτήρα; the δ-class has: ποῖος βάρβαρος αἰχμάλωτον ἔχει τὸν βασιλικὸν χαρακτήρα; Now, *Sp* combined the δ-reading with another in a higher stemmatic position:

ποῖον πέλαιος ἐν βυθῷ κατέχει τὸ φαῖνον καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρον πρόσωπον, ποῖος βάρβαρος βασιλεὺς αἰχμάλωτον ἔχει τὸν τίμιον καὶ βασιλικὸν χαρακτήρα;

Most likely, this second model belonged to an early stage of *B*'s line of transmission. The example above already demonstrates this point: ἐν βυθῷ κατέχει τὸ φαῖνόν πρόσωπον is a variant uniquely found in *B*. Also in 13.4 καὶ νηστεύσαντες οἱ πατέρες τὴν ἑβδομάδα ἠύχοντο περὶ τούτου, *Sp* shares with *B* καὶ νηστεύσαντες τὴν ἑβδομάδα καὶ εὐξάμενοι πάντες. A few more examples from over thirty variants uniquely found in *B* and *Sp*:

|      | <i>rell.</i>             | <i>B Sp</i>                                                                                                 |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5.6  | ἐλθεῖν                   | σωθῆναι                                                                                                     |
| 7.11 | λόγον                    | τὸ συμφέρον (τὰ συμφέροντά μοι <i>Sp</i> ) ἐξ αὐτῆς οὖν πέμψασα μετεστευλάμην σε                            |
| 8.2  | τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πειρατήρια | τὴν τοῦ σώματος πύρωσιν <i>B</i> , τὴν τοῦ σώματός σου πύρωσιν καὶ πάντα τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πειρατήρια <i>Sp</i> |
| 9.7  | τοῦ παλατίου             | τοῦ παλατίου Θεοδοσίου                                                                                      |
| 10.3 | λέγει                    | ἀποκριθεῖσα λέγει                                                                                           |
| 12.4 | ἔρημοι                   | ἔρημοι τόποι                                                                                                |
| 13.2 | ἐλυπήθη                  | πάνυ ἐλυπήθη <i>B</i> , ἐλυπήθη πάνυ <i>Sp</i>                                                              |
| 17.3 | ἀλλὰ                     | ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σε                                                                                            |
| 20.2 | —                        | σημεῖον                                                                                                     |

In any case, *Sp* seems to descend from an ancestor in a higher stemmatic position in regard to *V S I F G* (= *ε'*). In several cases, the better readings of *Sp* are unlikely be explained with, or at least we lack evidence of, contamination with a model like *B*. See, for instance, 1.3 ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς: *Sp*, ὁ ἀνὴρ *ε'*, ὁ παφνούτιος *B*; 1.7 ἀξιοῦται: *Sp*, ἡξιοῦτο *ε'*, λέξας *B*; 4.4 ὥρας: *Sp*, ἡμέρας *ε'*, *om. B*; 8.1 οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται: οὐκ ἀποτάσσει *Sp*, οὐκ ἀφήσει *B ε'*.

The most interesting aspect of the *Sp* text is that it appears to be somehow related to the text preserved in an eleventh-century copy, of which only one folio survives (*P*<sub>4</sub>), incorporated into Paris, Coisl. 237, a codex once owned by the Monastery of Great Meteoron. The fragment contains little more than two chapters (12.4–14.5). In 12.7 *Sp* and *P*<sub>4</sub> preserve τὸν ἐμὸν λύχον ἔσβεσεν, while *δ* lacks the words. In 12.8 and 13.4, quoted above, the text in *P*<sub>4</sub> coincides with that in *Sp* (and *B*). In 12.11, we have the same combination found in *Sp*: ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. This shows that already in the eleventh century, there existed a version with these readings found in *Sp*. In one noteworthy case, *P*<sub>4</sub> clearly replicates the text of *α*: in 13.1 it has ἀλλ' εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ instead of *β*'s περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ τοῦ εὖξασθαι τῷ θεῷ (τοῦ εὖξασθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ in *Sp*). In any case, fragment *P*<sub>4</sub> is too short to reach sound conclusions as to its stemmatic position and to its relation with *Sp*.

Finally, fragment *O*<sub>1</sub> (Ohrid 44), an annual menology written in the first half of the tenth century, is perhaps connected to Stoudios. It belongs to the *δ*-class: see, for instance, 1.2 ἦν δέ: καὶ ἦν *B δ O*<sub>1</sub>; 1.3 ᾧ: ᾧ τινι *δ O*<sub>1</sub>; ἀποβίωσιν

καλῶς *C* δ *O*<sub>1</sub>; 1.4 παρασχεῖν *C* δ *O*<sub>1</sub>. Within the δ-class, it seems most likely related to ε: see 1.3 αὐτῆς *om.* ε (*non Sp*) *O*<sub>1</sub>; αὐτῶν ἀποβίωσιν ε *O*<sub>1</sub>; 1.3 τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν *tr. post* διοικοῦνται ε *O*<sub>1</sub>; 1.4 ἀναλίσκουσα ε *O*<sub>1</sub>. Unfortunately, the fragment is too short to provide further information. It comprises just a few lines of chapter 1 (1.1-4).

The other group of copies descending from δ is formed by *M* (s. X<sup>2</sup>), *P* (s. XI), *V*<sub>1</sub> (s. X *ex.*-XI *in.*), *V*<sub>2</sub> (s. XI *in.*), *M*<sub>1</sub> (s. X *ex.*), and *V*<sub>3</sub> (s. XI-XII), *M*<sub>2</sub> (s. XII ¼), and *K* (s. XII). I designate this group ζ. The texts are all menologies, with two exceptions: *P* and *K* are non-menological collections. They were all produced in southern Italy, except *K*, which is an Athonite copy. Against ε, ζ preserves the text of 12.8, ποῖος τόπος τὸ ἡλιόμορφον ἐκεῖνο ἔκρυψε κάλλος. A few more examples of variants of the lost common ancestor:

|      | α κ Β C ε                                                     | ζ                    |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1.4  | πάνν οὖν πολλὰ (πολλὰ οὖν <i>C</i> , πολλὰ τε ε)              | πάμπολλα             |
| 3.3  | ἡ διαπλάσις                                                   | τῆς διαπλάσεως       |
| 4.4  | ἐκάστης                                                       | ἐφ' ἐκάστης          |
| 5.5  | ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι (θέλει ἐλθεῖν καὶ καθίσαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ε) | ἔλθῃ θέλων καθίσαι   |
| 5.8  | ἔκαστος                                                       | ἔκαστος καὶ βαστάζει |
| 13.4 | εὐχάς                                                         | <i>om.</i>           |
| 13.6 | ὁ θεὸς                                                        | <i>om.</i>           |
| 17.3 | τοῦτο ποιήσον (σύστεilon αὐτό ε)                              | <i>om.</i>           |
| 17.4 | τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (τὸ μοναστήριον ε)                           | τὸ κοινόβιον         |
| 20.2 | τὸ γεγονός ἐλεγον                                             | <i>om.</i>           |

*M P V*<sub>2</sub> *V*<sub>3</sub> descend from a common model (=ζ'). See, for instance, 6.1 πράγματα *tr. post* μάταια; 7.4 ἐκεῖ: ἐκεῖσε; 12.3 τις αὐτὴν (αὐτῇ *V*<sub>3</sub>) *tr.*; 13.1 τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἁββᾶ: τῷ ἁββᾶ. The ancestor of this group of copies must have entered southern Italy prior to the mid-tenth century.

*M* shows traces of the interference of a second model. Most instances concern small omissions from its source. For instance, in 1.2 all representatives of γ lack the sentence καὶ πλουσίαν σφόδρα, except *M*, which has it. This exemplar must have been in a higher stemmatic position than δ. In 1.4 all copies of δ lack one sentence (ἐδέετο τοῦ Θεοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὴν δέησιν αὐτῆς). This is not the case of *M*. A few more examples:

|     | α κ Β C M                                         | δ                          |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1.5 | τὰ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν                                 | τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν              |
| 1.7 | οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα ( <i>om.</i> κ)                 | ὀλίγα χρήματα              |
| 3.2 | φύσεως                                            | φύσεως ὡς καὶ εὐχῆς καρπός |
| 3.3 | πλατυτάτη ἐγένετο / πλατυτέρας γενομένης <i>A</i> | πλατυτέρας διαδοθείσης     |
| 3.3 | ὑπῆρχεν καὶ ἡ                                     | <i>om.</i>                 |
| 4.1 | λοιπὸν                                            | <i>om.</i>                 |

*P* offers a few readings uniquely found in *M*. For instance: 10.5 ὑπερβαίνει; 14.1 διαρρεῖ τοῦ δέ τινος χρόνου; 18.5 νῦν *add. post* κἀγὼ. But the evidence is fragile. *V*<sub>3</sub> shares some variants with *P* and *M*: for instance, 9.7 ἐπειδὴ *add. ante* ἡ πόλις; 9.7 τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς *tr. post* παρέχειν; 17.2 Εὐφροσύνης *om.* and 3 Εὐφροσύνη *add. post* εἰμι. Again the evidence is fragile.

A different model is represented by *M*<sub>1</sub>, *V*<sub>1</sub> and *K* (= ζ''). *M*<sub>1</sub> and *V*<sub>1</sub> offer the merging of two lines of transmission. Up to 13.7, they belong to the line of transmission of *K*, as shown by more than fifty variants. For instance, in 12.9, ἐκείνη τοῦ γήρωσ ἡ βακτηρία is missing in ζ', but the passage is present in *K M*<sub>1</sub> *V*<sub>1</sub>; in 13.1, τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ is present in *K M*<sub>1</sub> *V*<sub>1</sub> against the simplified τῷ ἀββᾶ in ζ'; in 11.6 οἰκοδομεῖν, *K M*<sub>1</sub> *V*<sub>1</sub> have the unique reading οἰκοδομηθῆναι, against οἰκοδομεῖσθαι in δ. See also 13.1, λύπην for ὀδύνην (with *B*); 10.5 οὗτος *om.*; 12.4 πολλή (δ) *om.*

ζ'' must have been contaminated with readings placed above δ. For instance, in 12.5 ε' ζ' present ἀπετύγχανον while *K M*<sub>1</sub> *V*<sub>1</sub> offer the correct ἀπέπιπτον. In 12.8 ε' ζ' offer ποῖος βάρβαρος instead of the correct ποῖον πέλαγος, found in *K M*<sub>1</sub> *V*<sub>1</sub>. In 13.4, δ has καὶ νηστευσάντων αὐτῶν ἑβδομάδα καὶ εὐξαμένων πάντων instead of καὶ νηστεύσαντες οἱ πατέρες τὴν ἑβδομάδα ἡῶντο περὶ τούτου, found in α, κ and *B*. *K M*<sub>1</sub> *V*<sub>1</sub> present καὶ νηστεύσαντες τὴν ἑβδομάδα πάντες, uniquely found in these three copies. In 13.7 σου *post* μόχθους is missing in δ, but not in *K V*<sub>1</sub> *M*<sub>1</sub>.

From 13.7, *M*<sub>1</sub> and *V*<sub>1</sub> descend from an ancestor common to *V*<sub>2</sub>, hereafter θ. This is shown by a large number of exclusive variants and errors. See a few examples:

|      | α κ Β C ε Ρ Μ V <sub>3</sub> K                                | θ                                                                                    |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 13.7 | τοὺς ἀγίους                                                   | τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον                                                          |
| 14.1 | κοινόβιον                                                     | μοναστήριον ἐκεῖνο                                                                   |
| 14.4 | καὶ ἀπάγαγε                                                   | <i>om.</i>                                                                           |
| 14.7 | ἐγκρατείας                                                    | ἄγαν ἐγκρατείας                                                                      |
| 15.2 | ἡσχύνετο δέ πως ... τὰ βουλευματα                             | <i>om.</i>                                                                           |
| 16.2 | ἴδω                                                           | συντυχεῖν μοι                                                                        |
| 17.1 | ὅτι μέλλει λοιπὸν                                             | λοιπὸν ὅτι                                                                           |
| 17.2 | ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον                                               | <i>om.</i>                                                                           |
| 19.5 | θάμβει συσχεθέντες ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν<br>τὸν ποιοῦντα παράδοξα | ἐκστάσεως πληθέντες δόξαν ἔδωκαν<br>τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ποιοῦντι μεγάλα καὶ<br>παράδοξα σημεῖα |
| 21.1 | καὶ αὐτὸς                                                     | <i>om.</i>                                                                           |
| 21.1 | πάντα τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ                                       | κατανυγῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν                                                    |

*M*, *P* and *V*<sub>3</sub> present a peculiar final section with two slightly different versions:

δόσωμεν οὖν πάντες (*om.* *V*<sub>3</sub>) δόξαν τῷ ἀγαθῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν,  
ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα (κράτος *add. hic* *P*) εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν *P M*

αὐτῷ γὰρ μόνῳ πρέπει δόξα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν V<sub>3</sub>

Θ offers a simpler version: εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν, similar to that in K: εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

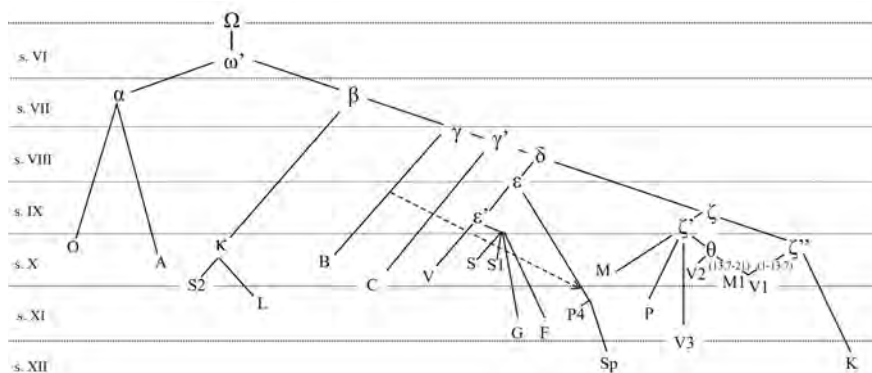
M<sub>I</sub> and V<sub>I</sub> have an almost identical text. A few examples of errors found exclusively in M<sub>I</sub> and V<sub>I</sub>:

|        | <i>rell.</i>                              | M <sub>I</sub> V <sub>I</sub> |
|--------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 7.11   | δὴ πρωΐας γενομένης                       | <i>om.</i>                    |
| 11.4-5 | κάκει ψάλλειν ... τὸν Σμάραγδον           | <i>om.</i>                    |
| 13.1   | κόποι                                     | καρποὶ                        |
| 13.8   | ἀγαθῆς πολιτείας ἀξιοθῆναι αὐτήν          | <i>om.</i>                    |
| 14.1-2 | καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεφεν ... εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον | <i>om.</i>                    |
| 15.4   | ὁ Θεὸς                                    | κύριος πάτερ                  |

V<sub>I</sub> does not seem to be a copy of M<sub>I</sub>. See 4.1 ἡσπάζετο: εἰσπάσατο V<sub>I</sub>, εἰς πάντας M<sub>I</sub>; 13.3 πάντες *add. post* ἐβδομάδα M<sub>I</sub> (not V<sub>I</sub>); 19.3 ἡμῖν: ὑμῖν M<sub>I</sub> (ἡμῖν in V<sub>I</sub>). No evidence proves that M<sub>I</sub> is a copy of V<sub>I</sub>, in case M<sub>I</sub> is not slightly earlier than V<sub>I</sub>.

Finally, the twelfth-century M<sub>2</sub>. It was also produced in southern Italy, perhaps Calabria. Only a portion of the first four chapters, from 1.7 ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα to 4.6 καὶ ἤρξατο ἡ καρ<δία>, survives. It clearly belongs to the δ-class (see, for instance, 3.2 ὥς καὶ εὐχῆς καρπός), perhaps to family ζ (see 3.4 προφθάσαι). But the evidence is not enough to place it in the stemma confidently.

The relationships between the copies of the *Vita Euphrosynae* prior to the late twelfth century can roughly be represented as follows:



## THE SYRIAC TRANSLATION IN SINAI, ST CATHERINE'S MONASTERY

As said above, Sinai, St Catherine Monastery, Syr. 30 contains a collection of lives of female saints translated from Greek into Syriac, copied by John the Stylite of Beth-Mari-Ḳaddisha, in Qanūn, near Antioch, in AD 778<sup>48</sup>. According to the translation by Anne Smith Lewis, its Greek model belonged to the β-class of manuscripts. In the tables on p. 27, it usually coincides with the β-readings. A few details suggest that, within the β-class, the model must have been a δ-exemplar: 1.4 ἐδέετο τοῦ Θεοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὴν δέησιν αὐτῆς *om.* δ *Syr.*; 2.4 ἐξαετοῦς δ *Syr.*; 3.2 ὡς καὶ εὐχῆς καρπός δ *Syr.*; 3.4 τοῦ θεοῦ *C* δ *Syr.*; 4.10 τὰ ἐκάστου *B* δ *Syr.*, τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου *C*; 5.5 θέλει ἐλθεῖν *C* δ *Syr.*; 8.1 ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφὰς δ *Syr.*; 8.4 τῷ πατρὶ σου *γ Syr.*; 8.7 κόρη *γ Syr.*; 16.7 φύσει οὐκ ἀφῶ σε τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας δ *Syr.*, λέγει αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας *C*; 17.1 ἐνστάσης οὖν τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας δ *Syr.*; 19.4 αἱ λαῦραι πᾶσαι δ *Syr.* (ἡ λαῦρα πᾶσα *C*). In 7.2 the Syriac text presents the sentence equivalent to τί ἐσκόλυθῃ ἡ θεοφιλείᾳ σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς κύρι ἀδελφέ found in *C* (a repetition of 9.6). No relevant characteristics of α or κ are present in the Syriac text.

## EDITIONS

The first edition of the Greek text was printed in 1883, in the second volume of *Analecta Bollandiana*, pp. 195-205. It is based on the transcription of Paris, BnF, grec. 1454 made by Anatole Boucherie, who died shortly before its publication<sup>49</sup>. The manuscript belongs to the α class in our edition, conveying a fairly good text. This is the basis of all the studies and translations made so far, such as the Italian translation by Laura Franco<sup>50</sup>. Recently, a critical edition with a Spanish translation was published by Ángel Narro and Isabel Jesús Gallarte<sup>51</sup>.

48. See note 9. I am most grateful to Annunziata Di Rienzo for her help with the Syriac text.

49. See G. Paris, *La Vie de sainte Euphrosyne, texte romano-latin du VIIIe-IXe siècle. Par A. Boucherie*, 1872, «Romania» 1.2 (1872), p. 238.

50. L. Franco, *Cinque Sante Bizantine. Storie di cortigiane, travestite, eremite, imperatrici*, Milan 2017 (Testi e documenti 254), pp. 55-73.

51. A. Narro and I. Muñoz Gallarte, *La Vida de santa Eufrosine (BHG 625-625b). Introducción, edición crítica y traducción*, in «Collectanea Christiana Orientalia», 20 (2023), pp. 143-89, and *Una versión inédita de la Vida de Eufrosine (BHG 625b) en el ms. Paris. gr. 1538*, in «Collectanea Christiana Orientalia» 20 (2023), pp. 251-71 (the authors published chapters 14-16 from our *C*). I was also unable to consider I. Muñoz Gallarte, *Hacia una nueva edición, traducción y comentario de «Vita Euphrosynae»*, in L. Bonhome Pulido and M. Movellán (eds.), *Del relato martirial al género hagiográfico en la tardoantigüedad. Personajes y espacios liminales*, Madrid and Porto 2022, pp. 133-40.

## EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The present edition is based on all the manuscripts discussed above. The consensus of  $\alpha$ , in particular *O*, and the earliest manuscripts of  $\beta$  usually produces a reliable text. When there is no way of selecting a reading from the manuscript transmission and the readings are equally acceptable, I have preferred to give the  $\alpha$ -reading, for it usually seems to be less reworked than the witnesses of  $\beta$ . In the case of *C*, a representative of a line of transmission to which belonged the model of Translation B, I tried to present the large additional portions in an edited and more easily readable form in the *apparatus criticus* in order to make easy the match between the Greek text and the Latin equivalent. I preferred this solution to the alternative option, that is, to give this version of the text separately.

The twelfth-century *Sp*, *K*, *M*, and *M2* are basically reworked versions, combining readings from different sources in addition to variants due to the author's own initiative and the errors due to the copyists' distraction. I decided to keep them in the *apparatus criticus* because, although they do not contribute to the reconstruction of the text, they witness peculiar textual versions in circulation within the chronological scope of our study. Additionally, this will help place manuscripts not considered in the present study. I have also included *L* in the *apparatus criticus*. Although it may derive from *S2*, it has idiosyncratic details which may be of interest to the reader. As for *M1* and *V1*, see above.

Naturally, spellings vary immensely across this body of manuscripts, copied in different times, regions, and cultural and school contexts, often with implications for morpho-syntactical interpretation. In the text, I use the traditional orthography and accentuation system (as found, by the way, in Boucherie's edition). This is a pragmatic, and the best, solution to provide a readable text. In the *apparatus criticus* I eliminated all purely orthographical variants. They would have overburdened an already heavily charged *apparatus*, and they do not contribute to the reconstruction of the text or to its textual history. The exception is when I need to quote a single manuscript because it contains a meaningful variant: in this case, I give the form found therein, without correcting errors in spelling or accentuation. As for the movable  $\nu$ , I follow the earliest witness, *O*.

The division into chapters follows Boucherie's edition of the Greek text (*Analecta Bollandiana*, 2 (1883), pp. 195-205), and his edition of the Latin text, Translation A, Redaction 1 (*Revue des langues romanes*, 2 (1871)<sup>52</sup>. Each

52. In the edition of the Greek text, the sentence γενομένης δὲ εὐχῆς ἐκαθέσθισαν is the first of chapter 15, not the last of chapter 14, as we find in the edition of the Latin text. I followed here this last solution.



chapter was then divided into smaller numbered units, to facilitate the identification and referencing of particular words and sentences. The same division into units will be applied to the Latin versions. Sometimes, this causes an unexpected division of the Greek text, but it seemed preferable to achieve an agreement between texts, and thus make it easy to compare them.

In the *apparatus criticus*, the order of the sigla is, first, the  $\alpha$  copies ( $O A$ ), then the  $\beta$  copies; within  $\beta$ , first  $\kappa$  (=  $S_2 L$ )  $B C$ , then  $\varepsilon$  ( $S S_1 V F G P_4 Sp O_1$ ) and  $\delta$  ( $M P V_2 V_3 M_2 K M_1 V_1$ ). When the variants between brackets are on the left-hand side of the Greek siglum, they concern the word or words immediately preceding the bracket. When the variants between brackets are given on the right-hand side of the Greek siglum, they correspond to the whole unit.

A last word about the *apparatus biblicus*. The author of this *Vita* used a Greek version of the Book of Tobit that contained three sentences not found in the available evidence and editions of the Greek Bible, but that were present in Jerome's source<sup>53</sup>. In this case, I indicate *cf. Vulg. Tb* in the *apparatus*.

53. See the latest editions of S. Weeks, S. Gathercole, and L. Stuckenbruck (ed.), *The Book of Tobit. Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions with Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac*, Berlin and New York 2004 (Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 3), p. 250; R. J. Littman, *Tobit. The Book of «Tobit» in Codex Sinaiticus*, Leiden and Boston 2008 (Septuagint Commentary Series), p. 28.

III.  
TRANSLATION A OF THE «LIFE OF EUPHROSYNE»,  
REDACTION I («BHL» 2722)

As early as the mid-eighth century, a particular redaction of a translation of the *Vita Euphrosynae*, modelled on an exemplar of the  $\beta$ -line of transmission of the Greek text, was circulating in Francia. It never achieved a significant manuscript transmission, unlike the version *BHL* 2723, our Translation B. The earliest extant witness is an early ninth-century manuscript produced for a female aristocratic audience, possibly linked to Troyes. In the following pages I shall first refer very briefly to the manuscripts used in the present study, before discussing the relations between them and the relation of this translation to its Greek model.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

1. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque universitaire historique de médecine, MS H 55 (= *M*)

s. VIII *ex.*-IX *in.* (c. a. 800), Lotharingia/northern Burgundy (Troyes?); 222 fols., 37 × 25 cm; 29-37 long lines per page. Owners: Saint-Bénigne, Dijon; Bouhier library (1666/1671; 1721; fol. 1r «B. 8»); Abbey of Clairvaux (1781); Troyes, Abbey of Saint-Loup (1795); Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine (1804) <sup>1</sup>.

1. B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, II. *Laon-Paderborn*, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von B. Ebersperger, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 198, no. 2822 («Lothringen oder Nordburgund wahrscheinlich unter Mitwirkung eines Metzger Schreibers, IX. Jh., Anfang»); already in Id., *Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen*, in B. Bischoff (ed.), *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 2, *Das geistige Leben*, Düsseldorf 1965, pp. 233-54, at p. 235 n. 12; M. Heinzelmann, *Ein karolingisches Legendar vom Beginn des 9. Jahrhunderts: Montpellier, Bibl. Interuniversitaire Faculté Médecine H. 55*, in C. Alraun, A. Holndonner, H. C. Lehner, C. Scherer, T. Schlawitz, and V. Unger (eds.), *Zwischen Rom und Santiago. Festschrift für Klaus Herbers zum 65. Geburtstag*, Bochum 2016, pp. 211-25; H. Moretus, *Catalogus codicum bibliographicorum latinorum bibliothecae scholae medicae in Universitate Montepessulanensi*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 34-

This is the earliest, and the best, witness of this version of the *Vita Euphrosynae*. Therefore, it deserves particular attention.

As pointed out by Martin Heinzelmann, *M* is an outstanding representative of the hagiographical production and transmission of hagiographical texts at the end of the Merovingian period. It presents many ancient redactions, and is the earliest extant witness for many of them<sup>2</sup>. The evidence suggests that the codex was designed for a female community headed by a high-ranking aristocrat. Bernhard Bischoff believed that the manuscript was produced in Lotharingia or northern Burgundy, and that some of the scribes exhibit marks of the early Metz style, the so-called «Angilram style». In contrast, considering the number of saints from Troyes, including some rare texts, Heinzelmann preferred placing its origins in a female community in the region of Troyes<sup>3</sup>. The history of the manuscript before its arrival in the Bouhier collection in Dijon is unclear<sup>4</sup>. Guglielmo Libri stated that the codex came from Saint-Étienne in Autun, but provided no source supporting this assertion<sup>5</sup>. Raymond Étaix considered that it came from Saint-Bénigne, Dijon<sup>6</sup>, and in-

35 (1915-1916), pp. 228-300, at pp. 251-4; E. de Strycker and J. Gribomont, *Une ancienne version latine du Protévangile de Jacques avec des extraits de la Vulgate de Matthieu 1-2 et Luc 1-2*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 83 (1965), pp. 365-410, at pp. 368-70; G. Cames, *Un trésor manuscrit carolingien à la bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, «Études Héraultaises», 35 (2004-2005), pp. 15-36, at p. 17; C. Meyer, *Collections d'Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, de Nouvelle Aquitaine, d'Occitanie et de Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur*, Turnhout 2019 (Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Age conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France 6), p. 269. The gatherings are usually ruled in thirty-three long lines. The exceptions are the seventh quaternion ruled in thirty-six lines (fols. 56-63), the ninth and the tenth in thirty-seven lines (fols. 70-85), and the eleventh quire in twenty-nine lines (fols. 86-93).

2. M. Heinzelmann, *L'hagiographie mérovingienne. Panorama des documents potentiels*, in M. Gouillet, M. Heinzelmann, and C. Veyard-Cosme, *L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures*, Ostfildern 2010 (Beihefte der Francia 71), pp. 27-82, at p. 53.

3. Heinzelmann, *Ein karolingisches Legendar* cit., p. 219, mentions as examples Puellermontier and Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains. See I. Crété-Protin, *Église et vie chrétienne dans le diocèse de Troyes du IV<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2002, pp. 212-4 (Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains); pp. 241-50 (Puellermontier).

4. *M* is recorded in the second catalogue of Jean III Bouhier (1607-1671), and in the third catalogue of 1721 of Jean IV (1673-1746). See Raymond Étaix, *Appendice*, in A. Ronsin, *La bibliothèque Bouhier. Histoire d'une collection formée du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par une famille de magistrats bourguignons*, Dijon 1971, pp. 219-44, at p. 222. On the library, see also L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, t. 2, Paris 1874, pp. 266-79; on the history of the library after the death of Marc-Antoine de Bourbonne in 1781, see Ronsin, *La bibliothèque Bouhier* cit., pp. 133-52.

5. G. Libri, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, t. 1, Paris 1849, pp. 307-8. This information is also given on the inner surface of the binding.

6. Étaix in Ronsin, *La bibliothèque Bouhier* cit. p. 238. Some have suggested that the manuscript was in Worms in the thirteenth century: for instance, E. de Strycker, *Une ancienne*

deed, *M* was the «codex s. Benigni Divionensis pervetustus» used by Pierre-François Chifflet (1592-1682) to copy the *Passio* of Benignus of Dijon<sup>7</sup>.

Three sections can be identified. The first, corresponding to fols. 2r-142v, contains a *Passionarium Apostolorum* (fols. 2r-36v), followed by a collection of *Vitae* of *confessores*, all of them bishops related to Francia (fols. 36v-51r)<sup>8</sup>. Then, headed by the *passiones* of Pope Clement I and Pope Silvester I, we have an assemblage of texts on female saints presented out of calendrical order (fols. 71v-142v): Agatha, Lucia, Euphemia of Chalcedon, Chrysanthus and Daria, and Gertrude, abbess of Nivelles<sup>9</sup>; the *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae genetricis dei*, consisting of the first part the *Protevangelium* of James combined with the *Evangelium* of Pseudo-Matthew and other sources<sup>10</sup>, followed by Ps.-Melito of Sardis' *Transitus Mariae*<sup>11</sup>. Then we have more texts on female saints (fols. 101r-42v): Julia of Troyes<sup>12</sup>, Melanias of Troyes (a text in which the central figure is an un-

*version latine du Protévangile de Jacques* cit., p. 369; J.-D. Kaestli, *Le «Protévangile de Jacques» en latin. État de la question et perspectives nouvelles*, «Revue d'histoire des textes», 26 (1996), pp. 41-102, at p. 44. The reason for this proposal is the presence of a letter on fol. 143r, the first recto of a quire left blank, recording a conflict between a Prior and a Magister of Worms, mediated by Hugues, abbot of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon. As Martin Heinzelmänn pointed out (*Ein karolingisches Legendar* cit., p. 211 n. 2), this piece of information more likely connects the manuscript to Dijon.

7. M.-L. Auger, *La bibliothèque de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon au XVIIe siècle: le témoignage de Dom Hugues Lanthénas*, «Scriptorium», 39 (1985), pp. 234-64, at pp. 253 and 256. The apograph of Chifflet is Brussels, KBR 8929 (3493), fol. 171r-v; see AA. SS., Nov., t. I (1887), p. 155 (G. van Hoof).

8. These are: Quentin of Vermandois, both the *Passio* and the *Inventio* (BHL 6999-7000), Vedast of Arras (BHL 8502), Dionysius, bishop of Paris (the so-called «ancient *passio*», BHL 2171), Remigius of Reims (BHL 7150), Paternus of Avranches (BHL 6477). The *Passio Dionysii* was published by M. Lapidge, *The «Ancient passio» of St Dionysius* (BHL 2171), «Analecta Bollandiana», 132 (2014), pp. 241-85; repr. in M. Lapidge, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis: The «Passio S. Dionysii» in Prose and Verse*, Leiden and Boston 2017 (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 51), pp. 611-58 (Appendix I).

9. BHL 133/136g, 4992, 2708, 1787, 3490+3495, respectively.

10. BHL 5333p. See J. Gijssels, *Libri de Nativitate Mariae. Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium. Textus et Commentarius*, Turnhout 1977 (CCSA 9), pp. 16 and 213; Kaestli, *Le «Protévangile de Jacques» en latin* cit., pp. 68-72; R. Beyers, *The Transmission of Marian Apocrypha in the Latin Middle Ages*, «Apocrypha», 23 (2012), pp. 117-40, at pp. 126-34. The text in *M* is edited in J. M. Canal-Sánchez, *Antiguas versiones latinas del protoevangelio de Santiago*, «Ephemerides Mariologicae», 18 (1968), pp. 431-73, at pp. 434-41 (see also the review of J. Gijssels in «Analecta Bollandiana», 87 (1969), pp. 503-5). The second part is found on fols. 179r-82v.

11. BHL 5351-2. S. Mimouni, *Les traditions anciennes sur la Dormition et l'Assomption de Marie. Études littéraires, historiques et doctrinales*, Leiden and Boston 2011 (Vigiliae Christianae, Suppl. 104), pp. 165-6.

12. BHL 4518. J. Van der Straeten, *La Passion de sainte Jule, martyre troyenne*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 80 (1962), pp. 361-81; Crété-Protin, *Église et vie chrétienne* cit., pp. 104-7. The text

named young girl from Troyes)<sup>13</sup>, Euphrasia of Egypt (*BHL* 2179), Thecla<sup>14</sup>, Marina of Antioch<sup>15</sup>, Euphemia of Chalcedon (*BHL* 2708c), Caecilia and her husband Valerianus<sup>16</sup>, Afra of Augsburg<sup>17</sup>, and finally Euphrosyne of Alexandria. Most headings include the feast day of each saint. It should be noted that the *Passio Euphemiae* is repeated: first, on fols. 76r-80v, we have *BHL* 2708; then, on fols. 122v-6v, *BHL* 2708c. This point indicates that the assemblage was made from the merging of different hagiographical collections.

The second section, fols. 143r-203v, consists of a set of seven quaternions signed from «A» onwards and a final ternion. They usually present the feast day in the titles. The first recto is left unused. The verso bears the monumental title of the *Passio Eugeniae*<sup>18</sup>, a similar display to that of the first text on the Virgin (*Nativitas sanctae Mariae*). This piece is at the head of a sequence of *Passiones* and *Vitae*, several of which concern female saints, arranged in calendrical order from 25 December to 13 February: Eugenia, Columba of Sens, Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius of Tarragona, Patroclus of Troyes, Speusippus, Eleusippus and Meleusippus venerated in Langres, Babylas of Antioch, Sabina of Troyes, Paula of Rome by Jerome<sup>19</sup>; then, the second part of

is a «doublet» of the *Passio Luceiae, Auceiae et soc.*, found in the second section of this manuscript: see B. de Gaiffier, *Les «doublets» en hagiographie latine*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 96 (1978), pp. 261-9, at p. 265.

13. *BHL* 5895m. Crété-Protin, *Église et vie chrétienne* cit., p. 123; edited in Moretus, *Catalogus* cit., pp. 290-2.

14. *BHL* 8020n. On this version, see J.-D. Kaestli, *Les Actes de Paul et Thècle dans la tradition latine. Recherches sur les manuscrits des diverses formes de la «Passio Theclae» et leur signalement dans la «Bibliotheca hagiographica latina»*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 135 (2017), pp. 265-358, at pp. 313-7.

15. *BHL* 5305m. See N. Clayton and H. Magennis, *The Old English Lives of Sr Margaret*, Cambridge 1994 (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9), p. 9.

16. *BHL* 1495; C. Lanéry, *Hagiographie d'Italie (300-550), I. Les passions latines composées en Italie*, in G. Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, t. V, Turnhout 2010 (CCH 5), pp. 15-369, at pp. 80-8, and ead., *Nouvelles recherches d'hagiographie arnobienne: la Passion de Cécile* (*BHL* 1495), in M. Gouillet (ed.), «*Parva pro magnis munera*». *Études de littérature latine tardo-antique et médiévale offertes à François Dolbeau par ses élèves*, Turnhout 2009 (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 51), pp. 533-59.

17. *BHL* 108, 109, 111. See M. Gouillet, *Conversion et passion d'Afra d'Augsbourg. Réouverture du dossier et édition synoptique des versions longue et brève*, «*Revue Bénédictine*», 121 (2011), pp. 94-146.

18. *BHL* 2667 contaminated with *BHL* 2666: see Gordon Whatley's edition of the *Passio Eugeniae* in M. Gouillet (ed.), *Le légendier de Turin MS. D.V.3 de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire*, Florence 2014 (Millennium Medievale 103, Testi 22), pp. 679-80; see also Id., *Textual Hybrids in the Transmission of the «Passio S. Eugeniae»* (*BHL* 2666, 2667), «*Hagiographica*», 18 (2011), pp. 31-66, at p. 40. On the dossier of Eugenia, see Lanéry, *Hagiographie d'Italie* (300-550) cit., pp. 126-38 (and p. 130 n. 268.).

19. *BHL* 2666-7, 1894, 3197, 6520, 7829, 889, 7408, 6548, respectively. On *BHL* 6520

the aforementioned *Protevangelium of James* combined with passages from Matthew and Luke (*Acta sanctae Mariae matris domini Iheu Christi in templo*) (BHL 5333m-n)<sup>20</sup>, Dorothea and Theophilus of Caesarea (BHL 2321), and Juliana of Nicomedia (BHL 4523). From here, the sequence of the texts does not follow the liturgical calendar: a set of Gallo-Roman saints (Marcellus of Paris, Privatus of Gévaudan (in Aquitania), Vincentius of Agen, Marcellus of Chalon, Ferreolus of Vienne), and a set of Roman and eastern martyrs (Christopher of Lycia, Luceia of Rome, Eleutherius of Rome)<sup>21</sup>.

The third section, fols. 204r-22v, begins with the *Passio Romani et Barulae* (BHL 7304). The display of the title is similar to that of the *Nativitas sanctae Mariae* and the *Passio Eugeniae*. Here we have Benignus of Dijon; Adrian of Nicomedia; Memorius of Troyes; Andochius, Thyrsus and Felix of Autun; and Symphorian of Autun, truncated at the end<sup>22</sup>. The next, and last, folio (fol. 222) contains a portion of the *Passio Reginae prope Alesiam* (BHL 7092), a saint of Alise-Sainte Reine, Autun, a text possibly written in the eighth century<sup>23</sup>. With exception of Adrian, all the saints are linked to Burgundy and Troyes.

M, therefore, represents a large assemblage of *Passiones* and *Vitae* circulating in eighth-century Francia and northern Burgundy. A number of *Vitae* are related to Troyes: Julia, Melanius, Patroclus, Sabina, Memorius. Some of them are rare versions, such as those of Melanius and Memorius<sup>24</sup>. Several others are related to Burgundy<sup>25</sup>. Most interestingly, M presents many *passiones* and *Vitae*

(Patroclus of Troyes) and BHL 7408 (Sabina of Troyes), see Crété-Protin, *Église et vie chrétienne* cit., pp. 90-6 and 98-103; also J. van der Straeten, *La passion de S. Patrocle de Troyes. Ses sources*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*» 78 (1960), pp. 145-53.

20. Gijssels, *Libri de Nativitate Mariae* cit., p. 16; Kaestli, *Le Protévangile de Jacques* cit., pp. 44-5 (ms. M<sup>2</sup>). Edited by de Strycker in *Une ancienne version latine du Protévangile de Jacques*, pp. 391-402.

21. BHL 5248, 6932, 8621t, 5246 and 2911, for the Gallo-Roman saints; BHL 1766, 4980, and 2451, for the Roman and eastern martyrs. On Privatus of Gévaudan, see the excellent study by F. Peloux, *Les premiers évêques du Languedoc. Une mémoire hagiographique médiévale*, Geneva 2022 (Hautes études médiévales et modernes 115), pp. 376-89, 504-16 (edition of the version in Munich, BSB, clm 4554); also pp. 109-12. As for Vincent of Agen, see B. de Gaiffier, *La Passion de S. Vincent d'Agen*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 70 (1952), pp. 160-81.

22. BHL 1153, 3744, 5915, 424 and 7967, respectively. On BHL 5915, see M. Van Acker, *Réappréciation d'une «passio» latine soi-disant barbare ou la richesse littéraire de la «Passio Memorii» mérovingienne* (VIII s.), «*Sacris Erudiri*» 46 (2007), pp. 157-85.

23. N. Courtine, *Sainte Reine et la tradition écrite. La «Passio S. Reginae»*, in P. Boutry and D. Julia (eds.), *Reine au Mont Auxois. Le culte et le pèlerinage de sainte Reine à nos jours*, Paris and Dijon 1997, pp. 29-60, at pp. 31-9. The text is truncated at the beginning and at the end. It is a «doublet» of the *Passio Marinae*, a version of which is found in the first section of this manuscript. See G. Verdin, *Les plus anciens témoins du culte de sainte Reine d'Alise*, «*Revue de l'histoire des religions*», 93 (1926), pp. 95-107, at pp. 101-2.

24. Heinzelmann, *Ein karolingisches Legendar* cit., pp. 218-9 (bishop Melanius).

25. See, for instance, three pieces of the 'cycle' of Autun / Langres / Dijon: Speusippus,

of female saints distributed in two main blocks: Agatha to Euphrosyne (fols. 71v-142v); Eugenia to Juliana, an assemblage in calendrical order, mixed with a few *Vitae* of male saints (fols. 143v-88v). Further *Vitae* of female saints are found outside these two blocks. The display of the *Vita* of Gertrude of Nivelles, followed by her *Miracula*, suggests a prominent place in this collection, as Monique Goullet pointed out<sup>26</sup>. Daughter of Pippin I, the first abbess of the monastery of Nivelles, in Austrasia, which had been founded by her mother Itta after her husband's death, Gertrude was a highly prestigious ancestor of Charlemagne's family. Furthermore, she was the first abbess of an important monastery. We can easily infer that female members of her family would have praised Gertrude with intense devotion<sup>27</sup>. Prominence is also given to the Virgin, with three texts (*Nativitas*, *Assumptio*, *Purificatio*) and to Eugenia. This last text is particularly significant for discussion of Euphrosyne. Daughter of the prefect of Egypt and belonging to the Roman senatorial society, Eugenia escapes from her worldly life and takes refuge in a monastery, of which she becomes a disguised «abbot». This is also the case of Euphraxia and, of course, of Euphrosyne, whose *Vita* closes the first block of female saints. As is often the case, the copy of the *Vita Euphrosynae* does not present a feast day. As we shall see, this copy was extensively emended in the following centuries.

## 2. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, I-III-13 (= E)

s. IX *med.*, Catalonia (?); 225 fols., 24 × 15 cm; 20 long lines; owner: Conde-Duque de Olivares (1587-1645) (1626); Real monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1654)<sup>28</sup>.

Eleusippus and Meleusippus; Andochius, Thyrsus and Felix; Benignus. See also Symphorian. See J. van der Straeten, *Les actes des martyrs d'Aurélien en Bourgogne. Étude littéraire*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 79 (1961), pp. 115-44, 455-68. As Fernand Peloux suggested to me, the presence of Privatus in this manuscript may also connect it to Burgundy: he was martyred by Chrocus, who was active in Langres, not far from Troyes; cfr. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur un cycle hagiographique. Les martyrs de Chrocus*, «Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France», 21/90 (1935), pp. 5-29. Marcellus of Chalon and Ferreolus of Vienne are both connected to southern Burgundy.

26. M. Goullet, *Expertise des textes hagiographiques mérovingiens dans leurs plus anciennes versions manuscrites. Présentation d'un projet de recherche collectif*, «Hagiographica», 18 (2011), pp. 67-88, at p. 79.

27. On the importance of Gertrude of Nivelles, see P. Fouracre and R. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester 1996, pp. 301-19.

28. G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, II. (e.I.1-K.III.31), Madrid 1911, pp. 463-5. See A. Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica*, León 1973, vol. 2, pp. 844-51 (proposing a Catalan origin); A. Diem, *Das monastische Experiment: die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster 2005, p. 366, no. 76; J. Galdes Freire, *A versão latina por Pascásio de Dume dos «Apophthegmata Patrum»*, Coimbra 1971, vol. 2, pp. 47-52 (ms. E).

The script of the manuscript, a mid-ninth-century Visigothic, exhibits traces of Carolingian influence. This led Antonio Linage Conde to place its origins in eastern Iberia. It belonged to D. Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde-Duque of Olivares, a high-ranking figure, passionate bibliophile and close collaborator of Felipe III and Felipe IV<sup>29</sup>. He may have obtained the book in the Aragonese and Catalan territories in 1626, when he accompanied Felipe IV to attend the *cortes*, held in Aragón in that year<sup>30</sup>. On this occasion, Guzmán acquired a huge amount of medieval manuscripts from various sources, such as libraries of reputed scholars (like that of Jerónimo Zurita, which at the time was held in the Carthusian monastery of Aula-Dei and had been since 1571), the chapter of the church of Santa Maria del Pilar, the monasteries of Santa María de Poblet, Monserrat, San Juan de la Peña, Veruela, and Montearagón, among others. One year later, in 1627, a catalogue of Guzmán's library was compiled by Lucas de Aleajos. Our manuscript is recorded in this catalogue, number 1117<sup>31</sup>. It is not possible to identify the library from which Guzmán acquired it. When he died, his library passed to his nephew, Luis Méndez de Haro (1603-1661), who eventually bequeathed it to his son Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marquis of Heliche (1629-1687). In 1654, the Marquis of Heliche donated more than a thousand codices to Felipe IV for the library of El Escorial, among them our manuscript<sup>32</sup>.

E, truncated at the beginning and at the end, contains an assemblage of monastic and ascetic works: a martyrology from mid-May (fols. 1-7v)<sup>33</sup>, St Benedict's Rule (fols. 7v-57v)<sup>34</sup>, Paschasius of Dume's *Liber Geronticon* (fols. 58r-135r and 151v-5v)<sup>35</sup>, excerpts of Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* (fols.

29. G. de Andrés, *Historia de la Biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares y descripción de sus códices. I. Formación*, «Cuadernos bibliográficos», 28 (1972), pp. 131-42; id., *Historia de la Biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares y descripción de sus códices. II. Dispersión*, «Cuadernos bibliográficos», 30 (1973), pp. 5-73.

30. Andrés, *Historia de la Biblioteca* I cit., pp. 135-6.

31. Andrés, *Historia de la Biblioteca* II cit., p. 64: «1117 Regulis de monachorum, codex antiquae notae, litteris longobardis, 4.º membr. Cax. 12, número 29».

32. Andrés, *Historia de la Biblioteca* II cit., pp. 6-7.

33. The previous folios are lost.

34. See Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino* cit. According to Rudolf Hanslik, the model of this copy originated from Narbonne or somewhere else in Septimania: R. Hanslik, *Benedicti Regula*, Vienna 1960 (CSEL 75), pp. LV-LVIII. See M. M. Tischler, *Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation: The Case of Early Medieval Septimania/Catalonia in the Long Tenth Century (900-1050)*, in W. Pohl and A. Gingrich (eds.), *Uses of the Past in Times of Transition: Forgetting, Using and Discrediting the Past & Approaches to Global Epigraphy*, Vienna 2019 (Medieval Worlds. Comparative & Interdisciplinary Studies 10), vol. 1, pp. 72-86, p. 74 n. 10, suggesting Sant Vicenç de Gerri for the origins of the manuscript.

35. Galdes Freire, *A versão latina por Pascásio de Dume*, cit.



177r-90r)<sup>36</sup>, excerpts of Pelagius' (fols. 135r-51v) and John's *Vitae Patrum* (fols. 155v-60r). Then comes the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 160r-73r), followed by the *Vita Marinae, dictae Marini* (BHL 5528, fols. 173r-7r), excerpts of Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*, mostly concerning stories of women or related to women<sup>37</sup>, Caesarius of Arles' sermon *De decem virginibus* and Gregory the Great's homily *In natale s. Sebastiani* (fols. 190r-201v)<sup>38</sup>, and other excerpts from the *Vitae Patrum*.

The *Vita Euphrosynae* presents a peculiar configuration: chapters 1-4 (until 4.22 *et satis placuit animae suae*) belong to Translation A, and the rest to Translation B, in a version close to Munich Clm 6382, Part I, a manuscript produced in Reims (see below). Therefore, at some stage of the textual transmission prior to the mid-ninth century, a scribe disposed of two models, one containing the first four chapters, the other required to complete the first.

3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14798, Part II (fols. 71-92) (= R)

s. IX<sup>2</sup>, Germany; 15 × 13 cm; 17/18 long lines; owner: Regensburg, St. Emmeram<sup>39</sup>.

These three quaternions<sup>40</sup>, attached to a manuscript containing Walter of Speyer's *Passio metrica sancti Christophori* (BHL 1776)<sup>41</sup>, a work written between 983 and 987, present the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 71r-86v) and the *Passio Felicis et Regulae mm. Tiguri in Helvetia* (BHL 2891), celebrated on 11 September, as one reads at the end of the text (fols. 86v-92v). The title of our text is *Vita sanctissimae ac beatissimae Castissimae uirginis*.

36. A. Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca» des Palladius*, Berlin and New York 2003 (Patristische Texte und Studien 51), p. XVIII (ms. E, belonging to recension I).

37. These are: *De Potamiaena* (ed. Wellhausen, no. 3, pp. 498-9); *De Alexandra* (no. 5, pp. 501-2); *De Helia*, who founded a convent and resisted temptation, and *De Dorotheo*, the successor of Helias (no. 29-30, pp. 586-8); *De virgine et Athanasio* (no. 63, pp. 678-80); *De Iuliana* (no. 64, p. 680); *De sancto Pachon*, also a story about overcoming sexual desire (no. 23, pp. 573-6); *De Iuliano* and *De Adolio* (nos. 42-3, pp. 636-8); *De Nathanabel* (no. 16, pp. 526-9).

38. Caesar. Arl. *Serm.* 155, ed. G. Morin, *Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones. Pars altera*, Turnhout 1953 (CCSL 104), pp. 632-5; Gregory the Great, *Hom. in evang.* 2.37, in R. Étaix, *Homiliae in evangelia*, Turnhout, 1999 (CCSL 141), pp. 348-58.

39. Bischoff, *Katalog cit.*, II, p. 264, no. 3268 («Deutschland, IX. Jh., 2. Hälfte»); Id., *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, I: Die bayrischen Diözesen*, Leipzig 1940, p. 255; K. Halm, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, T. 4, Ps 2. Clm 11001-15028*, Munich 1876, p. 235.

40. One leaf is missing in the first and the third quaternions.

41. K. Strecker (ed.), *Die lateinischen Dichter des deutschen Mittelalters. Die Ottonenzeit. Erster Teil*, Berlin 1937 (MGH, Poetae V.1), pp. 10-63.

4. La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Diocesà i Capitular, 604, Part III (fols. 153-235) (= U)

s. X <sup>2</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, Córdoba (?); 28.5 × 22 cm; two columns of 24/29 long lines; owner: Sant Climent de Codinet (?); Cathedral of Urgell (s. XI)<sup>42</sup>.

According to Manuel Díaz y Díaz, this manuscript, also known as *Codex Miscellaneus Patristicus*, was probably written in Córdoba in the second quarter of the tenth century, as the colophon on fol. 152r indicates, and was produced for a female monastery. It is unknown when the codex was taken to Catalonia<sup>43</sup>.

The manuscript is composed of three parts. Part I (fols. 1-48, quires signed «III» to «VIII») contains Gregory the Great's *Dialogorum libri IV*, truncated at the beginning and at the end. Part II (fols. 49r-152v, signed «I» to [«XIII»]) presents Paschasius of Dume's *Geronticon* (truncated at the beginning), and excerpts of Martin of Braga's *Sententiae Patrum Aegyptiorum*<sup>44</sup>. Part II is written in a very similar hand, if not the same hand, that copied the first part, and presents a colophon dated 30 October 938, stating that presbyter Isidore copied the manuscript at the request of abbess Gundisa (fol. 152r).

Part III (fols. 153-237) is a set of quaternions numbered from «I» to «X» and a final ternion. It contains an assemblage of homilies and excerpts of ascetic literature for a monastic audience. The first text is the famous «Sunday Letter», Recension I, a letter supposedly sent by Christ to Jerusalem, already known in Spain in the sixth century<sup>45</sup>. The textual version is close to that published by Étienne Baluze from a lost codex of Tarragona<sup>46</sup>. At the end, af-

42. Also known as *Codex Miscellaneus Patristicus*. See M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península. Ensayo de distribución regional*, Seville 1995, pp. 127-9; R. Comes, *Un manuscrito mozárabe con notación alfanumérica greco-copta: el «codex miscellaneus patristicus» de la Seu d'Urgell*, «Revue d'Histoire des Texts», 4 (2009), pp. 129-56; J. Villanueva, *Viaje literario a las Iglesias de España. XI. Viage a Urgel*, Valencia 1850, pp. 172-5.

43. P. Pujol i Tubau, *La cultura pirenaica en la Alta Edad Media*, «Pirineos», 4 (1948), pp. 385-412, thinks that it probably belonged to the monastery of Sant Climent de Codinet, near La Seu d'Urgell, already suppressed in 1004 (at p. 403). The documents and books entered the Cathedral of Urgell.

44. Geraldine Freire, *A versão latina por Pascásio de Dume* cit., pp. 64-8.

45. D. Haines, *Sunday Observance and the Sunday Letter in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 36-62 (on recension I, pp. 43-6); see also R. Priebsch, *Letter from Heaven on the Observation of the Lord's Day*, Oxford 1936; H. Delehaye, *Note sur la légende de la lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, «Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique», Classe de Lettres (1899), pp. 171-213, repr. in *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*, Brussels 1966 (Subsidia Hagiographica 42), pp. 150-78; M. van Esbroek, *La lettre du dimanche, descendue du ciel*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 107 (1989), pp. 267-84. The «Sunday letter» is mentioned in a letter of Licianus of Carthage to Vincent of Ibiza.

46. Baluze's edition is modelled on a copy made by Petrus de Marca, Archbishop of Paris (†1764) of a manuscript from the Cathedral of Tarragona. See *Capitularia Regum Francorum*.

ter Rufinus' *Historia Monachorum*, 29 (*De alio sancto Macario*)<sup>47</sup>, we find the *passio* of Felix of Nola (BHL 2869) up to *benedictus tu in saecula saeculorum*<sup>48</sup>. This text was then erased and over it a contemporaneous and very similar hand copied our text with the title *Vita Castissimae* (fols. 234r-7v). It ends at 12.87 *et mandans*, for the following leaves are lost.

5. Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 487 (= **Ba**)

s. XI, Girona, Cathedral; 125 fols., 34 × 25.5 cm; 2 columns of 26 lines; owner: Girona, Cathedral; Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona (1835-1838)<sup>49</sup>.

The codex contains Gregory the Great's *Dialogorum libri IV* (fols. 1-119v). At the end, the same hand copied the *Vita Euphrosynae*, entitled *Vita beata Castissima* (corrected to *Vita beatae Castissimae*) (fols. 119-25v)<sup>50</sup>.

*Tomus Secundus*, Paris 1677, pp. 1396-9; repr. J. K. Irmischer, *Staats- und Kirchen-Verordnungen über die christliche Sonntags-Feier. I. Von Constantin den Großen bis zum Tridentiner Concilium*, Erlangen 1839, pp. 90-5; printed as Appendix I in Priebisch, *Letter from Heaven* cit., pp. 35-7. The colophon of Paschasius' *Liber Geronticon* is found on fol. 152r, and the verso was left unused. The «Sunday letter» is found on fol. 153r, the first words being *omnem anima niuibem in carne*. On fol. 152v, a different hand wrote the beginning of the text: *In nomine Domini incipit epistola Salbatoris Domini nostri, Iesu Christi filii Dei, qui (i.e. quae) in Ierosolimis cecidit, Micaelo ibsam deportabit ...*, up to *et post haec crebit omnis peccatus in terra donec misi dilubium et dilu-*, the last word being truncated. This hand used thirty-three lines instead of the twenty-nine in which the quire and the one following were ruled. We do not know how many leaves are lost before fol. 153.

47. Ending at Rufinus, *Hist. mon.*, p. 374, 103, ed. Schulz-Flügel, with an explicit. Two manuscripts used by Eva Schulz-Flügel in her edition, belonging to family δ, present the same ending: Brussels, KBR 8216-18 (3595), s. IX in. (a. 819), copied by a Regensburg scribe (Ellenhardt), and Salzburg, Benediktiner-Erzabtei Sankt Peter, Stiftsbibliothek, a.VIII.25, s. X; the third member of this family, Munich, clm 6393, s. VIII-IX, presents a *lacuna* in this part. See E. Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufinus Historia monachorum sive de Vita Sanctorum Patrum*, Berlin and New York 1990 (Patristische Texte und Studien 34), pp. 123-6.

48. R. Manfredonia and E. D'Angelo, *La Passione di Felice martire, vescovo di Nola* (BHL 2869), Florence 2013 (Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini d'Italia 32. Nuova serie 6), p. 66 § 74.

49. F. Miquel Rosell, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona. I. 1 a 500*, Madrid 1958, pp. 620-1; id., *Manuscritos patrísticos existentes en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Barcelona*, «Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia», 17 (1944), pp. 31-66, at pp. 53-4 (dating the manuscript to the tenth century). Previous shelf marks: 8-2-16, 8-2-150, 8-0-17. The codex was purchased by Mariano Aguiló y Fuster (1825-1897), librarian of the University of Barcelona, from a seller who had obtained it in the outcome of the *desamortización* of 1835 and following years.

50. A transcription of the *Vita* is published in J. Mateu Ibars, «*Vita beatae Castissimae*». Ms. del siglo XI de la Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona, «Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia» 71 (1998) (*Miscel.lània Àngel Fàbrega*), pp. 581-96.

6. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 370 (194), Part VII (fol. 22) (= **Es**)

s. XI, 1 fol., 34 × 27 cm; owner: abbey of Einsiedeln<sup>51</sup>.

This folio, which originally appears to have been the last of a codex, was attached to a volume gathering many fragments. The recto contains the *Vitae Euphrosynae* from 18.5 *o mea filia dulcissima* to the end. The verso was left unused. A later hand added, twice, a familiar definition of death (*mors dicta est a morsu quia per morsum Adae mors intrauit in orbem*).

7. Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon, 1400 (U. 3) (= **Ro**)

s. XI<sup>2</sup>, Fécamp, La Trinité; 111 (+ 3) fols., 47.5 × 34 cm; 2 columns of 49 lines; owners: Fécamp, La Trinité (*ex libris* s. XVIII: fol. 2r)<sup>52</sup>.

The manuscript was written at the abbey of Fécamp. The *Vita Odilonis* by Jotsald of Cluny (*BHL* 6281; fols. 21r-5r), followed by a poem on Odilo (*BHL* 6283f, fol. 25r), indicates that the manuscript was produced after 1 January 1049, when Odilo died. The poem on Odilo is followed by another honouring William of Volpiano, abbot of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon and, later, the first abbot of Fécamp (†1031)<sup>53</sup>.

This legendary *per circulum anni* is severely damaged, and in several places only fragments of the leaves survive. In its present state, it begins on 31 December (*Vita Silvestri Papae*, *BHL* 7739) and goes up to 13 August (*Vita Rade Gundis*, *BHL* 7048), after which follows a set of *Vitae* of various dates. Interest-

51. G. Meier, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidlensis O.S.B. servantur*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 334-6.

52. P. H. E. Bertrand and L. Gandt, *Vitae Antonii versiones Latinae. Vita beati Antonii abbatis Evagrio interprete. Versio vetustissima*, Turnhout 2018 (CCSL 170), pp. 132\*-5\*; J. Staub, *Jotsald von Saint-Claude: Vita des Abtes Odilo von Cluny*, Hanover 1999 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 68), pp. 90-1; J.-C. Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Âge. Répertoire raisonné*, Ostfildern 2009 (*Beihefte der Francia* 69), p. 246; Id., *Sources hagiographiques de la Gaule (SHG) III : les dossiers des saints Melaine, Convoion et Mervé (Province de Bretagne)*, in M. Heinzelmann (ed.), *Manuscripts hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes*, Sigmaringen 1992 (*Beihefte der Francia* 24), pp. 119-60, at p. 136; Id., *La circulation des oeuvres hagiographiques d'Alcuin (IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, «Hagiographica», 22 (2015), pp. 167-216, at p. 205; A. Isola (ed.), *Vita Fulgentii*, Turnhout 2016 (CCSL 91 F), pp. 38-9; C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste. VII: Ouest de la France et Pays de Loire*, Paris 1984, p. 327. Earlier descriptions: H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements (Série in-8°), Tome I. Rouen*, Paris 1886, pp. 386-9; A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae publicae Rotomagensis*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 23 (1904), pp. 129-275, at pp. 156-60.

53. See Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits* cit., p. 327.

ingly, the legendary contains several texts usually found in ascetic and monastic contexts: Antonius' *Vita Simeonis Stylitae* (BHL 7957; fols. 25v-26v), the *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae* (BHL 5417; fol. 59r), the *Vita Pachomii iunioris* (BHL 6412; fol. 64r-v), Evagrius' translation of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii eremita* (BHL 609; fols. 96r-101r). Only one folio containing the *Vita Euphrosynae* survives (fol. 16r-v). It comprises almost a half of the text, from 4.3 *et timore dei* to 13.6 *pro hoc dominus*<sup>54</sup>. It is impossible to prove where the folio was originally situated in the anthology and whether the title presented the feast day.

#### 8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 5666 (= *D*)

s. XII ½, France; 178 fols.; 17 × 12 cm; 23 long lines; owners: Claude Dupuy (1545-1594); Bibliothèque du Roi («C. 4608»)<sup>55</sup>.

This small-format legendary has lost several leaves<sup>56</sup>. The *Vita Euphrosynae* is its first text (fols. 1r-11v), followed by the *Vita Iuliani ep. Cenomannensis* (BHL 4544), the *Vita Abrahae et Mariae in Hellesponto* (BHL 12), and the *Vita Marinae, dictae Marinus* (BHL 5528). The anthology includes saints from northern France (Justus of Beauvais, Firminus of Amiens, Solemnis of Chartres, Paternus of Avranches) alongside Melanius of Troyes, also present in Montpellier H 55, and in the same version as in Rouen U. 3 (BHL 5891, see above)<sup>57</sup>. The *Vita Euphrosynae* presents the title *Vita sanctae Eufrosinae uirginis quae interpretatur in latinum Castissima*, as in Montpellier H 55. The liturgical date precedes the title: *Kalendis Ianuarii*.

#### 9. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4531 (= *P*)

s. XII *med.*, Benediktbeuern, SS. Benedikt und Jakob; 146 fols., 31.5 × 21 cm; 34 long lines; owner: Benediktbeuern, SS. Benedikt und Jakob (*ex libris*: fol. 1r)<sup>58</sup>.

54. This copy was transcribed in J. Reisdorfer, «*Incipit Vita sancte Eufrosine qui interpretatur in latino Castissima*». *Prolégomènes à une édition critique de la Vita Sanctae Euphrosynae*, in D. Walz (ed.), «*Scripturus vitam*». *Lateinische Biographie von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart. Festgabe für Walter Berschin zum 65. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg 2002, pp. 711-22.

55. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi*, tom. 2, Brussels 1890, pp. 529-41; Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne* cit., p. 247.

56. An index of the contents of the codex in medieval times is in the margin of fol. 1v. See F. Dolbeau, *Faire l'expertise de manuscrits ou de collections hagiographiques*, in P. Chiesa, A. M. Fagnoni and R. E. Guglielmetti, «*Ingenio facilis*». *Per Giovanni Orlandi (1938-2007)*, Florence 2017 (*Millennio medievale* 111), pp. 65-111, at p. 85.

57. A. Le Huërou, *Les témoins manuscrits de la «Vita s. Iuliani Cenomannensis»* (BHL 4544), «*Hagiographica*», 23 (2016), pp. 43-62, at p. 57 (ms. M).

58. G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern. Clm 4501-4663*, Wiesbaden 1994 (*Catalogus*

This legendary, composed in Benediktbeuern, does not strictly follow the calendrical order. It begins on 1 January with the *Vita Basilii* (BHL 1023; fols. 11r-13r), which is followed by the *Vita Pachomii* (BHL 6410; fols. 13r-38r)<sup>59</sup> and the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 38r-42r). Then we have the *Passio Sebastiani* (BHL 7543; fols. 42r-61r), and Ps.-Melito of Sardis, *Vita Iohannis apostoli et euangelistae* (BHL 4320; fols. 61r-7r). The *Vita Euphrosynae* is numbered III<sup>a</sup>. It has an unusual title, *Vita sancti Pafnutii*, and gives no indication of the feast day.

10. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 168 (160)

s. XIII ex.; 242 fols., 35.5 × 25 cm; 2 columns of 49 lines; owner: abbey of Saints-Pierre-André-et-Amand, Saint-Amand-les-Eaux<sup>60</sup>.

The manuscript contains an anthology of monastic and ascetic literature: Cassian's *Instituta Coenobiorum*, *Collationes Patrum*, and *Regula* (fols. 11r-159r), and a large body of excerpts of the *Vitae patrum*, the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Commonitiones sanctorum Patrum*<sup>61</sup>, and lives of saints, such as the *Vita Theophili vicedomini ecclesiae Adanensis* (BHL 8121; fols. 233v-5v), Jerome's *Vita Hilariionis* (BHL 3879; fols. 235v-40v), and the *Vita Adae et Evae* (fols. 241r-2v).

On fols. 211r-17v, between the *Historia Lausiaca*<sup>62</sup> and an excerpt of Pelagius' *Verba Seniorum*<sup>63</sup>, we find a sequence of *Vitae* and *Visiones*:

codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis, Tomus III, Series nova, Pars 1), pp. 47-8; E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. II. Die Bistümer Freising und Augsburg, verschiedene deutsche Provenienzen. Textbd.*, Wiesbaden 1988 (Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 3, 2), p. 138, no. 194; K. Halm, G. von Laubmann, and W. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Bd. 1, 2. Codices num. 2501-5250 compl., Munich 1894, p. 203; C. Lanéry, *La Passion de Théodora et Didyme. Édition des traductions latines «BHL» 8072 et 8073, «Analecta Bollandiana»*, 122 (2004), pp. 5-50, at pp. 9-10.

59. H. van Cranenburgh, *La vie latine de Saint Pachôme, traduite du grec par Denys le Petit*, Brussels 1969 (Subsidia hagiographica 46), p. 50 (ms. E).

60. A. Molinier and A.-F. Lièvre, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements (Série in-8°), tome XXV. Poitiers, Valenciennes*, Paris 1894, pp. 259-60; J. Mangeart, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Valenciennes*, Paris and Valenciennes, 1860, pp. 142-4. Joseph Reisdorfer published our text in «C'est l'habit qui fait le moine». Édition de la version valenciennoise de la «Vita Sanctae Euphrosynae» («BHL» 2722), «Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum», 15 (2011), pp. 227-48.

61. J. Geraldine Freire, «Commonitiones Sanctorum Patrum». Uma nova coleção de apotegmas. *Estudo filológico, texto crítico*, Coimbra 2010<sup>2</sup>.

62. The last is the *De sancto Innocentio presbytero*, ed H. Rosweyde, *De vita et verbis seniorum libri X*, Antwerp 1615, p. 993 (= PL 74.376).

63. *De quodam fratre*, ed. Rosweyde, *De vita et verbis seniorum* cit., pp. 573-4 (= PL 73.874-5: *Erat quidem frater omnino in conuersatione sollicitus...*).

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                       | <i>BHL</i> |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 211r-12v     | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                                            | 2722       |
| 212v-14v     | <i>Visio Dryctbelmi</i> <sup>64</sup>                              | —          |
| 214v         | <i>Narratio de quodam presbytero (Visio Aemgils)</i> <sup>65</sup> | —          |
| 214v-17r     | Heito Augiensis, <i>Visio Wettini</i> <sup>66</sup>                | —          |
| 217r-v       | <i>Vita Hospitii</i> <sup>67</sup>                                 | 3987       |

The title of our text is simply *Vita beatae Eufrosinae uirginis*.

Finally, I shall mention two fifteenth-century copies:

#### 11. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Magdeburg 26

s. XV (a. 1459), Magdeburg (?); paper, 461 fols., 31.5 × 21.5 cm, two columns of 47/48 lines; owner: Magdeburg, Domstift-Domgymnasium (?)<sup>68</sup>.

The manuscript contains the *pars hiemalis* of the so-called *Legendarium Madgeburgense* (fols. 1r-424r), and the *Chronica episcoporum Magdeburgensium* (fols. 424v-59r). The *Vita Euphrosynae* is found on fols. 123v-4v. It offers 15 January as the feast day.

64. Bede, *Hist. eccl.* 5.12-13, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford 1969, pp. 488-502.

65. Edited in P. G. Schmidt, *Bède et la tradition des récits visionnaires*, in S. Lebecq, M. Perrin and O. Szerwiniak, *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité. The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity. Colloque organisé à Villeneuve d'Ascq et Amiens par le CRHEN-0 (Université de Lille 3) et Textes, Images et Spiritualité (Université de Picardie – Jules Verne) du 3 au 6 juillet 2002*, Villeneuve d'Ascq and Lille 2005, pp. 261-6, at p. 266.

66. R. M. Pollard, *Nonantola and Reichenau. A New Manuscript of Heito's Visio Wettini and the Foundations for a New Critical Edition*, «Revue Bénédictine», 120 (2010), pp. 243-94, at p. 291. Edited in E. Dümmler, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini. II* (MGH), Berlin 1894, pp. 267-75; H. Knittel, *Heito und Walahfrid Strabo: Visio Wettini. Einführung, lateinisch-deutsche Ausgabe und Erläuterungen*, Heidelberg 2009 (Reichenauer Texte und Bilder 12), pp. 36-62.

67. Greg. Tur., *Historiarum libri decem*, VI, 6a, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levinson, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis libri historiarum decem*, ed. altera, Hanover 1951 (MGH, Scr. rer. mer. 1.1), pp. 272-6.

68. U. Winter, *Die Manuscripta Magdeburgica der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Teil 1: Ms. Magdeb. 1-75*, Wiesbaden 2001 (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung: Reihe 1. Handschriften 4,1), pp. 86-100; ead., *Das Legendarium Magdeburgense in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Mss. Magdeb. 26 und 138)*, in P. J. Becker, E. Bliembach, H. Nickel, R. Schipke, and G. Staccioli (eds.), «*Scrinium Berolinense*». Tilo Brandis zum 65. Geburtstag, Wiesbaden and Berlin 2000 (Beiträge aus der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz 10) pp. 320-7; R. E. Guglielmetti, «*Navigatio sancti Brendani*». *Editio maior*, with critical text by G. Orlandi and R. E. Guglielmetti, Florence 2017 (Millennio medievale 114, Testi 29), pp. 13-4.

12. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, Q-III-10, part II (fols. 122-7)

s. XV; 6 fols.; owners: Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde-Duque de Olivares (1587-1645) (1626); Real monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1654)<sup>69</sup>.

The *Vita Euphrosynae* is found on the final quire of a late twelfth-century codex containing Gregory the Great's *Dialogorum libri IV*, owned by the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, in Aragon. It was copied by a fifteenth-century hand.

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The earliest surviving witness of Translation A, Redaction 1, is *M* (Montpellier, H 55), a manuscript copied around 800 in Lotharingia or northern Burgundy, possibly connected to Troyes. The grammatical and orthographic features of the text suggest that the scribe's model was a pre-Carolingian exemplar. This is in keeping with many other texts copied in the manuscript, as pointed out by Martin Heinzelmann, who concluded that many of them stem from Merovingian models<sup>70</sup>. *M* presents the original name of the heroine in the title: *Vita sanctae Eufrosinae qui interpretatur in Latino Castissima*. This title is also found in the early twelfth-century *D*, and was probably in the late eleventh-century *Ro*, a copy very closely related to *D*, as we shall see below. In the text, the name is always *Castissima*. In all other copies, the name in the title, and in the text, is *Castissima*.

Some details suggest that *M* contained some errors and small changes. Considering all manuscripts used in the present edition, these include:

| Greek text                     | <i>REs</i> (18.5-21.5) <i>PE</i> (1.1-4.3)<br><i>U</i> (1.1-12.2) <i>Ba Ro</i> (4.3-13.6) <i>D</i> | <i>M</i>                     |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 3.4 πάντων διανοχλούντων       | omnibus autem petentibus<br>eam                                                                    | omnibus autem parentibus eis |
| 4.1 λαβὼν αὐτήν ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς  | duxit illam pater suus                                                                             | duxit illam                  |
| 4.1 πάνυ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπενέγκας | et portauerunt munera multa                                                                        | om.                          |
| 8.5 ὅτι ἀγωνίσασθαι ἔχω        | certare habeo                                                                                      | certe habeo                  |
| 9.2 πεντακόσια                 | quingentos                                                                                         | quinguenta                   |

In these examples, all other copies are closer to the Greek text than *M*. The table also shows that no other manuscript is a copy of *M*.

69. G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, III. (L. I. 2-R. III. 23), Madrid 1913, pp. 427-8; Andrés, *Historia de la Biblioteca II* cit., p. 41 no. 631.

70. See above.



*M* was extensively emended by an eleventh-century hand (*M*<sup>2</sup>). It is difficult to identify the model used by the corrector, if there was another model involved in the operation. Many corrections coincide with a  $\beta$ -exemplar, perhaps with a model close to *R Es P*, but generally they are simple emendations, not necessarily extracted from a different model.

It is difficult to establish the relations between the surviving copies accurately. Four of them – *E*, *R $\theta$* , *U*, and *Es* – only offer portions of the text. Most of them are late copies and present very reworked textual versions. Nevertheless, we can pointed out a few elements.

Two copies are related to *M*: *R $\theta$*  and *D*. Of the original copy in *R $\theta$*  (Rouen 1400 (U. 3)), a legendary written at the abbey of Fécamp in the second half of the eleventh century, only one folio survives, containing less than half of the text (4.3-13.6). Fortunately, we have *D* (Paris lat. 5666), an early twelfth-century legendary produced in northern France. It is a copy of *R $\theta$* 's model, if not of *R $\theta$*  itself. It presents every single variant and error found in the surviving portion of *R $\theta$* <sup>71</sup>. This permits us to determine, with a certain degree of assurance, the text missing in *R $\theta$* .

Only *D* (the text in *R $\theta$*  is lost) offers precisely the same title as we find in *M*: *uita sanctae Eufrosinae quae interpretatur in latino Castissima*. See some common variants:

| Greek text                                         | <i>E</i> (1.1-4.3) <i>R Es</i><br>(18.5-21.5) <i>P U</i><br>(1.1-12.2) <i>Ba</i> | <i>M D</i> ( <i>R<math>\theta</math></i> def.)   |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1.5 ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς                                   | uir suus                                                                         | maritus suus                                     |
| 3.1 ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ὑπεξῆλθεν<br>τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον | mater eius migrauit<br>de hac luce                                               | contigit genetricem suam<br>de hac luce migrasse |
| 13.7 –                                             | initium certaminis<br>(cfr. <i>BHL</i> 1640)                                     | initum certaminis (certamen <i>D</i> )           |
| 20.3 –                                             | omnes                                                                            | toti                                             |

The other manuscripts seem to descend from a common exemplar, hereafter  $\beta$ . The two Bavarian copies, *R* (Munich clm 14798), from the second half of the ninth century, whose origins are connected to the abbey of Regensburg, and *P* (Munich, clm 4531), a mid-twelfth-century legendary from Benedikt-beuern, and the fragmentary eleventh-century *Es*, owned by Einsiedlen abbey, present an almost identical text. This is demonstrated by a huge amount of

71. In a very few places, *D* has a better reading than *R $\theta$* : 7.6 *ei*: *D*, *illi* *R P U*, om. *R $\theta$* ; 9.4 *uenit* om. *R $\theta$* , *intrat* scr. sup. lin.; 11.4 *retrudas*: *D*, *recludamus* *R P*, *recludam* *U*, *recludas* *R $\theta$* ; 11.6 *in retrusione*: *D*, *in reclusionione* *R $\theta$* ; 13.3 *dominus*: *D*, om. *R $\theta$*  *P*. But these are insufficient to prove, beyond any reasonable doubt, that *D* is not a copy of *R $\theta$* .

variants exclusively found in *R* and *P*, and in the surviving portion of *Es*. A few examples:

| <i>M E (1.1-4.3) U (1.1-12.2)</i><br><i>Ba Ro (4.3-13.6) D</i> |                                                            | <i>R Es (from 18.5) P</i> |                                                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1.1                                                            | et continentiam                                            |                           | sine intermissione                                |
| 2.4                                                            | nominavit illam                                            |                           | uocavit nomen eius                                |
| 3.3                                                            | de ipsa infantula                                          |                           | illius                                            |
| 7.1                                                            | hoc narrabant / narrarent                                  |                           | haec inter se confabularentur                     |
| 7.9                                                            | tu scis domine                                             |                           | deus testis est                                   |
| 8.3                                                            | et reliquam piam dispensationem                            |                           | <i>om.</i>                                        |
| 11.1                                                           | multis fecit inimicus scandalum in anima<br>pro forma eius |                           | multos faciebat inimicus peccare<br>in forma eius |
| 12.3                                                           | aut quis seduxit illam                                     |                           | <i>om.</i>                                        |
| 12.9                                                           | ipsa erat laboris ... meorum eleuatio                      |                           | <i>om.</i>                                        |
| 12.11                                                          | circumstantes amici et illi                                |                           | <i>om.</i>                                        |
| 19.3                                                           | non obliuiscas                                             |                           | rogo ut non obliuiscas                            |
| 19.4                                                           | et cum grandi                                              |                           | et cum magna                                      |
| 19.5                                                           | mirantes / admirantes Ba                                   |                           | uidentes                                          |
| 20.1                                                           | apertus est et / inluminatus est Ba                        |                           | <i>om.</i>                                        |
| 20.2                                                           | dicebant                                                   |                           | clamauerunt                                       |
| 21.1                                                           | dispersit                                                  |                           | distribuit                                        |

The redaction found in *R*, *Es* and *P* is prior to the mid-ninth century. It was simplified, and many details reworked in a sort of synonymical style bringing no significant changes (such as *pater eius* / *pater suus*, and *ad illum* / *ad eum*). A few details may suggest that *P* is not a copy of *R*. See, for instance, 7.2 *lucres*: *lucreri* P D Ro, *locares* R; 7.3 *cum gaudio* (*om.* R). But this conclusion is very far from being unequivocal. Indeed, the evidence is extremely scarce. *Es* is too short to be establish whether it is a *descriptus* of *R*.

*U* (La Seu d'Urgell 604), produced in the second quarter of the tenth century, possibly in Córboða, seems to belong to the line of transmission of *R Es P*. It offers little more than the first eleven chapters. A few common variants:

| <i>M E (1.1- 4.3) Ba Ro (4.3-13.6) D</i> |                                                | <i>R Es (18.5-21.5) P U (1.1-12.2)</i> |                                              |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1.3                                      | exitum                                         |                                        | obitum                                       |
| 1.4                                      | maerore                                        |                                        | dolore                                       |
| 2.1                                      | frequentabat                                   |                                        | frequentaret                                 |
| 4.3                                      | receptionem                                    |                                        | susceptionem                                 |
| 4.4                                      | commorassent                                   |                                        | demorassent                                  |
| 5.3                                      | introducere ipsum monachum                     |                                        | ipsum monachum introducere ad se             |
| 5.4                                      | trecenti quinquaginta et duo sunt<br>serui dei |                                        | centum quinquaginta sunt et duo<br>serui dei |
| 7.6                                      | in scamno                                      |                                        | <i>om.</i>                                   |
| 10. 2                                    | ordinem monasticum                             |                                        | ordinem monasterii                           |

*E* (El Escorial I-III-13) is a mid-ninth-century assemblage of monastic and ascetic works, written in a Visigothic script showing Carolingian influence, possibly in the Catalan territories. It offers the first four chapters of Translation A, Redaction 1. As said above, the scribe (or an earlier scribe in the chain of transmission) had two different models, one containing Redaction 1, the other Translation B. It is likely that the first four chapters of *E* belong to the line of transmission of *R Es P U*, although the evidence is not definitive. In any case, see, for instance, 1.3 *dum diuitia erat illi: dum diuitiae erant illi D, dum diuitiae illi multae erant Ba, dum diues erat ille E U, quia diues erat ualde R, quia ualde diues erat P*; 1.6 *abbas uir sanctissimus erat: abbas sanctissimus erat M, abbas (om. E) habitans uir sanctissimus erat (om. E) E U, abba uir sanctus habitans erat (habitabat P) R P*. The first four lines in the table above (1.3, 1.4, 2.1, 4.3) suggest that *E* descends from an exemplar above the common model of *R Es P U*. Its brevity, however, prevents us from establishing its exact position relative to *R Es P U*.

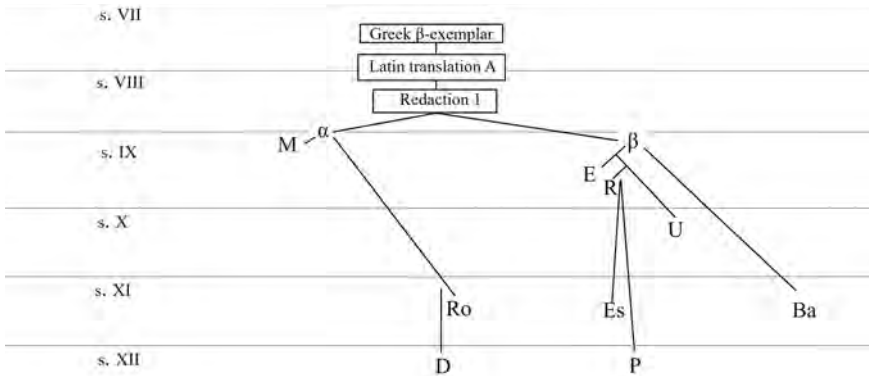
*Ba* (Barcelona, BU 487), an eleventh-century codex containing Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, owned by an unidentified monastery in the Catalan region before entering the Cathedral of Girona, is a heavily reworked version. It was emended by a much later hand using a dark brown ink (*Ba*<sup>2</sup>). This version preserves a number of good readings against *R Es P U*, as shown by the table above. But it must descend from an ancestor common to the ancestor of *R Es P U*. See, for instance:

|      | Greek text  | <i>M Ro</i> (4.3-13.6) <i>D</i>                                     | <i>R Es</i> (18.5-21.5)<br><i>P U</i> (1.1-12.2) <i>Ba</i> |
|------|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4.5  | οἱ ἄνθρωποι | homines                                                             | omnes                                                      |
| 12.2 | —           | dicens in se ipso / maledicens<br>in corde suo in se ipsum <i>M</i> | in semetipso dicens                                        |
| 16.5 | —           | pro illa                                                            | <i>om.</i>                                                 |
| 18.3 | —           | hodie                                                               | <i>om.</i>                                                 |
| 18.6 | —           | tenebrae <i>M</i> / tenebrarum <i>D</i>                             | <i>om.</i>                                                 |
| 20.2 | ὑπογραμμούς | monimen <i>M</i> , monumentum <i>D</i>                              | hominem                                                    |

In any case, the evident is scarce.

Finally, a few words about the other three, much later, copies. The fifteenth-century El Escorial Q-III-10, Part II is simply a copy of *Ba*. Valencienno 168 (160), of the late thirteenth century, is a reworked version of the text of *M*, contaminated with a  $\beta$ -exemplar. The fifteenth-century Berlin Magdeburg 26 derives from an exemplar of the  $\beta$ -redaction.

The relationships between copies of Translation A, Redaction 1, prior to the thirteenth century can roughly be represented as follows<sup>72</sup>:



#### THE GREEK SOURCE

By the mid-eighth century, at the latest, the Latin translation A was circulating and being copied in Francia. The earliest extant witness of this particular redaction, as said above, was a passionary containing many Merovingian textual versions.

The source of this translation was an exemplar belonging to the  $\beta$ -class of the Greek textual transmission. Indeed, to give a couple of examples, it offers the number of monks found in  $\beta$  (5.4), and Agapius is called *sapientissimum seruum Dei*, corresponding to  $\alpha\text{νδρ}\alpha\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$  of the  $\beta$ -class, not  $\alpha\text{νδρ}\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ , typical of the  $\alpha$ -class (10.4). On the other hand, the Greek exemplar must be in a high stemmatic position, above the  $\gamma$  family. For instance, Translation A preserves 13.1 *pro peccatore* found both in  $\alpha$  and in  $S_2 L$  of the  $\beta$ -class, which was lost in the  $\gamma$ -exemplar. Additionally, if we look at the  $\gamma$  group of manuscripts, we see that this translation could not derive from any of the main redactions ( $B, C, \delta$ ). For instance, in 18.4, the Latin text reads *irruens super faciem filiae suae*, corresponding to  $\epsilon\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega\text{ν}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\omega}\pi\omega$ , while  $B$  has  $\epsilon\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega\text{ν}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \lambda\epsilon\iota\psi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ . In 17.5, the Latin translation has *oret pro mea paupertate*, corresponding to  $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$  in all of the Greek textual transmission, while  $B$  (and  $C$ ) reads  $\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$ . Nor

72. In the absence of material evidence which would prove beyond any reasonable doubt the connection of a copy to its model, I represent  $P, Es$ , and  $D$  as descending from the model of  $R$  and that of  $Ro$ , although they may be *descripti* of  $R$  and  $Ro$ .

does the translation stem from an exemplar from which *C* descends. All the numerous additions and rewording in *C* are absent from the translation. Finally, the source of Translation A did not belong to the  $\delta$ -class. In 2.4, the Latin text says that Euphrosyne was baptised at the age of seven, not six as in  $\delta$ ; in 8.1, it has no text corresponding to the addition  $\eta$  ἀδελφάς, a feature of  $\delta$ ; in 17.1 it does not have the addition typical of  $\delta$ .

In sum, the source of Translation A was an exemplar produced prior to the mid-eighth century, at the latest, and since lost. It belonged to the  $\beta$ -line of transmission in the branch from which the  $\gamma$ -class of manuscripts derives, but in a stemmatic position higher than  $\gamma$ .

#### THE TRANSLATOR'S TECHNIQUE

The Latin translation is mostly *ad verbum*. This method did not stop its author from reworking the text, simplifying and adding details that he thought might be useful to his audience. For instance, in chapter 6, when Euphrosyne deals with the issue of the tonsure, the author of the Latin version explains: *dum in Oriente consuetudo est monachas tondere capillos sicut et uiros*<sup>73</sup>. In 4.3, the abbot invites Paphnutius and his daughter to spend a few days at the monastery: καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν καταλῦσαι ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ τοῦ κοινοβίου. The translator rendered ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ with a periphrasis: *et iussit abbas foras de monasterio, ubi peregrini receptionem habebant, manere patrem cum puella*.

Sometimes, the translator gives his text a more emotional tone. In 15.3-4, the Greek source has:

<sup>3</sup> Πολλὰ τοίνυν διαλεχθέντες περὶ ψυχοφελῶν πραγμάτων, ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ Παφνούτιος τοῦ Σμαράγδου. Καὶ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον λέγει αὐτῷ· <sup>4</sup> «Εἰς Θεός, δέσποτα, τί ὠφελήθην εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον; Οἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι οὕτως προσετέθην αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ εἰ ἦν τὸ τέκνον μου».

The translator introduces a pathetic voice:

<sup>3</sup> Diu autem colloquium habentes pro salute animae, reuersus est ad abbatem dixitque ei: <sup>4</sup> «Magna mirabilia sunt Dei quae uidi hodie. Qualem aedificationem animae meae fecit mihi iste uir eunuchus pro desiderio meo! Deus mihi testis est, quia, sic est cor meum declinatum in amore suo, ut si fuisset filia mea quae de lumbis meis exiuit, non amplius potebam diligere illam».

In other places, he simplified the text. For instance, in 1.6, the Greek text reads:

73. The prohibition against female tonsure was established in the Council of Gangra in Paphlagonia around the year 340 (can. 17), and was reiterated fifty years later, in 390, in the Theodosian Code (16.2.27).

Καὶ δὴ ἀπέρχεται ἐν τινὶ κοινοβίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐλέγετο τὸν ἡγούμενον μέγαν ἄνθρωπον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τυγχάνειν.

This the translator condenses to:

Et in una die ambulavit in monasterio, ubi abbas uir sanctissimus erat.

## EDITIONS

The present redaction of the *Vita Euphrosynae* was published for the first time in 1871 by Anatole Boucherie<sup>74</sup>. Boucherie transcribed the text found in *M* (Montpellier H 55), and produced an extensive linguistic commentary on the language of this particular copy. The linguistic analysis was his primary interest, being a reputed linguist.

More recently, in 2006, Joseph Reisdorfer made available online an edition of *M*, supplemented with substantial additional material<sup>75</sup>. Other than an introduction to the contents and reception of the *Vita*, Reisdorfer accompanied the text with an *apparatus criticus* in which he incorporated the variants found in Rouen 1400 (U. 3) and Valenciennes 168 (160). This *apparatus criticus* is followed by an *apparatus* of the emendations in *M*, an *apparatus grammaticus et lexicographicus*, an *apparatus* of biblical sources, and an *apparatus* of *realia*. He also provided a French translation. Reisdorfer's work is a significant achievement, and provides important elements. But we should be aware that what we have here is basically a transcription of *M*. Every error, orthographic feature, often due to the usage of the scribe or his predecessors, and even every *lacuna* in the text is presented to the reader. The correct readings that are found in the two later witnesses he used are given in the *apparatus criticus*. Reisdorfer also published a transcription of Valenciennes 168 (160) and of the fragment of Rouen, and a linguistic study of the text found in *M*<sup>76</sup>.

74. *La vie de sainte Euphrosyne. Texte romano-latin du VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, «Revue des langues romanes», 2 (1871), pp. 23-62, 109-17. The Latin text is on pp. 26-40. See the review of Gaston Paris, *La Vie de sainte Euphrosyne, texte romano-latin du VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Par A. Boucherie*, «Romania» 1 (1872), p. 238.

75. *Incipit Vita Sancte Eufrosine qui interpretatur in latino Castissima: édition critique de la Vie de Sainte Euphrosyne*. It derived from his PhD in ancient languages and literatures, presented to the University of Paris-Nanterre in 2006.

76. Reisdorfer, «*C'est l'habit qui fait le moine*». Édition cit.; Id., «*Incipit Vita sancte Eufrosine qui interpretatur in latino castissima*» cit. A linguistic study can be found in «*Latium Circa Romanum*»: Étude sur la langue de la *Vita Sancte Eufrosine* (BHL N° 2722) du manuscrit H 55 de la Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier (BuM), in *Actes du XXVII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes* (Nancy, 15-20 juillet 2013), Strasbourg 2016, vol. 1, pp. 331-42.

## EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The present edition is based on all of the surviving manuscripts identified so far produced prior to the late twelfth century. Later copies do not bring anything substantial to the reconstruction of the text, and therefore are not considered here. The Greek source usually helps select the preferable reading, whenever there is a divergence between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .

Orthography and morphology are important issues in the present case: we have in *M* a text full of linguistic features of a late antique, likely Merovingian, model. This is precisely what drew Anatole Boucherie's attention to *M*, and led him to produce a comprehensive linguistic commentary. More recently, this aspect was reiterated by Joseph Reisdorfer<sup>77</sup>.

The existence of this copy is a challenge for the editor. In fact, it is always difficult to be sure whether the sorts of linguistic features found here go back to the author of the translation, or whether they belong to a certain model in the chain of transmission. The question for the editor is whether the non-classical linguistic features of one particular copy (namely the earliest) should be preferred, because they may better represent an earlier stage of the text. If so, the linguistic characteristics of the other manuscripts (in our case, the second earliest manuscript was copied some fifty years later) should be disregarded. Actually, late antique and early medieval intellectual agents, particularly in the period prior to Charlemagne's policy of the unification of school and writing, did not give the same value to orthography and other linguistic features as we do today. Considerable variation in grammatical and spelling usages coexisted. It was simply not an issue or a concern for the agents of the transmission.

Thus, considering that we cannot be sure to what extent *M* represents the orthography of the initial stage of the text – and *M* contains errors in several places, which means that it is no more than a piece in the transmission chain – and considering the diversity of spelling in the manuscripts, originating from different usages, schools, and chronological periods, I adopted a uniform and pragmatic approach. I chose to use the standard orthography as found in the *TLL*, *MLW*, and other normative dictionaries. It is pointless to try to recover the orthography of this seventh- or early eighth-century text in its earliest, or any other, phase. On the other hand, trivial variations in spelling, such as *e/ae/*, *nm/mm*, *np/mp*, *mpt-*, *nl/ll*, *-ci-/ti-*, *adf-/aff-*, *adp-/app-*, *ads-/ass-*, *adm-/amm-*, *adn-/ann-*, *adl-/all-*, final *-d/-t*, among others, have not been considered, since they provide no useful information about the history of the text and the stemmatic relationships between copies, and do not help to recon-

77. See Reisdorfer, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique* cit., p. 712.

struct the text. Instead, hypercorrection (like *aeclesia*), an erroneous initial *b* (or its absence when it is expected), and substitutions such as *b/u*, *p/b*, *ph/f*, *il/y*, *ol/u*, and *el/i*, have been recorded in the *apparatus criticus*, since they may indicate an older, pre-Carolingian or Visigothic model, and in the cases where they could be interpreted as morphological variants. I always record the orthographical variants of proper names and Greek words. The spelling of the names of the protagonists is Pafnutius and Eufrosina in the early textual tradition and I decided to maintain these forms.

Regarding morpho-syntactical aspects, an important issue when working with a manuscript such as *M* – for instance, *in monasterio* / *in monasterium* with verbs of movement, often insignificant details to the medieval reader –, I have kept the non-classical constructions in *M* whenever they appear in other witnesses of  $\alpha$  and in the earliest witnesses of  $\beta$ . If these features are found in the earliest and most representative witnesses, they are likely to go back to early stages of the text. When there is no way of knowing which reading is preferable because they are equally possible, I usually followed the earliest manuscript, occasionally obtaining some support from the Greek text and the other redaction of the same translation, this is, the *Vita Castissimae*.

A final detail, also relating to *M*. As said previously, many emendations are made in an eleventh-century hand using a different, lighter, ink. Whenever it is clear that the emendation belongs to this hand and ink, I indicate this with *M*<sup>2</sup>. Erasures or small strokes emending mostly letters, such as closing a *u* into an *o*, impossible to characterise, are indicated with *M*<sup>p.c.</sup>. A good example can be seen in 13.1: *M* has *ambolabat*, which a corrector (*M*<sup>p.c.</sup>) altered to *ambulauit* (as given by all other manuscripts), and the hand *M*<sup>2</sup> wrote *perrexit* above the line.

*P* presents a text very similar to that in *R*. But it is not certain that *P* is a copy of *R*. After some hesitation, I decided to include *P* in the *apparatus criticus*. At the very least this provides the reader with this twelfth-century textual form, with its idiosyncratic variants and errors. The same applies to *Es* and *D*. In the case of *D*, the manuscript provides the full text, whereas *R0* presents only a portion of the text. Therefore, it represents the missing text in *R0*.

For the sake of clarity, the division of the text into chapters and units follows the division used in the Greek text<sup>78</sup>.

78. The translator did not include 2.3; 14.8 is found between 14.5 and 14.6, and 14.7 is divided in two parts, 14.7b before 14.8, 14.7a before 14.9.



IV.  
TRANSLATION B OF THE «LIFE OF EUPHROSYNE»  
(«BHL» 2723)

The *Vita sanctae Euphrosynae*, in the version classified *BHL* 2723, is found today in more than one hundred manuscripts. It was modelled on a lost exemplar of a line of transmission represented today by *C* (Paris, gr. 1538), a non-menological anthology copied in the late tenth century. The version transmitted by *C* is a reworked redaction with substantial rephrasing and a large number of additions, particularly in chapters 15 and 16, supplemented with quotations of the Gospel. Translation B is again a translation *ad verbum*. A few general features characterise this Latin version: other than the additions to chapters 15 and 16, the origins of the monk who tonsured Euphrosyne are omitted, the name of Euphrosyne's tutor is given as Agapitus, and the regions where they search for Euphrosyne are Alexandria and Egypt, not the original Egypt and Libya.

The translation must have existed prior to the mid-eighth century. Although the earliest Latin witnesses date from a few decades later, study of the manuscript transmission reveals that it was already circulating and being copied before the earliest surviving copy. From the beginning of its circulation, it travelled in anthologies of ascetic literature. Frequently, it is paired with the Latin versions of the so-called *Vitae patrum*, a collection of Greek saints' lives and episodes of various natures and configurations, transmitted to the west in the sixth century. These *Vitae* achieved immense popularity by the ninth century in the Carolingian cultural centres<sup>1</sup>. More specifically, it travelled with the *Vitae* of other female saints belonging to a sort of *répertoire* of Christian heroines, mainly addressed to a female audience: Eugenia, Pelagia, two Marinas (one also called Marinus, the other also called Margarita), Thais, Euphrasia, Mary of Egypt, among others. All of them are women who refused the conventions of contemporary society and devoted themselves to an ascetic life.

1. See, among many studies, C. M. Batlle, *Die «Adhortationes sanctorum Patrum» («Verba Seniorum») im lateinischen Mittelalter. Überlieferung, Fortleben und Wirkung*, Münster 1972 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 31), pp. 298-301.

Below I first present the manuscripts used in the critical edition, all produced prior to the end of the tenth century, before dealing with the history of the textual transmission and its relation to the Greek source.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS

##### 1. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q. 26 (= *W*)

s. VIII-IX, Würzburg; 62 fols.; 20.5 × 18 cm; 26/27 and 22/23 long lines; owner: Würzburg, St Kilian Cathedral (shelf marks: «CLXIII», s. XV)<sup>2</sup>.

This manuscript, owned by St. Kilian Cathedral, was produced in the late eighth century in the region of Würzburg, at a scriptorium under Anglo-Saxon influence. It contains a collection of ascetic texts. The first quires (five quaternions and one bifolio), fols. 1-42v, labelled <A> to F, ruled in 26/27 long lines, contain a commentary to the *Canticum Canticorum* (with an excerpt of Apponius' commentary)<sup>3</sup>, and Jerome's *Vita Malchi* (BHL 5190), followed by his *epist.* 14, *Ad Heliodorum monachum* (CSEL 54, pp. 44-62). The last verso is left blank. The next quires, fols. 43r-62v (a ternion, a quaternion, and a ternion), labelled G to <I>, ruled in 22/23 long lines, contain Pseudo-Melito's *Acta Iohannis apostoli* (BHL 4320) and the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 52r-61r). Fol. 61v and fol. 62 are left blank.

##### 2. Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, B. 3 (= *D*)

s. IX (a. 820-830), Northern Francia; 306 fols., 23.5 × 17.5 cm; 19 long lines (except fols. 296r-301v, ruled in 18 long lines); owners: Essen, Kanonissenstift Essen (c. a. 852-900; *ex-libris* on fol. 1r, s. XVIII)<sup>4</sup>.

2. E. A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century. Part IX (Germany: Maria Laach – Würzburg)*, Oxford 1959, p. 55, no. 1434; H. Thurn, *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*, Wiesbaden 1984 (Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, Bd. 3, Hälfte 1), pp. 101-2; B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen). Teil III. Padua-Zwickau*, ed. B. Ebersperger, Wiesbaden 2014, p. 529, no. 7530; B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, «*Libri Sancti Kyliani*». *Die würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg 1952 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 6), p. 108, no. 41; A. Poncelet, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Wirzburgensis*, in «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 32 (1913), pp. 408-39, at pp. 424-5. On the connection of the manuscript to a high-ranking female audience, see F. Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture*, New York 2014 (on the manuscript, pp. 196-200).

3. See Thurn, *Die Pergamenthandschriften* cit., p. 101.

4. E. A. Overgaauw, J. Ott and G. Karpp, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe B in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf. Teil I. Ms. B 1 bis B 100*, Wiesbaden

This well-known codex was, most likely, commissioned by a high-ranking female aristocrat or, at least, intended for an aristocratic female audience. Steven Stofferahn's thorough study gathers the available evidence and describes the current hypotheses about the origins and early history of the codex<sup>5</sup>. It was written in an unidentified scriptorium in northern Francia, in the ornamental Corbie *a-b* script<sup>6</sup>. The presence of Claudius of Turin's commentary on Genesis led Michael Gorman to date its origins after 811, maybe in the 820s<sup>7</sup>. The route it took to arrive to Essen remains uncertain. Stofferahn summarises the two main lines of conjecture proposed by modern scholarship. One concerns the links between Corbie and related centres to the Saxon monastery of Werden, founded by the Frisian missionary Liudger (742-809)<sup>8</sup>, and then the connection between Werden and Essen<sup>9</sup>. Another possibility is

2005 (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf. Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung 1), pp. 45-52; G. Gattermann, H. Finger, and M. Riethmüller, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland: Erfassung mittelalterlicher Handschriften im rheinischen Landesteil von Nordrhein-Westfalen mit einem Inventar. Bd. 1. Aachen (Diözesanarchiv) bis Köln (Diözesan- und Dombibliothek)* (Nr. 1-1327), Wiesbaden 1993 (Schriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf 18), pp. 302-3, no. 463; H. Dausend, *Das älteste Sakramentar der Münsterkirche zu Essen. Literar-historisch untersucht*, St Ludwig 1920 (Liturgische Texte und Studien 1), pp. 28-35; K. Bodarwé, «*Sanctimonialia Litteratae*». *Schriftlichkeit und Bildung in den ottonischen Frauenkommunitäten Gandersheim, Essen und Quedlinburg*, Münster 2004 (Quellen und Studien. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für kirchengeschichtliche Forschung des Bistums Essen 10), pp. 380-3; E. A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century. Part VIII (Germany: Altenburg-Leipzig)*, Oxford, 1959, p. 45, no. 1183 («s. VIII-IX<sup>1</sup>»); B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen). Teil I. Aachen-Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998*, p. 229, no. 1062 («Corbie, IX. Jh., Anfang»); Id., *Die karolingische Minuskel* (Kat. Nr. 365-385a), in W. Braunsfels (ed.), *Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung*, Aachen 1965, pp. 206-23, at pp. 210-1, no. 366.

5. S. A. Stofferahn, *Changing Views of Carolingian Women's Literary Culture: The Evidence from Essen*, «Early Medieval Europe», 8 (1999), pp. 69-97 (description of the contents on pp. 88-97).

6. T. A. M. Bishop, *The scribes of the Corbie a-b*, in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, Oxford and New York 1990, pp. 523-36, at p. 529; D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen 1990 (Beihefte der Francia 20), pp. 48-56, at p. 50.

7. M. M. Gorman, *The commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious*, «Speculum», 72 (1997), pp. 279-329, p. 299.

8. Ganz, *Corbie* cit., p. 24 (on the provision of books from Corbie to Werden).

9. For the connection between Essen and Werden, see W. Stüwer, *Das Erzbistum Köln, 3: Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, Berlin and New York 1980 (Germania Sacra N. F. 12), pp. 223-4; R. Drögereit, *Werden und der «Heliand»*. *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte der Abtei Werden und zur Herkunft des Heliand* in «Beiträge zur Geschichte von Stadt und Stift Essen», 66 (1950), pp. 83-92. Rosamond McKitterick noted that the beginnings of the scriptorium at Essen, in the late ninth or early tenth century, may have required scribal training and an initial endowment of books from Werden. *D* could have been one of the books of that original endowment. See *Women and Literacy in the Early Middle Ages*, in *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish*

that the manuscript is connected to Altfrid (c. 800-874), bishop of Hildesheim (851-874), who, just one year after his rise to the see of Hildesheim, founded the Essen convent on his family's lands and installed his sister, Ger-suit, as abbess. Altfrid could have acquired the book on one of his trips to northern Francia. Whatever his route may have been, Stofferahn suggested that the codex arrived at Essen sometime in the 860s or 870s<sup>10</sup>.

