

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*¹.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

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

s. X ²/₄, Macedonia (?), 253 fols., 38 × 22.5 cm, 38 lines in two columns; owner: Archbishopric of Ohrid².

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^e-XVIII^e siècles), Catalogue d'exposition (XXII^e 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 Macedonia³. 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)⁴.

2. Ohrid, Narodni 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 Ohrid⁵.

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^e anniversaire de la fondation du Musée et dédiée au XII^e 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, *Apophlegmes 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 οἴκους ἀναλώσασα (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: «2014²»)⁶.

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)⁷. 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: «2447³», gr. 1540, fol. 1r: «2447⁴»)⁸.

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 Monastery⁹.

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. 26114¹⁰.

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 Monastery¹¹.

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^a), and Iacobus diaconus' *Paenitentia Pelagiae*, 8 October (BHG 1478d).

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

s. X², Calabria; 274 fols.; 31 × 24.5 cm; two columns of 42 lines. Owners: Federico Borromeo (1564-1631); Biblioteca Ambrosiana (1607: fol. 1)¹².

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) trādita 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. X²»; 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 century¹³. 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 ³/₃, 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)¹⁴.

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 Lucà¹⁵. 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 Theodoraë* (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)¹⁶.

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 lines¹⁷.

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 Lucà¹⁸, 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 Monastery¹⁹.

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 December²⁰. 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: «2459³»)²¹.

This non-menological collection of *lives* comprises 22 texts²². 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)²³.

It is a large-format annual menology arranged according to the Byzantine calendar, with beautifully decorated initials. Santo Lucà²⁴ 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^e-XI^e 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 1585²⁵.

It may have been produced for the diocese of Catania, as the contents suggest²⁶. 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 unused²⁷. 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)²⁸. 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 lines²⁹.

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 S2 (see above). Both manuscripts were most likely produced in Constantinople³⁰. 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»)³¹.

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)³².

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>³³.

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

s. XI *ex.*; two columns of 36 lines; owner: Philotheu Monastery³⁴.

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)³⁵, to 11 November (*Passio Menae*, BHG 1254, fols. 367-8v, truncated at the end). The *Vita Euphrosyne* is found on fols. 312r-6v and 265r³⁶. 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 lines³⁷.

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 order³⁸. 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, Gobjdelae 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 γύναι 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. XI² / s. XI ex.-XII in., Calabria; 219 fols., 28.5 × 19 cm; two columns of 34 lines; owner: Santa Maria del Patire, Rossano³⁹.

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, Gobjdelae 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 ¹/₄, 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)⁴⁰.

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»⁴¹. In the sixteenth century it was possibly in the abbey of Santi Pietro e Paolo di Arena. In 1607, it arrived in Milan⁴². 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*₃.

2020 (Philoponia. Contributi di filologia e letteratura greca e latina 1), pp. 47-51 («s. XI ²», «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 χαρμαλός et Paolo ταπεινός*, «Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania», 68 (2001), pp. 149-71, at p. 163: «rossanese» style, s. XII ¹/₄; 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 columns⁴³.

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 lines⁴⁴.

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 collection⁴⁵. 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 verb⁴⁶.

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 ἀδελφός	<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.

S2 (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 (= S2 L)
4.5	ισάγγελοι / ἄγγελοι	ἴσοι ἀγγέλων
4.7	δεῦρο	δέου
4.10	εὐάρεστος	εὐχαριστῶν
5.6	ναί, εἴ τις θέλει ἐλθεῖν, δέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ ἄββας	ὅτι ὅστις ἂν ἔλθῃ δέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγούμενος
7.1	ἔλεγεν ὁ μοναχὸς ... ἐσκύλης	<i>om.</i>
7.2	λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ μοναχός	λέγει ὁ μοναχὸς πρὸς κύριν 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*₂ 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*₂. See, for instance, 3.4 ἔφασκεν: ἔφασεν *S*₂; 7.11 καὶ δὴ is missing in *S*₂, but not in *L*, 12.8 τόπος τὸ is missing in *S*₂, but not in *L*. But this evidence is not enough to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that *L* is not a copy of *S*₂.

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 ancestor⁴⁷.

