

VI.  
THE «LIFE OF CASTISSIMA»  
(«BHL» 1640)

In the tenth century, a particular redaction of Translation A circulated in northern Spain, in the territories south of Burgos and neighbouring regions. We have already seen a different version of the same translation, our Redaction 1 (BHL 2722). In the following pages I shall refer to this Redaction 2 (BHL 1640) with its usual designation, *Vita Castissimae*, as found in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* and in the bibliography.

The earliest traces of its existence go back to an anthology of female saints' *Vitae*, which most likely was a source of inspiration to, and enlightenment for, an aristocratic audience in the County of Castile, kingdom of León. In the eleventh century, the text was copied in a hagiographical collection meant to supplement an important passionary of the region, and in subsequent centuries it appeared occasionally in hagiographical compilations. As far as we can see, the text never circulated outside Iberia, and its diffusion is quite modest. Below I shall present the manuscripts used in the present edition, before examining the relationships between them and to their source.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

As noted above, the earliest evidence of the existence of this particular redaction is found in a hagiographical anthology compiled in the first half of the tenth century in the region of Burgos<sup>1</sup>. The anthology is composed of the following texts:

<i>texts</i>	<i>BHL</i>
<i>Vita Constantinae</i>	1927
<i>Vita Heliae</i>	3798

1. P. F. Alberto, «A Collection of *Vitae Sanctarum* in Tenth-Century Northern Spain», in P. F. Alberto, P. Chiesa and M. Goulet (eds.), *Understanding Hagiography. Studies in the Textual Transmission of Early Medieval Saints' Lives*, Florence 2020 (Quaderni di «Hagiographica», 17), pp. 211-38 (pp. 235-8).

<i>Vita Melaniae</i>	5885
<i>Vita Castissimae</i>	1640
<i>Vita cuiusdam sanctae uirginis</i> <sup>2</sup>	(6529)
<i>Epistola beatissimae Egeriae laude</i>	2382
<i>Vita Pelagiae</i>	6607c
<i>Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae</i>	5417

The *Vita Castissimae* survives in two of the three extant copies of this anthology.

1. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, a-II-9, Part C (fols. 59-132) (= A)

s. X (a. 954), Castilian-Riojan region; 31 × 24 cm; 36 lines in two columns; owners: Jorge de Beteta Castilla y Cárdenas (1523-1590); San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1575)<sup>3</sup>.

The codex, beautifully decorated with coloured initials, was written by a certain John, who finished his work on 8 March 954, as indicated in the subscription (fol. 132v). It is without doubt a deluxe item made for a high-ranking female aristocrat or community in territory of the recently created County of Castile. Of the original book, we only have nine quaternions and a final ternion<sup>4</sup>. The original first leaf of the first quaternion is lost: presently, the

2. V. Burrus and M. Conti, *Between Fragment and Compilation: A Virgin's Vision of the After-life*, «Sacris Erudiri», 54 (2015), pp. 201-23. It consists of a particular version by John of Rome of *Verba seniorum*, 1.15 (ed. H. Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, Antwerp 1615, pp. 646-7). It is the story of a young woman who must choose between the virtuous life of her father and the mundane life of her mother. This story is supplemented with a short excerpt of Ps.-Jerome's *Breviarium in Psalmos* (CPL 629), on psalm 38:14, and a small collection of aphoristic sentences, most of them belonging to Isidore's *Synonyma*, either quoted directly or drawn from a collection of gnomic sayings. See J. C. Martín-Iglesias, *Códices bagiógráficos latinos de origen hispánico de los siglos IX-XIV. Con un apéndice sobre el siglo XV. Ensayo de inventario*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 127 (2009), pp. 313-63, at p. 325 n. 51.

3. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la Monarquía Leonesa*, León 1983 (Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa 31), pp. 378-81; Id., *Valerio del Bierzo. Su persona, su obra*, León 2006 («Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa», 111), pp. 146-7; Alberto, *A collection of «Vitae Sanctarum»* cit., pp. 211-12; G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Madrid 1910, vol. I, pp. 42-5; id., *Estudios de códices visigodos. Códice a.II.9 de la Biblioteca del Escorial*, «Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia», 54 (1909), pp. 55-67, 117-28, 204-46, 265-315; Martín-Iglesias, *Códices bagiógráficos latinos* cit., p. 325. On Jorge de Beteta's manuscripts, G. de Andrés, *Los códices visigóticos de Jorge de Beteta en la biblioteca del Escorial*, «Celtiberia», 26 (1976), pp. 101-7, at p. 105. The first section of the manuscript (fols. 2-3), originally from a different codex, presents Julian's *Elogium Ildephonsi* (BHL 3917); the second (fols. 4-58), also from a different manuscript, contains Ildefonsus' *De uirginitate beatae Marie*.

4. The ternion corresponds to fols. 130-5. After the subscription on fol. 132v, three folios

first text, the *Vita Constantinae*, starts at *tu ut uideo non disponis*<sup>5</sup>. We have no means of knowing what might have preceded the surviving set of quires.<sup>6</sup>

The *Vita Castissimae* is on fols. 112v-16r, artfully displayed<sup>7</sup>. Unlike the other text of this collection (for instance, the *Vita Constantinae*), the margins of the *Vitae Castissimae* do not contain summaries of the contents. But there are two marginal notes: one is simply an emendation of the text; the other is an explanation. In chapter 15, when Paphnutius meets his daughter at the monastery without recognising her, a note says: *ubi eam aspexit et ignorauit quia filia sua esset*. The text is also divided into units of meaning, the words of the first line of each unit written in red ink with a large capital letter.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2178, Part I (fols. 1-276) + Madrid, BNE, 822, Part I (fols. 2-18 + 19-22) (= **B**)

s. X<sup>2</sup>, Silos (?); 41 × 30 cm; 37 lines in two columns; owners: Santo Domingo de Silos (s. XIII); Paris section: Bibliothèque Royale (1878); Madrid section: King Felipe V's library (1720)<sup>8</sup>.

**B** was produced in the second half of the tenth century in the region south of Burgos, possibly at Silos. It was a period in which the scriptorium of the monastery, then dedicated to Saint Sebastian (later to Saint Dominic), was un-

were left blank. A hand datable to the late tenth century added Braulio of Zaragoza's *Life of Saint Aemilian*, adding more folios to complete the work (fols. 136-41). The text ends abruptly due to the loss of the subsequent folios.

5. M. Conti, V. Burrus, and D. Trout, *The Lives of Saint Constantina: Introduction, Translations, and Commentaries*, Oxford 2020 (Oxford Early Christian Texts), p. 52, 34.

6. The quire signatures are not visible, so we do not know whether this was the final part of a codex of Valerius' hagiographical collection, as are the two other manuscripts.

7. The folio numbering is that marked in pencil. It corresponds to fols. 103v-7r of an earlier folio numbering.

8. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos* cit., pp. 457-9 (Paris NAL 2178, Part I), 422-4 (Madrid 822, Part I); id., *Valerio del Bierzo* cit., pp. 136-9; Id., *La vida de San Fructuoso de Braga. Estudio y edición crítica*, Braga 1974, pp. 40-2; Alberto, *A Collection of «Vitae Sanctarum»* cit., pp. 212-14; M. Vivancos Gómez, *Glosas y notas marginales de los manuscritos visigóticos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Silos 1996 (Studia Silensia 19), pp. 277-85; Martín-Iglesias, *Códices hagiográficos* cit., pp. 326-7. On its presence in Silos in the thirteenth century, see A. Boylan, *The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos and its Catalogues (XIth-XVIIIth Centuries)*, «Revue Mabillon», n.s. 3 (=64) (1992), pp. 59-102 (p. 79, Catalogue B, no. 4). On the catalogue, Vivancos, *Glosas* cit., pp. 36-7. The catalogue may correspond to the reorganisation of the library after the fire of 1254 (Boylan, *The Library at Santo Domingo* cit., pp. 64-5). It is recorded in the catalogue of Domingo Ibarreta (1710-1785) around 1770, and in that of Gregorio Hernández (1730-1795) of 1772, published in Boylan, *The Library at Santo Domingo* cit., p. 89 (Catalogue D, no. 7), p. 92 (Catalogue F, no. 1). On the history of the library of Silos, see Vivancos, *Glosas* cit., pp. 41-51.

