

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

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

The translation must have existed prior to the mid-eighth century. Although the earliest Latin witnesses date from a few decades later, study of the manuscript transmission reveals that it was already circulating and being copied before the earliest surviving copy. From the beginning of its circulation, it travelled in anthologies of ascetic literature. Frequently, it is paired with the Latin versions of the so-called *Vitae patrum*, a collection of Greek saints' lives and episodes of various natures and configurations, transmitted to the west in the sixth century. These *Vitae* achieved immense popularity by the ninth century in the Carolingian cultural centres¹. More specifically, it travelled with the *Vitae* of other female saints belonging to a sort of *répertoire* of Christian heroines, mainly addressed to a female audience: Eugenia, Pelagia, two Marinas (one also called Marinus, the other also called Margarita), Thais, Euphrasia, Mary of Egypt, among others. All of them are women who refused the conventions of contemporary society and devoted themselves to an ascetic life.

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

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

THE MANUSCRIPTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This well-known codex was, most likely, commissioned by a high-ranking female aristocrat or, at least, intended for an aristocratic female audience. Steven Stofferahn's thorough study gathers the available evidence and describes the current hypotheses about the origins and early history of the codex⁵. It was written in an unidentified scriptorium in northern Francia, in the ornamental Corbie *a-b* script⁶. The presence of Claudius of Turin's commentary on Genesis led Michael Gorman to date its origins after 811, maybe in the 820s⁷. The route it took to arrive to Essen remains uncertain. Stofferahn summarises the two main lines of conjecture proposed by modern scholarship. One concerns the links between Corbie and related centres to the Saxon monastery of Werden, founded by the Frisian missionary Liudger (742-809)⁸, and then the connection between Werden and Essen⁹. Another possibility is

2005 (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf. Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung 1), pp. 45-52; G. Gattermann, H. Finger, and M. Riethmüller, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland: Erfassung mittelalterlicher Handschriften im rheinischen Landesteil von Nordrhein-Westfalen mit einem Inventar. Bd. 1. Aachen (Diözesanarchiv) bis Köln (Diözesan- und Dombibliothek)* (Nr. 1-1327), Wiesbaden 1993 (Schriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf 18), pp. 302-3, no. 463; H. Dausend, *Das älteste Sakramentar der Münsterkirche zu Essen. Literar-historisch untersucht*, St Ludwig 1920 (Liturgische Texte und Studien 1), pp. 28-35; K. Bodarwé, «*Sanctimonialia Litteratae*». *Schriftlichkeit und Bildung in den ottonischen Frauenkommunitäten Gandersheim, Essen und Quedlinburg*, Münster 2004 (Quellen und Studien. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für kirchengeschichtliche Forschung des Bistums Essen 10), pp. 380-3; E. A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century. Part VIII (Germany: Altenburg-Leipzig)*, Oxford, 1959, p. 45, no. 1183 («s. VIII-IX¹»); B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen). Teil I. Aachen-Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998*, p. 229, no. 1062 («Corbie, IX. Jh., Anfang»); Id., *Die karolingische Minuskel* (Kat. Nr. 365-385a), in W. Braunsfels (ed.), *Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung*, Aachen 1965, pp. 206-23, at pp. 210-1, no. 366.

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

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

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

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

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

that the manuscript is connected to Altfrid (c. 800-874), bishop of Hildesheim (851-874), who, just one year after his rise to the see of Hildesheim, founded the Essen convent on his family's lands and installed his sister, Ger-suit, as abbess. Altfrid could have acquired the book on one of his trips to northern Francia. Whatever his route may have been, Stofferahn suggested that the codex arrived at Essen sometime in the 860s or 870s¹⁰.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Copied in Reims in the mid-ninth century, in the time of archbishop Hincmar (845-882), the manuscript contains an anthology of hagiographical texts. The texts are numbered in red ink, and several present the feast day in the title. First, there is a dossier on the Virgin (fols. 2r-32r), a selection of *miracula* performed by Dionysius of Paris (*BHL* 2201; fols. 32r-8r)¹⁵, a dossier on Remigius of Reims (*BHL* 7151, 7150; fols. 38r-45r)¹⁶, two chapters of the Book of Esther (14-15; fols. 45r-7r), another dossier on the Holy Cross (*BHL* 4166, 4164, 4178, 4181g, 4169; fols. 48r-63v), and Sulpicius Severus' *Epistula ad Bassulam*, concerning Saint Martin's death (*BHL* 5613; fols. 64r-7r)¹⁷. Then, we find a sequence of *Passiones* and *Vitae*, several of them concerning female martyrs and saints¹⁸:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our text, here entitled *Vita sanctae Eufrosinae*, is the only one that gives no indication of the feast day. Interestingly, two preceding texts, dated to two consecutive days, are variations of the same account on a young girl called Marina, sometimes Margarita, who refuses to marry, a story somewhat similar to that of Euphrosyne¹⁹.