It contains a large assemblage of excerpts of biblical commentaries, lives of saints and hymns, and works of Augustine. First, on fols. 1v-239v, we have excerpts of Claudius of Turin's *Commentarii in Genesim*<sup>11</sup>, excerpts of Alcuin's *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesin*, Alcuin's *De benedictionibus patriarcharum*, biblical excerpts (Book of Kings, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, the *Cantica Canticorum* followed by excerpts of Bede's commentary)<sup>12</sup>, Gregory the Great's *Expositio in Canticum Canticorum*, excerpts of the Epistles and Revelation, and excerpts of Bede's homilies on Matthew. Then, on fols. 240r-79v, we have the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 240r-52r), the *Vita Marinae, dictae Marini* (BHL 5528; fols. 252r-5v), a collection of hymns and excerpts from a *Liber canticorum*<sup>13</sup>. Finally, on fols. 280r-304r, the codex closes with excerpts of Augustine's *De opere monachorum*, excerpts of Ephrem Syrus' *De compunctione cordis*, and Augustine's *Sermo de disciplina Christiana*.

*Kingdoms, 6th-9th Centuries*, Aldershot 1994, pp. 1-43, at pp. 16-7 (original version: *Frauen und Schriftlichkeit im Frühmittelalter* in H.-W. Goetz (ed.), *Weibliche Lebensgestaltung im frühen Mittelalter*, Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna 1991, pp. 65-118. P. Verbraken, *Un nouveau manuscrit du commentaire de s. Grégoire sur le «Cantique des cantiques»*, «Revue bénédictine», 75 (1965), pp. 143-5, on p. 143, had conjectured a route Corbie-Corvey-Werden-Essen; see also W. Jammers, *Die Paläofränkische Neumenschrift* in Id., *Schrift, Ordnung, Gestalt. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur älteren Musikgeschichte*, Bern and Munich 1969, pp. 35-58, at p. 37.

10. Stofferahn, *Changing views* cit., p. 75. See on fol. 305v the well-known letter of an Essen canoness dated around the year 900 («Domina magistra Fehlin ...»); H. Hoffmann, *Nonnenstudien* in Id., *Schreibschulen und Buchmalerei. Handschriften und Texte des 9.-11. Jahrhunderts*, Hanover 2012 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften 65), pp. 37-159 (at pp. 44-45); J. Frings (ed.), *Krone und Schleier. Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern. Rublandmuseum: Die frühen Klöster und Stifte 500-1200. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Die Zeit der Orden 1200-1500*, Munich 2005, p. 238.

11. See Gorman, *The commentary of Claudius of Turin* cit., pp. 299-300.

12. R. E. Guglielmetti, *La tradizione manoscritta dei commenti latini al Cantico dei cantici (Origini-XII secolo): repertorio dei codici contenenti testi inediti o editi solo nella «Patrologia latina»*, Florence 2006, (Millennio Medievale 63, Strumenti e studi n. s., 14), p. 64; A. Angelino (ed.), *L'epitome del commento al «Cantico» di Beda nel ms. Düsseldorf Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek B.3*, «Filologia Mediolatina», 22 (2015), pp. 105-47.

13. Dausend, *Das älteste Sakramentar* cit., pp. 32-3; D. A. Bullough, *Texts, chant, and the chapel of Louis the Pious*, in Id., *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester 1991, pp. 241-71, at pp. 248-56; M.-H. Jullien, *Les sources de la tradition ancienne des quatorze «Hymnes» attribuées à saint Ambroise de Milan*, «Revue d'histoire des textes», 19 (1989), pp. 57-189, at pp. 105-6.

The *Vita Euphrosynae* is paired with the *Vita Marinae*. Both concern women who disguise themselves as men to escape from the world.

3. Reims, Bibliothèque d'Etude et du Patrimoine (Bibliothèque Carnegie), 1395 (K. 784) (= **R**)

s. IX *med.*, Reims; 183 fols., 25 × 19.5 cm; 20 long lines; owner: Reims, Chapter of Notre-Dame (Gilles d'Aspremont, 1412; fol. 1, shelfmark «A, ord.2, n° 18»)<sup>14</sup>.

Copied in Reims in the mid-ninth century, in the time of archbishop Hincmar (845-882), the manuscript contains an anthology of hagiographical texts. The texts are numbered in red ink, and several present the feast day in the title. First, there is a dossier on the Virgin (fols. 2r-32r), a selection of *miracula* performed by Dionysius of Paris (*BHL* 2201; fols. 32r-8r)<sup>15</sup>, a dossier on Remigius of Reims (*BHL* 7151, 7150; fols. 38r-45r)<sup>16</sup>, two chapters of the Book of Esther (14-15; fols. 45r-7r), another dossier on the Holy Cross (*BHL* 4166, 4164, 4178, 4181g, 4169; fols. 48r-63v), and Sulpicius Severus' *Epistula ad Bassulam*, concerning Saint Martin's death (*BHL* 5613; fols. 64r-7r)<sup>17</sup>. Then, we find a sequence of *Passiones* and *Vitae*, several of them concerning female martyrs and saints<sup>18</sup>:

14. The best study on the manuscript is Clara Renedo Mirambell's excellent thesis, *Étude et édition critique de Reims, BM 1395: les enjeux d'un recueil hagiographique carolingien*, thesis, Paris 2021 (on earlier bibliography, pp. 8-13; description of the manuscript, pp. 33-82; on the *Vita Euphrosynae*, pp. 223-31; text and commentary, pp. 635-53). See also Bischoff, *Katalog cit.*, Teil III, p. 274, no. 5307; C. Veyrard-Cosme, *La «Vita beati Alcuini» (IX<sup>e</sup> s.). Les inflexions d'un discours de sainteté. Introduction, édition et traduction annotée du texte d'après Reims, BM 1395 (K 784)*, Paris 2017 (Collection des études augustinienes. Série Moyen Age et Temps Modernes 54), pp. 18-39; J. Gijssels, *Die unmittelbare Textüberlieferung des sog. Pseudo-Matthäus*, Brussels 1981 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren. Jrg. 43, nr. 96), pp. 38-9; H. Lorient, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements, tome XXXIX. Reims, tome II. 1*, Paris 1904, pp. 539-43; G. Lanoë and C. Jeudy, *La bibliothèque capitulaire de Reims du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'inventaire de 1456-1462 et ses récolements (1470, 1479). L'inventaire de la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2019 (CNRS, IRHT. Documents, études et répertoires 89), p. 167, no. 121 (with bibliography; the manuscript was examined by Gilles d'Aspremont in 1412: *iste liber est de uetustissimis libris ecclesie, et nescitur quis eum dederit nisi habuerimus, et est in archa in capitulo ...*).

15. See M. Lapidge, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis: The «Passio S. Dionysii» in Prose and Verse*, Leiden 2017 (Mittelaltliche Studien und Texte 51), pp. 92-103 (on the manuscript, see p. 94).

16. Clara Renedo called my attention to a third text copied between *BHL* 7151 and 7150, the *Hic est ille Remigius*, not classified in *BHL*: see M.-C. Isaïa, *Remi de Reims. Mémoire d'un saint, histoire d'une Église*, Paris 2010 (Histoire religieuse de la France 35), pp. 389-91.

17. According to Clara Renedo, this last text would have been preceded by a quire, lost long ago, containing the *Vita Marini*.

18. The last column of the table below contains the liturgical date as given in the

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>no.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                                                                                            | <i>feast day</i>  |
|--------------|------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 68r-70v      | X          | 6716       | <i>Passio Petri, Andreae, Pauli et Dyonisiae</i>                                                                                        | id. Mai.          |
| 70v-9r       | XI         | 5303e      | <i>Passio Marinae (Margaritae)</i>                                                                                                      | xv kal. Iul.      |
| 79r-89r      | XII        | 5303c      | <i>Passio Marinae (Margaritae)</i>                                                                                                      | xiiii kal. Iul.   |
| 89r-113v     | XIII       | 242        | <i>Vita Alcuini abbatis</i>                                                                                                             | (xiiii kal. Iun.) |
| 114r-20r     | XIII       | 2451       | <i>Passio Eleutherii et Anthiae</i>                                                                                                     | xiiii kal. Mai.   |
| 120r-30v     | XV         | 2723       | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                                                                                                                 | —                 |
| 130v-5v      | XVI        | 369        | <i>Vita Ambrosii Cadurcensis episcopi</i>                                                                                               | (id. Oct.)        |
| 135v-49v     | XVII       | 7552       | <i>Passio Secundiani, Marcelliani et Veriani</i>                                                                                        | (vi id. Aug.)     |
| 149v-55v     | XVIII      | 429        | <i>Passio Andreae apostoli cum miraculis</i> and<br>Greg. M., <i>epist.</i> XI, 26.1-38 (ed. D.<br>Norberg, CCSL 140A, 1982, pp. 898-9) | (ii kal. Dec.)    |
| 156r-64r     | XVIII      | 156        | <i>Passio Agnetis</i>                                                                                                                   | xii kal. Febr.    |
| 164r-70v     | XX         | 133        | <i>Passio Agathae</i>                                                                                                                   | non. Febr.        |
| 171r-80r     | XXI        | 8093+401   | <i>Passio Theodotae + Passio Anastasiae</i>                                                                                             | (viii kal. Ian.)  |

Our text, here entitled *Vita sanctae Eufrosinae*, is the only one that gives no indication of the feast day. Interestingly, two preceding texts, dated to two consecutive days, are variations of the same account on a young girl called Marina, sometimes Margarita, who refuses to marry, a story somewhat similar to that of Euphrosyne<sup>19</sup>.

4. El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, i-III-13 (= *E*)

See pp. 45-7.

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2994<sup>A</sup>, Part I (fols 1-72) (= *P*)

s. IX <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, Reims; 72 fols., 14.5 × 11.5 cm; 16 long lines; owners: Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1674); Bibliothèque Royale (1732)<sup>20</sup>.

manuscript. Parentheses indicate that the date is indicated within the text, usually at the end; otherwise, it is indicated after the title.

19. See M. Clayton and H. Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, Cambridge 1994 (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9), pp. 7-13 (at p. 8); Renedo, *Étude et édition critique* cit., pp. 218-9 (each version derives from a different Latin translation of the same original Greek text).

20. Bischoff, *Katalog* cit. *Teil III*, p. 88, no. 4267 («Nordostfrankreich, IX. Jh., ca. 3. Viertel»); J. Porcher (ed.), *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III (N<sup>os</sup> 2693 à 3013<sup>A</sup>), Paris 1952, pp. 377-80; P. Petitmengin et alii, *Les Vies latines de sainte Pélagie. I. Inventaire des textes publiés et inédits*, «Recherches augustinienes», 12 (1977), pp. 279-305, at p. 297, no. 102 («Reims ou environ», according to Bernhard Bischoff); F. Dolbeau, *Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, «Revue d'Histoire des Textes», 9 (1980), pp. 183-238, at p. 192 (perhaps bought by Jean-Baptiste Colbert from Chandelier in 1674); A. Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca» des Palladius*, Berlin and New York 2003 (Patristische Texte und Studien 51), pp. 359-60 (version I).

This assemblage of ascetic literature, composed for a female monastic audience, was likely written in Reims in the time of Hincmar. It comprises more than thirty excerpts and full texts. On fols. 1r-26v, among a number of excerpts of the *Vita Melaniae iunioris*<sup>21</sup>, we find excerpts of Cyprian (from the *Liber de oratione dominica*, *De opere et elemosynis*, and *De habitu uirginum*)<sup>22</sup>, Pseudo-Leo's *sermo* 12.4, Maximus of Turin's *serm.* 37, Gregory the Great's *epist.* 12.2 (addressed to Savinella, Columba and Galla)<sup>23</sup>, Isidore's *Sententiae* 2.40, and Ambrose's *Expositio in Lucam* 2.22.

On fols. 26v-30v, we find an episode of Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* concerning Burgundofara, abbess of the monastery of Faremoutiers, diocese of Meaux<sup>24</sup>, followed by excerpts of Basil's Rule<sup>25</sup> and Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita* (the episode of a pious woman who stood up to emperor Valens in Edessa)<sup>26</sup>. Finally, after a section of Evagrius' *Sententiae* (fols. 31r-42r)<sup>27</sup>, we have three lives of female saints, usual texts in such a context:

21. *Vita Melaniae*, II, 11-17 and 35, in C. de Smedt, *Vita s. Melaniae Junioris auctore coevo et sanctae familiari*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 8 (1889), pp. 16-63. Patrick Laurence in *Gérontius, La Vie latine de sainte Mélanie. Édition critique, traduction et commentaire*, Jerusalem 2002 (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 41), ignores the manuscript. On the manuscript transmission, see also M. Rampolla, *Santa Melania giuniore, senatrice romana. Documenti contemporanei e note*, Rome 1905, pp. XLIV-LXX. A brief survey can also be found in Denys Gorce, *Vie de sainte Mélanie. Texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes*, Paris 1962 (Sources chrétiennes, 90), pp. 49-54. An updated and accurate study is very much needed.

22. L. Ciccolini and P. Mattei (eds.), *Sancti Cypriani episcopi De habitu virginum. Opera pseudo-cyprianea. De laude martyrii, Ad Vigilium episcopum de Iudaica incredulitate, De rebaptismate*, Turnhout 2016 (CCSL 3 F, Sancti Cypriani episcopi Opera 4. Opera pseudo-Cyprianea 1), p. 88 (ms. F).

23. Ed. D. Norberg, *S. Gregorii Sancti opera. Registrum epistularum libri VIII-XIV*, Turnhout 1982 (CCSL 140A), pp. 969-70; B. Judic, *Savinella, correspondante de Grégoire le Grand*, in M. Gouillet, S. Gouguenheim, and O. Kammerer (eds.), *Retour aux sources. Textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse*, Paris 2004, pp. 515-24, at p. 520.

24. *Vita Columbani*, 2.19, ed. B. Krusch, *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici*, Hanover and Leipzig 1902 (MGH, scr. mer. IV), p. 139, 10-140, 25. The text is presented under the title *Quod factum est in monasterio Evoriascas (inc.: Denique duas quasdam sorores eiusdem monasterii antiquus hostis; expl.: sodalium praeberet remanentium)*.

25. Bas. Reg. 199, ed. K. Zelzer, *Basili Regula a Rufino latine versa*, Vienna 1986 (CSEL 86), pp. 216-7.

26. Cassiod. *Hist. trip.* 7.32, ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, *Cassiodori Epiphanius Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita. Historiae ecclesiasticae ex Socrate Sozomene et Theodorito in unum collectae et nuper de Graeco in Latinum translatae libri numero duodecim*, Vienna 1952 (CSEL 71), pp. 432-3. It is entitled *Exemplum laudabile cuiusdam mulieris ex historia tripartita* in the manuscript.

27. J. Leclercq, *L'ancienne version Latine des Sentences d'Evagre pour les moines*, «Scriptorium» 5 (1951), pp. 195-213. The title in the manuscript is *Sermo s. Ambrosii ad eos qui in coenobiis habitant; inc. Fratres heredes Dei, audite uerbum Dei, coheredes autem Christi, suscipite dicta Christi ..., expl. et non obliuiscimini animam eius humilem in tempore orationis*.

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                                                     |
|--------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 42r-5r       | 6532       | <i>De patientia cuiusdam uirginis</i> (Palladius, <i>Historia Lausiaca</i> , 34) <sup>28</sup> . |
| 45r-62r      | 2723       | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                                                                          |
| 62r-72v      | 6606       | <i>Vita Pelagiae</i> («réfection latine A'») <sup>29</sup>                                       |

6. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6382, Part I (fols. 1-43) (= **M**)

s. IX <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, Reims; 24 × 17.5 cm; 43 fols.; 21 long lines; owners: Freising, St Mary and St Corbinian Cathedral<sup>30</sup>.

This set of five quaternions and a final bifolio (with an addition leaf, fol. 9) was written most probably in Reims in the time of Hincmar<sup>31</sup>. It was attached to a section produced in Freising in the third quarter of the eighth century. **M** contains the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 1r-7r), Isidore's *Synonyma*, from the beginning to 1.27 (fols. 7r-9v)<sup>32</sup>, Pseudo-Gregory the Great's *Concordia testimoniorum* (CPL 1717; CPPM IIA, 2292; fols. 10r-20v), Pseudo-Augustine's *De unitate sanctae Trinitatis dialogus* (CPL 379; CPPM IIA, 173; fols. 20v-3v), an assemblage of excerpts of Isidore's *De differentiis rerum* and *Etymologiae* (fols. 23v-41r), and the *Breviarium apostolorum* (BHL 652; fols. 41v-2v)<sup>33</sup>, followed by short texts and excerpts (fols. 42v-3v)<sup>34</sup>.

7. Michaelbeuern, Benediktinerstift, Man. Perg. 7, Frag. perg. I, 1 (= **Mb**)

s. IX<sup>2</sup>, Southern Germany (area of Salzburg); a bifolio, 19 × 11 cm and 19 × 16 cm respectively; 24 long lines; owners: abbey of Michaelbeuern<sup>35</sup>.

28. Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca»* cit., pp. 599-602.

29. F. Dolbeau, *La Réfection latine A'*, in P. Petitmengin (ed.), *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende, Tome I. Les textes et leur histoire. Grec, Latin, Syriaque, Arabe, Arménien, Géorgien, Slavon*, Paris 1981, pp. 181-216 (p. 186, ms. P, classe α).

30. G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising. Band 2. Clm 6317-6437 mit einem Anhang*, Wiesbaden 2011 (Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis. III. Series nova 2.2), pp. 154-8; D. Juste, *Les manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich*, Paris 2011 (Documents, études et répertoires 81. Catalogus codicum astrologorum Latinorum 1), pp. 110-1. Former shelfmark «Fris. 182».

31. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Teil I. Die Bayrischen Dörzenen*, Leipzig 1940, p. 147.

32. J. Elfassi (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, Turnhout 2009 (CCSL 111B), pp. 5-23. It ends abruptly on fol. 9v at *pondus excellens gloriae*. In the bottom margin, an indication reads *sequentia huius libri usque ad finem require in ultimis ad signum istius modi*. These folios are lost. The next quire begins with Ps.-Gregory the Great's *Concordia testimoniorum*.

33. J. Carracedo Fraga, «*Breviarium Apostolorum*» («BHL» 652): *una edición*, «Compostellanum», 50 (2005), pp. 503-20 (ms. K); B. De Gaiffier, *Le Breviarium Apostolorum* («BHL» 652). *Tradition manuscrite et œuvres apparentées*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 81 (1963), pp. 89-116, at p. 95.

34. See Glauche, *Katalog* cit., pp. 157-8.

35. B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Aus-*



This fragment, two strips of a bifolium, emerged from the binding of a book preserved at the monastery of Michaelbeuern, founded before 977, not far from Salzburg. The first leaf of the bifolium contains the last section of the *Vita Euphrosynae*, from 18.1 <audiss>et Paphnutius to the end, with a loss of a couple of lines in the middle of the columns. It is followed by the *Vita Pelagiae* («réfection latine B», BHL 6607-9), the title of which is still visible at the bottom of fol. 1v, in red ink. After a gap of one bifolium, fol. 2r-v continues with part of the *Vita Pelagiae*, from 13.83 *tuae immensitate suspensa* to 16.102 *missas simul*<sup>36</sup>.

#### 8. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 521 (475) (= V)

s. IX<sup>3/4</sup>, Saint-Amand (?); 80 fols., 28 × 20 cm; 27 long lines; owner: abbey of Saints-Pierre-André-et-Amand, Saint-Amand-les-Eaux<sup>37</sup>.

*nahme der wisigotischen*). Teil II. Laon-Paderborn, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 190, no. 2789; Id., *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Teil II. Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 172 (considering Forstner's dating "vielleicht beträchtlich zu hoch gegriffen"); B. Koll, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Michaelbeuern bis 1600*, Vienna, 1999 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe 2: Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken 6. Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, 278), p. 49 («s. IX<sup>2</sup>»); K. Forstner, *Die karolingischen Handschriften und Fragmente in den Salzburger Bibliotheken (Ende des 8. Jh. bis Ende des 9. Jh.)*, Salzburg 1962 (Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, 3. Ergänzungsband), p. 27 («um 850»); Id., *Ergänzungen zu B. Bischoffs Hss. Katalog (Salzburger Fragmente)*, «Scriptorium», 62 (2008), pp. 122-38, at p. 132 («s. IX<sup>1</sup>»). I am most grateful to P. Prior Mag. Michael Eppenschwandtner OSB, for his kind help in providing me with a digital copy.

36. Ed. C. Lévy, P. Petitmengin, J.-P. Rothschild and J.-Y. Tilliette in P. Petitmengin (ed.), *Pélagie la Pénitente* cit., pp. 236-8.

37. Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit., Teil III, p. 401, no. 6407 («IX. Jh., ca. 3. Viertel») (see the following footnote); Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca»* cit., pp. 346-9 (ms. A); A. Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements (Série in-8°), Tome XXV. Poitiers-Valenciennes*, Paris 1894, pp. 423-4; J. Mangeart, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes*, Paris 1860, pp. 483-5 (no. 475 - T.4.17), 677-9; A. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca belgica manuscripta*, Lille 1641, p. 55, no. 252. The manuscript is recorded in the *Index Maior* of Saint-Amand, datable around 1150-1159. See L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1874, vol. 2, pp. 448-58, at p. 452, no. 136 (Paris lat. 1850, fol. 200r: «Paradisus de conversione sanctorum patrum, cum doctrina sancti Basilii et cum aliis opusculis»). It is not recorded in an earlier list of books of Saint-Amand, datable to around the first third of the twelfth century. On the dating of the two inventories, see F. Simeray, *Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand*, thesis, l'École des chartes, Paris 1989, pp. 69-89, at p. 71 (*Index Minor*, c. 1150-1159, addition to Valenciennes, BM 39 [33], fol. 2r), and p. 86 (*Index Maior*, c. 1150-1159, addition to Paris, BnF, lat. 1850, fols. 199v-202v). I am most grateful to Mme Françoise Simeray for permitting me to consult her study at the library of IRHT, Paris, some years ago.

Written possibly at the abbey of Saint-Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century<sup>38</sup>, the manuscript contains Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* (Wellhausen's witness A; fols. 11r-26r) and an anthology of short ascetic and penitential stories, together with *Passiones* and *Vitae* of saints. At the end of the collection, we find four *lives* of female saints and the *Transitus Mariae*:

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                           |
|--------------|------------|----------------------------------------|
| 69r-71r      | 4980       | <i>Passio Luceiae et Auceiae regis</i> |
| 71r-4v       | 5352       | <i>Transitus Mariae</i> <sup>39</sup>  |
| 75r-82r      | 2723       | <i>Vita Eufrosinae</i>                 |
| 82-4v        | 5528       | <i>Vita Marinae (dictae Marini)</i>    |
| 84v-106r     | 5885       | <i>Vita Melaniae</i> <sup>40</sup>     |

The text is extensively emended by a hand using a darker ink (= V<sup>2</sup>).

9. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 3851<sup>A</sup>, Part II (fols. 17-56) (= F)

s. X, Limoges, Saint-Martial; 133 fols., 28 × 19.5 cm, 30 long lines; owners: Limoges, Saint-Martial<sup>41</sup>.

The manuscript was possibly written at the abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges in the tenth century. This section (fols. 17-56), composed of five quires, contains *Passiones* and *Vitae* of saints. The beginning is truncated. It starts at the middle of the *Passio Christophori* (BHL 1766), followed by a few *passiones apostolorum* (Peter, Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew). Then we have an anthology that opens with a dossier on Martial of Limoges (BHL 5551, followed by a collection of miracles). The dossier ends abruptly on fol. 32v, for the subsequent folios are lost. After this gap we find an excerpt on Augustine's life, truncated at the beginning, and the following texts<sup>42</sup>:

38. In the third volume of Bischoff's *Katalog* (see note above), published by Birgit Ebersperger, there is a distinction between fols. 1-26 (no. 6406), located in 'Nordfrankreich', and fols. 27-106 (no. 6407). However, the same hand copied a number of *Vitae Patrum* on fols. 26v-30v. Another hand copied the *Passio Mametis* from fol. 30v.

39. After this text we find a short selection of sentences mostly from Gregory the Great's *hom. in euang.*

40. Laurence, *Gérontius* cit., p. 111 (ms. H).

41. D. Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris and Geneva 1969 (Mémoires et documents. Société de l'École des chartes 17), pp. 202-3; M. Lapidge, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis and the «Conscriptio Visbii»*, in J. Elfassi, C. Lanéry, and A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk (eds.), *«Amicorum societas». Mélanges offerts à François Dolbeau pour son 65<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, Florence 2013 (Millennio Medievale 96. Strumenti e Studi 34), pp. 409-16, at p. 411; Id., *Hilduin of Saint-Denis* cit., p. 765. Fol. 1 of the present manuscript presents the shelf mark "CXXXIV". The margins have been severely reduced, sometimes cutting off letters of the text.

42. The last column of the table below contains the liturgical date as given in the

| <i>fol.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                    | <i>feast day</i> |
|-------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 33r-4r      | 8690       | Ps.-Ambr., <i>Inventio Vitalis et Agricolae mm. Bononiae</i>    | III kal. Mai.    |
| 34r-5v      | 267        | <i>Passio Alexandri papae et sociorum mm. Romae</i>             | VI non. Mai.     |
| 35v-41v     | 4851       | <i>Vita Leodegarii ep. Augustodunensis</i>                      | (VI non. Oct.)   |
| 42r-5r      | 2723       | <i>Vitae Euphrosynae</i>                                        | —                |
| 45r-8r      | 3869       | <i>Hieronymus presb.</i>                                        | —                |
| 48r-52r     | 1748       | <i>Passio Christinae v. m. Vulsinii, alias in Tyro civitate</i> | VIII kal. Aug.   |
| 52r-3v      | 1967       | <i>Passio Cosmae et Damiane mm. Aegis in Cilicia</i>            | VIII kal. Aug.   |
| 53v-4r      | 2176       | <i>Revelatio ostensa papae Stephano</i>                         | v kal. Aug.      |
| 54r-v       | 2183       | <i>Conscriptio Visbii</i>                                       | —                |
| 54v-6v      | 7851       | <i>Revelatio Stephani diac. protomartyris</i>                   | III Non. Aug.    |

After the last text, on fol. 56v, which is the last verso of the section, the prologue to the Acts of the Apostles, written in the same hand, is squeezed into the available space<sup>43</sup>.

The *Vitae Euphrosynae* and the *Vita Christinae* are the only texts exhibiting a number: XXI and XXVIII, respectively. Since this does not correspond to the present sequence and, from fol. 33r, the texts are copied continuously without losses, the numbers may have been copied from the model. As usual, no feast day is attributed to the *Vita Euphrosynae*.

10. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2531, Part I (fols. 1-62) (= *Ma*)

s. X, southern Bavaria; 95 fols., 26 × 16 cm; 20 long lines; owner: Aldersbach, St Maria<sup>44</sup>.

The codex, owned by the abbey of Aldersbach, not far from Passau, contains a collection of familiar *Vitae* of female saints:

| <i>fol.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                       |
|-------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1r-18r      | 6548       | Hier., <i>Vita Paulae</i>                                          |
| 19r-49v     | 2718       | <i>Vita Euphrasiae</i>                                             |
| 49v-51v     | 2723       | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i> (incomplete)                               |
| 52r-62v     | 6607-9     | <i>Vita Pelagiae</i> («réfection latine B»; missing the beginning) |

The titles were added to the texts later. At the end, a unit of three quires has been attached, containing the *Vita Brigidae* (BHL 1455) with the title in

manuscript. Parentheses indicate that the date is indicated within the text, usually at the end; otherwise, it is indicated after the title.

43. F. Stegmüller and K. Reinhardt (eds.), *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, I, *Initia biblica, apocrypha, prologi*, Madrid 1981, p. 288 (*Lucas natione Syrus ... eius proficeret medicina*).

44. K. Halm, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*. I.2 (*Codices Num. 2501-5256 Complectens*). *Editio altera emendatior*, Munich 1894 (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* III.2. *Codices Latinos Continens* 2), p. 4.

red ink (fols. 63v-95v)<sup>45</sup>. The *Vita Euphrosynae* ends abruptly at 6.2 *caelorum regna et*, for the folios between fols. 51 and 52 are lost. The beginning of the *Vita Pelagiae*, a copy of the so-called «réfection latine B», is also lost<sup>46</sup>.

11. Brussels, KBR, II 2568 (3316) (= *B*)

s. X, northern Francia, 176 fols.; 32 × 22 cm; 27 long lines; owner: Stavelot, St.-Rémacle; Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) («12314», «12460»); Bibliothèque Royale (1900)<sup>47</sup>.

This passionary was owned by the abbey of Saint-Rémacle in Stavelot. The *Vita Euphrosynae* appears on fols. 30r-36r, between the *Vita prima sancti Amandi* (BHL 332), ending abruptly at *quadam die dum uir*<sup>48</sup>, and the *Vita Marinae, dictae Marini* (BHL 5528). The beginning of our text is truncated. It offers from 1.7 <con>secutus est up to 14.1 *uisita*<bat>. Here one folio is missing. The text resumes with 15.2.1 <collo>*quia*, and goes until de end. The next two lines, required to the title of the *Vita Marinae*, are left blank.

12. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 263 (973), part I (pp. 1-104) (= *Ei*)

s. X<sup>3/3</sup>, Switzerland (Einsiedeln); 104 pp.; 19 × 15.5 cm; 20/21 long lines; owner: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek<sup>49</sup>.

This set of quires contains the *Vitae* of three female saints:

45. J.-C. Poulin, *Les «libelli» dans l'édition hagiographique avant le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* in M. Heinzelmann (ed.), *Livrets, collections et textes. Études sur la tradition hagiographique latine*, Ostfildern 2006 (Beihefte der Francia 63) pp. 15-193, at p. 170.

46. It starts with *animabus uestris maximum consolationis*; ed. Lévy, Petitmengin, Rothschild, and Tilliet in Petitmengin (ed.), *Pélagie la Pénitente* cit., 1, p. 231, l. 9. See also Petitmengin (ed.), *Les Vies latines de sainte Pélagie*. I. cit., p. 297; Id., *Les Vies latines de sainte Pélagie*. II. *Compléments à l'inventaire et classement des manuscrits du texte B*, «Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques», 15 (1980), pp. 265-304, at pp. 284-5.

47. J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 5 (*Histoire – Hagiographie*), Bruxelles 1905, pp. 305-6; M. Esposito, *Notes on Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts in Belgian Libraries*, «Archivum Hibernicum», 3 (1914), pp. 203-209, at p. 205.

48. Ed. B. Krusch, *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici*, Hanover and Leipzig 1910 (MGH, scr. mer. V), p. 447, 2. On the *Vita*, see C. Bottiglieri, *Milone di Saint-Amand, Vita sancti Amandi metrica*, Firenze 2006 (Millennio Medievale 65. Testi 16), pp. LIII-LVI.

49. H. Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten des Deutschen Reichs*, Hanover 2004 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften 53), vol. 1, pp. 110-1; G. Meier, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis O.S.B. servantur. Tomus I: Complectens centurias quinque priores*, Einsiedeln 1899, pp. 237-8, with a bibliographical updating in O. Lang, *Katalog der Handschriften in der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln. Zweiter Teil. Codices 501-1318*, Basel 2009, p. 901.

| <i>pp.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                                              |
|------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1-56       | 6548       | Hier., <i>Vita beatae Paulae</i>                          |
| 57-80      | 2723       | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                                   |
| 80-103     | 6607-9     | <i>Vita Pelagiae</i> («réfection latine B») <sup>50</sup> |

13. Épinal, Bibliothèque Multimédia intercommunale Épinal-Goldbey, 118 (14) (= *Ep*)

s. X, 166 fols., 30 × 20 cm; 26/27 long lines; owner: abbey of Remiremont (François Andreu); Senones, Saint-Pierre (1750; *ex-libris*: fol. 11r)<sup>51</sup>.

The codex, which belonged to the library collected by François Andreu (1686-1748), was sold in 1750 to Augustin Calmet (1672-1757), abbot of Saint-Pierre de Senones. It contains Gregory the Great's *Dialogorum libri IV*. After this work, a set of ascetic *Vitae* was copied. First, the *Vitae* of three female saints:

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                                              |
|--------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 120r-6v      | 2723       | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                                   |
| 126v-40v     | 2718       | <i>Vita Euphrasiae</i> <sup>52</sup>                      |
| 140v-6r      | 6607-9     | <i>Vita Pelagiae</i> («réfection latine B») <sup>53</sup> |

After these lives, we have Ephrem's *Vita Abrahae et Maria* (fols. 146r-57r), Jerome's *Vita Malchi* (fols. 157r-9v), and the *Passio Machabaeorum* (fols. 160r-6v), incomplete at the end, for the following folios are lost. The *Vita Euphrosynae* begins without a title<sup>54</sup>. It has been extensively emended by at least one hand, using a model with a similar redaction. This corrector is designated *Ep*<sup>2</sup> in the *apparatus criticus*.

50. Petitmengin (ed.), *Les Vies latines de sainte Pélagie*. I. cit., p. 295 (quoting Bernhard Bischoff, who considered the origins of the manuscript to be in Switzerland); Id., *Les Vies latines de sainte Pélagie*. II. cit., p. 284.

51. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements, tome III*, Paris 1861, pp. 402-3; Bischoff, *Katalog* cit. Teil I, p. 247. See also M.-J. Gasse-Grandjean, *La naissance de la bibliothèque de Remiremont. D'une bibliothèque privée à une bibliothèque publique: «L'affaire Andreu»*, «Annales de l'Est», 46 (1994), pp. 83-102, at p. 98.

52. Ending at *quinta uero die post obitum beatae Eufraxiae, defuncta est et magistra eius Iulia* (PL 73, 641A).

53. Lévy, Petitmengin, Rothschild and Tilliette in Petitmengin (ed.), *Pélagie la Pénitente* cit., p. 218 (ms. E); Petitmengin (ed.), *Les Vies latines de sainte Pélagie*, II. cit., pp. 280-1.

54. The *Dialogi* end without an *explicit*, the last word (*fuimus*) squeezed into the bottom margin. This is the last verso of a quire. The *Vita Euphrosynae* begins on the first recto of the subsequent quaternion. We do not know whether there is a loss of a quire between the ending of the *Dialogi* and the beginning of the *Vita Euphrosynae*. All other *vitae* in this section present the title.

## 14. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. LXXXIV

s. X <sup>3</sup>/<sub>3</sub>-XI, Reichenau, St Maria; 169 fols., 32 × 25.5 cm; 2 columns of 27/28 lines; owner: Reichenau, St Maria (*ex-libris* on fol. 1r)<sup>55</sup>.

This well-known manuscript contains a hagiographical collection clearly related to Reichenau. It includes, for instance, the *Vita Symeonis Achivi, mon. Augiensis* (BHL 7950) and the *Translatio sanguinis Domini Augiam anno 925 et miracula* (BHL 4152). Several other texts concern saints from Germanic areas: the *Vita Meginradi heremitaie*, related to Einsiedeln (BHL 5878), the *Vita Findani, reclusi Rbenaugiensis* (BHL 2982), the *Vita Kyliani* (BHL 4661), the *Vita Burchardi episcopi Wirzburgensis* (BHL 1483), the *Vita Wynnebaldis ab. Heidenheimensis* (BHL 8996), and the *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis* (BHL 8931). Many additions, usually relating to Reichenau, are found in blank spaces and on empty pages<sup>56</sup>.

The texts are carefully presented. Often, at the end of a text the scribes left the rest of the folio free and started the next text on the following recto, sometimes on a new quire. The *translatio* of Christ's blood to Reichenau in 925 has beautifully decorated initials. The arrangement does not strictly follow the liturgical calendar; there is a certain predominance of saints corresponding to the months from May to August. Some texts exhibit the feast day in the title, in others the date is found at the conclusion of the text, some others omit it.

The *Vita Euphrosynae* is the second text of the anthology (fols. 3r-8v), copied between two texts concerning Umbrian saints, the *Passio Heraclii Iusti et Mauri* (BHL 3819m), indicating 3 May (Heraclius' relics were venerated in

55. A. Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften 1. Die Pergamenthandschriften*, Leipzig 1906 (Wiesbaden 1970) (Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 5), pp. 227-34; D. Barlava, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen Bischof Burchards von Würzburg. Vita antiquior – Vita posterior. – Vita metrica*, Hanover 2005 (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 76), pp. 30-1; H. Löwe, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Vita Findani*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», 42 (1986), pp. 25-85, at pp. 31-2; J.-C. Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Âge. Répertoire raisonné*, Ostfildern 2009 (Beihefte der Francia 69), p. 240; W. Berschin and T. Klüppel, *Die Legende vom Reichenauer Kana-Krug. Die Lebensbeschreibung des Griechen Symeon*, Sigmaringen 1992 (Reichenauer Texte und Bilder 2), pp. 12-15; W. Berschin and T. Klüppel, *Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie*, Konstanz 1988 (Reichenauer Texte und Bilder 1), pp. 27-32. Former shelf mark «69.VII.18». The quires are numbered up to «XVIII» (fol. 132r). Quaternion «V», between fols. 31 and 32, is missing.

56. See, for instance, a quire added to the main section of the manuscript, fols. 138-44, containing the *Translatio Marci evangelistae in Augiam anno 830 et miracula* (BHL 5285), ed. W. Berschin and T. Klüppel, *Der Evangelist Markus auf der Reichenau*, Sigmaringen 1994 (Reichenauer Texte und Bilder 4), pp. 27-32. This is followed by a later binion containing a sermon on Mark (fols. 145-8). Two quaternions, fols. 149-64, added to the main section, contain the *vita* of Ulrich of Augsburg, who died in 973, composed by Berno of Reichenau (BHL 8362) (c. 978-1048).

Reichenau from the tenth century), and the *Vita Iuvenalis episcopi* (BHL 4614)<sup>57</sup>. Interestingly, the liturgical date 1 January, found in the Carolingian martyrologies, appears in the explicit: *Vita sanctae Eufrosinae uirginis sub interpretatione Castissimae quod est kl. Ian.*

15. Novara, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Codici LXI (9) (= N)

s. X-XI, northern Italy; 252 fols.; 31 × 22.5 cm; 30 long lines; owner: Novara, Cattedrale di Santa Maria<sup>58</sup>.

The manuscript contains a large anthology of ascetic texts<sup>59</sup>. First, we have an assemblage of *Vitae* usually found in this sort of context: Jerome's *Vita Pauli* (BHL 6596), *Vita Hilarionis* (BHL 3879), and *Vita Malchi* (BHL 5190)<sup>60</sup>;

57. E. D'Angelo, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Umbriae. Pars altera* (314-1130), in M. Goullet (ed.), *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, t. VII, Turnhout 2017 (CCH 7), pp. 269-344, at pp. 316-8 (Juvenal of Narni; also E. D'Angelo, *Narni e i suoi santi. Storia, liturgia, epigrafia, agiografia*, Spoleto 2013, pp. 185-207), p. 277-8 (Heraclius, Justus, and Maurus of Foligno). This text is studied and published by Guy Philippart from this manuscript: *La Passion des SS. Heraclius, Justus et Maurus de Foligno*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 93 (1975), pp. 21-7. On the cult in Reichenau, see Burchard of Reichenau, *Gesta Witigowonis*, v. 435, ed. K. Strecker, *Die lateinischen Dichter des deutschen Mittelalters. Die Ottonenzeit*, Leipzig 1937 (MGH, Poetae V.1), p. 276 (abbot Witigowo inaugurated a chapel in 992 dedicated to Saint Erasmus and Saint Heraclius).

58. Bischoff, *Katalog* cit., Teil II, p. 322 («X./XI. Jh.»; this date was confirmed to me by Mirella Ferrari); *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia. Opera fondata da Giuseppe Mazzatinti*, Forlì and Florence 1890, vol. 6, p. 73, no. 9 («sec. IX e X»); P. H. E. Bertrand and L. Gandt (eds.), *Vitae Antonii versiones Latinae. Vita beati Antonii abbatis Evagrii interprete. Versio vetustissima*, Turnhout 2018 (CCSL 170), pp. 122\*-4\* (ms. F<sup>5</sup>, «s. X ex.»); Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca»* cit., pp. 432-4 (ms. N); E. Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufinus, Historia monachorum sive de Vita Sanctorum Patrum*, Berlin and New York 1990 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 34), pp. 121-2 (ms. N); A. Diem, *Das monastische Experiment: die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster 2005 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 24), pp. 371-2, no. 93; S. Gavinelli, *La Biblioteca Capitolare di Novara dalle origini al secolo XII, contributo per un catalogo*, Novara 1993 (Studi storici 37), pp. 85-7 («s. XII»); G. de Ferrari, *I più antichi codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Santa Maria di Novara*, «Bollettino storico per la Provincia di Novara» (1965), pp. 185-6. I am grateful to Dr. don Paolo Milani for his kind help in providing me with a reproduction.

59. A detailed description is in Bertrand's *Vitae Antonii versiones Latinae* cit., and in Wellhausen's *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca»* cit.

60. P. Leclerc and E. M. Morales, *Jérôme, Trois vies de moines (Paul, Malchus, Hilarion)*, Paris 2007 (Sources Chrétiennes 508), p. 142 (ms. U for the *Vita Hilarionis*); J. F. Cherf, *The Latin Manuscript Tradition of the «Vita Sancti Pauli»*, in W. A. Oldfather, *Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's «Vitae Patrum»*, Urbana 1943, pp. 65-142 (p. 118); M. D. McNeil, *The Latin Manuscript Tradition of the «Vita Sancti Hilarionis»*, in Oldfather, *Studies in the Text Tradition* cit., pp. 251-305 (p. 294, group W with Ambr. D 525 inf. and Ambr. I 61 inf.); H. C. Jameson, *The Latin Manuscript Tradition of Jerome's «Vita Sancti Malchi»*, in Oldfather, *Studies in the Text Tradition* cit., pp. 449-511.

Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* with the *Versus in laude sancti Antonii* (BHL 609-10), the *Vita Severini* (BHL 7655-6), and *Vita Frontonii* (BHL 3192). These are followed by the main collections of ascetic literature: Rufinus' *Historia monachorum* (BHL 6524)<sup>61</sup>, a selection of Paschasius of Dume's *Liber Geronticon* (BHL 6531), mixed with portions of Pelagius' and John's *Adhortationes* (BHL 6527-6529), Pseudo-Rufinus' *Verba seniorum* (BHL 6525), mixed with portions of the *Adhortationes*, Antonius' *Vita Symeonis Stylitae* (BHL 7957), excerpts of Gregory of Tours' *In gloriam martyrum* (CPL 1024), Heito of Reichenau's *De visione et obitu Wettini*, and Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* (BHL 6532)<sup>62</sup>.

This anthology includes three *lives* of ascetic women:

| <i>fol.</i> | <i>BHL</i> | <i>texts</i>                        |
|-------------|------------|-------------------------------------|
| 97r-8v      | 5528       | <i>Vita Marinae (dictae Marini)</i> |
| 98v-9v      | 8012       | <i>Vita Thais</i>                   |
| 175v-80r    | 2723       | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>             |

The *Vita Euphrosynae* offers a number of marginal indications: *cum sancto sanctus e(st)* (on 4.5), *non cessa orare* (4.9), *argumento sciscitatur* (5.5), *placitum consilium* (6.2), *fiduciam habens in domino multam* referring to chapter 7, *optima persuasio* (8.1, where the abbot quotes Luke 14, 26), *exaudibilis oratio* (8.9), *sola coepit manere* (11.5), *luctuosa descriptio* (12.6 ff.), *sana consolatio* (13.6), *praesens erat quam quaerebat* (14.7), *per gratiam dei respiravit* (15.4), *magna compunctio* (17.3), *et perditum restituit oculum* (20.1).

#### THE EARLY TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

The earliest extant copy of Translation B surfaced in the late eighth or early ninth century in the region of Würzburg, at an unidentified scriptorium under Anglo-Saxon influence: it is today Würzburg, M.p.th.q. 26 (*W*). It was a period of Christianisation of the recently conquered territories, implying the creation of a network of monasteries. In many cases, aristocratic women played a significant role in creating and sponsoring these monasteries, a receptive audience to this particular inspirational type of Christian literature. *W* seems indeed to be connected to this sort of context.

*W* preserves the closest textual form to the Greek source (a particular branch represented by the Greek *C*, as we shall see below). For instance, in 13.8, all manuscripts but *W* and related copies offer:

61. Schulz-Flügel, *Rufinus*, «*Historia monachorum*» cit. (ms. N, γ family).

62. Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca»* cit. (ms. N).



Audiens haec Pafnutius recepit consolationem gratias agens Deo.

Actually, this sentence has an omission. The correct version is found in *W* and related copies:

Audiens haec Pafnutius recepit consolationem et osculans senem et omnes fratres abiit in domum suam gratias agens Deo.

See the Greek source text:

Ακούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Παφνούτιος καὶ μικρόν τι πιστεύσας, ἀσπασάμενος τὸν ἀββᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ.

Two tenth-century manuscripts, the Bavarian *Ma* (Munich clm 2531, Part I), containing only the first six chapters, and *Ei* (Einsiedlen, Stiftsbibliothek 263), belong to *W*'s line of transmission (hereafter α). They present an extremely similar text to that in *W*. *Ma* and *Ei* present an almost identical text, as demonstrated by a large number of exclusive variants and errors (e.g., the omission of 3.4 *multos autem ... filiis suis*). *Ei* is not a copy of *Ma* (see *Ma*'s omission of 5.1 *monasterii ... abbas*, not in *Ei*). Finally, neither derives from *W*. Indeed, *W* has an omission in 10.1 caused by a *saut du même au même*:

Dicit ei senex ille: «Bene uenisti, fili: ecce monasterium, si tibi placet, habita nobiscum». Dicit ei senex: «Iuuenis es ... ».

The correct text is in *Ei* (the text is lost in *Ma*) and all other copies:

Dicit ei senex ille: «Bene uenisti, fili: ecce monasterium, si tibi placet, habita nobiscum». Dicit ei abbas ille: «Quod est nomen tuum?» Dicit ei: «Smaragdus». Dicit ei senex: «Iuuenis es ... ».

The Greek source reads:

Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς· «Καλῶς ἦλθες, τέκνον· ἰδοὺ τὸ μοναστήριον, καθέξου μεθ' ἡμῶν. Τί δὲ λέγεται τὸ ὄνομά σου;» Λέγει αὐτῷ· «Σμάραγδος». Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς· «Ἐπειδὴ νεώτερος εἶ ...»

A few more examples:

|      | β Ei Ma (chs. 1-6) | W                    |
|------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 4.7  | ad abbatem         | <i>om.</i>           |
| 4.9  | dicens             | <i>om.</i>           |
| 4.11 | commendantes se    | commendantes         |
| 7.1  | sumpsisti domine   | domine praesumpsisti |
| 12.7 | siccauit           | spargit              |

Exemplars of the α-class continued to circulate and be copied in the eleventh and the twelfth century:

Arras, Médiathèque de l'Abbaye Saint-Vaast, 450 (569), s. XII; owner: Saint-Vaast, Arras; fols. 60r-1v. Ending at 15.1c *a diabolo*, for the subsequent folios are lost.

Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, 5, s. XII<sup>2</sup>, Benevento (?), owner: catedrale di Benevento; fols. 159v-66v (ending at 21.2 *cum congregatione*).

Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 506, Part I, s. XI; owner: abbey of Sainte-Rictrude et Saint-Pierre, Marchiennes; fols. 113v-22v. Emended with a β-exemplar.

Chicago, The Newberry Library, Case MS 3 (Ry 15; f3), Part I (fols. 1-107), s. XI *med.*; owner: abbey of San Pietro e San Andrea, Novalesa; fols. 43v-8v. A version contaminated with a β-exemplar.

Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (olim BM), 870, s. XII<sup>3/3</sup>; owner: abbey of Sainte-Rictrude et Saint-Pierre, Marchiennes; fols. 138r-41v. Contaminated with a γ-exemplar.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 55, s. XI, Southern Italy; owner: abbey Saint-Pierre de Montmajour, Montmajour (Bouches-du-Rhône); pp. 51-64. Ending at 19, 1 *causam stupefactus*, for the subsequent folios are lost.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 238, s. XII; owner: abbey of S. Maria, Vallombrosa (Florence); fols. 81r-6r. A version contaminated with a β-exemplar, closely related to the version in Florence, BML, Plut. 16.19.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 474, a. XI; owner: abbey of S. Maria, Vallombrosa (Florence); fols. 74r-6v. One folio is missing between fol. 74 and fol. 75, implying the loss of 5.4-5 *puella qui uoluerit* to 14.2 *ad pedes eius*.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 19.16, s. XI; owner: abbey of S. Maria, Vallombrosa (Florence); Piero I di Cosimo de' Medici; fols. 145r-51v. A version closely related to the version in Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 238.

Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, 1457 (D.IV.11), s. XII *ex.*, fols. 34v-7r. A version contaminated with a δ-exemplar.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 49 inf., s. XII; Toscana; owner: Francesco Pizolpasso, bishop of Milan (1435-1443); Chapter of the Cathedral of Milan; fols. 131r-3v.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2843B, s. XII<sup>1/4</sup>, Lucca (Toscana); fols. 113r-21v.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13774, s. XII, Part I (fols 1-25) owners: abbey of Bec-Hellouin (Haute-Normandie); Priory of Conflans Sainte-Honorine (Île-de-France); Saint-Germain-des-Prés; fols. 7r-10v.

Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 41.G.12 (Cors. 777), s. XI-XII; owner: SS. Severino e Sossio, Napoli; fol. 34r-40r.

Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Tomo XVII, Part I (fols. 1-161), s. XI, southern Italy (?); fols. 61v-7r.

Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale «Vittorio Emanuele II», Vitt. Eman. 1443, s. XI<sup>1</sup>, abbey of S. Silvestro, Nonantola (Modena); fols. 69-76v.

Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon (olim BM) U. 35 (1389), s. XI *ex.*, abbey of Saint-Évrault d'Ouche (?); owner: abbey of Saint-Ouen, Rouen (Seine-Maritime), fols. 68r-9v. One folio is missing causing the loss of 5.7 *psallitis et aequaliter* to 16.5c *filiam meam nihil mihi*.

A particular version, characterised by 21.4 *dedicata est sepultura* instead of *glorificans Deum abbas*, is found in some copies of the *Liber de natalitiis* and in its sources<sup>63</sup>. This version is classified as *BHL* 2723a.

Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon (olim BM), 214, s. XI *ex.*, abbey of La Couture, Le Mans (Sarthe); owner: La Couture, Le Mans (Sarthe); François Touschault, dict de Villebouchart (s. XVI); fols. 12r-13r. Together with Le Mans 217 and 227. Two folios are missing between fol. 12 and fol. 13, corresponding to the loss of 5.6 *cum multo gaudio* to 20.3 *sepelierunt eam*.

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque universitaire historique de médecine, H 22, s. XII-XIII, abbey of Notre-Dame, Larivour (Aube); fols. 14r-17v.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5318, s. XII, France (west?); fols. 8v-10v.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16736, s. XII *ex.*, Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris; owner: abbey of Notre-Dame, Châalis (Oise), fols. 10r-12r. *Liber de natalitiis*, t. I.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17003, s. XII, Le Val Notre-Dame (Val-d'Oise) (?); owner: Le Val Notre-Dame; fols. 12v-15r. *Liber de natalitiis*, t. I.

Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon (olim BM) U. 67 (1381), s. XI, abbey of Saint-Serge, Angers; owner: Mortagne (Orne); fols. 5v-9r.

All other copies used in the present edition – *D R V P F B K E M Ep N* – descend from a common ancestor. I designate this class of copies  $\beta$ . The omission in 13.8 mentioned above is a good example of a typical error of  $\beta$ . A few more examples of common errors and variants:

|       | $\alpha$                      | $\beta$                   |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 4.1   | post non multum uero temporis | post multum uero temporis |
| 7.8   | ex qua genuit me              | quae genuit me            |
| 10.5  | ecce                          | —                         |
| 11.6  | in infirma aetate             | in infirmitate            |
| 12.5  | nusquam                       | numquam / non             |
| 16.5a | sed et tu per quem            | sed et tempus quem        |

The origins of this line of transmission are connected to northern Francia. Indeed, the earliest manuscripts of this class were produced in Reims and related centres.

The earliest extant witness is *D* (Düsseldorf B. 3), a codex produced in northern Francia for a high-ranking women's community, possibly in the second decade of the ninth century. Several copies seem to be related to *D*: *R* (Reims 1395), *P* (Paris lat. 2994<sup>A</sup>), *M* (Munich clm 6382), and *V* (Valenci-

63. F. Dolbeau, *Notes sur la genèse et sur la diffusion du «Liber de natalitiis»*, «Revue d'histoire des textes», 6 (1976), pp. 143-95.

ennes, 521), all copied in the mid- or third quarter of the ninth century in Reims (except *V*, perhaps copied at Saint-Amand). Three tenth-century copies are related to this particular version: *F* (Paris lat. 3851<sup>A</sup>), owned very early by Saint-Martial, Limoges, *B* (Brussels II 2568 (3316)), which belonged to St.-Rémacle, Stavelot, and *K* (Karlsruhe Aug. perg. 84), a manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century from Reichenau. I designate this group of manuscripts  $\gamma$ . A few examples of errors and variants (most of the examples in  $\alpha$  and the other copies of the  $\beta$  class are confirmed by the Greek source text):

|       | $\alpha$ E M Ep N                             | D P F R V B K (= $\gamma$ )      |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 4.5   | post hoc                                      | propter hoc                      |
| 8.9   | omnes                                         | om.                              |
| 11.6  | operam dabat                                  | operam agebat (operam dabat B)   |
| 12.1  | manere solita erat                            | manere consueuerat (maneret P F) |
| 16.5a | et tu per quem (et tempus in quo<br>E M Ep N) | et tempus quem                   |
| 21.2  | demoratus est                                 | mortuus est                      |

None of these copies is a *descriptus* of *D*. See, for instance, 6.3 *exiens* (om. D), 11.4 *te egressurum* (tr. D), 13.4 *die noctuque* (om. D).

It is possible that *D P F B K* descend from a common model (=  $\gamma'$ ), although the evidence is meagre:

|      | $\alpha$ R V E M Ep N | D P F B K (= $\gamma'$ )   |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 13.2 | adesse omnes fratres  | ad se omnes fratres uenire |
| 18.2 | in terra              | om.                        |
| 18.3 | autem                 | ad eum                     |
| 19.3 | conseruorum           | conseruorum et fratrum     |

*P* and *F* derive from a common ancestor. See, for instance, among many other exclusive variants:

|       | $\alpha$ D R V B K E M Ep N                       | P F                            |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 3.5   | ab eo dari                                        | dari ab eo tr.                 |
| 5.4   | pro caritate domine frater                        | domine frater pro caritate tr. |
| 7.8   | iniquo                                            | in quo                         |
| 8.3   | ptochia                                           | copia                          |
| 9.9   | adduco                                            | in hoc loco adduco             |
| 12.1  | pater illius                                      | om.                            |
| 12.1  | manere solita erat (manere consueuerat $\gamma$ ) | maneret                        |
| 12.4  | uim                                               | eos                            |
| 12.9  | laborantium                                       | orantium                       |
| 13.1  | ad pedes eius                                     | eius pedibus                   |
| 15.2h | per eius orationes et omnium fratrum              | per orationem fratrum          |

*F* does not derive directly or indirectly from *P*. See, for instance, 4.4 *mirabatur eorum uitam* (om. *P*); 6.3 *uade: uenit* *P*; 14.3 *uno: quodam* *P*; 16.2 *permitte me: permittere* *P*; 16.5a *ubi* add. ante *quod mihi* *P*; 17.4 *perdurare: durare* *P*. It is likely that the model of *P* contained annotations, or at least traces of previous annotations. In 6.5, the text reads: *tu autem adduc unum de monachis. Et, quomodo uoles, occurret tibi cum magno gaudio*. In place of *quomodo uoles*, *P* offers *quomodo uel uolueris*, which represents the incorporation of an alternative reading, a reading only found in *F* (*quomodo uolueris*). *F* is also a reworked text. In 8.1, in the quotation of Luke, it is the only witness to offer *et sorores*, absent from the Greek source and the Latin translation B. Both copies were emended some time later. In *F*, there are a number of interlinear emendations in a lighter brown ink, supplying missing words and emending many passages (= *F*<sup>2</sup>). In most cases, the emendations in *P* and *F* do not permit to identify the model. Interestingly, an emendation in *P* and *F* is found in the α copies (11.6 *in infirma aetate*: α *P*<sup>P.C.</sup> *F*<sup>2</sup>, *in infirmitate* β).

*R* and *V* descend from a common ancestor. A few examples of typical features:

|       | α D P F B K E M Ep N                           | R V                                       |
|-------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 3.5   | et postulabat ab eo dari filiam eius filio suo | om.                                       |
| 8.1   | et fratrem                                     | om.                                       |
| 10.6  | facta oratione                                 | om.                                       |
| 10.6  | consignauit                                    | signauit                                  |
| 14.6  | et cognoscens eum                              | om.                                       |
| 15.1  | et gloria sempiterna                           | om.                                       |
| 15.2g | nimis tristis                                  | ministrans                                |
| 15.2m | replebatur lacrimis                            | lacrimis replebatur                       |
| 16.3  | uocatoque                                      | uocato itaque                             |
| 16.5c | actum est                                      | apertum est <i>R</i> , aptum est <i>V</i> |
| 16.5d | inueniam                                       | recipiam                                  |
| 17.4  | adducerem eas hic                              | om.                                       |

It is likely that *V* is not a *descriptus* of *R*. See 3.2 *tantum erat* for *tantam*; 8.6 *est* for *ergo scit*, whereas *V* has the correct readings. Nor is *R* a *descriptus* of *V* (e.g. 15.21 *non*: om. *V*). *V* is emended in a darker brown ink, with the help of a similar model (= *V*<sup>2</sup>). In 5.5, *V* has the correct *ad conuersationem*, which has been altered to the erroneous *ad conuersionem*, as in *R*; in 12.7 *meam uineam siccauit* is rendered into *meum amnem siccauit* in *R* and *V*<sup>2</sup>. The text in *R* is also emended by a hand, in darker brown ink, which may have emended the whole codex<sup>64</sup>.

64. On this hand, see Renedo, *Étude et édition critique* cit., p. 99 and pp. 431-5.

The text in *K* has been reworked stylistically. It is possible that *K* belongs to the same line of transmission of *D*: see, for instance, 1.4 *nocte et die ecclesiisque adhaerens* om. *D K*; 6.1 *perscrutans: scrutans D K*; 12.5 *flebat: β, flebant D B K*. But the evidence is insufficient to prove it beyond any reasonable doubt. Being a late copy, it likely represents a contaminated form. Also *B* is a reworked version.

The  $\gamma$ -class circulated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A number of examples:

Admont, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts, 25, ca. 1200, Austria; fols. 141r-3v. *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum, Pars I*. A version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar.

Arras, Médiathèque de l'Abbaye Saint-Vaast (*olim* BM) 77 (89), s. XII, owners: Saint-Antoine-et-Saint-Martin, Amiens; Saint-Vaast, Arras; fols. 15r-19v.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, theol. Lat. 2° 731, s. XII (*a.* 1147); monastery of Steinfeld; owner: monastery of Steinfeld; fols. 127r-30v. (See Brussels, 207-8 and Dresden A 62).

Bourg-en-Bresse, Médiathèque Elisabeth et Roger Vailland (*olim* BM) 53 (43), s. XII *med.*; fols. 94r-101r (one folio is missing between fol. 97 and fol. 98).

Brussels, KBR, 207-8 (3132), s. XIII, region of Trier; owner: monastery of St. Barbara, Cologne; fols. 29r-31v. (See Berlin theol. Lat. 2° 731, and Dresden A 62).

Brussels, KBR, 4815-4818 (1297), s. XII, fols. 127r-v. Only from the beginning to 4, 10 *habere digneris ut mereatur habere*.

Brussels, KBR, 9361-67, s. XII; owner: abbey of Saint-Laurent, Liège, fols. 105v-8r.

Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, 863 (767 I), s. XI  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; owner: abbey of Saint-Sépulchre, Cambrai; fols. 256r-8v.

Châlons-en-Champagne, Bibliothèque Municipale Georges Pompidou, 53 (57), s. XI *med.*; owner: abbey of Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts, Châlons-en-Champagne; fols. 73r-9r. A reworked version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar.

Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (*olim* BM), 871, s. XII; owner: abbey of Saint-Sauveur-et-Saint-André, Anchin; fols. 138r-41r.

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, A 62, s. XI  $\frac{2}{4}$ , St. Nicolaus, Brauweiler; owners: St Nicolaus, Brauweiler; Erfurt, Collegium Amplonianum; fols. 77-80v. (See Berlin theol. Lat. 2° 731 and Brussels 207-8).

Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, fragm. K18:Z07/02, s. XI  $\frac{3}{4}$ , Hildesheim; owner: Benediktinerabtei Werden; fols. 4r-v. From 15.2h *proiecit se ad pedes* to the end.

Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, C 10a, s. XII  $\frac{4}{4}$ , owner: Cologne, Benediktinerabtei Gross St Martin; fols. 167r-71r. A version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 58, s. XI-XII; owners: Pierre Pithou (1539-1596); Claude Le Peletier (1631-1711); Guglielmo Libri (1803-1869) (1837); fols. 109r-12v. A version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar.

Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, L 306, s. XII $\frac{2}{4}$ , abbey of Hauterive; owner: abbey of Hauterive; fols. 95r-100r.

Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 84 (rot) / 6 (schwarz), s. XII *in.*; fols. 178r-88r. A version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar. (See Heiligenkreuz, 11).

Heiligenkreuz, Bibliothek des Zisterzienserstifts, 11, s. XII <sup>4</sup>/<sub>4</sub> (a. 1183-1200), St. Maria, Heiligenkreuz; fols. 124v-6r. *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum, Pars I*. A version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14031, s. XI <sup>2</sup> (ca. 1060-1080), abbey of St. Emmeram, Regensburg; owner: St Emmeram, Regensburg; fols. 22v-5v.

Namur, Musée des Arts Anciens du Namurois, Fonds de la ville 12, s. XII-XIII, Saint-Hubert (Luxembourg), fols. 200v-4r.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 702, s. XI; owner: San Salvatore al Monte Amiata; fols. 57r-64v. A version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar (See Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 1201 and Vat. Lat. 5411).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5411, s. XI <sup>2</sup> - XII <sup>1</sup>, fols. 219r-24r. (See Vatican City, Barb. Lat. 702 and Vat. Lat. 1201).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1201, s. XI <sup>2</sup>, fols. 156v-60r. A version contaminated with a  $\delta$ -exemplar. (See Vatican City, Barb. Lat. 702 and Vat. Lat. 5411).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 13008, s. XI, Montecassino; fols. 148r-54r (folio numbering in the foot margin).

There is another family of copies within the  $\beta$ -class, hereafter designated  $\delta$ . It comprises: *E* (El Escorial I-III-13), copied by a Visigothic hand perhaps in the Catalan region in the mid-ninth century (from chapter 4 to the end); *M* (Munich clm 6832), produced in Reims in the third quarter of the ninth century; *Ep* (Épinal 118), written in the tenth century in northern Italy, and *N* (Novara LXI [9]), also of the tenth century. Some characteristic errors and variants of their common ancestor  $\delta$ :

|       | $\alpha \gamma$                          | <i>E M Ep N</i> (= $\delta$ )       |
|-------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1.6   | apud Deum esse dicebatur                 | esse dicebant apud deum <i>tr</i> . |
| 4.3   | castitate                                | castitate et humilitate             |
| 4.9   | extendique                               | extendensque                        |
| 4.10  | consortium                               | consortium habere                   |
| 6.3   | induta                                   | indue te                            |
| 7.10  | miserae                                  | <i>om.</i>                          |
| 7.11  | uerbum dei                               | uerbum salutis                      |
| 8.6   | ergo scit enim tempus poenitentiam agere | modo enim tempus est poenitentiae   |
| 8.10  | et glorificans deum                      | <i>om.</i>                          |
| 11.4  | psallere ... manducare                   | psallas ... manduces                |
| 12.4  | et Aegyptum                              | <i>om.</i>                          |
| 12.5  | nusquam $\alpha$ / numquam $\gamma$      | non                                 |
| 15.1  | elemosinam ... humilitatem               | humilitatem ... elemosinam          |
| 15.1  | nec patrem super eum                     | <i>om.</i>                          |
| 15.2c | manifestare eam tibi                     | manifestare eam tibi deus           |
| 16.5c | actum est                                | de ea reuelatum est                 |
| 18.1  | Pafnutius talia uerba                    | talia uerba Pafnutius               |

*E* and *Ep* descend from a common ancestor, as we can infer from a large number of variants exclusively found in the two copies. For instance,

|       | $\alpha \gamma M N$              | <i>E Ep</i>                    |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 7.5   | uendens quae secum habebat       | <i>om.</i>                     |
| 7.7   | nimis                            | multae nimis                   |
| 7.8   | de hac uita                      | de hac luce                    |
| 8.1   | propriam animam                  | animam suam                    |
| 13.4  | aliunde                          | pro aliunde                    |
| 13.5  | alicui fratri                    | fratribus                      |
| 14.5  | et introduxit eum in cellam eius | <i>om.</i>                     |
| 15.2g | nimis tristis dicebat mihi       | dicebat mihi nimis tristis sum |

*Ep* is not a copy of *E* (remember that the first four chapters in *E* belong to a distinct translation).

It is possible that *N* is closer to *M* than to *E* and *Ep*, but the evidence is insufficient to prove it beyond any reasonable doubt. The short portion of text in *Mb* (Michaelbeuern Fragm. Perg. I.1), a ninth-century fragment from the area of Salzburg, is insufficient to establish its stemmatic position.

The  $\delta$ -class circulated in the eleventh and the twelfth century. See the following examples:

Angers, Médiathèque Toussaint (olim BM), 804 (720), s. XI ex., Western France (Angers) (?); owner: Saint-Serge, Angers; fols. 83r-6r.

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque des Annonciades (olim BM) 106 (127), Part II (fols. 93-118), s. XII, northern France; owner: abbey of Saint-Bertin, Saint-Bertin; fols. 97r-101v.

Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 72, s. XII (a. 1130-1150), Germany; owners: abbey of St. Vitus, Mönchengladbach; fols. 33v-8r.

Cambridge, Library of Peterhouse, 259 (2.6.1), Part IV (fols. 142-9), s. XII *med.*, abbey of Saint Albans, St Albans; fols. 145r-8v. A reworked version ending at 16.5b *quod lugeo* (*quo doleo* in the manuscript).

Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 1, s. XIII *in.*; owner: abbey of St Mary and St John, Reading (?); fols. 145r-7v.

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E iv, Part II (fols. 100-3), s. XII<sup>2</sup>, abbey of St Mary, Byland; fols. 100v-3v.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 61 inf., s. XII<sup>1</sup>, owners: monastery of S. Pietro in Gessate, Milan; Francesco da Desio; cols. 187r-91r.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 9741, s. XII ex.-XIII *in.*, abbey of St. Maximin, Trier; owner: St. Maximin, Trier; pp. 25-31.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 11749, s. XI *med.* (a. 1046-1055), Saint-Germain-des-Prés; owner: Saint-Germain-des-Prés; fols. 56v-60v.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 14364, s. XII ex., owner: abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris; fols. 212-15v.

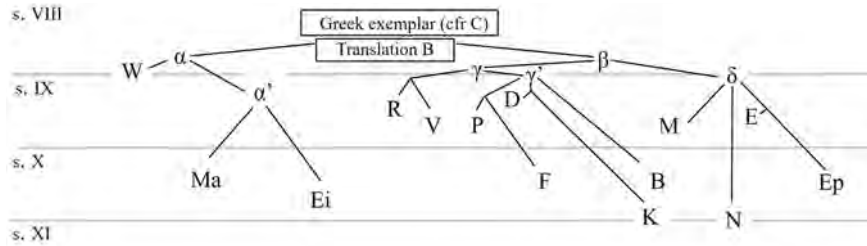


Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 18299, s. XI, owners: abbey of Saint-Arnoul de Crépy-en-Valois (Oise); priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris; fols. 71r-84v.

Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération du Pays de Saint-Omer (olim BM) 715, s. XII, northern France; owner: chapter of Notre-Dame of Saint-Omer; fols. 14v-17v. A portion of fol. 16 was torn off causing the loss of 13.1 *tuarum nescio quid* to 13.8 *bonis operibus* and 14.6 *uidisset* to 15.1d *patrem aut matrem super*.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 120, s. XI <sup>2</sup>, area of Reims; fols. 36v-40r. Indicates the liturgical date of 1 January.

The relations between copies of Translation B prior to the eleventh century can roughly be represented as follows:



#### THE GREEK SOURCE

The model of Translation B was an exemplar belonging to the line of transmission from which derives C, a non-menological anthology produced in the tenth century and preserved in Abydos in the Middle Ages. This is demonstrated by a huge amount of evidence. In fact, Translation B contains every single addition exclusively found in C (see, for instance, chapters 15 and 16), every omission and peculiar variant typical of this particular Greek redaction. One example. In 16.5b-d, C has a large addition, found nowhere else:

<sup>5b</sup>. «Τίς ἔτι ὑποστηρίζει μου τὸ γῆρας; τίς ἔτι παραμυθῆσεται με ὁδυρόμενον, πρὸς τίνα ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπέλθω; οὐαί μοι τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ γέροντι, δισσοῖς κακοῖς περιέπεσον. <sup>c</sup> Τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ χρόνους θρηνήσας τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα διήρκεσα, μηδενὸς εἰς πέρας ἐλθόντος ὧν ηὐχόμεν περὶ αὐτῆς. Καὶ νῦν ἄλλο ὁμοιον πένθος διαδέχεται με. <sup>d</sup> Τί ἐλπίσω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ τούτου ὑστερούμενος; ἀπελεύσομαι πρὸ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄδην».

This is found in Translation B:

<sup>5b</sup>. «Heu me! Quis iam consolabitur senectutem meam? Ad quem ibo? Quis mei erit adiutor? Duplex malum est modo, quod lugeo. <sup>c</sup> Triginta et octo anni sunt, quod

perdidi filiam meam, nihil mihi actum est, quod die noctuque orabam pro ea; et nunc similem illius detinet me incomparabilis dolor. <sup>d</sup>. Quid sperem amodo? Vbi consolationem inueniam? Iam descendam lugens in infernum».

A few more examples of variants uniquely found in *C* and in Translation *B*:

|        | <i>Greek text</i>                                                                                                         | <i>C</i>                                                                                                                                                          | <i>Trans. B</i>                                                                                                                                   |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4.1    | —                                                                                                                         | ἐν ᾧ ἦθησαν ὑπήγεσθαι                                                                                                                                             | in quo consueuerat ambulare                                                                                                                       |
| 4.10   | ἵνα εὐάρεστός σοι γενομένη ἀξιοθῇ εὐρεῖν κληρον καὶ μερίδα μετὰ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων σοι.                                   | ἵνα εὐάρεστος γενομένη ἀξιοθῇ εὐρεῖν κληρον καὶ μερίδα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.                                                                                | ut mereatur portionem et consortium in regno caelorum.                                                                                            |
| 5.4    | πόσοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ἀδελφοί, κύρι ἀββᾶ;                                                                            | εἰπέ μοι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην, κύρι ἀδελφέ, πόσοι ἐστὲ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ἀδελφοί;                                                                                          | dic mihi pro caritate, domine frater, quanti fratres estis in monasterio?                                                                         |
| 5.6    | ναί, εἴ τις θέλει ἐλθεῖν, δέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ ἀββᾶς.                                                                          | καὶ πάνυ μετὰ χαρὰς δέχεται αὐτόν, μάλιστα διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν «τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω».                                        | etiam cum multo gaudio suscipit illum, maxime propter uocem Domini, qua dixit: «Qui uenit ad me, non eiciam foras».                               |
| 7.1    | ἐν ᾧ οὖν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὁ μοναχὸς πρὸς τὴν Εὐφροσύνην, ἐπέστη ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν μοναχὸν ἐπυνθάνετο· «Τί ἐσκύλης;» | τοῦ δὲ μοναχοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος πρὸς τὴν Εὐφροσύνην, παρεγένετο ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν μοναχὸν ἐπυνθάνετο λέγων· «τί ἐσκύλθῃ ἡ θεοφιλείᾳ σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς κύρι ἀδελφέ;» | haec et his similia illo dicente ad Eufrosinam, uenit Pafnutius et uidens monachum interrogauit eum dicens: «Quid ad nos fatigium sumpsi, domine? |
| 11.1-2 | ὥστε καταγογγύζειν τοῦ ἡγουμένου                                                                                          | διὰ τῶν πονηρῶν λογισμῶν ὡς πάντας κατακράζειν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ                                                                                                        | per malas cogitationes, ita ut omnes molesti essent abbati                                                                                        |
| 12.9   | ἐκεῖνη τοῦ γήρωος ἡ βακτηρία                                                                                              | —                                                                                                                                                                 | —                                                                                                                                                 |

|        |                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16.6-7 | «ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σε, κύριέ μου, παράμεινον ὧδε τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ». Καὶ λέγει ὁ Παφνούτιος· «Ἐκέλευσας». (+ φύσει οὐκ ἀφῶ σε τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας δ) | «ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σε ἀνάμεινον ὧδε τρεῖς ἡμέρας». Ὁ δὲ νομίσας ἀπόκρισιν δέχεσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτῷ ἔνεκεν αὐτῆς, λέγει αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας. | «sed obsecro te ut per tres dies non me deseras neque derelinquas». Haesitans autem Pafnutius intra semetipsum per triduum dicens: «Forsitan aliquid ei Deus reuelauit de me». Tertio autem die, dixit ad Smaragdum: «Exspectaui sicut me rogasti, domine meus frater, et non discessi alicubi per tres continuos dies. |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Nowhere does Translation B offer material incompatible with C's line of transmission.

We find evidence of this relationship even in the arrangement of the sentences. In 7.1, as shown in the table above, Translation B replicates the genitive absolute only found in C. Another example. In 1.3-4, the consensus of the Greek manuscripts offers:

<sup>3</sup> Ἐν πολλῇ οὖν ἀθυμίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς περὶ τούτου ὅτι οὐκ εἶχεν ᾧ καταλείψει τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποβίωσιν τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ καλῶς διοικῶνται εἰς τοὺς δεομένους. <sup>4</sup> Ἡ οὖν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, θεωροῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς οὕτως ἀθυμοῦντα, οὐκ ἐπαύετο νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προσεδρεύουσα καὶ νηστείαις καὶ δεήσεσιν, τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς παιδίον.

C reads as follows:

<sup>3</sup> Τοῦ οὖν ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ ὑπάρχοντος ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν τὸ ποῦ καταλείψει τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποβίωσιν καλῶς τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ διοικοῦντο εἰς τοὺς δεομένους, <sup>4</sup> αὕτη οὖν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προσεδρεύουσα, νηστείαις καὶ δεήσεσιν, ἱκετεύουσα τὸν Θεὸν παρασχεῖν αὐτῆς τέκνον. Μάλιστα θεωροῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ ὄντα [...]

Translation B has the following text:

<sup>3</sup> Vir autem eius nimis fluctuans eo quod non haberet cui omnes facultates suas dimitteret, ut post obitum suum bene et congruenter suam substantiam gubernaret indigentibus, <sup>4</sup> non cessabat ministrare nocte et die ecclesiisque adhaerens ieiuniis et obsecrationibus, orans et petens a Deo dari sibi filium. Maxime uidens uirum suum nimium fluctuantem [...]

C is the sole Greek manuscript to transpose μάλιστα θεωροῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ ὄντα after τέκνον (παιδίον in all other Greek manuscripts).

Likewise Translation B gives the sentence *maxime uidens uirum suum nimium fluctuantem* after *filium*. Incidentally, this transposition and the elimination of αὕτη (by the translator or by accident in the course of the textual transmission) caused an error in the Latin text: the subject of *non cessabat* became the husband (*uir*), where in the original text (and in C) it is the wife (ἡ οὖν γυνή / αὕτη C).

In sum, the Greek manuscript C and the model of Translation B descend from a common ancestor.

#### THE TRANSLATOR'S TECHNIQUE

The Latin text is mostly a translation *ad verbum*. We have seen many examples above. See the following one (7.3):

Καὶ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ὁ Παφνούτιος, πολλήν τε ἀφθονίαν χρειῶν λαβών, εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ σκαφιδίῳ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ.

Translation A is quite superficial:

Et cum gaudio secutus est eum pater puellae, portans secum diuersa necessaria.

The model of Translation B presented almost the same text:

Περιχαρὴς δὲ γενόμενος, ὁ κύριος Παφνούτιος, καὶ πολλήν ἀφθονίας χρειάν λαβών, εἰσῆλθεν ἐν σκαφιδίῳ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ.

Translation B is more literal:

Gauisus est autem Pafnutius; ingressusque cum eo in nauiculam, abierunt in monasterium.

As often, the author took the liberty of abridging certain passages, and expanding others. For instance, in 16.6, the consensus of the Greek manuscripts reads:

Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· «Μὴ λυποῦ, μηδὲ δάκρυε. Ὁ γὰρ Θεός, ὡς ἔτι εἶ ᾧδε, πληροφορεῖ σε ἔνεκεν αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σε, κύριέ μου, παράμεινον ᾧδε τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ».

The text in C is very different:

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ὁδυρομένου καὶ κλαίοντος, λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ Εὐφροσύνη· «Τί οὕτως συνθλίβεις σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐκταράσσεις;»

The translator followed the text preserved in C and enhanced it with an example extracted from the Book of Genesis<sup>65</sup>:

Videns autem eum Smaragdus uehementer plorantem et nullam consolationem recipientem, ait ad eum: «Quid turbaris et temetipsum interficis? Numquid inualida est manus Domini, aut Deo quicquam est difficile? Iam pone finem tristitiae. Recordare quomodo patriarchae Iacob manifestauerit Deus Ioseph, quem quasi mortuum lugebat».

#### EDITIONS

Translation B was published for the first time by Heribert Rosweyde (1569-1629) in his *Vitae patrum*, printed in 1615<sup>66</sup>. It appears at the end of Book I, within an assemblage of female saints' *Lives*, usual in ascetic contexts, such as Eugenia, Euphrasia, Mary the Harlot, Thais, Pelagia, Mary of Egypt, Marina (also Marinus), among others. This is the most common context in which the *Vita Euphrosynae* circulated in the Middle Ages. The editor used a manuscript belonging to the  $\delta$ -class, close to the text in *Ep* (Épinal 118) and Boulogne-sur-Mer 106.

Rosweyde's edition is the source of the copy found in the second volume of February of the *Acta Sanctorum*, published in 1658, accompanied by a study by Godefrid Henskens (1601-1681)<sup>67</sup>. Euphrosyne appears on 11 February. Her *Vita* is followed by a Latin translation of Simon Metaphrastes' *Vita Euphrosynae* (BHG 626) by Gentian Hervet (1499-1584).

Recently, Lorenzo Lozzi Gallo published the *Vita Euphrosynae* in an appendix to his study of the text in Anglo-Saxon England<sup>68</sup>. This is not a crit-

65. The translator added a new number of biblical passages absent from the Greek model. See 13.5 (Prv 3.11-2), 13.6 (Mt 10.29), 17.2 (Cfr Phil 4.19), 18.1 (Gn 43.30), among others.

66. H. Rosweyde, *Vitae patrum. De vita et verbis seniorum libri X. Historiam eremiticam complectentes, auctoribus suis et nitori pristino restituti ac notationibus illustrati*, Antwerp 1615, pp. 363-8. The second edition was dated in 1628: *Vitae patrum. De vita et verbis seniorum, sive, Historiae eremiticae libri X*, pp. 363-8. It was reprinted in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 73 (1849), col. 643-52 (on 1 January).

67. J. Bolland and G. Henskens, *Acta Sanctorum*, February, tom. II, Antwerp 1658, cols. 535A-41B. Henskens collated the text with two other manuscripts (Trev., Anterp.).

68. L. Lozzi Gallo, *Eufrosina. La «Vita di S. Eufrosina» nell'Inghilterra anglosassone*, Rome 2016, appendix II, pp. 169-84. An introduction to the history and transmission of the *Vitae* of Euphrosyne in the Graeco-Roman world can be found on pp. 5-9. Lozzi Gallo has published other relevant studies: *S. Eufrosina: la «Vita» in inglese medio nella prospettiva della tradizione europea occidentale*, in A. Cipolla and M. Nicoli (eds.), *Testi agiografici e omiletici del medioevo germanico, Atti del XXXII Convegno dell'Associazione Italiana di Filologia Germanica* (Verona, 8-10 giugno 2005), Verona 2006, pp. 255-86; *On the Sources of the Old English «Life of St Euphrosyne»*,

ical edition. Lozzi Gallo printed the text of the *Acta Sanctorum* and recorded many variants found in a number of manuscripts: *W*, *D*, *N*, *F*, *P*, *R* and London, British Library, Cotton-Vespasian E IV, from the twelfth century.

In 2021, Clara Renedo Mirambell produced an excellent edition of the version copied in Reims 1395 (our *R*)<sup>69</sup>. In an *apparatus criticus*, Renedo gives the variants of Würzburg M.p.th.q. 26, our *W*. The Latin text is supplemented with an apparatus of biblical sources and a commentary.

#### EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

In establishing the text, only copies produced up to the late tenth century are used. This is a pragmatic option. First, they are likely to fully represent the initial stages of its textual history, and it seemed pointless to overburden the *apparatus criticus* with an immense amount of material unnecessary for reconstructing the earliest stage of the text. Secondly, my collation of all eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts identified so far, and many thirteenth-century and later witnesses, proved to offer nothing of substance for this purpose. In any case, the copies up to the late twelfth century have been mentioned above in the history of the textual transmission.

As with the previous texts, I used a normalised orthography (see pp. 61-2). This is the only way to obtain a coherent text when working with manuscripts that present different spelling features. We can never be sure whether even the earliest witnesses reflect the orthography of the original text, or whether the graphic forms we have in the manuscripts are due to the scribe who copied that particular manuscript, or to a scribe active earlier in the chain of transmission. In any case, I have recorded some spellings in the *apparatus criticus* when they are peculiar or significant. The reader thus has access to the full information about the witnesses used in the edition. The order of the sigla is *W* *γ* (*D R V P F B K*) *δ* (*E M Ep N*) *Ma Ei Mb*. The division of the text is that adopted with the previous texts.

«Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche», 23 (2012), pp. 257-85.

69. Renedo, *Étude et édition critique de Reims, BM 1395 cit.*, pp. 635-53.

V.  
TRANSLATION C OF THE «LIFE OF EUPHROSYNE»  
(«BHL» 2725)

In the time of bishop Pacificus († 844), a translation of the *Vita Euphrosynae* surfaced in a collection of female saints' lives produced in Verona. It is easy to see that what we have here is a distinct translation, not a redaction of one of the two previously discussed. This is the only Latin version to render 12.4 κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην as *per Alexandriam et Libyam*, instead of *per totam Alexandriam et Aegyptum* (Translation B) or the vague *in omnem patriam* (Translation A). It is also the only Latin text to preserve the origins of the monk who tonsures Euphrosyne: 7.5 *per dei autem dispensationem quidam senex magnus de Scete ueniens opera manuum suarum uendebat*, corresponding to κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἰδοὺ τις γέρων ἐκ τῆς Σκήτεως ἐλθὼν τὸ ἐργόχειρον αὐτοῦ ἐπώλει. The Greek model was a lost exemplar belonging to the ε-line of transmission, as we shall see below.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Only a fragment of this collection of female saints' *Vitae* survives. It is today Part III of Verona, Archivio Capitolare, XCV (90) (= V). The manuscript was studied by Paolo Chiesa, who published his findings in a remarkable essay, and we have very detailed descriptions<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, it suffices to recall a

1. P. Chiesa, *Note su un'antica raccolta agiografica veronese* (Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, ms. XCV), «Studi medievali», 28 (1987), pp. 123-53; B. Valtorta, *Manoscritti agiografici latini della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona. Catalogo*, Florence 2020 (Quaderni di «Hagiographica», 18), pp. 185-202; S. Polloni, *I più antichi codici liturgici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona (secc. V-XI): catalogo descrittivo*, Verona 2012 (Studi e documenti di storia e liturgia 45), pp. 362-79; ead., *Manoscritti liturgici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona (secolo IX). Contributo per uno studio codicologico e paleografico*, Verona 2007 (Medioevo. Studi e documenti 2), pp. 178-81; C. Adami, *Schede codicologiche*, in *I facsimili di Antonio Masotti. Saggi di paleografia e calligrafia*, Verona 1996, pp. 188-9, scheda 56; A. Spagnolo, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona. Catalogo descrittivo*, ed. S. Marchi, Verona 1996, pp. 173-4.

few aspects. The manuscript was copied in the first half of the ninth century in Verona. Part III (fols. 151-73, 180-202) corresponds to quires 20-2 and 24-6 of the present manuscript, and are numbered «I» to «VI»<sup>2</sup>. They are all quaternions (the last one lacking one leaf), measuring around 30 × 20.5 cm, and ruled in twenty-six long lines. The contents are as follows:

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                      | <i>BHL</i> |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 151v-62v     | <i>Passio Sapientiae et Fidei, Spei et Caritatis</i> <sup>3</sup> | 2968f      |
| 162v-73v     | <i>Vita Marinae (dictae Margaritae)</i> <sup>4</sup>              | 5303/5303c |
| 180r-9r      | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                                           | 2725       |
| 189r-97r     | <i>Vita Pelagiae («réfection latine A'»)</i> <sup>5</sup>         | 6605       |
| 197r-9v      | <i>Vita Marinae (dictae Marini)</i>                               | 5528       |
| 199v-200r    | <i>haec est castitas sancta ...</i> <sup>6</sup>                  |            |

These are standard *Vitae* for this sort of anthology, often compiled for a female audience. The titles of the texts do not indicate the liturgical dates. On fols. 200r-2v, a different hand, in smaller letters, added the *Passio Iusti* (BHL 4604) to the last unused folios. This time, the title indicates the feast day («II-II Non. Nov.»)<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, the section would originally have ended with the *Passio Marinae*, followed by a short text praising chastity.

A fragment of another copy of this very translation is found in Part VII (fols. 167-70) of Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, tom. XX (= R)<sup>8</sup>. It is a set of four leaves measuring 58 × 38.5 cm, ruled in two columns of thirty-nine lines, written in the eleventh century in Beneventan script<sup>9</sup>. The leaves contain:

2. Fol. 151r, the initial recto of this sequence of quires, was left blank, as often happens at the beginning of a codex. The subsequent quire of the present manuscript, that is, quire 27 (fols. 203-10), is numbered starting from «I» again.

3. L. Robertini, *Il «Sapientia» di Rosvita e le fonti agiografiche*, «Studi Medievali» 30 (1989), pp. 649-59, at p. 651.

4. M. Clayton and H. Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, Cambridge 1994 (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9), p. 9. The version in Turin D.V.3 is published by M. C. Viaggiani, S. Isetta and M. Goullet, in Goullet, *Le légendier de Turin MS. D.V.3 de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire*, Florence 2014 (Millennium Medievale 103, Testi 22), pp. 729-49.

5. Edited by F. Dolbeau, in P. Petitmengin (ed.), *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende, Tome I. Les textes et leur histoire. Grec, Latin, Syriacque, Arabe, Arménien, Géorgien, Slavon*, Paris 1981, pp. 181-216, at p. 188 (ms. V).

6. Chiesa, *Note su un'antica raccolta* cit., pp. 135-6.

7. S. di Brazzano, *Passio Iusti* in E. Colombi (ed.), *Le Passioni dei martiri aquileiesi e istriani*, Rome 2013 (Fonti per la storia della chiesa in Friuli. Serie medievale 14), vol. 2, pp. 255-349 (pp. 303-5: ms. Vr). See Chiesa, *Note su un'antica raccolta* cit., pp. 139-40.

8. A. M. Giorgetti Vichi and S. Mottironi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Vallicelliana*, I, Rome 1962, pp. 263-83; A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum*, Brussels 1909, pp. 358-60.

9. The structure of the original quaternion was as follows: X 167 168 x | X 169 170 x.



| <i>fol.</i> | <i>texts</i>                                                                                              | <i>BHL</i> |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 167r        | <i>Passio Theodori ducis m. Heracleae</i> (from paulo post dirrupta est ...)                              | 8086       |
| 167r-8v     | <i>Passio Aquilae et Priscillae</i> (truncated after ergo tunc temporis)<br>a gap of one bifolium         | 654n       |
| 169r-70v    | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i> (from 7.9 <sordi>tiae eius et rursum inoboedientis to 19.4 uniuersus populus cum) | 2725       |

The *Passio Theodori ducis*, written by Bonitus of Naples between 939 and 955, and the *Passio Aquilae et Priscillae* (here called Prisca) are found in other Italian hagiographical collections. The title of the *Passio Aquilae et Priscillae* presents the liturgical date «XV kal. febr.», that is, 18 January, against the usual (Carolingian) 8 July.

A third, complete, copy is found in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 525 inf., a codex written in the twelfth century in Italy in Caroline script (= M)<sup>10</sup>. It comprises 159 folios, measuring around 39.5 × 30 cm, ruled in two columns of forty-six lines. It contains the usual assemblage of ascetic texts. After Jerome's *Vita Pauli* and *Vita Hilarionis*, Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*<sup>11</sup>, Euphrius' *Vita Severini*, Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*<sup>12</sup>, Rufinus' *Historia monachorum*<sup>13</sup>, and Pelagius' and John's *Adbortationes*, we have a collection of female saints' *Vitae*<sup>14</sup>:

| <i>fol.</i> | <i>texts</i>                                 | <i>BHL</i> |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------|------------|
| 117r-18r    | <i>Vita Thaisis</i>                          | 8014-5     |
| 118r-23r    | <i>Vita Euphrasiae</i>                       | 2718       |
| 123r-7r     | <i>Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae</i> <sup>15</sup> | 5417       |
| 127r-8r     | <i>Vita Marinae</i> (dictae Marini)          | 5528       |

10. P. H. E. Bertrand in P. H. E. Bertrand and L. Gandt (eds.), *Vitae Antonii versiones Latinae. Vita beati Antonii abbatis Euagrio interprete. Versio vetustissima*, Turnhout 2018 (CCSL 170), pp. 117\*-19\*; F. van Ortoy, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 11 (1892), pp. 205-368, at pp. 290-301; A. Ceruti, *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, I. A inf.-E inf., Trezzano 1973-1979, pp. 290-5; E. Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufinus, Historia monachorum sive de Vita Sanctorum Patrum*, Berlin and New York 1990 (Patristische Texte und Studien 34), pp. 120-1; A. Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca» des Palladius*, Berlin and New York 2003 (Patristische Texte und Studien 51), pp. 429-30.

11. Bertrand, *Vita beati Antonii abbatis* cit., ms. F<sup>3</sup> (family F).

12. Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca»* cit., ms. b (Version I, group β).

13. Schulz-Flügel, *Rufinus, Historia monachorum* cit., ms. b (family β).

14. The folio numbers indicated in this table are those in the manuscript.

15. K. Kunze, *Studien zur Legende der heiligen Maria Aegyptiaca im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Berlin 1969 (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 49), p. 182 (Übersetzung M<sub>1</sub>).

|          |                                                           |        |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 128r-30r | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                                   | 2725   |
| 130r-2r  | <i>Vita Pelagiae</i> («réfection latine B») <sup>16</sup> | 6607-9 |
| 132r-6r  | <i>Vita Abraham et Mariae in Hellesponto</i>              | 12a    |

These are followed by Jerome's *Vita Malchi*, excerpts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the *Vita Macarii Romani* (BHL 5104).

Finally, another copy is found in a fifteenth-century paper manuscript, today Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B. 84 (= B). This handwritten book, of small format (14.2 × 10.5 cm), contains a collection of *Vitae* of female saints:

| <i>fols.</i> | <i>texts</i>                                 | <i>BHL</i> |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------|------------|
| 11r-14v      | <i>Vita Euphrosynae</i>                      | 2725       |
| 14v-45v      | <i>Vita Euphrasiae</i>                       | 2718       |
| 45v-8r       | <i>Vita Thaisis</i>                          | 8015       |
| 48r-73r      | <i>Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae</i> <sup>17</sup> | 5417       |
| 73r-96r      | <i>Passio Caeciliae v. m. Romae</i>          | 1496       |
| 96r-106v     | <i>Passio Agnetis v. m. Romae</i>            | 156        |
| 106v-132r    | <i>Vita Abraham et Mariae in Hellesponto</i> | 12         |

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The earliest extant copy of Translation C is V, most likely produced in the scriptorium of Pacificus of Verona. Its model was already defective. For instance, in chapter 2, the copyist of V left half a line empty, corresponding to *et annuens deus utrius* as we see in M and B, probably because his model was difficult to read here. In many other places, we find omissions and nonsensical errors that can be emended by comparison with the other copies and the Greek text. A few details suggest that its model was, or stemmed from, a pre-Carolingian exemplar. See, for instance: 9.5 *agebat* (for *aiebat*), 4.1 and 9.3 *habiit* (for *abiit*), among others. On the other hand, it is a slightly reworked version.

The other three copies do not descend from V, but from an exemplar in a higher stemmatic position. This is indicated by the fact that V omits most of chapter 18, while R, M, and B offer the whole chapter. In 12.9, R, M, and B preserve the two sentences in the Greek text, ἐκείνη τῶν μόχθων ἡ ἀνάπαυσις, ἐκείνη τῶν ὀδυνῶν ὁ κουφισμός, rendering them as *illa laborum requies, illa dolorum subleuatio*; V, however, maintains elements of both sentences but combined into a single (nonsensical) phrase: *illaborum subleuatio*. A few more ex-

16. Edited by C. Lévy, P. Petitmengin, J.-P. Rothschild, and J.-Y. Tilliette in Petitmengin (ed.), *Pélagie la Pénitente* cit., pp. 217-49 (ms. *It*<sup>1</sup>, p. 230).

17. Kunze, *Studien zur Legende der heiligen Maria Aegyptiaca* cit., p. 186 (Übersetzung M<sub>1</sub>).

amples demonstrating that the texts of *R*, *M*, and *B* are closer to the Greek model than *V*:

|       | <i>Greek text</i>                                                 | <i>R</i> (7.9-19.4) <i>M B</i>                       | <i>V</i>                                      |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 7.11  | καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον                                      | et ab eo audire uerbum<br>bonum                      | ut ab eo audirem uerbum<br>bonum              |
| 12.6  | θησαυρὸν                                                          | thesaurum                                            | aurum                                         |
| 12.11 | θρηνώδῃ φωνῇ                                                      | lugubres ... uoces                                   | lugubres                                      |
| 13.3  | ὅπως φανερώσῃ ἡμῖν ποῦ ἐστὶν<br>ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ κυροῦ<br>Παφνουτίου | ut nobis manifestet ubi<br>est filia domini Pafnutii | ut nobis manifestet<br>filiam domini Papnutii |
| 14.3  | καλῶ ἀδελφῶ                                                       | cum fratri bono                                      | om.                                           |
| 19.1  | ταῦτα ἀκούσας                                                     | haec audiens                                         | haec uidens                                   |

The portion of text common to all copies suggests that *R*, *M* and *B* descend from a common ancestor (= β):

|     | <i>V</i>         | <i>R</i> (7.9-19.4) <i>M B</i> |
|-----|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 7.9 | sorditia         | sorditiae                      |
| 8.1 | non abnegauerit  | abnegauerit                    |
| 8.4 | substantiam suam | om.                            |
| 8.6 | a mane           | de mane                        |

*M* and *B* do not descend from the eleventh-century *R*. The name of Smaragdus' tutor is Agapitus in *R*, whereas *V*, *M*, and *B* have the correct Agapius. See also, for instance, a few details:

|      | <i>V M B</i>       | <i>R</i> (7.9-19.4) |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 8.6  | differri           | ferre               |
| 8.7  | uexaui             | uocaui              |
| 8.9  | proclamans         | proclamatus         |
| 8.9  | et uiuat           | om.                 |
| 10.3 | in manus / in manu | om.                 |
| 11.3 | iter               | frater              |

*M* and *B* descend from a common model (= γ). They share, for instance, the omission in 16.2-3, caused by a *saut du même au même*: «[Smaragdum quia] ualde anima mea diligit eum». Et uocans Agapium, ait ei: «Perduc eum ad domnum Smaragdum» [quia ...]. Naturally, this could be a coincidence. But further variants and errors make the connection between *M* and *B* likely:

|      | <i>V R</i> (7.9-19.4) | <i>M B</i>   |
|------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 7.4  | et dixit ei           | om.          |
| 12.1 | Eufrosinae            | de Eufrosina |
| 13.2 | uenissent             | conuenissent |

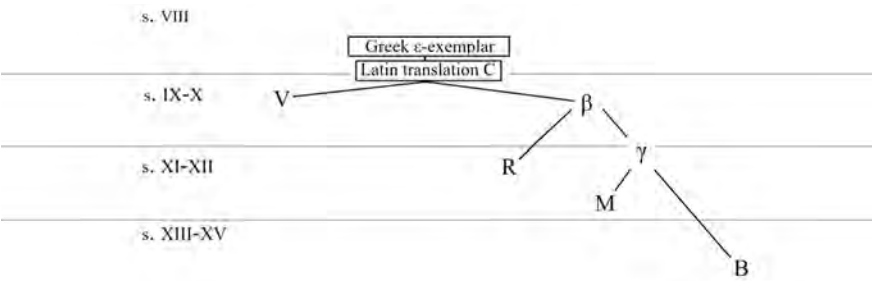
|      |                      |                   |
|------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 14.4 | ad dominum Smaragdum | ad domum Smaragdi |
| 18.6 | uae uae              | uae uae uae       |
| 21.3 | ueniens              | perueniens        |

In 15.2, *M* and *B* preserve a better text, closer to the Greek model, against *V* and *R*: *in tantum ut (et B, om. M) iam (om. M) commori copulatus amoris eius studeret* seems to correspond better to καὶ ὄρμησεν περιπλακῆναι θέλων αὐτῷ καὶ συναποθανεῖν than *in tantum ut iam corpori copulatus amari eius studeret* in *R* and *in tanta compunctionis copulabatur amoris eius ut studio* in *V*. Only *M* and *B* preserve the idea of «dying together».

*B* is not a copy of *M*. In many details *B* presents a better text than that in *M*. These details, in which both copies present equally good equivalents from a grammatical point of view, are often too little to prove an emendation by contamination from a different model. See a few more substantial errors and variants in *M*:

|      | <i>V R</i> (7.9-19.4) <i>B</i>        | <i>M</i>                            |
|------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2.4  | cognominavit eam Euphrosynam          | cognouerunt eam ipse quam eufrosina |
| 2.5  | uisione                               | corpore                             |
| 3.4  | nobilitatis (nobilitate et <i>B</i> ) | non tantum                          |
| 7.8  | suam facultatem                       | substantiam suam                    |
| 8.7  | adimpleas                             | ad deum applices                    |
| 9.5  | affatibus                             | a fratribus                         |
| 10.3 | iubes                                 | uolueris                            |
| 13.5 | neque deficere                        | <i>om.</i>                          |
| 16.1 | moderata                              | molesta                             |
| 19.3 | comes angelorum                       | omnium angelorum                    |

The relations between the above-mentioned copies of Translation C can roughly be represented as follows:



A reworked version of Translation C is copied in Gorizia, Biblioteca del Seminario Teologico Centrale, Tesoro della Cattedrale, cod. 8, a large-format passionary produced in the mid-thirteenth century in, or at least for, the Pa-

triarchate of Aquileia<sup>18</sup>. Together with other volumes (Gorizia 7, Cividale del Friuli XVI, and a codex now lost, whose contents can be reconstructed), the manuscript was produced in a period of renovation of the liturgical books in Aquileia<sup>19</sup>. Originally, the *Vita* presented no title. At the end, we read the liturgical date of 1 January.

#### THE GREEK MODEL

The source of this Latin translation was a δ-exemplar belonging to the subclass ε of the Greek textual transmission. Against Translations A and B, C states that very soon Paphnutius asked the abbot for help fulfilling his wish to have a child (2.1) – while all other copies say that Paphnutius waited many years before he met the abbot – and that Euphrosyne was six years old when she was baptised, and not seven as in the other lines of transmission of the Greek text (2.4). Both details are only found in δ. In 8.1, the author of the δ-version emended the (defective) quotation of Luke 14.26 adding ἀδελφός to ἀδελφούς, which we only find in Translation C.

At the end of chapter 16, Translation C has a part of the addition uniquely found in δ, φύσει οὐκ ἀφῶ σε τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας: *certe non abscedo*. At the beginning of chapter 17, the addition preceding ὡς οὖν ἔγνω ὅτι ..., only found in δ (ἐνστάσης οὖν τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας), was replicated by the translator of C: *trans-actis namque tribus diebus*.

Within the δ-class, the model was an ε-exemplar. See a few variants uniquely found in ε and Translation C:

|     | α B C S <sub>2</sub> L ζ                      | ε                                                                | Trans. C                                       |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1.7 | καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐτῷ                          | καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ<br>εὐζήμενος                            | et ingressus in eo et orans                    |
| 3.3 | ἡ διάπλασις δὲ τοῦ<br>σώματος αὐτῆς εὐπρεπεία | ἡ διάπλασις δὲ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς<br>εὐπρεπεία τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῆς | diligentia corporis et<br>pulchritudine faciei |

18. P. Chiesa, *I passionari aquileiesi a Gorizia. Agiografia antica e medievale fra Africa, Europa e Patriarcato*, «Studi goriziani», 87-8 (1998), pp. 39-52, at pp. 45-7; Id., *Note sui Passionari di Aquileia*, «Hagiographica», 4 (1997), pp. 301-21, at pp. 306-8; Id., *I manoscritti delle «Passiones» aquileiesi e istriane*, in Colombi, *Le passioni dei martiri aquileiesi e istriani* cit., pp. 119-20. The manuscript is recorded in the catalogue of the cathedral of Aquileia, datable 1358-1378, and in the catalogue of canon Bernardo Rabatta compiled in 1408. See C. Scalón, *Produzione e fruizione del libro nel basso medioevo: il caso Friuli*, Padua 1995 (Medioevo e umanesimo 88), p. 190, no. 22, and p. 268 no. 1, respectively. The *vita* is on fols. 197r-204r. I am extremely grateful to Vanni Veronesi for his help with this manuscript.