der the influence of the style of Valeránica<sup>9</sup>. Adorned with beautifully decorated and coloured initials, it contains the hagiographical collection of Valerius of Bierzo. The last piece, the *Vita Alexii* (BHL 289), ends on the left-hand column of fol. 207r. On the right-hand column we have the title of the collection of female saints skilfully painted, followed by its index. Then comes the title of the first piece, which begins on the verso. The last text, the *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae*, is incomplete, for some folios are lost. The *Vita Castissimae* is found on fols. 257r-61r.

A third extant copy of the anthology, named C by the editors of the *Vita Constantinae*, is Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 13, Parts A+C (fols. 1-253 + 286-93). The codex contains Valerius of Bierzo's hagiographical compilation, and was produced in the second third of the tenth century in San Millán de la Cogolla. Its model must have come from the territory of León, specifically the region of Castile. As in the case of B, the anthology was copied after Valerius' anthology. Unfortunately, only the first quaternion survives, offering the beginning of the *Vita Constantinae*<sup>10</sup>.

### 3. El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, b-I-4 (= Eb)

s. XI *in.*, San Pedro de Cardeña; 265 fols; 35.5 × 26 cm; 29 lines in two columns; owners: San Pedro de Cardeña (s. XI-XVI; cf. fol. 2v); San Lorenzo del El Escorial (1572)<sup>11</sup>.

9. See Vivancos, *Glosas cit.*, pp. 65 and 278; Barbara Shailor, *The Scriptorium of San Pedro de Berlangas*, Ph.D., University of Cincinnati 1975, p. 150, dated it to 945-953 (and attributed it to Valeránica), while Ann Boylan prefers a later date, after 960 (*Manuscript Illumination at Santo Domingo de Silos (X-XIIIth Centuries)*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh 1990, pp. 292-4, 341-3).

10. The text ends at *agitans currit*, ed. Conti, Burrus, and Trout, *The Lives of Saint Constantina cit.*, p. 80, 475.

11. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos cit.*, pp. 304-5; Id., *La pasión de S. Pelayo y su difusión*, «Anuario de Estudios Medievales», 6 (1969), pp. 97-116, at pp. 101-3; Id., *La «Passio Mantii»* (BHL 5219). *Unas consideraciones*, «Analecta Bollandiana», 100 (1982) (*Mélanges offerts à Baudouin de Gaiffier et François Halkin*), pp. 327-39, at p. 328; G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial. I (a. I. 1-d. IV. 32)*, Madrid 1910, pp. 108-28; A. Fàbrega Grau, *Pasionario Hispánico (siglos VII-XI)*, Madrid and Barcelona 1953 (Monumenta Hispana Sacra, Serie Litúrgica 6), vol. 1, pp. 240-5; Martín-Iglesias, *Códices hagiográficos*, p. 328. In the sixteenth century, Ambrosio de Morales examined the codex at the monastery of Cardeña: *Divi Eulogii Cordubensis ... opera*, Alcalá de Henares 1574, fol. 112r. Based on a marginal note on fol. 30v, preceding the *Passio Nunilonis et Alodiae*, martyred in Huesca in c. 842/851, Manuel Díaz y Díaz suggested that the model, or rather one of the models, of Eb should be dated to some time before 982: *La Pasión de San Pelayo y su difusión*, p. 102. Former shelfmark: «I. H. 8. 9».

This legendary produced in the eleventh century was used as a supplement to Endura's passionary (London, add. 25600). This is shown by the numbering of the folios and of the texts<sup>12</sup>. Most likely, the very purpose of this collection was precisely to assemble texts missing from Endura's passionary and required by the new liturgical needs of the time<sup>13</sup>. The texts are not arranged *per circulum anni*, but by accumulation.