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

See pp. 45-7.

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

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

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

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

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

This assemblage of ascetic literature, composed for a female monastic audience, was likely written in Reims in the time of Hincmar. It comprises more than thirty excerpts and full texts. On fols. 11r-26v, among a number of excerpts of the *Vita Melaniae iunioris*²¹, we find excerpts of Cyprian (from the *Liber de oratione dominica*, *De opere et elemosynis*, and *De habitu uirginum*)²², Pseudo-Leo's *sermo* 12.4, Maximus of Turin's *serm.* 37, Gregory the Great's *epist.* 12.2 (addressed to Savinella, Columba and Galla)²³, Isidore's *Sententiae* 2.40, and Ambrose's *Expositio in Lucam* 2.22.

On fols. 26v-30v, we find an episode of Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* concerning Burgundofara, abbess of the monastery of Faremoutiers, diocese of Meaux²⁴, followed by excerpts of Basil's Rule²⁵ and Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita* (the episode of a pious woman who stood up to emperor Valens in Edessa)²⁶. Finally, after a section of Evagrius' *Sententiae* (fols. 31r-42r)²⁷, we have three lives of female saints, usual texts in such a context:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

s. IX ³/₄, Reims; 24 × 17.5 cm; 43 fols.; 21 long lines; owners: Freising, St Mary and St Corbinian Cathedral³⁰.

This set of five quaternions and a final bifolio (with an addition leaf, fol. 9) was written most probably in Reims in the time of Hincmar³¹. It was attached to a section produced in Freising in the third quarter of the eighth century. *M* contains the *Vita Euphrosynae* (fols. 1r-7r), Isidore's *Synonyma*, from the beginning to 1.27 (fols. 7r-9v)³², Pseudo-Gregory the Great's *Concordia testimoniorum* (CPL 1717; CPPM IIA, 2292; fols. 10r-20v), Pseudo-Augustine's *De unitate sanctae Trinitatis dialogus* (CPL 379; CPPM IIA, 173; fols. 20v-3v), an assemblage of excerpts of Isidore's *De differentis rerum* and *Etymologiae* (fols. 23v-41r), and the *Breviarium apostolorum* (BHL 652; fols. 41v-2v)³³, followed by short texts and excerpts (fols. 42v-3v)³⁴.

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

s. IX², Southern Germany (area of Salzburg); a bifolio, 19 × 11 cm and 19 × 16 cm respectively; 24 long lines; owners: abbey of Michaelbeuern³⁵.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

s. IX^{3/4}, Saint-Amand (?); 80 fols., 28 × 20 cm; 27 long lines; owner: abbey of Saints-Pierre-André-et-Amand, Saint-Amand-les-Eaux³⁷.

nahme der wisigotischen). Teil II. Laon-Paderborn, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 190, no. 2789; Id., *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Teil II. Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 172 (considering Forstner's dating "vielleicht beträchtlich zu hoch gegriffen"); B. Koll, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Michaelbeuern bis 1600*, Vienna, 1999 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe 2: Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken 6. Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, 278), p. 49 («s. IX²»); K. Forstner, *Die karolingischen Handschriften und Fragmente in den Salzburger Bibliotheken (Ende des 8. Jh. bis Ende des 9. Jh.)*, Salzburg 1962 (Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, 3. Ergänzungsband), p. 27 («um 850»); Id., *Ergänzungen zu B. Bischoffs Hss. Katalog (Salzburger Fragmente)*, «Scriptorium», 62 (2008), pp. 122-38, at p. 132 («s. IX¹»). I am most grateful to P. Prior Mag. Michael Eppenschwandtner OSB, for his kind help in providing me with a digital copy.

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

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

Written possibly at the abbey of Saint-Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century³⁸, the manuscript contains Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* (Wellhausen's witness A; fols. 11r-26r) and an anthology of short ascetic and penitential stories, together with *Passiones* and *Vitae* of saints. At the end of the collection, we find four *lives* of female saints and the *Transitus Mariae*:

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

The text is extensively emended by a hand using a darker ink (= V²).