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 S₁ V F G O₁ P₄ Sp P M V₃ V₁ M₁ V₂ M₂ K* – derive from a lost exemplar, hereafter δ . 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:

$\alpha \kappa B C$		δ
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 (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 περὶ τούτου	καὶ νηστευσάντων αὐτῶν ἐβδομάδα καὶ εὐξαμένων πάντων
15.5	ἀνεχώρησεν	ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
16.2	ἄφες (ἄς κ , εἰ κελεύεις <i>C</i>)	κέλευσον
16.7	—	φύσει οὐκ ἀφῶ σε τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας
17.1	ὥς οὖν	ἐνστάσης οὖν τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ὥς
20.2	οἰκτιρμοῖς σου	οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ

Redaction δ 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* δ (= γ'):

$\alpha \kappa B$	$\gamma' (= C \delta)$
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 ²	<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 (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 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 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
κοινοβίῳ |
| 21.3 | ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους περιουῖσα ἐτίθει | περιουῖσα ἐπὶ ἡ μακαρία ἐτίθη ἐπὶ τοῦ
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 σῶζε σεαυτήν, γύναι, μὴ συναπολεσθῇς τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ πατρός 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 ἀειπαρθένου 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 και τῇ λοιπῇ σοφίᾳ; in *Sp* the text adds και 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 ... παίδων εἰπόντων	ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ και μηνύσας ἔμαθεν	ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἀδελφὸς εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κυροῦ παφνουτίου και μηνύσας ἔμαθεν παρὰ τῶν παίδων
6.1	—	και ὁ μοναχὸς ἔφη· καλὸς ὁ λογισμὸς· και ἡ κόρη εἶπεν	ἔφη αὐτῇ ὁ μοναχὸς· καλὸς ὁ λογισμὸς σου ἐστὶν και παράξει 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 και 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 και ἐτελεύτησεν), β's witnesses have δι' ἧς και ἀπέθανεν, while *S SI VF G* offer τὴν ἐπιθάνατον. In *Sp*, we read τὴν ἐπιθάνατον δι' ἧς και 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 και 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 και ὑπέρλαμπρον πρόσωπον, ποῖος βάρβαρος βασιλεὺς αἰχμάλωτον ἔχει τὸν τίμιον και 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 ἐβδομάδα ἠύχοντο περὶ τούτου, *Sp* shares with *B* καὶ νηστεύσαντες τὴν ἐβδομάδα 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 πύρῳσιν <i>B</i> , τὴν τοῦ σώματός σου πύρῳσιν 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*₄), 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*₄ preserve τὸν ἐμὸν λύχον ἔσβεσεν, while *δ* lacks the words. In 12.8 and 13.4, quoted above, the text in *P*₄ 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*₄ clearly replicates the text of *α*: in 13.1 it has ἀλλ' εὐξαὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ instead of *β*'s περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ τοῦ εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ (τοῦ εὐξασθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ in *Sp*). In any case, fragment *P*₄ is too short to reach sound conclusions as to its stemmatic position and to its relation with *Sp*.

Finally, fragment *O*₁ (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*₁; 1.3 ᾧ: ᾧ τινι *δ O*₁; ἀποβίωσιν

καλῶς *C δ OI*; 1.4 παρασχεῖν *C δ OI*. Within the δ -class, it seems most likely related to ϵ : see 1.3 αὐτῆς *om. ε (non Sp) OI*; αὐτῶν ἀποβίωσιν *ε OI*; 1.3 τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν *tr. post* διοικούνται *ε OI*; 1.4 ἀναλίσκουσα *ε OI*. 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. X²), *P* (s. XI), *V₁* (s. X ex.-XI in.), *V₂* (s. XI in.), *M₁* (s. X ex.), and *V₃* (s. XI-XII), *M₂* (s. XII 1/4), 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 B C ε	ζ
1.4	πάνν οὖν πολλὰ (πολλὰ οὖν <i>C</i> , πολλὰ τε <i>ε</i>)	πάμπολλα
3.3	ἡ διάπλασις	τῆς διαπλάσεως
4.4	ἐκάστης	ἐφ' ἐκάστης
5.5	ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι (θέλει ἐλθεῖν καὶ καθίσαι μεθ' ὑμῶν <i>ε</i>)	ἔλθῃ θέλων καθίσαι
5.8	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος καὶ βαστάζει
13.4	εὐχάς	<i>om.</i>
13.6	ὁ θεὸς	<i>om.</i>
17.3	τοῦτο ποιήσον (σύστεilon αὐτό <i>ε</i>)	<i>om.</i>
17.4	τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (τὸ μοναστήριον <i>ε</i>)	τὸ κοινόβιον
20.2	τὸ γεγονός ἐλεγον	<i>om.</i>