19. Chiesa, *I passionari aquileiesi a Gorizia* cit., p. 40. On Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, cod. XVI, see C. Scalón and L. Pani, *I codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Cividale del Friuli*, Florence 1998, pp. 123-6.

|      |                                                                             |                                                                                        |                                                                                                             |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5.1  | ἐν μιᾷ οὖν ἐδέησεν τὰ<br>μνημόσυνα γενέσθαι τοῦ<br>συστησμένου τὸ κοινόβιον | ἐν μιᾷ οὖν ἐδέησε τὰ μνημόσυνα<br>γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀββᾶ τοῦ συστησα-<br>μένου τὸ κοινόβιον | una quidem dierum conti-<br>git memoriam celebrari<br>abbatis illius qui monaste-<br>rium olim construxerat |
| 12.8 | ποῖον πέλαγος                                                               | ποῖος βάρβαρος (ε' P M V2 V3)                                                          | qualis barbarus                                                                                             |
| 13.5 | καὶ ὅταν βούλεται                                                           | καὶ ὅταν βούλεται ἡ φιλανθρωπία<br>αὐτοῦ                                               | et quando eius uoluerit<br>pietas                                                                           |

At the beginning of chapter 6, the Greek copies agree:

Πάντα οὖν τὰ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ βίου περιεργασαμένη, λέγει τῷ μοναχῷ· «Ἦθελον δυνάμεως ἔχειν καὶ ὑπελθεῖν τὸν βίον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι τὸν πατέρα μου, ὅτι διὰ τὰ μάταια τοῦ βίου τούτου πράγματα βούλεται με ἐκδοῦναι ἀνδρί».

The text in ε is as follows:

Πάντα τοίνυν τὰ τοῦ μονήρους βίου περιεργασαμένη, λέγει τῷ ἀδελφῷ· «Ἦθελον δυνάμεως ἔχειν καὶ ὑπελθεῖν τὸν βίον τοῦτον»· καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς ἔφη· «καλὸς ὁ λογισμός». Καὶ ἡ κόρη εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι τὸν πατέρα μου, ὅτι διὰ τὰ μάταια τοῦ βίου τούτου πράγματα βούλεται με ἐκδοῦναι ἀνδρί».

The words ὁ μοναχὸς ἔφη· «καλὸς ὁ λογισμός». καὶ ἡ κόρη εἶπεν are only found in Translation C:

Omnia, quae solitariae uitae sunt, discutiens, ait fratri: «Velim uires habere et fugire uitam istam saecularem». Et monachus: «Optima cogitatio!» Et puella respondit: «Sed metuo patrem meum, quia pro uana huius saeculi negotia uult me uiro tradere».

A final example. Translation C is the only one to have, and amplify, an addition found uniquely in ε (8.7, *post* τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου):

Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ γέρων· «καὶ τί θέλεις, ποιήσω σοι. τί βραδύνεις πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν;» ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· «ἵνα καταλύξῃ σε ὁ Θεὸς σῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ ἀποθρίξαι με καὶ δοῦναι μοι τὸ ἅγιον σχῆμα».

See Translation C:

Cui respondit senex: «Si uoluntatis desiderium promptitas sequitur, quid morantes tardamus ad salutis pertingere portum?» Et illa ait: «Immitens compungat cor tuum Deus orare pro me, ut tuo interuentu saluetur anima mea. Nunc igitur, optime arbitratus pater, tonde me et da mihi sanctum habitum, quem per multorum annorum spatia anhelanter desidero.

Many other examples could be quoted. In any case, the model must stem from an exemplar prior to the loss of 12.8 ποῖος τόπος τὸ ἡλιόμορφον ἐκεῖνο ἔκρυσεν κάλλος, which occurred in a higher stemmatic position than that of the ancestor of ε' (= S S1 V F G).

## THE TRANSLATOR'S TECHNIQUE

Translation C is, in most cases, *ad verbum* and, occasionally, very close to the original Greek text. For instance, in 6.1, πάντα οὖν τὰ τοῦ μονήρους βίου περιεργασμένη in β (which includes the ε source) is rendered into Latin as *omnia quae solitariae uitae sunt discutiens*, while Translation B, based on an identical Greek text, gives the more elegant *omnem ergo perscrutans monachorum conuersionem*. In 1.2, we have:

Hic accepit uxorem uenerabilem quandam et dignam suae uoluntatis, nobili et ipsam de genere existentem.

The text is surprising, especially *nobili et ipsam de genere existentem* – Mombrizio gives *natum* instead of *existentem*, although the translator uses *existo* elsewhere as equivalent of *sum* (see 7.7, 7.9). The Greek text, γ-family, which includes the ε-source, explains the Latin expression:

Οὗτος ἔλαβε γυναῖκα σεμνὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, γένους καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἐνδόξου.

As we find in the other cases, the fact that the author was translating *ad verbum* did not prevent him from adorning and expanding his text. For instance, in 14.3 he rendered the question θέλεις συντυχεῖν καλῷ ἀδελφῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου ἐλθόντι; as *uis colloqui cum fratri bonae scientiae perito et doctrinae illustri de palatio Theodosii?* In 8.9 the *senex* who tonsures Euphrosyne makes a wish: Ὁ Θεός, ὁ σώσας πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, αὐτός σε διαφυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. The author of the translation amplified the sentence substantially, changing the general tone:

Deus qui saluauit omnes sanctos quique mystica uoce proclamans dicit: «Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut conuertatur et uiuat.» Ipse sui regiminis in te ponat custodiam, filia, atque ab omni aduersarii eripiat gladio, ut, quae illi placita et nobis expetibilia sunt, peragentes soli Deo Patri et Deo nostro Iesu Christo ac Spiritui Sancto gratias referamus.

Interestingly, he added a quotation of Ezekiel 33.11 in a version quoted by patristic authors, such as Augustine and Cassiodorus<sup>20</sup>, which often appears in hagiographical literature<sup>21</sup>.

20. August. *Serm.* 250, ed. S. Poque, *Augustin d'Hippone. Sermons pour la Pâque*, Paris 1966 (Sources Chrétiennes 116), p. 318; Cassiod. *Exp. psalm.*, 50.8, 55.10, 93.7, 140.1, 144.8, ed. M. Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio psalmorum*, Turnhout 1958 (CCSL 97-8), pp. 459, 503, 849, 1262, 1293; Caes. Arelatus, *Serm.* 65.1 and 150.5, ed. G. Morin, *Caesarii Arelatensis opera, Sermones* (ed. alt.), Turnhout 1953 (CCSL 103-4), pp. 279 and 616; Greg. Tur. *Hist.* 10.1 (in a sermon attributed to Gregory the Great), ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, *Gregorii Turonensis Opera. Teil 1: Libri historiarum X* (ed. alt.), Hanover 1951 (MGH. Scr. rerum merovingicarum 1.1), p. 479.

21. For instance, in the beginning of the prologus to the *Vita Pelagiae*, «réfection B» (ed.

## EDITIONS

Translation C was published for the first time by Bonino Mombrizio (1424-c. 500) in his *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, printed in Milan shortly before 1480. The text is found in volume 1 under the title *Vita sanctae Euphrosynae uirginis* (fols. 243r-4v). Mombrizio's model was most likely our *M* or a very similar copy<sup>22</sup>.

The text was republished in the Solesmes re-edition of 1910<sup>23</sup>. The editors collated Mombrizio's printed text with Rosweyde's edition, that is, Translation B (= *BHL* 2723). On p. 660, the editors propose a few emendations.

## EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The critical text is based on the collation of the manuscript copies identified so far. When there is disagreement between *V* and  $\beta$ , the Greek text usually provides some support to select the preferable reading. When the Greek source brings no help, I usually preferred *V*, for it is the earliest witness. I use standard orthography. This is a practical option, in face of the variety of spellings found in the manuscripts. Only the most interesting, and meaningful, spelling variants are given in the *apparatus criticus* (see above, pp. 61-2). The division of the text is the same used in the previous texts.

C. Lévy, P. Petitmengin, J.-P. Rothschild, and J.-Y. Tilliette in Petitmengin (ed.), *Pélagie la Pénitente* cit., p. 231), 6-7: *magnas semper domino gratias referre debemus qui non uult perire peccatores in morte, sed omnes per paenitentiam conuerti cupit ad uitam*. I am grateful to Renaud Alexandre, who called my attention to this example.

22. See, for instance, a couple of variants and errors uniquely found in *M* and Mombrizio's edition: 2.1 *quae ei erant: quae ei erat B, quae reierant V, qua re egerent M Mombr.*; 2.5 *uisione: corpore M Mombr.*; 3.4 *nobilitatis: nobilitate et B, non tantum M Mombr.*; 9.5 *promereri: promoueri M Mombr.*; 19.3 *comes angelorum: comis angelorum B, omnium angelorum M Mombr.*

23. B. Mombrizius, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum; novam hanc editionem curaverunt duo monachi Solesmenses*, Paris 1910, vol. 1, pp. 450-4.



VI.  
THE «LIFE OF CASTISSIMA»  
(«BHL» 1640)

In the tenth century, a particular redaction of Translation A circulated in northern Spain, in the territories south of Burgos and neighbouring regions. We have already seen a different version of the same translation, our Redaction 1 (BHL 2722). In the following pages I shall refer to this Redaction 2 (BHL 1640) with its usual designation, *Vita Castissimae*, as found in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* and in the bibliography.

The earliest traces of its existence go back to an anthology of female saints' *Vitae*, which most likely was a source of inspiration to, and enlightenment for, an aristocratic audience in the County of Castile, kingdom of León. In the eleventh century, the text was copied in a hagiographical collection meant to supplement an important passionary of the region, and in subsequent centuries it appeared occasionally in hagiographical compilations. As far as we can see, the text never circulated outside Iberia, and its diffusion is quite modest. Below I shall present the manuscripts used in the present edition, before examining the relationships between them and to their source.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

As noted above, the earliest evidence of the existence of this particular redaction is found in a hagiographical anthology compiled in the first half of the tenth century in the region of Burgos<sup>1</sup>. The anthology is composed of the following texts:

| <i>texts</i>             | <i>BHL</i> |
|--------------------------|------------|
| <i>Vita Constantinae</i> | 1927       |
| <i>Vita Heliae</i>       | 3798       |

1. P. F. Alberto, «A Collection of *Vitae Sanctarum* in Tenth-Century Northern Spain», in P. F. Alberto, P. Chiesa and M. Goullet (eds.), *Understanding Hagiography. Studies in the Textual Transmission of Early Medieval Saints' Lives*, Florence 2020 (Quaderni di «Hagiographica», 17), pp. 211-38 (pp. 235-8).

|                                                    |        |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Vita Melaniae</i>                               | 5885   |
| <i>Vita Castissimae</i>                            | 1640   |
| <i>Vita cuiusdam sanctae uirginis</i> <sup>2</sup> | (6529) |
| <i>Epistola beatissimae Egeriae laude</i>          | 2382   |
| <i>Vita Pelagiae</i>                               | 6607c  |
| <i>Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae</i>                     | 5417   |

The *Vita Castissimae* survives in two of the three extant copies of this anthology.

1. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, a-II-9, Part C (fols. 59-132) (= A)

s. X (a. 954), Castilian-Riojan region; 31 × 24 cm; 36 lines in two columns; owners: Jorge de Beteta Castilla y Cárdenas (1523-1590); San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1575)<sup>3</sup>.

The codex, beautifully decorated with coloured initials, was written by a certain John, who finished his work on 8 March 954, as indicated in the subscription (fol. 132v). It is without doubt a deluxe item made for a high-ranking female aristocrat or community in territory of the recently created County of Castile. Of the original book, we only have nine quaternions and a final ternion<sup>4</sup>. The original first leaf of the first quaternion is lost: presently, the

2. V. Burrus and M. Conti, *Between Fragment and Compilation: A Virgin's Vision of the After-life*, «*Sacris Erudiri*», 54 (2015), pp. 201-23. It consists of a particular version by John of Rome of *Verba seniorum*, 1.15 (ed. H. Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, Antwerp 1615, pp. 646-7). It is the story of a young woman who must choose between the virtuous life of her father and the mundane life of her mother. This story is supplemented with a short excerpt of Ps.-Jerome's *Breviarium in Psalmos* (CPL 629), on psalm 38:14, and a small collection of aphoristic sentences, most of them belonging to Isidore's *Synonyma*, either quoted directly or drawn from a collection of gnomic sayings. See J. C. Martín-Iglesias, *Códices bagiógráficos latinos de origen hispánico de los siglos IX-XIV. Con un apéndice sobre el siglo XV. Ensayo de inventario*, «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 127 (2009), pp. 313-63, at p. 325 n. 51.

3. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la Monarquía Leonesa*, León 1983 (Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa 31), pp. 378-81; Id., *Valerio del Bierzo. Su persona, su obra*, León 2006 («Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa», 111), pp. 146-7; Alberto, *A collection of «Vitae Sanctarum»* cit., pp. 211-12; G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Madrid 1910, vol. I, pp. 42-5; id., *Estudios de códices visigodos. Códice a.II.9 de la Biblioteca del Escorial*, «*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*», 54 (1909), pp. 55-67, 117-28, 204-46, 265-315; Martín-Iglesias, *Códices bagiógráficos latinos* cit., p. 325. On Jorge de Beteta's manuscripts, G. de Andrés, *Los códices visigóticos de Jorge de Beteta en la biblioteca del Escorial*, «*Celtiberia*», 26 (1976), pp. 101-7, at p. 105. The first section of the manuscript (fols. 2-3), originally from a different codex, presents Julian's *Elogium Ildephonsi* (BHL 3917); the second (fols. 4-58), also from a different manuscript, contains Ildefonsus' *De uirginitate beatae Marie*.

4. The ternion corresponds to fols. 130-5. After the subscription on fol. 132v, three folios

first text, the *Vita Constantinae*, starts at *tu ut uideo non disponis*<sup>5</sup>. We have no means of knowing what might have preceded the surviving set of quires.<sup>6</sup>

The *Vita Castissimae* is on fols. 112v-16r, artfully displayed<sup>7</sup>. Unlike the other text of this collection (for instance, the *Vita Constantinae*), the margins of the *Vitae Castissimae* do not contain summaries of the contents. But there are two marginal notes: one is simply an emendation of the text; the other is an explanation. In chapter 15, when Paphnutius meets his daughter at the monastery without recognising her, a note says: *ubi eam aspexit et ignorauit quia filia sua esset*. The text is also divided into units of meaning, the words of the first line of each unit written in red ink with a large capital letter.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2178, Part I (fols. 1-276) + Madrid, BNE, 822, Part I (fols. 2-18 + 19-22) (= **B**)

s. X<sup>2</sup>, Silos (?); 41 × 30 cm; 37 lines in two columns; owners: Santo Domingo de Silos (s. XIII); Paris section: Bibliothèque Royale (1878); Madrid section: King Felipe V's library (1720)<sup>8</sup>.

**B** was produced in the second half of the tenth century in the region south of Burgos, possibly at Silos. It was a period in which the scriptorium of the monastery, then dedicated to Saint Sebastian (later to Saint Dominic), was un-

were left blank. A hand datable to the late tenth century added Braulio of Zaragoza's *Life of Saint Aemilian*, adding more folios to complete the work (fols. 136-41). The text ends abruptly due to the loss of the subsequent folios.

5. M. Conti, V. Burrus, and D. Trout, *The Lives of Saint Constantina: Introduction, Translations, and Commentaries*, Oxford 2020 (Oxford Early Christian Texts), p. 52, 34.

6. The quire signatures are not visible, so we do not know whether this was the final part of a codex of Valerius' hagiographical collection, as are the two other manuscripts.

7. The folio numbering is that marked in pencil. It corresponds to fols. 103v-71r of an earlier folio numbering.

8. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos* cit., pp. 457-9 (Paris NAL 2178, Part I), 422-4 (Madrid 822, Part I); id., *Valerio del Bierzo* cit., pp. 136-9; Id., *La vida de San Fructuoso de Braga. Estudio y edición crítica*, Braga 1974, pp. 40-2; Alberto, *A Collection of «Vitae Sanctarum»* cit., pp. 212-14; M. Vivancos Gómez, *Glosas y notas marginales de los manuscritos visigóticos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Silos 1996 (Studia Silensia 19), pp. 277-85; Martín-Iglesias, *Códices hagiográficos* cit., pp. 326-7. On its presence in Silos in the thirteenth century, see A. Boylan, *The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos and its Catalogues (XIth-XVIIIth Centuries)*, «Revue Mabillon», n.s. 3 (=64) (1992), pp. 59-102 (p. 79, Catalogue B, no. 4). On the catalogue, Vivancos, *Glosas* cit., pp. 36-7. The catalogue may correspond to the reorganisation of the library after the fire of 1254 (Boylan, *The Library at Santo Domingo* cit., pp. 64-5). It is recorded in the catalogue of Domingo Ibarreta (1710-1785) around 1770, and in that of Gregorio Hernández (1730-1795) of 1772, published in Boylan, *The Library at Santo Domingo* cit., p. 89 (Catalogue D, no. 7), p. 92 (Catalogue F, no. 1). On the history of the library of Silos, see Vivancos, *Glosas* cit., pp. 41-51.

der the influence of the style of Valeránica<sup>9</sup>. Adorned with beautifully decorated and coloured initials, it contains the hagiographical collection of Valerius of Bierzo. The last piece, the *Vita Alexii* (BHL 289), ends on the left-hand column of fol. 207r. On the right-hand column we have the title of the collection of female saints skilfully painted, followed by its index. Then comes the title of the first piece, which begins on the verso. The last text, the *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae*, is incomplete, for some folios are lost. The *Vita Castissimae* is found on fols. 257r-61r.

A third extant copy of the anthology, named C by the editors of the *Vita Constantinae*, is Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 13, Parts A+C (fols. 1-253 + 286-93). The codex contains Valerius of Bierzo's hagiographical compilation, and was produced in the second third of the tenth century in San Millán de la Cogolla. Its model must have come from the territory of León, specifically the region of Castile. As in the case of B, the anthology was copied after Valerius' anthology. Unfortunately, only the first quaternion survives, offering the beginning of the *Vita Constantinae*<sup>10</sup>.

### 3. El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, b-I-4 (= Eb)

s. XI in., San Pedro de Cardeña; 265 fols; 35.5 × 26 cm; 29 lines in two columns; owners: San Pedro de Cardeña (s. XI-XVI; cf. fol. 2v); San Lorenzo del El Escorial (1572)<sup>11</sup>.

9. See Vivancos, *Glosas* cit., pp. 65 and 278; Barbara Shailor, *The Scriptorium of San Pedro de Berlangas*, Ph.D., University of Cincinnati 1975, p. 150, dated it to 945-953 (and attributed it to Valeránica), while Ann Boylan prefers a later date, after 960 (*Manuscript Illumination at Santo Domingo de Silos (X-XIIth Centuries)*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh 1990, pp. 292-4, 341-3).

10. The text ends at *agitans currit*, ed. Conti, Burrus, and Trout, *The Lives of Saint Constantina* cit., p. 80, 475.

11. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos* cit., pp. 304-5; Id., *La pasión de S. Pelayo y su difusión*, «Anuario de Estudios Medievales», 6 (1969), pp. 97-116, at pp. 101-3; Id., *La «Passio Mantii»* (BHL 5219). *Unas consideraciones*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 100 (1982) (*Mélanges offerts à Baudouin de Gaiffier et François Halkin*), pp. 327-39, at p. 328; G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial. I (a. I. 1-d. IV. 32)*, Madrid 1910, pp. 108-28; A. Fàbrega Grau, *Pasionario Hispánico (siglos VII-XI)*, Madrid and Barcelona 1953 (*Monumenta Hispana Sacra*, Serie Litúrgica 6), vol. 1, pp. 240-5; Martín-Iglesias, *Códices hagiográficos*, p. 328. In the sixteenth century, Ambrosio de Morales examined the codex at the monastery of Cardeña: *Divi Eulogii Cordubensis ... opera*, Alcalá de Henares 1574, fol. 112r. Based on a marginal note on fol. 30v, preceding the *Passio Nunilonis et Alodiae*, martyred in Huesca in c. 842/851, Manuel Díaz y Díaz suggested that the model, or rather one of the models, of Eb should be dated to some time before 982: *La Pasión de San Pelayo y su difusión*, p. 102. Former shelfmark: «I. H. 8. 9».

This legendary produced in the eleventh century was used as a supplement to Endura's passionary (London, add. 25600). This is shown by the numbering of the folios and of the texts<sup>12</sup>. Most likely, the very purpose of this collection was precisely to assemble texts missing from Endura's passionary and required by the new liturgical needs of the time<sup>13</sup>. The texts are not arranged *per circulum anni*, but by accumulation.

The *Vita Castissimae* was copied at the end of the collection, on fols. 262r-5v, with no indication of the liturgical date. It ends abruptly at 14.3 *de palatio Theodosii*. The subsequent folios are lost.

#### 4. Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, 44-11 (= T)

s. XIII, Toledo; 264 fols., 59 × 38.5 cm; 40 lines in two columns; owners: Cathedral of Toledo<sup>14</sup>.

The manuscript contains two annual cycles, copied one after the other. First, on fols. 1-126v, we have a passionary *per circulum anni*, from 17 November (Acisclus and Victoria) to 1 November (*Passio Saturnini*). At the end is appended the *Passio Christinae*, celebrated on 26 July in early medieval Spain. Then, on fols. 130r-241v, we find a second annual cycle, from 28 November (Caprasius of Agen, a common feature in the early medieval Hispanic liturgy) to 30 October (Marcellus of Tangier). After this piece, we have a supplement of thirteen texts on saints of various dates, the first being Claudius, Asterius, and companions (23 August), followed by Longinus of Cappadocia (21 November in the early medieval Spanish liturgy). Four saints of December form a short sequence.

The *Vita Castissimae* is the last piece of this supplement (fols. 260r-2v). Once again, there is no liturgical date. Among the models of this huge hagio-

12. The passions are numbered LIII to CXVII (the last text of London add. 25600, the *Passio Innumerabilium Caesaraugustanorum*, is numbered LII). The thirteenth-century foliation is from CCLXVIII to DLX (the final folio of add. 25600 is numbered CCLXVII). The passions in add. 25600 and *Eb* were numbered before the late eleventh century, when the current final quaternion was added.

13. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Passionnaires, légendiers et compilations hagiographiques dans le haut Moyen Âge espagnol*, in *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés. IV<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, Paris 1981, pp. 49-59, at p. 50. On fol. 3r, a title in red and blue on alternating lines occupies eight lines: IN NOMINE DOMINI INCIPIUNT PASSIONES SANCTORUM MARTIRUM DE RELIQUO AD PERFECTUM EXARATE.

14. Martín-Iglesias, *Códices hagiográficos* cit., p. 330; J. Janini and R. González, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la Catedral de Toledo*, Toledo 1977 (Publicaciones del Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos. Tercera serie. Estudios, Catálogos, Repertorios 11), pp. 184-6, no. 174; P. Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario Hispánico (Introducción, Edición crítica y Traducción)*, Seville 1995 (Filosofía y Letras 131), p. xvii; V. Yarla Urquiola (ed.), *Passionarium Hispanicum*, Turnhout 2022 (CCSL 171 and 171a), vol. 1, pp. 313-16.

graphical manuscript, the scribes used passionaries of the Castilian territory, such as those of San Pedro de Cardeña, Endura's passionary (London add. 25600), and its complement, our *Eb*. *T* is precisely a copy of *Eb*, as we shall see below. Nevertheless, it is a valuable witness, because it was produced before the loss of a number of folios in *Eb*, which left the text truncated<sup>15</sup>.

A copy of the *Vita Castissimae* modelled on *T* is found in Bernardo of Brihuega's *Vitae sanctorum*. It survives in Salamanca, Biblioteca Histórica Universitaria, 2538 (fols. 337v-9r), a manuscript of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, once owned by the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé, Salamanca, which contains a large portion of Brihuega's book 3 (fols. 11r-224v) and a section of book 5 (fols. 224v-355v). It has been very thoroughly described by José Carlos Martín-Iglesias<sup>16</sup>. That *T* is the model of Brihuega is clear: it bears every single error, omission, and addition present in *T*, and not a single reading that improves on *T*. Interestingly, Bernardo of Brihuega was also acquainted with the anthology of female saints' lives mentioned above. He copied most of the lives from Paris nal 2178 (our *B*)<sup>17</sup>. However, as for the *Vita Castissimae*, he preferred to use *T* as his model.

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The earliest evidence of the existence of this particular version of the *Vita Euphrosynae* is found in the above-mentioned anthology compiled in the tenth century. As we have seen, it survives in two beautifully decorated manuscripts (*A* and *B*) produced in the area of Burgos for some high-ranking commissioner, possibly a member of the Leonese court or the new aristocracy of Castile. Unfortunately, the quaternions containing the *Vita* in a third contemporaneous copy mentioned above (Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 13, Parts A+C), are lost.

In the eleventh century, in this very same region, the *Vita Euphrosynae* was incorporated at the end of a hagiographical collection (*Eb*), intended to sup-

15. Already a sixteenth-century note on fol. 167v (*Passio Pelagii*) states that the manuscript was collated with *Eb*.

16. J. C. Martín-Iglesias, *Los manuscritos de las «Vitae sanctorum» de Bernardo de Brihuega conservados en la Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca*, «Euphrosyne», 48 (2020), pp. 151-92.

17. Brihuega incorporated: *Vita Heliae* (fols. 300v-2r), *Vita Melaniae iunioris* (fols. 312r-23v), *Vita cuiusdam sancte uirginis* (fols. 323v-4r), Valerius of Bierzo's *Epistula beatissimae Egeriae laude conscripta* (fols. 324v-5va), *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae* (fols. 325v-31r), *Vita Constantinae* (fols. 339r-46v).

plement the most important passionary produced in the monasteries of Castile County: London, British Library, add. 25600, the passionary copied by Endura in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, in the days of Fernán González, count of Castile (932-969/970).

Finally, in the thirteenth century a copy of *Eb* was produced in Toledo (*T*). From *T*, the text was incorporated into Bernardo of Brihuega's *Vitae sanctorum*.

*A* and *B* present almost identical texts: the same layout, division of the text, and omissions. A number of readings suggest that both derive independently from the same source text. For instance:

| BHL 2722 |                      | BHL 1640                                 |                                       |
|----------|----------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|          |                      | <i>B Eb</i> (up to 14.3) <i>T</i>        | <i>A</i>                              |
| 1.4      | nocte ac die         | nocte et die                             | die hac nocte                         |
| 1.7      | non paucam pecuniam  | multa pecunia                            | pecunia                               |
| 4.10     | qui cognoscis        | qui cognoscis                            | qui scis                              |
| 5.5      | qualiscumque         | qualiscumque                             | aliquis qualiscumque                  |
| 6.2      | cum omni integritate | cum omni integritate                     | cum omni humilitate<br>et integritate |
| 8.2      | temptationes inimici | temptationes inimici                     | temptationes diaboli                  |
| 13.2     | de cellulis eorum    | de cellulis eorum ( <i>aliter Eb T</i> ) | <i>om.</i>                            |
| 17.3     | dignare              | dignare                                  | digna                                 |
| 19.2     | abbas uelociter      | abbas uelociter                          | uelociter abbas                       |

As we can see, the evidence is scarce, but it is unlikely that all these minor details can be put down to simple coincidence. And when we consider the other texts of the anthology, we reach a certain degree of confidence that *B* is not a copy of *A*<sup>18</sup>.

It is possible that *Eb* derives from a model in a higher stemmatic position than *A B*. However, the evidence is limited. See, for instance:

| BHL 2722 |                    | BHL 1640           |                        |
|----------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
|          |                    | <i>Eb T</i>        | <i>A B</i>             |
| 2.2      | concessit          | concessit          | concedit               |
| 5.6      | et dixit monachus  | respondit monachus | respondit              |
| 6.5      | seruum dei         | seruum dei         | seruum domini          |
| 7.9      | contradicere patri | contradicere patri | contradicere ad patrem |
| 10.3     | dispensare         | dispensaret        | expensaret             |
| 12.2     | consocrum          | consocrum          | socrum                 |

18. Alberto, *A Collection of «Vitae Sanctorum»* cit., p. 225 (for the *Vita Melaniae*), p. 229 (*Vita Constantinae*), p. 231 (*Vita Pelagiae*), p. 234 (*Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae*).

On the other hand, it is also a highly reworked text. See the beginning of chapter 13:

<sup>1</sup> Dum non potuit dolores supportare, Pafnutius ambulauit ad ipsum monasterium, ubi erat filia sua, et prosternens se ad pedes beati abbatis dixit: «Rogo te, pater, ne obliuiscaris mei; attentissime ora pro me peccatore, ut inueniam fructum orationum tuarum; imparuit enim filia mea». <sup>2</sup> Audiens haec, abbas tristis effectus est et iussit sonari signum ut omnes fratres de cellulis eorum congregarentur in ecclesia. Et dixit illis. <sup>3</sup> «Rogo uos, fratres, laborem sustinete unam septimanam et ieiunate ac Deum deprecare nobiscum».

which reads in *Eb* and *T*:

<sup>1</sup> Quum uero non potuisset dolorem filiae sustinere, Pafnutius perrexit ad ipsum monasterium, ubi erat filia eius, et prosternens se ad pedes beati abbatis dixit: «Obsecro te, pater sanctissime, ut mei miserearis, quoniam filia unica, quam mihi Deus sacris tuis atque tuorum fratrum orationibus olim postulatus dederat, nunc grauiter doleo amissam, quando nec uiuentem uideo nec mortuam mihi datur tradere sepulcro. Propter quod nunc precor ut Dei exoretis clementiam. Forsitan, uobis orantibus, ostendere mihi eam dignabitur Dominus». <sup>2</sup> Talibus igitur uerbis abbas commotus, conuocatis sic ait fratribus: <sup>3</sup> «Rogo uos, fratres, ut in spatio unius septimanae laborem ieiunii sustineatis ac Deum simul deprecemur».

*T* is clearly a *codex descriptus* of *Eb*. It replicates all the errors of *Eb* and does not, beyond any reasonable doubt, offer any better reading than *Eb*.

#### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE «VITA CASTISSIMAE» AND TRANSLATION A, REDACTION 1

That the *Vita Castissimae* is a particular version of Translation A, and not a different translation from the same Greek model, is demonstrated by a huge number of passages that are identical in these Latin texts. A few examples:

|     | <i>Greek text</i>                                               | <i>Redaction 1</i>                                                            | <i>Vita Castissimae</i>                                                       |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.5 | ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς περιερχόμενος                        | similiter et uir suus circuibat monasteria et sancta loca                     | similiter et uir suus circuibat monasteria et sancta loca                     |
| 2.5 | ὅτι ἦν ἀστεία τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ὥραία τῇ ὄψει καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα | dum decora erat ualde in forma et patiens in conuersatione.                   | dum erat decora ualde in forma et patiens in conuersatione.                   |
| 7.2 | τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς μονῆς εἰσιν.                        | dedicatio est monasterii nostri                                               | dedicatio est monasterii nostri                                               |
| 7.5 | ἰδοὺ τις γέρων ἐκ τῆς Σκήτεως ἐλθὼν τὸ ἐργόχειρον αὐτοῦ ἐπὼλεῖ. | inuentus est ibidem unus senex seruus Dei orans adtentissime in ipsa ecclesia | inuentus est ibidem unus senex seruus Dei orans adtentissime in ipsa ecclesia |



|         |                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 14.5, 8 | καὶ λαβὼν αὐτόν, ὁ Ἀγῆπιος ἀπήγαγεν πρὸς αὐτόν. | duxitque illum ad fenestram. 7 <sup>b</sup> Et ille non potuit cognoscere filiam suam, dum de nimia afflictione carnis suae fuerat afflicta <sup>8</sup> et cooperiebat se de cuculla, ut nullum signum pater suus uidere potuisset in ea. | duxitque illum ad fenestram. 7 <sup>b</sup> Et uidit filiam suam et non cognouit eam prae nimia afflictione carnis suae, quia fuerat ualde afflicta in nimis ieiuniis atque orationibus <sup>8</sup> et quo operiebat se de cuculla, ut non cognosceret eam pater suus. |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Furthermore, they present the same sentences absent from the Greek model. For instance, they have the same additional information about the tradition of the nuns being tonsured (6.4): *dum in Oriente consuetudo est monachas tondere capillos sicut et uiros*.

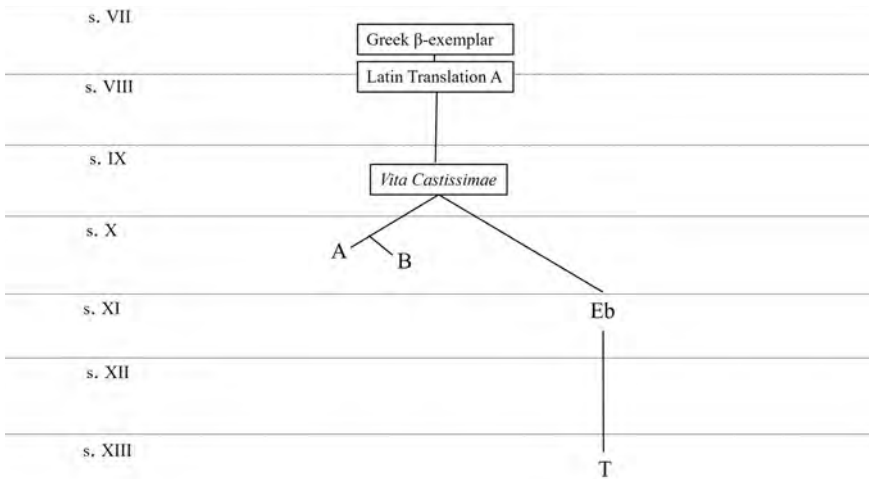
It is difficult to demonstrate beyond any reasonable doubt which line of transmission the *Vita Castissimae* stems from. The text is very heavily reworked, which may obscure many significant clues. In any case, a number of details in the extant witnesses suggest that its ancestor was closer to the line of *R Es P U* (1.1-12.2). Some of these details are:

|      | BHL 2772                      | BHL 2772 ( <i>R Es</i> (18.5-21.5) <i>P U</i> (1.1-12.2)) + BHL 1640 |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.3  | exitum                        | obitum                                                               |
| 4.5  | homines                       | omnes (also Ba)                                                      |
| 6.5  | perinquire (perquire Ba Ro D) | inquire                                                              |
| 8.1  | propriae animae               | propriae animae suae                                                 |
| 9.9  | offero omnia                  | offero tibi omnia (offero tibi Ba)                                   |
| 10.2 | solus non potes consistere    | non potes consistere solus                                           |
| 10.2 | ordinem monasticum            | ordinem monasterii                                                   |
| 10.3 | facio                         | faciam                                                               |
| 13.6 | pro hoc                       | propter hoc                                                          |
| 13.7 | abscondidit                   | abscondit (also Ba)                                                  |
| 14.4 | dominum (hominem Ba D)        | amicum                                                               |
| 19.4 | cum grandi reuerentia         | cum magna reuerentia                                                 |
| 20.1 | de fratribus                  | ex fratribus                                                         |
| 20.2 | monimen (monumentum D)        | hominem (also Ba)                                                    |

The evidence is meagre, but it is not certain that all these minor details can be put down to simple coincidence. A fact is that this line of transmission of Redaction 1 circulated in tenth-century Spain: *U* is precisely an exemplar produced in Córdoba in the second quarter of the tenth century. Other exemplars may have circulated<sup>19</sup>. Therefore, for the time being, this is a hypothesis.

19. In 5.4, the *Vita Castissima* offers the correct number of monks. This may mean that its

The relationships between copies of the *Vita Castissimae* can roughly be represented as follows:



#### THE AUTHOR'S TECHNIQUE

The *Vita Castissimae* is shorter than its model by about 30 per cent. For instance, in 1.3, Redaction 1 reads:

Vir autem suus in grandi tribulatione erat. Dum diuitiae erant illi, non sperabat dimittere posteros, ut suam substantiam post exitum eorum bene disponderetur.

The *Vita Castissimae* condenses this into a short line:

model was in a higher stemmatic position in regard to the ancestor of *R Es P U*, or that it was emended. There are very few indications that the *Vita Castissimae* descends from a model in a higher stemmatic position than the ancestor of the extant copies of Redaction 1, this is, *BHL* 2722. One of the passages which could suggest such a model is the following. In 4.7, the Greek text has δεῦρο, πᾶτερ πνευματικέ, πρὸς τὴν δούλην σου, ἵνα σε προσκυνήσῃ [...] ὅτι ἀπελθεῖν θέλομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, while Redaction 1 reads *pater bone, uide ancillam tuam, filiam meam, quia ualedicere uolumus*, and the *Vita Castissima* presents *pater bone, uide ancillam tuam, filiam meam, quia quaerimus descendere ad ciuitatem*. No other passage offers a similar clue, which is an interesting indication in a text of this length. It is not impossible that the author of the *Vita Castissimae* introduced the causal clause corresponding to the Greek text on his own initiative or following a lost model preserving the sentence of the Greek text (for instance, a descendant of an ancestor of *R Es P U*). Indeed, the eleventh-century corrector of *M*, a major witness of Redaction 1, added a very similar phrase above the line, *uolumus discedere in domo*, again either on his own initiative or based on a more complete, and now-lost exemplar of Redaction 1.

Pafnutius uero tribulabatur eo quod erat diues et non habebat filios.

Sometimes, the purpose of abridging the text led the author to commit mistakes and to mislead the reader. If it is not just a mechanical loss, an example could be 16.2-4, where Pafnutius visits his daughter at the monastery for the last time:

Venit autem tunc pater suus ad monasterium et dixit abbati: «Si iubes, domine, uideam Smaragdum, quia satis diligit illum anima mea». <sup>3</sup> Et iussit abbas et uidit illum. <sup>4</sup> Intrauerunt Agapius et Pafnutius et uisitauerunt eam.

The sentence *et iussit abbas et uidit illum* is puzzling, but Redaction 1 clarifies:

<sup>3</sup> Iussitque abbas magistro suo, nomen Agapio, ducere patrem puellae dicens: «Quia forsitan in hoc corpore non uidebit illum».

If we are not acquainted with the source text, the sentence in the *Vita Castissimae* is nonsensical.

Sometimes, the author introduced elements which render the text faulty. In 12.4, Redaction 1 reads:

Statim directi sunt in omnem patriam quaerere beatam puellam et non solum naues maris, sed et de Nilo fluuio detentae sunt. Et exquaerebantur domi, monasteria, cauernae; et quod quaerebant non inueniebatur.

The corresponding passage in the *Vita Castissimae* is as follows:

Statim direxerunt missos in omnes regiones et non solum naues maris, sed et Nili fluuia et cauernas et speluncas et monasteria uirorum et mulierum: inquirentes non inuenerunt eam.

There are a number of inconsistencies and redundancies here. The phrase *non solum naues maris sed et Nilia fluuia* is awkward; *cauernas et speluncas* is an unnecessary repetition. But see specially *monasteria uirorum et mulierum*: the phrase *monasteria uirorum* is clearly rhetorical and inaccurate. This is precisely the reason why they did not find Euphrosyne: because they did not search in male monasteries.

The purpose of abridging the model did not prevent the author from amplifying the text whenever he felt it appropriate. For instance, in 17.3, when Euphrosyne reveals her identity to her father, Redaction 1 has a short statement:

Ego sum paupera et peccatrix quam quaeris, ecce uide et satisfactum tibi sit!

The author of the *Vita Castissimae* decided to amplify the moment and give it an emotional tone:

Ego sum paupera et peccatrix, quae pro amore Christi mundum omnem cum deliciis suis respui tamquam stercora. Christus autem tam idoneus mihi extitit, ut et uictricem libidinum et omnes pollutiones a me euadere fecit pro misericordiam suam, cui credo me usque ad hanc horam sine macula permansuram. Ecce uide me et satisfac tibi!

#### EDITIONS

The *Vita Castissimae* was first published in 1909 by Guillermo Antolín y Pajares (1873-1928), the Augustinian scholar of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, author of the well-known catalogue of its manuscripts. In a long article printed in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Antolín reproduced the text he had found in El Escorial a-II-9, our A<sup>20</sup>.

More recently, Valeriano Yarza Urquiola included the *Vita* in volume 2 of his *Passionarium Hispanicum*. He used our four manuscripts: A B Eb T. In volume 1, Yarza presents a short introduction to the text, comprising a summary of its contents. It is not clear why he included this *Vita* in an edition of the so-called *Passionarium Hispanicum*, once the text is absent from all manuscripts usually associated with the hagiographical collections *per anni circulum* which circulated in northern Spain since the tenth century, except our *Es*, in which the *Vita* appears at the very end of the anthology composed by accumulation and with no indication of the liturgical date. Also, his proposal about Euphrosyne's feast day in the Hispanic liturgy of the eleventh century (if she ever had a feast day in medieval Spain) requires explanation<sup>21</sup>.

#### EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

In the present text, I use the same chapter and other textual units used in the preceding texts<sup>22</sup>. Since this is an abridged version, the result is sometimes unbalanced. But, even so, this appeared to be the best solution in order to avoid different reference systems among versions. As for spelling variants,

20. Guillermo Antolín y Pajares, *Estudios de códices visigodos: Códice a. ii 9. de la biblioteca del Escorial*, «Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia», 54 (1909), pp. 55-67, 117-28, 204-46, 265-315. The *Vita Castissimae* is on pp. 271-9.

21. Yarza, *Passionarium Hispanicum* cit., pp. 1333-45 (the introduction to the text is in vol. 1, pp. 261-4). The author states that the liturgical date of Saint Castissima in early medieval Spain was 15 September. No evidence is given to the reader.

22. The author of this version did not include 20.3 and 21.3, in addition to the omission of 2.3 in Translation A, Redaction 1, the position of 14.8 (between 14.5 and 14.6 in Translation A), and 14.7 divided in two parts.

I only incorporated the most meaningful into the *apparatus criticus* (see above pp. 61-2).

As we have seen, *A* and *B* present the earliest form of this version, as confirmed by the other recension of the same translation, this is, Translation A. Naturally, this is the basis of our text. *Eb* presents a later and very reworked text. But since it descends from a model in a higher stemmatic position than that of the ancestor *A* and *B*, it presents better readings in a few cases. *T* is a *codex descriptus* of *Eb*. Nevertheless, I have included its variants in the *apparatus criticus*, since *Eb* is missing the text after chapter 14 due to the loss of the subsequent leaves, and in many places the edges of the surviving folios have been cut off, meaning that some sentences and words are lost. *T* is thus taken as representative of the missing text in *Eb*. For reasons of clarity and coherence, all variants of *T* – not only those in the missing parts of *Eb* – are given.



## EDITIONS





## THE GREEK «LIFE OF EUPHROSYNE» («BHG» 625)

### *Conspectus siglorum*

|                |                                                                                 |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A              | Paris, BnF, gr. 1454, s. X                                                      |
| B              | Paris, BnF, gr. 1506, s. X                                                      |
| C              | Paris, BnF, gr. 1538, s. X-XI                                                   |
| F              | Athos, Monastery of Philotheou, 9, s. XI <i>ex.</i>                             |
| G              | Gravenhage ('s-), Huis van het Boek, 10 A 5-6, s. XI <i>ex.</i>                 |
| L              | Athos, Monastery of Great Lavra, Δ 50, s. XI                                    |
| K              | Athos, Karakallou Monastery, 14, s. XII                                         |
| M              | Milano, Bibl. Ambr., D 92 sup., s. X <sup>2</sup>                               |
| M <sub>1</sub> | Milano, Bibl. Ambr., G 63 sup., s. X <i>ex.</i>                                 |
| M <sub>2</sub> | Milano, Bibl. Ambr., F 32 sup., s. XII <sup>1/4</sup>                           |
| O              | Ohrid, Narodn Muzej, 4, s. X <sup>2/4</sup>                                     |
| O <sub>1</sub> | Ohrid, Narodn Muzej, 44, s. X <sup>1/2</sup>                                    |
| P              | Paris, BnF, gr. 1537, s. XI                                                     |
| P <sub>4</sub> | Paris, BnF, Coisl. 237 (fragm.), s. XI                                          |
| S              | Sinai, Saint Catherine's monastery, gr. 519, s. X                               |
| S <sub>1</sub> | Sinai, Saint Catherine's monastery, gr. 526, s. X                               |
| S <sub>2</sub> | Sinai, Saint Catherine's monastery, gr. 497, s. X-XI                            |
| Sp             | Sankt-Peterburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja biblioteka, Φ. 906 (Gr.) 213, s. XII |
| V              | Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 797, s. X <i>ex.</i>                          |
| V <sub>1</sub> | Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 866, s. X <i>ex.</i> -XI <i>in.</i>           |
| V <sub>2</sub> | Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1987, s. X <sup>3/3</sup>                     |
| V <sub>3</sub> | Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi R. VI. 9, s. XI <i>ex.</i> -XII <i>in.</i>       |
| α              | A O                                                                             |
| β              | κ γ                                                                             |
| γ              | B γ'                                                                            |

|                |                                                 |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| $\gamma'$      | C $\delta$                                      |
| $\delta$       | $\varepsilon$ $\zeta$                           |
| $\varepsilon$  | $\varepsilon'$ O <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> Sp |
| $\varepsilon'$ | S S <sub>1</sub> V G F                          |
| $\zeta$        | $\theta$ P M V <sub>3</sub> M <sub>2</sub> K    |
| $\theta$       | M <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub>    |
| $\kappa$       | S <sub>2</sub> L                                |

*Boucherie* cfr. p. 37

Βίος και πολιτεία τῆς ὁσίας Εὐφροσύνης  
καὶ τοῦ ταύτης πατρὸς Παφνουτίου

[1.] <sup>1</sup>Ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλει ἀνὴρ ἑνδοξος, ὀνόματι Παφνουτίος, πάνυ σπουδαῖος περὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ. <sup>2</sup>Οὗτος ἔλαβεν γυναικὰ σεμνήν τινα καὶ ἀξίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, γένους καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἐνδόξου καὶ πλουσίαν σφόδρα· ἦν δὲ στεῖρα καὶ οὐκ ἔτικτεν.

**trad. textus:** *ab initio usque ad 1.4* οἶκους ἀναλώσασα *tantum habet* O1 ~ *ab initio usque ad 8.10 (in apparatu)* σῶζε σεαυτὴν, γύναι, μὴ *et ab 12.6* ὁ πατὴρ *usque ad 16.2* ἡ ψυχὴ μου *praebet* G ~ *ab 1.7* ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα *usque ad 4.6* καὶ ἤρξατο ἡ καρ<διά> *solum habet* M2 ~ *ab 12.4* φίλοι *usque ad 14.5* πρὸς αὐτὸν *tantum habet* P4 **tit.:** μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κε' *add. ante titulum* α κ B V, μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ κε' *idem* S V1 ~ βίος ... Παφνουτίου] βίος τοῦ κυροῦ παφνουτίου καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ εὐφροσύνης τῆς καὶ ὀνομαστήσεις σμαράγδου M1 V1, τῆς ἀγίας εὐφροσύνης V ~ καὶ πολιτεία *om.* F ~ τῆς ὁσίας] τῆς ὁσίας καὶ τῆς ἀγίας Sp, τῆς δούλης τοῦ θεοῦ (χριστοῦ S1) S S1 O1, τῆς ὁσίας μητρὸς ἡμῶν C, τῆς ἀγίας O κ M P K, τῆς ἀγίας καὶ τῆς δούλης τοῦ χριστοῦ G, τῆς ὁσίας καὶ ἐνδόξου δούλης τοῦ θεοῦ V3 ~ καὶ τοῦ ταύτης πατρὸς Παφνουτίου] καὶ παφνουτίου (πανφν- M) τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς S1 F G M, καὶ παφνουτίου O P, τῆς μετονομασθήσεως σμαράγδου κ, τῆς μετακληθείσης σμαράγδου καὶ τῶν ταύτης γονέων Sp, *om.* B C S O1 V2 V3 K ~ κύριε εὐλόγησον *add.* B C S1 ζ (*non* V1)

[1.] 1. ἀγαπητοί *add. ante* ἐγένετο V3 ~ τις *add. post* ἐγένετο γ (*non* M K, τις ἀνὴρ *add. ibidem* S V, ἐν τοῖς αἵτεσιν ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ τις *idem* V3) ~ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλει *tr. post* ἑνδοξος B ~ Ἀλεξανδρέων] Ἀλεξανδρεῖα C ~ τῇ *add. ante* μεγαλοπόλει C ~ μεγαλοπόλει] πόλει M ~ ἀνὴρ ἑνδοξος *om.* M1 V1 ~ πανφνούτιος M ~ σπουδαίως M M1 V1 V3 2. οὕτως O1 V3 ~ σεμνήν τινα] τινα σεμνήν *tr.* A, σεμνήν γ' (*non* Sp O1 M P V2) ~ καὶ *om.* κ C ε' (*non* S1 O1) V3 ~ ἀξίαν *tr. post* προαιρέσεως V ~ τε *add. post* ἀξίαν κ ~ αὐτοῦ] ἐαυτοῦ ε' (*non* S1) ~ γένους ... σφόδρα *om.* V3 ~ καὶ *add. ante* γένους S1 ~ καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν] τε οὖσαν καὶ αὐτὴν M, καὶ αὐτῆς οὐσης V O1 P θ, αὐτὴ οὖσα C K, οὐσης (ἥσης S) ε' (*om.* S1) ~ ἐνδόξου] ἐπιδόξου Sp M1 V1 ~ καὶ πλουσίαν σφόδρα *tr. post* σεμνήν τινα κ, *om.* γ (*non* M) ~ ἦν δέ] καὶ ἦν γ (ἦν δέ M, αὐτὴ ἦν S1, ἥτις C K) ~ οὖσα *add. post* στεῖρα C K ~ καὶ *om.* C K ~ παιδίον *add. ante* οὐκ ἔτικτεν Sp ~ ἔτικτεν] ἔτεκεν M1

1.1. περὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ cfr Dt 4.2, 8.6; I Io 3.22; 3.24; 5.3; Apc 12.17; 14.12

<sup>3</sup>Ἐν πολλῇ οὖν ἀθυμία ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς περὶ τούτου, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχεν  
 ᾧ καταλείψει τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποβίωσιν τὰ  
 πράγματα αὐτοῦ καλῶς διοικῶνται εἰς τοὺς δεομένους. <sup>4</sup>Ἡ οὖν γυνή  
 αὐτοῦ, θεωροῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς οὕτως ἀθυμοῦντα, οὐκ ἐπαύετο  
 νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προσεδρεύουσα καὶ νηστείαις καὶ  
 δεήσεσιν τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς παιδίον. Πάνυ οὖν  
 πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ εὐαγεῖς οἴκους ἀναλώσασα, ἐδέετο  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὴν δέησιν αὐτῆς. <sup>5</sup>Ομοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς  
 περιερχόμενος ἐξήτει ποῦ ἂν εὔροιεν ἄξιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, ὅστις

3. ἐν πολλῇ ... περὶ τούτου] τοῦ οὖν ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐν πολλῇ (μεγάλη *add. hic* K) ἀθυμία  
 ὑπάρχοντος C K ~ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς] ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς (*om.* V O I) ὑπῆρχεν V Sp O I  
 V3 0 ~ ὑπῆρχεν] ὑπάρχων κ ~ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς] ὁ ἀνὴρ ε (*non* Sp), ὁ παφνούτιος B ~ περὶ  
 τούτου *om.* C V2 K ~ ὅτι οὐκ ... εἰς τοὺς δεομένους *om.* V3 ~ οὐκ] μὴ C ~ ᾧ] τὸ ποῦ  
 C, τινὶ κ, ᾧ (ὁ K) τινὶ δ (ᾧ M) ~ καταλείψει] -λήψεται B, -ψαι κ C V, -λήψει K M I V I  
 (*in lac.* V3) ~ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ] τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅπασαν τὴν οὐσίαν M ~ αὐτοῦ  
 (ἐαυτοῦ K) οὐσίαν *tr.* B C K ~ ἵνα] *tr. post* ἀποβίωσιν K, ὅτι C ~ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 ἀποβίωσιν *om.* B ~ αὐτοῦ <sup>2</sup>] αὐτῶν ε (ἐαυτῶν Sp) ~ τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ καλῶς  
 διοικῶνται] τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα καλῶς διοικῶνται A, καλῶς τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ  
 τὰ πράγματα *tr.* K) διοικῶνται (διοικῶντο C, διοικηθῶσιν P) γ' (*non* M, καλῶς  
 διοικῶνται τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν ε) ~ καλῶς *om.* B 4. ἡ οὖν ... οὐκ ἐπαύετο] αὕτη  
 οὖν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο C ~ οὖν] δὲ K ~ αὐτοῦ *om.* K ~ θεωροῦσα] θεωρίσασα M, θεωρῶ K,  
 ὁρῶσα V3 ~ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς] αὐτὸν V3 ~ αὐτῆς] ἐαυτῆς O V O I Sp, *om.* P V2 ~ ταῖς  
 ἐκκλησίαις] τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ K ~ τοῦ θεοῦ *add. post* ἐκκλησίαις Sp ~ προσεδρεύουσα]  
 σχολάζουσα V3 ~ καὶ <sup>2</sup> *om.* B C M ~ καὶ προσευχαῖς *add. post* νηστείαις M I V I ~  
 ἱκετεύουσα (*sic!*) τὸν Θεὸν *tr.* C ~ ὅπως *add. ante* παρασχεθῆναι V3 ~ παρασχεθῆναι]  
 παρασχεῖν γ' (-θῆναι M, -σχῇ V3) ~ αὐτοῖς] αὐτῇ γ (αὐτῆς C, αὐτοῖς M) ~ παιδίον]  
 τέκνον C, καρπὸν κοιλίας K ~ μάλιστα θεωροῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ ὄντα *add.*  
*post* παιδίον C ~ πάνυ ... τὴν δέησιν αὐτῆς *om.* V3 ~ πάνυ οὖν πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς τοὺς  
 πτωχοὺς καὶ εὐαγεῖς οἴκους] εἰς δὲ τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ εὐλαβεῖς οἴκους πάντοτε χρήματα  
 M ~ πάνυ οὖν πολλὰ] πολλὰ οὖν C, πολλὰ τε ε (πάμπολλα Sp), πάμπολλα O I ζ (*in lac.*  
 V3) ~ εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς ... ἀναλώσασα] ἀναλώσασα ἐν τε πτωχοῖς καὶ εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις  
 C ~ τοῖς] τε δ (*non* V2 K, *in lac.* V3, δὲ M) ~ εἰς τοὺς *add. ante* εὐαγεῖς O, εἰς *idem* B ~  
 ἀναλώσασα] ἀναλίσκουσα ε ~ ἀβ ἐδέετο *deest* O I, *deperditis subsequentibus foliis* ~ καθ'  
 ἐκάστην *add. ante* ἐδέετο Sp ~ ἐδέετο τοῦ θεοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὴν δέησιν αὐτῆς *om.* δ (*sed*  
*habet* M) ~ τὴν δέησιν αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς τὴν αἰτησιν C 5. περιερχόμενος ἐξήτει]  
 περιεῖρχετο ζητῶν C ~ τὰ μοναστήρια *add. post* περιερχόμενος δ (*non* M, πάντα *add. ante*  
 τὰ S I) ~ ἐξήτει] περιενόστη (-τει V2) δ (ἐξήτει S I Sp M, ἐπερώτα K, *om.* S V F G) ~ ποῦ  
 ἂν] τὸ (τί V3) ποῦ V2 V3, ποῦ B K M I V I, ὅπως C ~ εὔροιεν] εὔρη τινὰ B C, εὔρει K,  
 εὔροι δ (εὔρη ἕνα M) ~ ὅστις] ὅς M I V I, ἥτις (*i.e.* εἴ τις ?) C, ὥστις V3

4. οὐκ ἐπαύετο ... καὶ δεήσεων *cfr.* Lc 2.37

διὰ προσευχῆς δυνήσεται τὰ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῖς πρεσβεῦσαι. <sup>6</sup>Καὶ δὴ ἀπέρχεται ἐν τινι κοινοβίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐλέγετο τὸν ἡγούμενον μέγαν ἄνθρωπον παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τυγχάνειν. <sup>7</sup>Καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα προσενέγκας, συντυχίας πλατυτέρας καὶ γνωριμωτέρας ἀξιοῦται παρὰ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ οὖσιν ἀδελφοῖς.

[2.] <sup>1</sup>Μετὰ πολὺν οὖν χρόνον, θαρρεῖ τῷ ἀββᾶ τὰ τοῦ πράγματος. Καὶ εἷζας αὐτοῦ ταῖς δεήσεσιν, παρεκάλεισεν τὸν Θεὸν δοῦναι αὐτοῖς καρπὸν κοιλίας. <sup>2</sup>Καὶ ἐπικαμφθεὶς ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς ἀμφοτέρων δεήσεσιν χαρίζεται

διὰ προσευχῆς δυνήσεται] δυνήσεται (-ναι C) διὰ προσευχῆς C M ~ τῆς *add. ante* προσευχῆς M I V I ~ αὐτοῦ *add. post* προσευχῆς A M I V I ~ δυνήσεται O K B F Sp P V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub>, δύναιται C ~ τὰ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν] τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν δ (*non* M) ~ τὰ] τὸ B C ~ αὐτοῖς πρεσβεῦσαι] αὐτοῦ πληρῶσαι ε ~ αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦ C ε, αὐτῆς M V<sub>2</sub> ~ πρέσβευε S<sub>2</sub> <sup>a.c.</sup> L 6. δὴ *om.* M I V I ~ ἐν τινι κοινοβίῳ] εἰς κοινόβιον ε' ~ τινι] ἐνὶ β (*om.* C K, *aliter* ε') ~ ἐλέγετο] ἔλεγον ε ~ τὸν ἡγούμενον μέγαν ἄνθρωπον] ὁ ἡγούμενος μέγας C ~ μέγαν] μέγιστον B, μέγας C, μέγα ζ (μέγαν V<sub>2</sub> K) ~ ἄνθρωπον *om.* γ' (*non* Sp M) ~ εἶναι *add. post* ἄνθρωπον K B ~ παρὰ *om.* V<sub>2</sub> ~ τῷ *om.* K C ε (*non* S I F) M ~ τυγχάνειν] τυγχάνοντα ε' (*non* S I), *om.* K B ~ τυγχάνειν παρὰ θεῷ *tr.* Sp 7. δι' ὃ *add. ante* καὶ S I ~ εἰσελθὼν V<sub>3</sub> ~ *ab* ἐν αὐτῷ *habet* M<sub>2</sub> ~ ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐν αὐτῷ V<sub>2</sub>, ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ K M, *om.* C ~ καὶ εὐξάμενος *add. post* ἐν αὐτῷ ε ~ οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα] καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα C, ὅλης χαρίσματα M<sub>2</sub> ~ οὐκ *om.* K δ (*non* M K) ~ ὀλίγα χρήματα] καὶ μικρὰν εὐλογίαν Sp ~ προσενέγκας] καρποφορήσας ε (προσενέγκας χάριν καρποφορίας Sp) ~ καὶ *add. ante* συντυχίας K M I V I ~ καὶ γνωριμωτέρας *om.* A M<sub>2</sub> ~ ἀξιοῦται] ἀξιοῖ C, ἡξιοῦτο ε', ἡξιοῦτε K M I V I, ἡξιοῦται V<sub>2</sub>, λέξας B ~ παρὰ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ] παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου K δ, τὸν γέροντα C ~ καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ οὖσιν ἀδελφοῖς] καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε οἰκοῦσιν (καθεζομένοις B, καθημένοις M I V I, *om.* K) ἀδελφοῖς K B K M I V I, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε καθεζομένων (καθημένων P V<sub>3</sub>, οἰκούντων M) ἀδελφῶν δ, καὶ ἣν ἐκεῖσε καθεζόμενος μετὰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς C, *om.* M<sub>2</sub>

[2.] 1. μετὰ πολὺν οὖν χρόνον] καὶ M<sub>2</sub> ~ μετὰ] μετ' οὗ O δ (*non* K M I V I) ~ πολὺν οὖν χρόνον] δὲ χρόνον ὀλίγον M I V I, δέ τινα χρόνον K ~ πολὺ B ε M P (πολὺν F V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub>) ~ οὖν] *tr. post* μετὰ C, δὲ δ, *om.* V<sub>3</sub> ~ χρόνῳ B ~ πάλιν ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ μονῇ *add. post* χρόνον Sp ~ θαρρῇ K M<sub>2</sub> K M I ~ τῷ ἀββᾶ] τῷ ἡγουμένῳ C, *om.* M<sub>2</sub> ~ αὐτοῦ *add. ante* τὰ τοῦ M<sub>2</sub> ~ τὰ τοῦ πράγματος] τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς ὑποθέσεως Sp ~ περὶ *add. ante* τοῦ M I V I ~ καὶ] ὁ δὲ ἀββᾶς M ~ ἥξας K C S I V Sp ζ, ἡῦξας *sic* M<sub>2</sub> ~ αὐτοῦ *tr. post* δεήσεις C ~ ταῖς αὐτοῦ *tr.* M ~ ταῖς δεήσεσιν] τῇ δεήσει K ~ ὁ προσεστὼς *add. post* δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ C ~ παρεκάλεισεν] παρεκάλεισεν M<sub>2</sub>, παρεκάλει C ~ δοῦναι] δωθῆναι C ~ αὐτοῖς] αὐτῷ M I V I, αὐτῶν V<sub>3</sub>, *om.* B ~ καρπὸν κυλίας (*i.e.* κοι-) δοῦναι αὐτοῖς *tr.* K ~ καρπὸν κοιλίας] ἐν θυάτρειον V 2. ἐπικαμφθεὶς] εἰσήκουσεν K ~ ὁ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων *add. post* ἐπικαμφθεὶς Sp ~ ὁ *om.* Sp ~ τῶν *add. ante* ἀμφοτέρων A ~ ταῖς ... δεήσεσιν] ταῖς ... εὐχαῖς M I V I, τῆς ... εὐχῆς K ~ καὶ *add. ante* χαρίζεται K

2.1. καρπὸν κοιλίας = Lc 1.42

αὐτοῖς ἐν θυγάτριον. <sup>3</sup>Θεωρήσας οὖν ὁ Παφνούτιος τὴν τοῦ ἄββᾶ πολιτείαν, οὐκέτι τοῦ κοινοβίου ἐκείνου ἀφίστατο. Ὅθεν καὶ τὴν σύζυγον αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸ εὐλογηθῆναι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄββᾶ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. <sup>4</sup>Ἀπογαλακτισθέντος οὖν τοῦ παιδίου καὶ γενομένης αὐτῆς ἑπταετοῦς, ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὴν Εὐφροσύνην. <sup>5</sup>Ἐχαιρον δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῆς, ὅτι ἦν ἀστεία τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ὠραία τῇ ὄψει καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα.

[3.] <sup>1</sup>Γενομένης οὖν αὐτῆς δωδεκαετοῦς, ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ὑπεξῆλθεν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. Ἔμεινεν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς, παιδεύων αὐτὴν γράμμασιν καὶ ἀναγνώσμασιν καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σοφίᾳ. <sup>2</sup>Ἐτυχεν δὲ ἡ κόρη

ἐν θυγάτριον] θυγάτριον ἐν Sp M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub>, καρπὸν κοιλίας V 3. πανφνούτιος M ~ τὴν τοῦ ἄββᾶ πολιτείαν] τὴν τοῦ τιμίου ἁγίου ἐκείνου ἄββᾶ θεάρεστον πολιτείαν Sp, τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἄββᾶ M<sub>2</sub> ~ ἀφίστατο tr. ante τοῦ κοινοβίου C ~ ἐκείνου om. C Sp K ~ ποικιλοτρόπως (sic!) δὲ μᾶλλον παρέβαλλεν add. post ἀφίστατο Sp ~ τὴν σύζυγον] τὴν σύμβιον S<sub>I</sub> ~ αὐτοῦ om. C ~ ἀπήγαγεν] ἀνήγαγεν V<sub>3</sub>, ἀναγαγεῖν M<sub>2</sub> ~ ἐκέισε add. ante εἰς τὸ εὐλογηθῆναι δ (non M) ~ εἰς τὸ εὐλογηθῆναι] εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ἐπὶ τὸ εὐλογηθῆναι κ M ~ εἰς om. K M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub> ~ τὸ om. M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub> ~ αὐτὴν om. γ (non M) ~ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄββᾶ] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ A ~ ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ C ~ εὐθέως οὖν συνέλαβεν ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἔτεκεν θήλυ add. post τῶν ἀδελφῶν V<sub>3</sub> 4. ἀπογαλακτισθέντος] ἀπογαλακτισθείσης A ~ οὖν] δὲ κ M<sub>2</sub> ~ τοῦ παιδίου] τῆς παιδὸς A Sp, τοῦ δίου sic G ~ γενομένης αὐτῆς ... 5. σφόδρα om. M ~ γεναμένης O S V G Sp P V<sub>3</sub>, γενομένου C ~ αὐτῆς om. C ~ λοιπὸν add. ante ἑπταετοῦς C ~ ἑπταετοῦς αὐτῆς tr. O ~ ἑπταετοῦς] ἑξαετοῦς (-τῆς M<sub>I</sub>) δ ~ χρόνου add. post ἑπταετοῦς B ~ ἐβάπτισαν B C Sp K M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub> ~ αὐτὴν] αὐτὸ C ~ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς add. post αὐτὴν P ~ ἐπωνόμασεν] ἐπονόμασαν B, ὀνόμασεν (ὠνο- S<sub>I</sub> F G) δ (non V<sub>2</sub>, -σαν K M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub>, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς τριάδος ἐπωνομάσαντες Sp), ἐκάλεσαν C ~ αὐτὴν] τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς A C, om. δ (non Sp V<sub>2</sub> K) ~ εὐφροσύνη C 5. δὲ] οὖν B C P K M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub>, γὰρ κ S<sub>I</sub> V G V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἐπ' αὐτῇ] ἐπ' αὐτὴν B S V G Sp K M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub>, om. C S<sub>I</sub> ~ γονῆς P V<sub>I</sub> ~ ὅτι ἦν ... ὠραία *difficulter legitur* M<sub>2</sub> ~ ἀστεία τῷ Θεῷ om. K ~ ἀστία B V<sub>3</sub> M<sub>I</sub> V<sub>I</sub> ~ ὠραία τῇ ὄψει καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει] καλὴ τῇ ὄψει καὶ ὠραία B, ὠραία καὶ καλὴ τῇ ὄψει M<sub>2</sub>

[3.] 1. γεναμένης C S V G Sp P V<sub>3</sub> K, γενομένου M<sub>2</sub> ~ οὖν] δὲ B ε K, om. M M<sub>2</sub> ~ χρόνου add. post δωδεκαετοῦς B Sp V<sub>2</sub> ~ ὑπεξῆλθε ... ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς om. K ~ ἐπεξῆλθεν C M<sub>2</sub>, ἐξῆλθεν O ε' ~ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον] τὸν βίον δ (τοῦ βίου S<sub>I</sub>, τὸν βίον αὐτῆς M<sub>2</sub>, τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον Sp M, in lac. K) ~ καὶ λοιπὸν add. ante ἔμεινεν κ ~ ἔμεινεν οὖν] ἔμεινε δὲ A Sp, ἔμεινεν κ, καὶ ἔμεινεν S ~ παιδεύων αὐτὴν om. C ~ παιδεύων] παιδεύσας K ~ καὶ ἀναγνώσμασιν om. κ ε' M ~ λυπῇ V<sub>3</sub> M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>I</sub> ~ καὶ συνέσει τοῦ θεοῦ add. post σοφία Sp 2. ἔτυχεν] ἐπέτυχεν O, om. C ~ δὲ tr. post ἡ κόρη C ~ καὶ add. post δὲ ε M<sub>2</sub> ~ ἡ κόρη] τὴν κόρην B ~ γνησίας καὶ add. post κόρη S<sub>I</sub>

δεξιᾶς εἶναι φύσεως, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο φιλομαθῆς, ὥς θαυμάζειν τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτῆς φιλομαθίαν. <sup>3</sup>Φήμη οὖν πλατυτάτη ἐγένετο ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει περὶ τῆς φρονήσεως αὐτῆς καὶ πολυμαθίας, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ εὐφυῆς ὑπῆρχεν καὶ ἡ διάπλασις δὲ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς εὐπρεπεία τε καὶ ὠραιότητι κάλλους διέλαμπεν, <sup>4</sup>πολλοὺς τοίνυν τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν εἰς πόθον εἵλκυσεν λαβεῖν αὐτὴν νύμφην τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν.

δεξιᾶς] ἐπιδέξιος O ~ φύσεως εἶναι tr. B ~ εἶναι] οὐσα O, om. κ γ' ~ φύσεως om. O ~ γενομένη add. post φύσεως C, ὥς καὶ (καὶ om. Sp K M I V I) εὐχῆς καρπὸς add. post φύσεως δ (non M, ἐκβλαστήσας add. post καρπὸς Sp) ~ καὶ om. C ~ φιλομαθεῖς κ S I ~ καὶ φιλόθεος add. post φιλομαθῆς Sp ~ ὥς] ὥστε κ C M V 2 K ~ τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτῆς φιλομαθίαν] τῇ τοσαύτῃ φιλομαθίᾳ B, ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ αὐτῆς φιλομαθίᾳ C, τὴν αὐτῆς φιλομαθίαν K ~ ἀρετὴν καὶ add. ante φιλομαθίαν Sp ~ φιλομαθεῖαν κ M I V I, φιλομαθεῖα V 2 V 3, φιλοσοφίαν F 3. φήμη οὖν] φήμ' οὖν κ, φήμης οὖν A δ (φήμη οὖν M) ~ πλατυτάτη ἐγένετο] πλατεῖα ἐγένετο C, πλατυτέρας γενομένης A, πλατυτέρας διαδοθείσης δ (non M, πλατυτέρας καὶ γνωριμωτέρας διαδοθείσης M I V I (-θεῖ- V I <sup>P.C.</sup>), πλατυτέρας διαδοραμούσης περὶ αὐτῆς K, διαδοθείσης ... πλατυτέρας (πλατυτέρας tr. post πόλει) Sp) ~ ὅλη om. B ~ περὶ τῆς φρονήσεως αὐτῆς καὶ πολυμαθίας] περὶ αὐτῆς περὶ τῆς φρονήσεως καὶ φιλομαθίας Sp ~ πολυμαθίας ... σώματος αὐτῆς om. B ~ πολυμαθίας] πολυμαθεῖας κ V 2 V 3 M 2, φιλομαθεῖας M K M I V I (cfr Sp supra) ~ οὐ μὴν] ὑμῖν sic M 2, om. V ~ μὴν] μόνον δέ C, μὴν δὲ τοῦτο M ~ ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ] ἄλλὰ καὶ ὅτι O κ, ἄλλὰ καὶ δ (ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ M Sp) ~ ἡ add. ante εὐφυῆς δ (non Sp M K) ~ εὐφυῆς] -φυεῖς M I, -φυῖας K, -φιεῖς M 2, -φύτης V 3, σώφρων Sp ~ ὑπῆρχεν καὶ ἡ om. δ (non Sp M) ~ ἡ διάπλασις] τῇ διαπλάσει C, τῆς διαπλάσεως ζ (non M) ~ τῆς ὄψεως add. post διάπλασις κ ~ δὲ om. γ' (non Sp M), καὶ κ ~ τοῦ om. G ~ αὐτῆς εὐπρεπεία ... διέλαμπεν] ἐκλάμπουσα C ~ αὐτῆς om. ε' ~ καὶ ἡ add. ante εὐπρεπεία ε', καὶ idem B K, καὶ εἰς idem M 2 ~ εὐπρεπεία] εὐπρέπεια S 2 ε' P V 3, εὐπρεπῆς M, -πρεπείας B K, -πρεπῆ V 2, -πρεπία M I V I, -πρέπειαν M 2 ~ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῆς add. post εὐπρεπεία ε' ~ τε om. β (non Sp M, in lac. C) ~ ὠραιότητι] ὠραιότητος B, ἡ ὠραιότης δ (non Sp, ὠραιότης V 2, ὠραιότητος K, ὠραία ὅτι M, ὀρεώτης M 2) ~ κάλλους] τοῦ κάλλους γ (τοῦ κάλλου V 3, κάλλους Sp) ~ αὐτῆς add. post κάλλους K ~ διέλαμπεν om. δ (non Sp M) 4. ὥστε add. ante πολλοὺς M ~ πολλοὺς] πολλοὶ B ~ τοίνυν] οὖν B, om. γ' ~ τῶν] τοὺς V 2 V 3 ~ ἐν] ἐπ' M ~ εἰς πόθον εἵλκυσεν ... 5. τὰ ἔθη] sic V 3: καὶ δυναστεία πρόσειρχοντο (i.e. προσήρχοντο) πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς πατέρα καὶ εἰρώτουν (i.e. εἰρώτων) αὐτὸν περὶ γάμου. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἷς πλοῦσιος πάνυ πειθῇ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς δοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα. καὶ διῇ συντήθηται καὶ γίνονται τὰ τῶν ἀρραβόνων εἶθη ~ εἰς πόθον εἵλκυσεν] ἐπεπόθουν B, ἀκούειν C ~ εἵλκυσεν] -σαν K, ἤλκησαν M 2, ἤλκεν Sp, om. B ~ τοῦ add. ante λαβεῖν δ (non Sp) ~ λαβεῖν] λαμβάνειν Sp ~ αὐτὴν om. ζ (habent M V 2 K) ~ εἰς add. ante νύμφην M ~ νύμφην αὐτὴν tr. ε' (non S I) ~ καὶ ζευξαι add. ante τοῖς υἱοῖς ε

Καὶ δὴ πάντων διανοχλούντων τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ φθάσαι τὸ πέρας φιλονεικούντων, αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν· «τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου γενέσθω». Ὡς οὖν, ὑπερβάλλων πάντας ἐν ἀξιώμασιν καὶ δυναστείᾳ, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς, πείθει δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα, καὶ δὴ συντίθεται καὶ γίνονται τῶν ἀρραβόνων τὰ ἔθη.

[4.] Ἰ. Χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος μικροῦ, λαβὼν αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς, οὕσαν λοιπὸν ἐτῶν δεκαοκτώ, ἀπέρχεται ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ, πάνυ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπενέγκας εἰς παράκλησιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Καὶ συντυχὼν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἀναφέρει αὐτῷ ὅτι <sup>2</sup> «Τὸν καρπὸν τῶν εὐχῶν σου ἐνῆνοχά σοι,

καὶ δὴ πάντων *om.* M M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ δὴ *om.* V<sub>2</sub> K ~ διανοχλούντων] διανοχλούντων ε' V<sub>2</sub> K, διανοχλούν δὲ M, *in* M<sub>2</sub> *tantum legitur* διαχωρ... των, *om.* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς] τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς κ C Sp, τὸν ταύτης πατέρα P V<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub> K, τῷ αὐτῆς πατρὶ M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα M, *om.* B ~ καὶ φθάσαι τὸ πέρας φιλονεικούντων] πρὸς τὸ δοῦναι αὐτῶν αὐτὴν C, *om.* ε' ~ καὶ *om.* M ~ φθάσαι] προφθάσαι ζ (φθάσαι M) ~ τὸ πέρας] τὸν πέλας V<sub>2</sub> K, τῶν πολλὰ M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, ἔσπευσαν M<sub>2</sub> ~ δὲ αὐτῶν *add. post* φιλονεικούντων M ~ αὐτὸς] ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς B, *tr. post* τοῦ θεοῦ V<sub>2</sub> ~ ἔφασκεν] ἔφασεν S<sub>2</sub>, ἔλεγεν C ~ ἔφασκεν *tr. ante* γενέσθω δ (*non* Sp M) ~ λέγων *add. post* ἔφασκεν B ~ τοῦ Κυρίου] τοῦ θεοῦ γ' (τοῦ κυρίου Sp M) ~ γενέσθω] γινέσθω Sp, γενέσθαι S<sub>1</sub> K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> 5. ὑπερβάλλον κ C M<sub>2</sub> K ~ πάντας] ἅπαντας ε', *om.* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ ἐν *om.* M ~ αὐτῆς (ταύτης P) πατέρα *tr.* κ δ (*non* Sp M) ~ πείθει τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς *tr.* V<sub>3</sub> ~ πείθει S<sub>1</sub> M V<sub>3</sub>, πίθη M<sub>2</sub>, πήθει K ~ αὐτὸν *add. ante* δοῦναι C ~ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ] αὐτὴν V<sub>3</sub>, *om.* C ~ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ] τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱῷ A, τῷ αὐτοῦ (-τῷ V<sub>2</sub>) υἱῷ ζ (*non* M M<sub>2</sub> K), *om.* ε' (αὐτῷ F) ~ εἰς γυναῖκα (-καν Sp) *tr. post* τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ B Sp ~ εἰς] ὡς κ ~ δὴ συντίθεται] δὴ συντίθενται ε', δὴ δισιτίθεται M<sub>2</sub>, διασυντίθεται A ~ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς τοῦ γενέσθαι *add. post* διασυντίθεται M ~ καὶ γίνονται *om.* κ ~ γίνονται] γίνεται B C Sp M K, γίνωνται S<sub>1</sub> ~ λοιπὸν καὶ *add. post* γίνονται C ~ τὰ *tr. ante* τῶν δ (*non* Sp V<sub>2</sub>, *om.* M) ~ ἦθη κ M K, ἔθη O

[4.] 1. διελθόντος μικροῦ] μικροῦ διελθόντος (παρελθόντος V<sub>2</sub>) *tr.* β (τινος διελθόντος M<sub>2</sub>, οὕτω παρελθόντος C) ~ λαβὼν] λαμβάνει C ~ αὐτὴν *om.* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ αὐτῆς *om.* ε' ~ οὕσαν] οὕσα C, *tr. post* ἔτη K, *om.* M<sub>2</sub> ~ λοιπὸν *om.* κ δ (*non* Sp M) ~ ἐτῶν δεκαοκτὼ] δεκαοκτὼ ἐτῶν *tr.* O B, δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἐτῶν κ, δεκαοκτὼ χρόνων C, ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα ἔτη (ἐτῶν P M<sub>2</sub>, *om.* V<sub>3</sub>) δ (*non* Sp, ὀκτὼ καὶ δεκαετοῦς θ, ἐτῶν IH M) ~ καὶ *add. ante* ἀπέρχεται C M<sub>2</sub> ~ πάνυ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπενέγκας] ἐν ᾧ ἦθσαν ὑπήγεσθαι χρήματα πάλιν πολλὰ προσενέγκας τῷ μοναστηρίῳ C ~ πάνυ πολλὰ] πάνπολλα δ (πάνυ πολλὰ Sp, πολλὰ M<sub>2</sub>) ~ πάνυ *om.* B ~ ἀπενέγκας] ἐνέγκας B, προσενέγκας C M S<sub>1</sub>, ἐπενέγκας V<sub>3</sub>, ἀπενέγκαντες P ~ εἰς] πρὸς C ~ δὴ *add. post* καὶ P ~ συντυχὼν κ ~ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ] τὸν ἡγούμενον κ, τοῦ ἡγουμένου M<sub>2</sub> 2. τίμει πάτερ *add. post* σου V<sub>3</sub> ~ σοι] ὧδε ε', *om.* A

3.4. τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου γενέσθω = Act 21.14; cfr. Mt 6.10, 26.42, Lc 22.42



δέσποτα, ἵνα εὗξῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ὅτι πρὸς γάμον βούλομαι αὐτὴν ἀγαγεῖν». <sup>3</sup>Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν καταλῦσαι ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ τοῦ κοινοβίου. Συντυχὼν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτήν, πολλὰ περὶ ἀγνείας καὶ συμπαθείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ διαλεχθεὶς αὐτῇ, μεγάλως ὠφέλησεν αὐτήν. <sup>4</sup>Ποιησάντων οὖν αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ, ἀκρόασιν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ψαλμοδιῶν ἐκάστης ὥρας. Καὶ θεωροῦσα τὴν ἐκάστου σπουδαίαν διάθεσιν καὶ πρέπουσαν τῷ μοναχικῷ ἐπαγγέλματι, ἐθαύμαζεν αὐτῶν τὸν βίον λέγουσα· <sup>5</sup>«Μακάριοι εἰσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ὄντες ἰσάγγελοι εἰσιν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀπολαύουσιν». <sup>6</sup>Καὶ ἤρξατο ἡ καρδία αὐτῆς κατανύττεσθαι

δέσποτα *om.* γ (δέσποτα *habent* Sp M) ~ εὗξει S1 P ~ ὑπὲρ] περὶ B ~ πρὸς] εἰς M2 ~ βούλομαι] -λωμαι M M2, βουλόμεθα ε' (βουλόμεθα S1) K M1 V1, θέλωμεν C ~ ἀγαγεῖν] ἀπαγαγεῖν S V, ἐπαγαγεῖν G, ἀγάγε C 3. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν] ἐκάλεσεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγούμενος C ~ καὶ] ὁ δὲ A Sp ~ ὁ ἀββάς *add. post* ἐκέλευσεν M ~ καταλῦσαι αὐτήν *tr.* A ζ (*non* M2 K) ~ αὐτήν] αὐτοὺς P, *om.* C ~ καταλῦσαι *om.* V3 ~ ξενοδοχείῳ] ξενώνη M ~ εἶναι *add. post* κοινοβίου V3 ~ συντυχὼν δὲ] καὶ συντυχὼν Sp ~ δὲ] τε C ~ αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν κ V F G, αὐτῆς M2, αὐτῷ C, *om.* A ~ αὐτήν] *om.* β (αὐτοὺς C) ~ πολλὰ] πάμπολλα A, πολλὸν B, *om.* V ~ τε *add. post* πολλὰ κ P ~ ἀγνοίας M2 ~ καὶ συμπαθείας *om.* P ~ φόβῳ κ Sp V3 ~ διαλεχθεὶς] διαλεχθεῖσα κ, διαλεχθέντες C ~ αὐτῇ] αὐτῆς K, αὐτοὺς C, *om.* M ~ μέγας M M2 ~ ὠφέλεσεν κ, ὠφέλεσεν K, ὠφέλησεν M, ὠφελέθη M1 V1 ~ αὐτὴν *om.* γ' (*non* M K) 4. ποιησάντων] ποιήσας M2 ~ αὐτῶν] αὐτῷ M2, *om.* B ~ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ τρεῖς ἡμέρας *tr.* C ~ ἡμέρας τρεῖς *tr.* K ~ κοινοβίῳ] μοναστηρίῳ K ~ ἐποιεῖτο] ἐποιήσατο κ C V3 ~ ἡ Εὐφροσύνη *add. post* ἐποιεῖτο M ~ τῶν ψαλμοδιῶν] τῶν ψαλλόντων O, τῶν ψαλμῶν κ B C ζ (*non* P V2 V3 M2), τῆς ἱερᾶς ψαλμοδίας ε ~ ἐκάστης] ἐφ' ἐκάστης ζ (*non* M) ~ ὥρας] ἡμέρας δ (*non* Sp M K V1 M1), *om.* B ~ τὸ κοράσιον *add. post* ὥρας K ~ καὶ <sup>1</sup> *om.* κ B M1 V1 ~ θεωροῦσα] θεωρίσασα M, θεωρήσας C ~ ἐκάστου τὴν *tr.* κ ~ σπουδαίαν] σπουδὴν γ' ~ καὶ *tr.* *ante* διάθεσιν δ ~ διάθεσιν *om.* C ~ περὶ τὴν *add. ante* πρέπουσαν B, τὴν *idem* δ (καὶ *idem* M), καὶ ἀνδραγαθίαν περὶ τὴν C ~ διαγωγὴν *add. post* πρέπουσαν B ~ μοναχικῷ *om.* β (*sed habet* Sp) ~ πνευματικὴν προκοπὴν *add. post* ἐπαγγέλματι C ~ καὶ *add. ante* ἐθαύμαζεν B M1 V1 M2 ~ ἐθαύμασεν κ V3 ~ τὸν βίον αὐτῶν *tr.* κ ~ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν *add. post* τὸν βίον Sp ~ λέγουσα] καὶ εἶπεν M2 5. εἰσιν *om.* κ δ (*non* M) ~ οὗτοι *om.* B ~ τούτῳ] τοῦτο V3 ~ ὄντες] ὄντως M ~ ἰσάγγελοι] ἴσοι ἀγγέλων κ, ἄγγελοι B K, ὡς ἄγγελοι V2 ~ ὄντες *add. post* ἰσάγγελοι V, *deinde del.* ~ εἰσιν *eras.* P ~ μετὰ] κατὰ K ~ τὴν ... ἀπαλλαγὴν] τῆς ... ἀπαλλαγῆς A ~ ἐντεῦθεν] ἔνθεν P V2 M2 ~ ἀπαλλαγὴν] ἄλλα καὶ M2 ~ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς] τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν A B ~ τῆς *om.* ε' P V2 V3 ~ ἀπολαύουσιν] ἀπολαύσουσι S1, ἀπολαύσωσιν Sp, ἀξιοῦνται B 6. *ab* καρ<δία αὐτῆς> *deficit* M2, *deperditis foliis subsequentibus* ~ κατανύττεσθαι] κατανύγεσθαι β (*non* M1 V1)

4.5. ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ὄντες ἰσάγγελοι εἰσιν *cfr.* Mt 22.30 6. ἤρξατο ἡ καρδία αὐτῆς κατανύττεσθαι *cfr.* Act. 2.37

εἰς ζῆλον θεοφοβίας. <sup>7</sup>Μετὰ δὲ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, λέγει ὁ Παφνούτιος τῷ ἡγουμένῳ· «Δεῦρο, πάτερ πνευματικέ, πρὸς τὴν δούλην σου, ἵνα σε προσκυνήσῃ, καὶ εὗξῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ὅτι ἀπελθεῖν θέλομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει». <sup>8</sup>Ὡς οὖν ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτήν, ρίπτει ἐαυτὴν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ γέροντος λέγουσα· <sup>9</sup>«Εὗχου ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δέομαί σου, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς σώσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν μου». Καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἀββᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· <sup>10</sup>«Ὁ Θεός, ὁ γινώσκων τὸν ἄνθρωπον πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τῆς δούλης σου ταύτης μερίμνησον, ἵνα εὐάρεστός σοι γενομένη ἀξιωθῇ εὐρεῖν κληρὸν καὶ μερίδα μετὰ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων σοι». <sup>11</sup>Καί, συνταξάμενοι τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ὁ οὖν πατὴρ αὐτῆς, εἶποτε εὗρεν μοναχὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἔφερεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

εἰς ζῆλον] ἐξῆλθον **κ** (εἰς ζῆλον *corr.* S2 P<sup>C</sup>), εἰς φόβον θεοῦ καὶ ζῆλον Sp ~ θεοφοβίας] θεοσεβείας A C Sp ζ 7. δὲ] οὖν C ~ τὰς *om.* **κ** C ε' M V2 K ~ κύρις *add. ante* παφνούτιος γ' ~ πανφνούτιος M ~ δεῦρο] δεύρω C, δέου **κ**, κέλευσον δ (δεῦρο Sp) ~ πατὴρ V1 M1 ~ κύριε *add. post* πνευματικέ F M ~ καὶ ἐλθεῖν *add. ante* πρὸς K ~ πρὸς *om.* S1 ~ προσκυνήσῃ σε *tr.* C ~ σε *om.* M1 ~ προσκυνήσει **κ** B S1 ζ (-νήσῃ V2 P<sup>C</sup>) ~ εὗξαι **κ** B S K, εὗξει P ~ θέλωμεν O β (*non* S V G P) 8. ἀπῆλθεν] ἦλθεν B K, ἤμελλον ἀπελθεῖν V3 ~ πρὸς αὐτήν] πρὸς αὐτούς C, πρὸς B, *om.* V2 ~ ὁ ἀββᾶς *add. ante* ρίπτει C M, ὁ ἡγούμενος *idem* Sp, ἐν τῇ πόλει *idem* V3 ~ ρίπτει] ρίπτει **κ** M1, ἔρριπεν C ~ ἡ εὐφροσύνη *add. ante* εἰς τοὺς πόδας M ~ εἰς] πρὸς **κ** ~ τοῦ γέροντος] τοῦ ἡγουμένου P V3, τοῦ ἀββᾶ M, αὐτοῦ C M1 V1 9. εὗχου] εὗξαι C K ~ πάτερ *add. post* ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ε (τῆς ἀμαρτωλῆς πάτερ τιμώτατε *idem* Sp), δέσποτα *idem* M1 V1, τίμιε πάτερ *idem* V3, πάτερ *add. post* σου M ~ σώσῃ ὁ Θεός *tr.* C V2 ~ σώσει **κ** B S1 ζ (-σῃ V2) ~ τὴν ψυχὴν μου] τὴν ταπεινὴν μου ψυχὴν Sp M1 V1 ~ καὶ ἐκτείνας] ἐκτείνας δὲ M ~ καί] τότε Sp ~ τὰς χεῖρας] τὴν χεῖρα Sp ζ (*non* K M1 V1) ~ αὐτοῦ *om.* ε' ~ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν *om.* γ (*habet* Sp) 10. κύριε *add. ante* ὁ Θεός Sp ~ τὸν ἄνθρωπον] τὰ (*om.* M1 V1) ἐκάστου γ (τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου C) ~ πρὶν] πρὸ K ~ αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν B ε' ~ τὰ *om.* C ~ ταύτης *om.* C ~ ἵνα] ὅπως S1 ~ εὐάρεστός σοι γενομένη *om.* ε' ~ εὐάρεστος] εὐχαριστῶν **κ**, εὐχάριστος V2 ~ σοι *om.* C ~ ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀγίων *add. post* σοι Sp ~ γεναμένη **κ** P V3 K M1 V1 ~ ἀξιωθεῖ S1 P K ~ κληρὸν] κληρονομίαν V2 ~ μερίδα καὶ κληρὸν *tr.* B ~ μετὰ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων σοι] ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν C ~ τῶν] πάντων τῶν ε' 11. συνταξάμενη M K ~ ἡγουμένῳ] ἀββᾶ C ~ ἀπῆλθον] ἀπῆλθεν M, ἀπῆλθαν M1 V1, ἦλθον K ~ ὁ γοῦν πατὴρ αὐτῆς εἶποτε εὗρεν μοναχὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει *bis* O ~ εἶποτε] εἶπεν C, *om.* K ~ εἰ *add. post* εἶποτε C ~ ὄντινα *add. ante* εὗρεν K ~ εὗρεν] εὗρισκεν B F P, ἠύρισκεν K (*tr. post* μοναχὸν K) Sp, εὕρωμεν C, ἠῦρεν M1 V1 ~ μοναχῷ S1 ~ ἔφερεν] φέρων γ (ἔφερεν M1 V1, καὶ εὐρώντας ἔφερον C) ~ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ *om.* C ~ αὐτὸν <sup>1</sup> *om.* ε' (*non* F) ~ αὐτοῦ *om.* **κ** ~ καὶ <sup>1</sup> *om.* γ (*non* C M1 V1) ~ ἐδεξιοῦντο C ~ φιλοφρόνως *add. post* ἐδεξιοῦτο Sp ~ αὐτὸν <sup>2</sup> *om.* B ε M V2 V3 K ~ καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν *om.* **κ** ~ παρεκάλει] ἐπαρεκάλει C, παρεκάλῃ K M1 ~ αὐτὸν <sup>3</sup> *om.* β ~ λέγων *add. ante* εὐχεσθαι V3 ~ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ] ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς C

[5.] <sup>1</sup>Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν ἐδέησεν τὰ μνημόσυνα γενέσθαι τοῦ συστησαμένου τὸ κοινόβιον. Καὶ πέμπει ὁ ἡγούμενος ἀδελφὸν ὥστε προτρέψασθαι τὸν Παφνούτιον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἀββαῖ. <sup>2</sup>Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, μὲνῶν ἐχρήσατο. <sup>3</sup>Τῶν δὲ παίδων εἰπόντων ὅτι προῆλθεν, μαθοῦσα ἡ Εὐφροσύνη προσκαλεῖται τὸν ἀδελφόν καὶ ἤρξατο ἐρωτᾶν αὐτόν· <sup>4</sup>«Πόσοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ἀδελφοί, κύρι ἀββαῖ;» Τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι τριακόσιοι πεντήκοντα δύο εἰσὶν, λέγει ἡ Εὐφροσύνη· <sup>5</sup>«Εἴ τις τοῖνυν ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι, δέχεται παρὰ τοῦ ἀββαῖ;» <sup>6</sup>Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μοναχός·

[5.] 1. ἐν *eras*. P ~ τῶν ἡμερῶν *add. post* οὖν M ~ ἐδέησεν] ἐδέησαν K M, συνέβη C, ἔδει K ~ γενέσθαι τὰ μνημόσυνα *tr.* K ~ τὰ μνημόσυνον *sic* S2 ~ γινέσθαι M1 V1 ~ τοῦ ἀββαῖ *add. post* γενέσθαι ε ~ ἐκεῖνο (-νω S1 V3, -νον M G<sup>a,c</sup>) *add. post* κοινόβιον δ (*non* K M1 V1) ~ πέμπει S1 M K ~ ἡγούμενος] ἀββᾶς β (ἡγούμενος ε) ~ ὥστε] ὥς C ~ προτρέψασθαι] -τρέψας K ~ αὐτόν *add. ante* τὸν παφνούτιον M1 V1, κύριν *add. ante* παφνούτιον C ~ πανφνούτιον M ~ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἀββαῖ] εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον C, εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτῶν Sp ~ ἡμέραν] μνήμην K, μνεῖαν M1 V1 2. καὶ ἀπελθὼν] ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν C, ἀπελθὼν οὖν ε ~ ὁ ἀδελφός ... 3 παίδων εἰπόντων] ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ οἶκον *tr.* S1) καὶ μνησας ἔμαθεν ε (ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἀδελφός εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κοινοῦ παφνουτίου καὶ μνησας ἔμαθεν παρὰ τῶν παίδων Sp) ~ ἀπελθὼν] ἀνελθὼν V3 ~ ὁ ἀδελφός *om.* β ~ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ] εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ παφνουτίου C, *cfr* ε *supra* ~ ἐν *om.* M ~ ἐχρήσατο] ἐχαρίσατο K 3. τῶν δὲ παίδων εἰπόντων] οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἔφησαν V3 ~ δέ] σὺν (*ex* οὖν?) K ~ εἰπόντων] φησάντων K B ζ (χρησάντων M, *aliter* V3) ~ ὅτι] ἔτι M ~ ὁ ἀββᾶς *add. ante* προῆλθεν K ~ προῆλθεν] ἀπῆλθεν C ~ δὲ *add. post* μαθοῦσα δ (*non* P V2 K), οὖν *ibidem* M ~ τοῦτο *add. ante* ἡ Εὐφροσύνη Sp ~ προσεκάλετο C<sup>a,c</sup>, προσεκαλέσατο C<sup>P,c</sup>, προσκαλεῖται M1 V1 ~ αὐτόν *add. ante* τὸν ἀδελφόν V3 ~ τὸν] τῶν *sic* V1 ~ κατ' ἰδίαν *add. post* ἀδελφόν Sp ~ καὶ ἤρξατο ἐρωτᾶν αὐτόν] λέγουσα ε' ~ λέγουσα *add. post* αὐτόν C Sp M 4. εἰπέ μοι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην κύρι ἀδελφέ *add. ante* πόσοι C, εἰπέ μοι πάτερ *idem* M, εἰπέ μοι ἀδελφέ *idem* V3 ~ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ἀδελφοί] εἰσὶν ἀδελφοί ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ *tr.* M, ἀδελφοί ἐστὲ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ε ~ εἰσὶν] ἐστὲ C ~ οἱ *add. post* εἰσὶν B ~ κύρι ἀββαῖ *om.* γ ~ τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος] τοῦ δὲ (ἀδελφοῦ *add. hic* B) φήσαντος K B ζ, ὁ δὲ φησὶν ε, ὁ δὲ ἔφη F M ~ ὅτι *om.* γ ~ δύο εἰσὶν *om.* α ~ καὶ *add. ante* δύο B ~ ἀδελφοί *add. post* δύο K ~ εἰσὶν] ἐσμέν K, *om.* γ' ~ ἀποκριθεῖσα *add. ante* λέγει α ~ λέγει ἡ Εὐφροσύνη] ἡ Εὐφροσύνη λέγει *tr.* O, λέγει αὐτῇ ἡ Εὐφροσύνη B Sp, λέγει αὐτῇ ἡ κόρη C, ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῇ V3, φησὶν αὐτῇ ζ, καὶ αὐτῇ λέγει ε', εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῇ K 5. τοῖνυν] οὖν B C ε (*om.* Sp) ~ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι] ἔρχεται K, ἀπέρχεται B, θέλει ἐκεῖ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον C, θέλει ἐλθεῖν καὶ καθίσαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ε (ἐλθεῖ καὶ θέλει εἶναι μεθ' ὑμῶν Sp), ἔλθη (-θει P) θέλων καθίσαι (καθῆσαι καὶ ἡσυχάσαι V3) ζ (ἔλθη M1 V1) ~ δέχεται παρὰ τοῦ ἀββαῖ] δέχεται (ἔρχεται M, εἰσδέχεται K, θέλει S1) αὐτόν ὁ ἀββᾶς (ἡγούμενος K Sp) β (*non* ζ *praeter* K M1 V1) ~ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι *add. post* ἀββᾶς M1 V1 6. *bis scr.* K, *deinde corr.* ~ λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μοναχός] εἶπεν οὖν αὐτῇ (*om.* S2) ὁ ἀββᾶς K ~ αὐτῇ *om.* β (*non* S2 C)

«Ναί, εἴ τις θέλει ἐλθεῖν, δέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ ἀββᾶς». <sup>7</sup>Ἡ δὲ κόρη λέγει· «Πάντες οὖν ἐν μιᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ ψάλλουσιν καὶ ἴσως νηστεύουσιν;» <sup>8</sup>Λέγει ὁ μοναχός· «Τὸ μὲν ψάλλαι ὅλοι ὁμοῦ ψάλλομεν, τὸ δὲ νηστεῦσαι, καθὼς βούλεται ἕκαστος».

[6.] <sup>1</sup>Πάντα οὖν τὰ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ βίου περιεργασαμένη, λέγει τῷ μοναχῷ· «Ἦθελον δυνάμεως ἔχειν καὶ ὑπελθεῖν τὸν βίον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι τὸν πατέρα μου, ὅτι διὰ τὰ μάταια τοῦ βίου τούτου πράγματα βούλεται με ἐκδοῦναι ἀνδρί». <sup>2</sup>Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μοναχός· «Μὴ μιάνη ἄνθρωπος τὸ σῶμά σου, μηδὲ παραδῶς κάλλος τοιοῦτον πάθει αἰσχύνης,

ναί ... ὁ ἀββᾶς] ὅτι ὅστις (ὥστις S2) ἂν ἔλθῃ δέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγούμενος **κ**, πάντας (*add. hic* θέλει καὶ S1) δέχεται **ε'** ~ ναί εἴ τις θέλει ἐλθεῖν] καὶ πάνυ μετὰ χαρᾶς C ~ ναί *om.* **κ** C ζ (*non* K M1 V1) ~ εἴ] ἢ M1 V1 ~ θέλει] ἐάν (ἂν M) θέλῃ B Sp M P V2 ~ ἐλθεῖν] σωθῆναι B Sp ~ ἐκεῖ *add. post* ἐλθεῖν K ~ ὁ ἀββᾶς *om.* B C Sp M1 V1 ~ *post* δέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ ἀββᾶς *scr.* C: μάλιστα διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν «τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω» 7. ἡ δὲ κόρη λέγει] ἡ δὲ κόρη ἔφη **κ**, λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ κόρη (εὐφροσύνη Sp) B Sp, καὶ ἡ κόρη λέγει (εἶπεν **δ**) **γ'** ~ οὖν *om.* C ~ ἐκκλησία *om.* B ~ ψάλλουσιν] ψάλλουν M1 ~ καὶ ἴσως νηστεύουσιν *om.* **ε'** M K ~ ἴσος B V3 M1 V1, ἴσος **κ** 8. τὸ μὲν ψάλλαι ... ἕκαστος] τὸ μὲν ψάλλειν ὁμοῦ ψάλλουσιν διὰ τὸ λέγειν τὸν προφήτην «ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ αἰνέσω σοι (-σε *p.c.*)», τὸ δὲ νηστεύειν ἕκαστος καθὼς βούλεται καὶ δύναται διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τυραννικὴν ἢ ἐξ ἀβουλίας τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' ἐκουσίας γνώμης καὶ προαιρέσεως C ~ μὲν *om.* M1 V1 ~ ψάλλαι] ψάλλειν **κ** B C Sp M K ~ ὁμοῦ ὅλοι *tr.* **κ** ~ ὅλοι *om.* **γ** (*non* P V3 K, *tr. post* ψάλλομεν M) ~ πάντες *add. ante* ψάλλομεν F ~ ψάλλομεν] ψάλλωμεν **κ** M V3, ψάλλουσιν C K V ~ νηστεῦσαι] νηστεύειν B Sp ~ ἂν (ἐάν P) *add. ante* βούλεται **κ** ζ (καὶ *idem* V3, *non* M) ~ βούληται V2 ~ ἕκαστος *tr. post* νηστεῦσαι B Sp ~ καὶ βαστάζει *add. post* ἕκαστος ζ (καὶ σώζει καὶ βαστάζει *idem ibidem* M), *idem post* βούλεται **ε**

[6.] 1. πάντα] καὶ πάντα V, ταῦτα M ~ οὖν] τοίνυν **β** (δὲ τοίνυν M) ~ μοναχικοῦ] μονήρους **β** ~ περιεργασάμενοι C ~ καὶ μαθοῦσα *add. ante* λέγει C ~ μοναχῷ] ἀδελφῷ **γ** (μοναχῷ C K, ἀββᾶ M1 V1) ~ εἰ *add. ante* δυνάμεως C ~ καὶ *om.* C K ~ ὑπελθεῖν] ὑπεξελθεῖν **κ** B Sp ~ ἐνάρετον *add. ante* βίον C ~ καὶ ὁ μοναχός ἔφη· καλὸς ὁ λογισμός· καὶ ἡ κόρη εἶπεν *add. post* τοῦτον **ε** (ἔφη αὐτῇ ὁ μοναχός· καλὸς ὁ λογισμός σου ἐστίν καὶ παράξαι ὅπερ ἐνθυμήσαι· λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ κόρη Sp) ~ πράγματα *tr. post* μάταια M P V2 V3, *om.* B M1 V1 ~ ἐκδοῦναι] δοῦναι K 2. αὐτῇ] αὐτοῖς M1 ~ μὴ τέκνον μὴ κυρία *add. ante* μὴ μιάνη Sp ~ μιάνει O M P M1 V1 ~ ἀδελφή *add. post* σου C ~ μηδὲ] μὴ **κ** P, καὶ μὴ K ~ παραδῶς] παραδός B V2, παραδῶς *sic* C, παραδῶσης Sp, παραδῶ **κ** ~ τοιοῦτον κάλλος *tr.* Sp ~ κάλλος] τὸ κάλλος σου C, σὸν κάλλος P, κάλλη B ~ τοιοῦτον] τοιοῦτον ὃν C, τοιοῦτῳ P V1, τι οὕτω M1 ~ πάθει] πάθη **κ** S1 G Sp M1 V3, εἰς πάθη C, *om.* B ~ καὶ ἀτιμίας *add. post* αἰσχύνης Sp

5.6. *in app.* (C) τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω = Io 6.37  
βαρεῖ αἰνέσω σε = Ps 34.18

5.8 *in app.* (C) ἐν λαῷ

ἀλλ' ὅλην σεαυτὴν νύμφευσον τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ δυναμένῳ χαρίσασθαι σοι ἀντὶ τῶν παρερχομένων τούτων πραγμάτων πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν. <sup>3</sup>Λάθρα τοίνυν ἀποθριζαμένη, ἐξελθε τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ἀπελθε ἐν ἀσκητηρίῳ καὶ σώζη». <sup>4</sup>Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα τοῦτο, πάνυ ἡδέως ἔσχεν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· «Καὶ τίς με, φησὶν, ἔχει κουρεῦσαι; Οὐκ ἤθελον γὰρ ἀπὸ κοσμικοῦ κουρευθῆναι, ὅτι πιστὰ οὐ φυλάσσουσιν». <sup>5</sup>Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μοναχός· «Ἰδού, τὸν πατέρα σου ἐπᾶραι ἔχω ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ ποιεῖ ἐκεῖ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ τέσσαρας. Καὶ φέρε ἓνα μοναχόν καί, ὡς θέλεις, συνέρχεται σοι».