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

s. X, Limoges, Saint-Martial; 133 fols., 28 × 19.5 cm, 30 long lines; owners: Limoges, Saint-Martial⁴¹.

The manuscript was possibly written at the abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges in the tenth century. This section (fols. 17-56), composed of five quires, contains *Passiones* and *Vitae* of saints. The beginning is truncated. It starts at the middle of the *Passio Christophori* (BHL 1766), followed by a few *passiones apostolorum* (Peter, Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew). Then we have an anthology that opens with a dossier on Martial of Limoges (BHL 5551, followed by a collection of miracles). The dossier ends abruptly on fol. 32v, for the subsequent folios are lost. After this gap we find an excerpt on Augustine's life, truncated at the beginning, and the following texts⁴²:

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the last text, on fol. 56v, which is the last verso of the section, the prologue to the Acts of the Apostles, written in the same hand, is squeezed into the available space⁴³.

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

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

s. X, southern Bavaria; 95 fols., 26 × 16 cm; 20 long lines; owner: Aldersbach, St Maria⁴⁴.

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

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

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

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

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

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

red ink (fols. 63v-95v)⁴⁵. The *Vita Euphrosynae* ends abruptly at 6.2 *caelorum regna et*, for the folios between fols. 51 and 52 are lost. The beginning of the *Vita Pelagiae*, a copy of the so-called «réfection latine B», is also lost⁴⁶.

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

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

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

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

s. X^{3/3}, Switzerland (Einsiedeln); 104 pp.; 19 × 15.5 cm; 20/21 long lines; owner: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek⁴⁹.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After these lives, we have Ephrem's *Vita Abrahae et Maria* (fols. 146r-57r), Jerome's *Vita Malchi* (fols. 157r-9v), and the *Passio Machabaeorum* (fols. 160r-6v), incomplete at the end, for the following folios are lost. The *Vita Euphrosynae* begins without a title⁵⁴. It has been extensively emended by at least one hand, using a model with a similar redaction. This corrector is designated *Ep*² in the *apparatus criticus*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This well-known manuscript contains a hagiographical collection clearly related to Reichenau. It includes, for instance, the *Vita Symeonis Achivi, mon. Augiensis* (BHL 7950) and the *Translatio sanguinis Domini Augiam anno 925 et miracula* (BHL 4152). Several other texts concern saints from Germanic areas: the *Vita Meginradi heremitaie*, related to Einsiedeln (BHL 5878), the *Vita Findani, reclusi Rbenaugiensis* (BHL 2982), the *Vita Kyliani* (BHL 4661), the *Vita Burchardi episcopi Wirziburgensis* (BHL 1483), the *Vita Wynnebaldis ab. Heidenheimensis* (BHL 8996), and the *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis* (BHL 8931). Many additions, usually relating to Reichenau, are found in blank spaces and on empty pages⁵⁶.

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

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

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

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

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

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

s. X-XI, northern Italy; 252 fols.; 31 × 22.5 cm; 30 long lines; owner: Novara, Cattedrale di Santa Maria⁵⁸.

The manuscript contains a large anthology of ascetic texts⁵⁹. First, we have an assemblage of *Vitae* usually found in this sort of context: Jerome's *Vita Pauli* (BHL 6596), *Vita Hilarionis* (BHL 3879), and *Vita Malchi* (BHL 5190)⁶⁰;

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

58. Bischoff, *Katalog* cit., Teil II, p. 322 («X./XI. Jh.»; this date was confirmed to me by Mirella Ferrari); *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia. Opera fondata da Giuseppe Mazzatinti*, Forlì and Florence 1890, vol. 6, p. 73, no. 9 («sec. IX e X»); P. H. E. Bertrand and L. Gandt (eds.), *Vitae Antonii versiones Latinae. Vita beati Antonii abbatis Evagrii interprete. Versio vetustissima*, Turnhout 2018 (CCSL 170), pp. 122*-4* (ms. F⁵, «s. X ex.»); Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung der «Historia Lausiaca»* cit., pp. 432-4 (ms. N); E. Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufinus, Historia monachorum sive de Vita Sanctorum Patrum*, Berlin and New York 1990 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 34), pp. 121-2 (ms. N); A. Diem, *Das monastische Experiment: die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster 2005 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 24), pp. 371-2, no. 93; S. Gavinelli, *La Biblioteca Capitolare di Novara dalle origini al secolo XII, contributo per un catalogo*, Novara 1993 (Studi storici 37), pp. 85-7 («s. XII»); G. de Ferrari, *I più antichi codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Santa Maria di Novara*, «Bollettino storico per la Provincia di Novara» (1965), pp. 185-6. I am grateful to Dr. don Paolo Milani for his kind help in providing me with a reproduction.