M P V₂ V₃ descend from a common model (=ζ'). See, for instance, 6.1 πράγματα *tr. post* μάταια; 7.4 ἐκεῖ: ἐκεῖσε; 12.3 τις αὐτὴν (αὐτῇ *V₃*) *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 B C M	δ
1.5	τὰ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν	τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
1.7	οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα (<i>om. κ</i>)	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*₃ 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*₁, *V*₁ and *K* (= ζ''). *M*₁ and *V*₁ 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*₁ *V*₁; in 13.1, τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ is present in *K M*₁ *V*₁ against the simplified τῷ ἀββᾶ in ζ'; in 11.6 οἰκοδομεῖν, *K M*₁ *V*₁ 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*₁ *V*₁ offer the correct ἀπέπιπτον. In 12.8 ε' ζ' offer ποῖος βάρβαρος instead of the correct ποῖον πέλαγος, found in *K M*₁ *V*₁. 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*₁ *V*₁ 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*₁ *M*₁.

From 13.7, *M*₁ and *V*₁ descend from an ancestor common to *V*₂, 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 ₃ 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 τὸν ποιοῦντα παράδοξα	ἐκστάσεως πληθέντες δόξαν ἔδωκαν τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιοῦντι μεγάλα καὶ παράδοξα σημεῖα
21.1	καὶ αὐτὸς	<i>om.</i>
21.1	πάντα τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ	κατανυγῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν

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

δόσωμεν οὖν πάντες (*om.* *V*₃) 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 V₃

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.

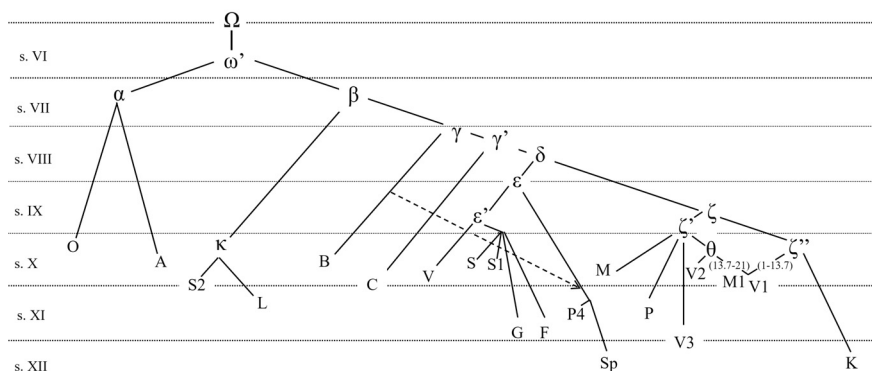
M_I and V_I have an almost identical text. A few examples of errors found exclusively in M_I and V_I:

	<i>rell.</i>	M _I V _I
7.11	δὴ πρωΐας γενομένης	<i>om.</i>
11.4-5	κάκει ψάλλειν ... τὸν Σμάραγδον	<i>om.</i>
13.1	κόποι	καρποί
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_I does not seem to be a copy of M_I. See 4.1 ἡσπάζετο: εἰσπάσατο V_I, εἰς πάντας M_I; 13.3 πάντες *add. post* ἐβδομάδα M_I (not V_I); 19.3 ἡμῖν: ὑμῖν M_I (ἡμῖν in V_I). No evidence proves that M_I is a copy of V_I, in case M_I is not slightly earlier than V_I.

Finally, the twelfth-century M₂. 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<διά>, 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 778⁴⁸. 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 πατρί σου *γ Syr.*; 8.7 κόρη *γ Syr.*; 16.7 φύσει οὐκ ἄφῳ 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 λαύρα πᾶσα *C*). In 7.2 the Syriac text presents the sentence equivalent to τί ἐσκόλυθη ἡ θεοφιλεία 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 publication⁴⁹. 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 Franco⁵⁰. Recently, a critical edition with a Spanish translation was published by Ángel Narro and Isabel Jesús Gallarte⁵¹.

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 α , in particular *O*, and the earliest manuscripts of β 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 α -reading, for it usually seems to be less reworked than the witnesses of β . 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 ν , 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)⁵². Each

52. In the edition of the Greek text, the sentence γενομένης δὲ εὐχῆς ἐκαθέσθησαν 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 α copies ($O A$), then the β copies; within β , first κ ($= S_2 L$) $B C$, then ε ($S S_1 V F G P_4 Sp O_1$) and δ ($M P V_2 V_3 M_2 K M_1 V_1$). 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 source⁵³. 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.