The *Vita Castissimae* was copied at the end of the collection, on fols. 262r-5v, with no indication of the liturgical date. It ends abruptly at 14.3 *de palatio Theodosii*. The subsequent folios are lost.

#### 4. Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, 44-11 (= T)

s. XIII, Toledo; 264 fols., 59 × 38.5 cm; 40 lines in two columns; owners: Cathedral of Toledo<sup>14</sup>.

The manuscript contains two annual cycles, copied one after the other. First, on fols. 1-126v, we have a passionary *per circulum anni*, from 17 November (Acisclus and Victoria) to 1 November (*Passio Saturnini*). At the end is appended the *Passio Christinae*, celebrated on 26 July in early medieval Spain. Then, on fols. 130r-241v, we find a second annual cycle, from 28 November (Caprasius of Agen, a common feature in the early medieval Hispanic liturgy) to 30 October (Marcellus of Tangier). After this piece, we have a supplement of thirteen texts on saints of various dates, the first being Claudius, Asterius, and companions (23 August), followed by Longinus of Cappadocia (21 November in the early medieval Spanish liturgy). Four saints of December form a short sequence.

The *Vita Castissimae* is the last piece of this supplement (fols. 260r-2v). Once again, there is no liturgical date. Among the models of this huge hagio-

12. The passions are numbered LIII to CXVII (the last text of London add. 25600, the *Passio Innumerabilium Caesaraugustanorum*, is numbered LII). The thirteenth-century foliation is from CCLXVIII to DLX (the final folio of add. 25600 is numbered CCLXVII). The passions in add. 25600 and *Eb* were numbered before the late eleventh century, when the current final quaternion was added.

13. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Passionnaires, légendiers et compilations hagiographiques dans le haut Moyen Âge espagnol*, in *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés. IV<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, Paris 1981, pp. 49-59, at p. 50. On fol. 3r, a title in red and blue on alternating lines occupies eight lines: IN NOMINE DOMINI INCIPIUNT PASSIONES SANCTORUM MARTIRUM AD RELIQUO AD PERFECTUM EXARATE.

14. Martín-Iglesias, *Códices hagiográficos* cit., p. 330; J. Janini and R. González, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la Catedral de Toledo*, Toledo 1977 (Publicaciones del Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos. Tercera serie. Estudios, Catálogos, Repertorios 11), pp. 184-6, no. 174; P. Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario Hispánico (Introducción, Edición crítica y Traducción)*, Seville 1995 (Filosofía y Letras 131), p. xvii; V. Yarla Urquiola (ed.), *Passionarium Hispanicum*, Turnhout 2022 (CCSL 171 and 171a), vol. 1, pp. 313-16.

graphical manuscript, the scribes used passionaries of the Castilian territory, such as those of San Pedro de Cardeña, Endura's passionary (London add. 25600), and its complement, our *Eb*. *T* is precisely a copy of *Eb*, as we shall see below. Nevertheless, it is a valuable witness, because it was produced before the loss of a number of folios in *Eb*, which left the text truncated<sup>15</sup>.

A copy of the *Vita Castissimae* modelled on *T* is found in Bernardo of Brihuega's *Vitae sanctorum*. It survives in Salamanca, Biblioteca Histórica Universitaria, 2538 (fols. 337v-9r), a manuscript of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, once owned by the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé, Salamanca, which contains a large portion of Brihuega's book 3 (fols. 11r-224v) and a section of book 5 (fols. 224v-355v). It has been very thoroughly described by José Carlos Martín-Iglesias<sup>16</sup>. That *T* is the model of Brihuega is clear: it bears every single error, omission, and addition present in *T*, and not a single reading that improves on *T*. Interestingly, Bernardo of Brihuega was also acquainted with the anthology of female saints' lives mentioned above. He copied most of the lives from Paris nal 2178 (our *B*)<sup>17</sup>. However, as for the *Vita Castissimae*, he preferred to use *T* as his model.