[7.] Ἦν ὅσῳ οὖν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὁ μοναχός πρὸς τὴν Εὐφροσύνην, ἐπέστη ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν μοναχόν, ἐπυνθάνετο· «Τί ἐσκύλης;

σαντὴν Ο ~ νύμφευσον] νύμφευσαι Sp P M I V I, νενύμφευσαι B ~ δεσπότη *add. ante* Χριστῷ Sp ~ σοι χαρίσασθαι *tr.* C ~ πραγμάτων τούτων τῶν παρερχομένων *tr.* B ~ τούτων *om.* C ~ πᾶσαν *om.* B ~ καὶ τὴν μετὰ ἀγγέλων διαγωγὴν *add. post* βασιλείαν C <sup>3.</sup> λάθρα τοίνυν] ὅθεν τοίνυν λάθρα Sp ~ τοίνυν] τοιγαροῦν ζ (γούν M I V I), *om.* C ~ ἀποθριζαμένη] ἀποκειραμένη A, συναποθριζαμένη C ~ ἐξελθε] εἰσελθε ε' (*non* V) ~ τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ἀπελθε *om.* ε' V2 ~ τοῦ οἴκου] τοῦ οἴκου σου M Sp, ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου B K, *om.* C ~ ἐν ἀσκητηρίῳ καὶ σώζη] ἐν μοναστηρίῳ ἀλλάζασα τὸ κοσμικὸν σχῆμα καὶ περιβαλλομένη τὸ ἀσκητικόν C ~ σώζη] σώζει Ο ζ (*non* V2, σωθήση K), σῶσον σεαυτὴν ε <sup>4.</sup> ἀκούσασα ... λέγει αὐτῷ] ἔφη ε' ~ εὐφροσύνη *add. post* δὲ B C Sp ~ τοῦτο] ταῦτα Sp, τούτων K, ταῦτα μετὰ χαρᾶς πολλῆς δεξαμένη C ~ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν πρὸς αὐτὴν *add. post* ἔσχεν Sp ~ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ *om.* Ο C ζ (*non* V3) ~ αὐτῷ] τῷ ἀββᾷ B, τῷ μοναχῷ Sp ~ φησὶν *om.* A B ε ~ ἔχει] ἔχη M ~ κουρεῦσαι] κουρεύσασθαι V3 ~ καὶ *add. ante* οὐκ κ ~ οὐκ ἤθελον ... φυλάσσουσιν *om.* B ~ οὐκ ἤθελον γὰρ] οὐ γὰρ ἤθελον *tr.* M ~ γὰρ *om.* ε K (*non* V) V2 ~ ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ A C ~ κουρευθῆναι *om.* V3 ~ ὅτι πιστὰ οὐ φυλάσσουσιν *om.* F ~ πιστὰ] πάντες K <sup>5.</sup> καὶ *add. ante* λέγει B ~ αὐτῇ *om.* ε' M I V I ~ ἐπᾶραι ἔχω] *tr. post* μοναστηρίῳ κ, ἔχω ἐπᾶραι *tr.* V3, ἐπαίρω ἔξω B, αἶρω ἔξω C ~ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ] εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ε ~ ποιεῖ] ποιήσει B, ποιῆσαι ἔχει κ Sp ~ τρεῖς M I V I ~ ἡμέρας *tr. post* τέσσαρας ζ (*non* M) ~ ἢ καὶ τέσσαρας *om.* ε' ~ ἢ καὶ] ἢ τε καὶ B, ἢ C M K M I V I ~ καὶ φέρε] φέρε οὖν γ (καὶ φέρε M I V I, σὺ οὖν φέρε C) ~ ἓνα *om.* C ~ αὐτὸς *add. ante* ὡς δ (*non* P; αὐτὸς *add. post* θέλεις K) ~ θέλης κ M ~ σοι] σου C ~ *post* συνέρχεται σοι *prae*bet C: χαίρουσι γὰρ πάνυ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς συντρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἀγαθῷ πράγματι [7.] 1. ἐν ὅσῳ ... ἐσκύλης] τοῦ δὲ μοναχοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος πρὸς τὴν εὐφροσύνην παρεγένετο ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν μοναχόν ἐπυνθάνετο λέγων· τί ἐσκύληθ ἡ θεοφιλεία σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς κύριε ἀδελφέ C ~ ἐν *eras.* P ~ ὅσῳ οὖν] ὅσου κ ~ ἔλεγεν ὁ μοναχός ... ἐσκύλης *om.* κ ~ ἔλεγεν] ἔλεγον S I F G, ἐλάλουν (λαλοῦσιν P V2) S V Sp ζ ~ ὁ μοναχός *om.* δ ~ πρὸς τὴν Εὐφροσύνην] τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ B, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἰδοὺ S I F G, *om.* S V Sp ζ ~ καὶ *add. ante* ὁ πατὴρ Ο γ (*non* C M) ~ καὶ γνωρίσας *add. post* μοναχόν δ ~ παρ' αὐτοῦ *add. post* ἐπυνθάνετο M I V I, λέγων *idem* Sp V3 ~ τί ἐσκύλης] τί ἐσκύλη B K, τί ἐστὶν ὁ ἐσκύλη (ἐσκύλης S I F G P Sp, ἐσκόλθης V M V2 V3) δ

» <sup>2</sup>Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ μοναχός· «Τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς μονῆς εἰσιν, καὶ ἀπέστειλén με ὁ ἡγούμενος πρὸς σε, ἵνα ἔλθῃς καὶ ἀπολαύσῃς τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ». <sup>3</sup>Καὶ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ὁ Παφνούτιος, πολλήν τε ἀφθονίαν χρειῶν λαβὼν, εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ σκαφιδίῳ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ. <sup>4</sup>Ἐν τῷ οὖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ εἶναι, πέμπει ἡ Εὐφροσύνη τινὰ πιστότατον οἰκέτην ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Θεοδοσίῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· «Ὅν ἐὰν εὕρῃς ἐκεῖ μοναχόν, φέρε μοι αὐτὸν ὧδε». <sup>5</sup>Κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἰδοὺ τις γέρων ἐκ τῆς Σκήτεως ἐλθὼν τὸ ἐργόχειρον αὐτοῦ ἐπώλει· ὡς οὖν εἶδεν τὸν γέροντα, ὁ παῖς λαμβάνει αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγει πρὸς αὐτήν. <sup>6</sup>Καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἡ κόρη λέγει αὐτῷ·

2. καὶ *add. ante* λέγει γ (*non* C Sp M) ~ αὐτῷ] πρὸς κύριν παφνούτιον *tr. post* ὁ μοναχός κ, *om.* ε' P V2 V3 ~ ὅτι *add. ante* τὰ μνημόσυνα δ (*non* Sp) ~ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ πατρὸς *tr.* V2 ~ τῆς μονῆς *om.* P ~ εἰσιν] ἐστίν ζ (*non* P V3), ἦκαν C ~ ἀπέστειλén με] εἶπεν β (καὶ εἶπεν C, συγκαλεῖ σε B) ~ ὁ ἡγούμενος *tr. post* καὶ <sup>1</sup> B ~ πρὸς σε *om.* β ~ ἀπολαύσεις O V3 3. καὶ περιχαρὴς] περιχαρὴς δὲ C ~ γενόμενος C P V2 V3 K ~ ὁ παφνούτιος *om.* β (*non* M, ὁ κύριος παφνούτιος C) ~ παφνούτιος M ~ καὶ *add. ante* πολλήν C ~ τε *om.* B C ~ καὶ *add. post* τε κ ~ ἀφθονίαν] ἀφθονίας C P ~ χρειῶν] χρείαν C S1 P, χρῶν M1 V1, χρυσίου M, τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν B, *om.* V3 ~ καὶ *om.* K ~ εἰσῆλθεν] εἰσελθὼν δ (*non* M1 V1) ~ ἐν τῷ σκαφιδίῳ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν *om.* V3 ~ τῷ <sup>1</sup> *om.* β ~ σκαφιδίῳ] ἀκατίῳ S1 ~ καὶ *om.* δ (*non* M1 V1 P<sup>C</sup>) ~ ἀπῆλθον G 4. ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ εἶναι πέμπει] εἶναι ἐκεῖ πέμψασα C ~ ἐν τῷ οὖν] ἐν δὲ C ~ αὐτῆς πατέρα *tr.* κ B K M1 V1 ~ κοινοβίῳ] μοναστηρίῳ ε ~ εἶναι *tr. ante* ἐν τῷ <sup>2</sup> B ε M1 V1 ~ πέμπει] πέμψασα β (πέμπη K) ~ ὅσια *add. ante* εὐφροσύνη V3 ~ τινὰ πιστότατον] τὸν πιστώτατον κ, πιστόν τινα δ (τινα πιστόν *tr.* Sp) ~ τινὰ] ἓνα C ~ αὐτῆς *add. post* πιστότατον C ~ ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Θεοδοσίῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ] ἐν τῇ τοῦ (τοῦ *om.* K, τῷ κ) Θεοδοσίου λεγομένη (λεγομένη *om.* V M1 V1) ἐκκλησίᾳ κ δ, ἐν τῇ Θεοδοσίῳ μονῇ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ C ~ καὶ *om.* β ~ εἶπεν] εἰποῦσα K, φήσας V3 ~ αὐτῷ *om.* β (*habent* C V3) ~ ἤπελθε καὶ *add. ante* ὃν ἐὰν M1 V1 ~ ἐὰν] ἂν κ γ' (ἐὰν Sp M) ~ εὕρῃς] εὔροις S1, εὔρεις S2 P<sup>C</sup>, M1 V1 V3, εὔρεσις S2 a.c. L ~ ἐκεῖ] ἐκεῖσε M P V2 V3, *om.* B K ~ αὐτὸν *om.* κ 5. κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ] κατὰ δὲ θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν *tr.* B ζ (κατὰ θεοῦ οὖν οἰκονομίαν M1 V1), κατὰ οὖν (δὲ Sp) οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ ε ~ τοῦ *om.* β ~ μοναχός *add. post* τις C ~ μέγας *add. post* γέρων δ ~ Σκήτεως] σκήτης F G, σκίτεως C, κήτης B S1, κοίτεως M ~ πόλεως *add. post* Σκήτεως κ ~ ἐλθὼν] ἐξελθὼν ε, ἦλθεν M, ἦλθεν θέλων κ ~ ἐπώλει] ἐπώλη *tr. post* ἐλθὼν C, ἐπούλη V1 M1, πολῆσαι κ P V2 V3, πωλίσαι θέλων M ~ ὡς οὖν εἶδε ... ἄγει] ὃν παρακαλέσας ὁ παῖς ἤνεγκε C ~ εἶδεν] ἶδεν β (εἶδεν V F) ~ ὁ παῖς] ἡ παῖς M1 ~ λαμβάνει] -νη κ M1, παρακαλέσας C ~ καὶ ἄγει *om.* β (ἤνεγκε C) ~ πρὸς αὐτήν] ἕως αὐτῆς κ δ (εἰς τὸν οἶκον M1 V1), *om.* G 6. καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν *om.* G ~ καὶ ἰδοῦσα] ἰδοῦσα δὲ M ~ ἡ κόρη λέγει αὐτῷ] προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν εἰποῦσα C ~ κόρη] εὐφροσύνη B Sp ~ λέγει αὐτῷ] ἔπεσεν αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πόδας λέγουσα Sp ~ αὐτῷ] πρὸς αὐτὸν V3

«Εὕξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, πάτερ». Καί, εὕξαμένου αὐτοῦ, ἐκάθισαν. <sup>7</sup>Καί λέγει ἡ Εὐφροσύνη τῷ γέροντι· «Ἐγώ, κύριέ μου, πατέρα ἔχω δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν εὐπορίᾳ πολλῇ ὑπάρχοντα. <sup>8</sup>Καὶ ἔσχεν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησέν με· καὶ βούλεται διὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ παραδοῦναί με τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς ἀδικίας. <sup>9</sup>Καὶ οὐ θέλω μianθῆναι τῷ μiasμῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν παρακοῦσαι τοῦ πατρὸς μου φοβοῦμαι· καὶ τί ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα. <sup>10</sup>Πᾶσαν γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἀύπνος διετέλεσα, παρακαλοῦσα τὸν Θεὸν γνωρίσαι τὸ συμφέρον τῇ ταπεινῇ μου ψυχῇ. <sup>11</sup>Καὶ δὴ, πρωΐας γενομένης, ἔδοξέν μοι πέμψαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐνέγκαι ἓνα τῶν πατέρων καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον.

ὑπὲρ] *perì* M V<sub>3</sub> ~ πάτερ] πατήρ M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, τίμιε πάτερ V<sub>3</sub>, τῆς ἀμαρτωλῆς πάτερ διὰ τὸν κύριον Sp ~ καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτὴν *add. post* αὐτοῦ C ~ ἐκάθισαν] ἐκαθέσθησαν α ζ (*non* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>3</sub>) ~ ἀμφότεροι *add. post* ἐκάθισαν C 7. καὶ λέγει ἡ Εὐφροσύνη] ἡ δὲ εὐφροσύνη λέγει C ~ ἡ εὐφροσύνη *om.* κ δ (*non* Sp M) ~ καὶ λέγει] λέγει οὖν M ~ τῷ γέροντι ἡ Εὐφροσύνη *tr.* B Sp ~ ἐγώ *om.* κ ~ κύριέ μου] πάτερ β (πάτερ ἅγιε Sp, πατήρ M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ ἔχω πατέρα *tr.* C ~ χριστιανὸν καὶ *add. ante* δοῦλον C ~ τοῦ *om.* κ δ (*habent* ε (*non* S<sub>1</sub>) P) ~ φίλοικτίρμων δὲ *add. post* θεοῦ C ~ καὶ *add. ante* ἐν εὐπορίᾳ A C K ~ ἐν πολλῇ εὐπορίᾳ *tr.* ε ~ ὑπάρχοντα] τυγχάνοντα δ (*non* S<sub>1</sub> K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> <sup>P.C.</sup>, ὑπάρτα V<sub>1</sub> <sup>a.c.</sup>), ὄντα B 8. αὐτὸς *add. ante* ἔσχεν S<sub>1</sub> ~ ἔσχεν] εἶχεν C ~ γυναῖκα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησέν με] γυναῖκα ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ἐγώ S, γυναῖκα καλὴν καὶ σεμνὴν ἐξ ἧς ἐτέχθη ἐγώ S<sub>1</sub> ~ καὶ *om.* C, *tr. ante* ἐγέννησεν V<sub>2</sub> ~ αὐτῆς] ἧς C S S<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> ~ ἐγέννησέν με] ἐγεννήθη K ~ με] ἐμέ F Sp ~ ἦτις καὶ παρῆλθεν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον *add. post* με C ~ καὶ *om.* C ~ λοιπὸν *add. ante* βούλεται S<sub>1</sub> ~ με οὖν ὁ πατήρ *add. post* βούλεται C ~ με *add. post* βούλεται V<sub>2</sub> ~ αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ O B Sp ζ (*non* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ καὶ *add. post* αὐτῷ V<sub>1</sub> ~ παραδοῦναι] δοῦναι γ (παραδοῦναι C Sp, ἀποδοῦναι V<sub>3</sub>) ~ τῆς ἀδικίας] τούτῳ V 9. καί] ἐγώ μὲν A, καὶ ἐγώ C, ἐγώ δὲ S<sub>1</sub> ~ θέλω] βούλωμαι S<sub>1</sub> ~ ἐν *add. ante* τῷ μiasμῷ M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ τῷ μiasμῷ] τῷ μiasμῷ *sic* κ ~ καί] ἀλλὰ S<sub>1</sub> ~ πάλιν *om.* S V F G ~ τοῦ πατρὸς μου παρακοῦσαι *tr.* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ τὸ *add. ante* παρακοῦσαι C ~ τοῦ πατρὸς] τὸν πατέρα C ~ μου *om.* V ~ φοβοῦμαι] μέγα καὶ φοβερόν μοι φαίνεται C, οὐ θέλω M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ ποιῆσαι O γ' (ποιῆσω F Sp) 10. γὰρ] οὖν S<sub>1</sub> ζ, *om.* S V F G ~ νύκταν A S V M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ ἀύπνος κ, ἄπνυα C ~ διετέλεσα] διατελέσασα ε (διατελὼν V, διετέλεσα Sp) M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ περὶ τούτου *add. post* διετέλεσα B ε K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ τὸν (*om.* M) θεὸν παρακαλοῦσα *tr.* δ (*non* V Sp K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ παρακαλοῦσα] παρεκάλεσα ε' M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, παρακαλέσασα K, ικετεύουσα ζ (*non* K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ μοι (με V) *add. post* γνωρίσαι ε M V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> ~ καὶ *add. post* συμφέρον V<sub>3</sub> ~ τῇ ταπεινῇ μου ψυχῇ] καὶ σῶσαι τὴν ταπεινὴν μου ψυχὴν ε 11. καὶ δὴ *om.* S<sub>2</sub> ~ δὴ πρωΐας γενομένης *om.* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ γεναμένης V G P Sp V<sub>2</sub> ~ μοι *om.* G ~ ἐνέγκαι κ, ἐνεγκεῖν C, ἀνενέγκαι B ~ ἔνα] ἓν V<sub>3</sub> ~ λόγον] τὸ συμφέρον (τὰ συμφέρόντά μοι Sp)· ἐξ αὐτῆς οὖν πέμψασα μετεστειλάμην σε B Sp ~ ὠφελείας *add. post* λόγον S<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup>Παρακαλῶ οὖν σε, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πεμφθέντα, δίδαξόν με τὰ συμφέροντά μοι».

[8.] <sup>1</sup>Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ γέρων· «Τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος· “Ὅστις οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, οὐ δύναται μοι εἶναι μαθητής”, <sup>2</sup>ἐγὼ τί σοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλεῖον τούτων; Ἐὰν οὖν οἶδας ὅτι δύνασαι ἐνέγκαι τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πειρατήρια, ἄφες πάντα καὶ φύγε. <sup>3</sup>Τὰ γὰρ πατρῷά σου πράγματα πολλοὺς εὕρισκουσιν κληρονόμους· ἰδοὺ ἐκκλησίαι, πτωχεῖα, γηροκομεῖα, ξενῶνες, μοναστήρια, χῆραι, ὀρφανοί, ξένοι, λελωβημένοι, αἰχμάλωτοι·

12. τὸ πῶς ὀφείλῃ ποιῆσαι *add. ante* παρακαλῶ C ~ σε *tr. ante* οὖν O κ, *om.* B K ~ πάτερ *add. post* σε C M ~ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πεμφθέντα] διὰ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου φόβον C ~ ὡς *om.* F ~ τοῦ *om.* O κ B ζ ~ πεμφθέντα] πεμφθείς O B K M I V I ~ μοι *add. post* πεμφθέντα Sp ~ δίδαξον] διδάξει A, δεῖξαι C ~ με] μοι A B C P ~ τὰ συμφέροντα] τὸ συμφέρον M I V I ~ μοι *om.* κ S K M I V I

[8.] 1. ὁ γέρων] ὁ τίμιος καὶ ἅγιος γέρων Sp ~ ἄκουσον *add. ante* τοῦ κυρίου B, τέκνον *idem* Sp ~ ὅτι *add. post* λέγοντος B C Sp M I V I ~ οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται] οὐκ ἀποτάσει Sp, οὐκ ἀφήσει B ε', οὐ καθετίσει V3, οὐ μισεῖ (μισεῖσι *sic* K) K ~ πατέρα ... μητέρα] μητέρα ... πατέρα *tr.* C, πατρί ... μητρί κ ~ πατέρα] τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ K θ ~ καὶ μητέρα *om.* M I V I ~ καὶ <sup>1</sup>] ἢ B C ε ~ τὴν *add. ante* μητέρα V2 K ~ καὶ <sup>2</sup>] ἢ C ε, *om.* P ~ τοὺς *add. ante* ἀδελφοὺς K θ ~ ἢ (καὶ M P, καὶ τὰς K) ἀδελφὰς *add. post* ἀδελφοὺς δ (*non* θ) ~ καὶ τέκνα *om.* B K θ ~ καὶ <sup>3</sup>] ἢ C S I F Sp ~ τέκνα] τέκνοις κ ~ ἔτι δὲ *om.* K ~ ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ M ~ τὴν ... ψυχὴν] τῆς ... ψυχῆς O B, τῇ ... ψυχῇ κ ~ ἀπαρνήσεται *add. ante* ψυχὴν V, *idem post* ψυχὴν S I Sp, ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ *idem* K ~ οὐ δύναται μοι εἶναι μαθητής] καταφρονήσει οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἄξιος B ~ εἶναι μοι *tr.* V ~ μου *om.* κ 2. ἐγὼ τί σοι ... τούτων] τί ἔτι ἐγὼ (τί ἔτι ἐγὼ: ἐγὼ τί V) πλέον ἔχω σοι εἰπεῖν ε (ἐγὼ τί πλέον ἔχω σοι εἰπεῖν τούτων Sp), ἐγὼ σοι τί εἰπεῖν πλεῖον (πλῆον M I, πλείω V I) οὐκ οἶδα M I V I, ἐγὼ δὲ τέκνον τί σοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλέον τούτων οὐκ οἶδα V3 ~ ἐγὼ *om.* B ~ σοι τί *tr.* κ ~ σοι] σου M, *om.* K ~ ἔχω *om.* C ~ εἰπεῖν *tr. post* τούτων κ ~ πλείον] πλείω B V I ~ τούτων] τούτου οὐκ οἶδα C ~ καὶ πάλιν *add. ante* ἐὰν C ~ οὖν *om.* C ε V2 ~ οἶδας ὅτι *om.* V2, οἶδα M I ~ ἐνέγκαι] ἐνεγκεῖν K, ὑπενέγκαι κ C M I, ὑπενέγκαι V I ~ τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πειρατήρια] τὴν τοῦ σώματος πύρωσιν B, τὴν τοῦ σώματός σου πύρωσιν καὶ πάντα τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πειρατήρια Sp ~ πάντα *add. ante* τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς δ (*non* K θ) ~ φεῦγε κ C M I V I 3. εὕρισκουσιν] εὕρησουςιν A B Sp, ἔχουσι ε' ~ κληρονόμους εὕρησουςιν *tr.* C ~ ἐκκλησίαι] λίπη κ ~ πτωχεῖα] πτωχία V2 K, πτωχοτρόφεια C ~ μοναστήρια γηροκομεῖα ξενῶνες *tr.* ε' ~ γηροκομία O κ B V Sp ζ (*om.* V3) ~ ξενῶνες] γέροντες B ~ χῆραι] χῆρες P, *om.* B ~ ὀρφανοί *om.* K ~ ξένοι *om.* ε' K θ ~ λελωβημένοι *om.* δ (*non* Sp M I V I) ~ αἰχμάλωτοι *om.* V2

8.1. ὅστις οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πατέρα ... μοι εἶναι μαθητής = Lc 14.26; cfr Lc 14.33, Mt 10.37



4<sup>ο</sup>που ἂν ἄρεστόν αὐτῷ ἐστὶ καταλειψάτω, μόνον σὺ τὴν ψυχὴν σου μὴ ἀπολέσης». 5<sup>η</sup>Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ κόρη· «Ἐλπίζω εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ εἰς τὰς εὐχὰς σου, ὅτι ἀγωνίσασθαι ἔχω τοῦ σῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου». 6<sup>η</sup>Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ γέρον· «Αἱ τοιαῦται προθέσεις εἰς ὑπέρθεσιν μὴ χωρεῖωσαν. Οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος μεταμέλειαν ἐμποιεῖν». 7<sup>η</sup>Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ Εὐφροσύνη· «Κἀγὼ διὰ τοῦτο σε ἔσकुλα, ἵνα τελειώσης τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς μου». 8<sup>η</sup>Καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ γέρον καὶ ποιήσας εὐχὴν, κουρεύει αὐτὴν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῇ τὸ ἅγιον σχῆμα τοῦ μοναχοῦ. 9<sup>η</sup>καὶ ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῇ εἶπεν· «Ὁ Θεός, ὁ σώσας πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, αὐτός σε διαφυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ».

4. ὅπου ἂν] οἷς ἐὰν B ~ ἂν] δ' ἂν C, *om.* κ K Θ ~ ἄρεστόν] ἄρεση C, ἄρεσκει V2 ~ εἰ *add.* *post* ἄρεστόν S1 M P V3, ἢ *idem* S V G Sp ~ αὐτῷ ἐστὶ] τῷ πατρί σου γ (ἐστὶν τῷ πατρί σου K) ~ αὐτῷ *om.* κ ~ καταλειψάτω] -λιψάτω αὐτὰ Sp, -λείψει αὐτὰ C, -λείψη αὐτὰ P ~ ταῦτα *add.* *post* καταλειψάτω S ~ σὺ] σοι κ Sp M <sup>a.c.</sup>, *om.* δ (*non* S M <sup>p.c.</sup> V2) ~ ἀπολέσης A Sp, ἀπολέσεις S2 S1 V3 K M1 V1 5. κόρη] εὐφροσύνη Sp ~ ἁγίας *add.* *ante* εὐχὰς A Sp V3 ~ ὅτι *om.* C ε' ~ τοῦ σῶσαι] τοῦ θεοῦ συνευδοκοῦντός μοι σῶσαι C ~ τοῦ *om.* ε' 6. τίμιος *add.* *ante* γέρον Sp ~ τέκνον *add.* *ante* αἱ τοιαῦται Sp ~ προθέσεις] προφάσεις B ~ εἰς ὑπέρθεσιν *om.* ε' M1 V1 ~ ὑπέρθεσιν] ὑπόθεσιν M ~ μὴ] μοι M ~ χωρεῖωσαν] χωρησάτωσαν K, ὑπερχωρήτωσαν ε' ~ χρόνος] ἐχθρὸς K ~ μεταμέλειαν ἐμποιεῖν] μεταμελήσαν ἀπεργάζεσθαι κ ~ μεταμέλειαν] μετάνοιαν C ~ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς θεαρέστοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς ἔργοις *add.* *post* ἐμποιεῖν Sp 7. Εὐφροσύνη] κόρη γ (εὐφροσύνη Sp) ~ πάτερ τίμιε *add.* *post* κἀγὼ Sp ~ τελειώσης] -σεις κ M1, τελειῶς σώσης B, πληρώσης C ~ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς μου] μου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς *tr.* δ (*non* V), τὴν ψυχὴν μου B, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου A C ~ *post* τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου *scr.* ε: λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ γέρον· καὶ τί θέλεις (*add.* *hic* τέκνον Sp) ποιήσω σοι (ποιήσωμεν V); τί βραδύνεις (-νης S1) πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν; ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ (τί βραδύνεις ... αὐτῷ: ἡ δὲ ἔφη Sp): ἵνα κατανύξῃ (-ξῆ S1) σε ὁ Θεός (*add.* *hic* πάτερ Sp) σῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ ἀποθρίξαι με (ἵνα ... ἀποθρίξαι με: τοῦ ἀποθρίξαι με F) καὶ δοῦναι (δὸς Sp) μοι τὸ ἅγιον σχῆμα (καὶ δοῦναι ... σχῆμα *om.* G) 8. καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ γέρον] καὶ ἐπευξάμενος καὶ εὐλογήσας ἀπέτεμεν τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς C, καὶ ἀναστάντες V2 ~ εὐθέως *add.* *post* καὶ Sp ~ ὁ γέρον] ὁ ἀββᾶς A, *om.* V2 ~ καὶ ποιήσας εὐχὴν κουρεύει αὐτὴν] ἐποίησεν εὐχὴν ὁ γέρον καὶ ἀποκουλεύει αὐτὴν V2 ~ ἐπ' αὐτῇ *add.* *ante* εὐχὴν Sp ~ κουρεύει] κείρει ε', ἐκούρευσεν M1 V1 ~ καὶ *add.* *post* αὐτῇ Sp ~ αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν B ~ ἅγιον *om.* B S V ζ ~ τοῦ μοναχοῦ *om.* γ 9. καὶ *om.* B, εἶτα Sp ~ ἐπευξάμενος] εὐξάμενος C ~ εἶπεν] λέγει B V3 ~ κύριος *add.* *ante* ὁ Θεός Sp ~ πάντας *om.* M ~ αὐτοῦ *add.* *post* ἁγίους β (*non* ε' M P K) ~ τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτῷ (*om.* B) εὐαρεστήσαντας *add.* *post* ἁγίους αὐτοῦ B Sp ~ διαφυλάξῃ κ K ~ τοῦ] παντὸς K ~ τέκνον *add.* *post* πονηροῦ ε'

6. ὁ χρόνος μετάνοιαν ἐμποιεῖν *cf.* Αpc 2.21  
Ps 120.7

9. αὐτός σε διαφυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ *cf.*

<sup>10</sup>Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ γέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου.

[9.] <sup>1</sup>Ἡ δὲ Εὐφροσύνη, σύννους γενομένη, εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ὅτι «Ἐὰν ἀπέλθω εἰς γυναικεῖον μοναστήριον, ὁ πατήρ μου δι' ἐρευνῆς γενόμενος εὐρήσει με καὶ βία ἀποσπάσει με διὰ τὸν ὄρμαστόν μου. Ἀλλὰ δίδωμι ἑαυτὴν εἰς κοινόβιον ἀνδρῶν, ὅπου οὐδεὶς ὑπονοεῖ». <sup>2</sup>Καὶ ἀποδυσασμένη τὴν γυναικεῖαν στολὴν καὶ ἐνδυσασμένη ἀνδρεῖαν, ἐσπέρας βαθείας ἐξῆλθεν τοῦ οἴκου, λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς πεντακόσια νομίσματα. <sup>3</sup>Πρωΐας δὲ γενομένης, ἔρχεται ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει, κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ Θεοῦ εὐθέως εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπῆλθεν. <sup>4</sup>Ἡ δὲ Εὐφροσύνη ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον

10. ταῦτα εἰπὼν *om.* B ~ εἶπον C ~ ταῦτα] τοῦτο V2 ~ ὁ γέρων ἐξῆλθεν *tr.* P V2 ~ ὁ γέρων *tr. post* οἴκου O B Sp K M1 V1, *om.* κ C ~ ἀπὸ *om.* β (*non* C) ~ αὐτῆς *add. post* οἴκου C M ~ *post* οἴκου *scr.* ε: εἰπὼν· σώζουσα σώζε σεαυτήν (ἑαυτήν V), γύναι, (καὶ *hic praebet* S1) μὴ συναπολεσθῆς (-θεῖς S1 V) τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ πατρός σου (λέξας οὕτως τέκνον σώζουσα σώζε σεαυτήν μὴ ραθυμήσας συναπολεσθεῖς τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ πατρός σου Sp); *post* οἴκου *scr.* C: καὶ ἐπορευέτο τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, χαίρων καὶ δοξάζων τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ευχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ~ *ab* συναπολεσθῆς *deficit* G, *deperditis subsequentibus foliis*

[9.] 1. σύννους] ἔννοους M ~ γεναμένη O B C S V V2 V3 K ~ ὅτι *om.* C ζ (*non* K M1 V1) ~ τί ποιήσω *add. ante* ἔὰν ἀπέλθω V2 ~ μοναστήριον γυναικεῖον *tr.* V2 ~ γυναικίον B C S1 V3 K M1 V1 ~ δι' ἐρευνῆς] διερευνήσας C V Sp, ἐρευνήσας S1 F ~ γενόμενος] -ώμε- B P V3 K, *om.* C ε ~ εὐρήσει] εὐρήσῃ B V, εὐρίσκει C P K ~ με <sup>1</sup> *om.* M ~ καὶ βία ἀποσπάσει με *om.* κ ~ βίᾳ] σὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ C, συμβῇ (-βεῖ A) α, *om.* M (*in lac.* κ) ~ ἀποσπάσει] ἀποσπάσῃ B S1 Sp P, ἀποσπάσαι A, ἀποσπᾶ C K ~ τὸν ὄρμαστόν] τοῦ ὄρμαστοῦ K ~ ἀλλὰ δίδωμι] ἀπελθοῦσα οὖν δίδωμι B, δίδωμι οὖν ζ, μᾶλλον δώσω ε (μᾶλλον οὖν δώσω S1 Sp) ~ ἀλλὰ *om.* C ~ ἑαυτήν] αὐτήν C, ἑμαυτήν Sp V3 ~ κοινόβιον] μοναστήριον C V2 ~ ἀνδρῶν] ἀνδρεῖον κ, ἀνδρίον C ~ με *add. ante* ὑπονοεῖ Sp V2 V3 ~ ὑπονοεῖ] κατανοεῖ K, ὑπονοήσει V2 ~ με εἶναι *add. post* ὑπονοεῖ C 2. εὐθέως *add. ante* ἀποδυσασμένη Sp ~ γυναικεῖαν O B S S1 V3 K M1 V1 ~ στολὴν] ἐσθῆτα V2 ~ ἐνδυσασμένη] ἀμφιασασμένη κ B K θ ~ ἀνδρεῖαν O V2 V3, ἀνδρία K M1 V1, τὴν ἀνδρικὴν C ~ βαθείας] γενομένης β (-να- C ε' (*non* F) P V3, ἤδη καταλαβούσης B Sp, καταλαβούσης V2 K) ~ ἐκ *add. ante* τοῦ οἴκου M1 V1 ~ αὐτῆς *add. post* οἴκου C M1 V1 ~ μετ' αὐτῆς κ ~ καὶ *add. ante* πεντακόσια S1 ~ νομίσματα πεντακόσια *tr.* Sp ~ καὶ ἀπεκρύβῃ ἔν τινι τόπῳ διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός *add. post* νομίσματα C 3. πρωΐας δὲ] καὶ πρωΐας A B ~ γεναμένης P S V V3 K ~ ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου *add. post* αὐτῆς C ~ ἐν τῇ πόλει] εἰς τὴν πόλιν V2 ~ καὶ *add. post* πόλει δ ~ δὲ *om.* δ ~ τοῦ *add. ante* θεοῦ B ~ θεοῦ *om.* P K ~ εὐθέως] εὐθὺς δ (*non* V2 K M1 V1), *om.* C ~ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν B, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ C ε (*tr. post* ἀπῆλθεν Sp) ~ εἰς] ὑπὸ κ 4. μακαρία *add. ante* εὐφροσύνη Sp ~ ἔρχεται] ἀπῆλθεν C K (*tr. post* ἐκεῖνο K) ~ εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον] ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ C ~ κοινόβιον] μοναστήριον B Sp

ἐκεῖνο, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς εἶχεν τὴν γνῶσιν, <sup>5</sup>καὶ καταμηνύει ἑαυτὴν διὰ τοῦ θυρωροῦ λέγουσα· «Εἰπὲ τῷ ἄββᾶ ὅτι εὐνοῦχος ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἐστὶν καὶ συντυχεῖν ὑμῖν θέλει». <sup>6</sup>Εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ θυρωρὸς διεσάφησεν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν. Καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἔβαλεν μετάνοιαν καί, γενομένης εὐχῆς, ἐκάθισαν. Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἄββᾶς· «Τί ἐσκύλη πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ θεοφιλία σου;» <sup>7</sup>Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· «Ἐγὼ τοῦ παλατίου γέγονα καὶ ἐπόθησα τὸν μοναχικὸν βίον. Καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ἡ εὐλογημένη, οὐ πάνυ οἶδεν τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς ἡσυχίαν παρέχειν». <sup>8</sup>Ἀκήκοα δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀγιωσύνης σου καὶ ἤλθον συνοικῆσαι ὑμῖν, εἴγε πληροφορεῖσθε δέξασθαι με. <sup>9</sup>Ἐχω δὲ καὶ πράγματα πολλὰ καί, εἰ οἰκοδομηθῶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ, φέρω αὐτὰ ὧδε».

ἐκεῖνο] ἐκεῖνο *sic* **κ** **Κ** **Μ** **Ρ**, ἐκεῖνον **V**<sub>3</sub>, *om.* **A** ~ ἐν ᾧ] εἰς ὃ **A** **C** ~ εἶχεν] ἦν ἔχων **κ** ~ τὴν *om.* **Μ****Ι** **V****Ι** ~ γνῶσιν] σχέσιν **γ'** (σχέσιν αὐτοῦ **S****Ι**) 5. καταμηνύει] κατεμηνύσεν **C**, μηνύει **ε** ~ ἑαυτὴν] αὐτὴν **S****Ι**, ἑμαυτὴν **κ** ~ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ *add.* *ante* λέγουσα **C** ~ λέγουσα *om.* **B** **K** **Θ** ~ ὅτι *add.* *ante* εἰπὲ **K** **Θ** ~ εἰπὲ] εἰπεῖν **B** ~ τῷ ἄββᾶ] *om.* **ε** (τῷ ἡγουμένῳ **S****Ρ**) ~ τις *add.* *post* εὐνοῦχος **O** **C** **ε**, ὁ *idem* **M** ~ ἀπὸ *om.* **β** (*non* **C**) ~ ἐστὶν] ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἵσταται **C** ~ θέλει σοι συντυχεῖν *tr.* **S****Ρ** ~ συντυχεῖν] ἐντυχεῖν **V**<sub>2</sub> ~ ὑμῖν] σοι **γ** ~ θέλει] θέλῃ **κ** **Μ** **Μ****Ι**, βούλεται **S****Ι** 6. εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ θυρωρὸς] ὁ δὲ θυρωρὸς εἰσελθὼν **S****Ρ** ~ εἰσελθὼν οὖν] καὶ εἰσελθὼν (ἐλθὼν **M** **P** **K**) **δ** (*aliter* **S****Ρ**) ~ διεσαφήνισεν **B** **C** **V**<sub>3</sub> **Θ** ~ τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ ἡγουμένῳ *tr.* **Μ****Ι** **V****Ι** ~ τὸ πρᾶγμα] τὰ τοῦ πράγματος **V** ~ ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἄββᾶς *add.* *post* πρᾶγμα **M** ~ καὶ *om.* **M** ~ κελεύει] ἐκέλευσεν **M** **V**<sub>2</sub> ~ αὐτὸν] αὐτὴν **C**, *om.* **ε'** **M** ~ καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα] εἰσελθοῦσα δὲ **κ** **Μ** **P** ~ γενομένης **O** **C** **S** **V** **P** **V**<sub>3</sub> ~ ἐκάθισαν] ἐκαθέστησαν **κ** **δ** (ἐκάθισαν **S****Ρ**) ~ ἅμα *add.* *post* ἐκάθισαν **M** ~ καὶ λέγει] λέγει οὖν **M** ~ ἄββᾶς] ἡγούμενος **C** ~ ἐσκύλει (-λλει **κ**) **κ** **S****Ι** **P**, ἐσκύλη **V** ~ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς *add.* *post* ἡμᾶς **S****Ρ** ~ ἡ θεοφιλία σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς *tr.* **Μ****Ι** **V****Ι** ~ θεοφιλία] θεοφιλία **A** **V** **M** **P**, θεοφιλίας (-λείας **S****2**) **κ** ~ δέσποτα *add.* *post* σου **C**, τέκνον *idem* **S****Ρ** 7. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν] ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ **κ**, καὶ (*om.* **B** **ζ**) λέγει πρὸς τὸν ἄββᾶν (τὸν ἄββᾶν: αὐτόν **K**) **γ** (ἡ δὲ ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἄββᾶν **S****Ρ**, λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ κόρη **C**) ~ πάτερ *add.* *post* ἐγὼ **C** **ε'** **V**<sub>3</sub> **K**, πάτερ τίμιε **S****Ρ** ~ Θεοδοσίου *add.* *post* τοῦ παλατίου **B** **S****Ρ** ~ τοῦ βασιλέως *add.* *post* Θεοδοσίου **S****Ρ** ~ γέγονα] εἰμί **V**<sub>3</sub> ~ ἐπόθησα] ἐπεπόθησα **C**, ἐπεθύμησα **A** ~ τὸν] τε **V**<sub>2</sub> ~ μοναχικὸν] μοναδικὸν **ε'** **M** **P** **K**, μονήρη **B** **C** **S****Ρ** ~ ἐπειδὴ *add.* *ante* ἡ πόλις **M** **P** **V**<sub>3</sub> ~ ἡ εὐλογημένη] ἡ ἀγία **A**, *om.* **γ** ~ οὐ πάνυ] οὐκ ἂν **M** ~ πάνυ] πλάνοι *sic* **κ** ~ οἶδεν] εἶδεν **K** ~ τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς *tr.* *post* παρέχειν **M** **P** **V**<sub>3</sub> ~ ἀσκηταῖς] ἀσκοῦσιν **B** ~ παρασχεῖν **B** 8. δὲ] γὰρ **V**<sub>2</sub> ~ σου] ὑμῶν **ε** **V**<sub>2</sub> ~ καὶ τῶν σὺν σοὶ εὐλαβῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξιέπαινα *add.* *post* ἀγιωσύνης σου **C** ~ ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν **S****Ι** ~ θέλων (θέλων καὶ ἤθελον **S****Ι**, θέλω **K**) *add.* *ante* εἴγε **δ** (*non* **S****Ρ** **Μ****Ι** **V****Ι**) ~ εἴγε] ἐάν **C**, οὖν **K** ~ εἴγε *tr.* *post* πληροφορεῖσθε **S****Ι** ~ πληροφορεῖσθε] -ρησαι **κ** **S** **V** **F** **M** **P**, -ρηθῆναι **V**<sub>3</sub>, -ρεῖσθαι **B** **S****Ρ** **K** **V****Ι** **Μ****Ι** ~ τοῦ *add.* *ante* δέξασθαι **A** **C** ~ δέξασθαι με] παρ' αὐτῆς σῆς ἀγιωσύνης εἰ δέχεσθαι με ὧδε **K** ~ δέξασθαι] ἡ δέχεσθαι **V**<sub>3</sub> 9. δὲ καὶ] γὰρ ἐκεῖ **B** ~ καὶ] ἔχω **C**, *om.* **ε'** ~ πολλὰ] πάνπολλα **S** **V** **F** **ζ** (πάνυ πολλὰ **M** **V**<sub>3</sub>, πολλὰ **V**<sub>2</sub>), πολλὰ πάνοι **κ** ~ καὶ διάφορα *add.* *post* πολλὰ **S****Ι** ~ εἰ] ἡ **κ**, *om.* **C** (εἰ **C** **P**<sup>C</sup>), ἐάν **V**<sub>3</sub> ~ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ *om.* **V** ~ ἐπὶ] ἐν **γ'** ~ καὶ *add.* *post* φέρω **S****Ρ** ~ ὧδε *om.* **κ**

[10.] <sup>1</sup>Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἡγούμενος· «Καλῶς ἦλθες, τέκνον· ἰδοὺ τὸ μοναστήριον ἐνώπιόν σου· εἴ σοι ἀρέσκει, καθέξου μεθ' ἡμῶν. Τί δὲ λέγεται τὸ ὄνομά σου;» Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ Εὐφροσύνη· «Σμάραγδος». <sup>2</sup>Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς· «Ἐπειδὴ νεώτερος εἶ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύνασαι καθίσαι, δέον ἐστὶν σε λαβεῖν ἐπιστάτην, ἵνα σε διδάξῃ τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μοναχικῆς πολιτείας». <sup>3</sup>Καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀββᾶ· «Ὡς κελεύεις, ποιῶ». Καὶ ἐξενέγκας ὁ Σμάραγδος τὰ πεντακόσια νομίσματα, δίδωσιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἡγουμένου εἰπών· «Ἐν τῷ τέως λάβε ταῦτα καί, ἐὰν ἴδω ὅτι δύναμαι ἡσυχάσαι ὧδε, ἔρχονται καὶ τὰ λοιπά». <sup>4</sup>Καλεῖ οὖν ὁ ἀββᾶς ἓνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὀνόματι Ἀγάπιον, ἄνδρα λόγιον καὶ ἀπαθέστατον, καὶ παραδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸν Σμάραγδον λέγων· <sup>5</sup>«Ἰδοὺ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὗτος υἱός

[10.] 1. καὶ *add. ante* λέγει V2 ~ αὐτῷ] αὐτῇ A κ B ~ ἡγούμενος] ἀββᾶς β ~ καλῶς ἦλθες] καὶ ὡς ἦλθεν S2 <sup>a.c.</sup> L (καλῶς ἦλθες S2 <sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ ἐνώπιόν σου εἴ σοι ἀρέσκει *om.* C ~ ἐστὶν *add. post* ἐνώπιόν σου V2 ~ εἰ] ἐάν B Sp M ~ σοι] συ κ V3 ~ ἀρέσκει (-ει F P K) σοι *tr.* B ε P K ~ ἀρέσκει] ἀρκεῖ κ ~ καθέξου] κάθου O κ B S V F ζ (*non* K M I V I), κάθισον S I ~ μεθ' ἡμῶν] μεθ' ὑμῶν M ~ τί δὲ] τίς δὲ κ B ε' θ ~ λέγεται] λέγει S I F, λέγεσε V ~ τὸ ὄνομά σου] τῷ ὀνόματι ε' ~ λέγει αὐτῷ] ἡ δὲ εἶπεν B Sp ~ ἡ εὐφροσύνη *om.* γ ~ πάτερ *add. post* σμάραγδος Sp 2. καὶ *om.* κ ε V2 K ~ αὐτῷ] αὐτῇ κ B, *om.* M I V I ~ τέκνον σμάραγδε *add. ante* ἐπειδὴ Sp, τέκνον *idem* V3 ~ ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ C ~ καὶ *om.* B C ε ~ καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύνασαι *om.* V2 ~ δύνασαι] δύνη M V3, δύνῃ P ~ καθίσαι] καθέξεσθαι B, καθεσθῆναι *tr. ante* καθ' ἑαυτὸν δ ~ μόνος εἰς κελλίον ἐνδύνασαι *add. post* καθίσαι V2 ~ οὖν *add. post* δέον ε' ~ ἐστὶν σε λαβεῖν ἐπιστάτην] ἐστὶ σοι λαβεῖν ἐπιστάτην A, σέ (σοι Sp) ἐστὶν (*om.* M I V I) λαβεῖν ἐπιστάτην O B ε θ, ἐστὶν λαβεῖν σε ἐπιστάτην κ M P V3, σέ ἐστὶν καὶ λαβεῖν ἐπιστάτην K, ἐστὶν ἐπιστάτην σε λαβεῖν C ~ σε <sup>2</sup>] σοι A ~ διδάξει κ S I V3 M I V I, διδάσκει C ~ μοναχικῆς] μοναδικῆς γ' (-χικῆς V Sp ζ, *non* P) ~ πολιτείας] καταστάσεως δ 3. καὶ] ὁ δὲ V3, ἡ δὲ Sp, *om.* M ~ τῷ ἀββᾶ] αὐτῷ ἡ κόρη V2 ~ ἀποκριθεῖσα *add. ante* λέγει B Sp ~ ἀββᾶ] ἡγουμένου C ~ κελεύεις] θέλεις M I V I ~ κύριε *add. post* κελεύεις B, πάτερ *idem* Sp ~ καὶ] εἴτα Sp ~ ἐξενέγκας] ἐξήνεγκεν B ~ ὁ σμάραγδος *tr. post* νομίσματα P ~ καὶ *add. ante* δίδωσιν B ~ αὐτῷ *add. post* δίδωσιν C ~ τὰς *om.* A ~ ἡγουμένου] ἀββᾶ κ B M I V I ~ ἐν τῷ τέως *om.* A ~ ἐν τῷ *om.* C V3 ~ πάτερ *add. post* λάβε Sp ~ ταῦτα] αὐτὰ B, τὴν εὐλογίαν ταύτην δέσποτα V2 ~ ἐὰν] εἰ K ~ ἴδω] εἶδω V3, οἶδα C M I V I ~ ἡσυχάσαι] καθίσαι κ δ (εἶναι S), σωθῆναι B ~ ὧδε ἡσυχάσαι *tr.* C ~ ὧδε *om.* κ S I V F ζ (*non* V3, ἐνταῦθα V2) ~ καὶ σωθῆναι *add. post* ὧδε Sp ~ ἔρχονται] ἔρχεται P, παρέχω S 4. καλεῖ οὖν] τότε καλεῖ Sp ~ καλεῖ κ ~ ἓνα] τινὰ β (*non* V2) ~ ἀδελφῶν] μοναχῶν κ ~ ὀνόματι Ἀγάπιον] ἀγάπιον λεγόμενον C ~ λόγιον] ἄγιον α M V3 ~ ἀπαθέστατον] εὐσεβέστατον B ~ αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν A K, αὐτῶν O ~ τὸν Σμάραγδον] τῷ σμάραγδῳ K ~ λέγων] εἰπών C V2 5. οὗτος *om.* K M I V I ~ ὁ *add. ante* υἱός κ C ε M V3

σού ἐστιν καὶ μαθητής· τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀπέργασαι, ἵνα ὑπερβάλλῃ τὸν διδάσκαλον». <sup>6</sup>Καὶ ποιησάντων αὐτῶν γονυκλισίαν καὶ εὐξαμένων, παρέλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγάπιος εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ.

[11.] Ἐπειδὴ οὖν εἶχεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κατηγλαϊσμένον τῷ κάλλει ὁ Σμάραγδος, ἐν τῷ ἔρχεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀριστηρίῳ πολλοὺς ἐτόξευεν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ, <sup>2</sup>ὥστε καταγογγύζειν τοῦ ἡγουμένου ὡς τοιοῦτον πρόσωπον δεξαμένου. <sup>3</sup>Μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ἄββας, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Σμάραγδον, λέγει αὐτῷ· «Ἐπειδὴ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ προσώπου σου πολλὴ οὕσα τοῖς ἀστηρίκοις πῶσις καθίσταται, <sup>4</sup>βούλομαί σε ἐν τῷ ἀναχωρητικῷ κελλίῳ ἡσυχάζειν, κάκεῖ

ἐστιν *tr. post* οὗτος **β** (*om.* B K M I V I) ~ σου *add. post* μαθητής **κ** C ~ αὐτὸν *om.* C ~ ἀπέργασαι] ἀνάδειξον V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἵνα ὑπερβάλλῃ τὸν διδάσκαλον] ὥστερ σὺ ἄρκετον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν μαθητὴν ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ B ~ ὑπερβάλλῃ] ὑπερβάλλει **θ** V<sub>3</sub>, ὑπερβαίνει M P 6. πάντων *add. ante* ποιησάντων C ~ ποιησάντων] ποιήσαντες **κ** B ζ (ποιησάντων V<sub>2</sub>), ἐποίησαν **ε** ~ αὐτῶν *om.* **β** (*habet* V<sub>2</sub>) ~ ἐκάτεροι *add. post* γονυκλισίαν Sp ~ εὐξαμένων] εὐξαμένου τοῦ ἡγουμένου (ἄββᾶ **ε**) B C **ε**, εὐξάμενοι **κ** ζ (εὐξαμένων V<sub>2</sub>) ~ καὶ σφραγίσαντος ἀπεκρίθησαν τὸ ἄμην καὶ *add. ante* παρέλαβεν C ~ αὐτὸν] τὸν σμάραγδον V<sub>2</sub> ~ εἰς τὸ κελλίον] ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ **ε**

[11.] 1. ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ C Sp ~ οὖν] δὲ Sp, *om.* K V ~ αὐτοῦ *om.* **κ** B C ~ τῷ κάλλει] ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ B, *om.* C P ~ ἅτε δὴ γυνὴ οὕσα τῇ φύσει καὶ νεάζουσα τὴν ἡλικίαν *add. post* σμάραγδος V<sub>2</sub> ~ καὶ *add. post* σμάραγδος C ~ οὖν *add. post* ἐν τῷ V<sub>3</sub> K ~ ἔρχεσθαι] εἰσέρχεσθαι C, εἰσιέναι V<sub>2</sub> ~ αὐτὸν] αὐτὴν B ~ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ] εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν O **κ** C M I V I ~ ἐν τῷ ἀριστηρίῳ] ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ C ~ ἀριστηταρίῳ O ~ ὁ διάβολος (σατανᾶς V<sub>2</sub>) ἐτόξευεν *tr.* **β** 2. ὥστε καταγογγύζειν τοῦ ἡγουμένου] διὰ τῶν πονηρῶν λογισμῶν ὡς πάντας κατακράζειν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ C ~ καὶ *add. post* ὥστε O **κ** **ε** M P ~ καταγογγύζειν τοῦ ἡγουμένου] γογγύζειν κατὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου V<sub>2</sub> K ~ τοῦ ἡγουμένου] τῷ ἡγουμένῳ M ~ καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ *add. post* ἡγουμένου A ~ ὡς] τί A ~ τοιοῦτον πρόσωπον] τοιοῦτῳ προσώπῳ M ~ πρόσωπον] κάλλος **κ** **ε** ~ δεξαμένου] -νος V<sub>2</sub>, -ον C, κατεδέξω A 3. καὶ *add. ante* μαθὼν K ~ μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ἄββας προσκαλεσάμενος] ὁ οὖν ἡγούμενος τοῦτο μαθὼν προσκαλεῖται C ~ μαθὼν] γνοὺς V<sub>2</sub> ~ δέ] οὖν **β** (*non* V<sub>2</sub>, *om.* K) ~ τοῦτο *om.* V<sub>2</sub> ~ ἄββας] ἡγούμενος B Sp ~ τὸ πρᾶγμα *add. post* ἄββας V<sub>2</sub> ~ προσκαλεσάμενος] προσκαλεῖται C M, μεταστέλλεται V<sub>2</sub> ~ καὶ *add. ante* λέγει C M V<sub>2</sub> ~ τέκνον *add. post* ἐπειδὴ M, *idem ante* ἐπειδὴ Sp ~ πῶσις] τρώσεις M I V I ~ καθίσταται] καθέστηκεν M, γίνεται C 4. οὖν *add. post* βούλομαι C ~ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν *add. post* σε Sp ~ ἡσυχάζειν] διάγειν ψάλλειν τε καὶ ἀπρόιτον εἶναι κάκεῖ ἐσθίειν σε. λέγει ὁ σμάραγδος· ὡς κελεύεις, οὕτω ποιῶ V<sub>2</sub> ~ κάκεῖ ψάλλειν ... 5. τὸν σμάραγδον *om.* M I V I ~ κάκεῖ] καὶ B Sp, *om.* C

ψάλλειν καὶ ἐσθίειν, καθεύδειν τε καὶ ἀπρόιτον εἶναι». Καὶ ἐπιτρέπει τῷ Ἀγαπίῳ τὸ ἀναχωρητικὸν κελλίον εὐτρεπίσαι, ὥστε ἡσυχάσαι τὸν Σμάραγδον ἐν αὐτῷ. <sup>5</sup>Ποιήσας οὖν πάντα ὁ Ἀγάπιος καθὼς προσετέτακτο, παρέλαβεν τὸν Σμάραγδον. <sup>6</sup>Καὶ ἦν ἡσυχάζων ἐν τῷ ἀναχωρητικῷ κελλίῳ, νηστείαις καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ προσευχαῖς καὶ χαμευνίαις καὶ ἀναγνώσεσιν καὶ ψαλμωδίαις προσεδρεύων τῷ Θεῷ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ὥστε τὸν Ἀγάπιον, θεωροῦντα τὸ σπουδαῖον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπάγρυπνον, θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος καὶ πάντας οἰκοδομεῖν εἰς τὰ κατ' αὐτόν.

[12.] <sup>1</sup>Ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτῆς, ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ μὴ εὐρὼν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, ἤρξατο ἀλλοιοῦσθαι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ

τε *add. post* ψάλλειν **κ** ~ καὶ *add. ante* καθεύδειν B C P ~ καθεύδειν τε καὶ] τε (*om.* P V<sub>3</sub>) καὶ καθεύδειν καὶ *tr.* **δ** (*in lac.* V<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub>, *aliter* V<sub>2</sub>) ~ τε] σε B ~ ἀπρόιτον] ἀπρόσητον M ~ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ σμάραγδος ὡς κελεύεις ποιῶ *add. post* εἶναι C ~ τῷ Ἀγαπίῳ] τὸν ἀγάπιον ζ (*non* K, *in lac.* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ τὸ ἀναχωρητικὸν] τῷ ἀναχωρητικῷ **κ** ~ τὸ *om.* K ~ κελλίον *om.* P ~ εὐτρεπίσαι (ἐτοιμᾶσαι K) κελλίον *tr.* V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> K ~ εὐτρεπίσαι (ἐπιτρέψαι V) *tr. ante* τὸ ἀναχωρητικὸν **ε** ~ ψάλλην τε καὶ *add. post* ὥστε **κ** ~ ἡσυχάσαι] ἡσυχάζην **κ** ~ ἐν αὐτῷ *tr. ante* ἡσυχάσαι C ~ ἐν αὐτῷ M 5. ὁ ἀγάπιος πάντα *tr.* B ~ πάντα *om.* **ε'** ~ προσετέτακτο] προσετέταχθαι **κ**, ἐπροετέτακτω V<sub>3</sub>, ἐκελεύσθη C ~ παρέλαβεν] παραλαμβάνει C **ε'** ~ ἐν αὐτῷ *add. post* σμάραγδον B 6. καὶ *om.* B ~ ἦν ἡσυχάζων] ἡσυχάζεν B C, ἡσυχάζον A ~ τῷ ἀναχωρητικῷ κελλίῳ] ἐκεῖ M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ νηστείαις ... ψαλμωδίαις] νηστείαις καὶ χαμευνίαις καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις K ~ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις *om.* **α** ~ καὶ <sup>2</sup> *om.* **κ** B C ~ ἀγρυπνίαις τε *tr. post* προσευχαῖς C ~ καὶ χαμοκοιτίαις καὶ προσευχαῖς *tr.* B ~ καὶ <sup>3</sup> *om.* **κ** **ε** ~ προσευχαῖς *om.* **ε** ~ τε *add. ante* καὶ <sup>4</sup> C ~ καὶ <sup>4</sup> *om.* **κ** ~ χαμευνίαις] χαμοκοιτίαις *sic* B ~ ἀναγνώσεσιν καὶ ψαλμωδίαις προσεδρεύων τῷ Θεῷ] ἀναγνώσματος προσκαρτερῶν C ~ καὶ ἀναγνώσεσιν] καὶ ἀναγνώσματος **β** (*non* B, καὶ ἀναγνώσματα V, *om.* S<sub>1</sub>, *in lac.* K) ~ ψαλμωδίας V ~ προσεδρεύων] προσεδρεύουσα K, προσεδρεύοντες A ~ νυκτὸς] νύκτωρ P ~ τε *add. post* νυκτὸς M P ~ ἡμέρας] μεθ' ἡμέραν P ~ θεωροῦντα τὸ σπουδαῖον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνον *om.* K ~ ἐπάγρυπνον] ἀγρυπνον A **δ** (*non* P), εὐἀγρυπνον *sic* C ~ αὐτόν *add. post* θαυμάζειν B Sp ~ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος] ἐπὶ τούτοις K ~ πάντας οἰκοδομεῖν] πάντες οἰκοδομῆντες V<sub>3</sub> ~ πάντας] πάντα B ~ οἰκοδομεῖν] -μεῖσθαι **δ** (-μηθῆναι K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, -μῆντες V<sub>3</sub>), ὠφελεῖν **α** ~ εἰς τὰ κατ' αὐτόν] *cfr* 1 Cor 8.10 εἰς τὰ κατορθώματα αὐτοῦ **ε** (ἐν τοῖς κατορθώμασιν αὐτοῦ Sp) ~ εἰς *om.* B ~ τὰ] τὸ V<sub>2</sub> [12.] 1. ὁ δὲ πατήρ ... ἐλθὼν] τοῦ δὲ (οὖν M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) πατρός ... ἐλθόντος **β** ~ εἰς τὸν οἶκον] ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ γ (εἰς τὸν οἶκον C) ~ αὐτοῦ *add. post* οἶκον B C Sp M M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ εὐρὼν] εὐρόντος **κ**, εὐρηκότος γ' ~ αὐτοῦ (ἑαυτοῦ C M P V<sub>2</sub>) θυγατέρα *tr.* **κ** C ζ ~ θυγατέραν O C P V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἡλλοιοῦσθαι K ~ τῷ προσώπῳ] τὸ πρόσωπον V<sub>3</sub>

ἀνετάζειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας τὸ τί γέγονεν ἡ Εὐφροσύνη. <sup>2</sup>Τῶν δὲ παίδων εἰπόντων ὅτι «Ἐσπέρας εἶδομεν αὐτήν, ἀπὸ πρῶτῃ δὲ οὐκέτι», ἐλογίσατο ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς μὴ ἄρα ὁ μνηστευσάμενος αὐτήν ἦλθεν καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτήν, καὶ πέμψας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦτο. <sup>3</sup>Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ὁ τε πατὴρ τοῦ νεανίου καὶ ὁ ὀρμασάμενος αὐτήν καὶ ἐν ταραχῇ γενόμενοι, δρομαῖοι ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Παφνουτίου, καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτὸν χαμαὶ κείμενον καὶ ἀποδυρόμενον, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι «Ἀνεστάτωσεν αὐτήν τις καὶ λαβὼν ἔφυγεν». <sup>4</sup>Εὐθέως οὖν ἵππεῖς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην ἀπελύοντο, κατοχαὶ πλοίων καὶ ζητήσεις ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἡρευνῶντο οἶκοι,

ἀνετάζειν] ἐνατενίζεῖν ζ (ἦν ἀτενίζων K), ἀτενίζεῖν ε' (non V) V<sub>1</sub> <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας] τοῖς (ταῖς V<sub>3</sub>) παισὶ καὶ ταῖς (ταῖς om. M M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) παιδίσκαις δ (non Sp) ~ λέγων add. post παιδίσκας K, καὶ λέγειν οὐκ οἶδατε idem S<sub>1</sub>, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν idem S, καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν idem V<sub>3</sub> ~ τὸ om. S S<sub>1</sub> K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> 2. δὲ] οὖν ε ~ εἰπόντων] φησάντων β (εἰπόντων C) ~ ἐσπέρας] ἀπεσπέρας sic C ~ ἴδομεν κ B C S<sub>1</sub> Sp M V<sub>3</sub>, ἴδομεν A S V F P V<sub>2</sub>, οἶδαμεν K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ πρῶτῃ δ (non M K) ~ οὐκέτι] οὐδαμοῦ αὐτήν εὗρωμεν K ~ ἴδομεν αὐτήν add. post οὐκέτι B ~ ἐλογίσατο] ἐλογίζετο C, λογισάμενος δ (non Sp) ~ οὖν add. post ἐλογίσατο B C, δὲ idem K ~ αὐτῆς om. ε' ~ αὐτήν <sup>1</sup>] αὐτῇ A, om. K ~ ἦλθεν καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτήν καὶ om. S<sub>1</sub> ~ ἦλθεν] ἀπέστευλεν κ ~ ἔλαβεν] ἐπῆρεν S F Sp K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> (in lac. S<sub>1</sub>) ~ εἰς τὰ ἴδια add. post αὐτήν <sup>2</sup> ε ~ καὶ <sup>2</sup> om. δ (non Sp) ~ οὖν add. post πέμψας M K ~ τοῦτο] περὶ τούτου ε, om. κ C K 3. ἀκούσαντες δὲ] οὖν ἀκούσαντες B, ἀκούσας δὲ A κ M ~ ὁ τε πατὴρ] ὁ τε ὁ πατὴρ B ~ πατὴρ τοῦ νεανίου] νεανίας καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ P, om. C ~ τε om. κ V ~ νεανίου] νεανίσκου B ε M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, νεανίας P, νεανία M V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> ~ καὶ ὁ om. C ~ ὁ ὀρμασάμενος αὐτήν] ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ om. K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) δ (ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ ὀρμασάμενος αὐτήν Sp, om. P) ~ ὀρμασμένος sic κ ~ καὶ <sup>2</sup> om. K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ ὁ τούτου πατὴρ add. ante ἐν ταραχῇ C ~ ἐν] ἐπὶ B ~ γενάμενοι O B C S S<sub>1</sub> V P K ~ ἔρχονται δρομαῖοι tr. Sp ~ δρομαῖοι] δρομαῖως O K, om. C P ~ εἰς] ἐπὶ β (εἰς C) ~ τοῦ om. ε' ~ κυροῦ add. ante παφνουτίου Sp ~ πανφνουτίου M ~ κείμενον χαμαὶ tr. Sp K ~ καὶ ἀποδυρόμενον om. κ C V<sub>2</sub> ~ λέγουσιν] λέγοντες K ~ αὐτῷ om. O κ ζ (non M V<sub>3</sub>) ~ ὅτι om. C ~ τις αὐτήν (αὐτῇ V<sub>3</sub>) tr. A M P V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> ~ λαβὼν ἔφυγεν] λαβόντες B ~ αὐτήν add. post λαβὼν κ 4. καὶ add. ante εὐθέως C ~ εὐθέως] εὐθύς M P V<sub>2</sub> K ~ οὖν om. B C ~ ἵππεῖς] ἵπποῖς K M ~ τε add. post κατὰ P V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> ~ λυβίην M, λιβύην κ, λιβύοις K ~ ἀπελύοντο] ἀπέλυον C, ἀπεστέλλοντο A S, ἀποστέλλοντο S<sub>1</sub>, ἀπέρχονται B ~ κατοχαὶ πλοίων καὶ ζητήσεις ἐγίνοντο om. κ ~ καὶ add. ante κατοχαὶ P ~ κατοχαὶ] κατοχὴ γ (non K, κατὰ γῆς C) ~ πλοίων] δὲ πλοῖον B, δὲ πλοῖον M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, δὲ καὶ πλοίων C, τε πλοίων δ ~ καὶ om. C ~ ζητήσεις] ζητήσις δ, ἀναζητήσεις A, om. C ~ πολλῇ (-λλῆς V<sub>2</sub>) add. post ζητήσεις δ (non K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ ἐγίνοντο] conl. Boucherie, ἐγίνετο Sp, om. rel. ~ καὶ <sup>3</sup> om. A C ε ~ ἐρευνῶντο V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>, ἐρευνούντο κ B S S<sub>1</sub> V Sp P, ἐρευνόντο M, εὐρευνῶντο sic C ~ οὖν add. post ἡρευνῶντο ε (non F) ~ οἶκοι] οἰκίαι δ (οἰκεῖαι V P V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> K)

μοναστήρια, φίλοι, γείτονες, ἔρημοι, σπήλαια, καὶ τὸ ζητούμενον οὐχ εὐρίσκετο. <sup>5</sup>Ὡς οὖν διὰ πάσης ἐρεύνης ἐλθόντες ἀπέπιπτον τοῦ σκοποῦ, μεταβαλλόμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ ἐθρήνουν, ὁ πενθερὸς τὴν νύμφην, ὁ νεανίας τὴν ὄρμαστίην, αἱ δοῦλαι τὴν δέσποιναν. <sup>6</sup>Ὁ πατὴρ τὴν θυγατέρα θρηνῶν ἔλεγεν· «Οἱμοὶ τέκνον μου γλυκύτατον. Οἱμοὶ φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Οἱμοὶ παραμύθιον τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς. Τίς τὸν ἐμὸν θησαυρὸν ἐσύλησεν; <sup>7</sup>Τίς τὴν ἐμὴν οὐσίαν ἀφῆρπασεν; Τίς τὸν ἐμὸν πλοῦτον ἐσκόρπισεν; Τίς τὸν ἐμὸν λύχνον ἔσβεσεν; Τίς τὰς ἐμὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχειρώσατο; Τίς τοῦ ἐμοῦ οἴκου τὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἔλαβεν; <sup>8</sup>Ποῖος λύκος τὸ ἐμὸν κατανέμεται πρόβατον; Ποῖος τόπος τὸ ἡλιόμορφον ἐκεῖνο ἔκρυσεν

καὶ *add. ante* μοναστήρια C K M<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup> ~ καὶ *add. post* φίλοι C ~ *ab* φίλοι *habet* P<sub>4</sub> ~ ἔρημοι] ἐρημία M K ~ τόποι *add. post* ἔρημοι B Sp, καὶ *idem* C ~ ἠύρισκετο κ F 5. οὖν] δὲ A ~ διὰ] δὴ κ ~ ἐρεύνης] ἐρευνήσεως K P<sub>4</sub> ~ ἐλθόντες] διελθόντες κ B, γενόμενοι ἐλθόντες M V<sub>3</sub>, γενάμενοι (-νόμ- F) ε P, γενομένης ἐλθόντες V<sub>2</sub>, *om.* P<sub>4</sub> ~ ἀπέπιπτον] ἀπετύγχανον δ (*non* K M<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup>), ἀπετύγχανον καὶ ἀπέπιπτον P<sub>4</sub> ~ τοῦ αὐτοῦ *add. post* μεταβαλλόμενοι S<sup>1</sup> ~ καὶ *add. ante* ὡς κ ~ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ] ἐπὶ νεκροῦ γ (ἐπὶ νεκρῷ C F M<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup>) ~ οὕτως *add. post* νεκρῷ β (ὄντως P, *eras.* S<sup>1</sup>, *non* K M<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup>) ~ ἐθρήνουν] θρинуόντες K ~ αὐτὴν *add. post* ἐθρήνουν P<sub>4</sub> ~ ὁ πενθερὸς] καὶ ὁ μὲν πενθερὸς δ (*non* K M<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup>) ~ τὴν <sup>1</sup> *om.* A γ' (*non* P<sub>4</sub>) ~ ἀπεδύρετο (-ρατο S<sup>1</sup> V<sub>3</sub>, ἀπεκλαίετο P<sub>4</sub>, ἀπεδύρετο νύμφην *tr.* Sp) *add. post* νύμφην δ ~ ὁ νεανίας τὴν ὄρμαστίην] ὁ (δὲ *add. hic* S<sup>1</sup> Sp M) νυμφίος (γαμβρὸς Sp) γυναῖκα (ὄρμαστίην K) ἀπέκλαιεν (-κλαίετο ζ, ἀπεδύρετο V<sub>3</sub>) δ (ὁ δὲ νεανίας τὴν ὄρμαστίην ἀποδύρετο P<sub>4</sub>), ὁ ὀρμασάμενος γυναῖκα C, *om.* B ~ αἱ δοῦλαι τὴν δέσποιναν *om.* γ (*non* P<sub>4</sub>) ~ αἱ δοῦλαι] οἱ δούλοι κ 6. καὶ *add. ante* ὁ πατὴρ Sp ~ *ab* ὁ πατὴρ *prae-* *bet* G ~ δὲ *add. post* ὁ C ε' ~ τὴν *om.* γ' (*non* M) ~ θυγατέραν O V<sub>3</sub> K ~ καὶ *add. post* θυγατέρα C ~ ἀποδουρώμενος καὶ *add. ante* θρηνῶν S<sup>1</sup> ~ οἱμοὶ τέκνον μου *om.* V ~ μου] ἐμὸν B S F G ζ (ἐμῶν M<sup>1</sup>; *tr. post* γλυκύτατον F G), *om.* C S<sup>1</sup> Sp K ~ οἱμοὶ φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν *om.* κ ~ τὸ *add. ante* φῶς C ~ παραμύθιον] παραμυθία κ B C P<sub>4</sub> ~ τῆς *om.* V V<sub>3</sub> θ ~ ψυχῆς] καρδίας C ~ ἐμὸν] ἐμῶν V<sub>2</sub> ~ ἐσύλησεν] ἀπεσύλησεν A 7. οὐσίαν] θυσίαν κ ~ ἀφῆρπασεν] ἤρπασεν β (διήρπα- P M<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup>, διέφθειρεν C) ~ ἐσκόρπισεν] διεσκόρπισεν P<sub>4</sub> ~ τίς τὸν ἐμὸν πλοῦτον ἐσκόρπισεν *om.* κ M<sup>1</sup> V<sup>1</sup> ~ τίς τὸν ἐμὸν λύχνον ἔσβεσεν *om.* δ (*non* P<sub>4</sub> Sp) (*cf. infra*) ~ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐλπίδας] τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐμὰς V ~ ἐλπίδας] χεῖρας *sic* P ~ ἐχειρώσατο] ἐξεθέρησεν C ~ τίς τοῦ ἐμοῦ οἴκου ... ἔλαβεν] τίς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ἐμοῦ οἴκου ἐχειρώσατο C, *tr. ante* τίς τὰς ἐμὰς ἐλπίδας δ (*nide supra;* *non* P<sub>4</sub> Sp) 8. τὸ ἐμὸν κατανέμεται πρόβατον] τὸ ἐμὸν ἄρνιον ἀπεσπάραξεν C ~ κατανέμεται] *tr. post* πρόβατον O B, κατενέμετο S<sup>1</sup>, κατεναίμεται M, ἐλμῆματο A ~ ποῖος τόπος ... ἔκρυσεν κάλλος *om.* ε' ~ τόπος τὸ *om.* S<sub>2</sub> ~ τόπος *om.* C ~ ἐκεῖνον M, ἐκεῖνο κ P

12.6. φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν = Tb 10.5 (Ps 37.11) ~ παραμύθιον τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς *cf.* Vulg. Tb 10.4 7. τίς τὰς ἐμὰς ἐλπίδας ἐχειρώσατο *cf.* Vulg. Tb 10.4 8. ποῖος λύκος τὸ ἐμὸν κατενέμετο πρόβατον *cf.* Io 10.12



κάλλος; Ποῖον πέλαγος αἰχμάλωτον ἔχει τὸν βασιλικὸν χαρακτηῖρα;  
 9᾽Εκείνη μου τοῦ γένους ἡ σύστασις, ἐκείνη τοῦ γήρωος ἡ βακτηρία, ἐκείνη  
 τῶν κακῶν ἡ λύσις, ἐκείνη τῶν μόχθων ἡ ἀνάπαυσις, ἐκείνη τῶν ὀδυνῶν  
 ὁ κουφισμός. 10Γῆ, μὴ ἐπικαλύψης ἐφ' αἵματι σαρκὸς μου, ἕως ἂν γνῶ τίς  
 τὴν ἐμὴν Εὐφροσύνην πένθους πάρεργον ἐποίησεν». 11Ἀκούοντες δὲ  
 ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα, οἱ παρόντες φίλοι θρηνώδη φωνὴν ἀνέπεμπον, ὥστε  
 πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν δακρύνειν ἐπὶ τῇ αἰφνιδίῳ ἀπωλείᾳ τῆς κόρης.

[13.] 1Μὴ φέρων οὖν ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς τὴν λύπην, ἀπέρχεται ἐν τῷ  
 κοινοβίῳ καὶ προσπίπτει τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ ἀββᾶ λέγων· «Δέομαί σου, μὴ

κάλλος ἔκρυπεν *tr.* C ~ ἔκρυπεν] ἐκάλυπεν P4 ~ ποῖον πέλαγος] ποῖος βάρβαρος δ (*non*  
 P4 Sp K M1 V1) ~ δὲ *add. post* ποῖον B P4 ~ ἐν βυθῷ κατέχει τὸ φαῖνόν πρόσωπον. ποῖος  
 δὲ βασιλεὺς *add. post* πέλαγος B, ἐν βυθῷ κατέχει τὸ φαῖνόν καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρον (καὶ  
 ὑπέρλαμπρον *om.* P4) πρόσωπον, ποῖος (*add. hic* δὲ P4) βάρβαρος (*om.* P4) βασιλεὺς *idem*  
 P4 Sp ~ αἰχμάλωτον *om.* κ ~ ἔχει αἰχμάλωτον *tr. post* χαρακτηῖρα V ~ ἔχη M ~ τὸν τίμιον  
 καὶ *add. post* ἔχει Sp ~ ἐκείνον *add. post* βασιλικὸν V3 P4 9. ἐκείνη μου τοῦ γένους ...  
 σύστασις *om.* M V2 V3 ~ ἐκείνη ... ἡ σύστασις *tr. post* ἐκείνη ... ἡ βακτηρία B ~ μου]  
 μοι K Sp, ἦν S1, *om.* P M1 V1 ~ τοῦ γένους μου *tr.* C S1 ~ ἐκείνη τοῦ γήρωος ἡ βακτηρία  
*om.* C M P V2 V3 ~ μου (μοι K) *add. post* ἐκείνη<sup>2</sup> κ P4 K ~ γήρωος] γήρους κ S S1 G,  
 γένους K ~ ἡ *om.* K ~ ἐκείνη τῶν κακῶν ἡ λύσις *om.* V Sp ~ μου *add. ante* τῶν κακῶν κ ~  
 κακῶν] ἀναγκῶν K ~ ἐκείνη τῶν μόχθων ἡ ἀνάπαυσις *om.* A ~ μόχθων] μοναχῶν κ (μόχθων  
 S2 P.C.) ~ μου *add. post* μόχθων B ~ ἡ ἀνεσις *add. ante* ἐκείνη P4 ~ ὀδυνῶν] ὀδυρμῶν C K,  
 κόπων P4 ~ κουφισμός] κούφισις M 10. ὃ *add. ante* γῆ ε' (*non* V) ~ γῆ *bis* C P4 Sp  
 M, *om.* K ~ ἐπικαλύψης] ἐπικαλύψεις S M1 V1, καλύψης C K ~ ἐφ' αἵματι σαρκὸς] τὰ  
 ὅσα τῆς σαρκὸς κ ~ ἐφ' αἵματι] ἐφ' αἵματος B P4 ~ τῆς *add. ante* σαρκὸς κ K ~ μου] σου  
 V3 ~ ἕως] ὡς B ~ ἂν *om.* ζ ~ τίς *om.* V3 ~ Εὐφροσύνην] σωφροσύνην C ~ πένθους  
 πάρεργον] περίεργον κ ~ πένθος *sic* C ~ πάρεργον ἐποίησεν] πάρεδρον πεποίηκεν C 11.  
 ἀκούοντες] ἀκούσαντες C ~ δὲ] οὖν β (δὲ C F) ~ ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα *om.* M1 V1 ~ ταῦτα τὰ]  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα β (ταῦτα τὰ F, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα P4 Sp, ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείονα C) ~ πικρὰ  
*add. ante* ῥήματα P4 ~ τε *add. post* οἱ Sp ~ παρόντες] παρορμῶντες K, παρατυχόντες C,  
 παρεστῶτες M1 V1 ~ συγγενεῖς τε καὶ *add. ante* φίλοι P4, καὶ συγγενεῖς *add. post* φίλοι Sp  
 ~ φίλοι *om.* C ~ θρηνώδη φωνὴν ἀνέπεμπον] θρηνώδεις φωνὰς ἀνέπεμπον ε (θρηνώδεις καὶ  
 γοερᾶς ἀνέπεμπον φωνὰς Sp), θρίνου φωνὴν K, θρηνόδι ἀνέπεμπον φωνὴν *tr.* M1 V1 ~ καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ *add. ante* ἀνέπεμπον P4 ~ ἀνέπεμπον] ἀνέμελλον V3 ~ ὥστε] ὡς καὶ C ~ σχεδὸν *add.*  
*ante* δακρύνειν P4 ~ ἐξαίφνης *add. ante* αἰφνιδίῳ P4  
 [13.] 1. οὖν] δὲ B Sp ~ ὁ *om.* P ~ αὐτῆς τὴν λύπην] τὴν ὀδύνην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς B ~ αὐτῆς]  
 τῆς κόρης ζ (αὐτῆς P V3) ~ λύπην] θλίψιν C, ὀδύνην B K M1 V1 ~ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ] τῷ  
 ἀββᾶ M P V2 V3, τῷ ἡγουμένῳ ε' ~ ἀββᾶ] ἡγουμένου C Sp ~ ὅτι *add. post* λέγων κ ~ σου] σοι P

9. ἐκείνη τοῦ γήρωος ἡ βακτηρία *cfr.* Vulg. Tb 10.4 10. γῆ, μὴ ἐπικαλύψης ἐφ' αἵματι  
 σαρκὸς μου = Iob 16.18

παρασιωπήσης, ἀλλ' εὖξαι περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα εὐρεθῶσιν οἱ κόποι τῶν σῶν εὐχῶν. Ἀνάρπαστος γὰρ ἐγένετο ἡ θυγάτηρ μου». <sup>2</sup>Ὡς οὖν ἤκουσεν ταῦτα ὁ ἡγούμενος ἐλυπήθη καὶ ἐκέλευσεν κροῦσαι τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα συναχθῶσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί. Καὶ ὡς ἦλθον, λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀββᾶς· <sup>3</sup>«Ποιήσατε ἀγάπην, ἀδελφοί, καὶ κοπιάσατε καὶ νηστεύσατε μίαν ἐβδομάδα, καὶ παρακαλέσατε τὸν Θεὸν ὅπως φανερώσῃ ἡμῖν ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ κυροῦ Παφνουτίου». <sup>4</sup>Καὶ νηστεύσαντες οἱ πατέρες τὴν ἐβδομάδα ἤρχοντο περὶ τούτου καὶ οὐδενὶ κατάδηλον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός. Αἱ γὰρ εὐχαὶ ἐκείνης ἐνίκων τὰς πάντων εὐχάς· ἐδυσώπει γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν μὴ φανερωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῆς. <sup>5</sup>Πάντων οὖν ἀμυχα-

πάτερ *add. post* σου C ε' M, πάτερ τίμιε *idem* Sp V<sub>3</sub> ~ παρασιωπήσης] παρασιωπήσεις K P M I V I, με παρακούσης P<sub>4</sub> ~ ἀλλ' εὖξαι] τοῦ εὖξασθαι *tr. ante* τῷ θεῷ K δ (ἀλλ' εὖξαι P<sub>4</sub>), τοῦ εὖχεσθαι *idem* B, εὐχόμενος *idem* C ~ περὶ ἐμοῦ] *tr. post* τῷ θεῷ B, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ δ (ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ P<sub>4</sub>, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ *add. post* τῷ θεῷ Sp), *om.* C ε' ~ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ *om.* γ (non P<sub>4</sub>) ~ τῷ θεῷ] πρὸς τὸν θεὸν B C ε, *om.* α P<sub>4</sub> ~ κόποι] καρποὶ M I V I ~ τῶν σῶν εὐχῶν] τῶν εὐχῶν σου B C Sp K ~ ἀνάρπαστος ... 13.3 ἀδελφοὶ καὶ non *legitur* P<sub>4</sub>, *excisso folio* ~ γὰρ *om.* C V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἐγένετο] γέγονεν β (non S S I F G) ~ ἡ δούλη σου *add. ante* ἡ θυγάτηρ δ 2. ταῦτα] τοῦτο C, *om.* ε' ~ ἡγούμενος] ἀββᾶς β (ἡγούμενος C) ~ πάνυ *add. ante* ἐλυπήθη B, πάνυ *add. post* ἐλυπήθη Sp, σφόδρα *add. post* ἐλυπήθη C ~ διῃ *add. post* καὶ M ~ ἐκέλευσεν] κελεύει K δ ~ εὐθέως *add. post* ἐκέλευσεν Sp, ὁ ἡγούμενος *add. ibidem* C ~ κροῦσαι] κρουσθῆναι K ~ τὸ ξύλον κροῦσαι *tr.* M I V I ~ συναχθῶσιν] σωρευθῶσιν S S I G ~ ὡς *om.* K ~ ἦλθον] ἐλθόντες K ~ πάντες *add. post* ἦλθον C ~ ὁ ἀββᾶς *om.* γ (ὁ πατήρ C) 3. ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες διὰ τὸν κύριον *add. ante* ποιήσατε Sp ~ ἀδελφοὶ *om.* Sp ~ μου *add. post* ἀδελφοὶ C ~ καὶ κοπιάσατε καὶ νηστεύσατε μίαν ἐβδομάδα *om.* B ~ καὶ (*om.* S I M I) νηστεύσατε (νηστεύοντες S I) *tr. post* ἐβδομάδα β (*in lac.* B) ~ ζευγάρια (προθύμως S I, *scr.* ζευγάρια *bis* S) *add. post* νηστεύσατε ε' (non F) M P ~ δύο δύο ἡμέρας *add. post* νηστεύσατε C ~ πάντες *add. post* ἐβδομάδα M I ~ καὶ <sup>3</sup> *om.* P<sub>4</sub> Sp ~ παρακαλέσατε] παρακληθῆτε S I, παρακαλοῦντες Sp ~ φιλάνθρωπον *add. ante* Θεὸν Sp ~ φανερώσῃ] -σει S I M M I V I V<sub>3</sub>, φανερωθῇ K B ~ ἡμῖν B ~ ποῦ ἐστὶν *om.* C ~ ἡ θυγάτηρ] τὸ τέκνον C ~ παφνουτίου M 4. καὶ νηστεύσαντες ... περὶ τούτου καὶ] καὶ νηστευσάντων αὐτῶν (*add. hic* μίαν V<sub>2</sub>) ἐβδομάδα (*add. hic* ἡμερῶν S) καὶ εὐξαμένων πάντων (πάντων *om.* ε') δ (καὶ νηστεύσαντες τὴν ἐβδομάδα πάντες K M I V I, καὶ νηστεύσαντες (οἱ πατέρες *add. hic* P<sub>4</sub>) τὴν ἐβδομάδα καὶ εὐξάμενοι (περὶ τοῦτο *add.* P<sub>4</sub>) πάντες B P<sub>4</sub> Sp), καὶ νηστευσάντων πάντων καὶ εὐχομένων C ~ νηστεύσαν L <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ ἤρχοντο περὶ τούτου] καὶ εὐξαμένων πάντων K ~ καὶ οὐδενὶ κατάδηλον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός] οὐδὲν ἴσχυσαν γνῶναι M I V I ~ καὶ οὐδενὶ κατάδηλον] οὐδενὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη ἡ κατάδηλον περὶ αὐτῆς C ~ καὶ <sup>2</sup> *om.* β ~ οὐδενὶ] οὐδὲν K M I V I ~ αὐτοῖς *add. post* ἐποίησεν K ~ αἱ γὰρ εὐχαὶ ἐκείνης ἐνίκων τὰς πάντων εὐχάς] καθὼς εἰώθη ἀποκαλύπτειν αὐτοῖς ὅτ' ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐδέοντο. ἡ γὰρ εὐχὴ ἐκείνης ἐνίκα τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῶν C ~ ἐνίκουν K ε (non S I P<sub>4</sub>) V<sub>3</sub> K M I V I ~ τῶν *add. ante* πάντων K δ (non V K P<sub>4</sub>) ~ εὐχάς *om.* ζ (non K) ~ τὸν Θεὸν] τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Sp, ἡ μακαρία τὸν θεὸν P<sub>4</sub> ~ φανερωθῇ V<sub>3</sub> ~ αὐτῇ] αὐτῇ V<sub>3</sub>

νούντων περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, ἤρξατο ὁ ἡγούμενος παραινεῖν τῷ Παφνουτίῳ λέγων· «Μὴ ὀλιγώρει, μηδὲ ἀθύμει, ἀλλ' εὐχαρίστει τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὅταν βούλεται γινώσκεις τὰ κατ' αὐτήν. <sup>6</sup>Ἰνα γὰρ οἶδας ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἑαυτήν ἐξέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐπληροφόρησέν τινα ἐξ ἡμῶν. <sup>7</sup>Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἦν ἐκδοῦσα ἑαυτήν, οὐκ ἂν ὁ Θεὸς παρεῖδεν τοὺς κόπους σου καὶ τοὺς μόχθους σου, οὓς ἐπεδείξω διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐφάνερου τὸ πρᾶγμα». <sup>8</sup>Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Παφνουτίος καὶ μικρὸν τι πιστεύσας ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ εὐχόμενος ἀγαθῆς πολιτείας ἀξιοθῆναι αὐτήν.

5. τοῦ πράγματος] τούτου ΜΙ VΙ ~ ὁ ἡγούμενος] ὁ ἀββᾶς β (tr. ante λέγων κ C ζ) ~ τῷ Παφνουτίῳ] τὸν κύριον παφνούτιον C, τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κόρης P4, αὐτὸν β (αὐτῷ S M P Θ) ~ λέγων] καὶ λέγειν B S Sp ~ μὴ ὀλιγώρει μηδὲ ἀθύμει] μὴ ἀθυμῆσης ἔνεκεν αὐτῆς μηδὲ ὀλιγόρη C ~ ὀλιγόρη κ C F P4 V2 K, ὀλιγώρει O, ὀλιγώρει S V G ~ κύριε παφνούτιε add. ante μὴ ὀλιγώρει Sp, κύρι (κύριέ μου SΙ) παφνούτιε add. post μὴ ὀλιγώρει ε', ἀδελφε ἡμῶν ἀγαπητέ idem P4 ~ μηδὲ] μὴ V3 ~ ἀθύμει] ἀθύμη κ F V2 K, δάκρυε ΜΙ VΙ ~ ἀλλ' εὐχαρίστει] ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαρίστησον ε (non P4) ~ εὐχαρίστη κ V2 K, εὐχαρίστησον C ε ~ Θεῷ] κυρίῳ C ΜΙ VΙ, χριστῷ K ~ ὅταν] ὅτ' ἂν B, ὅτε C ~ θέλη καὶ add. post ὅταν P4 ~ βούλεται] βούληται O SΙ F G, βουληθῇ M ~ ἡ φιλανθρωπία αὐτοῦ add. post βούλεται ε (non P4) ~ γινώσκης A κ K, γινώσκει P, γινώσκεται B, γνωρήσει σοι V3, γνωρίζη σοι P4 ~ κατ' αὐτήν] κατ' αὐτῆς B, κατ' αὐτῇ M 6. γὰρ] δὲ C P4 ~ οἶδας] ἴδης C SΙ, γινώσκεις P4 ~ οὐκ tr. post ἑαυτήν V3 ~ κακοῦ M ~ ἑαυτήν ἐξέδωκεν] ἐξέδωκεν ἑαυτήν C, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτήν ε' ~ ἐξέδωκεν] οὐκ ἔδωκεν V3 ~ ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ] ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ K, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν S V F G, ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῦ M ~ ὁ Θεὸς om. ζ, tr. post ἐξ ἡμῶν C ΜΙ VΙ 7. εἰ γὰρ] ἐπεὶ εἰ ΜΙ VΙ ~ ἦν ἐπὶ κακῷ (κακοῦ V M) tr. δ (ἐπὶ κακῷ ἦν P4 Sp) ~ ἦν om. κ ~ ἐκδοῦσα ἑαυτήν] ἐξέδωκεν κ, om. γ (ἐκδοῦσα ἑαυτήν P4 Sp) ~ ἐκδοῦσα] ἐκδούς Sp ~ οὐκ ἂν ὁ Θεὸς παρεῖδεν] οὐκ ἂν παρεῖδεν ὁ Θεός tr. γ' (οὐκ εἶχεν παριδεῖν ὁ θεὸς ΜΙ VΙ) ~ καὶ τοὺς μόχθους σου om. A ~ σου <sup>2</sup> om. O δ (habent K ΜΙ VΙ) ~ οὓς] ὅσους O ~ ἐπεδείξω] ἐνεδείξω β (ἐδέξω S V F G) ~ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ om. C ~ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα tr. V ~ τὸ ἅγιον add. post τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ P4 ~ τοὺς ἁγίους] τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον Θ ~ καὶ add. ante ἐξαιρέτως κ ~ ἐξαιρέτως] μάλιστα C ~ δέ] καὶ P, om. κ V K ~ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς add. post ἡμᾶς C ε Θ ~ ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐφάνερου τὸ πρᾶγμα] γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῆς φανεροὶ σοι ὁ θεὸς τὰ κατ' αὐτῆς C ~ σὺ add. post πάντως κ ~ ἐφάνερου] ἐφάνεροι β (ἐφάνερη K) ~ ἡμῖν add. post ἐφάνερου ε (non P4), ἡμῖν ὁ θεός idem ΜΙ VΙ ~ τὸ πρᾶγμα om. ε' ΜΙ VΙ ~ post τὸ πρᾶγμα add. Sp: ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μὴ λυποῦ μηδὲ δάκρυε ἀλλὰ χαίρων δόξαζε τὸν κύριον, τὸν χαρισάμενόν σοι αὐτήν, καὶ ὠδηγήσαντι εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν 8. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα] ταῦτα ἀκούσας C ~ δέ] οὖν κ ε (non P4) P V3, om. C ~ πανφνούτιος M ~ μικρὸν τι πιστεύσας] πιστεύσας μικρὸν A ~ τι om. A M ut uid. Θ ~ ἐν τῇ πόλει] εἰς τὴν πόλιν K ~ ἀσπασάμενος τὸν ἀββᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς add. ante ἀπῆλθεν C ~ καὶ εὐχόμενος ... αὐτήν om. C ~ ἐχόμενος ε' ~ τῆς add. ante ἀγαθῆς γ (non P4 Sp ΜΙ VΙ) ~ ἀγαθῆς ... αὐτήν om. ΜΙ VΙ ~ αὐτήν γενέσθαι καὶ add. post πολιτείας Sp ~ ἀξιοθῆναι αὐτήν om. δ (non P4 Sp, τυχεῖν K) ~ αὐτήν] τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας Sp

[14.] <sup>1</sup>Δι' ολίγου δὲ χρόνου, πάλιν ἀπήρχετο εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον καὶ ἡσπάζετο τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεφεν ἐν τῇ πόλει. <sup>2</sup>὘ν μιᾷ οὖν ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον, λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἡγούμενος· <sup>3</sup>«Θέλεις συντυχεῖν καλῷ ἀδελφῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου ἐλθόντι;» Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παφνούτιος· «Ναί, παρακαλῶ». <sup>4</sup>Καὶ μεταστειλάμενος τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀγάπιον, λέγει αὐτῷ· «Λάβε τὸν κύριν Παφνούτιον καὶ ἀπάγαγε πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Σμάραγδον, ἵνα ὠφεληθῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ». <sup>5</sup>Καὶ

[14.] 1. δι' ολίγου δὲ χρόνου] δι' ολίγου δὲ τινος χρόνου O Sp, διὰ δὲ τινος χρόνου θ V<sub>3</sub>, διὰ μικροῦ δὲ τινος χρόνου C, διελθόντος δὲ τινος χρόνου B P<sub>4</sub>, διαρρεῖ τοῦ δὲ τινος χρόνου M P, μετ' ολίγον δὲ τινα χρόνον κ, ολίγου δὲ τινος χρόνου διελθόντως K ~ πάλιν <sup>1</sup> om. C ~ ἀπήρχετο] ἤρχετο β (ἔρχεται M V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> K) ~ ὁ παφνούτιος add. ante εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον B ~ κοινόβιον] μοναστήριον F, μοναστήριον ἐκεῖνο θ ~ προσεκύνει τὸν ἀββᾶν καὶ add. ante ἡσπάζετο C ~ ἡσπάζετο] εἰσπάσατο V<sub>1</sub>, ἀσπαζόμενος K, εἰς πάντας M<sub>1</sub> ~ καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεφεν ... 2 εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον om. M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ καὶ om. K ~ πάλιν ὑπέστρεφεν ἐν τῇ πόλει] παρεκάλει αὐτοὺς εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ C ~ πάλιν <sup>2</sup> om. γ (in lac. M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ ὑπέστρεφεν] ὑπέστρεψεν K, ἀπείει A ~ ἐν τῇ πόλει] εἰς τὴν πόλιν B ~ εὐχαριστῶν καὶ δοξάζων τὸν κύριον add. post πόλει Sp 2. ἐν μιᾷ οὖν] ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν C P V<sub>2</sub> K, ὅθεν ἐν μία Sp ~ εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον] ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ κ ε (ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ F, εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον P<sub>4</sub>), om. B ζ (non K, in lac. M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>) ~ καὶ add. ante λέγει M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἡγούμενος] ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἡγουμένου λέγων· «εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, πάτερ, ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι ἀπορρίψασθαι τὴν θλίψιν τοῦ παιδίου μου, ἀλλὰ μάλλον καὶ μάλλον ὥς ἡμέραι αὐξεῖ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ συντρίβεται μου ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ καρδιά νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας». Ἰδὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀββᾶς ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ ὄντα καὶ δαπηλῶς τοῖς δάκρυσι περιρρέομενον, θέλων αὐτὸν διὰ τινων πνευματικῶν λόγων παραμυθῆσασθαι, λέγει αὐτῷ C ~ ἡγούμενος] ἀββᾶς β 3. κύρι παφνούτιε add. ante θέλεις Sp, κύρι παφνούτιε idem θέλεις P<sub>4</sub> V<sub>3</sub> ~ θέλεις M ~ οὖν add. post θέλεις P ~ καλῷ om. P ~ ἀδελφῷ καλῷ tr. B M V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἄγνωον καὶ αὐτὸς θυγατέρα αὐτὴν οὖσαν τοῦ παφνουτίου add. post τοῦ παλατίου C ~ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου ἐλθόντι om. C ~ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου] θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως tr. κ ~ ἐλθόντος V<sub>2</sub>, ἐλθῶτι sic P ~ πρὸς ἡμᾶς add. post ἐλθόντι θ, μοναχῷ add. post idem P<sub>4</sub> ~ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Παφνούτιος] ὁ δὲ ἔφη P<sub>4</sub>, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ C ~ πανφνούτιος M ~ λέγει ... παρακαλῶ] ὥς κελεύεις· χαίρω ἐπὶ τοῦτο S ~ αὐτῷ om. θ ~ ναί, παρακαλῶ] πάνν παρακαλῶ τὴν σὴν ὁσιότητα, πάτερ, τοῦ θεωρῆσαι αὐτὸν B, ναί πάτερ τίμιε καὶ πάνν παρακαλῶ τὴν σὴν ὁσιώτητα τοῦ θεωρῆσαι αὐτὸν Sp, ὥς κελεύεις M ~ ναί om. κ B C V M P V<sub>2</sub> ~ πάτερ add. post παρακαλῶ P<sub>4</sub> ~ ἵνα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μου μικρὸν μεταβάλλῃ add. post παρακαλῶ C 4. καὶ μεταστειλάμενος] μεταστειλάμενος οὖν M ~ εὐθέως add. ante μεταστειλάμενος Sp ~ μετακαλεσάμενος P<sub>4</sub> ~ τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀγάπιον] ὁ ἀββᾶς τὸν ἀγάπιον C M, τὸν ἀγάπιον B ζ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγάπιον P<sub>4</sub> ~ αὐτῷ] αὐτόν V ~ κύριν] κύριον B, κύριόν μου S<sub>1</sub> ~ πανφνόντιον M ~ καὶ ἀπάγαγε om. θ ~ ἀπάγαγε] ἄγαγε K ~ αὐτὸν add. post ἀπάγαγε B C F P<sub>4</sub> Sp ~ ἀββᾶν] κύριν β (μοναχὸν Sp) ~ ὀφελῆθῃ (-λει- M) K M, ὀφελεθῇ θ

λαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγάπιος ἀπήγαγεν πρὸς αὐτόν. <sup>6</sup>Ὡς οὖν εἶδεν τὸν ἑαυτῆς πατέρα, ὅλη δακρύων ἐπληρώθη. <sup>7</sup>Ὁ δὲ ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι χάριν κατανύξεως οὕτως ἐστίν, ὅλως γὰρ οὐκ ἐγνώρισεν αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ μαρανθῆναι τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀφάτου χαμευνίας. <sup>8</sup>Τῷ οὖν κουκουλίῳ κατεκάλυπτεν τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτῆς, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τινος συσσήμου ἀναγνωρισθῇ αὐτῷ. <sup>9</sup>Γενομένης δὲ εὐχῆς, ἐκαθέσθησαν.

