

III.
TRANSLATION A OF THE «LIFE OF EUPHROSYNÉ»,
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 β -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) ¹.

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 them². 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 Troyes³. The history of the manuscript before its arrival in the Bouhier collection in Dijon is unclear⁴. Guglielmo Libri stated that the codex came from Saint-Étienne in Autun, but provided no source supporting this assertion⁵. Raymond Étaix considered that it came from Saint-Bénigne, Dijon⁶, 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 Âge 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'agiographie mérovingienne. Panorama des documents potentiels*, in M. Gouillet, M. Heinzelmann, and C. Veyrard-Cosme, *L'agiographie 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^e au IX^e 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^e au XVIII^e 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 Dijon⁷.

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)⁸. 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 Nivelles⁹; the *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae genetricis dei*, consisting of the first part the *Protevangelium* of James combined with the *Evangelium* of Pseudo-Matthew and other sources¹⁰, followed by Ps.-Melito of Sardis' *Transitus Mariae*¹¹. Then we have more texts on female saints (fols. 101r-42v): Julia of Troyes¹², 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. 17r-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)¹³, Euphraxia of Egypt (*BHL* 2179), Thecla¹⁴, Marina of Antioch¹⁵, Euphemia of Chalcedon (*BHL* 2708c), Caecilia and her husband Valerianus¹⁶, Afra of Augsburg¹⁷, 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*¹⁸, 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 Jerome¹⁹; 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. Goullet (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. Goullet, *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. Goullet (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 Ibeu Christi in templo*) (BHL 5333m-n)²⁰, 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)²¹.

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 end²². 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 century²³. 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 Memorius²⁴. Several others are related to Burgundy²⁵. 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. M²). 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 out²⁶. 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 devotion²⁷. 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)²⁸.

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 IV²⁹. 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 year³⁰. 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 1117³¹. 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 manuscript³².

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)³³, St Benedict's Rule (fols. 7v-57v)³⁴, Paschasius of Dume's *Liber Geronticon* (fols. 58r-135r and 151v-5v)³⁵, 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)³⁶, 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 women³⁷, Caesarius of Arles' sermon *De decem virginibus* and Gregory the Great's homily *In natale s. Sebastiani* (fols. 190r-201v)³⁸, 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. IX², Germany; 15 × 13 cm; 17/18 long lines; owner: Regensburg, St. Emmeram³⁹.

These three quaternions⁴⁰, attached to a manuscript containing Walter of Speyer's *Passio metrica sancti Christophori* (BHL 1776)⁴¹, a work written between 983 and 987, present the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 71r-86v) and the *Passio Felicii 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 ²/₄, Córdoba (?); 28.5 × 22 cm; two columns of 24/29 long lines; owner: Sant Climent de Codinet (?); Cathedral of Urgell (s. XI)⁴².

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 Catalonia⁴³.

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*⁴⁴. 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 century⁴⁵. The textual version is close to that published by Étienne Baluze from a lost codex of Tarragona⁴⁶. 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. Gerales 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 Observance of the Lord's Day*, Oxford 1936; H. Delehay, *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*)⁴⁷, we find the *passio* of Felix of Nola (BHL 2869) up to *benedictus tu in saecula saeculorum*⁴⁸. 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)⁴⁹.

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)⁵⁰.

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 patristicos 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 Einsiedeln⁵¹.

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. XI², 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)⁵².

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)⁵³.

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^e-XI^e 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*⁵⁴. 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»)⁵⁵.

This small-format legendary has lost several leaves⁵⁶. 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)⁵⁷. 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)⁵⁸.

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)⁵⁹ 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^a. 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-Eaux⁶⁰.

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*⁶¹, 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*⁶² and an excerpt of Pelagius' *Verba Seniorum*⁶³, 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 Reisdoerfer 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 2010².

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> ⁶⁴	—
214v	<i>Narratio de quodam presbytero (Visio Aemgils)</i> ⁶⁵	—
214v-17r	Heito Augiensis, <i>Visio Wettini</i> ⁶⁶	—
217r-v	<i>Vita Hospitii</i> ⁶⁷	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 (?)⁶⁸.

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)⁶⁹.

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 models⁷⁰. *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) <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 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*²). 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 β -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 θ* , *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 θ* and *D*. Of the original copy in *R θ* (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 θ* 's model, if not of *R θ* itself. It presents every single variant and error found in the surviving portion of *R θ* ⁷¹. This permits us to determine, with a certain degree of assurance, the text missing in *R θ* .