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The earliest evidence of the existence of this particular version of the *Vita Euphrosynae* is found in the above-mentioned anthology compiled in the tenth century. As we have seen, it survives in two beautifully decorated manuscripts (*A* and *B*) produced in the area of Burgos for some high-ranking commissioner, possibly a member of the Leonese court or the new aristocracy of Castile. Unfortunately, the quaternions containing the *Vita* in a third contemporaneous copy mentioned above (Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 13, Parts A+C), are lost.

In the eleventh century, in this very same region, the *Vita Euphrosynae* was incorporated at the end of a hagiographical collection (*Eb*), intended to sup-

15. Already a sixteenth-century note on fol. 167v (*Passio Pelagii*) states that the manuscript was collated with *Eb*.

16. J. C. Martín-Iglesias, *Los manuscritos de las «Vitae sanctorum» de Bernardo de Brihuega conservados en la Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca*, «Euphrosyne», 48 (2020), pp. 151-92.

17. Brihuega incorporated: *Vita Heliae* (fols. 300v-2r), *Vita Melaniae iunioris* (fols. 312r-23v), *Vita cuiusdam sancte uirginis* (fols. 323v-4r), Valerius of Bierzo's *Epistula beatissimae Egeriae laude conscripta* (fols. 324v-5va), *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae* (fols. 325v-31r), *Vita Constantinae* (fols. 339r-46v).

plement the most important passionary produced in the monasteries of Castile County: London, British Library, add. 25600, the passionary copied by Endura in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, in the days of Fernán González, count of Castile (932-969/970).

Finally, in the thirteenth century a copy of *Eb* was produced in Toledo (*T*). From *T*, the text was incorporated into Bernardo of Brihuega's *Vitae sanctorum*.

*A* and *B* present almost identical texts: the same layout, division of the text, and omissions. A number of readings suggest that both derive independently from the same source text. For instance:

	<i>BHL</i> 2722	<i>BHL</i> 1640	
		<i>B Eb</i> (up to 14.3) <i>T</i>	<i>A</i>
1.4	nocte ac die	nocte et die	die hac nocte
1.7	non paucam pecuniam	multa pecunia	pecunia
4.10	qui cognoscis	qui cognoscis	qui scis
5.5	qualiscumque	qualiscumque	aliquis qualiscumque
6.2	cum omni integritate	cum omni integritate	cum omni humilitate et integritate
8.2	temptationes inimici	temptationes inimici	temptationes diaboli
13.2	de cellulis eorum	de cellulis eorum ( <i>aliter Eb T</i> )	<i>om.</i>
17.3	dignare	dignare	digna
19.2	abbas uelociter	abbas uelociter	uelociter abbas

As we can see, the evidence is scarce, but it is unlikely that all these minor details can be put down to simple coincidence. And when we consider the other texts of the anthology, we reach a certain degree of confidence that *B* is not a copy of *A*<sup>18</sup>.

It is possible that *Eb* derives from a model in a higher stemmatic position than *A B*. However, the evidence is limited. See, for instance:

	<i>BHL</i> 2722	<i>BHL</i> 1640	
		<i>Eb T</i>	<i>A B</i>
2.2	concessit	concessit	concedit
5.6	et dixit monachus	respondit monachus	respondit
6.5	seruum dei	seruum dei	seruum domini
7.9	contradicere patri	contradicere patri	contradicere ad patrem
10.3	dispensare	dispensaret	expensaret
12.2	consocrum	consocrum	socrum

18. Alberto, *A Collection of «Vitae Sanctorum»* cit., p. 225 (for the *Vita Melaniae*), p. 229 (*Vita Constantinae*), p. 231 (*Vita Pelagiae*), p. 234 (*Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae*).