[15.] <sup>1</sup>Καὶ ἤρξατο λαλεῖν ὁ Σμάραγδος περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφροσύνης. <sup>2</sup>Ὡς οὖν διαλέγεσθαι τὸν Σμάραγδον ταῦτα, ἡ καρδία

5. αὐτόν] αὐτήν M ~ μὴ προειρηκῶς αὐτῷ *add. post* αὐτόν <sup>1</sup> C ~ ὁ Ἀγάπιος *om.* β ~ ἀπήγαγεν] ἤγαγεν O K P<sub>4</sub>, ἀπήνεγκεν M V<sub>3</sub>, ἀπῆλθεν K ~ αὐτόν *add. post* ἀπήγαγε C ~ πρὸς αὐτόν *om.* γ (*habent* C P<sub>4</sub> θ) ~ ἀβ ὡς οὖν εἶδεν *deficit* P<sub>4</sub>, *deperditis foliis subsequenti-bus* 6. ἶδεν β ~ ἑαυτῆς] αὐτῆς M I V I ~ ἄφνω *add. post* εἶδεν C ~ ἡ εὐφροσύνη *add. post* πατέρα θ ~ καὶ ἐγνώρισεν σύντρομος γεναμένη *add. post* πατέρα C ~ ὅλη *om.* K ~ ἐπληρώθη δακρύων *tr.* B 7. ὁ δὲ ἐνόμιζεν] ἐνόμιζεν δὲ ἐκεῖνος θ ~ παφνούτιος *add. post* ὁ δὲ B Sp ~ ἐνόμιζεν] ἐνόμisen C ~ ὅτι *om.* κ B ε ~ χάριν] κατὰ χάριν M ~ οὕτως] οὕτος κ, *om.* δ (οὕτως Sp) ~ ἐστίν] ἦν C, κλαίειν αὐτήν ε (αὐτὴν κλείειν Sp), ἔκλαιεν θ ~ ὅλως] ὅλος B, *om.* M ~ γὰρ οὐκ] οὐ γὰρ M, δὲ οὐκ K ~ ἐγνώρισεν] ἐγνώριζεν (ἡγν- κ) κ B ~ τὸ μαρανθῆναι τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς] τὸ κάλλος (τὰ κάλλη C) αὐτῆς μαρανθῆναι *tr.* γ (*non* ε K) ~ ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ B C K ~ τῆς] πολλῆς C ~ ἄγαν *add. ante* ἐγκρατείας θ ~ ἀφάτου] ἀνεκδότου C ~ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ *add. ante* χαμευνίας C ε 8. τῷ οὖν κουκουλίῳ] τὸ οὖν κουκούλιον K ~ οὖν] γὰρ S S I, δὲ M I V I ~ κατεκάλυπτεν] κατεκάλυψεν C, κάτω ἔσκεπεν K ~ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτῆς] ἑαυτῆς (αὐτῆς C S I K) τὸ πρόσωπον γ (τὸ ἑαυτῆς πρόσωπον *tr.* Sp), ἐαυτήν κ ~ ἑαυτῆς] αὐτῆς A C S I K ~ συσσήμου τινος *tr.* P ~ συσσήμου] σισσύμου O, σοισύμου κ, συσσύμου V I, σχήματος B, σημείου C ~ ἀναγνωρισθῇ] ἀναγνωσθῇ M, -σθείη *sic* O, ἀναγνωρίσει M I V I, ἀναγνωρείσῃ V<sub>2</sub>, γνωρισθῇ ε' ~ αὐτῷ] αὐτὴν θ 9. γεναμένης B C S V G Sp P V<sub>2</sub> K ~ εὐχῆς] σιγῆς ε' (εὐχῆς V) ~ ἐκαθέσθησαν] ἐκάθισαν A P K θ [15.] 1. καὶ ἤρξατο] ἤρξατο οὖν C ~ ἤρξαντο P ~ λαλεῖν] λέγειν V<sub>3</sub>, *om.* C ε' ~ ὁ σμάραγδος λαλεῖν *tr.* Sp θ ~ ὁ σμάραγδος *om.* B ζ (*non* θ) ~ θείας *add. post* ἐλεημοσύνης C ~ καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφροσύνης] καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀγάπης *tr.* A, καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης C, *om.* κ ~ περὶ *add. ante* ἀγάπης S ~ διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ *add. post* σωφροσύνης ε', καὶ φόβου θεοῦ *idem* θ 2. διαλέγεσθαι οὖν *tr.* O ~ τὸν σμάραγδον διαλέγεσθαι *tr.* θ ~ ταῦτα τὸν σμάραγδον *tr.* ε ~ ταῦτα *om.* θ ~ ἤρξατο *add. ante* ἡ καρδία θ

2. ἐν τῷ οὖν διαλέγεσθαι ... τὰ βουλεύματα] *sic* C: a. αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἐλπίδος καὶ χάριτος τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ τὰς θλίψεις μετὰ ὑπομονῆς καὶ εὐχαριστείας; b. βλέπουσα γὰρ τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῆς πατέρα ἐν πλήθει

15.2a. *in app.* (C) τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ τὰς θλίψεις μετὰ ὑπομονῆς cfr Rm 5.3-4

τοῦ Παφνουτίου ἰλιγγία, καὶ ὅλος ἐπληροῦτο δακρύων καὶ χαρᾶς, καὶ

πανφνουτίου M ~ ἰλιγγίαν θ, ἐνλιγγία sic Sp, ἡγαλλιάτω sic K ~ ἐν ἑαυτῷ *add. post* ἰλιγγία  
ε ~ ὅλως B ε (*non* F) V<sub>3</sub> K M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ ἐπληροῦτο γὰρ δακρύων καὶ χαρᾶς *tr. post*  
συναποθανεῖν M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ καὶ χαρᾶς *om.* κ ~ καὶ *post* χαρᾶς *om.* M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>

συνεχόμενον ἔνεκεν αὐτῆς, ἔπασχεν τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς πατρὶ συμπάσχουσα· καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἑαυτὴν φανερώσαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ προκειμένου αὐτῆς σκοποῦ παρέμποδος γένηται τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ θέλουσα παραμυθίσασθαι αὐτόν, ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτῷ· c. «Τί ὁδύρη, κύρι ἀππά, ἔνεκεν τῆς θυγατρὸς σου; Πίστευέ μοι, δέσποτα· οὐκ ἂν τοσοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἐμακροθύμησεν εἰς τὴν πολλὴν σου ταύτην θλίψιν· εἰ ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἑαυτὴν ἐξέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ πάντως κατὰδηλόν σοι ἐποίει αὐτήν, ὅπως μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου παραινομένη (i.e. παραινου-) καὶ σὺ (*pro* σέ) τῷ πένθει κατεδαπάνου[ν]· d. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν πληροφορήθητι ὅτι σκοπῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀπέδρασεν ἀπὸ σοῦ κατὰ τὴν θεϊαν φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· “ὁ ἀγαπῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος”, e. καὶ “εἴ τις οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν, οὐ δύναται μου εἶναι μαθητής”. f. δύναται δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ πληροφορησαί σε καὶ φανερώσαι σοι αὐτήν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ποιήσει ἔλεος μετὰ σοῦ ἔνεκεν αὐτῆς· παῦσαι οὖν συντρίβων σεαυτόν· g. καὶ μετὰ μακροθυμίας εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ, μηδὲν ἀπελπίζων, πίστευέ μοι, κύρι ἀππά. Πολλάκις ὁ κύρις Ἀγάπιος, ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπιστάτης, λυπούμενός σε σφόδρα περὶ σοῦ ἔλεγεν ὅτι· h. ἔρχεται τις ἀνὴρ, ὀνόματι παφνούτιος, ἀγαθὸς πάννυ, ὅστις λέγει τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα μὴ γινώσκην (i.e. -κεῖν) τί γέγονεν· καὶ ἐν πένθει ἀφορίτῳ (i.e. -ρήτῳ) ὑπάρχειν, μάλιστα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ μονογενῆ· καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων προσπίπτει τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἡγουμένου, παρακαλῶν αὐτόν ἵνα διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν φανερωθῇται αὐτήν. i. καίτοι χρόνος πολὺς ἐστίν, ἀφ' οὗ τοῦτο συνέβη αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπέφερεν λέγων μοι ὅτι· “μετὰ πάντων καὶ σὺ, ἀδελφέ, εὗχου περὶ τοῦτο”. j. καὶ μαρτυρεῖ μοι ὁ θεός, κύρι ἀππά, μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων ἐγώ, ὁ ἀνάξιος, παρεκάλεσα τὸν θεόν, ἵνα ὑπομονὴν καὶ μακροθυμίαν δωρήσῃται σοι καὶ τὸ συμφέρον οἰκονομήσῃ ἔνεκεν σοῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου· k. ἠθέλησα δὲ ἅπαξ καὶ δις καὶ αὐτοπροσώπως ἰδεῖν σε τίς εἶ, καὶ παρακαλέσαι σε ἐγώ, ὁ ἐλάχιστος, ἵνα μετὰ μακροθυμίας καὶ ὑπομονῆς φέρῃς τὴν θλίψιν. καὶ εἶπον ὅτι, ἐὰν θέλημα θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἀξιούμαι κἀγὼ θεάσασθαι αὐτόν τίς ἐστίν. καὶ ὅτε ἠδόκησεν ὁ θεός, προσεκύνησά σε (σαι *a.c.*) καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ σε, ὑπόμεινον μὴ ἀπελπίζων περὶ τούτου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔχει σε κατελεῆσαι καὶ ὅτε βούλεται φανεροῖ σοι αὐτήν». l. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον διαλεγόμενη αὐτῷ κατὰδηλος αὐτῷ γένηται, λέγει αὐτῷ· εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διὰ τὸν Κύριον». m. Μετὰ οὖν τὸ ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν παφνούτιον ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἰλιγγία καὶ ὅλος ἐπληρώθη καὶ, ὡς τῆς φύσεως αὐτόν καθελευσέν, ἤθελεν περιπλακῆναι αὐτῇ καὶ σχεδὸν ἀποθανεῖν· ἡσχύνετο δὲ καὶ κατεῖχεν ἑαυτόν· ἀπρεπὲς εἶναι τὸ πρὸς ἄνδρα φέρεσθαι οὕτως, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ καὶ σχήματι ἀγγελικῷ ὑπάρχοντι.

2d. *in app.* (C) ὁ ἀγαπῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος = Mt 10.37 2e.  
*in app.* (C) εἴ τις οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν, οὐ δύναται μου εἶναι μαθητής = Lc 14.33

ὥρμησεν περιπλακῆναι, θέλων αὐτῷ καὶ συναποθανεῖν, ἡσχύνητο δέ πως καὶ κατεῖχεν τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ βουλευόμενα. <sup>3</sup>Πολλὰ τοίνυν διαλεχθέντες περὶ ψυχωφελῶν πραγμάτων, ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ Παφνούτιος τοῦ Σμαράγδου. Καὶ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον λέγει αὐτῷ· <sup>4</sup>«Εἷς Θεός, δέσποτα, τί ὠφελήθην εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον; Οἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι οὕτως προσετέθην αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ εἰ ἦν τὸ τέκνον μου». <sup>5</sup>Καὶ συνταξάμενος τῷ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀνεχώρησεν.

[16.] <sup>1</sup>Ποιήσας οὖν ὁ Σμάραγδος ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ τριάκοντα ὀκτὼ ἔτη

καὶ ὥρμησεν ... τὰ βουλευόμενα *om.* K ~ ὥρμησεν] οἶος ἦν β (εἰ οἶος ἦν P, εἰ υἱὸς ἦν M, εἰοῖσιν *sic* V<sub>3</sub>, καὶ ὅλος ἦν V<sub>2</sub>, *om.* M I V<sub>1</sub>) ~ περιπλακῆναι θέλων] θέλων περιπλακῆναι *tr.* O, ἡθέλεν τοῦ περιπλακῆναι M I V<sub>1</sub> ~ περιπλακῆναι] περιπλακεῖς B, περιπλακεῖν V<sub>2</sub>, περιπλακῆναι M I V<sub>1</sub> ~ θέλων αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ θέλων *tr.* κ, αὐτῷ ἡθέλεν δ (αὐτῷ S I Θ), αὐτὰ B ~ καὶ συναποθανεῖν] καὶ (εἴθ' οὕτως S I) ἀποθανεῖν δ (*non* Sp Θ) ~ καὶ *om.* B ~ ἡσχύνητο δέ πως ... τὰ βουλευόμενα *om.* Θ ~ ἡσχύνητο] ἡύχετο B ~ πως *om.* κ B, *tr. post* κατεῖχε O δ (*in lac.* K Θ) ~ πρὸς *add. ante* τῆς ψυχῆς κ 3. πολλὰ ... τοῦ Σμαράγδου] πολλὰ οὖν ὀφελήθεις ὁ παφνούτιος ἐν τῇ νοουθεσίᾳ αὐτῆς, ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς C ~ τοίνυν] οὖν C M P V<sub>3</sub> ~ καὶ ἕτερα *add. ante* διαλεχθέντες Sp ~ διαλεχθέντες] διαλεχθέντων B, διαλεχθέντων αὐτῶν ε, διαλεχθέντος O K ~ περὶ ψυχωφελῶν πραγμάτων] περὶ ὀφελείας ψυχῆς Θ ~ ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν *add. ante* πραγμάτων Sp ~ ὁ παφνούτιος *om.* B ~ πανφνούτιος M ~ ἀπὸ *add. ante* τοῦ σμαράγδου κ, ἐκ *idem* Sp ~ τοῦ Σμαράγδου] ἀπ' αὐτῆς M I V<sub>1</sub> ~ ἐλθὼν] εἰσελθὼν B M I V<sub>1</sub> ~ πρὸς] εἰς A V<sub>2</sub> ~ ἡγούμενον] ἀββᾶν κ ε' K Θ ~ αὐτῷ *om.* ε' 4. εἷς Θεός ... τέκνον μου] εἷς ὁ θεός, δέσποτα, ὅτι οἰκοδομήθη μου ἡ ψυχὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τούτου· οἶδεν κύριος, πάτερ, ὅτι οὕτως μου ἐπιπροφορήθη ἡ ψυχὴ ὥς ὅτι ἡῦρον τὸ τέκνον μου C ~ εἷς Θεός] εἶθε S I, εἶθις S F G Sp, εἶδοις V ~ εἷς *om.* B ~ δέσποτα] τίμιε πάτερ V<sub>3</sub>, *om.* B ~ τί] πόσα V ~ ὀφελήθην K, ὀφελέθην M I V<sub>1</sub> ~ δέσποτα *add. post* ὠφελήθην κ ~ ἶδεν P ~ ὁ Θεός] ὁ κύριος B, κύριος πάτερ M I V<sub>1</sub> ~ ὅτι *om.* β (*non* C) ~ οὕτως] οὕτως V<sup>a.c.</sup>, οὕτω S ~ αὐτῷ προσετέθην *tr.* Sp ~ προσετέθην] προσετίθη κ ~ ὥσπερ εἰ ἦν τὸ τέκνον μου *om.* G ~ ὥσπερ] *coni.* Boucherie, *cfr vers. lat.* A, οὕτε α κ B, ὥς οὐδὲ S V F Sp, ὥς S I Θ, οὐδὲ M P V<sub>3</sub> K ~ εἰ] ἂν K, *om.* M, ἴνα Θ ~ τὸ *om.* κ ~ εὐφοροσύνη *add. post* μου B Sp 5. καὶ συνταξάμενος] συνταξάμενος οὖν ε ~ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ] αὐτῷ C M I V<sub>1</sub>, *om.* β (τῷ ἡγουμένῳ Sp) ~ καὶ <sup>2</sup> *om.* β (*habent* C Sp M I V<sub>1</sub>) ~ ἀνεχώρησεν] ἀπῆλθεν Θ ~ εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον *add. post* ἀνεχώρησεν C, ἐπὶ (εἰς M M I V<sub>1</sub>, ἐν V<sub>2</sub>) τὴν πόλιν (τῇ πόλει V<sub>2</sub>) *idem* δ ~ αἰνῶν καὶ δοξάζων τὸν κύριον *add. post* πόλιν Sp

[16.] I. οὖν] δὲ S I Sp ~ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ] ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κελλίῳ C ~ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ *tr. post* ἔτη ε' ~ καὶ *add. ante* ὀκτὼ κ B P V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ (*om.* V<sub>2</sub>) ὀκτὼ *tr.* Sp V<sub>2</sub>, ἔτη ΛΗ *tr.* M M I V<sub>1</sub> ~ ἔτη] ἔτη V<sub>3</sub>, χρόνους C

ἡρρώστησεν ἄρρωστίαν δι' ἧς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν. <sup>2</sup>Ἐν τῷ οὖν ἄρρωστέϊν αὐτόν, ἔρχεται ὁ Παφνούτιος ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ καί, μετὰ τὴν συνήθη συντυχίαν, λέγει ὁ Παφνούτιος τῷ ἡγουμένῳ· «Ἄφες, δέσποτα, ἴδω τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σμάραγδον, ὅτι πάνυ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ποθεῖ αὐτόν». <sup>3</sup>Καὶ μεταστειλάμενος ὁ ἡγούμενος τὸν Ἀγάπιον, λέγει αὐτῷ· «Ἄρον τὸν κύριν Παφνούτιον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σμάραγδον, ὅτι, νομίζω, οὐκέτι αὐτὸν ὁρᾷ». <sup>4</sup>Ἀπελθὼν οὖν ὁ Παφνούτιος καὶ ἐπιτεσὼν τῷ σκιμποδίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἀνέκειτο ὁ Σμάραγδος, κατεφίλει αὐτὸν λέγων· <sup>5</sup>«Εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, κύρι

ἄρρωστέϊαν **κ** ~ δι' ἧς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν] δι' ἧς καὶ ἀπέθανεν **κ** **B** ζ (δι' ἧς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν **K**), τὴν ἐπιθάνατον **ε** (τὴν ἐπιθάνατον δι' ἧς καὶ ἀπέθανεν **Sp**), δι' ἧς καὶ ἐκοιμήθη **C** 2. ἐν τῷ οὖν] ἐν τῷ οὖν ἔτι (ἔτι *tr. post* εἶναι αὐτὸν **Sp**) **ε** **P** **V** **3** (ἔτι οὖν **S**1), ἐν δὲ τὸ **θ** ~ ἄρρωστέϊν αὐτόν] εἶναι αὐτόν (ὄντως αὐτοῦ **S**1) ἐν τῇ ἄρρωστίᾳ **ε**, ἄρρωστέϊσαι αὐτόν **M**1 **V**1 ~ αὐτὸν ἄρρωστέϊν *tr.* **κ** **B** **C** **M** **P** ~ αὐτόν *om.* **V**3 ~ κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ *add. ante* ἔρχεται **C** **M**1 **V**1 ~ ἔρχεται] ἤρχετο **B** ~ Παφνούτιος] πανφν- **M**, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς **C** ~ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ] εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον **C** ~ τοῦ ἀββᾶ *add. post* συντυχίαν **Sp** ~ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ... λέγει ὁ παφνούτιος *bis scr.* **O** ~ συνήθει **C** **P** **V** **3** **K** ~ συντυχίαν **S** ~ ὁ παφνούτιος *om.* **γ** ~ λέγει] εἶπεν **B** ~ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ] τοῦ ἡγουμένου *tr. post* συντυχίαν **B** ~ ἄφες] ἄς **κ** **Sp**, κέλευσον **δ** (*om.* **K**), εἰ κελεύεις **C** ~ δέσποτα] πάτερ **C**, τίμιε πάτερ **V**3 ~ δέσποτα *tr. ante* ἄφες **θ** ~ ἄς *add. ante* ἴδω **C** **V** **Sp**, ἴνα *idem ibid.* **S**1 **M** **P** **V** **3** ~ ἴδω] ἴδωμεν **C**, συντυχεῖν μοι **θ** ~ ἀδελφὸν] ἀββᾶν **ε** ~ ὅτι πάνυ ... αὐτόν] ὅτι πάνυ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἀγαπᾷ αὐτόν, ὄντως γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀζιώμασι βασιλικοῖς καὶ ἐν παλατίῳ ἀνατραφεὶς οὕτως ἐστίν **C** ~ ἡ ψυχὴ μου *tr. post* αὐτόν **A** ~ *ab* ποθεῖ αὐτόν *deficit* **G**, *deperditis foliis subsequentibus* ~ ποθεῖ αὐτόν] προσκεκόλληται αὐτῷ **θ** ~ ποθῇ **κ** **S** **P** ~ αὐτόν] αὐτῷ **V**2 3. καὶ μεταστειλάμενος] καὶ εὐθέως μεταστειλάμενος **Sp**, μεταστειλάμενος οὖν **M** ~ ὁ ἡγούμενος *om.* **κ** **B** ζ (ὁ ἀββᾶς **M**) ~ ἀββᾶν *add. ante* Ἀγάπιον **O** **κ** **C** **Sp** ~ πάλιν *add. post* αὐτῷ **M** ~ ἄρον] λάβε **V**3 **θ** ~ τὸν κύριν Παφνούτιον] αὐτόν **β** (τὸν κύριν παφνούτιον **C** **Sp** **V**3) ~ καὶ ἀπάγαγε αὐτόν *add. post* παφνούτιον **V**3 ~ ἀδελφὸν] κύριν **θ** **V**3, *om.* **κ** ~ ὅτι νομίζω] νομίζω γὰρ ὅτι **B**, νομίζω γὰρ ὅτι (*om.* **S**1 **V** **F**) ἄλλοτε **ε'**, ὅτι (*add. hic* ὡς **Sp**) νομίζω ἄλλοτε **Sp** ζ (*non* **θ**) ~ νομίζω] μέλλει τελευτᾶν καὶ **C** ~ αὐτὸν οὐκέτι *tr.* **S**1 **F** **V**3 ~ ὁρᾷ] ὁρᾶν **C**, ὧνται **S**1 4. ἀπελθὼν οὖν ὁ Παφνούτιος καὶ ἐπιτεσὼν] ἀπελθόντος οὖν τοῦ παφνουτίου (παφνου- **M**) καὶ ἐπιτεσόντος **β** ~ τῷ σκιμποδίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἀνέκειτο ὁ σμάραγδος] ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ κατέκειτο **C** ~ τοῦ σκιμποδίου **κ**, τοῦ σκιμποδίου *sic* **B** ~ σκήμποδι *sic* **K** ~ κατεφίλη **κ** **M** **V**1

5. εὗξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ... τῆς λύτης] *sic* **C**: **a**. οὐαί μοι, κύρι ἀδελφέ, οὐκ ἔλεγές μοι ὅτι «ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ ἔχει σε ὁ θεὸς πληροφορησά ἕνεκεν τῆς θυγατρὸς σου;» Καὶ ἔως τοῦ νῦν εἶχον τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς σε καὶ βλέπων σε, διὰ τῆς παραινέσεώς σου παραμυθούμενος [με], οὕτως σε εἶχον ὥσπερ τὸ τέκνον μου τὴν εὐφροσύνην· καὶ ἰδοὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγκαταλιμπάνεις με καὶ πορεύει πρὸς κύριον. **b**. τίς ἔτι ἐπιδοστηρίζει μου τὸ γῆρας; τίς ἔτι παραμυθῆσεται με ὀδυρόμενον; πρὸς τίνα ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπέλθω; οὐαί μοι τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ γέροντι, δισσοῖς κακοῖς περιέπεσον. **c**. τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ χρόνους θρηνήσας τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα διήρκεσα, μηδενὸς εἰς



ἀδελφέ, ἵνα δώῃ μοι ὁ Θεὸς παραμυθίαν περὶ τοῦ τέκνου μου, ὅτι οὐπω ἀπεθεραπεύθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου τῆς λύπης». <sup>6</sup>Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· «Μὴ λυποῦ, μηδὲ δάκρυε. Ὁ γὰρ Θεός, ὡς ἔτι εἰ ᾧδε, πληροφορεῖ σε ἕνεκεν αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σε, κύριέ μου, παράμεινον ᾧδε τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ». <sup>7</sup>Καὶ λέγει ὁ Παφνούτιος· «Ἐκέλευσας».

[17.] <sup>1</sup>Ὡς οὖν ἔγνω ὅτι μέλλει λοιπὸν πρὸς Κύριον ὑπάγειν, προσκαλεῖται τὸν ἐαυτῆς πατέρα καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· <sup>2</sup>«Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Θεὸς

5. δώῃ] δώσει S1 K V1, δώσει κ B, δώση P ~ περὶ τοῦ τέκνου] διὰ (εἰς ε') τὸ τέκνον β (*aliter* C) ~ ἀπεθεραπεύθη] ἀποθεραπεύθη S S1, ἐθεραπεύθη B Sp K θ ~ ἀπὸ *add. ante* τῆς λύπης B ε ~ τῆς *om.* B 6. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ] ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ὀδυρωμένου καὶ κλαίοντος λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ Εὐφροσύνη· τί οὕτως συνθλίβεις σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐκταράττεις C, ὁ δὲ σμάραγδος εἶπεν B, λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ σμάραγδος S, λέγει αὐτῷ S1 V F, λέγει (*add. hic* δὲ M) πρὸς αὐτὸν ζ, ἡ δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν K, ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ Sp ~ ὁ *add. ante* Θεὸς V ~ ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ *tr.* S1 V3 ~ φιλόανθρωπος *add. ante* Θεὸς Sp ~ ὡς ἔτι εἰ ᾧδε] εἰς ὃν ἐγὼ ἡλπισα ὡς ὅτι εἰ ᾧδε S1, ἔτι ᾧδε C ~ ἔτι] ὅτι (ὅ τε F) ε' ~ εἰ] εἴη V3 ~ ᾧδε εἰ *tr.* K ~ ᾧδε] ὁ δὲ κ ~ πληροφορεῖ σε] πληροφορῇ σε A L S1 M1 V1, πληροφορήσει S2 B C M V3, πληροφορήσει σε K ~ ἔχει *add. post* σε C ~ ἕνεκεν] περὶ B ~ αὐτῆς] τῆς θυγατρὸς σου C M1 V1 ~ κύριέ μου *om.* γ (*habet* Sp) ~ παράμεινον] ἀνάμεινον C, μῆνον K ~ ᾧδε] ὁ δὲ κ, μοι B ~ ἡμέρας τρεῖς *tr.* V K ~ καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆς ... 7 ἐκέλευσας] ὁ δὲ νομίσας ἀπόκρισιν δέχεσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτῷ ἕνεκεν αὐτῆς, λέγει αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας C, *om.* B 7. καὶ *om.* P ~ αὐτῷ (αὐτῇ Sp) *add. post* λέγει β (*in lac.* B, *aliter* C) ~ ὁ παφνούτιος *om.* β (*non* Sp, *in lac.* B, *aliter* C) ~ ἐκέλευσας] -σε κ, *om.* F ~ *post* ἐκέλευσας *add. δ:* φύσει (φησὶν M, *om.* K) οὐκ ἀφῶ (ἀφίω K) σε τὰς (*om.* S V F) τρεῖς ἡμέρας (*sic* Sp: φύσει, πάτερ τίμιε, οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι σου τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσας οὕτως καὶ ποιῶ)

[17.] 1. ἐνστάσης (φθασάσης θ) οὖν τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας *add. ante* ὡς δ (*non habent* V K) ~ οὖν *om.* δ (*non* V K) ~ ὅτι μέλλει λοιπὸν] λοιπὸν ὅτι θ ~ ἡ εὐφροσύνη *add. ante* ὅτι C ~ ὅτι] τι P ~ μέλλει κ ~ λοιπὸν *tr. post* ἔγνω C V ~ ὑπάγειν] ὑπάγει (ὑπάγη M1) θ, ἐκδημεῖν C ~ ἐαυτῆς] αὐτῆς B 2. κύρι ἐμοῦ *add. ante* ἐπειδὴ Sp

πέρας ἐλθόντος ᾧν ηὐχόμεν περὶ αὐτῆς. καὶ νῦν ἄλλο ὅμοιον πένθος διαδέχεται με. d. τί ἐλπίσω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν; καὶ τούτου ὑστερούμενος, ἀπελεύσομαι πρὸ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄδην, ἵνα μὴ θεάσομαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀποσπώμενον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. τοῦ λοιποῦ γὰρ ἐλπίς προσδοκίας οὐκέτι μοι ἔστιν.

16.5d. *in app.* (C) ἀπελεύσομαι πρὸ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄδην cfr. Gn 37.35 17.2. ὁ Θεὸς ... ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιθυμίαν cfr. Phil 4.19

ῥκονόμησεν τὰ κατ' ἐμέ ὡς ἠθέλησεν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, βούλομαι λοιπὸν ἄλμπόν σε εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον χάριν τῆς θυγατρὸς σου Εὐφροσύνης. <sup>3</sup>Εγὼ γάρ εἰμι, ἡ ταπεινή, καὶ ἰδοὺ, εἶδες καὶ ἐπληροφόρηθης· ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω τέως, μηδὲ ἀφῆς ἄλλον τινὰ συστεῖλαι τὸ σῶμά μου, ἀλλὰ σὺ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ποιήσον. <sup>4</sup>Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνεταξάμην τῷ ἡγουμένῳ ὅτι “ἔχω πράγματα πολλὰ καὶ, εἰ οἰκοδομηθῶ, δίδωμι αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον”, δὸς αὐτὰ τῷ κοινοβίῳ. <sup>5</sup>οἶδας γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι εὐσεβῶς διοικούνται τὰ ὧδε. Καὶ εὐχου ὑπὲρ τῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου». <sup>6</sup>Καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ Χριστῷ.

ῥκονόμησεν ὁ θεὸς *tr.* B ~ κατ' ἐμέ ῥκονόμησεν (οἰκ- κ C V Sp M P V<sub>3</sub> K) *tr.* δ (ῥκονόμησεν *tr. post* ἠθέλησεν S S<sub>1</sub> F) ~ τὰ *om.* S ~ πάντα *add. post* κατ' ἐμέ B S S<sub>1</sub> F ~ ἠθέλησεν] ἐκέλευσεν C ~ ἐπλήρωσεν] ἐπληροφόρησεν B ~ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιθυμίαν] μου (σου B) τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν β (τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου S V F M, τὴν οἰκονομίαν μου καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου S<sub>1</sub>) ~ βούλομαι] βούλεται ε' ~ λοιπὸν] τὸ λοιπὸν C, τοῦ λοιποῦ θ, *om.* ε ~ ἄλμπον] ἀμέριμον C K (*tr. ante* χάριν K) ~ εἶναι ἄλμπον *tr.* B, εἶναι *tr. post* σήμερον κ ~ εἶναι σε *tr.* A, σε *tr. post* λοιπὸν β (σε *tr. post* βούλομαι γ', σε *tr. ante* εἶναι B θ) ~ ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον] *tr. post* τῆς θυγατρὸς σου M P V<sub>3</sub>, *om.* θ ~ ἡμέρας *add. post* σήμερον O C ε, ἀμέριμον *idem ibid.* K ~ χάριν] περὶ M P, ἀπὸ C ~ εὐφροσύνης *om.* M P V<sub>3</sub> 3. εὐφροσύνη *add. post* εἰμι M P V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἡ *om.* S<sub>2</sub> ~ καὶ *om.* C ~ ἰδοὺ *om.* ε' ~ πάτερ μου *add. post* ἰδοὺ V<sub>3</sub> ~ εἶδες καὶ *om.* V<sub>2</sub> ~ ἴδες β (εἶδες F, ἴδε S<sub>1</sub>) ~ με *add. post* εἶδες V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἐπληροφόρηθης] πληροφορήθητι S<sub>1</sub> ~ ἀλλὰ] καὶ C ~ παρακαλῶ σε *add. post* ἀλλὰ B Sp ~ γινωσκέτω] γνῶ τοῦτο C ~ τέως *om.* β ~ ἀφῆς S<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>, ἀφήσεις (-σις V<sub>3</sub>) B V<sub>3</sub>, ἐάσης C S ~ ἄλλον τινὰ] τινὰ ἄλλον κ M P V<sub>3</sub>, ἄλλον A ε' ~ σὺ] σοὶ M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ τοῦτο ποιήσον] ποιήσον τοῦτο *tr.* C, σύστεilon αὐτό ε (σύστεilon αὐτὸ καὶ κίδευσον Sp), *om.* ζ ~ ποιήσον] κήδευσον B 4. ἐπειδὴ δέ] καὶ ἐπειδὴ β ~ κυρῶ *add. ante* ἡγουμένῳ C ~ ἡγουμένῳ] ἀββῆ κ δ (ἡγουμένῳ Sp) ~ πράγματα] χρήματα V<sub>3</sub> ~ πολλὰ *om.* P ~ εἰ] ἐάν ε θ ~ ἐνταῦθα *add. post* οἰκοδομηθῶ K ~ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον] τὸ μοναστήριον ε, τὸ κοινόβιον ζ ~ καὶ *add. ante* δὸς M<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> ~ δὸς αὐτὰ τῷ κοινοβίῳ] δὸς οὖν εἰ τι δ' ἂν ἀρέσκει σοι C, *om.* P ~ οὖν αὐτὸς *add. post* δὸς αὐτὰ V<sub>3</sub> ~ τῷ κοινοβίῳ] εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον δ (ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ Sp, αὐτοῖς K, ὧδε θ) 5. οἶδας ... τὰ ὧδε *om.* V<sub>2</sub> ~ οἶδες κ S P, ἴδες M ~ καὶ αὐτὸς *om.* γ (καὶ αὐτὸς Sp, ἀκριβῶς C) ~ εὐσεβῶς] καλῶς C ~ διοικεῖται S S<sub>1</sub> F M P V<sub>3</sub> ~ ὅδε L ~ πάντα *add. post* ὧδε Sp ~ εὐχου ὑπὲρ τῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου] εὐξα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ B C ~ διὰ τὸν κύριον *add. post* μου θ, πάντοτε *idem* Sp 6. καὶ ταῦτα] ταῦτα δὲ C ~ παρέδωκεν] ἀπέδωκεν ε' ~ αὐτῆς *add. post* πνεῦμα Sp V<sub>3</sub> ~ τῷ Χριστῷ] τῷ κυρίῳ B Sp, τῷ θεῷ ζ (κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ M), εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ κυρίου C, *om.* ε' ~ χοροῖς ἀγγέλων ἀγαλλομένη καὶ δήμοις ἀσκητῶν καὶ ὁσίων συνευφραينوμένη *add. post* τῷ κυρίῳ Sp

[18.] <sup>1</sup>Ὡς οὖν ἤκουσεν ταῦτα, ὁ Παφνούτιος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως παρελύθη καὶ ἔπεσεν χαμαί, ὡς εἰ νεκρός. <sup>2</sup>Δραμὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγάπιος καὶ ὕδωρ προσενέγκας αὐτοῦ τῇ ὄψει, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν λέγων· <sup>3</sup>«Τί ἔχεις, κύρι;» Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· «Ἐάσατέ με ὧδε ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι εἶδον παράδοξα πράγματα σήμερον». <sup>4</sup>Ἀναστὰς οὖν καὶ ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτῆς προσώπῳ καὶ δάκρυσιν τοῦτο βρέχων, ἐβόα λέγων· <sup>5</sup>«Οἱμοι, τέκνον μου γλυκύτατον, διὰ τί μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ ταῦτά μοι ἐθάρρησας, ἵνα κἀγὼ συναπέθανόν σου τῇ προαιρέσει; <sup>6</sup>Βαβαί, πῶς ἔλαθες τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὴν πονηρίαν; Πῶς παρήλθες τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, ὧ τέκνον, καὶ εἰσῆλθες εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν;».

[18.] 1. ὁ Παφνούτιος] ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς ε' ~ πανφνούτιος M ~ καὶ ἶδεν αὐτὴν παραδῶσασαν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆς *add. post* παφνούτιος C ~ ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ B C ~ ἄγαν *add. ante* ἐκπλήξεως S1 ~ ὅλως (ὄλλος P, ὄλος Θ) *add. ante* παρελύθη β (idem *post* παρελύθη Sp, non ε') ~ παρελύθη] ἐπαρελύθη S S1, ἡλλοιώθη B ~ ἔπεσεν] πεσὼν B Θ ~ καὶ ἐγένετο *add. ante* ὡς εἰ νεκρός V3, ἐγένετο *idem* B, ἔκειτο *idem* Θ ~ εἰ *om.* O, *eras.* F *ut uid.* 2. δραμὼν] εἰσδραμὼν γ ~ θεασάμενος τὸν σμάραγδον τελειωθέντα τὸν δὲ παφνούτιον κείμενον εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ὀλιγοφυχήσαντα *add. post* καὶ C ~ προσενέγκας] προσενέγκων M1 V1 ~ αὐτοῦ προσενέγκας *tr.* S V F ~ αὐτοῦ τῇ ὄψει] αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ὄψιν κ, τῇ ὄψει αὐτοῦ K, τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ B 3. τί ἔχεις] τί ἐστὶν ὃ ἔχεις Θ ~ ἔχης M ~ κύρι] κύριε M1 V1, κύριέ μου B Sp V2, κύρι ἀδελφέ V3, κύρι παφνούτιε C K ~ ὁ δὲ] ὁ δὲ παφνούτιος B ~ εἶπεν] ἔφη β (εἶπεν C K) ~ ἐάσατε] ἄφετε C ~ ἶδον κ C S V Sp M V2 V3 K ~ παράδοξα εἶδον (ἶδον M V3 K) *tr.* M P V3 K ~ πράγματα *om.* γ (non Sp) 4. οὖν] δὲ C ~ τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτῆς τῷ ἀγίῳ *tr.* C, αὐτῆς τῷ ἀγίῳ προσώπῳ *tr.* S ~ προσώπῳ καὶ δάκρυσιν] λειψάνῳ καὶ δακρύων B ~ καὶ δάκρυσιν τοῦτο βρέχων] πληθος δακρύων ἐκχέας C ~ καὶ δάκρυσιν ... λέγων] ἐβόα μετὰ δακρύων λέγων Θ ~ τοῦτο] τοῦτον B ~ βρέχων] καταβρέχων κ ~ ἐβόα λέγων] ἔλεγεν ε (ἐβόα ὀδυρώμενος καὶ θρηνῶν λέγων ταῦτα Sp) 5. οἱμοι *bis* Θ ~ μου] ἐμὸν C ζ (ἐμὸν P), *om.* B ε ~ οἱμοι φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν *add. post* γλυκύτατον ε (οἱμοι παραμυθία τοῦ γήρους μου *add. post* ὀφθαλμῶν Sp) ~ μὴ] μοι S1 V3, *om.* B Θ ~ μοι *om.* C S1 ~ οὐκ *add. ante* ἐθάρρησας B C ζ (non P V3 K) ~ ἐθάρρησας μοι *tr.* κ ~ κἀγὼ] καὶ ἐγὼ V3 ~ νῦν *add. post* κἀγὼ M P V3 ~ συναπέθανον] συναποθανῶ C ~ σου] σοι β (σου *tr. post* τῇ προαιρέσει B) ~ προαιρέσει] προθέσει B K 6. τοῦ θαύματος *add. post* βαβαί B ~ σὺ *add. ante* ἔλαθες B ~ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ... παρήλθες *om.* M ~ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ] τῶν ἐχθρῶν V3 ~ πονηρίαν] πανουργίαν C ~ σὺ *add. ante* παρήλθες B ~ ὧ τέκνον *om.* B C ~ ὧ *om.* O κ ~ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος τοῦ νῦν αἰῶνος *add. post* ἐξουσίας C ~ καὶ μακαρίαν *add. post* αἰώνιον Sp

18.5. *in app.* (ε) φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν = Tb 10.5 6. τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας *cfr.* I Cor 15.24, Eph. 6.12, Col 2.15

[19.] <sup>1</sup>Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀγάπιος καὶ ἐνεὸς γενόμενος, κλαίων ἔδραμεν πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον, τὰ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπαγγέλλων. <sup>2</sup>Ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ ἡγούμενος ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτῆς σκηνώματι, ἔκραζεν λέγων· <sup>3</sup>«Νύμφη Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ θυγάτερ τῶν ἀγίων, μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ τῶν σὼν συντρόφων μηδὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης μάνδρας, ἀλλ' εὐχου καὶ ἡμῖν δοθῆναι σύνεσιν ἀνδρείαν, ὡς πολιτευσαμένους φθάσαι τὸν τῆς ζωῆς λιμένα καὶ σὺν σοὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν». <sup>4</sup>Καὶ κελεύει κροῦσαι τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα συναχθῶσιν τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης προσκομισθῇ τὸ τίμιον αὐτῆς λείψανον. <sup>5</sup>Ὡς οὖν

[19.] 1. καὶ *add. ante* ταῦτα ζ (*non* θ) ~ καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια *add. post* ταῦτα Sp ~ ἀββᾶς *add. ante* ἀγάπιος Sp ~ ὁ Ἀγάπιος *tr. post* γενόμενος B ~ καὶ θεασάμενος τὸ παράδοξον ἐκεῖνο θαῦμα *add. post* Ἀγάπιος C ~ καὶ *om.* C ~ ἐνεὸς κ K ~ γενάμενος B V Sp K θ, γεγωνὸς M ~ ἔδραμεν κλαίων *tr.* C Sp ~ κλαῖον K ~ πρὸς] ἐπὶ B M P V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἡγούμενον] ἀββᾶν β (ἡγούμενον C Sp V<sub>3</sub>) ~ τὰ τοῦ πράγματος] τὸ πρᾶγμα δ (*tr. post* ἀπαγγέλων αὐτῷ ε) ~ ἀπαγγέλλων] ἐπαγγέλων C, ἀναγγέλων A ~ αὐτῷ *add. post* ἀπαγγέλλων B ε 2. ἐλθὼν οὖν] ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν Sp ~ ἐλθὼν] εἰσελθὼν M I V<sub>1</sub>, εἰσδραμὼν C ~ οὖν] δὲ C ~ ὁ ἡγούμενος *om.* β (*non* C, ὁ ἀββᾶς V<sub>3</sub> K) ~ ἐν σπουδῇ] μετὰ σπουδῆς κ, *om.* C V<sub>3</sub> ~ καὶ αὐτὸς *add. ante* τῷ ἀγίῳ Sp ~ σκηνώματι] λειψάνῳ (-νον V) B ε' M K, προσώπῳ C, σκιμποδίῳ P, σώματι θ, σκίνη V<sub>3</sub> ~ ἔκραξεν κ V<sub>2</sub> ~ μετὰ δακρύων *add. post* λέγων Sp 3. κύρι ἀδελφὲ σμάραγδε *add. ante* νύμφη C, τέκνον καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ *idem* Sp ~ Χριστοῦ *om.* ε' ~ ἡμῶν θεοῦ *tr.* ε (*non* V) θ ~ ἡμῶν *om.* C ~ θυγάτηρ O β (θυγάτερ M P) ~ καὶ ἡμῖν *om.* B ~ ἐπιλάθῃς κ C K ~ μηδὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης] καὶ τῆς σῆς μετὰ θεόν C ~ μηδὲ] μὴ τε θ ~ ἀλλ' εὐχου] ἀλλὰ πρέσβευε θ ~ εὐχου] εὔξαι B C ~ καὶ *om.* B C ~ ἡμῖν *om.* B ~ δοθῆναι καὶ (*om.* F M P K) ἡμῖν (ὕμιν M I) *tr.* δ (*non* Sp) ~ τοιαύτην *add. ante* σύνεσιν C ~ σύνεσιν] συγχώρησιν K, σύνεσιν σὺν σοὶ V<sub>1</sub>, σὺν σοὶ σύνεσιν V<sub>2</sub>, σὺν σοὶ M I ~ ἀνδρείαν ὡς] ἀνδρείως β (ὥστε ἀνδρείως C, ἀγαθὴν ἀνδρείως ε', ἀγάπην καὶ ἀνδρείαν ὅπως καλῶς Sp) ~ τε *add. post* ἀνδρείως κ ~ πολιτευσαμένοις A S I, -μένοι Sp ~ οὕτως *add. post* πολιτευσαμένους A ~ φθάσαι] φθάσωμεν Sp ~ καὶ *add. post* φθάσαι M I ~ εἰς *add. ante* τὸν δ (*non* Sp) ~ αἰωνίου *add. ante* ζωῆς Sp ~ ἄξιωθῶμεν *add. ante* σὺν σοὶ Sp ~ καὶ *add. ante* τῶν αἰωνίων Sp ~ τοῦ θεοῦ *add. post* αἰωνίων Sp 4. εὐθέως *add. post* καὶ M, μετὰ ταῦτα *idem* Sp ~ κροῦσαι] κρουσθῆναι κ Sp ~ συναχθῶσιν] συναχθῇ κ B C Sp ~ τὰ μοναστήρια] ἡ λαύρα κ B, ἡ λαύρα πᾶσα (ἅπασα Sp) C Sp, αἱ λαύραι πᾶσαι δ (πᾶσαι αἱ λαύραι *tr.* θ, οἱ ἀδελφοί V, *aliter* Sp) ~ καὶ *om.* B ~ μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης] μετὰ τιμῆς C ~ δόξης πολλῆς *tr.* M ~ καὶ τιμῆς *add. post* δόξης Sp ~ προσκομισθῇ] προσκομισθεῖ S I, προσεκομίσθη κ, ἀποκομισθῇ C ~ τὸ τίμιον αὐτῆς λείψανον] τὸ ἅγιον αὐτῆς λείψανον C ε' M I V<sub>1</sub>, τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον αὐτῆς λείψανον Sp, αὐτῆς τὸ λείψανον K, *om.* B ζ (*non* K M I V<sub>1</sub>, *nide hic*)

ἦλθον πάντες καὶ ἔμαθον τὸ πρᾶγμα, θάμβει συσχεθέντες ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιοῦντα παράδοξα.

[20.] <sup>1</sup>Εἷς οὖν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἓνα ἔχων ὀφθαλμόν, ὡς ἦλθεν περιπτύξασθαι τὸ ἅγιον αὐτῆς σῶμα, ὡς μόνον ἐπέπεσεν τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτῆς προσώπῳ, εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψεν. <sup>2</sup>Καὶ ἰδόντες πάντες τὸ γερονὸς ἔλεγον· «Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός, ὁ ποίων πάντοτε παράδοξα πράγματα καὶ διδούς ὑπογραμμοὺς σωτηρίας πᾶσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις προστρέχειν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου». <sup>3</sup>Καὶ μεγάλως ὠφεληθέντες κατέθεντο αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν τῶν πατέρων.

[21.] <sup>1</sup>Ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτῆς, πάντα τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαις καὶ

5. ἅπαντες P ~ καὶ ἔμαθον τὸ πρᾶγμα] καὶ ἔγνωσαν τοῦτο τὸ μέγα θαῦμα C ~ τὸ πρᾶγμα] τὸ παράδοξον τοῦτο πρᾶγμα Sp ~ θάμβει ... παράδοξα] ἐκστάσεως πλησθέντες δόξαν ἔδωκαν τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιοῦντι μεγάλα καὶ παράδοξα σημεῖα (σημεῖα om. V2) θ ~ θάμβει] θάμβω O B C V Sp ζ (om. θ) ~ ἐδόξασαν] ἐδόξαζον γ' (δόξαν ἔδωκαν θ) ~ τὸν ποιοῦντα παράδοξα om. K ~ παράδοξα] μεγάλα θαυμάσια C

[20.] 1. εἷς οὖν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ... 2 τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου] θαύματα καὶ διδόντα (διδόντα S F) ὑπογραμμὸν σωτηρίας τοῖς βουλομένοις προστρέχειν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ S Σ1 F ~ τῶν ἀδελφῶν om. O ~ ἔχων ἓνα tr. B V Sp ~ ὀφθαλμόν ἔχων tr. C ~ ὀφθαλμῶν V ~ ὡς ἦλθεν ... ὡς μόνον om. K ~ ὡς <sup>1</sup> om. C V Sp ζ ~ ἦλθεν] ἀπῆλθεν B C, εἰσῆλθεν δ (in lac. K) ~ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτῆς σῶμα] αὐτὸν σὺν δάκρυσιν C ~ ὡς <sup>2</sup>] καὶ ὡς C V Sp, καὶ ζ (in lac. K) ~ ἔπεσεν V V3, ἐπιεσῶν K ~ ἁγίῳ] τιμίῳ Sp ~ προσώπῳ] λειψάνῳ K 2. πάντες ἰδόντες tr. C ~ οἱ add. ante πάντες M ~ πάντες om. B K ~ τὸ γερονὸς ἔλεγον om. V ζ ~ τὸ γερονὸς] τὸ γερονὸς σημεῖον B Sp, τὸ γενόμενον σημεῖον C ~ δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός, ὁ ποίων] ἐδόξασαν (ἐδόξαζον V K) τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιοῦντα V ζ (ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ποιοῦντι M) ~ πάντοτε om. β (habet B Sp) ~ πράγματα] θαύματα γ (θαυμάσια C, πράγματα P) ~ διδούς] διδόντα δ (non Sp) ~ ὑπογραμμοὺς σωτηρίας om. κ ~ ὑπογραμμὸν B C Sp K θ (in lac. ε') ~ πᾶσιν om. β (non Sp) ~ προστρέχειν] προσέχειν A K ~ ὁσίοις add. ante οἰκτιρμοῖς C ~ σου] αὐτοῦ δ (σου Sp, τοῦ θεοῦ K) 3. καὶ μεγάλως] μεγάλως οὖν ζ (non P V3 K) ~ ὠφελιθέντες C, ὠφελιθέντες M K ~ κατέθεντο] ἀπέθεντο B ~ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν] ἐν τῷ μνήματι K ~ τῶν πατέρων om. K ~ ἁγίων add. ante πατέρων B ~ μνηί σεπτεμβρίῳ κε' add. post τῶν πατέρων σου Sp

[21.] 1. αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς B ~ πάντα τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ] ἅπαντα αὐτοῦ τὰ (τὰ αὐτοῦ tr. K) πράγματα γ' (καταφυγῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν (ὅς- V2) θ) ~ αὐτοῦ om. κ ~ ἐν add. ante ἐκκλησίαις C ~ καὶ <sup>1</sup> om. B ~ ἅπερ εἶχεν add. ante ἐκκλησίαις κ

μοναστηρίοις καὶ ξενῶσιν καὶ πτωχοῖς προσενέγκας, ἀπετάξατο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ. <sup>2</sup>Καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ καταλείψας, ἡσύχασεν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς, <sup>3</sup>μεγάλως παραμυθούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ψιαθίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἑαυτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους περιουῶσα ἐτίθει. <sup>4</sup>Ζήσας οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ δεκαετὴ χρόνον, πρὸς οὐρανὸν μετέστη καταλείψας τὰ ἐπίγεια, καὶ ἐτάφη πλησίον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς Εὐφροσύνης, <sup>5</sup>τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ πάντα τῷ Θεῷ ἀναθείς, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

καὶ <sup>2</sup> *om.* B ~ ξενῶσιν] ξενεῶσιν M, *om.* K ~ καὶ <sup>3</sup> *om.* C K ~ πτωχοῖς] πτωχείοις O, *om.* C ~ προσενέγκας] προσήνεγκε C, δοὺς K ~ ἀπετάξατο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ *om.* ε ~ δὲ *add. post* ἀπετάξατο C ~ καὶ αὐτὸς *om.* θ ~ αὐτῷ *add. ante* τῷ θ, *add. post* τῷ B ~ κοινοβίῳ] μοναστηρίῳ M I V I 2. καὶ *om.* δ (*non* M I V I) ~ τὸ *om.* B ~ δὲ *add. post* πλεῖστον ε (*δὲ add. ante* πλεῖστον Sp) ~ οὐσίας αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ οὐσίας *tr.* κ M I V I, αὐτοῦ περιουσίας B ~ αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς V3, *om.* ε V2 ~ ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μονῇ K, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κοινοβίῳ O κ, ἐν τῷ (αὐτῷ *add. hic* Sp) κοινοβίῳ ε, αὐτόθι θ ~ καταλείψας] προσκυράσας ἀπετάξατο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ ε ~ καὶ *add. ante* ἡσύχασεν ε P V3 K ~ ἡσύχασεν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς *om.* A ~ ἡσύχασεν] ἡσυχάσας P V3 K ~ τε *add. post* ἡσύχασεν M ~ αὐτῷ *add. post* ἐν τῷ B Sp ~ αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ C Sp 3. καὶ *add. ante* μεγάλως A ~ μεγάλως *om.* θ ~ ἐπὶ] ἐν ε' M P ~ τῷ ψιαθίῳ] τῷ ἀψιθίῳ *sic* κ, ψιαθίου B, τὸ ψιαθίον αὐτῆς *sic* C ~ ἐν ᾧ ... ἐτίθει *om.* C ~ ἑαυτὴν] αὐτῇ κ ~ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους *tr. post* περιουῶσα (-σαν V3 K θ) ζ, *tr. post* ἐτίθει ε ~ ἐπὶ] περὶ V3 ~ ἐδάφους] ἐδάφου κ ~ ὁ *add. ante* περιουῶσα κ ~ περιουῶσα ἐτίθει] περιουῶσα ἔτι (*add. hic* ἐν τῷ βίῳ Sp) ἡ μακαρία ἐτίθει (-θει S V) ε ~ περιουῶσα *om.* B (*in lac.* C) ~ ἐτίθει κ S I F ζ (*non* V2) ~ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ *add. post* ἐτίθει B 4. οὖν *om.* A S V P ~ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ δεκαετὴ χρόνον] ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κελλίῳ δέκα χρόνους C ~ μετὰ τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς *add. post* κοινοβίῳ ε', μετὰ τὴν τίμιαν κοίμησιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς *idem* Sp ~ δεκαετὴ χρόνον] ἔτη χρόνον δέκα B, ἔτη ι' M, τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ *om.* V2) θ, χρόνους δέκα Sp, δέκα χρόνους C ~ πρὸς] εἰς B Sp θ ~ οὐρανὸν] κύριον V3 ~ μετέστη πρὸς οὐρανὸν *tr.* ε' ~ καὶ ἐτάφη] ταφείς δ (καὶ ἐτάφη Sp), ἐτάφη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς C M ~ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς] τῆς μακαρίας καὶ αγίας ε (τῆς μακαρίας S I) ~ ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ β (ἑαυτοῦ C Sp) ~ εὐφροσύνης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς *tr.* Sp ~ εὐφροσύνης *om.* C Sp ~ μεγάλως γὰρ πολιτευσάμενος καὶ πάντα θεῷ ἀναθείς ἡξιώθη καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν αἰώνων τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθῶν *add. post* εὐφροσύνης Sp 5. τὸν χρόνον ... τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν *sic habet a, rell. codd. sic praebent:*

τῷ δὲ Θεῷ ἡμῶν πρέπει ἡ δόξα· μεγαλωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. κ  
μεγάλως οὖν πολιτευσάμενοι ἡξιώθησαν τῶν αἰώνων ἀγαθῶν ἧς (*i.e.* οἷς) γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. B

δοξάζων τὸν πάντων Θεὸν κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτοῦ μνεῖαν ποιούμενοι  
ἐορτάζουσιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς  
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. C

εὐξόμεθα (εὐξόμεθα S1) οὖν ἅπαντες (*om.* V) οἱ τε ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ οἱ (*om.* V)  
ἀκροώμενοι, ἵνα ὁ φιλόανθρωπος θεὸς δώῃ (δώει S1) ἡμῖν σύνεσιν καὶ κατάνυξιν  
ἐπὶ τῷ (τὸ S1 V) καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ἀρέσκειν τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ τῷ  
ἀληθινῷ ἡμῶν Θεῷ (θεῷ ἡμῶν *tr.* V). Πρεσβείαις τῆς παναγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν  
τῆς (*om.* S1) Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης καὶ  
ἀγίας Εὐφροσύνης καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν  
αἰώνων (τῶν αἰώνων *om.* S). ἀμήν. ε' (εὐξόμεθα οὖν ἅπαντες, ἵνα ὁ φιλόανθρωπος  
θεὸς δώῃ ἡμῖν σύνεσιν ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ἀρέσκειν τῷ δεσπότη  
Χριστῷ ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν F)

εὐξόμεθα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ τε ἀναγινώσκοντες ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἀκροώμενοι, ἵνα  
ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος καὶ φιλόανθρωπος θεὸς δώσῃ ἡμῖν σύνεσιν καὶ κατάνυξιν ἐπὶ τὸ  
καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ἀρέσκειν τῷ πλάσῃ καὶ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ  
ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ. Πρεσβείαις τῆς παναγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ  
ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης καὶ ὁσίας Εὐφροσύνης καὶ  
πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ τὸ κράτος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ  
καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. Sp

δώσωμεν οὖν πάντες (*om.* V3) δόξαν τῷ ἀγαθῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν,

ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα (κράτος *add. hic* P) εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. M P  
αὐτῷ γὰρ μόνῳ πρέπει δόξα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ  
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. V3

εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν  
αἰώνων. ἀμήν. Θ

εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ  
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. K





LATIN TRANSLATION A («BHL» 2722)

*Conspectus siglorum*

|    |                                                                      |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ba | Barcelona, BU, 487, s. XI                                            |
| D  | Paris, BnF, lat. 5666, s. XII <i>in</i> .                            |
| E  | El Escorial, BRMSL, I-III-13, s. IX <i>med</i> .                     |
| Es | Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 370 (194), Part VII (fol. 22), s. XI    |
| M  | Montpellier, BUHM, H 55, s. IX <i>in</i> . (M <sup>2</sup> , s. XI), |
| P  | München, BSB, clm 4531, s. XII <i>med</i> .                          |
| R  | München, BSB, clm 14798, Part II (fols. 71-92), s. IX <sup>2</sup>   |
| Ro | Rouen, BM, 1400 (U. 3), s. XI <sup>2</sup>                           |
| U  | La Seu d'Urgell, ABC, 604, s. X <sup>2/4</sup>                       |



## Vita sanctae Eufrosinae quae interpretatur in Latino Castissima

[1.] <sup>1</sup>Fuit in Alexandria ciuitate uir magnificus, nomine Pafnutius, curam habens pauperum et continentiam. <sup>2</sup>Verum tamen ipse duxit coniugem christianissimam de gente alta; sterilis inuenta est. <sup>3</sup>Vir autem suus in grandi tribulatione erat. Dum diuitiae erant illi, non sperabat dimittere posteros, ut suam substantiam post exitum eorum bene

**trad. text.:** *ab initio usque ad 4.3 et satis placuit animae suae praebet E (debinc exhibit versionem BHL 2723); ab initio usque ad 12.2 et mandans praebet U, subsequentibus deperditis foliis; ab 4.3 et timore dei usque ad et 13.6 pro hoc dominus tantum habet Ro, subsequentibus deperditis foliis; ab 18.5 o mea filia dulcissima usque ad finem Es*

**tit.:** uita sanctae eufrosinae (uirginis *add. hic* D) quae (qui M) interpretatur in latino (latinum D) castissima M D, uita sanctissimae ac beatissimae castissimae uirginis R, uita sanctae castissimae uirginis U, uita de castissima E, uicta beata castissima Ba (uita beatae castissimae Ba <sup>2</sup>), uita sancti pafnutii P, *def. Ro Es deperditis foliis* ~ kalendis ianuarii *ante tit.* D

[1.] 1. in diebus illis *add. post* fuit D ~ Alexandria] alaxandria *sic* E U, alexandrinae M ~ ciuitate] ciuitas E, *om.* R P ~ quidam *add. ante* uir U ~ pabhnutius E, pafnuntius U, papnuptius Ba, pannutius D ~ abens E ~ pauperum] pauperorum E, pauperibus U ~ et *om.* E U ~ continentiam] continentia M <sup>a.c.</sup> E Ba, continentiae Ba <sup>2</sup>, sine intermissione R P      2. ibse U ~ de gente alta] de gentem altam M <sup>a.c.</sup>, de gente magna Ba, de genere altam E, de genere nobilissimo R P, de nobili genere D ~ haec autem *add. ante* sterilis Ba, quae *ibidem* D M <sup>2</sup> ~ sterilis inuenta est] sed inuenta est sterilis R P ~ sterilis M E U Ba (sterilis M <sup>p.c.</sup> E <sup>p.c.</sup> Ba <sup>2</sup>)      3. suus] eius P M <sup>2</sup> ~ in grandi tribulatione] in grandem tribulationem M ~ grande E U, graui Ba ~ dum diuitiae erant illi] dum diuitia erat illi M, quia diuitie multae erant illi M <sup>2</sup>, dum diuitiae illi multae erant Ba, dum diues (dibes E <sup>a.c.</sup>) erat ille E U, quia diues erat ualde R, quia ualde diues erat P ~ et *add. ante* non sperabat R P D ~ posteros] posteris R P, posterius M ~ posteros ut suam] et non habebat qui eorum M <sup>2</sup> ~ substantiam suam ut *tr.* R P ~ sua substantia Ba D ~ supstantiam U

disponeretur. <sup>4</sup>Vidensque eum mulier in maerore ualido non cessabat nocte ac die ieiunio et afflictione in uenerabilia loca exposcens ut semen illis concedat Dominus. Et multam pecuniam ad pauperes erogans non cessabat. <sup>5</sup>Similiter et uir suus circuibat monasteria et sancta loca ubi inueniret seruos Dei, rogans ut orarent pro illo ut meritum habeat semen dimittere in saeculo. <sup>6</sup>Et in una die ambulauit in monasterio, ubi abbas uir sanctissimus erat; <sup>7</sup>in quo loco non paucam pecuniam pro uic-tu fratrum erogauit.

[2.] <sup>1</sup>Et dum frequentabat in ipso monasterio, credidit uerbo sanctis-simo abbati qualem tribulationem haberet in corde, supplicans ut ora-

disponeret M ~ exitum] obitum R P U 4. uidensque ... cessabat] et erant in me-  
rore maximo constituti et non cessabant M<sup>2</sup> ~ mulier eum *tr.* D ~ eius *add. post* mu-  
lier E ~ maerore] dolore R P U ~ ualido] ualde D ~ cessabant] cessabat M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ die  
ac nocte *tr.* P ~ ac] hac M<sup>2</sup> Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ in ieiunio M<sup>2</sup> D ~ in uenerabilia] inuicere ue-  
nerabilia D ~ in] per R P M<sup>2</sup> ~ uenerabili Ba (uenerabilia Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ incedere *add. ante*  
exposcens P ~ exposcens] orarent dominum M<sup>2</sup> ~ concedat] concederet R P U M<sup>2</sup>  
D ~ multam pecuniam] multa pecunia E U ~ ad pauperes] in pauperes R P, paupe-  
ribus Ba M<sup>2</sup> ~ et male abentes *add. post* pauperes U ~ erogans] erogare R P M<sup>2</sup> ~  
cessabat] cessabant M<sup>2</sup> 5. similiter et maritus suus] patnutius autem M<sup>2</sup> ~ uir]  
maritus M D ~ suos M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et *add. ante* ubi M<sup>2</sup> ~ ubi] ut E ~ inueniret] inuenerit  
M, inueniebat M<sup>2</sup> ~ seruos] serbos E<sup>a.c.</sup>, sanctos R P ~ rogans] rogaretque R P, ro-  
gabat M<sup>2</sup> ~ orarent] orant E, oraret D<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ illo] illa M, uxore sua M<sup>2</sup> ~ meritum]  
merito M, mereretur P ~ habeat] abeat U, habiat M<sup>a.c.</sup>, habeant Ba, haberet R D, ha-  
bere P ~ et *add. ante* semen R ~ dimittere in saeculo] ditare in saeculo E Ba (*ut uid.*),  
ditaret saeculo U, in seculo quem (quod P) ditaret R P ~ dimittere] dotare Ba<sup>2</sup>  
6. et in una die] quadam autem die M<sup>2</sup> ~ et *om.* R P ~ in *om.* Ba D ~ autem *add. post*  
una R P ~ ambulauit] -bit U, ambolabat M<sup>a.c.</sup> (ambulauit Ma<sup>2</sup>) ~ in monasterium  
E P D ~ abbas uir sanctissimus erat] abbas sanctissimus erat M, abbas (*om.* E) habi-  
tans (abi- E) uir sanctissimus erat (*om.* E) E U, abba (abbas P) quidam (*om.* R) uir sanc-  
tus habitans erat (habitabat P) R P 7. in quo loco] in loco U ~ loco] loca M<sup>a.c.</sup>  
~ pauca pecunia M E U (paruam pecuniam M<sup>2</sup>) ~ pecuniam *tr. post* erogauit P ~ uic-  
to M<sup>a.c.</sup>, uictum U ~ fratrum M (fratrum M<sup>2</sup>), fratres U ~ erogabit U  
[2.] 1. dum *om.* Ba, *add. supr. lin.* Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ ibi *add. ante* frequentabat E ~ frequentabat]  
frequentaret R P U M<sup>2</sup> ~ in ipsum monasterium R M<sup>2</sup>, ibsum monasterium U,  
idem monasterium P ~ credidit] crededit M<sup>a.c.</sup>, reddidit E, edidit Ba<sup>p.c.</sup>, indicauit  
M<sup>2</sup> ~ uerbo] uerbum R P, *eras.* Ba<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ sanctissimo] sanctissimus E ~ abbatis M<sup>a.c.</sup>  
~ qualem] quam R P, quantam M<sup>2</sup> ~ aberet E U

1.4. non cessabat nocte ac die ieiunio et afflictione cfr. Lc 2.37

ret pro illo. Quod ita in summa afflictione ipse abbas suppliciter rogabat Dominum ut impleret desiderium suum. <sup>2</sup>Et Deus exaudiuit, tam pauperibus quam seruis Dei petentibus, et concessit illi unam infantulam. <sup>4</sup>Facta septem annorum baptizata est; et nominauit illam Castissimam. <sup>5</sup>Congaudebant autem parentes in ea, dum decora erat ualde in forma et patiens in conuersatione.

[3.] <sup>1</sup>Facta autem illa duodecim annorum, mater eius migravit de hac luce. Paterque eius docebat illam litteras, lectiones et omnem sapientiam. <sup>2</sup>Et dum illa puella mentem haberet bonam, in tantum facta

pro illo oraret *tr.* R P ~ quod] quo D, quem M<sup>2</sup> ~ considerans *add. post* afflictione M<sup>2</sup> ~ ita *tr. post* in summa D ~ in summam afflictionem E ~ afflictione] tribulatione P ~ posita D<sup>a.c.</sup> (posito D<sup>p.c.</sup>) *add. post* afflictione D ~ et *add. ante* ipse R P ~ ibse U, ipsi M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ rogabat] rogabit E<sup>a.c.</sup> (rogauit E<sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ impleret] impleat M (impleret M<sup>2</sup>), implet U ~ suum] illius R, ipsius M<sup>2</sup> 2. et deus ... petentibus] exaudiuit autem dominus orationes eorum M<sup>2</sup> ~ deus] dominus Ba ~ exaudibit U ~ pauperibus] parentis D (-tes D<sup>p.c.</sup>), ipsum R P ~ quam] et U ~ seruis] serbis E<sup>a.c.</sup>, seruos R P D, seruus U ~ petentibus] petentes R P, poscentes D ~ concessit] dedit M<sup>2</sup> ~ illi] illis M<sup>2</sup> Ba ~ unam *om.* Ba 4. facta ... baptizata est] cum (autem *add.* P) facta esset Ba P ~ autem *add. post* facta R P D ~ annorum VII *tr.* Ba ~ baptizata est] baptizauit eam (eam *om.* Ba) R P Ba ~ bap- E U ~ nominauit illam] uocauit nomen eius R P ~ nominabit U ~ illam] illi M<sup>a.c.</sup> (illam M<sup>2</sup>) ~ Castissimam] castissima R P, eufrosinam M<sup>2</sup> ~ in eam *add. post* castissimam M, *deinde del.* 5. congaudebant] congaudent U, gaudebant M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ autem] enim P, *om.* R U Ba ~ uicini et *add. ante* parentes Ba ~ eius *add. post* parentes M<sup>2</sup> ~ in ea dum] in eadem D ~ in eam E U Ba M<sup>2</sup> ~ dum] quia R P M<sup>2</sup>, *om.* D ~ enim *add. post* decora D ~ in formam Ba ~ et *om.* R P Ba ~ patiens] sancta M<sup>2</sup> ~ in conuersationem E Ba [3.] 1. *autem ut uid. eras.* M<sup>p.c.</sup> (*add.* M<sup>2</sup>) ~ illa *eras.* M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ annorum] annis E R U ~ mater eius migravit de hac luce] mater eius de hac luce migravit Ba, sua mater de hac (ac U) luce migravit (-bit U, migrasse E) E U, contigit (contegit M<sup>a.c.</sup>) genetricem (geni- D) suam (eius M<sup>2</sup>) de ac (hac M<sup>2</sup> D) lucem (luce D) migrasse (migravit M, migrare M<sup>2</sup>) M D ~ paterque] pater uero R P, pater autem M<sup>2</sup> ~ illam] eam R P ~ litteris E<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ lectiones] lectionis M<sup>a.c.</sup>, lectionem R P U D 2. puella *om.* D ~ haberet bonam mentem *tr.* R P ~ tantum] tanto M (tantum M<sup>2</sup>), tanta E

2.1. ut impleat desiderium suum cfr Phil 4.19 2.2. Deus exaudiuit – infantulam cfr. Gn 30.17

est docta, ut miraret pater in suo profectu. <sup>3</sup>Diulgatum est autem in omnem ciuitatem laus de ipsa infantula. Et multi dignitates habentes pro filios suos rogabant patrem puellae ut copularet illam coniugio. <sup>4</sup>Omnibus autem petentibus eam, pater in responsis dicebat: «Quod Deo placuerit, hoc erit fiendum». <sup>5</sup>Vnus autem, superans omnes tam in dignitate quam in pecuniis et possessionibus multis, rogauit itaque pro suo filio patrem puellae. Et adqueiuit, et facta est in arras coniugii obligatio.

[4.] <sup>1</sup>Et post paucum tempus, duxit illam pater suus in monasterio iam habentem octauum decimum annum. Et ambulauerunt in monasterio, ubi ipse sanctissimus abbas consistebat, et portauerunt munera multa. Et dixit pater puellae ad abbatem: <sup>2</sup>«Ecce fructum orationum tuarum

bona et *add. ante* docta U ~ docta] perfecta Ba ~ miraret] mirarit M<sup>a.c.</sup>, miraretur R P Ba<sup>2</sup> D ~ eius *add. post* pater R P ~ suo] sua M<sup>2</sup>, illius R P ~ profecto M D, prouecto U 3. deuulgatum R U, diulgata P D ~ nomen ipsius *add. post* autem M<sup>2</sup> ~ in omni ciuitate Ba D ~ omnim M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ laus de] laude U ~ de ipsa infantula] illius R P ~ ibsa U ~ multi dignitates] multas dignitatis M, multi dignitatem Ba, multis mobiles *sic* M<sup>2</sup> ~ pro filios suos] pro filiis suis U P Ba<sup>2</sup> D, et illustri (*sic*) uiri querebant eam tradere filiis suis M<sup>2</sup> ~ rogabat M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ copularet M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ illam] eam R P U ~ eis *add. ante* coniugio D 4. omnibus autem] omnibusque P ~ petentibus eam] eam petentibus P, petentibus Ba, petentibus eis E D, parentibus eis M, rogantibus eis M<sup>2</sup> ~ eius *add. ante* pater R P ~ hoc *add. post* pater M<sup>2</sup> ~ in responsis] responsis M<sup>a.c.</sup>, in responsibus U, respondens Ba ~ dicebat] dedit M<sup>2</sup> ~ quod] quia quid M<sup>2</sup> ~ deo] deum M (deo M<sup>2</sup>), dominum E ~ fiendum] faciendum R Ba<sup>2</sup> M<sup>2</sup> D, finiendum U 5. autem *om.* D ~ superans omnes] super hos D, superior omnibus Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ in dignitatem M (dignitate M<sup>2</sup>), in dignitatibus Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ in <sup>1</sup> *om.* E R P U D ~ in <sup>2</sup> *om.* R P D ~ in pecuniis] diuitiis M<sup>2</sup> ~ possessionibus multis] possessiones multas M ~ multis] multum R P U ~ rogauit] -bit U, rogauitque E, rogabat R P ~ itaque] idem E, idemque U, eundem Ba<sup>2</sup> *supra ras.*, *om.* R P D ~ suo filio] filio suo *tr.* R P, suum filium M Ba (sua filia M<sup>p.c.</sup>, suo filio Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ adqueibit E U ~ ei *add. post* adqueiuit Ba ~ aram R<sup>a.c.</sup>, arram R<sup>p.c.</sup>, cartis P, arris M<sup>p.c.</sup>, arra D ~ coniugii] coniugio U ~ obligatio] oblatio P

[4.] 1. uero *add. post* paucum M<sup>2</sup> ~ duxit ... habentem] habente illa Ba ~ pater suus *om.* M ~ suus *om.* D ~ in monasterium R P U D ~ iam habentem ... in monasterio] abentem iam ibsa puella octabo decimo anno *tr. post* consistebat U ~ iam habentem ... annum] octauo decimo anno D ~ abentem E ~ octauo (-bo E) decimo anno M<sup>a.c.</sup> E ~ et *om.* E Ba ~ ambulauerunt] -lauerunt E<sup>a.c.</sup>, ambulauit pater puellae cum ea Ba ~ in monasterio] in monasterium D, ad monasterium R P ~ ibse U, ipsi M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ abba R ~ et portauerunt munera multa *om.* M ~ portaberunt E<sup>a.c.</sup> U ~ et *ante* dixit *om.* R P ~ autem *add. post* dixit P ~ ad abbatem] abbati Ba 2. orationum tuarum] orationis tuorum M, orationis uestre M<sup>2</sup> ~ tuorum Ba<sup>2</sup>

praesento tibi, ut ores pro illa, quia sponsum illi iam obligavi». <sup>3</sup>Et iussit abbas foras de monasterio, ubi peregrini receptionem habebant, manere patrem cum puella. Et in crastino die castigabat illam ipse uir sanctissimus pro castitate et elemosina et timore Dei; et satis placuit animae suae. <sup>4</sup>Et dum tres dies commorassent prope monasterio, audiebat puella incessabiliter psallentes seruos Dei et laudantes Dominum. Et compuncta oratione coepit dicere: <sup>5</sup>«Beati sunt homines isti, qui in isto habitaculo consistunt. Similes enim sunt angelis incessabiliter laudantes Deum et, post exitum istius saeculi, in beatitudinem sempiternam introducuntur». <sup>6</sup>Et coepit in cor suum zelum habere conuersationis eorum. <sup>7</sup>Post tertium diem, dixit pater puellae abbati: «Pater bone, uide ancillam tuam, filiam meam, quia ualedicere uolumus tibi, ut ores

tibi] uobis M<sup>2</sup> ~ ores] oretis M<sup>2</sup> ~ illa] illam M E R (illa M<sup>P.C.</sup> R<sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ sponsum illi iam] iam sponsum (sponso Ba<sup>2</sup>) illam Ba ~ sponsum] spunsum M<sup>a.c.</sup>, sponso M<sup>2</sup> ~ illi iam om. M (iam add. ante sponso M<sup>2</sup>) ~ iam om. P ~ obligavi] obligata est M<sup>2</sup> ~ obligabi E<sup>a.c.</sup> U      3. foras] foris Ba ~ de monasterio] monasterio R P Ba D, monasterii R<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ receptionem] susceptionem R P U ~ abebant U ~ manere om. R P ~ suscipi add. post puella R P ~ et in crastino die castigabat illam om. Ba ~ in om. E U D ~ crastino] crastina R P<sup>a.c.</sup> U D ~ castigabat] castigauit (-bit U) E R P U (in lac. Ba), ammonabat M<sup>2</sup> ~ illam] puellam P ~ ipse] ille E, om. U ~ castitatem (-te M<sup>P.C.</sup>) et elemosinam (eli- M) M E ~ ab et timore dei praebet Ro ~ timorem E R<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et satis placuit animae suae om. P ~ et om. Ba ~ suae] eius R (in lac. P)      4. abhinc des. E (subsequens pars pertinet ad BHL 2723) ~ dum tres dies] cumque tribus diebus M<sup>2</sup> ~ per ante tres Ro<sup>sup. lin.</sup> ~ dies tr. post commorassent R P ~ cummorassent M<sup>a.c.</sup>, cum orassent Ba, demorassent R U, demorati essent P, orassent Ro D ~ de add. ante monasterio M ~ monasterium P Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ salientes U ~ seruos] in conspectu U ~ laudantes] conlaudantes P ~ Dominum] deum M ~ oratione] corde R P, in corde Ba ~ caepit M      5. beati] beatissimi Ro D ~ homines] hominis M<sup>a.c.</sup>, omnes R P U Ba ~ sti U ~ in isto habitaculo consistunt] in sto abitant loco U ~ sancto add. post habitaculo Ba ~ consistunt] consistentes sunt R Ro D Ba ~ similis M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ enim] facti M ~ sunt om. Ba ~ angelis] angelorum M Ba (angelis M<sup>2</sup>) ~ laudantes] laudantibus M<sup>2</sup> ~ Deum] dominum R P U ~ stius U, huius R P ~ introducuntur] inducentur Ro D      6. in cor suum] in corde suo R P Ro D ~ abere U ~ conuersationis] de conuersatione Ro D, conuersationum U ~ eorum om. U Ba      7. post tertium diem] postercio die M, postertium diem M<sup>2</sup>, post tertio die Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ dixit] dicit U ~ puellae] suus Ba Ro D ~ abbati] ad abbati M<sup>a.c.</sup>, ad abbatem M<sup>2</sup> ~ boni M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ hanc add. ante ancillam U ~ filiam meam ancillam tuam tr. R P ~ ualedicere uolumus] ualedare uolumus M, rogare uolumus Ba, uolumus discedere in domo M<sup>2</sup> ~ tibi] te U Ba, om. M ~ ut] et M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ oras M<sup>a.c.</sup>

4.5. similes enim sunt angelis cfr. Mt 22.30

pro nobis». <sup>8</sup>Et dum uenit puella ad abbatem, iactauit se ad pedes eius dicens: <sup>9</sup>«Ora pro me, uir Dei, ut saluetur anima mea de inferno». Et extendens manus suas, beatus uir Dei dixit: <sup>10</sup>«Deus, qui cognoscis hominem antequam natus sit, tu et pro ista ancilla tua cogita ut saluetur, ut tibi placeat et habeat partem cum sanctis tuis». <sup>11</sup>Et cum ipsa oratione exierunt de monasterio et accesserunt ad propriam domum. Pater autem puellae, quandoquidem inueniebat seruum Dei in ciuitate, rogabat illum in suo domo introire et praeparabat necessaria et honorabat eum et petebat ut oraret pro illis.

[5.] <sup>1</sup>In una autem die fuit festiuitas dedicationis monasterii. Et transmisit abbas fratrem de monasterio, ut inuitaret patrem puellae in ipsam festiuitatem accedere ad illos. <sup>2</sup>Et ueniens in domum eius, nuntiauit ei. <sup>3</sup>Et non erat pater puellae in ipsa domo. Audiens autem,

pro nobis] pro nus M<sup>a.c.</sup> (pro nos M<sup>P.C.</sup>, pro nobis M<sup>2</sup>) ~ ad deum *add. post* pro nobis Ba 8. et dum ... abbatem] cumque uenisset puella ante abbatem M<sup>2</sup> ~ et dum] et cum R P, et Ro D, *om.* Ba ~ uenit] uinit M<sup>a.c.</sup>, uenisset R P U M<sup>2</sup> ~ puellae M<sup>a.c.</sup> U ~ iactauit] -bit U, iactauitque Ro D, proiecit Ba ~ se *om.* M (*add.* M<sup>2</sup>) 9. salbetur U ~ et *om.* U ~ extendens] extendit M ~ manus suas] manum suam R P ~ Dei *om.* U ~ et *add. ante* dixit U 10. cognosces M<sup>a.c.</sup>, cognoscis M<sup>2</sup> ~ hominem ... natus sit] omnia ... nascantur U ~ tu et pro ista ancilla cogita] miserere istius ancillae M<sup>2</sup> ~ tu et] et tu *tr.* R, quaeso ut Ro D ~ sta U ~ istam ancillam tuam Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ tua *om.* M ~ cogita] cogites Ro D ~ ut saluetur] atque da ei uirtutem (*ut uid.*) M<sup>2</sup> ~ salbetur U ~ anima eius *add. post* saluetur Ba ~ ut <sup>2</sup>] et R U Ro D ~ et habeat] habeatque Ro D ~ et] et ut U ~ abead U 11. ipsa] ibsa U, ista P, facta M<sup>2</sup>, *om.* Ba ~ accesserunt] abscesserunt M<sup>2</sup>, uenerunt R P ~ ad propriam domum] in propriam domum U, ad propria domo Ba, in proprio domo M (in propria doma M<sup>P.C.</sup>, ad propriam domum Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ aliquem *add. ante* seruum P ~ seruum] seruus M, seruos M<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ in ciuitatem M U Ba ~ illum] illus M, illos M<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ ut *add. post* illum R P ~ in suo domo] in sua domo M<sup>P.C.</sup>, in suam (sua U) domum U Ba<sup>2</sup> Ro D, in domum illius R, domum suam P ~ introire] introiret R P ~ eum] illus M, illos M<sup>2</sup> ~ petebat] petiebat Ba, postulabat R P ~ oraret] orarent M<sup>2</sup> ~ illis] illa *supra ras.* M<sup>P.C.</sup>, illo R, illos U Ba (illis Ba<sup>2</sup>), se P

[5.] 1. in una] quadam M<sup>2</sup> ~ transmisit] misit Ba ~ fratrem] fratrum Ba (fratrem Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ unum *add. post* fratrem M<sup>2</sup> ~ inuitaret] inuitarem *sic* U ~ in ipsam festiuitatem ... 3 pater puellae *om.* U ~ ut *add. ante* in ipsam Ba ~ in ipsa festiuitate (-tatem Ba<sup>a.c.</sup>) R P Ba Ro D ~ in] ad M<sup>2</sup> ~ accedere ad illos *del.* M<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ accedere] et adduceret eum R P, accederet Ba 2. ueniens] uenit Ro D ~ domo M R<sup>a.c.</sup> Ba ~ nuntiauit] ut nuntiaret Ro D, nuntiaret Ba, nuntiare R P Ba<sup>2</sup> 3. et non erat pater puellae] non inuenit eum P ~ et] sed Ba ~ non] nondum Ba, *om.* M, *add.* M<sup>2</sup> ~ in ipsa domo] in ipso domo M<sup>a.c.</sup>, in domo sua R P ~ ibsa U ~ autem *om.* Ba



Castissima puella rogauit introducere ipsum monachum et coepit interrogare illum dicens: <sup>4</sup>«Quanti sunt fratres in isto monasterio?». Ille autem dixit: «Trecenti quinquaginta et duo sunt serui Dei in isto monasterio». Dixitque ei puella: <sup>5</sup>«Rogo te ut dicas mihi si aditum habet qualiscumque homo uolens in monasterio uestro habitare, si suscipitur a uobis?». <sup>6</sup>Et dixit monachus: «Per omnia apertum est omnibus uolentibus esse saluos ostium monasterii nostri». <sup>7</sup>Iterum interrogauit puella, si omnes in una ecclesia cantant aut aequaliter ieiunant. <sup>8</sup>Dixit ei monachus: «Omnes omnino in una ecclesia cantant, ieiunare autem unusquisque iuxta uoluntatem certaminis sui agit».

[6.] <sup>1</sup>Omnem autem conuersationem eorum perinquirebat puella. Et dixit illi: «Volebam, si datur mihi de Deo uirtus, sic in hoc saeculo conuersari quomodo uos, nam timeo genitorem meum, quia destinatus est

Castissima] eufrosina M<sup>2</sup> ~ rogauit] -bit U, rogabat Ro D ~ introducere ipsum monachum] ipsum (ibsum U) monachum (-cum U) introducere (introiire P) ad se R P U ~ introducere] introiire P Ba ~ ipsum monachum] ipso monacho M<sup>a.c.</sup>, eum Ba ~ coepit interrogare] coepit perscrutare (-ri Ba<sup>2</sup>) Ba, interrogabit U ~ illum] eum R P Ba 4. sunt] commorati estis Ba ~ isto] sto uestro U, uestro R, *om.* M P ~ illi M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ respondens *add.* ante dixit Ba ~ trecenti quinquaginta et duo sunt serui Dei in isto monasterio] centum quinquaginta sunt et (et *om.* P) duo serui dei in monasterio (in monasterio serui dei *tr.* R P) R P U, trecenti quinquaginta Ba ~ quinquaginta] quadraginta Ro<sup>a.c.</sup> (quinquaginta Ro<sup>P.c.</sup>) ~ isto] nostro P U M<sup>2</sup>, *om.* R (nostro *tr.* post monasterio P) ~ dixitque] dixit autem Ro D ~ ei] illi R U, *om.* P Ro D 5. aditum habet qualiscumque homo] aliquis homo qualiscumque R P ~ aditum M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ uolens *om.* Ba ~ in monasterium uestrum M<sup>2</sup> ~ habitare] abit- U, *tr.* ante in monasterio Ba ~ si *om.* P ~ suscipitur a uobis] suscepturi illum estis Ro D ~ suscipiatur U ~ a uobis] de uos M (a uobis M<sup>2</sup>), inter uos Ba 6. per *om.* R P ~ apertum est] aperta sunt P ~ esse saluos] se saluare R P, introiire Ba, ingredi pro salute anime sue M<sup>2</sup> ~ ustium M<sup>a.c.</sup>, ostium U, hostium Ro D, ostia P 7. interrogauit puella] interrogaba puella sic U ~ eum *add.* post interrogauit Ba ~ omnino *add.* post omnes Ro D ~ cantant aut aequaliter ieiunant] psallent aut aequali ieiunio agent Ba ~ aut aequaliter ieiunant ... 8 ecclesia cantant *om.* Ro D 8. ei *om.* R P U Ba ~ omnino *om.* U ~ cantant] psallunt Ba ~ ieiunare] ieiunium R, ieiunat P ~ iuxta] secundum P ~ uoluntatem certaminis sui agit] uoluntatem suam unusquisque cogitur M<sup>2</sup>, uoluntatem suam agit (*om.* P) R P ~ agit] audet Ro D, *om.* P

[6.] I. autem *om.* M ~ perinquirebat] perquirebat Ro D, perquirens Ba, inquirebat R P U ~ et *om.* Ba ~ illi] ei Ba, ad illum R P ~ uolebam] cupiebam Ba ~ datur] daretur R P Ro D M<sup>2</sup>, deratur *sic!* U *ut uid.* ~ de deo mihi uirtus *tr.* Ro D, mihi uirtus a (de U) deo *tr.* R P U ~ sic *om.* R P Ba ~ oc U ~ conuersare Ba M (conuersari M<sup>P.c.</sup> Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ quomodo uos *om.* Ba ~ nam] sed R P ~ genitore meo M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ quia] qui U ~ destinatus est] destinatum habet R P, destinauit Ro D M<sup>2</sup>

sociare me marito». <sup>2</sup>Dixit illi monachus: «Non tradas corpus tuum in corruptionem nec tradas talem formam contumeliae temporali; sed cum omni integritate te ipsam Christo offer, qui potest pro temporalibus sempiterna tibi praeparare praemia». Dixitque ei puella: «Et quomodo possum hoc facere?». <sup>3</sup>Dixitque ei monachus: «Occulte fuge et intra in monasterium et salua eris». <sup>4</sup>Puella autem uero, a uerbis monachi irrigatum est cor eius, et dixit: «Quis me potest tondere?» – dum in Oriente consuetudo est monachas tondere capillos sicut et uiros – «Ego non uoluisssem me de saeculari tondere nisi de seruo Dei». <sup>5</sup>Et dixit monachus: «Ecce inuitare ueni patrem tuum pro festiuitate quam

sociari R P U ~ maritum M<sup>a.c.</sup> 2. dixit] dicit R P U Ro D, dixitque Ba ~ illi] ei Ro D ~ filia *add. post* tradas R P ~ in corruptionem] in corrupcione M, corruptioni R P U ~ nec] ne P ~ contumeliae] contumilio M<sup>a.c.</sup>, contumelio M<sup>2</sup> Ba, contumelia U ~ omni] omnia U ~ te *om.* U ~ ibsam U ~ offer Christo *tr.* R P U ~ offerre Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ pro temporalibus] pro (per U) temporalia M<sup>a.c.</sup> R U Ba, pro temporali Ba<sup>2</sup>, et temporalia et P ~ sempiternam Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ tibi *om.* Ba ~ praemia praeparare *tr.* Ba ~ dixitque] dicit Ro D ~ ei] illi R U ~ hoc possum *tr.* P ~ facere] agere Ba 3. dixitque ei] dixitque R P, dixit U Ro D Ba ~ intra] ingredere Ba ~ in *om.* P ~ monasterio M<sup>a.c.</sup> U Ba (monasterium Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ saluaberis R P D Ro, saluaueris Ba<sup>a.c.</sup>, salberis U 4. puella autem ... cor eius] et puella a uerbis monachi inrigatum est cor eius U Ba, et puellae cor ad uerbis (*sic*) monachi inrigatum est R, et cor puellae a uerbis monachi inrigatum est Ro D, sicque puellae cor ad uerba monachi inrigatum est P ~ puella autem uero *eras. et* autem *add. post* a uerbis M<sup>2</sup> ~ ipsius *add. post* monachi M ~ inrigatus M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ quis me potest] quis est qui me possit Ba ~ tondere] tundere M, contondere Ro D, detondere Ba ~ dum ... tondere *om.* Ba ~ dum] quia R, nam P ~ in orientem M ~ enim *add. post* in oriente M<sup>2</sup> ~ monechas M<sup>a.c.</sup>, monachabus R P ~ tondere] tundere M ~ capillos *om.* M ~ et uiros] et uiri R U, et uirum Ba, uiris P ~ ego non uoluisssem ... de seruo Dei] non cupio habere diuitias istius saeculi Ba ~ enim *add. post* ego P ~ non uoluisssem me de seculari tondere *eras. et* enim nolo a seculari tondere *scr.* M<sup>2</sup> ~ non uoluisssem] non uolebam U, non uolo Ro D, nolo P ~ me de saeculari tondere nisi de seruo Dei] ut aliquis saecularis tondeat (tondere D, tonderet D<sup>p.c.</sup>) me nisi seruus (seruo D<sup>a.c.</sup>) dei Ro D ~ me *tr. post* tondere U ~ de saeculari] de saecularem U, a saeculari P ~ tonderi P ~ nisi] sed R P ~ de seruo] seruus Ro D<sup>p.c.</sup>, seruo D<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ de<sup>2</sup>] a P 5. ei *add. post* dixit M ~ pro festiuitate] propter festiuitatem Ba ~ abemus U ~ quam] quem Ba<sup>2</sup>

6.3. et salua eris = Act 11.14; 16.31; Rm 5.9; 10.9; Ps 79.4; 79.20, etc.

habemus in monasterio et ibi commorabitur tres dies aut forsitan et quattuor. Perinquire tibi unum seruuum Dei et tondat te».

[7.] <sup>1</sup>Et dum hoc narrabant pariter, uenit pater eius de platea ciuitatis et interrogauit monachum dicens quid ad illos uenisset. <sup>2</sup>Dixitque ei monachus: «Dedicatio est monasterii nostri et ordinauit me abbas inuitare te, ut cum illo celebrare debeas festum diem et luces orationem seruorum Dei». <sup>3</sup>Et cum gaudio secutus est eum pater puellae, portans secum diuersa necessaria. <sup>4</sup>Dum autem pater suus commorabatur in monasterio, dixit puella uno creditori suo: «Vade in ecclesia, quam construxit Theodosius imperator reuerentissimo loco, et quaere mihi unum seruuum Dei et praesenta illum mihi, quia habeo aliquid rogare illum». <sup>5</sup>Deo autem dispensante omnem salutem hominum, inuentus est ibidem unus senex seruus Dei, orans attentissime in ipsa ec-

nostro *add. post* monasterio Ba ~ commorabitur] commoratur R, commoraturus U, moratur P, commoratus est Ba ~ forsitan et] forsitan U Ba Ro D, *om.* R P ~ perinquire] perquire Ba Ro D, inquire R P U, interdum inquire M<sup>2</sup> ~ qui *add. post* perquire Ba (quid Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ tibi *om.* U Ba ~ fidelem *add. post* dei R P ~ et] qui Ro ~ tondat te] tundat te M, tondeat te Ro D, detonde te Ba, detondite Ba<sup>P.C.</sup>

[7.] 1. hoc narrabant] hoc narraret U, hoc narrarent Ba, haec inter se confabularentur R P, ista inter se sermonicarentur M<sup>2</sup> ~ pariter *om.* R P ~ interrogabit U ~ monachum] monacho M, eum R P ~ dicens *om.* Ba ~ quid ad illos uenisset] quare ad nos te (te ad nos *tr.* P) fatigasti uenire R P, qua causa ad eum uenerat Ba ~ ad *om.* U ~ illus M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ uenisset] uenerat U Ro D 2. ei] illi U ~ est *tr. post* nostri Ro D ~ ordinauit me] praecepit mihi Ba, misit me M<sup>2</sup> ~ ordinabit U ~ ut inuitarem te *tr.* Ba ~ et *add. ante* cum Ba ~ celebrare debeas] celebres R P ~ diem festum *tr.* Ba ~ festum] festam M ~ luces] lucreriis P Ro D, locares R ~ lucris M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ orationem] orationes R U Ba, orationibus P 3. cum gaudio *om.* R ~ eum] illum Ba ~ pater puellae] ille U Ro D, *om.* R P Ba ~ portans] parat Ba 4. dum autem *bis scr.* U ~ pater suus] ille P ~ suos] suos M<sup>a.c.</sup>, eius R Ba ~ commorabatur] commoraretur R P Ro D M<sup>2</sup>, demoraretur Ba ~ uno] uni P Ro D<sup>P.C.</sup> Ba<sup>2</sup>, una D<sup>a.c.</sup>, cuidam M<sup>2</sup> ~ creditori] creditorio M<sup>a.c.</sup>, credendario Ba, crederio U ~ in ecclesiam P Ro D Ba ~ quam] quem M Ba (quam M<sup>2</sup> Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ construxit M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ teodosius R, teodosius U Ba (teodosius Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ imperatur M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ in *add. ante* reuerentissimo Ro D Ba ~ reuerentissimo loco *del.* M<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ referentissimo U ~ quaere] require Ro D, perquire Ba ~ illum mihi] mihi eum R P, mihi U Ro D, *om.* Ba ~ quia] quid Ba ~ abeo U Ba ~ aliquid] quid M U, quod Ba ~ rogare] loquar U, rogem Ba ~ illum] eum R P, illi U 5. omnem salutem hominum] salutem omnium U ~ salutem hominum] adinuenit (omne *add. hic* P) desiderium suum R P ~ et *add. ante* inuentus R P ~ ibidem] ibi Ro D ~ unus] onus M<sup>a.c.</sup>, quidam M<sup>2</sup> ~ senex *om.* R P ~ dei seruus *tr.* P ~ seruos M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ orans ... ecclesia *om.* Ba ~ adtentissime] adtentissima U, altissimum Ro D ~ ibsa U

clesia. Quem rogauit puer et adduxit puellae. <sup>6</sup>Et uidit illum ipsa Castissima, salutabat eum dixitque ei puella: «Ora pro me, pater bone». Et, dicto capitello, sederunt in scamno. <sup>7</sup>Et dixit senici: «Ego, pater, habeo patrem christianissimum uirum in hoc saeculo abundantem. <sup>8</sup>Et habuit mulierem, unde ego procreata sum, et destinatus est dare mihi maritum coniugem et tradere me iudici tenebrarum istius saeculi. <sup>9</sup>Et non est mea uoluntas corruptione maculare corpus meum, tu scis, domine, et contradicere patri meo timeo; et quid faciam ignoro. <sup>10</sup>Et totam istam noctem uigilaui, rogans Dominum ut reuelare mihi dignetur quid facere debeam, ut de inferno liberet animam meam. <sup>11</sup>Pro hoc transmisi rogans te ut uisites ancillam tuam et dicas mihi uerbum salutis et consolationis. <sup>12</sup>Sed rogo te, pater, ut pro aeternam retributionem, dum a Deo esses missus ad me, da mihi consilium quid debeam facere».

quem] quam Ro <sup>a.c.</sup> D ~ rogabit U ~ puellae] illum (eum P) ad Castissimam R P, eum puella U 6. uidit] uidens R P M <sup>2</sup>, uidibit U ~ illum] eum U ~ ibsa U ~ puella *add. ante* castissima Ro D ~ salutabat] et (et *om.* P) salutauit R P M <sup>2</sup>, salutauitque Ro D, salutauit (-bit U) U Ba ~ dixitque ei puella *om.* Ba ~ ei] illi R P U, *om.* Ro ~ puella *om.* R P ~ bone] boni M <sup>a.c.</sup>, bona U ~ dicto capitello] dicto capitulo R P U Ba Ro D, facta oratione M <sup>2</sup> ~ in scamno *om.* R P U 7. et dixit senici] et dixit seni U, quae ait R P ~ senici] senecae M <sup>a.c.</sup>, seni U Ba <sup>p.c.</sup> Ro D, puella seni M <sup>2</sup>, *om.* R P ~ pater *om.* R P U ~ patrem abeo *tr.* U ~ patrem] genitorem Ro D ~ christianissimo uiro U ~ uirum *om.* Ba ~ saeculo] seculum M ~ multum *add. ante* abundantem Ba ~ habundantem P Ba D, habundante M 8. abuit U ~ mulierem] uxorem R P ~ ego] ergo R ~ destinatus est dare mihi maritum coniugem] destinatus est coniungere me uiro Ba, destinatum habet me dari conubio R P, destinatus est mihi dare coniugi U, destinauit dare mihi coniugem Ro D ~ destinatus habet *eras. et* destinauit M <sup>2</sup> ~ tradere] dari P ~ stius U 9. et] sed P Ba ~ quia *add. ante* non Ro D ~ hac *add. ante* corruptione M <sup>2</sup> ~ corruptioni R U Ba (corruptione Ba <sup>2</sup>) ~ tu scis domine] *eras. et* set timeo M <sup>2</sup>, deus (*add. mihi* P) testis est R P ~ domine] pater Ba ~ et <sup>2</sup>] quia Ba ~ iterum *add. ante* contradicere U ~ patri meo] patrem meum Ro D, patrimonium R P ~ timeo patri meo *tr.* Ba ~ timeo *eras.* M <sup>p.c.</sup> *ut uid.* ~ et<sup>3</sup>] sed Ba ~ faciam] facio Ba (faciam Ba <sup>2</sup>) 10. et totam istam noctem] et totam noctem istam M, tota enim (*om.* U) ista (sta U) nocte (nocte ista *tr.* P) R P U ~ uigiliabi U ~ Dominum] deum Ro D ~ reuelare] reuelaret Ba <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ dignetur] dignaretur R Ro D ~ liberet animam meam] liberetur anima mea R P 11. et *add. ante* pro R P ~ pro hoc *eras. et* propter hoc *scr.* M <sup>2</sup> ~ transmisi] misi Ba ~ uisites M <sup>a.c.</sup>, uisites M <sup>p.c.</sup>, uenires ad M <sup>2</sup> ~ dicas mihi uerbum] inlumines me uerbo Ba 12. sed rogo ... facere *del.* M <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ sed rogo] rogo ergo P ~ pro aeterna retributione (redemptione P) P Ba <sup>p.c.</sup> Ro D ~ dum] ut qui P ~ a Deo] de deo M ~ esses missus] es missus U Ro D, missus es R P Ba ~ ad me *om.* Ba ~ da] des P Ro D ~ debeam facere] agere debeam Ba ~ debiam M <sup>a.c.</sup>

[8.] <sup>1</sup>Dixitque ei seruus Dei: «Deus sic praecepit dicens: “Si quis non dimittit patrem aut matrem et filios et renuntiat propriae animae, non potest meus esse discipulus”. <sup>2</sup>Ego quid tibi habeo dicere, filia, super hoc quod praecepit Dominus? Tamen si potes sustinere temptationes inimici, dimitte omnia et fuge saeculum, <sup>3</sup>quia res patris tui, dum dicis quia uir bonus est, inueniet heredes multos, pauperes, ecclesias, monasteria, xenodochia et reliquam piam dispensationem. <sup>4</sup>Et, ubi uoluerit, pater tuus dimittit sua. Tu autem pro salute animae tuae cogita». <sup>5</sup>Dixitque ei puella: «Credo in Deum meum et in tuas orationes, certare habeo cum suo adiutorio saluare animam meam». <sup>6</sup>Dixit illi senex: «Istas condiciones non debeant tardare, quia inimicus impedimenta et recogitationes facit». <sup>7</sup>Et dixit puella: «Pro hoc te rogavi uenire ad me, ut impleas desiderium animae meae». <sup>8</sup>Et surrexit senex et

[8.] 1. ei] eis U ~ seruus dei] senex Ba ~ seruos M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ deus *om. et dominus add. post* praecepit M ~ qui *add. post* deus U ~ precepit M ~ demittit M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ aut] et U Ba Ro D ~ et <sup>1</sup>] aut Ba P ~ filius M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ non *add. ante* renuntiat P Ro D ~ renuntiet R U ~ propriae] propria Ba, *om.* U ~ suae *add. post* animae R P U ~ esse discipulus meus *tr.* M 2. quid] quod Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ habeo dicere] abeo habeo *sic* U, amplius dicerem Ba ~ filia *tr. post* super hoc R P ~ nisi *add. ante* quod P ~ precepit Dominus] ipse dominus praecepit R P ~ potes] potest R ~ sustinere] sustine Ba<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ temptationis M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ omnia] diuitias Ba ~ seculo M<sup>a.c.</sup> U Ba 3. quia res] resque R P ~ res] diuitiae Ba ~ patris] patri U ~ tui *om.* Ro D ~ dum dicis *om.* Ba, ut tu dicis M<sup>2</sup> ~ enim *add. post* dum R P ~ quia] dum Ba ~ bonus uir *tr.* Ro D ~ inueniet] inuenient M Ba ~ sibi *add. post* inueniet R P ~ eredes U, heredis M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ multus M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ pauperis M ~ ecclesiis M ~ et *add. ante* xenodochia R P ~ exsenedotia M, et sonodocia U ~ et reliquam piam dispensationem *om.* R P ~ reliquam] relinquet Ro D, aliquam U 4. uoluerit] uolet M<sup>a.c.</sup> U (uoluerit M<sup>2</sup>) ~ tuus *om.* Ba ~ dimittit] dimittet P Ro D, dimittat U ~ sua] suam M<sup>a.c.</sup> U, eas Ba ~ pro] de M<sup>2</sup>, *om.* R P ~ salutem M<sup>a.c.</sup> R P Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ animae tuae] anima tua U 5. in Deum meum] in deo meo M U ~ et in] et Ba Ro D, ut U ~ tuas orationes] tua sancta oratione R P ~ quia *add. post* orationes R P M<sup>2</sup> ~ certare] certi M<sup>a.c.</sup>, certe M<sup>2</sup> ~ abeo U, habeam P, uolo Ba ~ suo] tuo P, eius M<sup>2</sup> ~ saluare] salbare U, *om.* R P ~ animam meam] pro anima mea R P 6. dixitque R P U Ba ~ illi] ei Ba ~ sinex M<sup>a.c.</sup>, senes U ~ istas condiciones] istam enim promissionem Ba ~ in *add. ante* istas P ~ istas condiciones] iste condiciones M<sup>2</sup> ~ histas U ~ mundiales *add. post* condiciones R P, filia *idem ibid.* Ba ~ non debeant] non debentur U, non debent M<sup>p.c.</sup>, non debes R P Ba, non habes Ro D ~ tardare] animo (animum P) dare R P, dare U ~ recogitationis M<sup>a.c.</sup>, cogitationes R P ~ sepe *add. ante* facit M<sup>2</sup> ~ facit] faciat U, immittit (-et P) uarias R P ~ in anima *add. post* facit Ba 7. et dixit] dixitque ei M ~ pro hoc] ideo Ba ~ rogabi U ~ impleas] imples U 8. senex] senes U, *om.* R P

8.1. si quis non dimittit patrem ... meus esse discipulus cfr. Lc 14.26 7. impleas desiderium meum cfr. Phil 4.19, Ps 126.5

dixit capitellum. Et tenens forcipem, totondit illam, induensque religiositatis uestimenta,<sup>9</sup> orauit super eam, dicens: «Deus, qui saluos facit omnes sibi placentes, ipse custodiat te de inimico humani generis».  
<sup>10</sup>Et dimisit illam senex et ambulauit in monasterio suo.