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

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

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

This anthology includes three *lives* of ascetic women:

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

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

THE EARLY TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

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

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

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

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

Audiens haec Pafnutius recepit consolationem gratias agens Deo.

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

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

See the Greek source text:

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

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

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

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

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

The Greek source reads:

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

A few more examples:

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

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

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

Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, 5, s. XII², Benevento (?), owner: catedrale di Benevento; fols. 159v-66v (ending at 21.2 *cum congregatione*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale «Vittorio Emanuele II», Vitt. Eman. 1443, s. XI¹, abbey of S. Silvestro, Nonantola (Modena); fols. 69-76v.

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

A particular version, characterised by 21.4 *dedicata est sepultura* instead of *glorificans Deum abbas*, is found in some copies of the *Liber de natalitiis* and in its sources⁶³. This version is classified as *BHL* 2723a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is likely that *V* is not a *descriptus* of *R*. See 3.2 *tantum erat* for *tantam*; 8.6 *est* for *ergo scit*, whereas *V* has the correct readings. Nor is *R* a *descriptus* of *V* (e.g. 15.21 *non*: om. *V*). *V* is emended in a darker brown ink, with the help of a similar model (= *V*²). In 5.5, *V* has the correct *ad conuersationem*, which has been altered to the erroneous *ad conuersionem*, as in *R*; in 12.7 *meam uineam siccauit* is rendered into *meum amnem siccauit* in *R* and *V*². The text in *R* is also emended by a hand, in darker brown ink, which may have emended the whole codex⁶⁴.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The δ -class circulated in the eleventh and the twelfth century. See the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E iv, Part II (fols. 100-3), s. XII², abbey of St Mary, Byland; fols. 100v-3v.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 61 inf., s. XII¹, owners: monastery of S. Pietro in Gessate, Milan; Francesco da Desio; cols. 187r-91r.

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

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

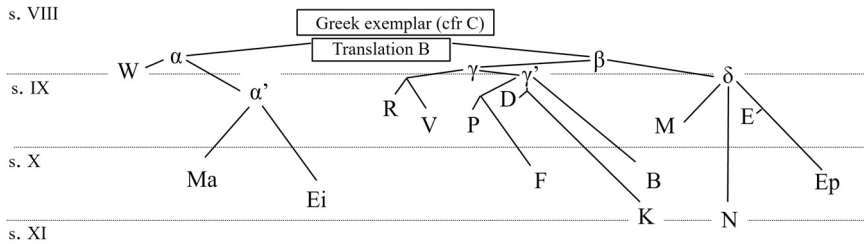
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 14364, s. XII *ex.*, owner: abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris; fols. 212-15v.

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

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

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

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



THE GREEK SOURCE

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

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

This is found in Translation B:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C reads as follows:

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

Translation B has the following text:

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

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

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

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

THE TRANSLATOR'S TECHNIQUE

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

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

Translation A is quite superficial:

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

The model of Translation B presented almost the same text:

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

Translation B is more literal:

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

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

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

The text in C is very different:

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

The translator followed the text preserved in C and enhanced it with an example extracted from the Book of Genesis⁶⁵:

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

EDITIONS

Translation B was published for the first time by Heribert Rosweyde (1569-1629) in his *Vitae patrum*, printed in 1615⁶⁶. It appears at the end of Book I, within an assemblage of female saints' *Lives*, usual in ascetic contexts, such as Eugenia, Euphrasia, Mary the Harlot, Thais, Pelagia, Mary of Egypt, Marina (also Marinus), among others. This is the most common context in which the *Vita Euphrosynae* circulated in the Middle Ages. The editor used a manuscript belonging to the δ-class, close to the text in *Ep* (Épinal 118) and Boulogne-sur-Mer 106.

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

Recently, Lorenzo Lozzi Gallo published the *Vita Euphrosynae* in an appendix to his study of the text in Anglo-Saxon England⁶⁸. This is not a crit-

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

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

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

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

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

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

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

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

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

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

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