On the other hand, it is also a highly reworked text. See the beginning of chapter 13:

<sup>1</sup> Dum non potuit dolores supportare, Pafnutius ambulauit ad ipsum monasterium, ubi erat filia sua, et prosternens se ad pedes beati abbatis dixit: «Rogo te, pater, ne obliuiscaris mei; attentissime ora pro me peccatore, ut inueniam fructum orationum tuarum; imparuit enim filia mea». <sup>2</sup> Audiens haec, abbas tristis effectus est et iussit sonari signum ut omnes fratres de cellulis eorum congregarentur in ecclesia. Et dixit illis. <sup>3</sup> «Rogo uos, fratres, laborem sustinete unam septimanam et ieiunate ac Deum deprecare nobiscum».

which reads in *Eb* and *T*:

<sup>1</sup> Quum uero non potuisset dolorem filiae sustinere, Pafnutius perrexit ad ipsum monasterium, ubi erat filia eius, et prosternens se ad pedes beati abbatis dixit: «Obsecro te, pater sanctissime, ut mei miserearis, quoniam filia unica, quam mihi Deus sacris tuis atque tuorum fratrum orationibus olim postulatus dederat, nunc grauiter doleo amissam, quando nec uiuentem uideo nec mortuam mihi datur tradere sepulcro. Propter quod nunc precor ut Dei exoretis clementiam. Forsitan, uobis orantibus, ostendere mihi eam dignabitur Dominus». <sup>2</sup> Talibus igitur uerbis abbas commotus, conuocatis sic ait fratribus: <sup>3</sup> «Rogo uos, fratres, ut in spatio unius septimanae laborem ieiunii sustineatis ac Deum simul deprecemur».

*T* is clearly a *codex descriptus* of *Eb*. It replicates all the errors of *Eb* and does not, beyond any reasonable doubt, offer any better reading than *Eb*.

#### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE «VITA CASTISSIMAE» AND TRANSLATION A, REDACTION 1

That the *Vita Castissimae* is a particular version of Translation A, and not a different translation from the same Greek model, is demonstrated by a huge number of passages that are identical in these Latin texts. A few examples:

	<i>Greek text</i>	<i>Redaction 1</i>	<i>Vita Castissimae</i>
1.5	ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς περιεργόμενος	similiter et uir suus circuibat monasteria et sancta loca	similiter et uir suus circuibat monasteria et sancta loca
2.5	ὅτι ἦν ἀστεία τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ὄραία τῇ ὄψει καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα	dum decora erat ualde in forma et patiens in conuersatione.	dum erat decora ualde in forma et patiens in conuersatione.
7.2	τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς μονῆς εἰσιν.	dedicatio est monasterii nostri	dedicatio est monasterii nostri
7.5	ἰδοὺ τις γέρων ἐκ τῆς Σκίτεως ἐλθὼν τὸ ἐργόχειρον αὐτοῦ ἐπόλει.	inuentus est ibidem unus senex seruus Dei orans adtentissime in ipsa ecclesia	inuentus est ibidem unus senex seruus Dei orans adtentissime in ipsa ecclesia

14.5, 8	καὶ λαβὼν αὐτόν, ὁ Ἀγάπιος ἀπήγαγεν πρὸς αὐτόν.	duxitque illum ad fenestram. 7 <sup>b</sup> Et ille non potuit cognoscere filiam suam, dum de nimia afflictione carnis suae fuerat afflicta <sup>8</sup> et cooperiebat se de cuculla, ut nullum signum pater suus uidere potuisset in ea.	duxitque illum ad fenestram. 7 <sup>b</sup> Et uidit filiam suam et non cognouit eam prae nimia afflictione carnis suae, quia fuerat ualde afflicta in nimiis ieiuniis atque orationibus <sup>8</sup> et quo operiebat se de cuculla, ut non cognosceret eam pater suus.
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Furthermore, they present the same sentences absent from the Greek model. For instance, they have the same additional information about the tradition of the nuns being tonsured (6.4): *dum in Oriente consuetudo est monachas tondere capillos sicut et uiros*.