[9.] <sup>1</sup>Ipsa autem Castissima cogitauit in se ipsa, dicens quia «si ambulauero in monasterio puellarum, pater meus quaeret me et inuenire me habet pro meo sponso, dum potens est, trahet me de monasterio. Veruntamen muto me sicut eunuchus, nemine cognoscenti, et intro in monasterio uirorum, ubi nulla erit suspectio». <sup>2</sup>Et expoliauit femineum uestimentum et induit uestimentum uirile. Et post occubitum solis exiuit de domo sua, portans quingentos solidos, nemine cognoscenti.

capitellum] capitulum U Ro D, capitulo Ba, orationem R P ~ tenens] adtulit R P ~ forcipem] forfecim M<sup>a.c.</sup>, forficem M<sup>p.c.</sup> U Ba, forcipem D ~ et *add. post* forcipem R P ~ totundit M<sup>a.c.</sup>, tutundit M<sup>p.c.</sup>, detondit Ba, tondit U ~ illam] eam R P U Ba ~ induensque] et induens Ba, induensque eam Ro D, induens eam R P, induens U ~ relegiositatis M, reliositatis *sic* U ~ uestimenta] uestimentum R P 9. et *add. ante* orauit R P ~ orabit U ~ eam] illam R P U ~ salbos U ~ facit] fecit U ~ placentes sibi *tr.* R P ~ ipsi M<sup>a.c.</sup>, ibse U ~ te custodiat *tr.* R P Ro D ~ de] dei Ro, *om.* U ~ humani generis inimico *tr.* D ~ genesneris *sic* U 10. ambolauit M<sup>a.c.</sup>, ambulabit U, reuersus est M<sup>2</sup> ~ se *add. post* ambulauit Ba ~ in monasterio suo] ad monasterium suum R P, in monasterium Ro D

[9.] 1. ipsa] ibse U ~ Castissima] puella nomine castissima R, puella P Ba ~ cogitabit U ~ in semetipsa P ~ ipsa] ibsa U, ipsam M R ~ quia *add. post* dicens Ba ~ ambulabero U ~ in monasterio] in monasterium R P Ro D ~ puellarum] uirginum R P ~ querit M U, queret M<sup>2</sup>, perquirat Ba ~ inuenire me habet] inuenire me iubet P, inueniet me Ba, si inuenerit me habet M, inuentam iubebit Ro D ~ abet U ~ pro meo sponso] propter sponsum meum R P, propter meo sponso Ba, propter meum sponsum Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ pro meo] propter meum M<sup>2</sup> ~ sponsum M ~ dum potens est *om.* Ro D ~ dum] quia R P ~ potens est] poterit M<sup>2</sup> ~ potens] diues U ~ et *add. ante* trahet R P, me *add.* M<sup>2</sup> ~ trahet] trahit M, trait U, trahere Ro D M<sup>2</sup>, eiciet Ba ~ muto] demuto Ba ~ me *om.* U ~ sicut] quasi R P ~ eunuchus] eunicus U, eunuchum R P ~ nimine M<sup>a.c.</sup>, nemini R U ~ cognoscenti M<sup>a.c.</sup>, cognoscente P Ro D Ba M<sup>2</sup>, cognoscens U ~ intro] intrabo M<sup>2</sup>, ingredior Ba, uado *tr. post* uirorum P ~ in monasterium P Ro D Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ uirorum *bis* P ~ erit suspectio] erit suspicio Ro D, mei erit suspicio P 2. et expoliauit] expoliauit itaque Ro D ~ expoliabit U ~ se *add. post* expoliauit R P U Ba Ro D ~ femineo uestimento P Ro D ~ se *add. post* induit Ba Ro D ~ uestimentum<sup>2</sup> *om.* R P ~ uirilem R U ~ exhibit U ~ sua *om.* R P ~ quingentos] quinquagentos U, quinquaginta M ~ solidus M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ nimine M<sup>a.c.</sup>, nemini R, neminem U ~ cognoscenti M<sup>a.c.</sup>, cognoscente P Ro D Ba M<sup>2</sup>

9. ipse custodiat te de inimico humani generis cfr. Ps 120.7

<sup>3</sup>Et diluculo uenit pater suus in ciuitatem reuertens de monasterio et circuibat ecclesias orans. <sup>4</sup>Et ipsa Castissima uenit in monasterio in quo erat ipse beatus abbas cum quo pater suus festa celebrauerat. <sup>5</sup>Et dixit ostiario: «Nuntia domno abbati quia “eunuchus aliquis de palatio occurrere tibi uolit”». <sup>6</sup>Et intrans ostiarius dixit abbati. Et ordinauit abbas introducere illum. Et salutauit abbatem et, dicto capitello, sederunt. Dixitque abbas: «Vnde uenis ad nos, uenerantissime uir?». <sup>7</sup>Et respondit illa: «Ego, pater, de palatio sum et cogitauit liberare me de potestate istius saeculi. Seruire Deo uolo, et ciuitas ubi commoratur imperator non habet locum quietudinis. <sup>8</sup>Audiui autem pro monasterio uestro multa bona et ueni consistere uobiscum, si iubes me suscipere. <sup>9</sup>Habeo res multas et, si saluaueris animam meam, in isto loco offero omnia».

[10.] <sup>1</sup>Dixit illi abbas: «Bene uenisti, fili. Ecce monasterium nostrum, impleatur uoluntas tua». Et interrogauit illum abbas nomen

3. primo *add. ante* diluculo Ba ~ deluculo M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ suus] eius R P M<sup>2</sup> ~ in ciuitate M U ~ reuertens] reuertans U 4. et ipsa] ipsa autem R P M<sup>2</sup> ~ ibsa U ~ uenit *om.* Ro, intrat *scr. sup. lin.* ~ in monasterio] ad monasterium R P, in monasterium Ro D ~ quo] co U ~ ibse U ~ abbas beatus *tr.* R P ~ abba U ~ quo] que M (quo M<sup>2</sup>) ~ fuerat *add. ante* pater suus Ro D ~ suus] suos M<sup>a.c.</sup>, eius R P ~ caelebrauerat M R, celebraberat U, celebraturus Ro D 5. et <sup>1</sup> *om.* R ~ hostiario Ro D ~ aliquis] aliquid Ba, quidam M<sup>2</sup>, *om.* R P ~ de palatio *om.* U ~ occurrere] uenit M<sup>2</sup> ~ tibi uolit] uolens loqui uobiscum M<sup>2</sup> ~ tibi] sibi Ro D, illi Ba ~ uolit] M<sup>a.c.</sup>, uolet U M<sup>p.c.</sup>, uult R P Ba Ro D 6. intrans] ingressus Ba ~ ustiarius M<sup>a.c.</sup>, hostiarius Ba Ro D ~ dixit] nuntiauit Ba, nuntiauit abbati M<sup>2</sup> ~ ordinauit] ordinabit U, iussit R P, praecipit Ba M<sup>2</sup> ~ introducere] ut introduceret Ba ~ ingressus *add. ante* salutauit Ro D, intrans *idem* M<sup>2</sup> ~ salutabit U ~ capitello] capitulo R P U Ba Ro D ~ dixitque] et dixit R P ~ ad eum *add. post* abbas R P ~ ad nos] ad me P, *om.* M ~ uenerantissimi M<sup>a.c.</sup> 7. illa respondit *tr.* Ba ~ illa *om.* R P ~ pater de palatio sum] de palatio sum pater R, sum de palatio pater P ~ cogitabi U ~ liberare] libera U ~ istius] huius R P U ~ et *add. ante* seruire R P ~ uolo] uolens M<sup>2</sup> ~ et ciuitas] ciuitas enim R P, sed ciuitas M<sup>2</sup>, quia haec ciuitas Ba ~ imperatur M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ abet U ~ loco M<sup>a.c.</sup> 8. audibi U ~ de monasterio uestro] de uobis et de monasterio uestro R P ~ pro] de R P Ro D (de M<sup>2</sup>), quod Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ consistere uobiscum] ad uos rogans habitare M<sup>2</sup> ~ iubes] iubis M, iubeas R, iubetis M<sup>2</sup> ~ suscipere] consistere Ro D, recipere R P 9. abeo U ~ et si ... meam *del.* M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ si] se M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ saluaberis U ~ que *add. ante* in isto M<sup>2</sup> ~ sto U ~ tibi *add. post* offero R P U Ba ~ omnia *om.* Ba [10.] 1. et *add. ante* dixit M<sup>2</sup> ~ patet *add. post* nostrum R P ~ interrogabit U ~ nomen suum] de nomine suo R P

10.1. impleatur uoluntas tua cfr. II Th 1.11

suum. Et illa dixit: «Smaragdus habeo nomen». <sup>2</sup>Dixitque illi abbas: «Dum iuuenis es, solus non potes consistere. Oportet te accipere unum senicem magistrum, ut doceat te omnem ordinem monasticum». <sup>3</sup>Dixitque ille ad abbatem: «Quomodo iusseris, hoc facio». Et offerens quingentos solidos abbati, rogauit illum suscipere et dispensare. <sup>4</sup>Dixitque abbas ad monachum, sapientissimum seruum Dei, nomine Agapio: <sup>5</sup>«Suscipe istum iuuenem et, sicut filium, tibi eum commendo. Doce illum omnem salutem, sicut pater bonus; et sic certa praeparare illum ut, si potest fieri, superet magistrum». <sup>6</sup>Et congregatis omnibus fratribus, fixis genibus, orauerunt pro constantia Smaragdi.

[11.] <sup>1</sup>Dum autem erat decorus in corpore, quomodo autem intrabat in refectorio aut in ecclesia, multis fecit inimicus scandalum in anima

illa] ille R P Ba Ro D, illi M<sup>a.c.</sup> U (dixit illi *tr.* U) ~ smaracodus P M<sup>P.c.</sup>, ismaracodus M<sup>a.c.</sup>, ismaragdus Ba, smarandus U, zmaracodus R ~ habeo nomen] uocor M<sup>2</sup> ~ abeo U  
 2. dum] quia M<sup>2</sup> ~ iubenis U ~ solus *tr. post* consistere R P U ~ te] tibi M<sup>2</sup> ~ unum senicem accipere *tr.* M ~ senicem] senecim M (senecem M<sup>P.c.</sup>), senem R P Ba<sup>P.c.</sup>  
 Ro D M<sup>2</sup> ~ doceat te] te doceat M Ba ~ ad *add. ante* omnem ordinem Ro D ~ ordinem omnem *tr.* P ~ monasticum] monasterii R P U  
 3. dixitque ille] et illa respondit M<sup>2</sup> ~ illi M U, illa Ba ~ ad abbatem] abbati R P U ~ quomodo] quod R P Ba ~ iusseris] placitum est in oculis tuis Ba ~ pater *add. post* iusseris M<sup>2</sup> ~ hoc] sic M, *om.* P ~ facio] faciam R P U ~ offerens] afferens Ro D ~ quingentos] quinquagintos U ~ abbati] ad abbatem M (abbati M<sup>2</sup>) ~ rogauit] rogabit U, rogabat M Ro D ~ illum suscipere et dispensare] ut illos susciperet et dispensaret R P ~ illud U  
 4. abba U ~ ad monachum sapientissimum *del. et* cuidam monacho *scr.* M<sup>2</sup> ~ ad monacho U Ba<sup>a.c.</sup>, monacho Ro D ~ sapientissimum seruum] sapientissimo seruo M U Ro D Ba<sup>a.c.</sup>, sapientissimum uirum P ~ dei *om.* P ~ nomine] nomen M, nomine M<sup>2</sup> ~ Agapio] agapitum (agabitum R) R P  
 5. stum U ~ iubenem U ~ filium] filio Ba ~ eum *om.* Ro D ~ animae *add. post* salutem R P ~ pater] pastor Ro D ~ et sic ... magistrum *del.* M<sup>P.c.</sup> ~ certa] certum M ~ illum<sup>2</sup>] eum R P ~ si fieri potest *tr.* P ~ pote est U ~ superet] superit M<sup>a.c.</sup>  
 6. fixis] flexis P ~ oraberunt U, orabant Ba ~ pro constantia Smaragdi] per constantiam smaracdi U, ut deus illi constantiam tribueret perseuerandi M<sup>2</sup> ~ Smaragdi] zmaracdi R, ismaracdo M<sup>a.c.</sup>, smaracdi U, ismaragdo Ba (*corr. in* ismaragdi Ba<sup>2</sup>)  
 [11.] 1. dum ... corpore] erat autem decorus aspectu et pulcra facie M<sup>2</sup> ~ dum autem erat] erat autem R P Ro D ~ quomodo] quando R P M<sup>2</sup>, dum Ro D ~ autem] uero R P ~ intrabat] intrabant U, ingrediebatur Ba ~ refectorio] refecturio M<sup>a.c.</sup>, refectorium R P Ro D Ba<sup>2</sup>, refecturium M<sup>2</sup> ~ in ecclesia] in ecclesiam R P Ba<sup>P.c.</sup> ~ multis] multi M<sup>a.c.</sup> (*ut uid.*), multos R P U ~ fecit ... in anima] scandalum paciebantur instigante inimico de eo M<sup>2</sup> ~ fecit] faciebat R P ~ inimicus] inimicis Ba, inimicos M<sup>P.c.</sup>, inuitos P ~ in anima scandalum *tr.* U ~ scandalum] scandala Ro D, peccare R P ~ in anima] immania Ro D, *om.* R P



pro forma eius. <sup>2</sup>Et surrexerunt monachi clamantes contra abbatem: «Pro quid talem hominem suscepisti in monasterio, unde animae scandalizentur?». <sup>3</sup>Audiens haec abbas adduxit Smaragdum. Dixitque ei: «Fili, dum talem formam dedit tibi Dominus et aliquis de fratribus inimicus scandalum in te generat, <sup>4</sup>uolo ut in una cella retrudas te et solitariam uitam agas, et foras ostium per fenestram magister tuus doceat te omnia salubria». <sup>5</sup>Quod ita et fecit. <sup>6</sup>Et erat in retrusione, in ieiunio et afflictione et lacrimis nocte ac die incessabiliter laudans et rogans Dominum ut magister suus miraretur in sua conuersatione.

pro forma eius] propter speciem decoris eius Ba ~ pro] probter U, in R P ~ furma M<sup>a.c.</sup> 2. surrexerunt] uenientes M<sup>2</sup> ~ monachi] fratres Ba ~ clamantes contra abbatem] dixerunt abbati M<sup>2</sup> ~ et dicentes *add. post* abbatem R P ~ pro quid ... scandalizentur] multi scandalizantur patres de filio Smaragdo pro pulchre forme eius M<sup>2</sup> ~ pro quid] pro quo U, ut quid R P Ro D, ob quam causam Ba ~ suscepisti] suscepit M ~ in monasterium M ~ animae] animas M U Ba (animae Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ nostrae *add. post* animae P ~ scandalizentur U, scandalizantur R P Ba Ro, scandaligzantur *sic* D 3. ec U (hec U<sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ adduxit] uocauit R P, praecepit uenire Ba ~ zmaracdam R, ismaracdo M<sup>a.c.</sup>, smaracdam M<sup>p.c.</sup>, smaracdo U, smaragdo Ba ~ et *add. ante* dixitque *sic* U ~ ei] illi R P, eis U ~ dum ... Dominus] dum tibi formam talem dedit dominus M, dum pulcram formam dedit tibi dominus M<sup>2</sup>, dum talem tibi formam deus dedit P ~ formam talem *tr.* Ro D Ba ~ aliquis] aliqui M<sup>p.c.</sup> R Ba<sup>2</sup>, aliquibus Ro<sup>p.c.</sup> D ~ de fratribus] fratrum R P ~ inimicus ... generat] in te scandalizantur *sic* M<sup>2</sup> ~ inimicus] per insidias inimici R P ~ in te generat] ingerit Ba ~ generat] generant R, habet P 4. in una cella] una cella M<sup>a.c.</sup>, in unam cellulam (cellam P) R P U Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> (in una cella Ba<sup>2</sup> M<sup>2</sup>) ~ retrudas] recludamus R P, recludam U, recludas Ro ~ agas *tr. post* fenestram U ~ foras ostium *eras.* M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ foras] foris Ba ~ hostium Ro D, ostium Ba (ostium Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ magister tuus per fenestram *tr.* P ~ magister tuus] magistrum tuum *tr. post* te U ~ tuos M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ te doceat *tr.* P 5. et fecit] factum est R P 6. et *om.* U Ro D ~ erat ... ieiunium] intrans in cellam erat semper in ieiunium M<sup>2</sup> ~ retrusione] retrusionem (-cionem M) M U, reclusionem Ro ~ in ieiunio] in ieiunium M<sup>a.c.</sup>, in ieiuniam M<sup>p.c.</sup>, in ieiunio U ~ in *om.* R ~ in *add. ante* afflictione Ba ~ afflictione] adfflictionem M ~ in *add. ante* lacrimis Ba ~ die hac nocte *tr.* U ~ hac U Ba (h- *exp.* Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ Dominum] deum Ba Ro D ~ ut] ita ut P Ro D M<sup>2</sup> ~ suos] eius P ~ suos M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ miraretur] *tr. ante* magister P, miraret M U Ba (miraretur M<sup>2</sup> Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ in *om.* Ba ~ sua] suam U, eius R P Ba (eius *tr. post* conuersatione P) ~ conuersatione] conuersationem U, perseueranciam Ba

11.6. in ieiunio et afflictione et lacrimis nocte et die cfr. Lc 2.37

[12.] <sup>1</sup>Dum autem pater suus reuersus est in domum suam, quaerens filiam et non inueniens, coepit lamentari et tribulari ualde. Et interrogabat familiam suam: «Quid deuenit filia mea?». <sup>2</sup>Ipsi dixerunt ei: «Nocte uidimus illam, postea non comparuit». Cogitabat pater, dicens in se ipso: «Forsitan sponsus suus rapuit illam». Et mandans interrogauit consocrum suum. <sup>3</sup>Audiens autem ipse pater sponsi cum filio quid contigit, uenerunt ad patrem puellae lamentantes et dixerunt ad illum: «Quid deuenit filia tua? Aut quis seduxit illam?». <sup>4</sup>Statim directi sunt in omnem patriam quaerere beatam puellam, et non solum naues maris sed et de Nilo fluuio detentae sunt. Et exquaerebantur domi, monasteria, cauernae; et quod quaerebant non inueniebatur. <sup>5</sup>Dum autem omnem locum inquirentes, non inuenitur beatissima ancilla Dei.

[12.] 1. dum] cum R P U ~ suos M<sup>a.c.</sup>, eius R P ~ reuersus est] reuersus esset R P U Ro D, reuerteretur Ba ~ quaerens] perquirens Ba ~ suam *add. post* filiam P ~ et non] nec Ba ~ inueniens] inuenisset R P, inuenit Ba *ut uid.* (inueniens Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ eam *add. post* inueniens Ba ~ lamentare M<sup>a.c.</sup>, lamentare R M<sup>p.c.</sup>, lamentaret U ~ tribulari] tribulare R<sup>a.c.</sup>, tribulatus esse M, tribulatus est M<sup>2</sup> ~ ualde] uehementer R P, amarissime Ba ~ et *exp.* Ba ~ interrogabat] interrogauit (-bit U) P U, prescrutansque Ba ~ familiam suam] familiam Ba, omnes de filia sua Ro D ~ deuenit] euenit R P, euenisset M ~ filiae meae R P 2. ipsi] illi U, qui P ~ autem *add. post* ipsi U M<sup>2</sup> ~ respondentes *add. ante* dixerunt Ba ~ ei *om.* P ~ illam] eam R P ~ et *add. ante* postea R P ~ non] ne M (non M<sup>2</sup>), nusquam Ro D ~ comparuit] paruit M Ba, comparuit M<sup>2</sup> ~ cogitabat] cogitauit (-bit U) U Ba ~ autem *add. post* cogitabat R P M<sup>2</sup>, igitur *idem* Ro D ~ dicens in se ipso] in semetipso (-psum Ba, -ibso U) dicens R P U Ba, maledicens in corde suo in se ipsum M, in corde suo dicens M<sup>2</sup> ~ sponsus suus] sponsum suum U ~ suos] suos M<sup>a.c.</sup>, eius P ~ mandans] mittens R P ~ *ab* interrogauit *deficit* U, *deperditis subsequentibus foliis* ~ consocerum Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ suum] suam R P Ro<sup>p.c.</sup> 3. ipse pater sponsi cum filio] ipse sponsus et pater eius M<sup>2</sup> ~ pater sponsi] pariter Ro D ~ sponsi] sponso M<sup>a.c.</sup>, sponsus M<sup>2</sup>, *om.* Ro D ~ con (*i.e.* cum) M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ lamentantes M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ quid] quod R P Ro D ~ contigit M ~ deuenit] euenit R P, iunit M<sup>a.c.</sup> (euenit M<sup>p.c.</sup>, deuenit M<sup>2</sup>) ~ filia tua] filiae tuae R P Ba<sup>2</sup> ~ aut quis seduxit illam *om.* R P ~ quis] qui Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> (quis Ba<sup>2</sup>) 4. et *add. ante* statim R P ~ illorum homines *add. post* directi sunt R P ~ patriam] regionem Ba ~ quaerere beatam puellam] quaerentes puellam Ba ~ de nilo fluuio] in illo fluuio Ba, nili fluminis P ~ detentae sunt ... non inueniebantur] perquirebant eam et non potuerunt inuenire Ba ~ detentae] detenti M R ~ et exquaerebantur ... cauernae *om.* Ro D ~ exquaerebantur] exquirebantur M<sup>2</sup>, exquirebant R P ~ domi] domos R P ~ cauernae] cauernas *codd.* (cauerne M<sup>2</sup>) ~ quaerebant] quaerebatur Ro D ~ inueniebatur] inueniebantur M, inueniebant R P, potuerunt inuenire Ba 5. dum] cum R P ~ per *add. ante* omnem M<sup>2</sup> ~ omnem locum] omnia loca R P, loca Ro D ~ inquirentes] inquerentes M<sup>a.c.</sup>, perquirentes Ba, inquiritur M<sup>2</sup> ~ inuenitur] inueniretur R Ro D, inuenirent P, inuenerunt Ba ~ beatissima] beatissimam Ba, beata R, *om.* P ~ ancillam P Ba

Desperati, pro mortua illam lamentabant, socer nurum, iuuenis spon-  
sam, pater dulcissimam filiam, familiae multitudo dominam. <sup>6</sup>Hoc di-  
cente patre: «O filia mea dulcissima! O lumen oculorum meorum! O  
mihi consolatio animae! Quis meum thesaurum furauit? <sup>7</sup>Quis meam  
substantiam rapuit? Quis meam diuitiam dispersit? Quis meam lucer-  
nam exstinxit? Quis meam spem captiuauit? Quis domui meae orna-  
tum abstulit? <sup>8</sup>Qualis lupus meam agnam deuorauit? Qualis locus ra-  
dium solis mei abscondit? Qualis pelagus captiuauit regiam formam?  
<sup>9</sup>Ipsa erat senectutis meae baculus! Ipsa progeniis ornatus! Ipsa erat  
malorum emendatio! Ipsa erat laboris mei repausatio! Ipsa erat dolo-  
rum meorum eleuatio! <sup>10</sup>Terra, non illam cooperias, usquequo uideam  
quod quaero». <sup>11</sup>Audientes uerum etiam ipsa et alias lamentationes

desperati] desperata M R ~ illam pro mortua *tr.* Ro D ~ pro] ut M <sup>2</sup> ~ lamentabant]  
-bantur P, lamentabant M <sup>a.c.</sup>, plangebant Ba ~ nurum] nuram R, noram M Ba (nu-  
rum M <sup>P.c.</sup>) ~ spensam M ~ dulcissimam *om.* R P ~ dominam M ~ nec erat qui conso-  
laretur *add. post* dominam Ba 6. hoc dicente patre] et dicebat pater M <sup>2</sup> ~ hoc]  
haec Ro D ~ mihi *om.* P ~ meae *add. post* animae P ~ quis meum thesaurum furauit  
*om.* D ~ furauit] furatus est P Ro M <sup>2</sup> 7. quis meam substantiam ... lucernam  
extinxit *om.* Ro D ~ meam diuitiam] meas diuitias R P M <sup>2</sup> ~ extinxit Ba ~ cap-  
tiuauit] -bit M <sup>a.c.</sup>, captauit R P ~ eam *add. ante* domui R P ~ domui] domus M <sup>2</sup> ~  
ornatum] ornamenta Ro D, *om.* R P 8. qualis <sup>2</sup>] quis P ~ locus] lucus M (lupus  
M <sup>P.c.</sup>) ~ solis mei] mei solis P Ro D, solis M ~ abscondit] abscondit Ro D ~ qualis <sup>3</sup>]  
quale P Ba <sup>2</sup> ~ captiuauit] captiuabit M, absorbit R P (absoruit *tr. post* formam P)  
9. baculus senectutis meae *tr.* R P ~ meae] me Ba (mee Ba <sup>2</sup>) ~ erat] erit M <sup>a.c.</sup> (erat  
M <sup>2</sup>) ~ progeniis] progenies R, progenie D, progeniei P Ro ~ erat] erit M ~ emenda-  
tio] aemulatio M, immutatio Ro D ~ ipsa erat laboris ... meorum eleuatio *om.* R P  
~ erat] erit M (erat M <sup>2</sup>), *om.* Ro D Ba ~ mei] meae M Ba (mei Ba <sup>2</sup>) ~ erat *om.* Ro D  
Ba 10. terra *bis* R P ~ illam] illa M ~ cooperias] cooperies M, cooperiat Ba D <sup>P.c.</sup>  
~ usquequo] quousque ad R, quousque Ro D, quoad usque P, usque Ba ~ uideam]  
inueniam et uideam oculis R P ~ quod] quem R, quam P 11. audientes] audiens  
M (audientes M <sup>2</sup>) ~ uerum] uerom M <sup>a.c.</sup>, autem R P Ro D, *om.* Ba ~ etiam *om.* R P  
Ro D ~ ipsa] ista Ba, ipsas Ro D ~ amici eius *add. ante* ipsa P ~ alias lamentationes]  
alias lamentationis M, alias multas lamentationes Ro D Ba, alia multa lamentatio-  
num genera R P

12.6. o lumen oculorum meorum = Tb 10.4 (cfr Ps 37.11) ~ o mihi consolatio animae cfr.  
Tb 10.4 7. quis meam spem captauit = Tb 10.4 8. lupus meam agnam dissipauit cfr.  
Io 10.12 9. ipsa erat senectutis meae baculus = Tb 10.4 ~ 10. terra non illam cooperies  
cfr. Iob 16.19

circumstantes amici, et illi clamabant cum fletu, unde omnes habitantes ciuitatem molesti nimium facti fuerant.

[13.] <sup>1</sup>Dum autem non potebat portare dolores, pater puellae ambulauit ad ipsum monasterium et iactauit se ante pedes beati abbatis dicens ei: «Rogo te, domine pater, non obliuiscas, sed attentissime ora pro me peccatore ut inueniam fructum orationum tuarum. Imparuit enim filia mea». <sup>2</sup>Audiens haec abbas tristis effectus est et iussit sonare signum, ut omnes fratres de cellulis eorum congregarentur in ecclesia. Et dixit illis: <sup>3</sup>«Rogo uos, fratres, labores sustinete unam septimanam et ieiunate ieiunium triduanum et Deum rogate nobiscum ut manifestet Dominus ubi est filia amici nostri». <sup>4</sup>Quod ita et fecerunt cum omni afflictione et nemini manifestauit Dominus ubi erat beata uirgo, quia oratio eius uincebat orationes seruorum Dei, dum rogabat Deum, afflic-

omnes *add. ante* circumstantes M<sup>2</sup> ~ circumstantes amici et illi *om.* R P ~ clamabant *om.* Ba ~ unde omnes habitantes ciuitatem molesti] et habitantes ciuitates molesti Ba ~ habitantes] habitatores P ~ fletu] fletu M ~ ciuitatem] ciuitates Ba, ciuitatis R P ~ molesti] honesti M ~ nimium] nimie R P ~ facti fuerant] facti sunt Ba

[13.] 1. dum autem] cum autem R P, cumque M<sup>2</sup> ~ potebat] potuisset R P, poterat Ro D Ba<sup>2</sup>, posset M<sup>2</sup> ~ portare dolores pater puellae] dolores portare pater puellae R, pater puellae dolores portare P ~ dolores *om.* Ba ~ ambulauit] amolabat M (-lauit M<sup>p.c.</sup>), perrexit *supra* M<sup>2</sup> ~ ad ipsum monasterium] ad ipso monasterio M, ad monasterium M<sup>2</sup> ~ ipsum *om.* R P ~ monasterio Ba (monasterium Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ iactauit] prostrauit Ba ~ ante] ad R P ~ beati abbatis] beato abbate (abbati Ba<sup>2</sup>) Ba ~ ei *om.* R P Ba ~ te *om.* Ba ~ pater domne *tr.* R, pater P ~ non] ne P ~ obliuiscas] obliuiscaris P Ro D ~ mei *add. post* obliuiscaris P ~ sed *om.* M Ba Ro D ~ attentissime *tr. ante* pro peccatore Ro D ~ ora] orans M, orare Ro D Ba ~ pro me peccatore] pro peccatore M<sup>p.c.</sup> Ba (-rem M<sup>a.c.</sup>), pro me R P ~ orationum M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ tuarum] tuorum M Ba ~ imparuit enim] nusquam (enim *add. Ro supra lin.*) comparuit Ro D, quia non comparuit P, perdidit M<sup>2</sup> ~ filia mea M<sup>a.c.</sup> 2. abba R<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ signum sonare *tr.* R P ~ de cellulis eorum *om.* R P ~ cellulis] cellula M<sup>p.c.</sup>, cellola M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ in ecclesiam P ~ eorum *om.* Ro D ~ abbas *add. post* illis R P 3. uos *om.* P ~ labores sustinete] ut laborem sustineatis Ro D, sustinete laborem R P, laborem sustinete Ba ~ sustinete] sustenite M ~ una septimana R Ro D Ba, per unam septimanam P ~ ieiunate] facite P ~ triduanum ieiunium *tr.* R P Ro D, legitimum ieiunium Ba ~ Deum rogate nobiscum] dominum rogate nobiscum Ba, rogate dominum una nobiscum R P, rogate dominum M<sup>2</sup> ~ manifestit M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ nobis *add. post* manifestet Ro D ~ Dominus] deus M, *om.* Ro P ~ est] sit R P ~ amico nostro M<sup>a.c.</sup> 4. et <sup>1</sup> *om.* R P ~ et <sup>2</sup>] sed Ba ~ nemini *tr. ante* ubi P ~ nemine M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ manifestauit] manifestabat M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ oratio ... uincebat] orationes .... uincebant R P ~ uincebat] excludebat Ba ~ orationes *om.* M, omnes orationes M<sup>2</sup> ~ seruorum Dei] sanctorum dei Ro D, eorum R P ~ dum] quia R, illa enim P ~ Deum] eum Ro D, *om.* P Ba ~ afflictia] cum omni intentione R P

ta, ut non manifestaretur in uita ista. <sup>5</sup>Et dum omnes serui Dei tribulati essent pro hac causa, coepit abbas dicere patri puellae: «Non sis desperatus, fili. Age Domino gratias, quia, quando iusserit Dominus, sic cognoscere habes quid deuenit filia tua. <sup>6</sup>Verumtamen cognitum tibi facio quia non est in malo loco filia tua. Et pro hoc Dominus non manifestauit nobis illam, <sup>7</sup>quia, si in malo loco erat, non postponebat Deus lacrimas tuas et nostram orationem. Propterea ergo in bono loco censemur illam esse; et initium certaminis habet, ut non disturbetur oratio sua. Et ideo abscondidit eam de nobis Dominus». <sup>8</sup>Audiens haec beatus Pafnuptius, modicum refrigerium dolorum tolerans, reuersus est in ciuitate, agens Domino gratias et orans ut in bono loco illam constituat Dominus.

[14.] <sup>1</sup>Et frequentabat saepe in ipso monasterio et uisitabat seruos

manifestaretur] eam manifestaret deus R P, manifestetur M ~ in uita ista] in isto saeculo R P 5. et dum] cumque M<sup>2</sup> ~ serui Dei] fratres Ba ~ pro hac causa] pro ac (hac Ba<sup>2</sup>) re Ba ~ dicere patri] consolari patrem Ba ~ dicens ei *add. post* puellae Ba ~ desperatus M<sup>a.c.</sup> R Ba ~ Domino] deo R P Ro D ~ sic] si Ba, *om.* Ro D ~ cognoscere habes] cognoscere habis M<sup>a.c.</sup>, cognosces M<sup>2</sup>, cognoscis Ba ~ quid deuenit] quid euenit M (euenit M<sup>a.c.</sup>), de R P, ubi est M<sup>2</sup> 6. tibi cognitum *tr.* Ro D ~ non est in malo loco] non in malo loco est R P Ro D, in bono loco est Ba ~ in malo loco] in malum locum M<sup>2</sup> ~ pro] propter R P Ba ~ *post hoc dominus deficit* Ro, *deperditis subsequentibus foliis* ~ dominus *tr. post* manifestauit Ba ~ manifestabit M (manifestauit M<sup>2</sup>), manifestat R ~ nobis *om.* R P ~ illam] eam P 7. erat] esset R P D M<sup>2</sup>, fuisset Ba ~ esset loco *tr.* D ~ postponebat] postponeret R P D, postposuisset Ba, despexisset M<sup>2</sup> ~ Deus] dominus D ~ nostram orationem] nostras orationes R P D ~ propterea ergo] propter R, propter quod P ~ in bono loco] in bonum locum R Ba M<sup>2</sup> ~ censemur] censemur D, scimus R P, sentimus Ba, credimus M<sup>2</sup> ~ illam] eam R P ~ esse *om.* Ba ~ initium] initium M D, in enim M<sup>2</sup> ~ certaminis] certamen D ~ habit M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et *add. ante* ut P D ~ disturbetur] perturbetur R, turbetur P, conturbetur Ba ~ oratio] oratione R, in oratione P ~ sua] suo M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et *om.* P D ~ abscondidit] abscondit R P Ba ~ de nobis Dominus] a nobis dominus D, deus a nobis R P, deus de nobis Ba 8. beatus *om.* R P ~ pafnuptius M, pafnuptius Ba, pafnuptius D ~ modicum refrigerium dolorum tollerans *om.* R P ~ refrigerium] refrigerium M (*legi nequi in M<sup>2</sup>*) ~ et *add. ante* reuersus M<sup>2</sup> ~ in ciuitate] ad ciuitatem Ba, in ciuitatem D, in domum suam R P ~ agens deo gratias D, deo gratia agens *tr.* R P ~ deum cottidie *add. post* orans R P ~ in bono loco] in bonum locum R P Ba M<sup>P.c.</sup> ~ illam constituat Dominus] constituerat (-ret P) illam deus R P

[14.] 1. saepe] sepius M<sup>2</sup>, adsidue Ba, se M R P ~ in (ad Ba) ipsum monasterium Ba M<sup>2</sup>, in monasterio ipso *tr.* R P ~ pater puellae *add. post* monasterium Ba ~ et recipiebat consolationem seruorum dei *add. post* seruus dei Ba

Dei et reuertebatur domum suam. <sup>2</sup>Vnde una uice ueniente illo, dixit abbas: <sup>3</sup>«Vis uidere bonum hominem, eunuchum de palatio Theodosii imperatoris retrusum?». Et dixit illi pater puellae: «Obsecro, domine, ut uideam illum». <sup>4</sup>Adduxitque magistrum puellae Agapium nomine ipse abbas et dixit illi: «Duc tecum istum dominum, ut uideat beatum Smaragdum eunuchum, ut audiat uerba sua sancta et consoletur anima sua per eum». <sup>5</sup>Duxitque illum ad fenestram. <sup>7b</sup>Et ille non potuit recognoscere filiam suam, dum de nimia afflictione carnis suae fuerat afflictus <sup>8</sup>et cooperiebat se de cuculla, ut nullum signum pater suus uidere potuisset in ea. <sup>6</sup>Ipsa autem cognouit patrem suum et, sicut fons, triumphabat lacrimis. <sup>7a</sup>Pater autem suus, uidens eam flentem, cogitabat quia compunctio illi fuit aliqua. <sup>9</sup>Et, dicto capitello, sedit foras ante fenestram pater puellae cum magistro illius.

et reuertebatur ... 2 ueniente illo *om.* D ~ iterum *add. ante* reuertebatur R P ~ ad (in P) *add. ante* domum R P Ba 2. una uice] factum est ut R P, aliquando Ba ~ uenienti Ba ~ illo] illi Ba <sup>2</sup> ~ dixit] dixitque ei D ~ dixit] diceret P ~ illi *add. post* dixit R, ei *idem* M <sup>2</sup> 3. uis] uoles M (*recte?* uis M <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ bonum] unum R P M <sup>2</sup> ~ eunuchus M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ palatium M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ thodosio imperatori M <sup>a.c.</sup> (theodosii imperatoris M <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ theodosi Ba, teodosii R ~ retrusum] reclusum D ~ retrusum (*corr. in* retrusum) *tr. post* eunuchum Ba ~ illi *om.* R P D ~ te *add. post* obsecro R P ~ si placet tibi *add. post* domine Ba ~ ut *om.* Ba 4. adduxitque] duxitque R, et dixit P ~ magistro P ~ puellae] eius R P ~ Agapium nomine] nomine agapitum *tr.* R, agapito P ~ agapio M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ ipse abbas et dixit illi] et dixit illi abbas R, ipse abbas et praecepit illi dicens Ba, *om.* P ~ ipsi M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ tecum istum dominum] istum amicum nostrum tecum R P ~ istum] isto M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ dominum] domno M, uirum M <sup>2</sup>, hominem Ba D, amicum R P ~ ut uideat ... eunuchum *om.* P ~ uideat] uideant M (uideat M <sup>2</sup>) ~ beatum *om.* D ~ ismaracdam M <sup>a.c.</sup>, smaracdam M <sup>P.C.</sup>, zmaracdam R ~ ut] et R M <sup>2</sup> ~ sua<sup>1</sup>] eius R P, ipsius M <sup>2</sup>, *om.* D ~ anima sua] animo suo Ba, animam suam Ba <sup>2</sup> ~ sua<sup>2</sup>] eius R P M <sup>2</sup> ~ per eum] super eum D 5. dixitque M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ ad] in M (ad M <sup>2</sup>) ~ magister puellae *add. post* fenestram Ba 7b. ille] illi M <sup>a.c.</sup>, pater Ba, *om.* R P ~ recognoscere M, cognoscere Ba ~ filia sua M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ suam *om.* R P D ~ dum] quia M <sup>2</sup>, *om.* R P ~ nimiam M <sup>a.c.</sup> Ba ~ afflictioni M <sup>a.c.</sup>, afflictionem Ba ~ carnis suae fuerat afflictus] et de abstinentia animi (*om.* P) qua erat macerata corpore R P ~ carnis suae] sui M ~ fuerat] erat Ba ~ afflictus] inmutata M <sup>2</sup> 8. cooperiebat] cooperuit P ~ de *om.* Ba ~ cocullam M <sup>a.c.</sup>, cucullo R ~ ut] et Ba ~ pater *tr. post* potuisset R P ~ suus] suos M <sup>a.c.</sup>, *om.* R P ~ potuisset] posset P ~ in ea] in eam M Ba <sup>a.c.</sup> 6. autem *om.* D ~ sicut fons *om.* P ~ triumphabat lacrimis] triumphabant (erumpebant P) lacrimae ex oculis eius R P, emanabat lacrimas M <sup>2</sup> 7a. pater autem] sed pater P ~ suus] eius R P ~ cogitabat] cogitauit Ba ~ illi fuit aliqua] est illi in corde Ba ~ illi *tr. ante* aliqua P ~ fuit] uenisset R P 9. dicto capitello] post hec Ba ~ capitello] capitulo R P D ~ foras] foris Ba ~ illius] eius Ba

[15.] <sup>1</sup>Illa autem infra cellam loquebatur, docens pro misericordia et obedientia et timorem Dei et aeternam retributionem. <sup>2</sup>Dum autem haec loquebatur beatus Smaragdus, cor patris irrigabatur a uerbis filiae suae, quasi in gaudio fuisset reuersus. Et uolebat amplexare collum eius et osculare illum et non inueniebat locum. Erubescere autem nimis pro reuerentia illius. <sup>3</sup>Diu autem colloquium habentes pro salute animae, reuersus est ad abbatem dixitque ei: <sup>4</sup>«Magna mirabilia sunt Dei quae uidi hodie. Qualem aedificationem animae meae fecit mihi iste uir eunuchus pro desiderio meo! Deus mihi testis est, quia, sic est cor meum declinatum in amore suo, ut si fuisset filia mea quae de lumbis meis exiuit, non amplius potebam diligere illam». <sup>5</sup>Valedixit ad abbatem et omnes seruos Dei et reuersus est in domum suam.

[15.] 1. cellam] cellulam R P ~ docens] dicens R P Ba, *om.* D ~ illum *add. post* docens M<sup>2</sup> ~ pro] de D ~ misericordiam et obedientiam M Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ de *add. ante* timore M<sup>2</sup> ~ timore P D Ba<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ et aeternam retributionem] aeternamque retributionem R, aeternam retributionem Ba, aeternaque retributione P, et aeterna retributione D, et de aeterna retributione M<sup>2</sup> ~ *post* retributionem *add.* praedicabat Ba, *ibidem add.* R P: et propter spem uitae aeternae adquirendae (requirendae P) oportet nos bonorum (horum P) operum fructibusque (fructibus P) adornari caelestibus, et quod (ut quo P) pefrui cupimus obtinere ualeamus. 2. dum autem] cum autem R, cumque P ~ loquebatur] loqueretur M<sup>2</sup>, loqueretur de bonis caelestibus R P ~ beatus *om.* P ~ ismaradus M, zmaradus R, smaradus P ~ sui *add. post* patris M ~ quasi in gaudio fuisset reuersus *om.* P ~ uolebat] cupiebat Ba ~ amplexare] amplexari Ba<sup>2</sup>, osculare R, osculari P ~ eius] suum M (eius M<sup>2</sup>) ~ osculare] obscolare Ba (osculari Ba<sup>2</sup>), osculari D M<sup>p.c.</sup>, amplexare R, amplexari P ~ illum] illam R, *om.* P ~ locum *om.* D Ba ~ autem] enim P ~ nimis] nimium Ba ~ pro reuerentia] propter reuerentiam Ba 3. diu autem colloquium habentes pro salutem animae] cum autem colloquium haberent de salute animae suae R P ~ pro animae salute *tr.* D ~ pro salutem M, de salutem M<sup>2</sup> ~ pater puellae *add. ante* dixitque R D Ba 4. sunt mirabilia *tr.* Ba ~ dei sunt *tr.* R P ~ quae] quas R, quem M<sup>a.c.</sup> Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ animae meae *om.* P ~ mihi *om.* R P ~ isti M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ eunuchus *om.* Ba ~ pro desiderio meo] propter desiderium meum R P ~ Deus] dominus Ba ~ enim *add. post* sic est P ~ declinatum in amore] consolatum uerbis eius M<sup>2</sup> ~ declinatum] declinato Ba (declinatum Ba<sup>2</sup>), delicatum P ~ in amorem P D ~ suo] eius R P D ~ ut *om.* P ~ si *om.* M (*add.* M<sup>2</sup>) ~ fuisset] esset P ~ quae] qui M<sup>a.c.</sup> R ~ lumbus M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ exiuit] egressa est P ~ sic est ... amore suo *tr. post* diligere illam P ~ amplius potebam] amplius potuissem R P, amplius poteram D M<sup>2</sup>, poteram amplius Ba ~ diligere M ~ illam] illum Ba 5. ualedixitque R D M<sup>a.c.</sup>, uale dicensque P, salutauitque Ba ~ ad abbatem et omnes seruos dei] abbatem et omnes seruos dei ipse pater puelle Ba, abbati et omnibus seruus dei R P D, ad abbatem et omnibus seruus dei M<sup>2</sup> ~ et<sup>2</sup> *om.* R P ~ in *om.* P

15.4. magna mirabilia sunt Dei quae uidi hodie cfr. Lc 5.26

[16.] <sup>1</sup>Et dum fecit beata puella in ipsa retrusione triginta et octo annos, facta est aegrota, in qua aegritudine recessit. <sup>2</sup>Dum autem iacebat, uenit pater suus in monasterio et post orationem dixit abbati: «Si iubes, domine, uideam dominum Smaragdum, istum eunuchum, quia satis diligit illum anima mea». <sup>3</sup>Iussitque abbas magistro suo, nomen Agapio, ducere patrem puellae dicens: «Quia forsitan in hoc corpore non uidebit illum». <sup>4</sup>Dum autem apertus est ostius ut uisitaretur in aegritudine, intrauit pater suus et iactauit se in collo eius et osculauit os eius dicensque ei: <sup>5</sup>«Ora pro me, uir Dei, ut donet mihi Deus consolationem pro filia mea, quia adhuc incertus sum pro illa ubi consistit». <sup>6</sup>Dixitque ei ancilla Dei: «Non sis tristis, domine pater, quia Deus satisfacere tibi habet quid deuenit filia tua. Hoc te rogo solum ut obserues hic in isto monasterio tres dies et semper dignes uisitare me». <sup>7</sup>Quod ita et fecit pater suus.

[16.] 1. dum] cum R P ~ fecit] fuisset R P, perseuerasset M<sup>2</sup> ~ cella *add. ante* retrusione M ~ retrusione] trusione R P, reclusionem D ~ triginta M ~ et *om.* Ba ~ annus M<sup>a.c.</sup>, annorum R, annis D Ba M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ egruta M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ egrotudine M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ recessit] recessit a saeculo D, cum profectu boni operis exiuit e (de Ba<sup>2</sup>) saeculo Ba, de hac luce migrauit M<sup>2</sup> 2. dum] cum R P ~ autem] enim M (autem M<sup>2</sup>) ~ iacebat] iaceret R P M<sup>2</sup>, aegrotaret Ba ~ in ipsa aegritudine *add. post* iacebat D ~ suus] eius R P ~ in monasterium R P D ~ abbati] ad abbatem R P, ad abbati M ~ iubes] uis R P D ~ domne Ba, domni M<sup>a.c.</sup> (domine M<sup>2</sup>) ~ mi *add. post* domine R P ~ dominum Smaragdum, istum eunuchum] illum seruum dei smaragdum eunuchum Ba ~ dominum] dumnum M, *om.* R P ~ zmaracdum R, smaracdum P, ismaracdum M<sup>a.c.</sup>, smaracdum M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ istum *om.* R P, *eras.* M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ illum diligit *tr.* R P 3. suo] puellae R, eius P M<sup>2</sup> ~ nomen Agapio] agapio D Ba, nomine agapito P, agapitum nomine R ~ ducere] perducere Ba ~ ducere] ut duceret M<sup>2</sup> ~ ad eum *add. post* puelle M<sup>2</sup> ~ iam *add. post* quia M<sup>2</sup> ~ in hoc corpore] in hac uita egreditur e corpore et postea Ba ~ alia uice *add. post* corpore R D ~ illum] eum P 4. dum] cum R P ~ apertus] apertum P Ba D M<sup>2</sup> ~ est] esset R P D ~ ustius M, hostium (os- P) P Ba D M<sup>2</sup> ~ ut] et M ~ in aegritudinem M ~ intrauit] introuit D, ingressus Ba ~ suus] eius R P ~ et iactauit] proiecit Ba ~ in collo] in collum P, super collum D ~ eius] suo M ~ osculauit] osculabatur P, osculatus est D Ba<sup>2</sup>, obculatus (osc- Ba<sup>2</sup>) est Ba ~ os eius] os suum M, os R, eum Ba ~ dicensque ei] dicens R P Ba, dixitque ei D 5. donet mihi Deus] det mihi deus D, deus det mihi P ~ Deus *om.* Ba ~ pro] de R P ~ adhuc *om.* P ~ incertus sum] incognitum est mihi Ba ~ pro illa *om.* R P Ba ~ consistit] consistat R P D, sit filia mea Ba 6. dixitque] dixit D ~ ei *om.* Ba ~ filia eius *add. post* ancilla dei P ~ non sis tristis, domine pater quia *om.* R P ~ domni M, domne M<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ mi *add. ante* pater Ba ~ satis facere tibi habet] tibi manifestum faciet Ba ~ tibi satisfacere *tr.* R P ~ deuenit] iuinit *corr. in* euinit M<sup>a.c.</sup>, euenit R P ~ filia tua] filiae tuae R P ~ solum *tr. post* hoc Ba ~ solum] solo M ~ solum rogo *tr.* D ~ obserues] obseruis M<sup>a.c.</sup>, consistas R P, sustentas Ba ~ hic in isto] in hoc P ~ et *om.* Ba ~ dignes] digneris P D Ba<sup>2</sup> 7. quod] qui R, *om.* P ~ ita et] et ita P, ita R ~ pater suus *om.* P Ba ~ suos M<sup>a.c.</sup>



[17.] <sup>1</sup>Dum autem uidit sanctissima ancilla Dei se paratam esse ut migraret ad Dominum, rogauit uenire patrem suum dixitque ei: <sup>2</sup>«Dum, pater bone, Deus pro me disposuit salutem et impleuit desiderium meum, uolo ut non habeas de ista hora tristitiam pro filia tua, quae tibi imparuit. <sup>3</sup>Ego sum paupera et peccatrix quam quaeris. Ecce uide et satisfactum tibi sit! Nam rogo te, pater bone, ut nullus cognoscat secretum hoc, nec dimittas alium lauare corpusculum meum. Tu, sicut pater bonus, per te dignare me sepelire. <sup>4</sup>Et dum promisi abbati quia habeo substantiam et, si salua fuero, dono illam in hoc loco sancto, tu quidquid mihi in dote praeparabas dona in manibus abbati, <sup>5</sup>ut ille dispenset illa pio ordine et oret pro mea paupertate». <sup>6</sup>Et haec dicens tradidit spiritum fidelibus angelis Dei.

[18.] <sup>1</sup>Dum autem haec uidisset pater suus quia dedit spiritum Domino, dissoluta sunt omnia membra sua et cecidit in terra et factus ue-

[17.] 1. dum] cum R P ~ uidit] uideret P ~ sanctissima] sancta castissima M ~ ancilla Dei] dei ancilla D Ba, dei (om. P) puella R P ~ se paratam esse ut migraret] se praeparatam esse ut migraret Ba, se migrare R P ~ de hoc saeculo *add. post* migraret M ~ rogauit] rogat M Ba 2. dum, pater bone ... salutem] pater bonus (bone P) et pius (pie P) deus habet de me dispositum sicut illi placuit R P ~ boni M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ pro me] mihi Ba ~ salutem om. Ba ~ impleuit] adimpleuit R P ~ meum desiderium *tr.* Ba D ~ non habeas] non amplius habere debeas Ba ~ de ista hora *tr. post* tristitiam R P ~ de ista] istam M ~ hora] ora Ba, om. M ~ imparuit] nusquam comparuit D, non comparuit P 3. paupera] pauper P, infelix Ba, paupercula D ~ quam] quem M R <sup>a.c.</sup> Ba D (quam R <sup>P.c.</sup> Ba <sup>2</sup>) ~ uide et satisfactum tibi sit] uides satis tibi notum sit Ba ~ boni M <sup>a.c.</sup>, om. Ba ~ cognoscat M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ hoc] meum R P ~ dimittas] demittas M ~ corpusculum] corpus Ba ~ sed *add. ante* tu R P ~ dignare me sepelire] dignam esse pollicere Ba ~ digna M <sup>a.c.</sup>, digneris P, dignare M <sup>2</sup> 4. et dum] quando autem huc ueni ob remedium animae meae R P ~ abeo M <sup>a.c.</sup> Ba <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ dicens *add. post* abbati R P ~ et om. R P ~ si om. M ~ salua fuero] salua facta fuerit anima mea R P ~ dono] dona M <sup>P.c.</sup>, condona *sic* Ba, dabo R P ~ tu] et R, aut M Ba, om. P ~ quicquid R P D M <sup>P.c.</sup> ~ ergo *add. post* quicquid P ~ mihi om. R P ~ in dotem Ba ~ praeparabas] praeparabis M, praeparaueras Ba ~ abbati] abbatis P D Ba <sup>2</sup> 5. illi M ~ dispensit M ~ illa] illam D, ea R P, omnia Ba ~ et oret pro mea paupertate] secundum sensum intelligencie sue Ba ~ pro mea paupertate] pro meis peccatis D ~ paupertatae M 6. haec] hoc M ~ tradedit M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ Dei om. Ba [18.] 1. dum] cum R P ~ haec] hoc R P ~ dedit] reddidit R P ~ dissoluta] desoluta M, soluta R P ~ sua] eius R P Ba ~ et cecidit in terra om. Ba ~ caecidit M ~ in terram P D ~ est *add. post* factus R P D

17.2. adimpleuit desiderium meum cfr. Phil 4.19

lut mortuus. <sup>2</sup>Et magister puellae Agapius currens attulit aquam et misit in faciem eius. Et ueniens ad se, surrexit. Et interrogauit illum Agapius dicens: <sup>3</sup>«Quid est quod tibi contigit, Pafnuptie?». Dixitque illi: «Dimitte me hic morire. Vidi gloriosa mysteria Dei hodie». <sup>4</sup>Et irruens super faciem filiae suae, fleuit amarissime et cum lacrimis exclamauit dicens: <sup>5</sup>«O filia mea dulcissima, quare non ante tempus hoc cognoui, ut ego commorerer tecum? <sup>6</sup>O quomodo tu latuisti inimici temptationes? Quomodo transisti principatus et potestates tenebrarum istius saeculi et intrasti in uitam aeternam?».

[19.] <sup>1</sup>Ipsa autem Agapius audiens exterritus factus est et currens nuntiauit beato abbati haec omnia. <sup>2</sup>Et ueniens abbas uelociter et ipse inruens super sanctum corpusculum eius et dicens: <sup>3</sup>«Sponsa Christi et

2. et magister] magister uero R P ~ Agapius *om.* R P ~ dum haec uidisset *add. post* puellae R, dum uidisset hoc *idem* P ~ currens] concurrens P, *om.* D ~ attulit] adduxit M, accepit R P ~ et misit] misitque D Ba, misit M ~ ueniens ad se] uiuens ad se M, ueniens D Ba, reuersus est sensus eius R P ~ surrexit] adsurrexit Ba, et sedit R P ~ illum] eum R P ~ agapius] agapitus R, *om.* P 3. hoc *add. ante* quod R P ~ pafnupcii M<sup>a.c.</sup> (pafnupcie M<sup>p.c.</sup>), pafnutii R, pafnuti P, papnupcii Ba (pafnupci Ba<sup>p.c.</sup>), pater pafnuci D ~ dixitque illi] dixitque ille D, dixit illi (ei R) pafnutius R P ~ hic] in isto saeculo Ba ~ morire] morare M<sup>a.c.</sup>, morari M<sup>p.c.</sup>, mori P Ba<sup>p.c.</sup>, introire D ~ enim *add. post* uidi P ~ gloriosa mysteria Dei] gloriosam dei misericordiam R, gloriam et sanctam dei misericordiam P, gloriam dei M ~ hodie *om.* R P Ba 4. faciem] collum R P ~ puellae *add. ante* filiae D ~ lacrimas M<sup>a.c.</sup> 5. ab o filia *praebet* Es ~ mea filia *tr.* M Es P ~ non] hoc R Es, *om.* P ~ tempus *om.* Ba, hoc *supra lineam* ~ hoc] non R Es P ~ et *add. post* ut R (*forse etiam* Es) ~ commorerer] commorarer R P Ba (*fortasse etiam* Es), commorare M 6. tu *om.* R P (*legi nequit* Es) ~ temptationes inimici *tr.* P ~ inimico Ba (inimici Ba<sup>2</sup>) ~ temptacionis M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ o *add. ante* quomodo M ~ potestatis M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ tenebrarum] *cfr.* 7.8, tenebrae M, *om.* R Es P Ba [19.] 1. ipse autem ... haec omnia *om.* P ~ ipsi M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ Agapius] agapitus R Es ~ haec *add. ante* audiens Ba, *idem post* audiens R ~ exterritus] territus D ~ et currens] currensque D, et cumcurrens M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ nuntiauit] adnunciauit M 2. abba M ~ et *om.* P ~ ipse] ipsi M<sup>a.c.</sup>, *om.* R Es P ~ inruens] inruit P D Ba ~ sanctum corpusculum] sancto corpusculo M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ sanctum] sancto M<sup>a.c.</sup> Ba, *om.* R Es P ~ corpusculum] corpusculo M<sup>a.c.</sup>, collum P ~ eius] uirginis M, *om.* Ba ~ et dicens] dicens D Ba, et (*om.* Es) dixit R Es P 3. spuna M<sup>a.c.</sup>, sponsam R

18.4. fleuit amarissime *cfr.* Lc 22.62, Mt 26.75  
15.24; Eph 6.12; Col 2.15

6. principatus ac potestates *cfr.* Cor I

agna ueri Dei et filia sanctorum, non obliuiscas conseruorum tuorum et isto loco sancto, sed ora ut et nobis concedat Dominus intellectum, ut uiriliter certantes adiungamus te in beatitudinem aeternam». <sup>4</sup>Et iussit abbas sonare signum, ut congregarentur omnes fratres. Et cum grandi reuerentia sepulta est in ecclesia monasterii. <sup>5</sup>Congregatis autem omnibus seruis Dei, diuulgata est conditio. Et exterriti glorificabant Dominum, mirantes talem constantiam mulieris.

[20.] <sup>1</sup>Vnus autem de fratribus oculum extinctum habens ambulauit osculari pedes eius. Et solummodo tangens corpusculum eius, in praesenti ipse oculus apertus est et lumen accepit. <sup>2</sup>Et uidentes omnes quod factum fuit, dicebant: «Gloria tibi, Domine, qui talem monimen dedisti istius loci, quia exemplum facta est ista uirgo sancta salutis nostrae». <sup>3</sup>Et reposita est in loco sancto, ubi et toti fuerant patres sepulti.

ueri Dei] uera dei nostri Ba, uero domino nostro M, ueri dei nostri D ~ rogo ut *add. ante* non obliuiscas R Es P ~ non] ne Ba ~ obliuiscas] obliuiscaris Es P D Ba M <sup>2</sup> ~ conseruorum tuorum et isto loco sancto] cum seruorum M, conseruos (seruos Es P) tuos et istum locum sanctum (sanctum locum *tr.* P) R Es P ~ conseruorum] seruorum Ba ~ istius loci sancti D Ba <sup>2</sup> ~ sed oro ut ... beatitudinem aeternam *om.* P ~ ora] oro M ~ pro nobis *add. post* ora D ~ et *om.* D ~ uiriliter certantes] humiliterque gerentes Ba ~ adiungamur D ~ te] tibi R, tecum D, *om.* Ba (*non legitur in* Es) ~ in beatitudinem aeternam] in beatitudine aeterna D, et a beatitudinem aeternam Ba (a beatitudine aeterna Ba <sup>P.C.</sup>) 4. et cum grandi] et cum grande M <sup>a.c.</sup>, et cum magna R Es P, migrandi *sic* Ba 5. congregatis] precatis Ba ~ autem *tr. post* diuulgata est Es P ~ seruos Ba (seruis Ba <sup>2</sup>) ~ deuulgata M R ~ conditio] fama in uniuersam terram Ba ~ conditio] autem eius conditio Es, autem conditio eius P ~ et exterriti *om.* Ba ~ Dominum] domino M <sup>a.c.</sup>, deum Es P ~ mirantes] admirantes Ba, uidentes R Es P ~ constantiam] conspectum D

[20.] 1. de] ex R Es P ~ ambolabat M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ osculari] osculare M <sup>a.c.</sup>, et osculauit Ba (et osculauit Ba <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ pedis M ~ corpusculo suo M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ non *add. ante* tangens Ba ~ eius] suum M Ba, *om.* R Es P ~ in praesenti] in presente M <sup>a.c.</sup>, statim Ba ~ ipsi M <sup>a.c.</sup> (ipse M <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ apertus est et] inluminatus est Ba, *om.* R Es P ~ apertum M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et lumen ... 2 dicebant *om.* Ba 2. Domine] christe Ba ~ fuit] est R Es P Ba ~ dicebant] clamauerunt R Es P ~ tale D ~ monimen] munimen M <sup>P.C.</sup>, monumentum D, hominem R Es (*ut uid.*) P Ba ~ istius loci] *cfr gr.*, isti loco P D Ba <sup>P.C.</sup>, istius loco Ba ~ uirgo ista *tr.* D ~ salutis] salutes M 3. est *om.* M ~ ipso *add. ante* loco Ba ~ et] *tr. ante* ubi Ba, *om.* D ~ toti] omnes R Es P Ba (omnes *tr. post* fuerunt P) (*fortasse recte*) ~ fuerant] fuerunt R Es P, repositi fuerant Ba

[21.] <sup>1</sup>Pater autem illius omnes res suas ecclesiis, monasteriis, pauperibus, xenodochiis dispersit et dimisit saeculum et intrauit in monasterio. <sup>2</sup>Partem autem plurimam in ipso monasterio obtulit et inclusit se in cellam, ubi filia sua fuerat retrusa. <sup>3</sup>Et in ipsa matta, ubi illa dormiebat, ibi iacens ad terram, consolabatur. <sup>4</sup>Et in ipsa retrusione decem annos consistens, migravit ad Dominum, peccata terrae demittens, et positus est in latus filiae suae sanctae Castissimae. <sup>5</sup>Ipsi autem gloria, qui talia fecit in salute hominum, qui gloriosus est cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

[21.] 1. illius] eius Ba, ille M ~ ecclesias Ba<sup>a.c.</sup>, aecclesiae D ~ monasteriis pauperibus *om.* D ~ monasterii Ba<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et *add. post* pauperibus Ba ~ xenodochiis M, *om.* R Es P ~ dispersit] distribuit R Es P ~ seculo M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et *om.* M ~ intrauit] ingressus Ba ~ in monasterio] in ipso monasterio R<sup>a.c.</sup> Ba, in ipsum monasterium R<sup>p.c.</sup> P D 2. partem autem plurimam in ipso monasterio obtulit] facultates autem quas filiae promissit detulit ea (abbati P) R Es P ~ partem] pater D ~ plurimam] plurima D Ba ~ in ipso monasterio] ibidem Ba ~ in cellam] in cella P, in cellulam D, in ipsa cella Ba ~ sua] eius R Es P ~ fuerat] fuit M 3. in ipsa matta] in ipso loco D ~ ubi *om.* P ~ et (*om.* P) in qua *add. post* ubi R Es P ~ illa] ipsa R Es P ~ dormiebat] dormierat R Es P, iacuerat Ba ~ ibi *om.* R Es P ~ ad terram] in terra in ipsa R Es, in terra P D Ba ~ consolabatur] hoc modo consolatus est P ~ pater pro filia *add. post* consolabatur R Es, pro filia *idem* P 4. retrusione] retricione M, reclusionem D ~ decem annos M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ migravit ad Dominum ... sanctae Castissimae] et post hec defunctus atque sepultus est in latus filiae suae castissimae Ba ~ peccata terrae demittens *om.* R Es P D ~ positus] repositus D ~ est *om.* M ~ in latus] ad latus R Es P ~ dulcissimae *add. ante* filiae M ~ sanctae *om.* R Es P D 5. ipsi] ipsa D<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ autem *om.* D ~ fecit] facit R Es P ~ in salutem D Ba ~ hominum] omnium R Es gloriosus est ... regnat] uiuit et regnat cum patre et spiritu sancto deus P ~ uiuit et regnat *om.* Es D Ba ~ et Filio *om.* R Es P D Ba ~ cum *add. ante* spiritu D  
Explicit uita beatae Castissimae uirginis R, explicit uita sanctae Eufrosine uirginis D, explicit Ba

## LATIN TRANSLATION B («BHL» 2723)

### *Conspectus siglorum*

|           |                                                                                                 |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| B         | Bruxelles, KBR II 2568 (3316), s. X                                                             |
| D         | Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibl., B3, s. IX <sup>2</sup> / <sub>4</sub>                |
| E         | El Escorial, BRMSL, i-III-13, s. IX <i>med.</i>                                                 |
| Ei        | Einsiedlen, Stiftsbibl. 263, s. X <sup>3</sup> / <sub>3</sub>                                   |
| Ep        | Épinal, BM 118 (14), s. X                                                                       |
| F         | Paris, BnF, lat. 3851 A, Part II (fols. 17-56), s. X                                            |
| K         | Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 84, s. X <sup>3</sup> / <sub>3</sub> -XI <i>in.</i> |
| M         | München, BSB, clm 6382, Part I (fols. 1-43), s. IX <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>                  |
| Ma        | München, BSB, clm 2531, Part I (fols. 1-62), s. X                                               |
| Mb        | Michaelbeuern, Stiftsbibl., Fragm. perg. I, 1, s. IX <sup>2</sup>                               |
| N         | Novara, Archivio Capitolare di Santa Maria LXI (9), s. X-XI                                     |
| P         | Paris, BnF, lat. 2994 A, Part I (fols. 1-72), s. IX <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>                 |
| R         | Reims, BM 1395, s. IX <i>med.</i>                                                               |
| V         | Valenciennes, BM 521 (475), Part II (fols. 27-106), s. IX <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>           |
| W         | Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., Mp.Th.Q.26, s. VIII <i>ex.</i> -IX <i>in.</i>                      |
| $\alpha$  | W Ei Ma                                                                                         |
| $\beta$   | $\gamma$ $\delta$                                                                               |
| $\gamma$  | R V $\gamma'$                                                                                   |
| $\gamma'$ | D P F B K                                                                                       |
| $\delta$  | M N E Ep                                                                                        |



## Vita sanctae Eufrosinae uirginis

[1.] <sup>1</sup>Fuit uir in Alexandria, nomine Pafnutius, honorabilis omnibus et custodiens mandata Dei. <sup>2</sup>Hic accepit coniugem dignam generis sui et ipsam honestorum moribus plenam, sed sterilis non pariebat. <sup>3</sup>Vir autem eius nimis fluctuans eo quod non haberet cui omnes facultates suas dimitteret, ut post obitum suum bene et congruenter suam substantiam gubernaret indigentibus, <sup>4</sup>non cessabat ministrare nocte et die ecclesiisque adhaerens ieiuniis et obsecrationibus, orans et petens a Deo dari sibi filium. Maxime uidens uirum suum nimium fluctuantem,

**trad. text.:** *ab 1.7. <con>secutus est usque ad 14.1 uisita<bat> et ab 15.2.1 <collo>quia ad finem praebet B ~ ab 4.4 facientes autem usque ad finem praebet E (pars prior pertinet ad BHL 2722) ~ ab 6.2 cum angelis consortium def. Ma, deperditis foliis subsequentibus ~ tantum exhibet Mb, deperditis foliis: ab 18.1 <audiss>et Pafnutius usque ad 18.4 dicens; ab 18.6 <quom>odo latuisti usque as 19.3 <uirili>ter certando per<uenire>; ab 19.4 <congrega>rentur omnes fratres usque ad 20.2 bona sunt; ab 21.1 <e>odem monasterio usque ad finem; tantum legitur pars linearum.*

**tit.** INCIPIT VITA SANCTAE EUFROSINAE VIRGINIS (VIRGINIS *om.* R N Ma) β, *non praebunt* W Ma Ei (*tit. add. manu rec.*) Ep ~ AC BEATISSIMAE *add. post* SANCTAE K

[1.] 1. pabnutius W, pannucius F, paphnutius N Ma Ei ~ Pafnutius nomine *tr.* γ ~ honorabilis Ep 2. generis sui] genere suo R <sup>P.C.</sup> Ei <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ ipsam ... plenam] ipsa ... plena P F Ma Ei ~ ipsam *eras.* N ~ honestorum] honestis F N <sup>P.C.</sup> V ~ sterilis W R <sup>a.c.</sup> V <sup>a.c.</sup> P F Ep ~ quia *add. post* sterilis *supra lin.* F ~ non pariebat] apparebat Ep <sup>2</sup> 3. uir autem eius nimis *eras.* Ep, nimis autem *supra ras.* Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ eius *om.* K ~ ut] et Ep ~ et *om.* P ~ congruenter] congrue δ ~ gubernaret] gubernare W ~ indigentibus] indigentibus Ma 4. *hic uide pp.* 89-90 ~ illa *add. ante* nocte F ~ nocte et die ecclesiisque adhaerens *om.* D K ~ qui *add. ante* ieiuniis K ~ aeclesiisque W, aecclisiisque M, aecclisique N ~ -que *om.* F Ep, *eras.* P <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ obsecrationibus] orationibus δ ~ orans et petens] petebat N, *om.* K ~ dare P F (dari P <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ filium sibi *tr.* Ma Ei ~ maxime] maxima R <sup>P.C.</sup>, sed uxor praefata N, mulier autem V <sup>2</sup> ~ uirum suum] uxorem suam K <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ nimium] nimio W, nimirum Ma Ei

1.1. custodiens mandata Dei = Dt 4.2; 8.6; 28.9; I Io. 3.22; 5.3; Apc 12.17; 14.12 4. ministrare nocte et die... ieiuniis et obsecrationibus = Lc 2.37

multam etiam pecuniam erogans pauperibus et oratoriis, poscens adimpleri desiderium suum. <sup>5</sup>Similiter autem et uir eius circuiens quaerebat inuenire aliquem hominem dignum Deo, qui possit precibus suis effectum desiderii eius perficere. <sup>6</sup>Et ita ambulauit in monasterium, quia eiusdem monasterii pater magnus apud Deum esse dicebatur. <sup>7</sup>Illicque ingressus et multam pecuniam offerens, multam etiam fiduciam ab abbate et ab uniuersis fratribus consecutus est.

[2.] <sup>1</sup>Post multum uero temporis, indicauit abbati causam desiderii sui. Qui compatiens illi, abbas postulauit a Domino dare illi fructum uentris. <sup>2</sup>Et amborum orationibus exaudiens, Deus largitur illi unam filiam. <sup>3</sup>Videns autem Pafnutius abbatis conuersationem, numquam a monasterio recedebat. Vnde et coniugem suam introduxit, ut benediceretur ab abbate et a fratribus. <sup>4</sup>Tollentes autem infantulam a lacte et,

multam] multum Ma Ei ~ etiam multam *tr.* D ~ etiam] ergo K ~ erogans ... poscens] erogabat ... poscebat N ~ erogans] erogantem Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ in *add. ante* oratoriis δ ~ oratoriis] oratoribus Ma Ei, orationibus Ep Ei <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ poscens] poscebat V <sup>2</sup> N ~ adimpleri] adimplere W P <sup>a.c.</sup> Ma Ei <sup>a.c.</sup>, *om.* F (*in marg. add.* F <sup>2</sup>, *deinde deperditis ultimis litteris excisso folii margine*) 5. similiter autem et uir eius *del. et* atque *scr. supra* Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ loca *add. post* circuiens in *rasura* F <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ hominem] hominum Ma Ei ~ possit] posset R N V <sup>2</sup> 6. in *del. et* ad *scr.* Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ monasterio P F K δ (monasterium Ep <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ quia] in qua M, in quo Ep N Ei <sup>P.C.</sup>, qui V Ma Ei (quia V <sup>2</sup>) ~ monasterio N <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ pater magnus] patrem magnum β (pater magnus V <sup>2</sup>) ~ apud Deum esse dicebatur] esse dicebant apud deum *tr.* δ ~ dicebatur] dicebant R F <sup>2</sup> δ 7. illicque] illucque N V <sup>2</sup>, illoque K ~ ingressus] ingresso K ~ et <sup>1</sup> *om.* R V ~ multam ... multam] multum ... multum W ~ ab <sup>1</sup> *om.* D ~ ab <sup>2</sup> *om.* N ~ ab <con>secutus est *praebet* B [2.] 1. multum] modum Ep, modicum Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ temporis] tempus R ~ indicauit *supra ras.* V <sup>2</sup> ~ causam desiderii sui] desiderii sui causam *tr.* K, desiderium suum B ~ qui] cui F, *om.* R ~ autem *add. post* compatiens R ~ illi] ille F <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ abbas] abba R, *om.* B δ Ma Ei, *eras.* V <sup>2</sup> ~ domino] deo R V ~ dare] dari R <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> P <sup>P.C.</sup> N Ma Ei ~ fructum] fructus N 2. orationibus] orationes R V <sup>2</sup> F <sup>P.C.</sup> B Ep <sup>P.C.</sup> N ~ exaudiens] exauditus Ma Ei ~ largitur] largitor W, largitus est B Ep Ma Ei ~ illi] illis N, *tr. post* filiam K, *om.* M Ep (illis *add. in marg.* Ep) ~ filiam unam *tr.* Ma Ei 3. autem *om.* F ~ pafnutius W, phafnutius K, paphnutius N Ma Ei ~ ab <sup>1</sup> *om.* W ~ a <sup>2</sup> *om.* B K Ep N Ma Ei 4. tollentes autem] tollentes hanc V, tollentesque hanc V <sup>2</sup> ~ tollentes] tollens R Ep N ~ infantulum B ~ et] que V <sup>2</sup>

2.1. fructum uentris = Lc 1.42



facta annorum septem, baptizata est, imposueruntque illi nomen Eufrosina. <sup>5</sup>Gaudebant autem super illam parentes eius, quia erat accepta Deo et pulchra facie.

[3.] <sup>1</sup>Facta igitur annorum duodecim, mater illius migravit de hoc saeculo. Remansit autem pater eius, erudiens eam litteris et lectionibus ceteraque huius mundi sapientiae. <sup>2</sup>Puella uero tantam excipiens disciplinam, ut miraretur pater illius prudentiam. <sup>3</sup>Opinio autem eius peragravit totam ciuitatem, seu et de sapientia eius et doctrina, et quia erat pulchra nimis et composita erat uultu et animo. <sup>4</sup>Multos autem excitauit accipiendam eam filiis suis et, multis decertantibus cum patre eius, peruenire ad finem non poterant, sed ipse tantum dicebat: «Domini uoluntas fiat». <sup>5</sup>Vnus autem exuperans omnes in honore et diuitiis, accer-

septem] sex N, duodecim M Ep ~ baptizata W ~ imposueruntque] imposuerunt V<sup>P.C.</sup> P F (et *add. supra lin. ante* imposuerunt F) ~ eufrosina *codd.* (-sinam F M N)  
 5. gaudebant autem] gaudebantque K, gaudebant N ~ illam] illa R<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ quia] quae N (uel quia *supra lin.*) ~ facie] facies D V P F (facie V<sup>P.C.</sup> P<sup>P.C.</sup> F<sup>P.C.</sup>), fatiae Ep  
 [3.] 1. igitur] autem Ma Ei ~ ea *post* igitur *add. V<sup>2</sup> supra lin.* ~ de hoc] ex hoc Ma Ei, a V<sup>2</sup> N ~ hoc] oc F ~ remansit] mansit B ~ pater] cum parente N ~ eam] ea Ma (*ut uid.*) ~ litteris et lectionibus] litteras et lectiones Ma Ei ~ ceteraque] caeteramque Ma Ei ~ huius mundi] huiusmodi P ~ sapientiae] sapientia β (*non* D), sapientiam Ma Ei  
 2. ita *add. post* uero Ei<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ tantam] tantum P F, tantam (-um R<sup>P.C.</sup>) erat R, tanta Ma, tatam V<sup>a.c.</sup>, *om.* N ~ excipiens] excepit N V<sup>2</sup> Ei<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ ut] ita ut R V M Ep N (*ita eras.* V<sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ illius] eius K ~ eius *add. post* prudentiam N 3. seu et ... et] tam ... quam et N ~ seu et *eras.* Ei ~ seu] sed V<sup>2</sup> ~ et <sup>1</sup> *om.* B ~ de *om.* R ~ eius *om.* B ~ de *add. ante* doctrina F K δ ~ et <sup>3</sup> *eras.* Ei ~ quia] qui W ~ pulchra nimis erat *tr.* Ma Ei ~ nimimis *sic* W ~ erat <sup>2</sup> *om.* R V δ Ma Ei ~ uultu erat *tr.* K 4. multos autem ... filii suis et *om.* Ma Ei ~ multos] multi Ep<sup>2</sup> ~ autem *eras.* R (*ut uid.*), *exp.* N<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ excitauit] uoluerunt Ep<sup>2</sup> ~ ad *add. ante* accipiendam γ (*non* D) M N ~ accipienda W, accipiendum M P<sup>P.C.</sup>, accipere Ep<sup>2</sup>, capiendam V ~ autem *add. post* multis Ma Ei ~ decertantibus] certantibus B ~ finem] fidem Ma (*legere nequeo* Ei) ~ potuerant P F ~ et *post* sed *add.* W ~ fiat] fuit Ep (fiet Ep<sup>2</sup>) 5. exsuperans W ~ et *add. ante* in honore Ep ~ diuitiis] in diuitiis W

3.1. huius mundi sapientiae cfr. I Cor 1.20, 3.19  
 cfr. Mt 6.10, 26.42, Lc 22.42

4. Domini uoluntas fiat = Act 21.14;

siuit patrem illius; postulabat ab eo dari filiam eius filio suo in matrimonio. Et concedens, fiunt consuetae desponsalium arrhae.

[4.] <sup>1</sup>Post non multum uero temporis, accipiens eam Pafnutius, dum esset annorum decem et octo, abiit in monasterium cum ea, in quo consueuerat ambulare, multamque iterum pecuniam largitus est ad necessaria fratrum. Dixitque abbati: <sup>2</sup>«Fructum orationum tuarum adduxi tibi, ut ores pro ea, quia iam ad nuptias eam tradere uolo». <sup>3</sup>Iussit autem abbas introduci in xenodochium monasterii locutusque est cum ea. Et benedicens exhortatus est eam de castitate et patientia timoris Dei. <sup>4</sup>Facientes autem ibi tres dies, aurem ponebat quotidie ad psalmos. Et uidens singulorum conuersationem et spirituale propositum, mirabatur eorum uitam dicens: <sup>5</sup>«Beati sunt uiri isti, qui in hoc saeculo similes sunt angelis et post hoc uitam aeternam consequuntur». <sup>6</sup>Et coe-

patrem] pater W ~ et *add. ante* postulabat N Ma Ei ~ postulabat ab eo dari filiam eius filio suo *om.* R V ~ postulabat] posto- D Ep, postulat W, postolabant Ep <sup>a.c.</sup>, postulauit Ma Ei, postulans B ~ patrem *add. post* postulabat K ~ dari ab eo *tr.* P F ~ dari] ut daret δ ~ matrimonio] matrimonii W, matrimonium V <sup>2</sup> K Ep <sup>2</sup> N ~ concedens] concessit Ep <sup>2</sup> N ~ fiunt] fiant P <sup>a.c.</sup> F, fiuntque M N, fuit Ep (-que *add.* Ep <sup>2</sup>), fecit V <sup>2</sup> ~ consuetae ... arrhae] consuetas ... arras V <sup>2</sup> ~ desponsalium arrhae] sponsaliare K ~ desponsalium *codd.* (desp- D V <sup>2</sup> B Ma Ei) ~ arrae *codd.*, arra W, arras V <sup>2</sup>

[4.] 1. non *om.* β ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N Ma Ei ~ dum] cum δ ~ esset] esse W ~ et *om.* W ~ habiit F <sup>a.c.</sup> M Ep ~ in monasterio D P (-ium P <sup>p.c.</sup>) F M Ep <sup>a.c.</sup>, ad monasterium N ~ in quo] in quod N, ad quod V <sup>2</sup> ~ consueuerat] consuemat W (consueuerat F <sup>a.c.</sup>) ~ ambulare] uenire Ma Ei ~ multamque] multam W R <sup>p.c.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> ~ iterum] igitur P F R V K (*eras.* F <sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ dixitque] dixique W, dixit Ep (dixitque Ep <sup>2</sup>) 2. horacionum F ~ adduxi] duxi Ep ~ ea] eam D ~ tradere eam *tr.* N ~ tradere] dare Ep 3. abba R V ~ eam *add. post* autem P, eam *ante* introduci δ, eam *add. post* introduci V <sup>2</sup> ~ xenodochia R V <sup>2</sup> M N, senodochia V P F K, sinodochia B, senochia Ep ~ a monasterium Ep ~ locutusque] locutus D ~ est *om.* N ~ cum ea] cum eam W ~ exhortatus est] exortauit V (exhortatus est V <sup>2</sup>) ~ exorcizatus Ep <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ eam] autem P F <sup>a.c.</sup> (*ut uid.*), *om.* Ma Ei ~ et humilitate *add. post* castitate δ ~ ac *add. ante* timoris K ~ Dei] domini P 4. ab facientes *praebet* E ~ facientes] faciens V <sup>2</sup> ~ audiendos *add. post* ad psalmos B ~ spiritalem W D V P F E M Ei <sup>a.c.</sup> (spiritualem V <sup>2</sup> B), spiritale R K Ep N ~ propositum] conuersationem B ~ mirabatur eorum uitam *om.* P ~ ita *add. ante* dicens P 5. uir isti] serui illi N ~ histi Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ et *add. post* qui R V δ Ma Ei ~ post] propter γ ~ hoc] haec δ Ma Ei, *om.* F ~ consequuntur Ep <sup>2</sup>, secuntur F

4.5. in hoc saeculo similes sunt angelis cfr. Mt 22.30

pit cor eius sollicitans esse in zelo timoris Dei. <sup>7</sup>Post tres autem dies, dixit Pafnutius ad abbatem: <sup>8</sup>«Veni, pater, ut salutet te ancilla tua, et ora pro ea, quia ambulare uolumus in ciuitatem». Cum autem uenisset abbas, proiecit se ad pedes eius dicens: <sup>9</sup>«Obsecro, ora pro me, ut lucretur Deus animam meam». Extenditque manum suam et benedixit eam dicens: <sup>10</sup>«Deus, cognoscens hominem antequam nascatur, tu istius ancillae tuae curam habere digneris, ut mereatur portionem et consortium in regno caelorum». <sup>11</sup>Et commendantes se seni abierunt in ciuitatem. Pater uero illius, si aliquando inueniebat monachum, hunc adducebat ad domum suam petens ut oraret pro ea.

[5.] <sup>1</sup>Vna autem die anniuersaria qua ordinatus est abbas monasterii, de quo supra diximus, misit abbas unum ex fratribus ad Pafnutium ut inuitaret eum ad solemnitatem abbatis. <sup>2</sup>Qui abiens in domum eius, requisiiuit eum. <sup>3</sup>Pueri autem dixerunt: «Processit». Audiens uero

6. cor eius] corde esse R<sup>P.C.</sup>, cor esse V ~ eius] et D, om. R V (add. *supra lin.* V<sup>2</sup>) ~ sollicitans esse] sollicitus esse P F, esse sollicitus (esse sollicitum B Ep<sup>2</sup> N V<sup>2</sup>, sollicitans R<sup>a.c.</sup>, sollicita R<sup>P.C.</sup>) R V B δ ~ zelo] caelo D, *eras.* V<sup>2</sup> ~ timoris] timore V<sup>2</sup> ~ Dei] domini E 7. autem *tr. post* dies Ma ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N Ma Ei ~ ad abbatem] abbati P F, om. W 8. ancilla] ancille E ~ ea] eam M ~ quia] qui P ~ uolumus] uolo R V ~ in ciuitate F ~ autem om. D ~ abbas] abba R V K ~ illa add. *post* proiecit se P F, puella *idem ibidem* E Ep ~ ad] ante R 9. obsecro *tr. post* pro me B, om. R V ~ te add. *post* obsecro P F δ ~ pater add. *ante* ora δ, pater add. *post* pro me R V ~ pro me] pro ea Ep (pro me Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ animam meam deus *tr.* N ~ extenditque] et extendit B, extendensque δ ~ manum suam] manus Ma Ei ~ et om. B N, *eras.* E ~ benedixitque B ~ eam] ei B ~ dicens om. W 10. tu add. *post* deus K ~ cognoscens] qui cognoscas W, qui cognoscis E Ep N Ma Ei ~ hominem] omnia E<sup>P.C.</sup> (hominem E<sup>a.c.</sup>) ~ nascatur] fiat E Ep ~ tu om. P ~ istius] *cfr gr.*, huic β (hic Ep, huius F<sup>P.C.</sup> N) ~ ut] et δ (ut Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ habere add. *post* consortium δ ~ in regnum D K 11. se om. W R<sup>a.c.</sup> V (eam add. *post* commendantes V<sup>2</sup>) ~ seni om. N ~ abierunt] habierunt P F M, abiecerunt W ~ illius] eius γ (*non* D) ~ inueniebat F, inuenisset B ~ hunc] aliquem α K, quem D, om. P F, *eras.* R V ~ adducebat] deducebat B ~ oraret] oret P F (oraret P<sup>P.C.</sup> F<sup>P.C.</sup>)

[5.] 1. una] uno W D R V B K (una V<sup>2</sup>) ~ aduenit Ep<sup>2</sup> *supra lin. post* die ~ anniuersarii P F B, anniuersarium Ep<sup>P.C.</sup>, anniuersario K, uniuersiria *sic* W ~ qua] quo E B Ep, qui P<sup>a.c.</sup> (qua P<sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ monasterii ... abbas om. Ma ~ abbas<sup>2</sup>] abba V ~ de quo] de qua W R<sup>a.c.</sup> V (de quo V<sup>2</sup>), quod P, quem F ~ ad Pafnutium om. R V ~ pabnutium W, pasnucium F, paphnutium E N Ma Ei 2. habiens W P F E M ~ domum] domo P 3. processit] recessit K ~ uero] haec K, autem N

Eufrosina et aduocans illum fratrem, coepit interrogare eum. <sup>4</sup>«Dic mihi pro caritate, domine frater, quanti fratres estis in monasterio?» At ille dixit: «Trecenti quinquaginta duo». Dicit ei puella: <sup>5</sup>«Qui uoluerit uenire illic ad conuersationem, suscipit illum abbas uester?» <sup>6</sup>Respondit ei: «Etiam cum multo gaudio suscipit illum, maxime propter uocem Domini, qua dicit: “Qui uenit ad me, non eiciam foras”». <sup>7</sup>Dicit ei Eufrosina: «Omnes in una ecclesia psallitis et aequaliter ieiunatis?» <sup>8</sup>Dicit ei monachus ille: «Communiter quidem psallimus, ieiunat uero unusquisque quomodo uult aut quantum ualet, ut non fiat contumax uoluntatis conuersatio, sed proprii arbitrii et spontanea uoluntate».

[6.] <sup>1</sup>Omnem ergo perscrutans monachorum conuersationem, dixit ad monachum: «Volebam abire et peruenire ad huius inenarrabilem uitam;

Eufrosina] euphrosina Ma Ei, puella N ~ et *om.* P F B K ~ dicens *post* eum *add.* R V 4. pro caritate] per caritatem N, *om.* W ~ domine frater pro caritate *tr.* P F ~ domine] domne E, *om.* N ~ trecenti quinquaginta duo] CCC III K ~ tridenti M N <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ dicit] dixit E Ep 5. illic] illuc R <sup>p.c.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> P F B K N Ma Ei ~ illuc uenire *tr.* Ma Ei ~ conuersationem] conuersionem D R F <sup>p.c.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> B K M Ep <sup>2</sup> N ~ suscipit] suscepit D V (suscipit V <sup>2</sup>) ~ abba P ~ uester *om.* W, *sed uacuum uerbi spatium relictum est* 6. ei *om.* W ~ multo gaudio] magno gaudio E M Ep, gaudio magno Ma Ei ~ suscipit] suscepit D V (suscipit V <sup>2</sup>) ~ qua dicit] dicentis B ~ qua] quia N Ma, quo D, quod V P F (qua F <sup>2</sup> V <sup>2</sup>) ~ eum *add. ante* qui uenit N ~ eieciam D, eiciam K, ieciama W, etiam V (eiciam V <sup>2</sup>) 7. dicit] dixit N ~ Eufrosina] euphrosina Ei, euphraxia Ma ~ in una ecclesia] in uestra ecclesia β (*non* P F E) ~ aecclesia K Ma, haecclasia E ~ et *om.* Ep ~ aequaliter] equanimiter K 8. ei *om.* W ~ ille *om.* Ma Ei ~ quidem *om.* α ~ ieiunat] ieiunia β (ieiuniis P) ~ uero] *tr. post* unusquisque Ma, autem P ~ quomodo] quod K ~ aut] uel K E ~ ualet] uidet Ma Ei ~ exercet *add. post* ualet N ~ non *om.* K, *supra lin.* F ~ uoluntati B ~ conuersatio] conuersationis B, conuersionis K ~ proprii arbitrii et spontanea uoluntate] propter arbitrium et spontaneam uoluntatem K ~ proprii] probrii W, proprio F N ~ arbitrii] arbitrio F N, *om.* E ~ spontanea uoluntate] spontaneae uoluntatis R <sup>p.c.</sup>

[6.] 1. ergo] uero P F Ma Ei ~ perscrutans] scrutans D K ~ conuersationem monachorum *tr.* R V ~ conuersatione F ~ dixit] dicit W ~ eufrosina *add. post* dixit N ~ abire] ire K, habire D M Ep <sup>a.c.</sup>, habere W, habere potestatem Ma Ei ~ huius] hanc Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ inenarrabilem uitam] inenarrabilis (-biles Ei <sup>a.c.</sup>) uitae enormitatem Ma Ei

5.6. qui uenit ad me, non eiciam foras = Io 6.37

sed timeo patrem meum, quia pro uana et caduca huius saeculi substantia cupit me tradere uiro». <sup>2</sup>Dicit ei monachus: «Soror, non permittas ut polluat homo corpus tuum et tradas talem pulchritudinem pati opprobrium, sed desponsa te Christo, qui tibi potest pro istis omnibus transeuntibus dare caelorum regna et cum angelis consortium. <sup>3</sup>Occulte autem exiens, uade in monasterium mutato habitu saeculari, induta ueste monachica, ut possis euadere». <sup>4</sup>Quae cum audisset, placuit ei et dixit ad eum: «Et quis me habet tondere?» Nolebat enim a laico tonderi qui non seruat fidem. <sup>5</sup>Dicit ei monachus ille: «Ecce pater tuus uenit mecum ad monasterium et faciet ibi tres dies uel quattuor. Tu autem adduc unum de monachis. Et, quomodo uoles, occurret tibi cum magno gaudio».

[7.] <sup>1</sup>Haec et his similia illo dicente ad Eufrosinam, uenit Pafnutius. Et uidens monachum interrogauit eum dicens: «Quid ad nos fatigium

patrem meum] inobediens esse (esse inobediens *tr.* R V B K) patri meo β (*non* D) ~ patrem] pater *sic* W ~ quia] qui Ep <sup>P.C.</sup> N <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ per uanam et caducam ... substantiam N ~ uius E ~ me *om.* F (me *add. post* tradere *supra lin.*) 2. pulluat W V <sup>2</sup> ~ ne *add. ante* tradas Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ desponsa] dispona V <sup>a.c.</sup> E Ep Ma Ei, desponde N ~ qui] que D ~ potest] potes V (potest V <sup>2</sup>) ~ istis] histis E, *om.* N ~ dare] tribuere *tr. post* angelis B ~ caelorum regna] regna caelorum R V P F B, regnum caelorum K δ ~ cum angelis consortium] et angelorum consortium P, et consortium angelorum δ ~ *ab* cum angelis consortium *def.* Ma, *deperditis foliis subsequentibus* 3. occulte] occulta D ~ exiens *om.* D ~ uade] uenit P ~ mane *add. post* uade Ep <sup>2</sup> *supra lin.* ~ in] ad N ~ monasterio P <sup>a.c.</sup> E ~ mutatu W V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ habito N <sup>a.c.</sup> Ep <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ saeculari] saeculare W D V (-ri V <sup>2</sup>), suo P ~ et *add. ante* induta P ~ induta] indue te P <sup>P.C.</sup> δ ~ ueste monachica] ueste monachili (uestem monachilem D) β ~ monachile P F <sup>a.c.</sup>, *om.* N 4. quae] qui W, quod V <sup>2</sup> B ~ haec *add. post* cum M <sup>sup. lin.</sup> E Ep ~ ei] illi δ, ire K ~ dixit] dixi V (dixit V <sup>2</sup>) ~ ad eum] ei Ei, *om.* B ~ et <sup>2</sup> *om.* K ~ me *om.* W ~ habet me *tr.* F B ~ tondere] dondere W, totondere D B <sup>a.c.</sup>, totondere V <sup>a.c.</sup> P K <sup>a.c.</sup> E M Ep, tundere B <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ enim] autem P F N ~ se *add. post* enim R V ~ laico] laica D V <sup>a.c.</sup> (*ut uid.*) B K ~ tonderi] totondi W γ (tondere R, tundi B <sup>P.C.</sup>, totundi B <sup>a.c.</sup>, tonderi F <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup>) δ (tondiri N, tonderi N <sup>P.C.</sup>), tondi Ei ~ qui] quae B K <sup>P.C.</sup>, quia Ei ~ seruat] erat serbaturus E, seruabat Ep 5. ille *om.* Ei ~ uenit] ueniet δ Ei ~ et *om.* K ~ faciat V (faciet V <sup>2</sup>) ~ dies *tr. post* quattuor B ~ tu autem] tunc Ep ~ adduc] abduc F ~ quomodo] quo K, quoniam N ~ uoles] uolens N, uales K, uel uolueris P, uolueris F, uis E Ep ~ occurret] occurrit W D K

[7.] 1. his] is F ~ dicente illo *tr.* F N ~ ad euphrosinam Ei, ad eufrosina D ~ pafnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N Ei ~ eum *om.* P N ~ fatigium] fastigium D V F M Ei <sup>P.C.</sup>, fastidium V <sup>2</sup>, *om.* K (*spatio relicto uacuo*), fatigionem Ep <sup>2</sup>

sumpsisti, domine?» <sup>2</sup>Et dixit ad eum: «Anniuersaria dies est monasterii misitque me abbas ut uenias et accipias benedictionem». <sup>3</sup>Gauisus est autem Pafnutius; ingressusque cum eo in nauculam, abierunt in monasterium. <sup>4</sup>Cum autem esset ibi, mittens Eufrosina unum fidelissimum famulum dicens: «Vade in monasterium Theodosii, ingressus ecclesiam, et monachum quem ibi inueneris adduc tecum huc». <sup>5</sup>Misericordia autem Dei, ecce quidam monachus ueniebat de monasterio uendens quae secum habebat. Et uidens eum, puer rogauit eum ut ueniret ad Eufrosinam. <sup>6</sup>Qui cum uenisset, uidens eum, puella surgens salutauit eum dicens: «Ora pro me, pater». Et orans benedixit eam et sedit. <sup>7</sup>Dixit autem ei Eufrosina: «Domine mi, ego autem habeo patrem christianum et seruum Dei possessorem substantiae nimis. <sup>8</sup>Habuitque uxorem, ex qua me genuit, quae transiuit de hac uita. Vult autem pater meus pro omnibus rebus suis tradere me saeculo huic iniquo. <sup>9</sup>Et ego

sumpsisti domine] domine presumpsisti *tr.* W 2. et <sup>1</sup> *om.* K ~ anniuersarii P F B E M Ep, anniuersarius Ei ~ abbatis *add. ante* monasterii B ~ misitque] misit K ~ me *om.* W M Ep N ~ uenias] ueniens D R V B K, uenies P F (uenias P<sup>P.C.</sup> F<sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ et <sup>2</sup> *om.* R V B K ~ accipies P<sup>a.c.</sup> (accipias P<sup>P.C.</sup>) F 3. est *om.* γ (*non* V) Ei ~ autem *om.* K ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N Ei ~ ingressusque] ingressus W D R V K (ingressusque V<sup>2</sup>), et ingressus Ei, ingressus est P F B ~ in nauculam] in naucula W F, nabiculam E ~ et *add. ante* abierunt P<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ habierunt P F V<sup>a.c.</sup> E M Ep<sup>a.c.</sup>, abieruntque B 4. esset] essent γ ~ mittens] misit R N ~ Eufrosina] euphrosina Ei, *om.* E ~ unum *om.* P F R V ~ famulum] seruum K, seruulum W Ei, *om.* E ~ dicens] dicit Ei, dixit V<sup>2</sup> ~ monasterio P<sup>a.c.</sup> F ~ theodosi W, teodosii R Ep (theo- Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ ingressus] et ingressus B, ingressusque δ Ei ~ in ecclesia P F, in aecclesiam Ei, aecclesiam W, aeglaesiam E, in monasterium B ~ et *om.* δ Ei, *eras.* B V<sup>2</sup> ~ inueneris] inuenies E Ep ~ huc *om.* B K Ei 5. misericordiam Ep ~ autem *om.* W P F ~ Dei] domini F ~ monachus quidam *tr.* P F ~ ueniebat de monasterio] inuentus est in monasterio E ~ uendens quae secum habebat *eras.* P, *del.* F, *om.* E Ep ~ uendens quae] uidens quae P (*ut uid.*) F M, uenientesque N ~ eum *om.* F ~ ad euprosinam Ei, ad eufrosina D 6. qui] que D ~ et *add. ante* surgens N ~ surgens *om.* B ~ salutabit E 7. dixit autem ei Eufrosina *om.* P F, *scr. supra lineam* F<sup>2</sup> ~ ei *om.* K ~ euprosina Ei ~ autem <sup>2</sup> *om.* P F E M Ep Ei, *eras.* R V ~ abeo E ~ serbum E ~ et *add. ante* possessorem N ~ substantiae] et substantionum W, et substantiosum Ei ~ nimis] nimiae R<sup>P.C.</sup> V<sup>2</sup> F<sup>P.C.</sup> N, multae nimis E Ep 8. ex qua] quae R V P<sup>P.C.</sup> P<sup>P.C.</sup> F<sup>P.C.</sup> B K E M Ep N, qui D V<sup>a.c.</sup> P<sup>a.c.</sup> F<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ quae] qui P<sup>a.c.</sup>, quia *ut uid.* F<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ iam (etiam Ep) *add. post* quae P<sup>P.C.</sup> F<sup>2</sup> δ ~ hac] ac F M ~ uita] luce E Ep ~ uult] uolet W D V (uult V<sup>2</sup>), uoluit B M ~ autem] enim Ei ~ rebus *om.* N ~ huic saeculo *tr.* D F K ~ iniquo] in quo P F

nolo inquinari in eo, sed timeo esse inobediens patri meo; et quid faciam nescio. <sup>10</sup>Totam enim noctem absque somno pertransiui, postulans Deum ut ostenderet miserae animae meae misericordiam suam. <sup>11</sup>Et, mane facto, placuit mihi mittere in ecclesiam et adducere unum fratrem, ut ab ipso audirem uerbum Dei et quid facere debeam. <sup>12</sup>Postulo autem te, pater, pro mercede animae tuae, scio quia a Deo missus es, doce me quae Dei sunt».

[8.] <sup>1</sup>Dicit ei ille senior: «Dominus dicit “Si quis non abrenuntiauerit patrem et matrem et fratrem et filios insuper et propriam animam, non potest meus esse discipulus”. <sup>2</sup>Ego tibi dicere plus his non scio; tamen si potes ferre temptamenta carnis, relinque omnia et fuge. <sup>3</sup>Facultates enim patris tui multos inueniunt haeredes. Ecce ptochia, gerocomia, xenodochia, monasteria, uiduae, pupilli, peregrini, infirmi,

9. inobediens esse *tr.* P F B ~ esse patri meo inoboediens *tr.* E ~ esse *om.* Ep, *add. post* inoboediens *supra lin.* Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ nescio] penitus ignoro Ei 10. totam ... noctem] tota ... nocte P Ei ~ absque] sine Ei ~ pertransibi E ~ postolans D V (postu- V <sup>2</sup>) ~ deum] dominum N, deo E Ep, *om.* B ~ miserae] *om.* δ, misereri P <sup>a.c.</sup>, miserere F <sup>a.c.</sup> (-re eras.) ~ deus *add. ante* animae *supr. lin.* Ep <sup>2</sup> 11. facto mane *tr.* R V K ~ mittere *om.* Ei (ire *in marg.*) ~ in ecclesia F, in aeclesiam W, in eglesiam E, ad ecclesiam B Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ et adducere] ut adducerem R V K M, et adducerem N ~ unum fratrem] unum ex fratribus Ei ~ Dei] salutis δ, dei R <sup>p.c.</sup> (*fortasse ex domini*) ~ quid] quod W D K ~ debeam] deberem B 12. postolo D V M (postu- V <sup>2</sup>) ~ enim *add. post* scio V <sup>2</sup> ~ ea *add. ante* quae N

[8.] 1. ei *om.* K ~ ille *om.* P E Ep Ei ~ senior] senex Ei ~ dicit] dixit N ~ abrenuntiauerit] renunciauerit K ~ patrem ... propriam animam] patri et matri et fratribus (et fratrem *om.* R <sup>p.c.</sup>) et filiis insuper et propriae animae R <sup>p.c.</sup> N ~ et matrem *om.* Ei ~ et <sup>1</sup>] aut B ~ et fratrem *om.* R V ~ fratrem] fratres P F B K E M Ep Ei, fratribus N ~ et sorores *add. post* filios F ~ et *post* insuper *om.* K ~ propriam animam] animam suam E Ep (cfr R <sup>p.c.</sup> N *supra*) ~ esse meus *tr.* R V P ~ meus *tr. post* discipulus W 2. ego] eo quod W, et quid Ei ~ dicere] possim dicere Ei ~ non scio] nescio B E Ep Ei ~ relinque ... 3 patris tui *om.* N 3. inueniunt] inuenient B E M Ep Ei, inuenies N, inuenieunt *sic* V (-niunt V <sup>2</sup>) ~ ptochia] *cfr* πτωχεῖα, tochia R <sup>a.c.</sup> V B Ep, stochia Ei, topchia D M E, tophia *corr. in* orfanotrophia N, copia P F ~ gerocomia] gerochomia F, hierocomia W N, hierochomia D P R B M, hierochomiam V, ierochomia R <sup>p.c.</sup> K Ei, hierochomia Ep, iherochomia E ~ senodochia P F <sup>p.c.</sup>, scenodochia N, xenochia D E, xemochia Ep, sedochia F <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ peregrini *om.* Ei ~ et *add. ante* pupilli N ~ et *add. ante* infirmi N

8.1. si quis non abrenuntiauerit patrem ... meus esse discipulus = Lc 14.26; cfr Lc 14.33, Mt 10.37

captiui: <sup>4</sup>ubi uoluerit et placuerit patri tuo relinquat; tu solum ne perdas animam tuam». <sup>5</sup>Dicit ei puella: «Confido in Deum et in orationibus tuis quia laborare habeam pro anima mea, Deo auxiliante». <sup>6</sup>Dicit ei senex: «Talia desideria a firmitate non deciduntur. Ergo scit enim tempus poenitentiam agere». <sup>7</sup>Dicit ei Eufrosina: «Et ideo te fatigauit ut impleas desiderium meum; et, facta oratione, benedicas me et abscidas comam capitis mei». <sup>8</sup>Et exurgens senex, facta oratione, abscidit comam capitis eius, induit eam tunicam schematis. <sup>9</sup>Et orans pro ea dixit: «Deus qui liberauit omnes sanctos suos, ipse te custodiat ab omni malo». <sup>10</sup>Et haec dicens senex discessit ab ea et ambulauit in uiam suam, gaudens et glorificans Deum.