Only *D* (the text in *R θ* 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> (18.5-21.5) <i>P U</i> (1.1-12.2) <i>Ba</i>	<i>M D</i> (<i>Rθ</i> def.)
1.5 ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς	uir suus	maritus suus
3.1 ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ὑπεξῆλθεν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον	mater eius migravit de hac luce	contigit genetricem suam de hac luce migrasse
13.7 –	initium certaminis (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 β . 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 θ* : 7.6 *ei*: *D*, *illi* *R P U*, om. *R θ* ; 9.4 *uenit* om. *R θ* , *intrat* scr. sup. lin.; 11.4 *retrudas*: *D*, *recludamus* *R P*, *recludam* *U*, *recludas* *R θ* ; 11.6 *in retrusione*: *D*, *in reclusionione* *R θ* ; 13.3 *dominus*: *D*, om. *R θ* *P*. But these are insufficient to prove, beyond any reasonable doubt, that *D* is not a copy of *R θ* .

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> <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 pro forma eius	multos faciebat inimicus peccare 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 serui dei	centum quinquaginta sunt et duo 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*.

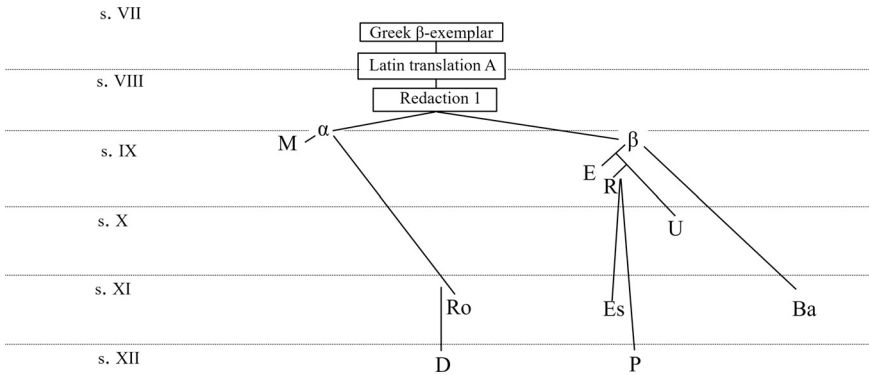
Ba (Barcelona, BU 487), an eleventh-century codex containing Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, owned by an unidentified monastery in the Catalan region before entering the Cathedral of Girona, is a heavily reworked version. It was emended by a much later hand using a dark brown ink (*Ba*²). This version 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) <i>P U</i> (1.1-12.2) <i>Ba</i>
4.5	οἱ ἄνθρωποι	homines	omnes
12.2	—	dicens in se ipso / maledicens 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*. Valenciennes 168 (160), of the late thirteenth century, is a reworked version of the text of *M*, contaminated with a β -exemplar. The fifteenth-century Berlin Magdeburg 26 derives from an exemplar of the β -redaction.

The relationships between copies of Translation A, Redaction 1, prior to the thirteenth century can roughly be represented as follows⁷²:



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 β-class of the Greek textual transmission. Indeed, to give a couple of examples, it offers the number of monks found in β (5.4), and Agapius is called *sapientissimum seruum Dei*, corresponding to ἄνδρα λόγιον of the β-class, not ἄνδρα ἅγιον, typical of the α-class (10.4). On the other hand, the Greek exemplar must be in a high stemmatic position, above the γ family. For instance, Translation A preserves 13.1 *pro peccatore* found both in α and in S2 L of the β-class, which was lost in the γ-exemplar. Additionally, if we look at the γ group of manuscripts, we see that this translation could not derive from any of the main redactions (B, C, δ). For instance, in 18.4, the Latin text reads *irruens super faciem filiae suae*, corresponding to ἐπιτεσὼν τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτῆς προσώπῳ, while B has ἐπιτεσὼν τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτῆς λειψάνῳ. In 17.5, the Latin translation has *oret pro mea paupertate*, corresponding to εὐχου ὑπὲρ τῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου in all of the Greek textual transmission, while B (and C) reads εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. 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 δ -class. In 2.4, the Latin text says that Euphrosyne was baptised at the age of seven, not six as in δ ; in 8.1, it has no text corresponding to the addition η ἀδελφάς, a feature of δ ; in 17.1 it does not have the addition typical of δ .

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 β -line of transmission in the branch from which the γ -class of manuscripts derives, but in a stemmatic position higher than γ .

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*⁷³. 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:

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

The translator introduces a pathetic voice:

³ Diu autem colloquium habentes pro salute animae, reuersus est ad abbatem dixitque ei: ⁴ «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 Boucherie⁷⁴. 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 material⁷⁵. 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*⁷⁶.

74. *La vie de sainte Euphrosyne. Texte romano-latin du VIII^e-IX^e 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^e-IX^e 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^e 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 α and β .

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 Reisdorfer⁷⁷.

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 *h* (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 α and in the earliest witnesses of β . 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*². Erasures or small strokes emending mostly letters, such as closing a *u* into an *o*, impossible to characterise, are indicated with *M*^{p.c.}. A good example can be seen in 13.1: *M* has *ambolabat*, which a corrector (*M*^{p.c.}) altered to *ambulauit* (as given by all other manuscripts), and the hand *M*² 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 text⁷⁸.

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.