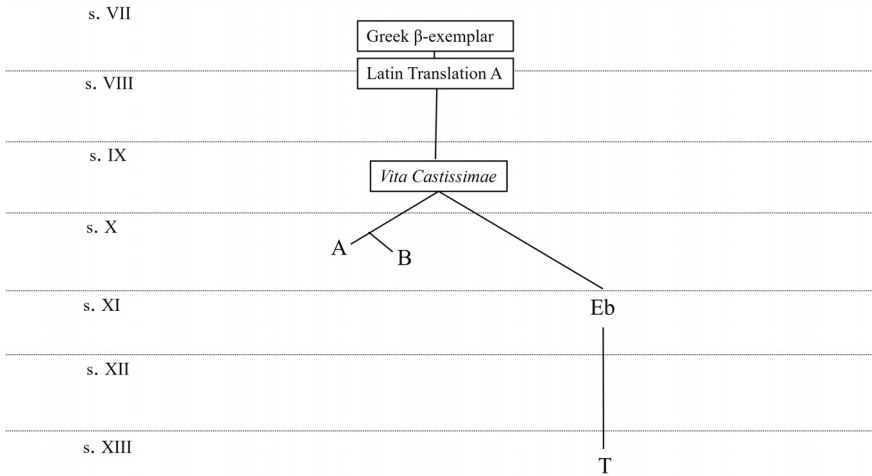
It is difficult to demonstrate beyond any reasonable doubt which line of transmission the *Vita Castissimae* stems from. The text is very heavily reworked, which may obscure many significant clues. In any case, a number of details in the extant witnesses suggest that its ancestor was closer to the line of *REs P U* (1.1-12.2). Some of these details are:

	<i>BHL</i> 2772	<i>BHL</i> 2772 ( <i>REs</i> (18.5-21.5) <i>P U</i> (1.1-12.2)) + <i>BHL</i> 1640
1.3	exitum	obitum
4.5	homines	omnes (also Ba)
6.5	perinquire (perquire Ba Ro D)	inquire
8.1	propriae animae	propriae animae suae
9.9	offero omnia	offero tibi omnia (offero tibi Ba)
10.2	solus non potes consistere	non potes consistere solus
10.2	ordinem monasticum	ordinem monasterii
10.3	facio	faciam
13.6	pro hoc	propter hoc
13.7	abscondit	abscondit (also Ba)
14.4	dominum (hominem Ba D)	amicum
19.4	cum grandi reuerentia	cum magna reuerentia
20.1	de fratribus	ex fratribus
20.2	monimen (monumentum D)	hominem (also Ba)

The evidence is meagre, but it is not certain that all these minor details can be put down to simple coincidence. A fact is that this line of transmission of Redaction 1 circulated in tenth-century Spain: *U* is precisely an exemplar produced in Córdoba in the second quarter of the tenth century. Other exemplars may have circulated<sup>19</sup>. Therefore, for the time being, this is a hypothesis.

19. In 5.4, the *Vita Castissima* offers the correct number of monks. This may mean that its

The relationships between copies of the *Vita Castissimae* can roughly be represented as follows:



#### THE AUTHOR'S TECHNIQUE

The *Vita Castissimae* is shorter than its model by about 30 per cent. For instance, in 1.3, Redaction 1 reads:

Vir autem suus in grandi tribulatione erat. Dum diuitiae erant illi, non sperabat dimittere posteros, ut suam substantiam post exitum eorum bene disponderetur.

The *Vita Castissimae* condenses this into a short line:

model was in a higher stemmatic position in regard to the ancestor of *R Es P U*, or that it was emended. There are very few indications that the *Vita Castissimae* descends from a model in a higher stemmatic position than the ancestor of the extant copies of Redaction 1, this is, *BHL* 2722. One of the passages which could suggest such a model is the following. In 4.7, the Greek text has δεῦρο, πάτερ πνευματικέ, πρὸς τὴν δούλην σου, ἴνα σε προσκυνήσῃ [...] ὅτι ἀπελθεῖν θέλομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, while Redaction 1 reads *pater bone, uide ancillam tuam, filiam meam, quia ualedicere uolumus*, and the *Vita Castissima* presents *pater bone, uide ancillam tuam, filiam meam, quia quaerimus descendere ad ciuitatem*. No other passage offers a similar clue, which is an interesting indication in a text of this length. It is not impossible that the author of the *Vita Castissimae* introduced the causal clause corresponding to the Greek text on his own initiative or following a lost model preserving the sentence of the Greek text (for instance, a descendant of an ancestor of *R Es P U*). Indeed, the eleventh-century corrector of *M*, a major witness of Redaction 1, added a very similar phrase above the line, *uolumus discedere in domo*, again either on his own initiative or based on a more complete, and now-lost exemplar of Redaction 1.