[9.] <sup>1</sup>Eufrosina autem, in semetipsa cogitans, dicit: «Si ambulauero in monasterio puellarum, pater meus requirens inueniet me et uiolenter

captiui] -bi E, *om.* N ~ sunt *add. post* capitui V <sup>2</sup> 4. ubi] si γ (*non* D) ~ et placuerit patri tuo relinquat] pater tuus relinquat (-quet P) P F B K ~ cui *add. ante* placuerit Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ eis *add. ante* relinquat R, illis *idem ib.* V <sup>2</sup> ~ substantiam suam *add. post* relinquat Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ tu solum] tu autem sola Ei, tu sola F V <sup>2</sup> B, tu solus V, te solam K 5. in deum] in deo R <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> N ~ in <sup>2</sup> *om.* B E N ~ laborare] labore V (laborare V <sup>2</sup>), ad laborandum Ei ~ me *add. post* laborare E ~ habeam] habeo (abeo E) K δ Ei ~ mea] tua Ep (mea Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ deo auxiliante ... 6 a firmitate *om.* N 6. dicit] dixit E Ep ~ senes E ~ non *om.* W ~ deciduntur] decidunt R <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> F <sup>P.C.</sup> B Ep <sup>P.C.</sup>, deciduntur N (-dat N <sup>P.C.</sup>), declinantur Ei ~ ergo scit enim tempus poenitentiam agere] modo enim tempus est poenitentiae δ ~ ergo scit] est R ~ ergo *om.* W Ei ~ scit] scis K, scito V <sup>2</sup> B ~ enim] esse V <sup>2</sup>, quia B, *om.* F K ~ est *add. post* tempus B ~ poenitentia P, poenitentiae F K δ 7. dicit ei eufrosina *om.* N ~ euphrosina Ei ~ et *om.* B ~ ego *add. ante* fatigauit W B ~ fatigabi E ~ te *om.* B ~ facta oratione] fac orationem N ~ et <sup>3</sup>] ut K ~ abscidas] abscidas W, abscidens R V <sup>2</sup> ~ mei ... 8 comam capitis *om.* R V 8. et <sup>1</sup> *om.* P F B Ei ~ exurgensque B ~ senes E ~ induit] induitque B δ, et induit Ei ~ tunica B Ep, tunicam M Ei, tonica W D R V (tu- V <sup>2</sup> P <sup>P.C.</sup>) P <sup>a.c.</sup> F <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ scematis (scismatis F) *codd.* 9. orans] orat is W ~ pro ea] pro eam E M, *om.* K ~ liberauit] liberat B ~ omnes *om.* γ ~ *add. post* sanctos suos N: de angustiis et tribulationibus huius saeculi et perduxit eos ad gaudium sempiternum ~ custodiat te *tr.* δ 10. senex *om.* E Ep ~ ambulauit] ambulabat M Ep N ~ in uiam suam] uia sua B, uiam suam Ei ~ et glorificans deum *om.* δ [9.] 1. euphrosina Ei ~ autem] uero δ ~ cogitans in semetipsam (semetipsa Ep N) *tr.* δ ~ in semetipsam B ~ dicit] dixit B δ Ei ~ ambulabero E ~ in monasterium W P <sup>P.C.</sup> Ep <sup>P.C.</sup> N Ei ~ uiolenter] nolenter P F

6. tempus poenitentiam agere cfr. Apc 2.21 9. Deus... liberauit omnes sanctos suos cfr. Ps 33.18 ~ ipse te custodiat ab omni malo = Ps 120.7



trahet me inde propter sponsum meum. Proinde pergam ad monasterium uirorum, ubi nullus suspicet me ibi esse». <sup>2</sup>Et haec dicens proiecit uestem muliebrem, induit se uirili. Et, sero facto, exiuit de domo sua, accipiens secum quingentos solidos; et abscondit se in quodam loco per totam noctem. <sup>3</sup>Mane autem facto, uenit pater eius in ciuitatem. Volente autem Deo, statim in ecclesiam ambulauit. <sup>4</sup>Eufrosina igitur peruenit in monasterium illum, ubi et pater eius erat notissimus, <sup>5</sup>et nuntiauit per ostiarium abbati dicens: «Eunuchus quidam de palatio ueniens ante ostium stat, cupiens loqui tecum». <sup>6</sup>Egressus autem abbas, proiecit se in terram et, facta oratione, sederunt. Dicit ei senex: «Quid est quod uenisti, fili?» <sup>7</sup>Dicit ei Eufrosina: «Ego quidem de palatio fui eunuchus et desiderium habui semper conuersationem monachorum et ciuitas nostra non ualde habet hunc studium conuersationis. <sup>8</sup>Notum autem factum est mihi de bona uestra conuersatione, et cupio habitare uobiscum, si placuerit uobis. <sup>9</sup>Habeo enim et possessiones multas et, si dederit mihi Dominus requiem, adduco eas hic».

inde trahet me *tr.* B ~ inde *om.* P F ~ meum *om.* B ~ ad monasterio F ~ suspicet] suspicit D, suscipiet V K Ep, suspicetur F R B Ep <sup>2</sup> N Ei, suspicabitur V <sup>2</sup> ~ me *tr.* ante nullus E Ep ~ ibi *om.* R B δ Ei, *eras.* V <sup>2</sup> 2. uestem *supra ras.* R ~ muliebrem] mulierem P <sup>a.c.</sup> Ep (muliebrem P <sup>p.c.</sup> Ep <sup>2</sup>), qua induta erat N ~ induit] et induit R V <sup>2</sup> Ei, induitque B δ ~ se *om.* B N ~ uirili] uirilem P F B δ Ei ~ facto] facta W D V K (facto V <sup>2</sup>) ~ et *add.* ante accipiens Ep ~ et <sup>3</sup> *om.* B Ep 3. in ciuitate F ~ uolente autem] uolentem P ~ autem *om.* K ~ deo] domino Ep ~ in aeclesiam W, in aeclesiam D, in ecclesia P F K, in eglesia E ~ ambulauit] perrexit B 4. euphrosina Ei ~ igitur] autem P F K ~ in] ad δ ~ illum] illud R B N V <sup>2</sup> Ei, *om.* K ~ et <sup>1</sup> *om.* P F B K N 5. nuntiauit] adnuntiauit F ~ per ostiarium] per hostiarium *codd.* (per ostiarium W R F, per os- V <sup>p.c.</sup>), hostiarius K ~ abbati *tr.* post nuntiauit B ~ dicens] dicit Ep (dicens Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ quidam] quidem N <sup>a.c.</sup>, *om.* K ~ Theodosii imperatoris *add.* post palatio K ~ ueniens] uenit P F K ~ ad te *add.* post ueniens B ~ ante ostium stat] stat ante hostium K ~ hostium *codd.* (ost- R V <sup>2</sup> F Ei) 6. egressus ... abbas] egresso ... abbate V <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ in terra P F E N ~ ante pedes eius eufrosina *add.* post in terram Ep <sup>2</sup> *supra lin.* ~ dicit] dixit E ~ senes E Ep <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ quid est] quidem N ~ quod] propter quod V <sup>2</sup> ~ huc *add.* ante uenisti B ~ filii W 7. euphrosina Ei ~ quidem] quidam Ep ~ de palatio] in palatio P F ~ Theodosii imperatoris *add.* post palatio K ~ desiderio Ep <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ habuissemper *sic* W ~ abui E ~ semper *om.* Ep ~ conuersationem] de conuersatione B ~ agere *add.* post conuersationem Ei ~ monachorum conuersationem *tr.* K ~ abet E ~ habet ualde *tr.* W ~ hunc] hoc R V <sup>2</sup> F B K N Ei (hoc habet *tr.* Ei) 8. mihi *om.* R ~ conuersatione uestra *tr.* R V ~ uobis placuerit *tr.* F B ~ enim *add.* post placuerit V 9. enim *om.* V ~ et *om.* R V F K ~ possessiones] passionis P <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ Dominus] deus Ei ~ in hoc loco *add.* ante adduco P F ~ adduco] adducam Ep N ~ hic] huc R V <sup>2</sup> P F B K Ep <sup>2</sup> N Ei

[10.] <sup>1</sup>Dicit ei senex ille: «Bene uenisti, fili. Ecce monasterium, si tibi placet, habita nobiscum». Dicit ei abbas ille: «Quod est nomen tuum?» Dicit ei: «Smaragdus». <sup>2</sup>Dicit ei senex: «Iuuenis es, non potes solus sedere, opus est tibi habere magistrum, ut discas regulam et conuersationem monachorum». <sup>3</sup>Dicit abbati: «Sicut iubet, domine mi pater, sic facio». Et protulit quingentos solidos in manum abbatis dicens: «Accipe, pater, interim istos et, si uidero quia possum sufferre hic, uenient et illa reliqua». <sup>4</sup>Vocauit autem abbas unum fratrem, nomine Agapitum, uirum sanctum et impassibilem, et tradidit in manu eius Smaragdum. Dicit ei: <sup>5</sup>«Ecce amodo hic erit filius tuus et discipulus, talem eum consigna, ut exuperet magistrum». <sup>6</sup>Et flexis genibus, facta oratione, consignauit eum; et respondentibus omnibus «amen!», suscepit eum Agapitus in cellam suam.

[11.] <sup>1</sup>Et quia habebat uultum decorem Smaragdus, dum ueniebat in ecclesiam ad deprecandum Deum, multos diabolus incitabat aduersus

[10.] 1. dicit ei <sup>1</sup>] dixit ei E Ep ~ senes E Ep (senex Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ ille] *om.* B δ Ei, iterum V <sup>2</sup> ~ filii W ~ abbas ille ... 2 dicit ei *om.* W ~ placet tibi *tr.* B ~ dicit ei <sup>2</sup>] dixit ei E Ep ~ abbas] senex (senes E Ep, senex Ep <sup>2</sup>) B δ ~ ille <sup>2</sup> *om.* Ei ~ rursus *add. post* est B ~ est *om.* K ~ dicit ei <sup>3</sup>] quae dixit B, respondit illa N ~ zmaragdus M, zmarachdus P, zmaracrus F E, zmaradus Ep, smaragdus Ep <sup>2</sup> 2. senex] abbas δ ~ iubenis E ~ abere E ~ discas] doceat te Ei 3. dicit] qui dixit δ ~ illa *add. post* dicit F ~ abbati] ei B ~ sicut] sicuti Ei, si W ~ pater domine mi *tr.* β (non K) ~ pater *om.* δ ~ mihi domine *tr.* N ~ sic *om.* E ~ faciam E Ep Ei ~ deditque *add. post* solidos Ei ~ in manu] in manu P F B K E M N ~ abbati γ M Ep (abbatis P B E Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ pater *om.* K ~ histos E Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ solidos *add. post* istos B ~ et <sup>2</sup> *om.* Ei ~ quia] quod E ~ possum] possim P F E N ~ sufferre possim *tr.* E ~ sufferre] sufficere W ~ hic] huc K Ep <sup>P.C.</sup> N, hinc Ep <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ uenient] ueniant Ei ~ et <sup>3</sup> *om.* K E ~ relinqua F <sup>a.c.</sup> 4. uocauitque N ~ autem *om.* N ~ agapitem D ~ et impassibilem *om.* B ~ impassibilem] impassiuilem E, impassibile F, passibilem V <sup>P.C.</sup>, incompassibilem Ei ~ in manu] in manum Ep Ei ~ zmaragdum Ep <sup>a.c.</sup>, zmarachdum P, zmaracrum F E ~ et *add. ante* dicit R V Ei ~ dicit ei] dicens P F δ, dixit ei Ei ~ dicit] dicitque B 5. ecce amodo] ecce modo Ei, amodo β ~ erit] uenit Ep ~ discipulus] discipulum W ~ eum] illum E Ep, enim N ~ exsuperet W D, experet P 6. facta oratione *om.* R V ~ factaque P ~ consignauit] signauit R V ~ eum *om.* P F B K ~ eum <sup>2</sup>] eam N, *om.* Ep (eum *add.* Ep <sup>2</sup>)

[11.] 1. quia] qui F Ep (quia Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ abebant E ~ decorem] decorum R K N Ei ~ zmarachdus P, zmaracrus F E ~ in ecclesia D V P F N, in ecclesiam W, in aeccliesiam Ei, in aeglaesiam E ~ ad precandum E ~ Deum] dominum Ei ~ multos] multa B ~ illorum *add. post* multos Ei ~ diabolus W F, diabolos V (-lus V <sup>2</sup>) ~ incitabat] excitabat Ei, *om.* B

decorem uultus illius per malas cogitationes, <sup>2</sup>ita ut omnes molesti essent abbati, qui talem pulchritudinem introduxisset in monasterium. <sup>3</sup>Abbas autem haec audiens uocauit Smaragdum et dicit ei: «Fili, pulchra est facies tua, fit ruina infirmis fratribus. <sup>4</sup>Volo autem ut sedeas solus in cella tua, et ibi psallere et ibi manducare, non tamen egressurum te inde alicubi». Et praecepit Agapito, ut praepararet cellam solitariam, ut in ea degeret Smaragdus. <sup>5</sup>Fecit autem Agapitus omnia quae sibi a patre monasterii fuerant imperata et introduxit Smaragdum in cellam solitariam. <sup>6</sup>Et erat ibi orationibus uacans, ieiuniisque et uigiliis nocte ac die operam dabat, seruans Domino in simplicitate cordis, ita ut miraretur praedictus frater, qui eum susceperat, et omnibus fratribus retulit eius constantiam. Et omnes collaudabant Deum, qui in infirma aetate talia operatur.

[12.] <sup>1</sup>Pafnutius autem pater illius, cum reuersus esset domi, festinus

per malas cogitationes] in malis cogitationibus K 2. essent] esse W ~ et dicerent *add. post* abbati N ~ qui] quia B Ep <sup>2</sup> N ~ talem] tale W ~ introduxisti N, introduxisse W, induxisset K 3. abbas autem haec audiens] haec autem (*om.* K) audiens abbas K Ei ~ zmarachdum P, zmaracdum F E ~ et dicit] et dixit P F, dicens D ~ filii W ~ fili *tr. post* tua δ ~ est *om.* B ~ fit] sit Ep, non sit Ep <sup>2</sup>, timeo ne sit Ei ~ autem *add. post* fit K ~ est *om.* B 4. uolo autem] placet autem nobis Ei ~ autem *om.* K ~ ibi ... ibi] tibi ... tibi K ~ psallere ... manducare] psallas ... manduces δ ~ ibi <sup>1</sup> *tr. post* psallere B ~ ibi <sup>2</sup> *om.* B Ei ~ tamen *om.* Ei ~ te egressurum *tr.* D E Ei ~ inde *tr. post* non Ei, *tr. ante* egressurum B ~ alicubi] aliubi W (*aliubu scr. ut uid.?*) ~ praecepit] praecipit W ~ praepararet] praeparet Ep (*praepararet* Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ solitarium Ep (*solitariam* Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ ut<sup>3</sup>] et δ (*ut* Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ in ea] in eam Ep (*in ea* Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ solus *add. ante* degeret Ei ~ degeret] tegeter W, legere F ~ zmarachdus P, zmarachdus F, zmaracdus E 5. quae] qua N <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ fuerant imperata] fuerat imperatum E Ep (*fuerat imperata* Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ zmarachdum P F, zmaracdum E ~ in cella solitaria F 6. in *add. ante* orationibus Ei ~ uacans] uocaris Ep (*uacans* Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ ieiuniisque] et ieiuniis K, ieiuniis W ~ et <sup>2</sup>] ac K Ei ~ uigiliis] uigiliisque W ~ die ac nocte *tr.* B ~ ac] hac E, et W P F ~ operam] operum D R <sup>a.c.</sup> V P <sup>a.c.</sup> F, opus V <sup>2</sup> ~ dabat] agebat γ (*dabat* B) ~ domino] deo P F B K N ~ susceperat D V (*susce-* V <sup>2</sup>) ~ et <sup>3</sup>] cum K (*deinde subp.*), *om.* P F B ~ omnes] omnibus W ~ collaudabant] laudabant B ~ qui] quia W ~ in infirma aetate] in (*om.* P F B K M) infirmitate β (*in infirma aetate* P <sup>p.c.</sup> F <sup>2</sup>, *in infirmitate* M <sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ in *om.* Ei [12.] 1. pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius N Ei ~ pater illius *om.* P F ~ illius] eius D ~ reuersus esset domi] reuertisset a monasterio ad domum propriam Ei ~ esset] esse W ~ domi] domum R <sup>p.c.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> N

11.6 in simplicitate cordis Gn 20.5; Sap 1.1, etc.

ingressus est cubiculum, in quo filia eius manere solita erat, et non inuenta. Tristis maerensque effectus, coepit exquirere anxius seruulos et ancillas quid de Eufrosina actum esset. <sup>2</sup>Pueris autem dicentibus quia «Nocte uidimus eam, mane autem non comparuit: et putauimus quod pater illius, qui eam desponsauit, uenerit et tulerit eam», et misit seruos suos ad domum illius, et non iuenerunt eam. <sup>3</sup>Audiens autem sponsus illius et pater illius, contristati sunt ualde. Et uenientes ad Pafnutium, inuenerunt illum uehementer afflictum iacentem in terra et dixerunt ei: «Forsitan aliquis seduxit eam et fugit cum illa». <sup>4</sup>Statimque serui cum equis per totam Alexandriam et Aegyptum missi sunt. Erant autem ibi et naues intrantesque in eas requirebant per uim. Et scrutantes monasteria puellarum, eremum et speluncas, per domos amicorum et uicinorum, <sup>5</sup>et nusquam reperta, tamquam mortuam lugebant eam. Socer nuntius, sponsus sponsam flebant. <sup>6</sup>Pater filiam lugens dicebat: «Heu, heu filia dulcissima! heu me, lumen oculorum meorum, consolatio uitae

manere solita erat] manere consueuerat D R V B K, maneret P F ~ non *om.* F (*add. supra lin.* F <sup>2</sup>) ~ inuenta] inuentam E M Ep ~ maerensque] meresque M <sup>P.C.</sup>, tremensque Ei ~ coepitque R V <sup>a.c.</sup> (-que *eras.* V <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ exquirere] perquirere β (quaerere D) ~ anxius E ~ seruulos et ancillas] per seruulos (serb- E) et ancillas B E Ep, a seruulis et ancillis N ~ seruulos] serbulos E, seruos P F K ~ de] te W ~ euprosina Ei ~ hactum E ~ esset] fuisset P, est K Ei 2. eam] ea P ~ putabimus E ~ quod pater illius qui] quod pater illius inueni qui Ep, *del. et* quod iuuenis *scr. supra lin.* Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ quod] quia E ~ pater] sponsus V ~ inueni *add. post* illius E ~ dispensauit W D E <sup>a.c.</sup> Ep Ei, desponsauerat (disp. V <sup>a.c.</sup> M) R V P F B M N ~ uenerit] uenisset B Ei, uenerit *sic!* Ep ~ tulerit] tulisset B Ei ~ et <sup>3</sup> *om.* R B N Ei, *eras.* V <sup>P.C.</sup> 3. autem *om.* E N ~ sponsus illius et pater illius] pater illius et sponsus B ~ illius <sup>2</sup>] eius δ Ei, *om.* D ~ et *add. ante* contristati W ~ pabnutium W, pasnucium F, paphnucium Ei ~ fugit] fuit E ~ illa] ea K, illam E, illo B 4. eius *add. post* serui γ (*non* D), illius *ibidem* δ ~ aequis P ~ alaxandriam E ~ et aegyptum *om.* δ ~ erant] erat M <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ autem *om.* K ~ et ibi *tr.* B ~ ibi *om.* Ei ~ nabes E ~ intrantesque] et intrantes R, intrantes V ~ uim] eos P F, uiam V <sup>2</sup> ~ monesteria F ~ eremum *codd.* (heremos δ, et per heremos P) ~ et <sup>4</sup> *om.* Ei ~ speluncas] speluncae W D V P F (speluncas P <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup>) ~ domus V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ amicorum] antiquorum K 5. nusquam] numquam γ (nusquam R <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup>), non B δ ~ reperta] repertam R F B δ Ei, inuentam K ~ eam *om.* W ~ tamquam mortuam] quasi mortuam *tr. post* eam Ei ~ et *add. ante* socer W ~ flebat β (flebant D B K) 6. uero *add. post* pater K ~ me *om.* P F B N ~ et *add. ante* consolatio R ~ consolationem Ep <sup>a.c.</sup>

12.6. lumen oculorum meorum = Tb 10.4 (Ps 37.11) ~ consolatio uitae meae cfr. Tb 10.4

meae! <sup>7</sup>Quis meam inuasit facultatem? Quis meam possessionem sparsit? Quis meam uineam siccauit? Quis meam lucernam extinxit? Quis meam spem fraudauit? Quis pulchritudinem filiae meae uiolauit? <sup>8</sup>Quis putas lupus meam agnam dissipauit? Qualis locus talem uultum tegit? Qualis pelagus captiuam ducit illam imperialem faciem? <sup>9</sup>Illa generositatis constitutio, illa malorum consolatrix, illa laborantium requies, gementium portus erat. <sup>10</sup>Terra, terra, non celes sanguinem meum, donec uideam quid Eufrosinae filiae meae contigerit. <sup>11</sup>Haec et his similia Pafnutio prosequente, eleuauerunt omnes qui aderant uocem et flebant, ita ut omnis ciuitas lamentaret eam.

[13.] <sup>1</sup>Non sufferens autem Pafnutius nec inuenit consolationem, perrexit ad memoratum senem, de quo supra diximus, et procidens ad pedes eius, dicens: «Peto ne cesses orare, ut inueniatur labor orationum tuarum. Nescio quid acciderit filiae meae». <sup>2</sup>Audiens autem uenerabilis senex contristatus est ualde. Et iussit adesse omnes fratres et dicit eis:

7. possessione W ~ sparsit] spargit W, inuasit B ~ meam uineam] uineam meam *tr.* B, meum amnem R V <sup>2</sup> ~ uineam] ueniam W ~ siccauit uineam *tr.* N ~ siccauit] seccauit P, spargit W ~ spem meam *tr.* M Ep N ~ extinxit W F N, stinxit E, extincsit P ~ quis gloriam meam abstulit *add. post* fraudauit N 8. quis] qui W ~ agnam meam *tr.* R V Ei ~ agnam] agnum *sic* W D ~ dissipauit] discipauit Ep (dissipauit Ep <sup>2</sup>), inuasit B ~ talem] tuum P F ~ tegit] tetigit K N ~ pulchritudinem *add. post* tegit E ~ qualis <sup>2</sup>] quale R <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> F <sup>P.C.</sup> B K N Ei ~ captiuam E 9. illa] illam D ~ constitutio] constitutionem V <sup>2</sup> ~ malorum] male habentium Ei ~ laborantium] orantium P F ~ requies] quies B ~ illa *add. post* portus D 10. terra <sup>2</sup> *om.* W ~ celes] caeles K, celas Ep ~ quid] quae de P F (quid de F <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ eufrosina filia mea F <sup>2</sup> ~ euphrosinae Ei ~ meae *om.* W ~ contigerit] contigit Ep (contingerit Ep <sup>2</sup>) 11. his] is F ~ pabnutio W, pasnucio F, paphnucio Ei ~ persequente Ep ~ elebauerunt E ~ aderant] adherant Ep <sup>a.c.</sup>, audierant N ~ omnis] omnes D ~ uocem *tr. post* omnes K ~ lamentaret] lamentaretur P F Ep N Ei

[13.] 1. sufferet Ep (sufferens Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N, paphnucius Ei ~ nec *om.* K ~ inuenit] inueniet W, inueniens V <sup>2</sup> F <sup>2</sup> δ Ei ~ senem] senes F <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ et] ut Ep (et Ep <sup>2</sup>), *om.* B ~ procidens] procidit Ei ~ ad pedes eius] ante pedes eius K, eius pedibus P F ~ dicens] dixit R <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup> B δ ~ orare] orationem fundere B ~ ut inueniatur] adueniat N ~ enim *add. post* nescio β (*non* D) ~ accederit D V <sup>a.c.</sup>

2. haec *add. post* autem K ~ senes E ~ est *om.* N ~ adesse omnes fratres] ad (a F) se omnes fratres (*om.* D, *supra ras.* F) uenire γ' (fratres ad se uenire B) E Ep ~ dicit] dixit δ Ei

7. quis meam spem fraudauit cfr. Tb 10.4 8. lupus meam agnam dissipauit cfr. Io 10.12 10. terra, terra, non celes sanguinem meum = Iob 16.19

<sup>3</sup>«Ostendite caritatem, fratres: postulemus a Domino ut dignetur nobis ostendere quid factum sit de filia amici nostri Pafnutii». <sup>4</sup>Et ieiunantes omnes et orantes, in tota hebdomada nihil eis reuelatum est de Eufrosina, sicut solebat quando aliunde rogabant Deum. Oratio enim Eufrosinae erat ad Deum die noctuque ne manifestam eam faceret in uita sua. <sup>5</sup>Cum autem nec seni nec alicui fratri reuelatum esset, coepit consolari eum dicens: «Noli deficere, fili, a disciplina Domini, quia quem diligit Dominus corripit. <sup>6</sup>Et hoc scias quia sine uoluntate Dei nec unus passer cadet in terra, quanto magis filiae tuae absque illius nutu nihil prouenit? Scio enim quia bonam partem sibi elegit, propterea nihil nobis de ea reuelatum est. <sup>7</sup>Si enim, quod absit, in malis operibus incidisset, numquam dispexerat Deus tantum laborem fratrum. Habeo fiduciam in Domino quia in hac uita ostendet tibi eam Deus». <sup>8</sup>Audiens haec Pafnutius recepit consolationem et osculans senem et omnes fratres

3. ostendite E ~ a Domino] deo P F E Ep (deum Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ ostendere] host- E, ostenderet P F ~ quid] quod D R V B (quid V<sup>2</sup> B<sup>2</sup>) P N ~ factum] actum K ~ sit] est R V Ei, *om.* W ~ pabnutii W, pasnuci F, paphnucii Ei 4. ieiunantes omnes et orantes] ieiunantibus omnibus et orantibus V<sup>2</sup> ~ omnes *om.* P F B ~ ebdomada *codd.* (eptomada N) ~ eis] eius V (eis V<sup>2</sup>) ~ de eufrosinae *sic* W, de euphrosina Ei ~ pro *add. ante* aliunde E Ep ~ Deum] dominum P F B ~ et *add. ante* oratio F ~ oratio enim] orationem P<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ enim] autem D ~ euphrosinae Ei ~ ad deum] apud deum P F, ad dominum Ei ~ die noctuque *om.* D ~ manifestam eam faceret in uita sua] manifestaret eam deus K ~ deus *add. post* sua δ 5. alicui fratri] alicui fratrum Ei, fratribus E Ep ~ esset] fuisset E Ep, est W ~ consolari eum] eum abbas consolari P ~ abbas *add. post* coepit Ei ~ consolare W D V E M Ep (-ri V<sup>2</sup>, Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ eum *om.* P F ~ dicens] *om.* W M Ep N ~ abbas *add. post* eum δ ~ noli deficere *add. post* eum abbas N ~ fili] *tr. ante* noli Ei, filia disciplina *sic* W 6. Dei] domini P N Ei ~ passer] passerum Ei ~ cadet] cadit V E Ep N ~ in terram K P Ep N Ei ~ quanto *om.* Ep ~ nihil] *om.* R (*ut uid.*) V, aliquid R<sup>p.c.</sup> V<sup>2</sup> ~ prouenit *sic codd.* ~ scio enim ... reuelatum est] scio enim quia bona partem sibi elegit propterea nihil nobis reuelare uoluit deus noli deficere *tr. post* noli deficere<sup>1</sup> N ~ enim *om.* P F ~ elegit sibi *tr.* K ~ *post* prouenit *add.* proinde nihil de ea reuelatum est N ~ nobis nihil *tr.* Ei 7. in malis operibus] in mala opera K ~ dispexerat] despexerat V<sup>2</sup> M Ep N Ei, despexisset R<sup>p.c.</sup> P B E Ep<sup>2</sup> ~ Deus *om.* P F ~ fratrum laborem *tr.* Ei ~ laborum P V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ habeo] habe N ~ enim *add. post* habeo R V P F B ~ ostendet] ostendet F, ostendit W D V K Ep (ostendet V<sup>2</sup> Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ eam tibi *tr.* P F B ~ Deus] dominus F Ei 8. autem *add. post* audiens W ~ haec *om.* D ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius Ei ~ et osculans senem ...

13.5. noli deficere, fili, a disciplina Domini, quia quem diligit Dominus corripit = Prv 3.11-2 6. sine uoluntate Dei nec unus passer cadet in terra cfr. Mt 10.29

abiit in domum suam, gratias agens Deo. Et orans quotidie bonis operibus et elemosinis intentus erat.

[14.] <sup>1</sup>Post aliquos uero dies, uisitabat monasterium commendans se in orationibus fratrum. <sup>2</sup>Vna autem die ueniens ad abbatem, proiecit se ad pedes eius dicens: «Ora pro me, pater, quia non possum ferre dolorem de filia mea, sed magis ac magis de die in diem renouatur et crescit uulnus et tribulatur anima mea». Videns autem eum senex nimis afflictum, dicit ei: <sup>3</sup>«Vis colloquium habere cum uno fratre spirituali, qui uenit de palatio Theodosii?», ignorans quod ipsa esset filia eius. Dicit ei Pafnutius: «Volo». <sup>4</sup>Et uocauit abbas Agapitum dixitque: «Tolle Pafnutium et introduc eum in cellam Smaragdi». <sup>5</sup>Et introduxit eum in cellam eius, nihil ei ante innotescens. <sup>6</sup>Cum autem uidisset subito patrem suum et cognoscens eum, tota lacrimis repleta est. <sup>7</sup>Pafnutius autem sperabat esse compunctionem. Non enim cognouit eam, quia species uultus eius emarcuisset prae nimia abstinentia uigiliisque et lacrimis.

in domum suam *om.* β ~ abiit] remeauit Ei ~ in domum suam] ad sua Ei ~ elemosinis W, elymosinis D

[14.] 1. aliquos] aliquantos Ei ~ uisitabat] uisitauit E ~ ab bat monasterium *def.* B, *deperdito folio subsequenti* ~ monasterio D<sup>P.C.</sup> (*ut uid.*) ~ in *om.* N Ei 2. ferre] sufferre N, *om.* F, perdere F<sup>2</sup> ~ ac] hac E ~ in diem] in die W F E ~ renouatur] renobatur E, reuelatur P, releuatur F, ronouatur *sic* Ep ~ de die in diem *tr. ante* et tribulatur Ei ~ meum *add. post* uulnus β ~ tribulatur anima mea] tribulatio mea P F E Ep ~ autem *om.* Ei ~ senex eum *tr.* D R V K ~ eum *om.* P F ~ senes E ~ nimis] nimium Ei ~ dicit] dixit D K P F ~ ei] ad eum D K P F, *om.* E 3. habere (abe- E) colloquium *tr.* E N ~ uno] quodam P ~ fratre] fratrum F<sup>2</sup> ~ spiritali K P<sup>a.c.</sup> R V F M Ep N Ei (spirituali V<sup>2</sup> Ep<sup>2</sup>), spiritale W D P<sup>P.C.</sup> E ~ theodosi W, teodosii E, teodisii R ~ imperatoris *add. post* Theodosii K ~ ipsa] ipse P ~ esset] esse W ~ filia eius *om.* E Ep ~ haec dicebat *add. post* esset Ep<sup>2</sup> ~ dicit ei paphnutius] paphnucius dixit Ei ~ ei *om.* N ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N Ei 4. et uocauit abbas Agapitum dixitque] dixitque ad agapitum (acapitum *a.c.*) R, dixitque V, cuidam fratri *add. ante* dixitque V<sup>2</sup> ~ dixitque] et dixit ei P F, dixitque ei E N Ei ~ pabnutium W, pasnuncium F, paphnucium Ei ~ in cella F, *om.* Ep ~ zmaracdi F E, zmarachdi P, zmaragdi Ep, ad smaragdum Ep<sup>2</sup> 5. et introduxit eum in cellam eius] et fecit ita N, *om.* E Ep ~ in cella P<sup>a.c.</sup> F ~ eius] smaragdi M ~ ante ei *tr.* R V ~ ante] antea K 6. subito uidisset *tr.* K ~ uidisset] audisset V (uid- V<sup>2</sup>) ~ et cognoscens eum] et cognouisset eum E N, *om.* R V ~ repleta est lacrimis *tr.* N 7. pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucium Ei ~ compunctionem] compunctum Ei ~ enim] eam Ep (enim Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ eam] eum Ep *ut uid.* (eam Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ quia] qui V (quia V<sup>2</sup>) ~ eius] illius Ep ~ emarcuisset] emarcuit δ (emarcuerat E) Ei ~ prae nimia abstinentia] per nimia abstinentia D, per nimiam abstinentiam N, premiam abstinentiam P<sup>a.c.</sup>

<sup>8</sup>De cuculla autem operuit faciem suam, ne aliquo modo agnosceret eam. <sup>9</sup>Facta uero oratione, sederunt.

[15.] <sup>1</sup>Coepit autem ei loqui de futura regni beatitudine et gloria sempiterna, quomodo per elemosinam et castam conuersationem, per humilitatem et caritatem, ad eam quis possit pertingere; et de contemptu saeculi, nec diligendos esse filios plus quam Deum nec patrem super eum qui omnium extitit factor; <sup>2</sup> <sup>a</sup>apostolicam quoque scripturam interpretans, quomodo tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia probationem. <sup>b</sup>Videns uero patrem suum in graui maerore, compatiiebatur ei. Sed timens ne agnosceretur et impedimentum ei faceret, uolens autem eum consolare, dixit ei: <sup>c</sup>«Crede mihi, quia non despicit te Deus. Et si in perditione animae suae esset filia tua, manifestaret eam tibi, ut nec illic a diabolo retenta inferret et sibi et tibi luctum perpe-

8. cocula W, coculla R <sup>a.c.</sup> V P <sup>a.c.</sup> F M Ep, cucullo N V<sup>2</sup> (cuculla Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ autem] enim K ~ faciem suam] caput suum γ (*non* D) ~ aliquo modo] aliquando E Ep ~ agnosceret] cognosceret E Ep 9. uero] autem Ei [15.] 1. futura] futuri R ~ et gloria sempiterna *om.* R V ~ de *add. ante* gloria Ei ~ quomodo] quo P F ~ elemosinam] elim- W, elemosy- Ei, humilitatem δ ~ humilitatem] elemosinam (hel- N, -sinas Ep, aelaemosinas E) δ ~ castam conuersationem] castam uitam et bonam conuersationem Ei ~ ad eam] ad ea Ei ~ possit] posset R ~ pertingere] tingere M ~ contemptu] conuentu K ~ nec<sup>1</sup>] ne P F <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ diligendos] diligendus W, diligendum Ei ~ filios] filium Ei ~ plus *tr. ante* diligendos Ei ~ Deum] dominum W ~ nec patrem super eum *om.* δ ~ extitit factor] exhibet potestatem Ei ~ extitit P 2a. interpretans scripturam *tr.* K ~ interpretans] interpretabatur V<sup>2</sup>, *om.* E ~ quomodo] quod K ~ patientiam] patientia V ~ autem *add. post* patientia R V <sup>sup. lin.</sup> Ei b. uero] autem γ' E Ep Ei ~ patrem] pater W ~ grabi E ~ depressum *add. post* maerore Ei ~ ei<sup>1</sup>] illi δ ~ sed *om.* Ep (*add.* Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ faceret ei *tr.* K ~ et *add. ante* uolens N ~ autem *om.* K N ~ consolare (consolari K R V<sup>2</sup> Ep) eum (eum <sup>supr. lin.</sup> Ep<sup>2</sup>) *tr.* β (eum consolare M, eum consolari N) ~ consolari K R V<sup>2</sup> Ep N Ei ~ eum *om.* Ep (*add.* Ep<sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ dixit] dixitque N ~ ei<sup>2</sup>] illi N, *om.* R V c. despicit] dispicit D, despiciet δ (dispiciet E) V<sup>2</sup> ~ deus te *tr.* E Ep ~ in perditione E, in perditionem D M Ei ~ animae suae esset filia tua] esset anima filiae tuae K, isset filia tua Ei ~ ut nec illic ... luctum perpetuum *om.* K ~ deus *add. post* eam tibi δ Ei ~ nec] non N ~ illic] illi P, illa R V M Ep N Ei, *om.* E ~ a diabolo *eras.* F ~ diabulo W Ep ~ inferret et] infirmaret Ep, informaret Ep<sup>2</sup> ~ et<sup>2</sup> *om.* P F δ ~ tibi et sibi *tr.* δ

15.2a. tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia probationem = Rm 5.3-4



tuum. <sup>d</sup>Sed credo in Deum quia bonum consilium elegit sibi, sicut iam dixi secundum uocem Euangelii qua dicitur: “Qui diligit patrem aut matrem super me, non est me dignus”. <sup>e</sup>Et “si quis non abrenuntiauerit omnibus quae possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus”. <sup>f</sup>Potens est autem Deus et in hoc saeculo manifestare eam tibi. Sine iam, sine: quid temetipsum interficis contristando? <sup>g</sup>Sed age gratias Deo, nihil desperans. Nam Agapitus, magister meus, multoties nimis tristis, dicebat mihi quia <sup>h</sup>uenit quidam nomine Pafnutius, operibus bonis intentus, qui filiam suam tamquam mortuam luget, nesciens quid ei contigerit, et nimia lamentatione affligitur, maxime quia unica erat illi; et cum lacrimis proiecit se ad pedes abbatis, ut per eius orationes et omnium fratrum possit inuenire eam. <sup>i</sup>Et compatiens dicebat mihi: “Quomodo omnes fratres, ita et tu roga Deum pro ea”. <sup>j</sup>Et ego, quamuis indignus et meorum conscius malorum, saepius deprecaui Dominum ut dignetur tibi tribuere sufferentiam et longanimitatem, et quod expedit adim-

d. bonum consilium] boni consilii W D V <sup>a.c.</sup> (bonum consilium V <sup>2</sup>), partem boni consilii R, bene K ~ sibi elegit *tr.* R V ~ elegit] agat K ~ sibi *om.* W γ' Ei (*cfr* 13.6) ~ euuangelii W ~ dicitur] dixit quia W D R V, dixit P F K ~ aut] et N e. abrenuntiauerit E ~ esse meus *tr.* P N f. autem *om.* N ~ et <sup>1</sup> *om.* N ~ tibi eam *tr.* W P F ~ sine<sup>1</sup> *om.* F g. sed *om.* Ei ~ age] agens N ~ desperans D P V K M (desp- V <sup>2</sup>) ~ nam] nam et W Ei, iam N ~ multotiens D R K E <sup>p.c.</sup>, multo totiens W E <sup>a.c.</sup> (*ut uid.*) Ep, multa tociens Ep <sup>2</sup>, multo F, quam totiens N ~ nimis ... mihi] dicebat mihi nimis tristis sum (sum *om.* E) E Ep ~ nimis tristis] ministrans R V ~ nimis *om.* F h. pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius Ei ~ qui] quia D ~ luget] lugit F (luget F <sup>2</sup>) E Ep <sup>2</sup>, lugens Ep N, lugeret V ~ nesciens] sciens Ep (nesciens Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ contingerit] acciderit K δ ~ acciderit ei *tr.* E ~ proiecit] proicit K ~ abbatis] abbati D V P F <sup>p.c.</sup> (abbatis F <sup>a.c.</sup>) ~ ut] et Ep (*ut* Ep <sup>2</sup>), et ut Ei ~ per eius orationes et omnium fratrum] per orationem fratrum P F ~ orationes eius *tr.* K ~ orationes] orationem E Ep ~ possit inuenire ... i. omnes fratres *om.* Ep, manifestetur illi quid actu sit de illa Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ possit inuenire eam] inueniretur E ~ possit] posset P F Ei i. et compatiens ... fratres *om.* E (*in lac.* Ep) ~ et *add. ante* quomodo Ei ~ quomodo] sicut K ~ fratres *om.* N ~ ita *om.* K ~ et] ut F (et F <sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ pro ea] pro eo W D j. ego *om.* P F ~ meorum malorum conscius *tr.* W, malorum meorum conscius *tr.* δ ~ meorum *om.* Ei ~ deprecaui] deprecavit F, deprecatus sum R V <sup>2</sup> K δ, deprecabar Ei ~ Dominum] deum K P ~ pro te *add. post* dominum F ~ dignetur] digneretur D, dignaretur E ~ tibi *om.* N ~ sufferentiam tribuere *tr.* Ei ~ quod] quomodo Ei

2d. qui diligit patrem ... me dignus *cfr.* Mt 10.37      2e. si quis non abrenuntiauerit ... esse discipulus = Lc 14.33

pleat tam de te, quam de filia tua. <sup>k</sup>Pro hoc et frequenter uidere te uolui et colloqui tecum, ut aliquam consolationem per me humilem forsitan inuenires». <sup>l</sup>Vt autem non agnosceretur per multa colloquia, dixit ad Pafnutium: «Vale, domine mi». <sup>m</sup>Et dum recedere uellet Pafnutius, anima illius compatiebatur illi. Facies enim eius pallebat et replebatur lacrimis, prae nimio autem ieiunio et diuturna inedia sanguinem uomebat. <sup>3</sup>Multum igitur confortatus Pafnutius in admonitione eius, discessit ab ea. Et ueniens ad abbatem dixit: <sup>4</sup>«Aedificata est anima mea ab isto fratre et ita sum laetus effectus in gratia Dei et consolatione eius, tamquam si inuenissem filiam meam». <sup>5</sup>Commendansque se in orationibus abbatis et omnium fratrum, reuersus est in domum suam magnificans Deum.

[16.] <sup>1</sup>Complens autem Smaragdus in cellam solitariam triginta et octo annos, incidit in infirmitate, qua et mortuus est. <sup>2</sup>Quadam uero die, secundum consuetudinem, uenit Pafnutius inuisendum monasterium. Et post orationem et salutationem fratrum, dixit seni: «Si iubes pater, permitte me Smaragdum uidere, quia ualde eum desiderat anima mea».

k. pro] propter  $\delta$  ~ colloqui tecum] conloquentem Ep, colloqui tecum Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ colloqui] loqui K ~ per me humilem] pro me humili N ~ inuenires] inuenies F 1. ut] ne V <sup>2</sup> ~ non om. V ~ agnosceretur] cognosceretur E Ei, cognoscetur Ep (cognoscetur Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ ab <collo>quia praebet B ~ pabnutium W, pasnucium F, paphnucium Ei ~ uale] uade E Ep Ei m. recedere] recederet W, redere F (redire F <sup>2</sup>), praecedere Ep ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius Ei ~ illi ... replebatur om. N ~ enim om. K ~ eius] om.  $\gamma'$  (eius B, illius K) ~ pallebat] pellebat F ~ lacrimis replebatur tr. R V ~ lacrimas Ep (lacrimis Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ prae nimio] praemio Ep (prae nimio Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ prae] pro N ~ nimio sic W ~ autem] enim V ~ diuturna] diurna R V (diuturna V <sup>2</sup>), diutina Ei ~ uomebat] uouebat R (uo supra ras. R <sup>P.C.</sup>), uolebat Ep (uomebat Ep <sup>2</sup>) 3. pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N, paphnucius Ei ~ ea] illa F 4. haedificata E ~ isto] illo  $\delta$  ~ Dei om. B ~ et consolatione] ex consolatione Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ eius om. P F ~ tamquam si] tamquam  $\beta$  (quasi  $\gamma$ , tamquam D) ~ filia mea D 5. commendansque] commendans N ~ in om. W B Ei, eras. K ~ abbatis] abbati P F V (abbatis V <sup>2</sup>) [16.] 1. complens] completis E ~ zmaracodus P F E ~ in cellam solitariam] in cella solitaria R <sup>P.C.</sup> V P F B Ep N, om. K ~ in] intra W Ei ~ hacto E ~ annos] annum D ~ in infirmitate] infirmitate W P <sup>a.c.</sup>, in infirmitatem R V <sup>2</sup> P <sup>P.C.</sup> B K E Ep N Ei ~ qua] quia Ep <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et om. N 2. pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius Ei ~ inuisendum] ad inuisendum R, ad uisendum V B Ei, ad uisensum K, inuisidendum W, inuisere  $\delta$  ~ post] per V (post V <sup>2</sup>) ~ salutatione W, salutationi V (-nem V <sup>2</sup>) ~ tu add. ante iubes N ~ permitte me] permitttere P ~ zmaracodus P F E ~ uidere om. Ep, add. in marg. ~ eum eras. B ~ desiderat eum tr.  $\delta$

<sup>3</sup>Vocatoque Agapito, praecepit ei de Pafnutio ad uisitandum Smaragdum. <sup>4</sup>Introiens autem Pafnutius in cellam ubi aeger iacebat, coepit osculare eum lacrimans et dicens: <sup>5</sup> <sup>a</sup>«Heu me, ubi sunt promissiones tuae, ubi uerba dulcia, quod mihi futuram uidendam oculis meis promittebas filiam meam? Ecce non solum illam non uideo, sed et tu, per quem consolationem modicam habebam, derelinques nos. <sup>b</sup>Heu me! Quis iam consolabitur senectutem meam? Ad quem ibo? Quis mei erit adiutor? Duplex malum est modo, quod lugeo. <sup>c</sup>Triginta et octo anni sunt, quod perdidisti filiam meam, nihil mihi actum est, quod die noctuque orabam pro ea et nunc similem illius detinet me incomparabilis dolor. <sup>d</sup>Quid sperem amodo? Vbi consolationem inueniam? Iam

3. uocatoque] uocato itaque R V ~ praecepit] praecipit D ~ ei] eum F <sup>2</sup> Ep <sup>2</sup> N ~ de Paphnutio] ducere (duci P F, ut duceret B, dicens duc V <sup>2</sup>, dicere Ep <sup>a.c.</sup>) pafnutium (pafnutio P <sup>a.c.</sup>, pasnucio F, eum B, om. Ep) V <sup>2</sup> P F δ ~ pabnutio W, paphnutio Ei ~ zmaracdam P E, zmadachdum F (*prima d corr. in r*), smaragdus sic W 4. pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius Ei, om. B ~ in cellam] in cella F N, om. Ei ~ ubi erat smaragdus *add. post* cella N ~ iacebat ager (aeger *p.c.*) tr. F ~ eum *ante* osculare *add. F* <sup>2</sup> ~ osculari P <sup>p.c.</sup> R B K M N V <sup>2</sup> Ep <sup>2</sup>, deosculari Ei ~ eum] eam Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ lacrimans] lacrimis W F, cum lacrimis Ei ~ dicens] dixit Ei 5a. promissiones tuae] promissione tua W ~ ubi *add. ante* quod mihi P ~ quod mihi ... filiam meam] quibus totiens mihi promittebas uisuram oculis meis filiam meam B ~ quod] quibus R <sup>p.c.</sup> B Ep <sup>2</sup> N Ei ~ futuram] futura W, futurum P <sup>p.c.</sup> (-um *supra ras.*), in futurum N, futuro Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ tam *add. post* futuram F ~ uidenda F ~ filiam meam tr. *post* futuram Ei ~ autem *add. post* ecce Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ illam] eam P F ~ non <sup>2</sup> om. *codd.* (*habet* P F N Ei, *add.* R <sup>p.c.</sup> V <sup>2</sup>) ~ uideo] uidebo E ~ et tu per quem] et tempus quem (quam K, quo P <sup>p.c.</sup>) D P <sup>p.c.</sup> F K, et (om. E Ep) tempus in quo δ, et tempus quo V (et tempore quo V <sup>2</sup>) ~ tu] *cfr. gr.*, te W Ei <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ quoque *add. post* tu B ~ per om. R ~ non *add. ante* modicam Ei ~ modicam] modicum Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ habebam] abebam E, habeam W P <sup>a.c.</sup> F K Ep, habeo Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ derelinquis V <sup>2</sup> B E N, derelinques P <sup>a.c.</sup>, dereliques W, derelinquid Ep, derelinquet P <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ nos] et nos N, me P F Ei <sup>p.c.</sup> (nos Ei <sup>a.c.</sup>) b. iam om. P ~ meam] mea sic N ~ ibo] ibi W ~ mei erit] me gerit R <sup>a.c.</sup> (*ut uid.*) F ~ mei] mihi W N, me Ep, meus Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ est om. γ M Ep ~ est *add. post* duplex Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ modo om. B ~ quod modo tr. D ~ modo *post* lugeo tr. δ c. et om. W ~ hocto E ~ anni sunt] annis sunt P, annis D V E <sup>a.c.</sup>, annos K ~ quod] quo V <sup>p.c.</sup>, ex quo B ~ et *add. ante* nihil P F N ~ quando Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ pro eam W ~ et *add. ante* nihil P F N ~ actum est] apertum est R, aptum est V, de ea reuelatum est δ ~ quod] quando Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ pro eam W ~ et nunc] et non γ, nec δ ~ similem illius *del. et* pro illa *scr. manu rec. in marg.* Ei ~ inueni *add. post* illius β ~ hoc *add. post* me E ~ inaudita miseria *add. post* dolor N d. quid] que Ep ~ sperem] speram Ep Ei, spes erit Ep <sup>2</sup> ~ amodo] modo N ~ meam *add. post* consolationem Ei ~ inueniam] inuenio Ei, recipiam R V

16.5d. iam descendam lugens in infernum = Gn 37.35

descendam luens in infernum». <sup>6</sup>Videns autem eum Smaragdus uehementer plorantem et nullam consolationem recipientem, ait ad eum: «Quid turbaris et temetipsum interficis? Numquid inualida est manus Domini, aut Deo quicquam est difficile? Iam pone finem tristitiae. Recordare quomodo patriarchae Iacob manifestauerit Deus Ioseph, quem quasi mortuum lugebat. Sed obsecro te ut per tres dies non me deseras neque derelinquas». <sup>7a</sup>Haesitans autem Pafnutius intra semetipsum per triduum dicens: «Forsitan aliquid ei Deus reuelauit de me». Tertio autem die dixit ad Smaragdum: <sup>b</sup>«Exspectaui sicut me rogasti, domine meus frater, et non discessi alicubi per tres continuos dies».

[17.] <sup>1</sup>Cognoscens autem Smaragdus, qui et Eufrosina, quia instabat dies dormitionis eius, uocauit Pafnutium et dixit ad eum quia: <sup>2</sup>«Deus omnipotens bene disposuit meam miseriam et adimpleuit desiderium meum,

descendam] discendam W D, descendo N Ei, descendens F R V (descendam V <sup>2</sup>), descendens P (descendam P <sup>P.C.</sup>) 6. autem om. F ~ eum om. P F E Ep ~ smaragdus eum tr. Ei ~ zmaracodus P E, zmarachdus F ~ patrem add. post smaragdus Ep in marg. ~ uaeementer E ~ nulla W, nulla tenus P F ~ ayt E ~ et om. W ~ inualida] ualida P F (inualida P <sup>P.C.</sup> F <sup>2</sup>) ~ difficile est tr. P F B ~ est om. W ~ pone] depone K ~ tuae add. post tristitiae Ei ~ iacob patriarchae tr. R V ~ manifestauerit] manifestaberit E, manifestauit P F B, manifestaret D V K, manifestarit R V <sup>2</sup> ~ ioseph om. K ~ ioseph W, iosep N ~ quem] quia D K, qui V, om. P F (add. P <sup>P.C.</sup> F <sup>2</sup>) ~ eum add. post lugebat F ~ ut] ne Ei, om. K ~ non om. Ei ~ deseras ... derelinquas] deseres ... derelinques P <sup>P.C.</sup> F <sup>2</sup> 7a. haesitans autem Paphnutius] haec autem audiens pafnutius haesitans N ~ autem om. E ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius Ei ~ die dixit ipsum ante per triduum add. N, deinde del. ~ dicens per triduum tr. E ~ per triduum om. Ei ~ dicens] dicebat N ~ aliquid] aliquod W ~ de me reuelauit tr. K ~ ei] et P F ~ tertio] tertia R V ~ autem eras. V <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ dixit] dicit γ ~ zmaracdum P F E b. expectabi E, expectauit F (-t finalis exp.) ~ me] om. Ep, eras. Ei ~ me add. post rogasti Ei ~ meus] mi B, om. K ~ frater] pater N, om. Ep ~ et om. Ep ~ non om. V (non add. V <sup>2</sup>) ~ alicubi] alibi K ~ per] post R (ut uid.) V P F (per R <sup>P.C.</sup> V <sup>2</sup>) ~ tres om. P ~ continuos dies] dies continuo W ~ continuos] continuo W P <sup>a.c.</sup> F K [17.] 1. autem om. V P F ~ zmaracodus P F E ~ qui et Eufrosina] de eufrosina B, om. K ~ eufrosine D V (-na V <sup>2</sup>), euphrosina Ei ~ quia] quod V <sup>2</sup> ~ pabnutium W, pasnucium F, paphnucium Ei 2. omnipotens deus tr. P F B K ~ miseriam meam tr. Ei ~ meum om. Ep

6. quomodo patriarchae Iacob ... quasi mortuum lugebat cfr. Gn 37-46

17.2. adimpleuit desiderium meum cfr. Phil 4.19 ~ coronam iustitiae = II Tim 4.8

quae ad finem usque uiriliter certando perduxī, non mea uirtute, sed eius adiutorio, qui me custodiuit ab insidiis inimici. Peracto cursu, superest mihi corona iustitiae. Nolo te iam ergo esse sollicitum pro filia tua Eufrosina: <sup>3</sup>ego enim sum illa misera, et tu es pater meus Pafnutius! Ecce iam uidisti me et satisfactum est tibi. Sed nemo hoc sciat, et non permittas ab alio corpus meum nudari et lauari, sed per temetipsum hoc facias. <sup>4</sup>Et quia promisi abbati habere me multas possessiones et, si potuissem sustinere et perdurare in loco isto, adducerem eas hic, imple ergo quod promisi, <sup>5</sup>quia uenerabilis est locus iste, et ora pro me». <sup>6</sup>Haec dicens tradidit spiritum.

[18.] <sup>1</sup>Dum audisset Pafnutius talia uerba et uidisset quia obdormiuit, commota sunt omnia uiscera eius ceciditque in terram et factus

me *add. ante* quae Ei ~ quae] quod B E M Ep, qui R, atque N, quo F K ~ ad finem usque] usque ad finem P F B K Ei Ep<sup>2</sup>, in finem usque N, in finem D, finem usque Ep ~ uiriliter *om.* B ~ adiuuante domino *add. post* certando N ~ perduxī] perduxit *codd.* (*non* E Ep, perueni V<sup>2</sup>) ~ mea uirtute] meam uirtutem D ~ adiutorium P F (adiutorio P<sup>P.C.</sup> F<sup>2</sup>) ~ insidias P<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ inimici] inimicorum uisibilium et inuisibilium N ~ sed *add. ante* peracto B ~ peractu W D V P F (peracto V<sup>2</sup> P<sup>P.C.</sup> F<sup>2</sup>), perhacto E ~ coronam D ~ nolo te ... sollicitum] noli iam ergo sollicitus esse B, noli esse iam sollicitus K ~ ergo *tr. post* nolo δ, *om.* P F K Ei ~ iam te *tr.* N ~ esse *add. post* sollicitum Ep, *om.* Ei ~ relinquere *add. post* sollicitum Ei ~ euphrosina Ei, *om.* K 3. sum enim *tr.* R V P F δ Ei ~ es *om.* P F B K N ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius N Ei ~ iam *om.* P F ~ me uidisti *tr.* B ~ satisfactum est] satis es Ei ~ sed] et R V ~ tibi *om.* P F ~ nudari corpus meum *tr.* K E ~ nudari et N ~ et lauari *om.* K ~ et *om.* N ~ labari E ~ sed per temetipsum] et per semetipsum Ep (sed per temetipsum Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ facias] facies E Ep 4. promisi] dixi *alia manu supra lin. in* Ei ~ me habere *tr.* K ~ me *om.* E Ep Ei (me *add. ante* habere *alia manu*) ~ possessiones multas *tr.* Ei ~ sustinere et *om.* N ~ perdurare] durare P ~ in isto loco *tr.* P F ~ histo E ~ adducerem eas hic *om.* R V (afferre eas huc V<sup>2</sup>) ~ adducere D B E N ~ hic] huc B K δ Ei P<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ ergo] rogo B 5. scito *add. ante* quia Ei 6. et *add. ante* haec E ~ tradidit] tradidit Ep<sup>a.c.</sup>

[18.] 1. dum audisset ... uidisset] pafnutius igitur dum talia audisset uerba insuper et uidisset B ~ dum] cum P F K N ~ autem *add. post* dum E ~ *ab* <audiss>et pafnutius *praebet* Mb ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnucius Ei ~ talia uerba pafnutius (paphn- N) *tr.* δ ~ quia] quod B ~ obdormibit E, obdormiret B, obdormiunt Ep ~ in terra D F E M

18.1. commota sunt omnia uiscera eius cfr. Gn 43.30, III Rg 3.26

est uelut mortuus. <sup>2</sup>Accurrens autem Agapitus uiditque quia defunctus esset Smaragdus et Pafnutium iacentem in terra semiuuium, iactauitque aquam in faciem eius et eleuauit eum dicens: <sup>3</sup>«Quid habes, domine mi Pafnutie»? Ait autem Pafnutius: «Dimitte me ut hic moriar. Vidi enim mirabilia hodie». <sup>4</sup>Surgens autem irruit in faciem eius. Multitudinem lacrimarum infundens clamabat dicens: <sup>5</sup>«Heu me, filia dulcissima! Quare antea non manifestasti mihi, ut ego quoque commorerer tecum spontanea uoluntate? <sup>6</sup>Vae mihi, quomodo latuisti? Quomodo pertransisti insidias aduersariorum et nequitias spirituales tenebrarum uitae huius et introisti in uitam aeternam?»

[19.] <sup>1</sup>Haec Agapitus audiens et cognoscens tam mirabilem causam stupefactus est; et currens nuntiauit omnia abbati. <sup>2</sup>Veniens autem ab-

uelut] quasi F (uelut *supra lin. scr.*) 2. autem *om.* V ~ uiditque quia defunctus esset Smaragdus *om.* K ~ uiditque] uidit V<sup>p.c.</sup> N, uidensque B ~ esset] esse W, est R V ~ zmaracodus P F E ~ pabnutium W, pasnucium F, paphnutium Ei ~ in terra *om.* γ' ~ semiuuium E ~ inuenit *add. post* semiuuium K ~ iactauitque] iactauit R V B N ~ ei *add. post* iactauitque E ~ aquam] aqua F ~ eius *om.* E Ep ~ multitudinem lacrimarum *add. post* in faciem eius P (*cfr.* <sup>4</sup> multitudinem lacrimarum infundens) ~ eleuauit] elebavit E, leuauit K Ep 3. quid] quidnam B ~ abes E ~ mi *om.* N ~ pabnutiae W, pafnutii Ep, pafnutiae P, pafnuti V<sup>p.c.</sup> E Ep<sup>p.c.</sup> B<sup>p.c.</sup> K Mb, pafnuci R M, pasnucie F, pafnutius N<sup>a.c.</sup>, paphnuti Ei ~ autem] ad eum γ' ~ pabnutius W, pasnucius F, paphnutius Ei, *om.* B ~ ut] et Ep N (ut Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ odiae E 4. in faciem] super faciem V ~ et *add. ante* multitudinem N ~ -que *add. post* multitudinem V<sup>2</sup> ~ infundens] fundens B ~ clamabat] clamabatque B, clamauit Ei 5. *ab* heu me *usque ad* 6 uae mihi *subp.* Mb, *truncato folio* ~ mea *add. post* filia Ei ~ non antea *tr.* B E Ep ~ antea] ante ea W ~ te *add. post* manifestasti V<sup>2</sup> ~ ut] et K, ut et P F ~ quoque *om.* Ei ~ commorerer] commorarer R V F E M N, commemorer Ep, morerer Ep<sup>2</sup> Ei 6. uae mihi *subp.* Ei ~ *ab* <quomo>do latuisti *habet* Mb ~ tu *add. ante* pertransisti B ~ aduersariorum] aduersarium V (aduersariorum V<sup>2</sup>) ~ tuorum *add. post* aduersariorum N ~ spirituales *codd.* (spirituales V<sup>2</sup> B) ~ tenebrarum *om.* E Ei ~ in uitam introisti aeternam *tr.* B ~ uitae huius] huius uitae *tr.* E Ep, harum Mb ~ in *om.* P [19.] 1. audiens agapitus *tr.* E N ~ tam mirabilem] rem huiusmodi mirabilem B Mb ~ mirabilem] admirabilem W Ei, mirabilia F (mirabilem F<sup>2</sup>) ~ causa F (causam F<sup>2</sup>) ~ et *add. ante* stupefactus W ~ stupefactus] stupefacta Ep (-tus Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ est *om.* R, nimis B ~ et *om.* B ~ et *add. ante* nuntiauit W ~ abbati omnia *tr.* F ~ haec *add. ante* omnia R 2. autem *om.* P F K

6. nequitias spirituales tenebrarum uitae huius *cfr.* Eph 6.12

bas cecidit super eam. Et eiulans dicebat: <sup>3</sup>«Eufrosina, sponsa Christi et filia sanctorum, ne obliuiscaris conseruorum tuorum et huius monasterii; sed ora pro nobis ad Dominum Iesum Christum, ut faciat nos uiriliter certando peruenire ad portum salutis et portionem habere secum et cum sanctis suis». <sup>4</sup>Et iussit ut congregarentur omnes fratres, ut cum honore debito sanctum corpus illius sepulturae traderetur. <sup>5</sup>Dum autem omnes congregati adessent et uidissent tam stupendum miraculum, glorificabant Deum, qui etiam in femineo sexu et fragili tanta miracula operatur.

[20.] <sup>1</sup>Quidam autem frater unum habens oculum, osculatus est uultum eius cum lacrimis: statimque ut eam tetigit, oculus ei restitutus est. <sup>2</sup>Et uidentes omnes fratres qui aderant quid factum est, benedixerunt Deum gratias agentes ei, cuius sunt omnia quae bona sunt. <sup>3</sup>Multumque confortati et aedificati, sepelierunt eam in monumento patrum.

cecidit] nuntiauit Ei, *corr. in flebat alia manu sup. lin.* ~ super eam] super ea D Ei ~ eam *om.* Ep (*add.* Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ heiulans W D R V B M N Ei <sup>a.c.</sup> 3. euphrosina Ei ~ Christi sponsa *tr.* F ~ sanctorum] sororum K ~ obliuiscaris E ~ conseruorum] conseruorum et fratrum γ' (et fratrum K) ~ et huius] huiusque B ~ et <sup>2</sup> *om.* K N ~ sed] et E ~ deum *add. post* dominum Ei ~ faciat] faciet P <sup>a.c.</sup> F ~ certando *om.* R V ~ *ab* peruenire *usque ad* 4 iussit ut congrega<rentur> *def.* Mb, *excisso folii margine* ~ ut te quoque fecit *add. post* certando B ~ peruenire *om.* Ei (uenire *in marg. alia manu*) ~ aeternae *add. post* salutem B ~ secum] tecum Ei ~ cum *om.* B 4. tunc *add. post* et N ~ ut <sup>2</sup>] et R V Ei ~ cum *om.* Mb ~ deuoto E ~ sanctum] sancto Ep (sanctum Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ illius *om.* B ~ traderetur sepulturae Mb ~ traderentur D P <sup>a.c.</sup> F, traderent F <sup>p.c.</sup> 5. dum] cum N ~ omnes congregati adessent] omnis congregatio adessent (-sset *p.c.*) F ~ omnes *om.* R Ei (omnis δ) ~ adessent] essent R V, sunt K ~ et uidissent] uidissentque B ~ tam *om.* Mb ~ Deum] dominum D B ~ sexu] corpore W ~ sexu femineo *tr.* B ~ et <sup>2</sup> *om.* B N ~ fragili tanta miracula operatur] tanta operatus est miracula B [20.] 1. autem *om.* D ~ unum habens oculum] unius oculi priuatus officio B ~ habens unum *tr.* Ei ~ extinctum *add. post* oculum E ~ osculatus] obsculatus Ep ~ uultum] uultus P E Ep N (uultum Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ ut eam tetigit *om.* K ~ oculum] oculi Ep (oculus Ep <sup>2</sup>) ~ restitutus est ei oculus *tr.* K ~ ei] eius R V P F N ~ alter *add. post* oculum Ep 2. fratres *om.* Mb ~ adherant Ep <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ quid factum est *om.* R V K Ei ~ quid] quod W P F B δ ~ glorificauerunt et *add. ante* benedixerunt Mb ~ deum gratias] deo gratias *supra ras.* P <sup>p.c.</sup> (*fortasse* deo gratiens P <sup>a.c.</sup>?) ~ deum *om.* F (*add.* F <sup>2</sup> *supra lin.*) ~ gratias agentes ei *om.* K ~ cuius] cui F E ~ omnia sunt *tr.* K ~ sunt] est D, sint Ep <sup>a.c.</sup> 3. *ab* multumque *usque ad* 21.1 conuersus est *in def.* Mb, *truncato folio* ~ hedificati Ep ~ glorificauerunt et *add. ante* benedixerunt Mb ~ cuius] cui F ~ sepelierunt] sepelierant W ~ eam] eum D ~ in monumentum P F, in sepulchro N

[21.] <sup>1</sup>Pater uero eius, quaequae habuit in ecclesia et in xenodochia et in monasteria offerens, conuersus est in eodem monasterio. <sup>2</sup>Et plurimam partem substantiae suae ibidem offerens, in eadem cella demoratus est. <sup>3</sup>In eadem psiathio dormiens in qua Eufrosina, <sup>4</sup>uixit autem in sancto proposito annos decem et migravit ad Dominum. Iuxta filiam suam sepultus est, glorificans Deum abbas cum omni congregatione. <sup>5</sup>Die autem migrationis eorum ad Dominum celebrantur in eodem monasterio usque in praesentem diem, glorificantes Deum Patrem et Filium eius Iesum Christum una cum Spiritu Sancto, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

[21.] 1. pafnutius eius pater *scr. supra* pater uero eius P<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ quaequae] quoque F, quaecumque *alia manu supra lin. in* Ei ~ in aeclesia W, ecclesiae P, in aeglesia E, in ecclesiam B K, in aeclesias Ei ~ zenodochia W, senodochia F M Ep, sinodochia V B, senochia E, sedochia P, xenodochio R<sup>P.C.</sup> V<sup>2</sup>, sinodochia K, xenodochiis N, xenodochia Ei ~ et<sup>2</sup>] ac B, *om.* P F ~ in<sup>3</sup> *om.* R<sup>a.c.</sup> B δ ~ monasteria] monasterio R V, monasterium K, monasteriis N ~ offerens] offens Ep<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ conuersus] conuersatus P F ~ in eodem monasterio] in eadem monasteria F ~ *ab* eodem *habet* Mb 2. et plurimam ... ibidem offerens *om.* K, *supra rasuram* P ~ demoratus est] mortuus est γ 3. in eadem ... Eufrosina *om.* B ~ in eodem psiathio] in eodemque psiatio R<sup>P.C.</sup> (*supra ras.*), in eodem spsiato Ei (in eadem psiato Ei<sup>P.C.</sup>), in eademque phsiata (phisiata V K M Ep Mb, psiata N) D V K M Ep N Mb, in eadem spiata W, in eademque presiata P, in eademque presencia F, *om.* E ~ dormiens] dorminens P, *om.* E ~ euphrosina Ei ~ in qua] in quo R ~ et *add. post* in qua K 4. autem *om.* K ~ sancto] suo N ~ annos] annis Mb ~ ad Dominum] ad deum W, a domino Ep (ad dominum Ep<sup>2</sup>) ~ et (atque V<sup>2</sup>) *add. ante* iuxta R V<sup>2</sup> Ei ~ iuxta filiam suam sepultus est] sepultus est iuxta filiam suam B, iuxta filiam eius sepeliuit eum V<sup>2</sup> ~ est *om.* Ep ~ glorificans deum abbas] glorificante deum abbate N ~ glorificans] glorificantes B ~ deum glorificans *tr.* K ~ omni] cuncta Mb 5. die] dies R V<sup>2</sup> P<sup>P.C.</sup> B K δ Ei ~ migrationes W ~ ad Dominum] ad deum Mb ~ celebratur R V B, celebrantur V<sup>2</sup>, celebrant α ~ eodem *om.* Ep ~ glorificantes] glorificans P F K, glorificantibus V<sup>2</sup>, propitiant B ~ deo patre et filio eius iesu christo B ~ eius Iesum Christum *om.* δ Mb ~ eius *om.* R M ~ una cum Spiritu Sancto] et spiritum sanctum δ Mb ~ sancto spiritu *tr.* D K ~ cui] cuius N ~ est honor et *om.* K ~ laus *add. post* honor B ~ in saecula] per infinita saecula M EXPLICIT VITA SANCTAE EVFROSINAE VIRGINIS P K ~ SUB INTERPRETATIONE CASTISSIMAE QUOD EST KL. IAN. *add. post* VIRGINIS K



LATIN TRANSLATION C («BHL» 2725)

*Conspectus siglorum*

|   |                                                             |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| B | Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B. 84, s. XV                |
| M | Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 525 inf., s. XII           |
| R | Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, tom. XX, s. XI              |
| V | Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XCV (90), s. IX <sup>1</sup> |



Vita seu conuersatio beatae Eufrosinae  
famulae Christi

[1.] <sup>1</sup>Fuit quidam in Alexandria magna ciuitate uir diues ualde et gloriosus nimis, nomine Pafnutius, omnino efficax in praeceptis Dei. <sup>2</sup>Hic accepit uxorem uenerabilem quandam et dignam suae uoluntatis, nobili et ipsam de genere existentem; erat autem sterilis et non pariebat. <sup>3</sup>Et pro hoc in multa defectione erat uir eius, quia non habebat cui derelinqueret substantiam suam ut post obitum eius optime disponeretur res ipsius indigentibus. <sup>4</sup>Igitur uxor eius, cernens uirum suum sic satagentem, non cessabat die noctuque ecclesias peragrando, ieiuniis atque precibus Deum postulans dari sibi sobolem, multam ualde pecuniam pauperibus et uenerabilibus habitaculis distribuens. <sup>5</sup>Similiter et uir eius circuibat monasteria, quatenus repperiret hominem dignum Deo, qui precibus possit pro eorum intercedere desiderio. <sup>6</sup>Porro abiit in coenobio, in quo aiebant abbatem magnum apud Deum esse. <sup>7</sup>Et ingressus in eo et orans atque paruam pecuniam fructificans, collocutio-

**trad. textus:** *tantum ab 7.9 <sordi>tiae eius usque ad 19.4 uniuersus populus cum habet R, deperditis foliis*

**tit.** incipit uita seu conuersatio beatae Eufrosinae famulae Christi V, incipit uita sanctae Eufrosinae uirginis M B

[1.] 1. panutius B, pamfnutius M ~ et *add. ante* omnino B      2. nobili] nobilem V ~ ipsam] *ego*, ipsa V M B ~ existente V <sup>P.C.</sup>      3. derelinqueret] relinqueret B ~ disponerentur optime *tr.* V ~ disponerent B, disponerentur M      4. aecclesias V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ proagrandum V <sup>a.c.</sup>, peragrandum V <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ et *add. ante* ieiuniis M ~ atque] ac B ~ Deum] deo B ~ dari] dare V, donare M ~ sibi *om.* B ~ subolem V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ multam ... pecuniam] multa ... pecunia V, multa ... de pecunia M, multas ... pecunias B      5. circuibant V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ repperirent V ~ praecibus V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ possit *om.* V ~ intercedere] intercederet V ~ desideria B      6. habiit B ~ cenubio V, in coenobium M ~ papnutius *add. post* coenobio V ~ aiebant] agebant V, aiebat M, habebat B ~ apud V ~ Deum] dominum V      7. et<sup>2</sup> *om.* B ~ dedit *add. post* pecuniam B

nibus latissimis uel notissimis mereretur ab abate et fratribus, qui ibidem residebant.

[2.] <sup>1</sup>Post autem non multum tempus, indicat abbati quae ei erant necessaria. Et praebens consultum petitionibus eius, rogauit Deum donari eis fructum uentris. <sup>2</sup>Et annuens Deus utriusque precibus, donauit eis unicam filiam. <sup>3</sup>Videns ergo Pafnutius abbatis conuersationem, nullatenus deinceps a monasterio recedebat. Vnde etiam coniugem suam saepius ducebat illuc ut benediceretur ab abbate et fratribus. <sup>4</sup>Ablactata namque infantula et facta annorum sex, baptizauit eam et cognominauit eam Eufrosinam. Exultantes de meritis abbatis, quod eius orationibus ipsam procreassent, dicunt ei: «Tuis hanc orationibus promeruimus, pater». <sup>5</sup>Gaudebant enim in ea parentes eius, quod esset urbana atque insignis apud Deum et speciosa facie decoraque uisione nimis.

[3.] <sup>1</sup>Cumque ad duodecimum pertinxisset annum, eius genetrix hoc saeculum dereliquit. At uero pater eius erudiebat eam litteris et reliqua doctrina: <sup>2</sup>quin etiam contigit bonam infantulam, sicut orationis fructum, esse naturae tantum quae exstitit studiosa, ut miraretur pater eius tantam eius studii dilectionem. <sup>3</sup>Fama autem latissima percurrente per

ab abate et fratribus] abba et fratres V ~ a *add. ante* fratribus M ~ qui ibidem] quibusdem B ~ residebant V, resedebant M

[2.] 1. autem *tr. post* multum B ~ quae ei erant] quae ei erat B, quae reierant V, quare egerent M ~ petitionibus] petitionis V ~ rogauit] rogabat V ~ donari] ut donaret B ~ eis] ei M 2. et annuens deus utrius *om.* V, *spatio uacuo* ~ utriusque] utrisque M, utrumque B ~ unicam] unam M 3. pafnutius V, pamfutius M, panutius B ~ a] de B ~ et *add. ante* coniugem M ~ saepius *om.* B ~ illuc ducebat *tr.* B ~ a *add. ante* fratribus M 4. ablactata] oblata B ~ baptizauit eam et] baptizata V ~ cognominauit eam Eufrosinam] cognouerunt eam ipse quam eufrosina M ~ eufrosynam V ~ exultantes de meritis abbatis] exultante abbate V, gratias agentes abbati B ~ quod] eo quod M ~ ipsam procreassent dicunt] filiam promeruisissent dicentes M B ~ hanc] anc B, *om.* V ~ hoc donum a Deo *add. post* pater V 5. in ea *om.* V ~ quod] quia B ~ orbana V ~ adque *semper* V ~ uisione] corpore M

[3.] 1. ad duodecimum] a duodecim B ~ pertinxisset V <sup>a.c.</sup>, pertinsisset B ~ annum] annos B ~ genetrix eius *tr.* B ~ hoc *om.* B 2. bona infantula V M ~ orationis fructum] orationum fructus M, orationibus fructus B ~ esse *om.* V ~ tantum] tanto M B ~ eius <sup>1</sup>] ipsius M B ~ tantam] tanta V, in tanta B ~ dilectionem] letionem *sic* B 3. praecurrente V, percurrentes M <sup>a.c.</sup>

2.1. fructum uentris = Lc 1.42

totam ciuitatem de sapientia eius et studio doctrinae nec non diligentia corporis et pulchritudine faciei et specie decoris eius, <sup>4</sup>multos dignitate praecelsos et nobilitatis infulis decoratos in facie et desiderium eius traxit ut nurum acciperet et suis eam filiis copularent. Et molestabant cotidie pro hoc patrem eius, sed ille uoluntate Dei fieri postulabat. <sup>5</sup>Vnus denique, supereminens omnium dignitatum honoris et potentia substantiae aduocans patrem eius, persuasit dari filiam suam filio eius in matrimonio. Cumque constituens promississet, praeparantur arrarum consuetudines.

[4.] <sup>1</sup>Et modico tempore transacto, accipiens eam pater eius octauo decimo iam consistente anno abiit in coenobio. Multa nimis bona pro fratrū obsecratione offerenda deferens secum et colloquens abbati, retulit dicens: <sup>2</sup>«Fructum orationum tuarum obtuli hic, pater, ut ores pro ea, quia ad nuptum eam uolo tradere». <sup>3</sup>Et iussit eam diuerſi xenodochio cenobii atque benedicens ei et multa de castitate et patientia disputans, nimis eam aedificauit. <sup>4</sup>Et tribus in coenobio diebus permanentes, impigro auditu psalmodiae, auscultabat modulationes. Et cernens uniuscuiusque industriae ambitum atque efficaciae uoluntatem,

et <sup>1</sup>] sed et M ~ pulchritudine] pulchritudo M ~ in facie] faciei M B ~ specie] speciem V, species M      4. multos] multum B ~ dignitatem V<sup>a.c.</sup> B ~ praecelsus B ~ nobilitatis] nobilitate et B, non tantum M ~ infulis decoratos] in filiis decoratis B ~ in facie] in facie M B ~ desiderium] in desiderio B ~ acciperent M ~ molestabant] molestabatur B ~ patrem] pater B ~ uoluntatem M ~ postulabant V<sup>a.c.</sup>      5. denique] idem B ~ hominum B ~ dignitatum honoris] dignitate honori sic B ~ patrem] pater B ~ ei add. post persuasit M B ~ dari] dare M, om. B ~ in matrimonium M B ~ constituens] constituens V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ promississet V ~ diem uotorum add. post promississet V ~ arrarum V ~ consuetudinis B

[4.] 1. consistentem V<sup>a.c.</sup> B, consistens M ~ habiit V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ cenubio V, cenobium M ~ pro] propter M, per B ~ obsecratione] obsecrationem M, om. B ~ deferens] referens V ~ retulit] relatuī V      2. optuli V M ~ ea] eam V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ ad nuptū corr. in a nuptū V ~ eam uolo] eam uolumus M, uolumus eam B      3. iussit] iussi V ~ diuerſi] diuerſi M ~ exenodochio V, excenodochio B, in xenodochio M ~ nimis] nimiae M, et nimia B      4. diebus tr. post tribus M ~ auditu] audito B, auditu audire V ~ patrum add. ante psalmodiae M ~ auscultabat] auscultabat sic B, audire et V ~ modulationes V, modulatione B ~ ambitum] ambitum M ~ atque] adque V ~ efficaciae] efficaciam B, efficiem V, efficie M ut. uid., corr. in efficacie sup. lin. ~ uoluntatem] uoluntatis B

3.4. uoluntate Dei fieri cfr. Act 21.14, Mt. 6.10, 26.42, Lc 22.42

quae in diuinis competit fulgere mandatis, mirabatur in tali eorum angelica uita dicens: <sup>5</sup>«Beati homines isti, quoniam, in hac uita positi, consimiles sunt angelis. Et post huius saeculi migrationem, aeternae uitae praemio perfruuntur». <sup>6</sup>Et coepit cor eius compungi zelo timoris Dei. <sup>7</sup>Tribus namque transactis diebus, dicit Pafnutius ad abbatem: «Iube, pater spiritalis, filiam tuam te salutare. Et ora pro ea, quia ire uolumus in ciuitatem». <sup>8</sup>Cumque ambulasset apud eum, corrui in pedibus senis dicens: <sup>9</sup>«Ora pro me, quaeso te, pater, ut Deus saluet animam meam». Et erigens manus abba dixit: <sup>10</sup>«Deus, qui cognoscis uniuscuiusque cor antequam nascatur ipse, et huius ancillae tuae procura, quatenus mereatur, inuenire sortem uel portionem cum omnibus qui tibi placuerunt. <sup>11</sup>Commendantesque se abbati, abierunt in ciuitatem. Pater uero eius, quoscumque repertos contemplabatur, monachos rogatos suam ducebat in domum caritatemque complectens postulabat eos orare pro se uel pro filia sua.

[5.] <sup>1</sup>Vna quidem dierum contigit memoriam celebrari abbatis illius qui monasterium olim construxerat. Atque mittens abba unum ex fratribus adhortauit Pafnutium in die abbatis adesse. <sup>2</sup>Veniens ergo is qui mandatum detulerat in domo eius, <sup>3</sup>dicit iam eum praecessisse. Eufrosina uero hoc audiens, uocato fratre, coepit eum taliter inquirere:

competit] comperit B ~ angelicam uitam B 5. quoniam *om.* V ~ hac] ac B ~ consimiles] similes B ~ praemio] praemia V ~ perfruuntur V 6. et coepit] coepit itaque V ~ zelo] in zelo B, in caelo M 7. transactis] peractis M, peratis B ~ dicit] dixit V ~ dominus *add. ante* Pafnutius M B ~ papnuntius V <sup>a.c.</sup> (*corr. in* papnuntius), panfnutius M, panutius B ~ iube] iuuue V ~ filiae tuae M, filia tua B ~ si Dominus iusserit *add. post* uolumus V 8. apud eum] ad puteum M ~ senis] senecis V ~ Eufrosina *add. ante* dicens V 9. te *om.* B ~ manus] manum V ~ abbas B 10. Deus *om.* M ~ tu *add. ante* ipse V 11. reppertus B ~ rogatos *om.* B ~ suam *tr. post* domum B ~ suam] sua V M ~ in domo M, in donum *sic* B ~ postulabat] postulat B ~ eos *om.* V

[5.] 1. quidem] siquidem M B ~ memoria V ~ celebrare B ~ abbas B ~ ex] de B ~ adhortauit] adortari V ~ domnum *add. ante* Pafnutium M B ~ papnutio V, panfnutium M, panutium B ~ adesse] adesset V 2. is] hi V, his M ~ mandatum detulerat in domo eius] missus fuerat in domum eius B 3. dicit] didicit V ~ eum iam *tr.* M ~ eum *om.* B ~ processisse B ~ hoc] haec V ~ coepit] incepit B ~ eum *om.* B

4.5. consimiles sunt angelis cfr. Mt 22.30

<sup>4</sup>«Quanti, inquit, fratres sunt in coenobio?» Qui respondit: «Trecenti quinquaginta duo». Et illa ait: <sup>5</sup>«Quisquis uult uenire et sedere in monasterium, suscipit eum abba?» <sup>6</sup>Dicit ei monachus: «Omnes suscipit abba». <sup>7</sup>Puella dixit: «Omnes in una ecclesia psallent aut aequum est illorum ieiunium?» <sup>8</sup>Respondit monachus: «Psallere, quidem simul omnes in unum psallimus; ieiunium autem peragere, unusquisque ut uult aut ut suffert».

[6.] <sup>1</sup>Omnia quae solitariae uitae sunt discutiens ait fratri: «Velim uires habere et fugire uitam istam saecularem». Et monachus: «Optima cogitatio!» Et puella respondit: «Sed metuo patrem meum, quia pro uana huius saeculi negotia uult me uiro tradere». <sup>2</sup>Ait monachus: «Ne contaminetur uir corpus tuum, ne tradas pulchritudinem tuam in passionem uerecundiae, sed totam te ipsam sponsam contrade Christo, qui potest donare tibi pro saecularibus rebus regna caelestia. <sup>3</sup>Clam igitur tonsa egredere de domo tua et uade in monasterium ut salueris». <sup>4</sup>Et illa: «Quis me, inquit, habet tondere? Nequeo enim a saecularibus tondi, eo quod fidem non seruant». <sup>5</sup>Monachus respondit: «Ecce patrem tuum duco in monasterium et moratus sustinet ibi tribus uel quatuor diebus. Sed affer unum monachum et ipse, quemadmodum cupis, conuenit tibi».

4. respondit] respondens B ~ tricenti V B ~ et *add. ante* duo M ~ ait *om.* V M 5. ergo *add. post* quisquis V ~ uult] uul *sic* V ~ et sedere *om.* V ~ in monasterium *om.* M B ~ suscipit] suscepit M ~ abbas B 6. suscipit] suscipiet B ~ abbas B 7. psallent] salant B, psallunt M ~ est *om.* M ~ illorum] illis M B 8. quidem] qui V ~ in uno M ~ peragere] peragratur V ~ aut ut] et M B  
[6.] 1. quae *add. ante* omnia V, quae *tr. ante* omnia M ~ solitariae] solitaris V, solitaria M ~ sunt uitae *tr.* M ~ uires habere] in uiros habere B, uiri habitum habere M ~ et fugire] et effugere M, ut fugirem B ~ uitam istam saecularem] ista (*sic!*) saeculares pompas V ~ tua *add. post* cogitatio B ~ et *om.* V ~ respondit] respondens B ~ pro uano ... negotio M ~ uiro *om.* B 2. ne <sup>1</sup>] nec V ~ uir *om.* M ~ ne <sup>2</sup>] nec V <sup>a.c.</sup> M ~ pulchritudinem tuam] tanta (*sic*) pulchritudinem B ~ in passionem] in passionem M, in passione B ~ tota V B ~ ipsa sponsa V ~ contrade] trade M ~ Iesu *add. ante* Christo V ~ donare] dare B 3. clam] tantum B ~ in monasterio M ~ ut] et V M ~ salueris] saluaris V M 4. ait *add. post* illa B ~ inquit me *tr.* V ~ nequeo] non V ~ tondi] tundi M, tundore V ~ fidem non seruant] fide non seruantur B 5. moratus sustinet ibi] moratur ibidem V ~ tribus – diebus] tres dies uel quattuor M, tres uel quatuor (*sic!*) dies B ~ affer] afferro B ~ conuenit V

[7.] <sup>1</sup>Adhuc eos loquentes, aduenit pater eius uidensque monachum et cognoscens eum sciscitabatur quid esset quidue fatigatus fuisset. <sup>2</sup>Ait monachus: «Memoria patris habita nostri est. Et rogat te abba ut uenias atque perfruaris eius orationibus». <sup>3</sup>Et laetus effectus, multis etiam pecuniarum mole globis cumulatus, ingressus nauiculam, abiit in monasterium. <sup>4</sup>Patre uero eius in coenobio morante, misit Eufrosina fidelem quendam puerum in Theodosii sic cognominatam ecclesiam et dixit ei: «Quemcumque», inquires, «inueneris monachum, perduc illum huc». <sup>5</sup>Per Dei autem dispensationem quidam senex magnus de Scete ueniens opera manuum suarum uendebat. Et uidens eum puer, perduxit eum apud eam. <sup>6</sup>Quem cum uidisset, puella dicit ei: «Ora pro me, pater». Cumque orasset, sederunt pariter. <sup>7</sup>Ait seni: «Ego, pater, patrem habeo seruum Dei in multa diuitiarum ope existentem. <sup>8</sup>Habuitque uxorem et ex ea genuit me. Et uult propter nimiam suam facultatem tradere me saeculo iniquitatis. <sup>9</sup>Et nolo contaminari sorditia eius. Et rursum inoboediens patri meo existere timeo et quid faciam ignoro. <sup>10</sup>Totamque noctem ob hoc sine somno finita, precaui Dominum nota mihi facere quae expediunt pro salute miserae animae meae. <sup>11</sup>Diluculo uero surgens direxi ad ecclesiam adducere unum e patribus et ab

[7.] 1. eos loquentes] eo loquente M ~ aduenit] uenit V ~ uidensque] uidens M  
 2. memoriam V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ habita] habitaculi M, *om.* V ~ qui *add. post* habita B ~ qui eodem monasterium olim construxit *add. post* nostri est V ~ et *om.* V ~ rogat] rogabat M ~ te *om.* M B ~ abbas B ~ uenias] aduenias M ~ perfruaris eius orationibus] eius orationibus fruaris V ~ orationibus eius *tr.* B 3. et *om.* V ~ itaque *add. post* laetus V ~ est *add. post* effectus B ~ globis] glouibus V, gleuibus B ~ nauiculam] nauigio B 4. patre ... morante] patrem ... morantem V, pater ... morante B ~ cynobio V ~ misit] mittens V M ~ puerum *om.* B ~ Theudosis *sic* V ~ *sic om.* B ~ cognominata ecclesia V ~ et dixit ei *om.* M B ~ quemcumque] quecumque B ~ inquires] itaque V ~ inueneris] reppereris M, repperis B ~ perduc] per dum *sic* B ~ huc] hic B 5. senex] senes V, senis B ~ Scete] sciti M V <sup>p.c.</sup>, scitis V <sup>a.c.</sup>, sithim B ~ perduxit] produxit V ~ eum <sup>2</sup> *om.* V 6. quem] quum B ~ uidisse B ~ dicit] dixit V ~ ei *om.* V ~ sederuntque V 7. atque *add. ante* ait M ~ seni] ad senem B ~ patrem pater *tr.* M ~ habeo] habe B ~ ope] opere B 8. et *om.* B ~ uult] uul V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ suam facultatem] substantiam suam M ~ saeculo iniquitatis] saeculi iniquitati V 9. *ab* <sordi>tiae *habet* R ~ sorditia] sorditiae R M B ~ et rursum] erursum V ~ inoboediens] inoboedientis R, inoboedientia V 10. finita] *cfr. gr.*, fatigata V, definitam B ~ nullus quietus inuentus est locus *add. ante* precaui V ~ precaui] deprecaui R B, precatum M <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ Dominum] deum V <sup>p.c.</sup> R ~ ut *add. ante* nota B ~ nota] notam M <sup>a.c.</sup>, tota V ~ facere] faceret R B ~ pro salutem V <sup>a.c.</sup> 11. direxi] direxit R ~ adducere] ut adducerem B ~ e] a M ~ et] ut V, *om.* R



eo audire uerbum bonum. <sup>12</sup>Obsecro ergo te, sicut a Deo missum, instrue me quae conueniunt uiae salutis».

[8.] <sup>1</sup>Ait ei senex: «Domino dicente, “Si quis non dimiserit patrem et matrem, fratres et sorores et filios insuper et animam suam non abnegauerit, non potest meus esse discipulus”. <sup>2</sup>Ego quid tibi amplius dicam nescio. Si scis quia potes sufferre omnes carnis temptationes, relinque omnia et fuge. <sup>3</sup>Patris uero tui facultas multos potest habere heredes. Ecce ecclesiae, ptochia, monasteria, gerocomia, xenodochia, pupilli et uiduae, peregrini atque captiui. <sup>4</sup>Si placet patri tuo, relinquat substantiam suam: solummodo animam tuam ne perdas». <sup>5</sup>Dicit ei puella: «Spero in Deum et in orationes tuas. Certare habeo saluari animam meam». <sup>6</sup>Et senex: «Huiusmodi uoluntas differri non debet, quia a mane usque ad uesperum mutabitur tempus». <sup>7</sup>Ait puella: «Ob hoc et ego te uexaui, pater, ut adimpleas uoluntatem animae meae». Cui respondit senex: «Si uoluntatis desiderium promptitas sequitur, quid morantes tardamus ad salutis pertingere portum?» Et illa ait: «Immitens compungat cor tuum Deus orare pro me, ut tuo interuentu saluetur

audire] audirem V ~ bonum *om.* R 12. ergo] ego R ~ missum] misso R, missus M ~ uiae salutis] meae saluti B

[8.] 1. senex] senis V<sup>a.c.</sup>, senes V<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ Domino dicente] dominum dicentem V ~ et<sup>1</sup>] aut V ~ non<sup>2</sup> *om.* R M B ~ esse meus *tr.* M 2. si] sci *sic* R ~ potes] potest V ~ omnes carnis temptationes] omnem temptationem carnis V ~ tentationis B ~ omnes] omnis R 3. potest] potes M ~ ecce] et ecce R ~ ecclesiae] ecclesias V, ecclesia M ~ ptochia] *cfr.* πτωχῆα, pretochia B, pthonotia M ~ gerocomia] gerochomia M, hierochomia R, hierocomia B, cinomia V ~ exxenodochia V, xenodochia M, *om.* B ~ peregrinis atque captiuis V B 4. patri tuo placet *tr.* R ~ substantiam suam *om.* R M B 5. dicit] dixi B ~ spero in Deum] spero in deo M, spem habeo in deo V ~ Deum] dominum B ~ certare] certari B, certa M ~ abeo M ~ saluari] saluare R M 6. senes V R ~ ait *add. post* senex B ~ differri] ferre R ~ debet] debes R ~ a mane] de mane R M B ~ mutabitur] immutabitur B 7. ait] dixit B ~ et *om.* B ~ uexaui te *tr.* M ~ uexaui] uocaui R ~ adimpleas] ad deum applices M ~ uoluntatem] uoluntas B ~ cui respondit] dixit B ~ senes V ~ uoluntatis] uoluntatem R M ~ promptitas] prontas B, primitus R, propriam M ~ quid] qui M ~ morantis V ~ portum] pertinge *tr.* B ~ portum] portam M ~ et] at R ~ ait illa *tr.* M ~ immitens] iam mittens B ~ orare] ora R

8.1. si quis non dimiserit patrem ... meus esse discipulus = Lc 14.26; *cfr.* Lc 14.33, Mt 10.37 6. a mane usque ad uesperum mutabitur tempus = Sir 18.26

anima mea. Nunc igitur, optime arbitratus pater, tonde me et da mihi sanctum habitum, quem per multorum annorum spatia anhelanter desidero». <sup>8</sup>Quo audito, senex surgens, oratione facta, statim totondit eam. Deditque ei sanctum habitum optatum <sup>9</sup>precibusque labia orans dixit: «Deus, qui saluauit omnes sanctos quique mystica uoce proclamans, dicit: “Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut conuertatur et uiuat.” Ipse sui regiminis in te ponat custodiam, filia, atque ab omni aduersarii eripiat gladio, ut, quae illi placita et nobis expetibilia sunt peragentes, soli Deo Patri et Deo nostro Iesu Christo et Spiritui Sancto gratias referamus». <sup>10</sup>Et haec dicens egressus est senex de domo.

[9.] <sup>1</sup>Eufrosina uero intra semetipsam cogitans dixit: «Si in mulierum abiero monasterium, pater meus perscrutans reperiet me. Et propter sponsum meum ui exinde euellet me. Vadam ergo in coenobium uirorum ubi nullus suspicatur me mulierem esse». <sup>2</sup>Et exuens se mulierem tunicam atque induens se uirilem habitum, facto uespere, egressa est de domo sua, accipiens secum quingentos aureos. <sup>3</sup>Patrem autem eius in ciuitatem reuertentem Domino dispensante, illico in ecclesiam abiit. <sup>4</sup>Nam Eufrosina peruenit in coenobio ubi pater eius caritatem habebat, <sup>5</sup>et per ostiarium nuntiauit abbati. Aiebat: «Eunuchus quidam

optime arbitratus] optimo arbitratu M ~ tunde V M B ~ quem per] per que tr. B ~ quem] quod R M B ~ anelanter V, anelantur B, anhelantem R ~ desidero] desidero (desiderio M <sup>a.c.</sup> B) promereri R M B 8. senes V ~ orationem factam V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ ei om. R ~ optatum habitum tr. R M B 9. orans] ornans M ~ Deus om. M ~ quiqui V <sup>a.c.</sup>, quiquis V <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ saluauit] salutauit M (*postea corr. alia manu*) ~ mistica codd. ~ proclamans] proclamatus R ~ dicit] dicens B ~ ut om. V R, add. V <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ et uiuat om. R ~ custodia B ~ filia] filiam R ~ eripiat gladio] gladio muniat V ~ illi om. M ~ placita] placida B ~ expetibilia V R B ~ patri] pari V ~ et Deo nostro Iesu Christo] domini (deum B) nostri Ihesu Christi R M B ~ Deo] domino V ~ et] ac V ~ referamus] referam M 10. senes V ~ eufrosinae add. *post* domo V

[9.] 1. Eufrosina] eufrosine R, illa V ~ semetipsa V B ~ habiero R M ~ monasterio R B ~ perscrutans] scrutans V <sup>p.c.</sup> ~ sponso meo V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ ui] uim V <sup>a.c.</sup> R, per uim B ~ uadam] uada B ~ in coenobio V R ~ cynobio V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ nullus] nullum B ~ me om. B 2. et om. B ~ muliebrem] mulierum B, muliebri M ~ tunica M ~ se<sup>2</sup> om. M 3. patrem] patre M, pater B ~ eius om. B ~ in ciuitate B ~ reuertente M <sup>p.c.</sup> B ~ dispensantem R M ~ ilico V <sup>p.c.</sup> R M B ~ in ecclesiam] in ecclesia V, ecclesia B ~ habiit V <sup>a.c.</sup> 4. eufrosine R ~ in coenobium M ~ cyn- V <sup>a.c.</sup> 5. hostiarium R M ~ nuntiauit] nuntiat B, nuntiabatur M ~ et add. *ante* aiebat B ~ aiebat] agebat V (*una i in marg.*) R ~ et per hostiarium tr. *post* aiebat R

9. nolo mortem peccatoris sed ut conuertatur et uiuat cfr. Ez 33.11

de palatio ante fores stans uestris se petit affatibus promereri». <sup>6</sup>Qui praecepit eum ingredi. Et ingressa corruit in terra et, facta oratione, sederunt pariter. Et ait abba: «Quid ad nos uexata est uenerabilitas uestra?» <sup>7</sup>At illa respondit: «Ego, pater, de palatio extiti imperiali et desiderauī monachicam uitam. Sed quia ciuitas nostra non facile certantibus taciturnitatis patientiam praestat et ob mundanis uexationum negotiis, <sup>8</sup>audiens de sanctitate uestra, ueni habitare uobiscum. Siquidem satisfacimini suscipere me, <sup>9</sup>habeo enim multas res, quas, si aedificatus fuero in conuentu uestro, hic perducere spondeo».

[10.] <sup>1</sup>Cui ait abba: «Bene aduenisti, fili. Ecce monasterium in conspectu tuo est. Si placet, sede nobiscum. Dicito ergo nobis nomen tuum». Respondit: «Smaragdus uocor». <sup>2</sup>Ait ei abba: «Quoniam iuuenior es, solus esse non poteris, sed oportet te accipere magistrum, qui te instruat monachicae symbola disciplinae». <sup>3</sup>Respondit Smaragdus: «Quemadmodum iubēs, ita faciam, pater». Et producens quingentos aureos tradidit in manus abbatis inquiring: «Haec interim accipe. Et si uidero quia possum uobiscum habitare, uenient et reliqua». <sup>4</sup>Et uocato quemdam e fratribus, cui nomen erat Agapius, uirum eloquentissimum

fores] foras R, foris V ~ stans] astans M, adstat R ~ affatibus promereri] a fratribus non promoueri M 6. qui praecepit eum ingredi *om.* B ~ eum] eam R M ~ facta] facto R ~ abbas B ~ uenerabilitas uestra uexata est *tr.* V ~ uexatus B 7. at illa respondit] ait illa V, respondit illa M ~ extiti] extitit R B ~ imperiale V ~ monachicam] monachorum M, monasticham B ~ patientia B ~ et <sup>2</sup> *om.* R M B ~ mundanis V <sup>a.c.</sup>, mundatis R 8. sanctitatem V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ siquidem] siquid V ~ satisfacimini suscipere me] sadisfacito mihi B, satisfaci animi M ~ suscepere R <sup>a.c.</sup> 9. habeo] abeo B ~ multas] multam B ~ quas] qui B, quia V ~ si *om.* R ~ fuero] *tr. post* uestro R M, *om.* B

[10.] 1. abbas R B ~ fili *om.* M ~ nostrum *add. post* monasterium M ~ est *om.* B ~ tibi *add. post* si R ~ dicito] dic M ~ ergo *om.* M ~ nobis *om.* B ~ respondit] ille respondit R, illa ait B ~ smaragdus V R, smaratus M V <sup>p.c.</sup> 2. abbas B ~ es *om.* B ~ accipere magistratum] magistrum habere M ~ accipere] ac si cepere V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ magistrum] magitum *sic* B ~ monachicae] monastica B ~ simbola V B 3. smaragdus V (sma-V <sup>p.c.</sup>) R, smaradus M ~ iubēs] uolueris M ~ et producens – reliqua *om.* M ~ producens] produces V, pro ducentos R ~ in manus abbatis] in manus abbati V, in manu abbatis B, abbati R ~ haec *om.* R ~ interima V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ habitare possit uobiscum *tr.* B ~ uenient] ueniat B 4. quendam] quodam M ~ e] ex R M, de B ~ erat *om.* R ~ Agapius] agapitus R, agappius M ~ uiro eloquentissimo V M, uir eloquentissimo R, uir eloquentissimus B

et impassibilem atque mitem, tradidit ei Smaragdum dicens: <sup>5</sup>«Ecce nunc hic est filius tuus; talem eum perfice ut suum magistrum praecellat». <sup>6</sup>Et genu flexo humoque prostrati utrique petierunt benedictionem. Et, orante patre, accepit eum in cellula sua.

[11.] <sup>1</sup>Pro nimio uero decore corporis et specie uultus quibus fulgebat, Smaragdus ingrediens in ecclesia hymnos Deo referre cum omnibus uel in prandiatorium, multos uersuti hostis astutia in cordis iaculabat archana in nimia eius pulchritudine, <sup>2</sup>ut etiam susurrantes murmurent aduersus abbatem quod talem uultum in conuentu eorum suscepisset. <sup>3</sup>Quo audito, abba uocauit Smaragdum et ait ei: «Quoniam forma decoris et species uultus tui, cum sit multa, inualidis lubricum efficitur iter, <sup>4</sup>uolo te inaccessibilem atque in secretiorem cellulam residere et ibi psallere, comedere, bibere atque dormire debere». <sup>5</sup>Iubetque Agapium ei cellulam praeparare secretam, in qua Smaragdus residens silentio studeret. Qui fecit sicut ei iniunctum fuerat atque, accipiens Smaragdum, constituit eum in cellula sua. <sup>6</sup>Ieiuniis uigiliis atque orationibus uel lectionibus et psalmodum modulationibus die noctuque

ei] eis V ~ zmaragdum R, zmaragdus V<sup>a.c.</sup>, smaratum M, smaragdus B 5. nunc] an huc sic R, nonne M<sup>p.c.</sup> ut uid. ~ hic om. R ~ est om. B ~ praecellat magistrum tr. V ~ praecellat om. M, add. supra lin. 6. flexu V ~ utrique] utrisque R B ~ benedictione V ~ orante patre] orantes pariter R ~ patrem V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ in cellulam suam R M [11.] 1. quibus] qua M ~ ysmaragdus V<sup>a.c.</sup>, smaratus M, zmaragdus R ~ in ecclesia] ecclesiam M ~ ymnos R B, hymnum V, ymnum M ~ in prandiatorium] in prandii actrium sic B ~ multos] multas M, multo B ~ uersuto hostes V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ astutias M ~ cordis] corde fratrum B ~ archana] archano M ~ pulchritudinem V<sup>a.c.</sup> 2. susurrantes murmurarent] murmurantes susurrarent R ~ quod] qui M ~ talem uultum] tali hominem uultu M ~ suscepisse R 3. abbas M B ~ uocabit R<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ ysmaragdum V<sup>a.c.</sup> (corr. in ysmaragdum V<sup>p.c.</sup>), zmaragdum R, smaratum M ~ species] specie B ~ iter] frater R 4. inaccessibilem] inaccessibilem V, inaccessibile M, inaccessibile R, incesabile B ~ in secretiorem cellulam residere] secretiore sedere celula (cell-M) M B, seciore (sic!) cellula R ~ psallere] psallens R ~ bibere om. B ~ debere om. V 5. iubetque] iubet V ~ Agapium] agappio M, agabio B, agapito R ~ cellulam ei tr. M B ~ ei om. R ~ praeparare] preparari V, parare R ~ secreta R ~ ysmaragdus V, zmaragdus R, smaratus M ~ silentium V M B ~ studere R ~ iniunctum ei tr. V ~ iniunctum sic B ~ atque] adqui V ~ ysmaragdum V, smaratum M, smaradum B, zmaragdus R ~ et add. ante accipiens V ~ in cellulam suam V<sup>p.c.</sup> R M 6. uel lectionibus om. R ~ modulationibus V, modulatione R

uacatur, ita ut ipsum Agapium in tanta eius uigilantiae solitudine mirari seu cunctos fratres in eius conuersatione aedificari.

[12.] <sup>1</sup>Porro pater eius ad prandii horam ueniens et suam filiam in domo non inueniens, coepit immutata facie discutere pueros et puellas quid factum fuisset Eufrosinae. <sup>2</sup>At illi inquiunt: «Vespere eam uidissent, diluculo uero nequaquam». Cogitauitque pater eius dicens: «Forte sponsus eius ueniens abstulit eam in domo sua». Et mittens ad eum sciscitabatur pro huiusmodi re. <sup>3</sup>Sed et pater adolescentis et idem filius eius hoc cognoscentes turbati, ueloci cursu ueniunt ad domum Pafnutii. Et inuenerunt eum humi prostratum flentem aiuntque ei: «Ne forte aliquis seduxit eam et fugit». <sup>4</sup>Et confestim equites per Aegyptum et Libyam absoluebant. Detinebantur naues et requisitio fiebat multa. Scrutabantur domus, monasteria, amici, uicini, solitudines, speluncae. Et quod quaerebatur inuenire non poterant. <sup>5</sup>Cumque perscrutantes minime repperissent a proposito discedentes, iam non uiuam sed ut mortuam lugebant. Socer quidem nurum flebat, sponsus uero uxorem ululabat. <sup>6</sup>Pater filiam deplorans dicebat: «Heu, mihi, filia mea dulcissima! heu mihi consolatio animae meae, lumen oculorum meorum!

uacatur] uacantem R M, uacante B ~ ipsum Agapium] ipse agapius V ~ agapitum R ~ uigilantiae] uigilatione V, uigilantia R ~ solitudine] sollicitudinis R ~ mirari] mirare V, miraret R ~ seu] se V ~ namque *add. post* cunctos V ~ cunctos fratres] quantis fratribus (*corr. in* fratres) *sic!* B ~ in *om.* R ~ conuersatione] conuersationibus B ~ aedificari] aedificare B <sup>P.C.</sup>, aedificaret V

[12.] 1. ad *om.* R B ~ ora V B, hora R ~ in domum M ~ inueniens] inuenit B ~ discutere] discurrere R ~ pueros et *om.* B ~ factum] facta R ~ Eufrosinae] de eufrosina M B 2. illi] illae R <sup>a.c.</sup> B ~ aduespere B ~ uidissent V <sup>a.c.</sup>, uidisse M, se uidisset R, se uidisse B ~ ne *add. ante* forte M ~ ueniens] inueniens B ~ et *add. post* ueniens R ~ in domum suam M B ~ sciscitabatur R 3. aduliscentis V <sup>a.c.</sup> R ~ idem] hisdem V R, isdem B ~ cognoscentis V ~ sunt *add. post* turbati M ~ et *add. ante* ueloci M ~ uehementi V ~ ueniunt] uenerunt V ~ pafnutii V R, panfnutii M, panutii B ~ humi] humo V M, *om.* R B ~ et *add. ante* flentem R ~ frentem B ~ aiuntque] aiunt R ~ eam *tr. post* forte B 4. Libyam] libiam V, lybiam M, libia B, uiam R ~ absoluebantur B, absoluebat M (absoluebant M <sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ detenebantur V R ~ et requisitio] inquisitio V ~ fiebat] fiebant B ~ domos *codd.* ~ quaerebatur] quaerebantur R 5. a proposito] ad propositum B, apposito M ~ discentes] dicentes M, descendentes B ~ ut *om.* B 6. eu ... eu V R B ~ mihi ... mihi] me ... me B ~ filiam meam R

12.6. heu mihi consolatio animae Tb 10.4 ~ meae lumen oculorum meorum cfr. Tb 10.4

Quis meum thesaurum abstulit? <sup>7</sup>Quis meam substantiam diripuit? Quis meas dispersit diuitias? Quis meae domus decorem abstulit? Quis meam nactus est spem? <sup>8</sup>Qualis lupus meam depascit ouem? Qui locus solis prae fulgentem uultum abscondit? Qualis barbarus captiuam habet regalem effigiem? <sup>9</sup>Illa mihi senectutis baculus, illa malorum solutio, illa laborum requies, illa dolorum subleuatio. <sup>10</sup>Terra, terra, ne operias sanguinem et carnem meam, donec cognoscam quis meam filiam Eufrosinam diripiens abscondit. <sup>11</sup>Huiusmodi audientes sermones amici eius, qui aderant lugubres, simul emittentes uoces, totam paene ciuitatem lacrimare compellebant in repentina perditione infantulae.

[13.] <sup>1</sup>Verum non tollerans pater eius tristitiam hanc, perrexit in coenobio additque abbati dicens: «Quaeso te, pater, ne desinas orare Dominum neque sileas ut inueniantur labores orationum tuarum. Direpta enim est ancilla tua Eufrosina, filia mea». <sup>2</sup>Quo audito, abba maestus ac tristis effectus est. Iussit pulsari tabulam ut fratres congregarentur. Et cum uenissent, ait eis: <sup>3</sup>«Facite caritatem, fratres, et laborem sustinete una ebdomada binis ieiunantes diebus. Rogate Deum ut nobis ma-

thesaurum] aurum V 7. meam] mea V ~ meas] mea R B ~ me *add. ante* abstulit *et eras*. V ~ nactus est] nactus est V<sup>P.C.</sup> M, natus est B, tulit R 8. qui] quis B ~ solis] sol B ~ effigiem] efficiens R 9. baculus V<sup>a.c.</sup>, baculum R M ~ solutio] consolatio B ~ illa laborum] illaborum V R ~ requies illa dolorum *om.* V 10. terra *ter scr.* B ~ cognoscam] agnoscam *sic!* B ~ eufrosine R 11. emittentes] emittes M<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ uoces *om.* V ~ totam paene ciuitatem] ut isto paene tota ciuitas V ~ compellebat V R<sup>a.c.</sup>, pellebant M (compellebant R<sup>P.C.</sup> M<sup>P.C.</sup>) ~ in *om.* R [13.] 1. uerum] uere M, utrum *corr. in* utro V ~ tollerans V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ pater] patrem R ~ tristitia B ~ in coenobium M ~ cynobio V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ additque] adiitque V, adiitque M, addit B ~ abbatis V, abbatem M ~ te *om.* B ~ desinas] sinas V<sup>a.c.</sup> R ~ orare] ora R ~ Dominum] deum R B ~ inueniatur B ~ direpta] directa B ~ Eufrosina ancilla tua *tr.* V 2. quo] quod R ~ abbas V<sup>a.c.</sup> M B ~ hac V R ~ tristes R, tristitias *sic!* B ~ est *om.* R ~ iussit] iubetque M, iubet R B ~ fratres] fratre B ~ cum *om.* V, *add.* V<sup>P.C.</sup> ~ uenissent] conuenissent M B ~ eis] ad eos R B 3. karitatem R ~ unam ebdomadam M ~ ebdomata V ~ binis ieiunantes ~ 4. ebdomadam *om.* B ~ binis] bini R ~ ieiunantes] geiunantes M

7. quis meam nactus est spem Cfr. Tb 10.4 8. qualis lupus meam depascit ouem cfr. Io 10.12 9. illa mihi senectutis baculus cfr. Tb 10.4 10. terra terra ne operias sanguinem et carnem meam = Iob 16.19

nifestet ubi est filia domini Pafnutii». <sup>4</sup>Qui ieiunantes ebdomadā et orantes, nulli eorum manifestauit Deus. Praeminebant enim eius orationes omnium preces: postulabat namque Dominum non se in uita sua manifestari. <sup>5</sup>Itaque omnium pro huiusmodi re certantium nullumque prosequentium pro hoc effectum. Vocantes domnum Pafnutium aiunt ei: «Noli desistere nec tribulare neque deficere sed magis eum gratiarum actionem munus offer Deo. Et quando eius uoluerit pietas patefaciet tibi filiae tuae euentum. <sup>6</sup>Notum enim tibi hoc sit, quod non in turpibus uel obscenis se contradidit desideriis, sed castitatis et pudicitiae adgressa est iter. Et ob hoc non eam manifestauit uni ex nobis. <sup>7</sup>Si enim in malo esset, profecto non dispexerat Deus labores et dolores tuos, quos propter nomen eius in sanctos omnes ostendisti praecipue in nos, sed modis omnibus eam manifestasset». <sup>8</sup>Haec audiens Pafnutius, Deo gratias agens, orabat optimam adipiscere eam conuersationem.

[14.] <sup>1</sup>Post non multum autem temporis spatium, uenit rursum in coenobium osculatusque fratres reuersus est in ciuitatem. <sup>2</sup>Porro rursum in monasterium ueniens dicit ei abba: <sup>3</sup>«Vis colloqui cum fratri bono scientia perito et doctrinae inlustri de palatio Theodosii?» Pafnutius respondit: «Rogo et inhiante supplico». <sup>4</sup>Et uocans abba

ubi est filia] filiam V ~ domini] domni R M, deum V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ papnutii V R, panfnutii M  
 4. unam *add. ante* ebdomadā R M ~ eius *om.* M ~ Dominum] deum R M, *om.* B ~ se non *tr. post* uita sua M 5. pro <sup>1</sup> *om.* V ~ effectum] affectu V ~ domno papnutio V ~ papnutio V, papnutium R, panfnutium M, panutium B ~ desistere] desciscere B ~ nec] ne B ~ neque deficere *om.* M ~ eum] cum B, *om.* R M ~ actionem] actionum M, actionis R, actione B ~ munus] unus V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ offer] offerret V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ uoluerit eius *tr.* M ~ patefaciet] ostendet V ~ euentum] aduentum B 6. enim *om.* B ~ non in turpibus] non in torporis R, non corrutionis B, in nullo corpore V ~ contradidit] contradedit V R, tradidit B ~ et <sup>1</sup> ac (hac R) R M B ~ eam non *tr.* B ~ uni] unus V<sup>a.c.</sup>  
 7. profecto] profecta R ~ dispexerat] despesisset B ~ labore B ~ quos] quod V ~ praecipue] praecipiens R ~ in nos] in nobis R B 8. papnutius V R, panfnutius M, panutius B ~ agens gratias *tr.* R M ~ adipiscere] adipi<s>ci B  
 [14.] 1. haec *add. post* post B ~ autem *om.* V, *tr. post* post M ~ in coenobio V R ~ cynubio V<sup>a.c.</sup>, cynobio V<sup>p.c.</sup> ~ osculatusque] obsculatque M (obsclatusque M<sup>p.c.</sup>)  
 2. rursum] rursus R ~ in monasterio R ~ abbas B 3. colloqui] loqui R ~ cum fratri *om.* V ~ cum *om.* M B ~ bonae scientiae perito] bonae scientiae peritum V, bono scientia perito R M B N ~ doctrina B ~ teodosii B, thodosii M ~ papnutius V R, panutius B ~ respondit panutius *tr.* B ~ inianter V B, hinianter R 4. abbas B

Agapium, ait ei: «Accepto domno Pafnutio, ducito ad dominum Smaragdum quatenus instructus aedificetur ab eo». <sup>5</sup>Et accipiens eum, perduxit eum usque ad illum. <sup>6</sup>At illa patrem suum cernens repleta est tota lacrimis. <sup>7</sup>Verum Pafnutius compunctionis gratia eam lacrimare aestimabat. Nam penitus non eam agnouit pro pallore uel marcescibilitate uultus eius, quod pro immensa abstinentia et ineffabilem uigilantiam affligebatur. <sup>8</sup>Cuculla namque tegebat faciem suam, ne per quouis signo nota ei efficeretur. <sup>9</sup>Et, facta oratione, sederunt pariter.

[15.] <sup>1</sup>Et coepit Smaragdus de misericordia atque elemosyna et sapientiae laetitia seu caritatis effectum enucleatius disputare. <sup>2</sup>Haec Smaragdo luculentius disserente, cor Pafnutii compungebatur. Et simul stupore et gaudio tenebatur in tantum ut iam commori copulatus amoris eius studeret; sed animi calore in corde refrenabat archana. <sup>3</sup>Completoque instructionis effectum, abscessit Pafnutius. Et ueniens ad abbatem, dicit ei: <sup>4</sup>«Magnus est Deus, pater. Certe nimis aedificatus sum in ho-

Agapium] agappium M, agapitum R ~ domno Pafnutio] domnum papnutium (pan-B) R B ~ papnutio V, papnutium R, panutium B ~ ad dominum Smaragdum] ad domno ysmaragdo *corr. in* ad domnum ysmaragdum V, ad domnum zmaragdum R, ad (in B) domum smaragdi (smaradi M) M B ~ quatenus] qualiter M ~ instructus] introductus B ~ aedificetur R 5. accipiens eum] accipiem R ~ usque *om.* M 6. at *om.* R ~ cernens] cernes B ~ tota est repleta *tr.* R ~ est *tr. post* lacrimis M B 7. uerum Pafnutius] papnutius uero V ~ papnutius V, papnutium R, pafnutium M, panutius B ~ eam *om.* B ~ aestimabant V<sup>a.c.</sup>, existimabat R B ~ agnouit] congnouit *sic* B ~ pro pallorem R B ~ marcescibilitatem V, marcescibilem R, marcescibilitatem B, marcescibilitatem M ~ quod] quo R M B ~ pro] per R, prae M ~ pro inmensam abstinentiam B ~ ineffabili uigilantia M 8. cuculla V<sup>a.c.</sup>, cucullo R ~ signo] signum B 9. orationem V<sup>a.c.</sup> B

[15.] 1. ysmaragdus V, zmaragdus R, smaratus M ~ atque] et V ~ elemosina V, elemosinam R ~ et *om.* R ~ sapientiae] sapientia seu B ~ laetitia] laetitiae V, laetitiam R, laetitia spiritali B ~ seu] et B ~ karitatis R, castitatis M ~ effectum] affectu R M, effectum B ~ enucleatius] eunucleatius R, latius B 2. ysmaragdo V, zmaragdus R, smaragdus B ~ loculentius R ~ disserente] disserent R, discernente B ~ papnutii V R, panutii B ~ compungebatur R ~ gaudium R ~ in tantum ut iam commori copulatus amoris eius studeret] in tanta compunctionis copulabatur amoris eius ut studio V ~ ut iam] et iam B, *om.* M ~ commori] corpori R ~ copulabatur V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ amoris] amari R, amoris V B ~ sed] uel V ~ calorem R M ~ in corde] in cordis R, cordis M ~ refrenabat] frenabat R, restringeretur V ~ archano M 3. completoque] completo B ~ effectum] affectu V M B, affatu R ~ papnutius V R, panutius B ~ et *om.* V ~ ueniens V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ et *add. ante* dicit B 4. est *om.* R ~ Deus *om.* B ~ fortasse aedificata V



mine isto. Nouit Dominus, sic eius mentis dilectionem complexus sum, ac si esset filia mea». <sup>5</sup>Et commendans se fratribus abiit.

[16.] <sup>1</sup>Igitur Smaragdus moderata conuersatione in coenobio triginta et octo annos perficiens, infirmitate detentus est, per quam et uitam finiuit. <sup>2</sup>Nam cum infirmaretur, ueniens Pafnutius in coenobio per solitam locutionem, dicit abbati: «Permitte, domine, ut uideam fratrem Smaragdum, quia ualde anima mea diligit eum». <sup>3</sup>Et uocans Agapium, ait ei: «Perduc eum ad domnum Smaragdum, quia, ut aestimo, deinceps non eum uidebit». Qui fecit ut ei iussum fuerat. <sup>4</sup>Et praesentatus corruit in psiathio, in quo iacebat Smaragdus. Osculatusque eum dixit: <sup>5</sup>«Ora pro me, domine frater, ut donet mihi Deus consolationem pro filia mea, quia necdum consolationis medelam accepit anima mea prae eius tristitia». <sup>6</sup>Et Smaragdus inquit: «Noli contristare neque lacrimare. Deus enim, dum hic es, manifestat tibi de filia tua. Sed, quaeso te, sustine hic tribus diebus et ne discedas a me.» <sup>7</sup>Respondit ei: «Iussisti, frater. Certe non abscedo».

[17.] <sup>1</sup>Transactis namque tribus diebus, dum iam apud Deum se

eius] ei B, eum M ~ omine B ~ mentis dilectionem] mentis dilectione M, mente dilectione V ~ complexus sum] complexum R ~ ac] hac V, nec R ~ si] sic R ~ esset filia mea] filiam meam dilectam uidissem V    5. commendans] commendat B ~ habiit R B

[16.] 1. ismaragdus V, zmaragdus R, smaradus M ~ moderata] molesta M ~ cenubio V ~ XXXVIII V ~ et om. M ~ octo] tres B ~ perficiens] proficiens V ~ in add. ante infirmitate V ~ detenta B ~ uita R    2. ac add. post infirmaretur eras. V ~ papnutius V R, panutius B ~ cenubio V ~ per solita loquutione B ~ locutionem] orationem R ~ me add. post permitte B ~ ysmaragdum V, zmaragdum R, smaradum M ~ quia ualde anima – 3. smaragdum om. M B, in marg. alia manu in M    3. Agapium] agappium M, agapitum R ~ ad domnum Smaragdum] ad domum ysmaragdi V, ad fratrem smaragdum M in marg. ~ zmaragdum R, smaragdum M in marg. ~ uidebit] uidebo B ~ iussum fuerat ei tr. R ~ ei om. M B    4. praesentatus] praesentatum R ~ psiathio] spiacho V, spatium R, spiatium M, psiahum B ~ ysmaragdus V, zmaragdum R, smaradus M B ~ osculatusque V    5. donet] donec B ~ Deus] dominus B ~ pro filia mea] propter filiam meam R B ~ consolationis medelam] consolationis meae illam R ~ medellam V <sup>a.c.</sup>    6. ysmaragdus V, zmaragdus R, smaradus M ~ contristari ... lacrimari R M ~ es] est B ~ de om. R    7. papnutius add. post ei V ~ iussisti] iussio tua impleatur V ~ domine add. ante frater V ~ certe om. R B ~ abscedo] abscedam V [17.] 1. namque] nempe R M, enim B

migraturam cognouisset, uocato patre, ait ei: <sup>2</sup>«Quoniam Dei misericordia meam dispensauit, ut uoluit, causam impleuitque desiderium animae meae, uolo te iam securum et sine tristitia permanere pro filia tua Eufrosina: <sup>3</sup>Ego enim sum miserrima! Et ecce uidisti me et satisfactus es. Sed rogo te, pater, per inseparabilem Trinitatem, ne permittas alium quemquam tractare corpus meum, sed tu ipse per te. <sup>4</sup>Sed quia repromisi abbati dicens: “Pecuniam me multam habere; et si hic dispensatus fuero dare eam in coenobio collecta omnia: affer eam hic. <sup>5</sup>Scis enim et ipse, quia pie disponitur locus iste et ora pro me». <sup>6</sup>Et haec dicens reddidit spiritum Deo.

[18.] <sup>1</sup>Et haec audiens Pafnutius amens effectus est, deficiensque spiritu atque dissolutus cecidit tamquam mortuus in terra. <sup>2</sup>Et uidens Agapius cursu ueloci aquam offerens ei in faciem, eleuauit eum dicens: <sup>3</sup>«Quid est hoc, domine Pafnutie, quid habes?» At ille, tenua uoce uix respondens ait: «Sinite me hic mori. Vidi enim stupenda miracula». <sup>4</sup>Surgens inruit super sacratissimum eius uultum, lacrimisque rigans clamabat dicens: <sup>5</sup>«Heu mihi, filia mea dulcissima, cur non mihi ante tempus hoc indicasti, ut et ego commorerer tuae uoluntati? <sup>6</sup>Vae, uae,

migratura se *tr.* R ~ migratura V R ~ cognouisset] cognouissit V<sup>a.c.</sup>, cognouisse R ~ uocato] uocauit B ~ patre] patrem R, pater B ~ et *add. ante* ait B 2. misericordiam R ~ te iam] etiam R ~ securum] securo R ~ tristitiam V<sup>a.c.</sup> 3. satisfactus es] et ecce satisfactum est tibi M, satisfatum est B ~ pater *om.* V M ~ inseparabilem] inuisibilem R ~ alium] aliquem V ~ sed] nisi R 4. et *om.* B ~ multam] multa R ~ dispensatus] disputatus R, dispensata M ~ dare] da M ~ eam] ea R M ~ cenubio V ~ affer] affers V ~ hic eam *tr.* B ~ eam <sup>2</sup>] ea R M 5. scis] si B ~ disponetur V 6. reddidit V

[18.] 1. et *om.* V M ~ Pafnutius amens – uidens *om.* M, *in marg. scr. alia manu* ~ pafnutius V R, panutius B, panfnutius *in marg.* M ~ est *om.* R M B ~ deficiensque] deficiens *in marg.* M ~ spiritum B (*legi nequit in R*) ~ in terram M (*in marg.*) B 2. et uidens – 6. in perpetuum uitam *om.* V ~ et uidens] hoc uidens *in marg.* M ~ Agapius] agappius M<sup>p.c.</sup>, agapius M, agapitus R ~ cursum B ~ ueloci] uelocior R ~ ei *om.* M ~ in facie R ~ eleuauit] et deleuauit *sic* B 3. hoc *om.* R ~ pafnutie R, pafnutii *corr. in* pafnuti M, panutie B ~ respondens] respondit B 4. et *add. ante* surgens M B ~ dicens *om.* R 5. eu R B ~ non *tr. ante* indicasti B ~ ante tempus] in tempus V R ~ tecum *add. post* ego M ~ commorerer] commorer M<sup>a.c.</sup>, morere B 6. uae uae uae M B

17.2. impleuitque desiderium meum cfr. Phil 4.19

quomodo latuisti inimici malignitatis astutia! Quomodo pertransisti principatus ac potestates, filia! Quomodo ingressa es in perpetuam uitam!»

[19.] <sup>1</sup>Haec audiens Agapius nuntiauit abbati flensque agebatur. <sup>2</sup>Qui uelociter currens cecidit super sanctum eius cadauer, dicens: <sup>3</sup>«Sponsa Christi uera ueri Dei nostri et filia sanctorum sociaque iustorum atque comes angelorum, ne obliuiscaris collibertorum tuorum, neque iustius sacrae congregationis, sed deprecare eum, quem adeptas es, Christum et nobis largire patientiae uirtutem, uigilantiae sollicitudinem, orationum facultatem, atque omnium sacramentorum caelestium ad intellegendum industriam, per quam pertingere possimus aeternae uitae portum et immortalitatis possessionem, simul tecum perfrui aeternorum bonorum suauitate». <sup>4</sup>Et haec dicens iubet pulsari tabulam; et congregatus uniuersus populus. Cum magna gloria deducebant sanctum eius corpusculum. <sup>5</sup>Cum uero conuenissent omnes et addiscentes huiusmodi rem, stupore comprehensi glorificabant Deum, qui facit mirabilia solus.

[20.] <sup>1</sup>Vnus autem e fratribus, unum habens oculum obstrusum, ingressus est osculare sanctum eius corpusculum. Moxque ut cecidit su-

astutiam R M ~ ac] hac R B ~ perpetua R

[19.] 1. audiens] uidens V ~ Agapius] agapitus R, agappius M ~ agebatur] egebantur R 2. qui *om.* M ~ cecidit *om.* M, *add. supra lin. alia manu* ~ cadauer] corpus R 3. uera *om.* R ~ Dei] domini B ~ Iesu Christi *add. post nostri* B ~ atque *om.* R ~ comes] comis B, omnium M ~ ne] none V (*no- subp.*) ~ collibertorum tuorum] conlibertorum V, conliber tuorum R ~ eum] dominum V ~ adeptas es] adeptas est R ~ et <sup>2</sup>] ut B, *eras.* M ~ largiri M B ~ dignietur *sic add. post largire* B ~ patientiae] poenitentiae V ~ uirtute R ~ uigilantiae] uigilantia et V, uigilantiam et M ~ orationum] orationis V ~ facultate V ~ facultatum *add. ante sacramentorum* R ~ et *add. post caelestium* R ~ ad *om.* R B ~ intellegendum] intellegentiam dum B ~ per quam *om.* B ~ pertingere] contingere R ~ uitae aeternae *tr.* R ~ et *om.* M ~ immortalitatis possessionem] immortales possessiones B ~ bonorum] regnorum R ~ suauitatem V B 4. congregatos uniuersos populos M ~ *ab magna gloria deficit R deperditis foliis* ~ corpusculum V <sup>a.c.</sup> 5. et *om.* V ~ addiscentes] discentes B ~ rem] re B ~ conpraehaensi V ~ magna *add. post mirabilia* V

[20.] 1. e] ex M ~ habens] habent V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ obstrusum oculum *tr.* M B ~ osculum V <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ est *om.* B ~ sanctum *om.* B ~ moxque ut] mox V ~ cecidit super sanctum eius uultum] tetigit eius sanctissimum uultum B

18.6. principatus ac potestates cfr. Cor I 15.24, Eph 6.12, Col 2.15

per sanctum eius uultum, confestim uisum recepit. <sup>2</sup>Quo facto, conspicientes omnes dicebant: «Gloria tibi Deus, qui semper facis stupenda et admiranda opera et donas praeceptum salutis uolentibus confugere ad portum misericordiae tuae». <sup>3</sup>Et simul plerique aedificati, posuerunt eam in sepulchris sanctorum patrum.

[21.] <sup>1</sup>Pater uero eius uniuersam substantiam suam ecclesiis, monasteriis, xenodochiis atque pauperibus distribuens, abrenuntians omnibus, ingressus est et ipse in monasterium <sup>2</sup>Et nimiam partem substantiae suae in eo relinquens, mansit ibidem honeste degens in suae filiae cellula. <sup>3</sup>Multum etiam consolationis leuigamentum habens pro psiathio in quo suam filiam super pauimentum prostratam iacere meminebat. <sup>4</sup>Vixit ergo et ipse in eodem monasterio decem annorum spatium tempus, degens in praeceptis Domini studiose. Et in hac conuersatione ad extremum ueniens, terrena relinquens, migravit ad caelos. Atque aetheriis coniunctus colonis choruscat in choro sanctorum. <sup>5</sup>Reliquiae namque eius iuxta corpus filiae suae reconditae, hactenus usque repauescentes tenentur. Cum quibus deprecemur, karissimi, misericordiarum largitorem Dominum, ut donet nobis sortem patientiae participationum repromissus eorum in Christo Iesu, Domino nostro, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

sanctum] sanctissimum M B ~ uultum] cadauer V ~ uisum] lumen V 2. quo facto] quod factum M ~ conspicientes] conspientes V<sup>a.c.</sup>, respicientes B ~ omnes *om.* B ~ donas praeceptum] donum acceptum V ~ confugere] tribuis V 3. et simul *om.* V ~ sepulchris] sepulcro V

[21.] 1. in *add. ante* ecclesiis B ~ atque *tr. ante* xenodochiis V ~ senodochiis M, senodochiis V ~ distribuens] tribuens V ~ abrenuntians] renuntians B 2. in eo] in eum V ~ relinquens] reliquit B 3. pro psiathio] pro spiathium V M, propitium B ~ prostrata M ~ meminebat] eminebat V 4. spatio M ~ ac B ~ ueniens] perueniens M B ~ aetheris V<sup>a.c.</sup> ~ coloni V<sup>p.c.</sup>, colonibus M, cum omnibus B ~ coro V, qorum B 5. usque actenus *tr.* B ~ actenus V M B ~ repauescente V, repauesatae M B ~ deprecemur V ~ ut donet] donare M B ~ participationum repromissus] participatione repromissionis B, participationem remissionem peccatorum M ~ eorum *om.* M ~ cui est honor et gloria] qui uiuit et rengniat (*sic!*) B ~ laus uirtus *add. post* honor M ~ et *om.* M ~ imperium et potestas *add. post* gloria M ~ Amen *om.* B  
Explicit B

THE «LIFE OF CASTISSIMA» («BHL» 1640)

*Conspectus siglorum*

- |    |                                                          |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------|
| A  | El Escorial, BRMSL, a-II-9, s. X <i>med.</i>             |
| B  | Paris, BnF, n. a. lat. 2178, s. X <i>med.</i>            |
| Eb | El Escorial, BRMSL, b-I-4, s. XI <i>in.</i>              |
| T  | Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, 44-11, s. XIII |



## Vita sanctae Castissimae uirginis

[1.] <sup>1</sup>Fuit in ciuitate Alexandria uir magnificus, nomine Pafnutius, curam gerens pauperum uel hospitum, <sup>2</sup>habens coniugem christianissimam de gente alta; et erat sterilis. <sup>3</sup>Pafnutius uero tribulabatur eo quod erat diues et non habebat filios. <sup>4</sup>Videns autem uxor eius quia in tribulatione erat, non cessabat nocte et die cum afflictione Deum deprecare ut dedisset eis semen, qui Deum laudarent post obitum eorum, et multam pecuniam ad pauperes tribuebat. <sup>5</sup>Similiter et uir suus circuibat monasteria et sancta loca ministrans necessaria seruis Dei et rogans ut orarent pro illo, ut meritum haberet semen sibi dari in saeculo. <sup>6</sup>Quadam uero die, ambulauit in monasterio ubi erat abbas sanctissimus cum magna congregatione. <sup>7</sup>Et dedit eis multam pecuniam et rogauit ut orarent pro illo.

[2.] <sup>1</sup>Quod statim ipse abbas, cum magna supplicatione, rogauit Deum ut impleret desiderium eius. <sup>2</sup>Et Deus exaudiuit, tam pauperi-

**trad. text.:** A B Eb (*solum usque ad 14.3 de palatio Theodosii habet, deperditis subsequen-  
tibus foliis*) T

**tit.:** Vita sanctae Castissimae uirginis A B, Vita uel obitus sanctae Castissimae uirginis et confessoris Christi Eb T

[1.] 1. pafnuntius B ~ ospitum A B Eb    2. sterelis A B Eb    3. pafnuntius B ~ abebat B    4. huxor Eb ~ die hac nocte *tr.* A ~ deprecari T ~ qui] quo T ~ laudaret T ~ eorum] suum Eb T ~ multa pecunia A B Eb ~ ad pauperes] pauperibus Eb T    5. suus] eius Eb T ~ et rogans *om.* Eb T ~ ut<sup>2</sup>] et Eb T ~ haberet] haberent A ~ dari] dare A, daret B    6. uero *om.* A B ~ in monasterium T ~ sanctissimus erat abba *tr.* A ~ abba A B    7. et dedit eis *def.* Eb, *excisso folii margine* ~ multam pecuniam] multa pecunia B Eb (*ut uid.*), pecunia A ~ et rogauit ... 2.1 supplicatione *def.* Eb, *excisso folii margine*

[2.] 1. ipse] ille T    2. tam pauperibus ... petentibus] tam pauperes quam seruos suos petentes Eb T

2.1. impletur desiderium eius cfr. Phil 4.19, Ps 126.5

2. Deus exaudiuit = Gn 30.17

bus quam seruis suis petentibus, et concessit illi Deus unam infantulam. <sup>4</sup>Et uocauit eam Castissimam. <sup>5</sup>Congaudebant autem parentes in ea, dum erat decora ualde in forma et patiens in conuersatione.

[3.] <sup>1</sup>Facta autem illa annorum circiter duodecim, migravit mater eius de hac luce. Pater autem eius docebat eam litteris et lectione et omnem sapientiam atque intellegentiam. <sup>2</sup>Et dum illa mentem haberet bonam, tantum erat docta, ut pater eius miraretur in suo profectu. <sup>3</sup>Diulgata est autem fama de ea in omnem ciuitatem. Et multi dignitates habentes pro filios suos rogabant patrem puellae ut copularet illam in coniugio. <sup>4</sup>Dicebat autem pater eius: «Quod Deus uoluerit, hoc erit fiendum». <sup>5</sup>Vnus autem, superans omnes tam dignitate quam diuitiis et possessionibus atque pecuniis, rogauit pro filio suo patrem puellae; et adqueiuit. Et factum est in arras coniugii obligatio.

[4.] <sup>1</sup>Et post non multum tempus, duxit eam pater suus ad monasterium, ubi abbas sanctissimus erat, habentem iam beatissimam uirginem decem et octo annorum, et obtulerunt ibi munera multa. Et dixit Pafnutius ad abbatem: <sup>2</sup>«Ecce fructum orationum ueststrarum. Praesento eam uobis, ut oretis pro illa, quia iam sponsum illi obligauit». <sup>3</sup>Et iussit foras monasterium, ubi peregrini hospitium habebant, manere patrem

concessit] concedit A B ~ deus *om.* Eb T ~ unam] ueram T 4. uocabit A ~ eam *om.* T ~ nomine *add. ante* Castissimam Eb T 5. eius *add. post* parentes A

[3.] 1. doceat A ~ litteris] litteras T ~ et lectioni B Eb, *om.* T 2. illa] illam A ~ mente B 3. cibitatem A ~ pro filiis suis T ~ patrem] parentem Eb T ~ eis *add. post* illam T 4. diceat A ~ erit fiendum] fiet Eb T 5. diuit<iis> Eb ~ et omnes excedens diuitiis *add. post* diuitiis T (*in* Eb *tantum legitur* <exce>dens diuitiis, *excisso folii margine*) ~ possessionibus ... adqueiuit] *in* Eb *tantum legitur* pos<sessionibus> *et* <fi>lio suo *excisso folii margine* ~ atque pecuniis *om.* T (*fortasse etiam* Eb) ~ patrem puellae *tr. post* rogauit T ~ ei *add. post* adqueiuit Eb T ~ factum ... coniugii] *non legitur in* Eb, *excisso folii margine* ~ factum] facta T

[4.] 1. tempus *om.* B ~ abba A ~ habentem iam ... annorum] beata uero uirgo decem et octo annorum habebat aetatem Eb T ~ et obtulerunt] obtuleruntque Eb T ~ pafnuntius B ~ ad abbatem] abbati Eb T 2. eam *om.* T ~ pro illa] pro illam A ~ illi] ei Eb T 3. et *om.* Eb T ~ praesertim abbas *add. post* iussit Eb T ~ monasterio Eb ~ ospitium A B Eb



cum puella. Et alia die castigabat eam ipse uir sanctissimus pro castitate et elemosina et timore Dei et satis complacebat ei. <sup>4</sup>Et commorati sunt ibidem tres dies. Audiebat autem puella incessabiliter psallentes seruos Dei et laudantes Deum. Et compuncta in corde suo dicebat: <sup>5</sup>«Beati sunt omnes isti qui in isto habitaculo consistunt, quia similes sunt angelorum; sine cessatione enim laudant Deum. Et post exitum istius saeculi in beatitudine sempiterna introducuntur». <sup>6</sup>Et coepit zelum habere conuersationis eorum. <sup>7</sup>Post tertium autem diem, dixit Pafnutius ad abbatem: «Pater bone, uide ancillam tuam, filiam meam, quia quaerimus descendere ad ciuitatem, et ora pro nobis». <sup>8</sup>Venit puella et cecidit ad pedes abbatis et dixit: <sup>9</sup>«Ora pro nobis, domine pater, ut saluetur anima mea de inferno». Et extendens manus beatus uir dixit: <sup>10</sup>«Deus, qui cognoscis omnia antequam fiant, tu sis protector ancillae tuae, ut saluetur, et tibi placeat, ut habeat partem cum sanctis tuis». <sup>11</sup>Et, cum ista oratione, accesserunt in proprio domo. Pafnutius uero, ubicumque inueniebat seruos Dei uel peregrinos, ducebat eos in domo sua, ministrans omnia quae necessaria illis erant et rogans eos ut orarent pro illo.

cum puella patrem *tr.* Eb T ~ et alia dia ... complacebat ei] alia igitur die egressus pater monasterii, uocans ad se puellam, coepit eam blando edificare (hed- Eb) sermone, intimans ei pudicitiam et castitatem sollerter, obseruare elemosinarumque iugi largitione pauperes, sustentare et super omnia timorem Dei saepe in corde retinere. Puella uero haec uerba placido uultu, intenta aure, humili (um- Eb) mente suscipiebat Eb T ~ eam] illam B ~ sanctissimus] sanctus B ~ complaceat A 4. incessauiliter A ~ Deum] dominum B ~ diceat A 5. quia] qui T (*in Eb difficulter legitur*) ~ angelorum] angelis et Eb T ~ enim *om.* Eb T ~ istius] huius Eb T ~ ad altitudinem poli *add. post* saeculi Eb T ~ in beatitudine sempiterna] in beatitudinem Eb T ~ introducuntur] introducentes Eb *ut uid.* 6. zelum] coelum A 7. pafnuntius B ~ ad abbatem] abbati Eb T 8. enim *add. post* uenit Eb T ~ et *om.* A B ~ abbati A 9. nobis] me Eb T ~ salbetur A Eb ~ uir beatus *tr.* Eb T ~ uir *om.* B 10. oratio *scr. in marg.* A ~ cognoscis] scis A ~ ut sis] tu esto Eb T ~ saluetur et tibi placeat et *om.* B ~ salbetur A Eb ~ abeat A 11. ista] hac Eb T ~ accesserunt] reuersi sunt Eb T ~ in propriam domum T ~ proprio] propria Eb ~ pafnuntius B ~ inueniebat A, ueniebat T ~ duceat A, deducebat Eb T ~ in domum suam T ~ erant] erat B ~ et *ante* rogans *om.* Eb T

4.5. similes sunt angelorum cfr. Mt 22.30

[5.] <sup>1</sup>Quadam die, occurrit festiuitas de monasterio uiri Dei; et direxit unum fratrem qui inuitaret Pafnutium ad monasterium. <sup>2</sup>Et dum peruenit in domum Pafnutii, <sup>3</sup>non inuenit eum, sed inuenit Castissimam cum familia. Tunc illa secrete dixit ad ipsum monachum: <sup>4</sup>«Quanti fratres sunt in uestro monasterio?». Ille respondit: «Trecenti quinquaginta et duo». Dixit puella: <sup>5</sup>«Rogo te ut dicas mihi si aditum habet qualiscumque homo in uestro monasterio uolens intrare, si suscipitur». <sup>6</sup>Respondit monachus: «Per omnia apertum est ostium monasterii nostri omnibus uolentibus saluos esse». <sup>7</sup>Dixit puella: «Omnes in una ecclesia cantant aut aequale ieiunant?». <sup>8</sup>Respondit monachus: «Omnes in una ecclesia cantant, ieiunare autem unusquisque iuxta uoluntatem suam agit».

[6.] <sup>1</sup>Et perquisiuit puella omnem conuersationem eorum et dixit: «Volebam, si detur mihi de Deo uirtus, sic in isto saeculo conuersare sicut uos, sed timeo patrem meum, quia quaerit me tradere ad maritum». <sup>2</sup>Dixit monachus: «Non des corpus tuum in corruptionem nec tradas talem formam contumeliis temporalibus, sed cum omni integritate te ipsam offer Christo, qui dat pro temporalibus sempiterna prae-mia». Dixit ei puella: «Quomodo possum hoc facere?» <sup>3</sup>Dixit monachus: «Occulte fuge et intra monasterium et salua eris». <sup>4</sup>Irrigatum est

[5.] 1. quadam] quedam B ~ uiri] uiro A ~ direxit] direxerunt T ~ pafnuntium B  
2. in domo B Eb T ~ pafnuntii B 3. filia (filiam T) eius *add. ante* Castissima Eb  
T ~ castissima A B Eb ~ tunc] tum A, tun *sic* Eb 4. et duo *om.* Eb T 5. qualiscumque] aliquis qualiscumque A, quilibet Eb T ~ monasterio uestro *tr.* Eb T ~ si *om.* Eb T ~ si suscipitur] suscipiendi Eb, causa suspiciendi T 6. monachus *om.* A  
B ~ hostium A B T ~ uolentibus] quaerentibus se (*om.* Eb) Eb T ~ saluos Eb 7.  
aut aequale ... cantant *om.* T 8. monachus *om.* A B ~ ieiunare A ~ uel possibilitatem *add. post* uoluntatem Eb T ~ agit *def.* Eb *excisso folii margine*

[6.] 1. perquisiuit ... tradere *def.* Eb, *excisso folii margine* (*tantum* p<erquisiuit> conuer<sationem>, uolebam, uirt<us>, sic<ut>, meu<m> *leguntur*) ~ uoleuam A ~ detur] daretur T ~ de deo] a deo T ~ isto] hoc T ~ conuersari T ~ et *add. post* sicut T ~ quaerit] uult T ~ ad maritum] uiro Eb T 2. dixit monachus *def.* Eb, *excisso folii margine* ~ non des] noli dare Eb T ~ in corruptione A B, corruptioni Eb T ~ tale forma A B ~ humilitate et *add. post* omni A ~ te ipsam] temetipsam Eb T ~ offer] offerre A B ~ Christum A B ~ pro temporalia B Eb ~ praemia (proemia Eb) sempiterna *tr.* Eb T 3. intra monasterium et salua eris] salua eris intrans in monasterium Eb T ~ in *add. ante* monasterium B ~ salua A Eb

6.3. salua eris = Act 11.14; 16.31; Rm 5.9; 10.9; Ps 79.4; 79.20, etc.

cor puellae de uerbis monachi. Et dixit: «Quis me potest tondere?» (Dum in Oriente consuetudo est monachas tondere capillos, sicut et uiros.) «Ego non uolebam tondere me de saeculari, sed de seruo Dei». <sup>5</sup>Et dixit monachus: «Ego inuitare ueni patrem tuum ad monasterium, et ibi morabitur quattuor dies. Tu autem inquire tibi unum seruum Dei et tondat te».

[7.] <sup>1</sup>Et dum hoc narrabant pariter, uenit Pafnutius. <sup>2</sup>Et dixit ei monachus: «Pater Pafnuti, dedicatio est monasterii nostri et ordinauit me abbas inuitare te ut cum illo debeas celebrare festiuitatem et lucres orationes seruorum Dei». <sup>3</sup>Pafnutius uero, portans munera secum, secutus est eum cum gaudio. <sup>4</sup>Dum ille commoratus est in monasterio, dixit Castissima ad unum credendarium suum: «Vade in ecclesiam quam construxit Theodosius imperator et quaere mihi unum seruum Dei et adduc eum ad me, quia opus illum habeo». <sup>5</sup>Deo autem dispensante, inuentus est ibidem unus senex, seruus Dei, orans attentissime in ipsa ecclesia. Quem rogauit puer et adduxit. <sup>6</sup>Vt uidit illum, beata Castissima salutauit et dixit: «Ora pro me, pater bone». <sup>7</sup>Et dixit ei puella: «Ego, domine, habeo patrem christianissimum, uirum in hoc saeculo abundantem. <sup>8</sup>Et habuit uxorem, unde ego sola procreata sum, et destinatus est tradere me ad maritum. <sup>9</sup>Et non est mea uoluntas corruptione maculare corpus meum et iterum contradicere patri timeo, et quid faciam ignoro. <sup>10</sup>Et totam istam noctem uigilaui rogans Deum ut reuelare mihi dignetur quid facere debeam, ut de inferno liberetur anima

4. tonderi <sup>1</sup> A B ~ dum] quum Eb, cum T ~ est] sit Eb T ~ tonderi <sup>2</sup> A B ~ capillos] *cfr* BHL 2722, capillis A B, *om.* Eb T ~ et uiros] et uiri B, uiri A ~ certe *add. post* ego Eb T ~ uolebam] uoleuam A, quaero Eb T ~ me tonderi *tr.* Eb T ~ de ... de] a ... a Eb T ~ quolibet *add. ante* saeculari Eb T ~ saeculare A B 5. morauitur A B Eb ~ unum *om.* T ~ dei] domini A B ~ et tondat te ... 7.3 pafnutius *def.* Eb, *excisso folii margine* (solum narra<bant>, <pafnut>ius, pafnuti, nostri et, <inui>tare, <celebra>re, <or>atio<nes>, <pafnut>ius *leguntur*) ~ tondat] tondet T

[7.] 1. pafnuntius B 2. pafnutii A, pafnuntii B ~ deueas A ~ lucres] fruaris T 3. pafnuntius B ~ secum munera *tr.* Eb T 4. in monasterium Eb ~ credendarium] credentarium T ~ suum] sibi A ~ in ecclesia A B ~ quam] quae A B ~ theodosius A, thedosius B, theodosius Eb 5. autem *om.* B Eb T ~ senes A B 6. ergo *add. post* ut Eb T ~ beata] beatissima T 7. dixit ei puella] iterum dixit Eb T ~ habundantem *codd.* 8. destinatus est] destinauit T ~ ad maritum] marito Eb T 9. et] sed Eb T ~ mea] mihi Eb T ~ corruptioni A B Eb ~ patri] ad patrem A B 10. et] nam Eb T ~ uigilabi B ~ deum] dominum B ~ deueam A

mea. <sup>11</sup>Et pro hoc rogans misi ad te ancillam tuam ut dicas mihi uerbum salutis et consolationis. <sup>12</sup>Oro te, pater, ut pro aeterna retributione, dum a Deo es missus ad me, da mihi consilium quid debeam facere».

[8.] <sup>1</sup>Dixit ei senex: «Deus sic praecepit dicens: “Si quis non dimittit patrem aut matrem et renuntiat propriae animae suae, non potest meus esse discipulus”. <sup>2</sup>Ego quid tibi habeo, filia, dicere super hoc quod praecepit Dominus? Tamen, si potes sustinere temptationes inimici, dimitte saeculum cum omnibus diuitiis suis, <sup>3</sup>quia res patris tui, dum dicis quia uir bonus est, inueniet heredes multos, pauperes, ecclesias, monasteria et xenodochia et reliqua pia dispensatione. <sup>4</sup>Et, ubi uoluerit, dispensabit omnes res suas. Tu tamen pro salute animae tuae cogita». <sup>5</sup>Puella respondit: «Credo in Deum meum et tuis orationibus, quia certare uolo cum suo adiutorio et saluare animam meam». <sup>6</sup>Dixit senex: «Istas condiciones non debent tardare, quia inimicus impedimenta et cogitationes immittit». <sup>7</sup>Respondit puella: «Pro hoc te rogavi uenire ad me, ut impleas desiderium meum». <sup>8</sup>Surrexit senex et dixit capitulum. Et apprehendens tonsorias, totondit illam et induit eam uestem religiosam. <sup>9</sup>Et orauit super eam, dicens: «Deus, qui saluos facit omnes sibi placentes, ipse custodiat te et liberet de inimico humani generis». <sup>10</sup>Et ualedicens ei perrexit ad monasterium suum.

[9.] <sup>1</sup>Castissima uero cogitauit in se ipsa, dicens quia «si fuero in monasterio puellarum, pater meus inueniet me et trahet me exinde,

11. pro] ob Eb T ~ ancillam tuam] ego ancilla tua Eb T

[8.] 1. senes A B (sens B <sup>a.c.</sup>) ~ aut] et Eb T ~ propriae animae suae] propriam animam suam Eb 2. habeo filia dicere] dicam filia Eb T ~ dico *add. post* tamen Eb T ~ inimici] diaboli A 3. tui *om.* T ~ dum] ut Eb T ~ eglesias Eb ~ senodocia A B, senodocia Eb, sedochia T 4. dispensauit A B ~ omnes *om.* A ~ tamen] autem A 5. in *add. ante* tuis T ~ suo] eius Eb T ~ salbare A Eb ~ anima mea A B <sup>a.c.</sup> Eb 6. senes A B Eb ~ deuent A 7. rogabi A B 8. autem *add. post* surrexit Eb T ~ senes A B ~ et dixit] dixitque Eb T, dixit B ~ eam] illam B Eb ~ ueste Eb 9. orabit A ~ salbos Eb ~ te *add. post* liberet T

[9.] 1. cogitabit B ~ in seipsa] in semetipsa T ~ in monasterium Eb ~ inueniet *def.* Eb *excisso folii margine*

8.1. si quis non dimittit patrem ... esse discipulus = Lc 14.26 9. ipse custodiat te et liberet de inimico humani generis cfr. Ps 120.7

quia potens est, et tradet me sponso meo; attamen uadam ad monasterium uirorum in habitu eunuchi et nulla erit suspectio». <sup>2</sup>Expoliavit se uestimentum femineum et induit se uestimento uirili et post solis occubitum exiuit de domo patris sui, portans secum quingentos solidos, nemine cognoscente. <sup>3</sup>Et, diluculo, uenit pater suus in ciuitatem et circuibat ecclesias orans. <sup>4</sup>Castissima uero uenit in monasterio, ubi pater suus festa celebrauerat. <sup>5</sup>Et dixit ostiario: «Nuntia domino abbati: “Ecce eunuchus uenit de palatio et occurrere tibi uolet”». <sup>6</sup>Et introiuit ostiarius et nuntiauit domino abbati. Et ueniens abbas introiuit et, dicto capitulo, consederunt. Et dixit abbas: «Vnde uenis ad nos, uenerantissime uir?» <sup>7</sup>Qui respondit: «Ego, pater, de palatio sum et cogitauim liberare animam meam de potestate istius saeculi et uolo Deo seruire. Et ciuitas, ubi commoratur imperator, non habet locum quietudinis. <sup>8</sup>Audiui enim de monasterio uestro multa bona et ueni consistere uobiscum, si iubes me suscipere. <sup>9</sup>Habeo res multas et, si saluaueris animam meam, in isto loco offeram tibi omnia».

[10.] <sup>1</sup>Dixit ei abbas: «Bene uenisti, fili. Ecce monasterium nostrum, impleatur uoluntas tua. Sed dic mihi quod est nomen tuum?». Illa re-

quia potens ... suspectio] in Eb *tantum legitur, excisso folii margine*: potens est et t<radet>, meo att<amen>, <mo>nasterium, et nulla ~ traet B ~ attamen] sed T ~ in monasterio A ~ abitu A 2. expoliavit ... portans secum *def.* Eb, *excisso folii margine* (*tantum legitur* <expo>liabit se, et indu<e>, et post, de do<mo>) ~ uestimentum femineum et induit *om.* B T ~ uestimenta uirile *sic* A B ~ exhibit A B ~ nemini A B ~ cognoscenti B 3. et diluculo uenit] uenitque diluculo Eb T ~ suus] eius Eb T ~ in ciuitate A B T 4. celebrauerat A B 5. ostiario A B ~ domino] precor te Eb T ~ et dic ei *add. post* abbati Eb T ~ occurrere tibi uolet] ut occurras ei summis precibus deprecatur Eb T 6. et introiuit] et introibit A B, ingressusque Eb T ~ ostiarius A B ~ et *om.* Eb T ~ nuntiabit A B ~ domino] hoc Eb T ~ abba B ~ introiuit] introibit A B Eb, intrauit T ~ et dicto] dictoque Eb T 7. qui] cui B ~ cogitabi B ~ anima mea A B <sup>a.c.</sup> Eb ~ istius] huius Eb T ~ et <sup>3]</sup> sed Eb T ~ <impe-rat>or *tantum legitur* Eb *excisso folii margine* ~ quietudinis *def.* Eb *excisso folii margine* 8. audiui enim] igitur audiens Eb T ~ <monas>terio ... 10.1 ecce monasterium] *tantum legitur* in Eb: <monas>terio multa bona, <promi>serit ueni, nam si, suscipere ha<beo>, <sa>lbaberis, <lo>co offeram, <monas>terium ~ uestro monasterio *tr.* T ~ si pietas uestra promiserit *add. post* bona T ~ et *om.* T ~ si iubes me] nam si me dignatus T 9. salbaberis A ~ anima mea A B <sup>a.c.</sup>

10.1. impleatur uoluntas tua cfr. Ps 19,5, II Th 1.11

spondit: «Smaragdus». <sup>2</sup>Dixit ei abbas: «Dum iuuenis es, non potes consistere solus, sed oportet te accipere unum senicem magistrum, ut doceat te ordinem monasterii». <sup>3</sup>Illa respondit: «Quae iusseris, hoc faciam». Et offerens quingentos solidos, rogauit abbatem ut eos susciperet et dispensaret. Ita et fecit. <sup>4</sup>Dixitque abbas ad monachum nomine Agapium: <sup>5</sup>«Suscipe istum iuuenem et, sicut filium, sic tibi eum commendo. Doce illum sicut pater bonus et sic certa praeparare illum, ut, si potest fieri, superet magistrum». <sup>6</sup>Et, congregatis uniuersis fratribus, orauerunt pro constantia Smaragdi.

[11.] <sup>1</sup>Erat autem ualde decorus. Et dum intrabat in ecclesia aut in refectorio, multis faciebat inimicus scandalum in anima propter pulchritudinem eius. <sup>2</sup>Surrexerunt monachi clamantes ad abbatem: «Quare talem hominem suscepisti in monasterio, unde animae scandalizentur?». <sup>3</sup>Audiens haec abbas dixit ad Smaragdum: «Fili, dum talem formam dedit tibi Deus et inimicus scandalum infert in fratres pro te, <sup>4</sup>uolo ut sedeas in cella solus et magister tuus per fenestram doceat te omnia salubria et ministret necessaria». <sup>5</sup>Ita et fecit. <sup>6</sup>Intrauit enim in cellula gaudens et stetit in ieiunio et in afflictione et lacrimis, incessabili-

[10.] 1. zmaracdus A B Eb    2. iubenis A B Eb ~ potes] poteris Eb (*ut uid.*) T ~ senicem] senilem T    3. uero *add. post* illa Eb T ~ et offerens] offerens uero Eb T ~ eos *om.* A B ~ dispensaret] expensaret A B ~ ut ei placuisset *add. post* dispensaret Eb T ~ ita et] qui ita Eb T    4. ipse *add. ante* abbas Eb (*ut uid.*) T    5. iubenem A B Eb ~ filium *om.* T ~ tibi eum commendo] eum habeto commendatum (*conmenditum* Eb) Eb T ~ et sic] ut sic B ~ certa] nitere Eb T ~ praeparare] praepare B    6. congregatis uniuersis fratribus] congregati uniuersi fratres Eb T ~ oraberunt A ~ constantiam A ~ zmaracdi A B Eb

[11.] 1. autem] enim Eb T ~ dum intrabat in ecclesia] quando ingrediebatur ecclesiam Eb T ~ in refectorio] refectorium Eb T ~ simul cum fratribus *add. post* refectorio Eb T ~ multis faciebat inimicus scandalum] inimicus multis scandalum iniciebat Eb T ~ faciebat A ~ anima] mente (*mentem* T) Eb T    2. plerique *add. ante* monachi Eb T ~ clamantes ad abbatem] et dixerunt abbati Eb T ~ pater *add. post* suscepisti Eb T ~ in monasterio unde animae] a quo multae animae in monasterio Eb T ~ scandalizantur A, scandalizantur Eb T    3. autem *add. post* audiens A ~ ad Smaragdum] ad zmaracdum A, ad zmaradum B, smaragdo Eb T ~ fili] frater T ~ dum talem formam dedit tibi deus] quum talem a Deo tibi sit datam pulchritudinem Eb, cum data talis a deo tibi sit pulchritudo T ~ et] ut Eb T ~ infert in fratres pro te] inferat fratribus Eb T    5. ita et] quae ita Eb T    6. in cellulam Eb T ~ et <sup>3]</sup> ac Eb T

ter laudans et rogans Deum, ita ut magister suus miraretur in sua tam prompta conuersatione.

[12.] <sup>1</sup>Dum uero pater suus reuersus fuisset in domum suam, quae-rens filiam suam et non inueniens, coepit lamentare et ad caelum mugitus dare. Interrogauit familiam: «Quid deuenit filia mea?». <sup>2</sup>Illi dixerunt: «Nocte uidimus eam, postea non comparuit». Cogitauit pater dicens: «Forsitan sponsus suus rapuit illam». Et mandans interrogauit consocrum suum. <sup>3</sup>Audiens haec uenit cum filio ad Pafnutium lamentantes et dixerunt ei: «Quid deuenit filia tua? Aut quis seduxit eam?». <sup>4</sup>Statim direxerunt missos in omnes regiones et non solum naues maris, sed et Nili fluuia et cauernas et speluncas et monasteria uirorum et mulierum: inquirentes non inuenerunt eam. <sup>5</sup>Reuersi pro mortua lamentabant illam, socer nuram, sponsus sponsam, pater filiam, familia dominam. <sup>6</sup>Dicebat autem pater suus: «O filia mea dulcissima, o lumen oculorum meorum, o consolatio animae meae! Quis meum thesaurum rapuit? <sup>7</sup>Quis meam substantiam a me separauit? Quis meae domus ornamentum abstulit? <sup>8</sup>Quis lupus meam agnam deuorauit? Quis pelagus captiuauit regiam formam? <sup>9</sup>Ipsa erat senectutis meae baculum, ip-

miraretur *bis* B, *deinde corr.* ~ in sua] eius Eb T ~ prompta conuersatione] promptam conuersationem T

[12.] 1. dum uero] dumque Eb T ~ suus] eius Eb T ~ in *om.* T ~ suam <sup>1</sup> *om.* Eb T ~ quaerens] quesuiuit T, quesibit Eb ~ suam <sup>2</sup> *om.* T (*in* Eb *nequit legi*) ~ inueniens] inuenit Eb T ~ coepit] coepitque Eb T ~ lamentari T ~ mugitus] mugitum Eb (*ut uid.*) T ~ familiam] familia A B ~ deuenit filia mea] euenisset filiae (filia T) eius Eb T 2. uero *add. post* illi Eb T ~ autem *add. post* postea Eb ~ cogitauit] cogitabat interea Eb T ~ consocrum] consocerum Eb T, socrum A B 3. audiens haec] ille uero haec audiens Eb T ~ pafnuntium A B ~ filia tua] filiae tuae Eb 4. statim] statimque Eb T ~ nabes A <sup>a.c.</sup> ~ fluuia] flubia A B, flumina Eb T ~ cabernas Eb ~ et <sup>6</sup>] ac Eb T ~ inquirentes] inquirent B 5. pro mortua] quasi mortua (mortuam T) Eb T ~ lamentabantur T ~ nuram] noram A B, nurum Eb T ~ filia A 6. dicebat A ~ suus] eius Eb T ~ tesahurum *sic!* A 7. meam substantiam] mea substantia A B ~ a me *om.* T ~ sep<arauit> *tantum legitur in* Eb *excisso folii margine* ~ domus meae *tr.* Eb T ~ abstulit *def.* Eb *excisso folii margine* 8. mea agna A B Eb ~ de<uorauit> *tantum legitur in* Eb *excisso folio* ~ quis] qualis A B ~ regiam formam *def.* Eb *excisso folii margine* 9. meae baculum ... 11 audientes uero *def.* Eb *excisso folii margine* (*tantum ipsa erat la<boris>, ipsa dolorum, terra ne o<perias>, quam leguntur*) ~ uaculum A B

12.6. o lumen oculorum meorum = Tb 10.4 (cfr Ps 37.11) ~ o consolatio animae meae cfr. Tb 10.4 8. lupus meam agnam deuorauit cfr. Io 10.12 9. ipsa erat senectutis meae baculum = Tb 10.4

sa erat laboris mei repausatio, ipsa dolorum meorum eleuatio. <sup>10</sup>Terra, ne operias illam, donec uideam quod desidero». <sup>11</sup>Audientes uero haec et alia multa lamentatione circumstantes amici, et illi uociferabant cum fletu et omnis ciuitas lamentabatur pro illa.

[13.] <sup>1</sup>Dum non potuit dolores supportare, Pafnutius ambulauit ad ipsum monasterium, ubi erat filia sua, et prosternens se ad pedes beati abbatis dixit: «Rogo te, pater, ne obliuiscaris mei. Attentissime ora pro me peccatore, ut inueniam fructum orationum tuarum. Imparuit enim filia mea». <sup>2</sup>Audiens haec abbas tristis effectus est et iussit sonari signum ut omnes fratres de cellulis eorum congregarentur in ecclesia. Et dixit illis. <sup>3</sup>«Rogo uos, fratres, laborem sustinete unam septimanam et ieiunate ac Deum deprecare nobiscum. Forsitan manifestabit Dominus filiam amici nostri». <sup>4</sup>Quod ita fecerunt cum omni afflictione, sed nemini manifestauit Deus ubi erat beata uirgo, quia oratio eius uincebat

10. operies B <sup>P.C.</sup> ~ quod] quam T      11. lamentatione] lamenta T ~ illi uociferabant] coeperunt et illi uociferare Eb T ~ et] atque Eb T ~ lamentabatur] lamentabat A B Eb ~ pro illam A B (*fortasse etiam* Eb <sup>a.c.</sup>)

[13.] 1. dum] cum (quum Eb) uero Eb T ~ potuit] potuisset Eb T ~ dolores supportare] supportare dolores *tr.* B, dolorem filiae (suae *bis add. hic* T) sustinere Eb T ~ pafnuntius A B, pacificus T ~ ambulauit] perrexit Eb T ~ ipsut Eb ~ sua] eius Eb T ~ abbatis] abbati Eb ~ rogo] obsecro Eb T ~ sanctissime *add. post* pater Eb T ~ ne obliuiscaris ... 3 nobiscum] ut mei miserearis, quoniam filia unica, quam mihi deus sacris tuis atque tuorum fratrum orationibus olim postulatus dederat (dederas T), nunc grauiter doleo amissam, quando nec uiuentem (uiben- Eb) uideo nec mortuam mihi datur tradere sepulcro. Propter quod nunc precor ut dei exoretis clementiam. Forsitan, uobis orantibus, ostendere mihi eam dignabitur dominus». Talibus igitur uerbis abbas (abba Eb) commotus, conuocatis sic ait fratribus: «Rogo uos, fratres, ut in spatio (<in spa>tio *tantum legitur in* Eb, *excisso folii margine*) unius septimanae laborem ieiunii (ieiunii *def. Eb, excisso folii margine*) sustineatis ac deum simul deprecemur» (*deprecemur def. Eb, excisso folii margine*) Eb T ~ ne] non B ~ oblibiscaris A B ~ mei *om.* B ~ imparuit enim] quia imparuit B ~ filiam meam A      2. sonari] sonare B ~ de cellulis eorum *om.* A      3. septimanam] septimam B ~ ac] hac B ~ manifestauit A B ~ manifestabit ... 4 orationes *def. Eb, excisso folii margine (tantum legitur* *manifes<tabit>, amici nostri quod ita, <afflic>tione sed, ubi erat beata, oratio eius) ~ amichi A*      4. nemini] ne B ~ manifestauit] reuelauit T ~ Deus] dominus T ~ ut certe dicam *add. post* quia T

10. terra ne operias illam cfr. Iob 16.19



omnes orationes seruorum Dei, dum rogabat Deum attentissime, ualde afflicta, ut non manifestaretur in uita ista. <sup>5</sup>Et dum omnes serui Dei tribulati essent pro hac causa, dixit abbas ad patrem puellae: «Non sis desperatus, fili, sed Deo gratias age, quia, quando iusserit Deus, cognosces quid deuenerit filia tua. <sup>6</sup>Verumtamen cognitum tibi facio, quia non est filia tua in malo loco et propter hoc non manifestauit nobis Deus illam. <sup>7</sup>Quia si in malo loco esset, non postponeret Deus tuas lacrimas et nostras orationes. Propterea in bono loco censuimus illam esse et initium certaminis habet, ut non proturbetur oratio eius, et ideo abscondit eam nobis Deus». <sup>8</sup>Audiens haec beatus Pafnutius, modicum refrigerium dolorum tolerans, reuersus est in ciuitate, agens Deo gratias et orans ut in bonum locum constitueret illam Dominus.

[14.] <sup>1</sup>Et semper frequentabat ipsum monasterium et uisitabat seruos Dei et reuertebatur in domum suam. <sup>2</sup>Quadam namque die, ueniens ad monasterium, dixit ei abbas: <sup>3</sup>«Quaeris uidere hominem sanctum, eunuchum de palatio Theodosii imperatoris retrusum?». Ille respondit: «Obsecro te, domine, uideam illum». <sup>4</sup>Vocauitque magistrum puellae abbas et dixit ei: «Duc tecum istum nostrum amicum, et uideat beatum Smaragdum, ut audiat uerba sua sancta et consoletur anima eius per eum»; <sup>5</sup>duxitque illum ad fenestram. <sup>7b</sup>Et uidit filiam suam et non cognouit eam prae nimia afflictione carnis suae, quia fuerat ualde afflicta in nimis ieiuniis atque orationibus, <sup>8</sup>et quo operiebat se de

dum rogabat deum attentissime] eo quod rogasset adtentissime dominum Eb T ~ in ista uita tr. Eb T 5. Dei om. T ~ essent] fuissent Eb T ~ ac A ~ causa] re Eb T ~ desperatus A B (desp- A <sup>p.c.</sup>) ~ filii A ~ set B ~ cognoscis A B ~ quid] quod A B ~ deuenerit] euenerit A B Eb ~ filiae tuae Eb 6. cognitum tibi] hoc tibi notum Eb T ~ loco malo tr. B ~ manifestauit] reuelauit (-bit Eb) Eb T ~ nobis Deus] dominus nobis deus T ~ illam om. Eb T 7. loco malo tr. Eb T ~ loco<sup>2</sup> om. T ~ illam] illa Eb ~ esse] esset B ~ habet] habere Eb T ~ et add. ante ut Eb T ~ et om. Eb T ~ nobis eam tr. A 8. haec om. T ~ pafnuntius B ~ refrigerium dolorum tolerans] dolorum sumens refrigerium Eb T ~ in ciuitatem Eb T ~ illam] illa Eb ~ Dominus] deus Eb T [14.] 1. ipsum] ipsut Eb ~ et uisitabat] uisitabatque Eb T 2. ueniens] uenienti Pafnutio Eb T ~ ei om. Eb T 3. sanctum] monachum Eb <sup>a.m.</sup> ~ teodosii A Eb <sup>a.m.</sup>, tehudossii B ~ ab retrusum deficit Eb, deperditis subsequentibus foliis ~ ut add. ante illum T ~ illum uideam tr. T 4. uocabitque B ~ ei] illi T ~ istum om. T ~ et] ut T ~ uideat] beatum uideam T ~ zmaracdum A B 5. suae om. T ~ fuerat] erat T ~ in om. T 8. quo om. T ~ operieuat A

cuculla, ut non cognosceret eam pater suus. <sup>6</sup>Illa autem cognouit patrem suum et flebat nimis. <sup>7a</sup>Pater autem, ut uidit eam flentem, cogitabat dicens quia compunctio illi fuit aliqua. <sup>9</sup>Et, dicto capitulo, sedit ante fenestram Pafnutius cum magistro puellae.

[15.] <sup>1</sup>Illa uero de intus loquebatur, docens eum pro misericordia et obedientia et timore Dei et aeterna retributione. <sup>2</sup>Dum autem loquebatur Smaragdus, cor patris irrigabatur a uerbis eius, quasi in gaudium fuisset reuersus. Et uolebat amplexare collum eius et osculare illum et non inueniebat locum. Erubescibat enim nimis pro reuerentia illius. <sup>3</sup>Diu autem colloquium habentes pro salute animae, reuersus est Pafnutius ad abbatem et dixit ei: <sup>4</sup>«Magna mirabilia sunt Dei quae uidi hodie. Qualem aedificationem animae meae fecit iste homo Dei pro desiderio meo. Deus mihi testis est, quia sic est cor meum declinatum in amore eius ut si fuisset filia mea, quae de lumbis meis processit, non amplius poteram diligere illam». <sup>5</sup>Valedixit abbati et seruis Dei et reuersus est in domum suam.

[16.] <sup>1</sup>Et dum fecit ibi triginta et octo annos, beata puella aegrotauit, in qua aegritudine recessit. <sup>2</sup>Venit autem tunc pater suus ad monasterium et dixit abbati: «Si iubes, domine, uideam Smaragdum, quia satis diligere illum anima mea». <sup>3</sup>Et iussit abbas et uidit illum.

coculla A      6. cognouit] cognoscebat T ~ fleuat A      7<sup>a</sup>. autem] uero T ~ illi fuit] affuit illi T      9. fenestra B ~ pafnuntius B

[15.] 1. pro] de T ~ et <sup>3</sup>] ac de T      2. loquebatur] loqueuatur A, loqueretur T ~ zmaracodus A, zmaradus B ~ a om. T ~ et uolebat] uolebatque T ~ uoleuat A ~ amplexari T ~ osculari T ~ illum] illud T ~ sed *add. ante* erubescat T ~ erubescueat A ~ enim om. T ~ pro reuerentia illius] dans reuerentiam illi T      3. pro salutem A ~ pafnuntius B      4. sunt enim *tr. post* magna T ~ odiae A B ~ qualem] quia magnam T ~ animae meae *tr. post* dei T ~ haedificationem A B ~ pro] prout T ~ meo] fuit T ~ enim *add. post* deus T ~ ut si] ut A B, ac si T ~ castissima *add. post* mea T ~ quae] qui A, quam T ~ de lumbis meis processit] ex utero meo genui T ~ non] nec enim T ~ illam] illum A      5. seruis] seruis B <sup>a.c.</sup>

[16.] 1. et dum fecit ibi] et postquam compleuit ibidem T ~ egrotabit B ~ ab hoc seculo *add. ante* recessit T      2. autem] enim T ~ suus] eius T ~ domine] pater T ~ uideam] uidebo T ~ zmaracodum A B      3. et iussit ... illum] *cfr. p. 113*

15.4. magna mirabilia sunt Dei quae uidi hodie *cfr. Lc 5.26*

<sup>4</sup>Intrauerunt Agapius et Pafnutius et uisitauerunt eam. Et amplexans collum eius, osculauit eam dicens: <sup>5</sup>«Ora pro me, uir Dei, ut donet mihi Deus consolationem pro filia mea, quia adhuc incertus sum ubi consistit». <sup>6</sup>Respondit Castissima: «Deus satisfacere tibi habet quid deuenit filia tua, hoc te solum rogo, ut stes super me hic tres dies». <sup>7</sup>Ita et fecit.

[17.] <sup>1</sup>Dum autem uenit hora ut sanctissima migraret ad Dominum, dixit patri suo: <sup>2</sup>«Dum Deus, pater bone, pro me disposuit salutem et impleuit desiderium meum, uolo ut de ista hora non habeas tristitiam pro filia tua, quae tibi imparuit. <sup>3</sup>Ego sum paupera et peccatrix, quae pro amore Christi mundum omnem cum deliciis suis respui tamquam stercora. Christus autem tam idoneus mihi extitit, ut et uictricem libidinum et omnes pollutiones a me euadere fecit pro misericordiam suam, cui credo me usque ad hanc horam sine macula permansuram. Ecce uide me et satisfac tibi! Sed rogo te, pater bone, non dimittas alium lauare corpus meum, sed tu, sicut pater bonus, pro te dignare me sepelire. <sup>4</sup>Et quod mihi in dotem praeparabas, trade in manibus abbati, <sup>5</sup>ut ille dispenset omnia per ordinem et oret pro me». <sup>6</sup>Et haec dicens tradidit spiritum Deo et sanctis angelis eius.

[18.] <sup>1</sup>Pater autem eius cecidit in terra, uelut mortuus. <sup>2</sup>Vt uidit eum, Agapius adduxit aquam et percussit in faciem eius et dixit:

4. intrauerunt] intraberunt A B, intrantes autem T ~ pafnuntius B ~ et uisitauerunt eam] uiderunt eum uisitantes desideranter T ~ uisitaberunt A B ~ osculauit eam] osculauit eum B, Pafnutius osculatus est eum T    5. Deus *om.* T ~ aduc A    6. abet A ~ solum te *tr.* T ~ istes (*pro* stes) B    7. ita et] qui ita T  
[17.] 1. hora] ora A B, *om.* T    2. dum] cum T ~ ora A ~ quae] qui A B ~ imparuit] non comparuit T    3. filia tua *add. post* peccatrix T ~ quae] qui A B ~ omnem] omne A B ~ christi B ~ omnes pollutiones a me euadere fecit pro misericordiam suam] et euasorem omnium me redderet pollutionum. Ipse hoc egit per misericordiam suam T ~ oram A B ~ permansuram] permanere T ~ ecce uide me et satisfac tibi *om.* T ~ ut *add. ante* non dimittas T ~ labare A B ~ sed tu sicut] nisi te ipsum atque ut T ~ dignare] digna A ~ in manibus abbati] in manu abbatis T    4. omne *add. post* quod T ~ olim *add. post* mihi T ~ in dote T ~ praeparabas] praeparaueras T  
5. ut] et A ~ per ordine A B  
[18.] 1. in terram T    2. autem *add. ante* uidit T ~ eum *om.* T ~ ex ea *add. post* percussit T ~ in *om.* T

17.2. adimpleuit desiderium meum cfr. Phil 4.19

<sup>3</sup>«Quid tibi contigit, pater?». Ille apertis oculis dixit: «Dimitte me hic morire. Vidi gloriosa mysteria Dei hodie». <sup>4</sup>Et irruens super faciem filiae, flebat amarissime dicens: <sup>5</sup>«O filia mea dulcissima, quare non ante tempus cognoui hoc, ut ego commorarer tecum? <sup>6</sup>O quomodo latuisti inimici temptationes! Quomodo pertransisti principatus et potestates et tenebras istius saeculi et intrasti uitam aeternam!».

[19.] <sup>1</sup>Haec uidens Agapius cucurrit et nuntiauit abbati. <sup>2</sup>Et uenit abbas uelociter et, irruens super sanctum corpus, dixit: <sup>3</sup>«Sponsa Christi et agna immaculata ueri Dei et filia sanctorum, ne obliuiscaris conseruorum tuorum et isto loco sancto, sed ora ut concedat nobis Deus intellectum, ut uiriliter certantes coniungamur tibi in beatitudine aeterna». <sup>4</sup>Et iussit sonare signum. Et congregati omnes fratres cum grandi metu et reuerentia sanctum corpus sepultare tradiderunt. <sup>5</sup>Et ualde exterriti glorificabant Deum, admirantes talem constantiam mulieris.

[20.] <sup>1</sup>Vnus autem ex fratribus oculum extinctum habens, ut tetigit corpusculum, statim lumen recepit. <sup>2</sup>Mirantesque omnes dicebant: «Gloria tibi, Domine, qui talem hominem dedisti in loco isto, quia in exemplum facta est ista uirgo sancta nostrae salutis».

[21.] <sup>1</sup>Pater autem eius Pafnutius omnes res suas ecclesiis, monasteriis, pauperibus et xenodochiis dispersit. <sup>2</sup>Partem autem plurimam in ipso monasterio detulit et inclusit se in cellula ubi filia eius steterat.

3. apertis oculis] uero aperiens oculos T ~ morire] morere A, morerere B, morari T ~ quia *add. ante* uidi T ~ odiae A B 4. fleuat A B 5. ut] et T ~ latuisti] latens superasti T

[19.] 1. enim *add. post* haec T 2. dicens «ueni, pater, et uide mirabilia» *add. post* abbatis T ~ et uenit abbas] uenitque abbas T ~ uelociter abbas *tr.* A ~ irruens] corruens T 3. obliuiscaris A ~ conseruorum tuorum] conseruos tuos T ~ et] in T ~ et *add. post* intellectum T ~ uiriliter *om.* T 4. et congregati omnes fratres] atque omnis congregatio fratrum T ~ grandi] grande A, magna T ~ reuerentia et metu *tr.* T ~ sepultare tradiderunt] sepelierunt T 5. et] demumque T

[20.] 1. lumen statim *tr.* A 2. dedisti] dedicasti T ~ exemplum] exemplo B ~ sancta *om.* T ~ nostrae *om.* T

[21.] 1. pafnuntius B ~ xenodochiis T, xenodociis A B

18.4. fleuit amarissime cfr. Lc 22.62, Mt 26.75 6. principatus ac potestates cfr. I Cor 15.24, Eph 6.12, Col 2.15

<sup>4</sup>Et dum stetit ibidem decem annos, migravit ad Dominum et sepultus est ad latus filiae suae Castissimae in eiusdem monasterii oratorio.

<sup>5</sup>Gloria et gratia Deo, qui tanta et talia mirabilia facit in saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

4. dum stetit] cum stetisset T      5. gratia] gratias A B

Explicit uita sanctae Castissimae uirginis A B



## APPENDIX





AN ANONYMOUS «VITA SANCTAE EUPHROSYNAE»  
IN A MONTECASSINO MANUSCRIPT

In an eleventh-century assemblage of saint's lives belonging to an ascetic framework copied at Montecassino, there is a peculiar version of the *Vita Euphrosynae* (BHL 2724). This version is neither a translation of the Greek *bios* nor a version of the existent Latin translations, but a new anonymous text. The author wrote his own version of the story of Euphrosyne, using as source an exemplar of Translation B, the most widely known Latin version<sup>1</sup>. In Paolo Chiesa's terms, this new text belongs to the *tradizione* of the Latin translation, not to its *trasmissione*<sup>2</sup>, and provides a good example of a text derived from another.

It is a very simplified version. Several episodes have been omitted or reduced to a single sentence. Most dialogues and Euphrosyne's reflections are ignored. All biblical quotations found in the previous texts are omitted. In contrast, the author amplified a few episodes. For instance, Paphnutius' monologue confronting the disclosure of the truth and his daughter's death is highly elaborated, and in a peculiar way. The most surprising feature in this section is the prominence of Paphnutius' suffering and a certain recrimination of Euphrosyne's actions, based on lies and deception (18):

O crudelis, o pessima, o omni humanitate deserta! O saxeum pectus, o animum adamantinum! Per triginta et octo annos posset pati patrem angustiarum, conteri, tribulari, cum uno omnes posset uerbo eius perturbationes sedare.

Interestingly, all considerations based on Luke 14.33, the foundation of the whole story of Euphrosyne, and the justification for her choice of a life of deception, are omitted. The author has a different view of Euphrosyne's story.

The text is written in a rhetorical style. See, for instance, the typical address to the reader (19):

1. For instance: the territory in which Paphnutius' men search for Euphrosyne is Alexandria and Egypt; the celebration at the monastery is the anniversary of the abbot's *ordinatio*; the name of Euphrosyne's tutor is Agapitus.

2. P. Chiesa, *Elementi di critica testuale*, Bologna 2002 (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino 72), p. 35.

Quantus autem tunc stupor quantaque mentis hebetudo corripuerit uniuersos, quae fuerit prae immensitate stuporis et gaudii inundatio lacrimarum in oculis cunctorum astantium, melius silentio nostro cogitandum lectori considerandumque relinquimus.

The *Vita* is found in Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 140<sup>3</sup>. According to Francis Newton, the manuscript was produced at Montecassino during the abbacy of Desiderius (1058-1105), perhaps in the second half of the 1070s or a little later. Giulia Orofino considered that it was written between 1071 and 1087<sup>4</sup>. Measuring about 38.5 × 24.5 cm, and comprising 586 pages<sup>5</sup>, it was copied by a Beneventan hand in two columns of twenty-eighth lines.

The manuscript contains a collection of *Vitae* usually found in monastic and ascetic contexts. First, Jerome's *Vita Pauli Thebaei* (pp. 1-14, *BHL* 6596), truncated at the beginning<sup>6</sup>, followed by Evagrius' *Vita Antonii* (pp. 15-119, *BHL* 609)<sup>7</sup>. Then, we have book 1 of the *Vita Romani Autisiodorensis abbatis* (pp. 119-40; *BHL* 7305), the *Vita Euphrosynae* (pp. 140-56; *BHL* 2724), and Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* and *Vita Malchi* (pp. 157-200 and 200-12; *BHL* 3879, 5190). This last is followed by Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogi* (pp. 212-308, *BHL* 5614-16), and the *Vita Sabae* (pp. 308-46; *BHL* 7406). After this, we

3. For the date and origins, F. Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 72 and 360 (description of the manuscript). A very detailed description with bibliography by Roberta Casavecchia is in G. Orofino and R. Casavecchia, *Miniatura a Montecassino. L'età desideriana*, Cassino, Università degli studi di Cassino e del Lazio meridionale, Dipartimento di lettere e filosofia-Abbazia di Montecassino 2013. See also E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, Oxford 1914, p. 344; 2nd ed. prepared and expanded by V. Brown, Rome 1980 (*Sussidi eruditi* 34), p. 71 ("s. XI ex."). A description of the contents can also be found in *Codicum Casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 1, pars 1 (codd. 1-100), Montecassino 1915, p. 224.

4. Newton identifies our manuscript with no. 44 of the «General Desiderian Book Catalogue» of 1058-1087 included in *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, 3.63, ed. H. Hoffmann, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, Hannover 1980 (*MGH Scriptores [in Folio]* 34), p. 445, 15 («Passionaria totius anni, libros quattuor»); see Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library* cit., p. 257; G. Orofino, *La Miniatura a Montecassino. 1071-1087*, in Casavecchia and Orofino, *Miniatura a Montecassino* cit.

5. The page numbering usually found in the bibliography on this manuscript, running to page 606, already present in *Bibliotheca Casinensis seu Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in tabulario Casinensi asservantur*, tom. III. Montecassino 1877, pp. 260-1, is inaccurate: see Casavecchia and Orofino, *Miniatura a Montecassino* cit. The page numbers in the next paragraph correspond to the traditional (and wrong) page numbering. A number of folios are lost at the beginning.

6. It begins at *et multa quae persequi otiosum est incredibilia fingentes*, ed. E. M. Morales, in P. Leclercq, E. M. Morales and A. de Vogüé, *Jérôme, Trois vies de moines (Paul, Malchus, Hilarion)*, Paris 2007 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 508), p. 146, 15.

7. P. H. E. Bertrand in P. H. E. Bertrand and L. Gandt (eds.), *Vitae Antonii versiones Latinae. Vita beati Antonii abbatis Euagrii interprete. Versio vetustissima*, Turnhout 2018 (CCSL 170), pp. 3-103.

have the *Vita Fursei Latiniacensis abbatis* (pp. 346-72; *BHL* 3209) and Heito's *Visio Wettini* (pp. 372-90)<sup>8</sup>. Finally, Rufinus' *Historia monachorum* (pp. 390-538; *BHL* 6524)<sup>9</sup> is followed by the *Vita Abrahae et neptis Mariae* (pp. 539-75; *BHL* 12)<sup>10</sup> and the *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae* (pp. 575-606; *BHL* 5417)<sup>11</sup>.

This copy of the *Vita Euphrosynae* was published in tome III of the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* in 1877<sup>12</sup>.

On the following pages, I give the text as found in the manuscript. The division in chapters tries to correspond to the late antique and early medieval versions of the *Vita Euphrosynae*.

8. R. M. Pollard, *Nonantola and Reichenau. A New Manuscript of Heito's «Visio Wettini» and the Foundations for a New Critical Edition*, «Revue bénédictine», 120 (2010), pp. 243-94, at p. 287.

9. E. Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufinus, Historia monachorum sive de Vita Sanctorum Patrum*, Berlin and New York 1990 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 34); see Casavecchia in Orofino and Casavecchia, *Miniatura a Montecassino* cit.. On pp. 518-20, two excerpts of Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, have been incorporated into the *Historia monachorum*: *per idem fere tempus patres monachorum vitae et antiquitatis merito Macharius ... ante fores eius depositis abscedit* (2.4, PL 21, 511B-512C), and *florebat igitur Egyptus eo tempore non solum eruditus ... plures autem auditione didicimus* (2.8, PL 21, 517B-C).

10. Followed by *Exhortatio de detractone fugienda*, pp. 272-5, *BHL* 12d, ed. *Bibliotheca Casinensis* cit. *Florilegium*, pp. 225-6.

11. K. Kunze, *Studien zur Legende der heiligen Maria Aegyptiaca im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Berlin 1969 (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 49), p. 187 («Übersetzung M<sub>I</sub>»).

12. *Bibliotheca Casinensis* cit. *Florilegium*, pp. 221-5.

## Edition

*cod.*: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 140, s. XI (c. 1071-1087)

### Vita sanctae Euphrosinae

[1.] Fuit uir quidam in Alexandria Paphnutius nomine, diues ualde et honorabilis Deumque uehementer timens. Hic accepit uxorem satis sibi et claritate generis et morum honestate consimilem. Qui, cum per annos plurimos coherentes nec filium sibi nec filiam a Domino concedi conspicerent, dolebant grauiter multasque incessanter indigentibus elemosinas largientes pro concessione filii seu filiae indesinentibus misericordiam Domini precibus flagitabant. Et, ubicumque Paphnutius Dei audiebat famulum remorari, adibat eum preceque instantissima deposcebat ut pro sterilitate uxoris Dei dignaretur clementiam postulare. Vnde factum est ut ad abbatem quendam deuerteret mirae sanctitatis et famae, qui trecentorum quinquaginta fratrum congregationis gerebat custodiam.

[2.] Magnaque munera sancto deferens loco, obnixa tandem et humili supplicatione hoc a patre congregationis illius impetrare promeruit ut tam ipse quam congregatio uniuersa pro adimplerione desiderii sui ieiuniis et obsecratione instanti Domini pulsarent clementiam. Exaudiuitque Deus preces seruorum suorum filiamque concessit Paphnutio. Quae, cum septem facta esset annorum, baptizata est impositumque ei nomen est Euphrosina.

[3.] Duodecim autem cum consumasset annos, defuncta est mater eius. Porro puella proficiebat sapientia et aetate, et parilitate morum

defunctam in sese matrem uiuere demonstrabat. Erat autem speciosa nimis forma et decora facie, qua capti nobiliores iuuenes ciuitatis eam sibi a patre singuli in coniugem postulabant. Cum igitur decem et octo annorum curricula complexisset aetatis, a patre adolescenti illustrissimo desponsata est Alexandriae.

[4.] Detulitque eam benedicendam pater ad abbatem, cuius eam a Domino orationibus promeruerat, pecuniam secum non modicam fratrum profuturam necessitatibus deferens. Cum autem puellam abbas in xenodochio coenobii recipi praecepisset, sermonem ei aedificationis et salutis in partem aliquam diei protraxit, orationeque ad Deum fusa. Cum benedixisset ei, in monasterii sese interiora recepit. Puella autem cum patre tridui spatio in xenodochio remorata est. Audiensque in ymnis et psalmis et canticis spiritualibus fratres creatori laudes summa deuotione in ecclesia sedulo persoluentes, mirae in eorum uocibus suauitatis dulcedine replebatur, gemebatque et suspirabat dicens in semetipsa: «O bone Ihesu, quam felices ego quam beatos istos iudico seruos tuos, qui in terris adhuc degentes uitam merentur ducere angelorum tibi in cessanter ferre laudum concinnantes praeconia, quod in futura felicitate electi omnes in perpetuum creduntur acturi isti in carne adhuc fragili constituti dies ac noctes agere non desistunt. O quanta me crederem felicitate beatam, si mihi uia aliqua panderetur diuinitus per quam ad horum mererer consortium peruenire». Haec et huiusmodi multa per triduum, quo illic commorata est, mente uoluens ut sibi semita panderetur salutis, diuinam non cessabat clementiam implorare.

Peracto igitur triduo, cum disponderet cum filia redire, Paphnutius adiuit monasterii patrem, rogans eum et obsecrans ut filiam iterum dignaretur reuisere suarumque orationum fructum iterum benedicere sicque demum redeundi utrisque licentiam contribuere. Cum igitur ad Euphrosinam abbas uenisset confestim, sese ad pedes eius puella proiecit, orans et deprecans ut quae illius esset orationibus genita eius quoque in perpetuum orationibus seruaretur. Extensis itaque manibus, benedicens puellam abbas Christoque Domino patrem pariter commendans et filiam, abeundi utrisque concedit licentiam. Porro de puellae animo, quae semel fuerant inspirata diuinitus, salutis desideria non ultra potuerunt excidere unde ut ad effectum perducerentur ocius. Eum, cui nihil nouerat impossibile, sedulis non cessabat precibus inuocare. Pater autem

eius, sicubi Dei famulum repperisset, instabat precibus ut eum duceret ad puellam benedictionem super eam et orationem pariter largiturum, laborabatque nisibus uniuersis ut, quam seruorum Dei habere orationibus promeruerat, seruorum quoque Dei seruari orationibus mereretur.

[5.] Paucis interiectis diebus, postquam a memorato coenobio sunt reuersi, diem anniuersariam ordinationis suae saepe iam dictus abbas celebraturus misit quendam de fratribus ad Paphnutium, rogans eum ut natalicium illum ordinationis suae diem cum fratribus festiuum haberet. Forte autem, cum domum eius delegatus ingressus est frater, Paphnutius deerat. Tunc puella, uocans ad se Dei famulum, coepit ab eo perquirere fratrum numerum qui in eius coenobio morarentur. Cumque eos trecentos et quinquaginta esse respondisset, adiecit perquirendo puella utrum in una ecclesia omnes pariter psallerent et utrum aequali omnes abstinencia ieiunarent. Cumque ille omnes quidem in una pariter ecclesia psallere respondisset, non autem pari omnes abstinencia ieiunare, sed unumquemque pro uiribus sibi collatis diuinitus.

[6.] Subiunxit puella se ardentissimo flagrare desiderio ut, si qua uia posset, relictis ineptiis mundi huius, diuinae sese dumtaxat subderet seruituti. Sed si monasterium puellare adiret, timere se ne perquisita tandem et inuenta a patre seu sponso ui illata exinde cogeretur exire. Seruorum uero Dei qualiter posset congregationi misceri sese fatebatur nescire. Tunc seruus ille Dei eius, per uerba animum erga Deum ardentissimum recognoscens, id ei consilii contulit, ut, cum pater eius cum abbate remorans suo absens per triduum futurus esset, ipsa ad se interim seruorum Dei aliquem per internuntium euocaret cui suum in fide secretum committeret, atque ab eo ut comam abscederet capitis uestemque ei sancti indueret habitus postulare, sicque per tonsuram uestisque mutationem uirum simulans ad aliquam seruorum Dei congregationem deuerteret, cum quibus usque in finem archanum nemini committens suum celata posset omnibus et absconsa manere. Quod cum puellae quasi demissum caelitus consilium nimium placuisset, Deo et fratri illi super tantae salubritatis consilio gratias coepit copiosas referre.

[7-8.] Dum super his et huiusmodi sermo uoluitur, uenit Paphnutius. Cui cum missus frater legationem retulisset abbatis, nulla interposita

mora, arripit cum eo ad monasterium iter. Puella interim non fuit segnis fratris explere consilium. Missusque a puella nuntius, qui ad sese monachorum quempiam euocaret, dispositione Dei, ut creditur, religioso cuidam intereundum monacho obuiauit, suas tendendi pro monachorum more reculas in ciuitate uenundare. Hic igitur, cum deductus fuisset ad uirginem, totum eius fidei sui pectoris commisit archanum. Quid multa? Tonsa est per manus eius tunicaque sancti induta habitus.

[9.] Nocte autem insecuta, muliebribus cunctis exuta uestibus, uirilibus indumentis induitur. Sumptisque quingentis solidis, ad monasterium saepe superius memoratum progreditur. Abbati que per ianitorem legauit, quod eunuchus quidam de palatio prae foribus staret, qui cum eo quaedam conferenda haberet. Egressus igitur abbas, cum, facta oratione, residens eam quoque considerare iussisset, sciscitatur quisnam sit, cuiusque rei gratia ad eum fatigium sumpserit. Quae respondit eunuchum palatinum se esse seque illuc ea de causa uenisse ut ipse eum, si Domini uoluntas existeret, suis dignaretur spiritualibus filiis aggregare seque multas habere pecunias, quae demum ad ipsum essent monasterium deferendae.

[10.] Cuius cum nomen abbas interrogasset, Smaragdum se uocari respondit. Cum autem eius abbas petitioni tribuisset assensum, protulit puella quingentos, quos secum detulerat, solidos tradiditque abbati dicens: «Hos paucos interim, pater, solidos, ne dedigneris accipere. Certus et indubius, si mihi Dominus dederit, ut inter uos ualeam conuersari huic sancto loco multa per me et magna alia largienda. Accipiens igitur eunuchum, qui putabatur abbas, monacho eum cuidam Agapito nomine monasticis tradidit studiis imbuendum.

[11.] Tantus autem erat Smaragdi decor, ut per eum infirmorum quorundam fratrum mentibus temptationis scandalum gigneretur. Quo comperto, abbas praecepit ut Smaragdo pararetur cella, in qua solus remorari deberet. Quod Smaragdus, ouanter amplexus, sedebat in cella solitarius uigiliisque ieiuniis et orationibus studium indesinenter impendens.

[12.] Paphnutius autem reuersus domum, cum fugam filiae comperisset, misit legatos primo ad sponsi domum, percontans si forte eo uel sponte uel ui rapta uenisset. Cumque sponsus et socer tristes uehemen-

ter effecti eam illuc minime uenisse responderent, mittuntur legati continuo, quorum alii equis alii nauigio discurrentes per totam eam Alexandriam et Aegyptum perquirerent. Qui, cum omnes casso desu-  
dassent labore, pater nullam poterat uel ad horam animo quietem ad-  
mittere, iuges lacrimas et uoces eiulatus indesinenter emittens.

[13.] Illudque postremo maestissimo pectori accurrit consilium, ut  
abbatem illum sanctum saepe superius memoratum adiret, eiusque sibi  
orationibus restitui filiam postularet, quam eius sese meminerat oratio-  
nibus genuisse. Cum autem per dierum ebdomadam, tam abbate quam  
fratribus uniuersis ieiuniis et orationi instantibus, nulla cuius de Eu-  
phrosina reuelatio extitisset, uocauit ad se Paphnutium abbas eique  
constanter asseruit salubri se puellam tradidisse proposito. Et propterea  
nihil de ea fratribus reuelatum, quod eius e contrario ad Deum indesi-  
nens esset oratio, ne eam reuelari concedat. «Ne tu», inquit, «fortas-  
sis eam, si reuelata foret, a sanctis, quibus procul dubio uacat studiis,  
uiolentia irrogata conareris auertere». Per haec igitur et huiusmodi uer-  
ba consolatum aliquantulum dimisit hominem.

[14.] Qui cum crebro gratia consolationis monasterium uiseret, sciens  
abbas sapientiam et sanctitatem Smaragdi eunuchi, quadam die misit ad  
eum Paphnutium consolationem per eius colloquia recepturum.

[15.] Tunc Smaragdus in haec uerba coepit adhortari Paphnutium:  
«Non est qui credat, frater Paphnuti, animum te maestissimum gere-  
re, quippe qui filiam perdideris unicam et quam de sterili coniuge  
sanctorum accipere orationibus meruisti. Verumtamen ad memoriam  
debes, frater dilectissime, reuocare Abraham filium, quem centenarius  
de nonagenaria uxore acceperat. Cum sibi eum Dominus immolari  
praeciperet, nullam praetendisse uultu, nullam animo gessisse tristi-  
tiam. Non credens iustam esse tristitiam causam si ille acciperet fi-  
lium qui donauerat, quanto magis tu omnem ab animo debes propul-  
sare maerorem, cuius filiam non sibi Dominus immolari praecepit, sed  
uiuentem eam ad meliorem partem sua inspiratione pertraxit. Hoc  
enim tametsi ex relatione sancti patris huius monasterii certum ha-  
beas. Me tamen etiam cohortante, uolo ut nullatenus debeas dubitare

15. Abraham ... tristitiam Gn 22.1-14



filiam tuam sanctum elegisse propositum et ob hanc causam nihil de ea uel sancto patri nostro uel sanctis fratribus reuelatum. Noli igitur, uir bone, deficere a disciplina Domini, nec fatigeris cum ab eo argueris. Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. Magis autem illa sancti Iob uerba tuo sedulo uersentur in animo, si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala quare non sustineamus? Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum. Vincat igitur in tuo pectore amorem filiae amor Dei, neque doleas largitorem eam recepisse quam dederit, confidens de eiusdem clementia quod si patienter ad tempus pro eo feras absentiam filiae, prius te eo miserante uisurum ipsam, quam hac uita demigres».

Per haec et huiusmodi miris Smaragdus consolationibus animum refovit Paphnutii. Non potuit autem Paphnutius in Smaragdo aliqua signa filiae deprehendere, non solum propterea quia nulla ei de talibus poterat inesse suspicio et quia eius facies mira abstinentia oppalluerat, sed ob id maxime quoniam tota fere facie obducta cucullo cum ipso loquebatur. Frequentabat uero Smaragdi cellam Paphnutius, magnam semper de filia in eius uerbis consolationem recipiens.

[16.] Cum autem triginta et octo annos in cella consummasset Euphrosina, languore graui moritura corripitur. Ad quam cum Paphnutius uisitationis uenisset causa, rogatus ab ea est ut se per triduum non dimitteret.

[17.] Cum uero tertia uenisset dies in qua sese Euphrosina ad Dominum nouerat migraturam, uocauit ad se patrem eumque in haec uerba alloquitur. «Diem mortis meae, pater Paphnuti, conspicias imminere, neque praeter te mortalium quempiam ultra uel alloquar uel uidebo. Tribuit mihi Conditoris munifica largitas secundum cor meum. Compleuitque in bonis desiderium meum, licetque iam de inaestimabili

15. eam] ea *cod.*

noli igitur ... cum ab eo argueris cfr. Prv 3.11 ~ quem enim diligit Dominus corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit = Hebr 12.6 (quem enim diligit Dominus corripit = Prv 3.12) ~ si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala quare non sustineamus = Iob 2.10 ~ Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit ... nomen Domini benedictum = Iob 1.21

gratiae ipsius munere illud apostolicum coaptare. Bonum certamen certaui, cursum consummaui, fidem seruau. De reliquo, reposita est mihi corona iustitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die iustus iudex. Vnde non est archanum meum tibi ulterius obtegendum nec tua, pater, amplius consolatio differenda. Procul igitur pelle ab animo maerorem omnem meque tuam filiam Euphrosinam sanctorum a Domino impetrata orationibus recognosce. Non esta passa Creatoris infinita clementia sanctorum orationum fructum spirituum patere morsibus immun-dorum, nec eam permisit maculari spurcitiis saeculi, quam orationibus sanctis saeculi parturiuerant contemptores. Vnde interiore eius erga me aspiratione est actum ut uestibus femineis commutatis inter ipsius famulos ancilla laterem, ne, si indumentis uestita muliebribus ancillarum Dei copularer consortiis, cognitam demum ui illata ad saeculum cogeres remeare. Ad abbatem autem hunc ueniens cum pauculos ei solidos obtulissem, dedi fidem copiosam aliam causa mei huic sancto loco pecuniam deferendam; quam repromissionem meam, si erga me plenam geris dilectionem, ocus et sub omni maturato celeritate implere. Cadauer autem meum nulli praeter te abluendum: eiusque praeter te nuditatem nulli quaeso, pater mi dilectissime, patiaris uidendam. Ecce ego uiam ingredior uniuersae carnis. Non ultra faciem tuam uisura, nec ultra tecum colloquium habitura. Suscipe, pater, ultimum uale Euphrosinae.» Haec cum dixisset, halitum extremum efflauit.

[18.] Quod cum contuitus fuisset Paphnutius, exclamans uoce magna, cecidit in terram quasi exanimatus. Ad cuius clamorem excitatus Agapitus institutor Euphrosinae cum cellam fuisset ingressus, defunctam illam et Paphnutium quasi exanimem iacentem conspiceret. Aquam argenteam in faciem proiecit Paphnutii. Qui, ad tactum aquae in sese rediens, uoces ingentes ad sidera ploratus et eiulatus iactare nullamque secretis filiae fidem seruans, uniuersa cum clamore et ululatu coepit in lucem dare, uociferans et dicens: «Heu heu, filia mea! Heu heu, filia, ubi es? Quo abisti? Quis te mihi sub tanta celeritate eripuit? Quis tam perneciter os tuum obstruxit? Vocem abstulit? Verba sub-

17. quam] quem *cod.* ~ contemptores] contemptoris *cod.* ~ copiosam] copiosum *cod.*

18. hululatu *cod.*

17. bonum certamen certaui, cursum consummaui, fidem seruau = II Tim 4.7 ~ de reliquo reposita est ... iustus iudex = II Tim 4.8

traxit? Vbinam sum, infelix? Vbinam est Paphnutius pater, Agapite? Putas somnium fuit? An reuera uox fuit filiae quae paulo ante meas perculit aures? Vbinam ergo tanta fugacitate delituit?» Et haec dicens proiecit se super cadauer Euphrosinae, heiulans et exclamans: «O filia mea! O lux, o uita! O omne bonum meum! Heu me miserum, uel per triduum uel per biduum uel per diem saltim integram ista intimaui. Ecce, pater Agapite, ecce filia, ecce Euphrosina, ecce fructus orationum uestrarum, ecce luctum meum, me miserum, ecce planctum meum, ecce inconsolabilem ululatum Paphnutii. Vae uae, Paphnuti, infelicissime cunctorum mortalium, quid acturus es? Vae uae, quid agis? Quo te uertes, miserrime? Taces, Euphrosina, taces. Me miserum! Vita mea morior, uere morior. Non est mihi ultra uiuendi facultas. Ego te mortua ultra uiuere potero, Euphrosina? Euphrosina mortua est et Paphnutius ultra uiuet? Quis me solabitur? Cum omne bonum meum deseruerit me, numquam ad me ulterius reuersurum? O crudelis, o pessima, o omni humanitate deserta! O saxeum pectus, o animum adamantinum! Per triginta et octo annos posse pati patrem angustari, conteri, tribulari, cum uno omnes posset uerbo eius perturbationes sedare? Heu me, quid agam, filia unigenita? Filia de dilecta nimis mihi sterilique uxore suscepta, filia sanctorum mihi a Domino orationibus impetrata, filia filiarum omnium hominum formosissima, filia feminarum omnium prudentissima. Filia mi, quid taces? Filia mi, ubi mel, ubi fauus eloquiorum tuorum, filia mi? Quis mihi det ut et ipse non ultra loqui ualeam, filia mi? Quis mihi det ut hic protinus moriar, filia mi? Quis mihi det ut humo tecum obruat, filia mi?».

[19.] Ad clamores et eiulatus huiusmodi fratrum illuc omnium confluit multitudo. Ipse etiam sanctus abbas, intimata ei morte Euphrosinae Paphnutiique fletu, maturus aduenit. Quibus uehementer obnixaeque instantibus ut lacrimis et uociferationibus parceret, resumptaque mente, quaenam esset tanti ploratus causa euidentius aperiret, uix aliquando eorum potuit cohortationibus adquiescere in seque tandem rediens hos sermones effudit: «Quid per me uultis, patres sanctissimi, uobis lucidius declarari? Haec est infelicis Paphnutii filia Euphrosina. Haec, eunuchum simulans, ad nos uenit et per tot ecce tempora in hac cella uiuentes latuit uniuersos». Et singultiens uocemque ferens al-

posse] *fortasse* posset *ante correctionem*

tius, «Si fortassis», inquit, «non creditis uerbis meis, exuite eam, detegite, praebete fidem saltem oculis uestris».

Quid plura? Parata aqua, cadauer exuitur abluendum de more. Non fuit ultra cuilibet de uerbis Paphnutii ambigendum, cum iam nudata ueritas ipsis oculis certum sui praeberet indubiumque indicium. Quantum autem tunc stupor quantaque mentis hebetudo corripuerit uniuersos, quae fuerit prae immensitate stuporis et gaudii inundatio lacrimarum in oculis cunctorum astantium, melius silentio nostro cogitandum lectori, considerandumque relinquimus. Quam rem quam digne scimus per nos explicari non posse, uerbis prosequi quibuslibet laboremus. Abbas autem ipse, super sanctum cadauer se iaciens, eiusque manus pedesque deosculans, clamabat dicens: «Euphrosina, sanctorum filia, Euphrosina, huius a Deo congregationis precibus impetrata, ne obliuiscaris confratrum et conseruorum tuorum, uirgo sanctissima, oraue indesinenter pro nobis ad sponsum tuum, agna Dei sponsaque praelecta filii Dei, ut, te interuentrice, deuicto hoste, tuis tandem mereamur gaudiis admisceri». In haec uerba interuentum Euphrosinae apud Deum omnis quoque congregatio inuocabat.

[20.] Quantum autem Deo conuersatio Euphrosinae accepta extiterit, hora eadem magni est ostensione miraculi declaratum. Frater namque quidam, peste qua nescio inualescente languoris, lumen unius oculorum amiserat. Qui, cum sancto cadaueri osculum impressisset, lumen sibi diuinitus sensit continuo restitutum.

[21.] Mandato autem terrae cum mirae deuotionis exequiis sancto cadauere, domum Paphnutius est reuersus suaeque omnia per ecclesias pauperesque distribuens. Partem maximam sancto conferens monasterio, cellam in qua filia fuerat commorata ingressus est. Ibiue mira corpus macerans abstinentia atque in psiathio semper Euphrosinae dormiens, octo in sancta religione decursis annorum curriculis, migravit ad Dominum, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

19. hebitudo *cod.*

21. psiatho *cod.*

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