Pafnutius uero tribulabatur eo quod erat diues et non habebat filios.

Sometimes, the purpose of abridging the text led the author to commit mistakes and to mislead the reader. If it is not just a mechanical loss, an example could be 16.2-4, where Pafnutius visits his daughter at the monastery for the last time:

Venit autem tunc pater suus ad monasterium et dixit abbati: «Si iubes, domine, uideam Smaragdum, quia satis diligit illum anima mea». <sup>3</sup> Et iussit abbas et uidit illum. <sup>4</sup> Intrauerunt Agapius et Pafnutius et uisitauerunt eam.

The sentence *et iussit abbas et uidit illum* is puzzling, but Redaction 1 clarifies:

<sup>3</sup> Iussitque abbas magistro suo, nomen Agapio, ducere patrem puellae dicens: «Quia forsitan in hoc corpore non uidebit illum».

If we are not acquainted with the source text, the sentence in the *Vita Castissimae* is nonsensical.

Sometimes, the author introduced elements which render the text faulty. In 12.4, Redaction 1 reads:

Statim directi sunt in omnem patriam quaerere beatam puellam et non solum naues maris, sed et de Nilo fluuio detentae sunt. Et exquaerebantur domi, monasteria, cauernae; et quod quaerebant non inueniebatur.

The corresponding passage in the *Vita Castissimae* is as follows:

Statim direxerunt missos in omnes regiones et non solum naues maris, sed et Nili fluuia et cauernas et speluncas et monasteria uirorum et mulierum: inquirentes non inuenerunt eam.

There are a number of inconsistencies and redundancies here. The phrase *non solum naues maris sed et Nilia fluuia* is awkward; *cauernas et speluncas* is an unnecessary repetition. But see specially *monasteria uirorum et mulierum*: the phrase *monasteria uirorum* is clearly rhetorical and inaccurate. This is precisely the reason why they did not find Euphrosyne: because they did not search in male monasteries.

The purpose of abridging the model did not prevent the author from amplifying the text whenever he felt it appropriate. For instance, in 17.3, when Euphrosyne reveals her identity to her father, Redaction 1 has a short statement:

Ego sum paupera et peccatrix quam quaeris, ecce uide et satisfactum tibi sit!

The author of the *Vita Castissimae* decided to amplify the moment and give it an emotional tone:

Ego sum paupera et peccatrix, quae pro amore Christi mundum omnem cum deliciis suis respui tamquam stercora. Christus autem tam idoneus mihi extitit, ut et uictricem libidinum et omnes pollutiones a me euadere fecit pro misericordiam suam, cui credo me usque ad hanc horam sine macula permansuram. Ecce uide me et satisfac tibi!

#### EDITIONS

The *Vita Castissimae* was first published in 1909 by Guillermo Antolín y Pajares (1873-1928), the Augustinian scholar of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, author of the well-known catalogue of its manuscripts. In a long article printed in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Antolín reproduced the text he had found in El Escorial a-II-9, our A<sup>20</sup>.

More recently, Valeriano Yarza Urquiola included the *Vita* in volume 2 of his *Passionarium Hispanicum*. He used our four manuscripts: A B Eb T. In volume 1, Yarza presents a short introduction to the text, comprising a summary of its contents. It is not clear why he included this *Vita* in an edition of the so-called *Passionarium Hispanicum*, once the text is absent from all manuscripts usually associated with the hagiographical collections *per anni circulum* which circulated in northern Spain since the tenth century, except our *Es*, in which the *Vita* appears at the very end of the anthology composed by accumulation and with no indication of the liturgical date. Also, his proposal about Euphrosyne's feast day in the Hispanic liturgy of the eleventh century (if she ever had a feast day in medieval Spain) requires explanation<sup>21</sup>.

#### EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

In the present text, I use the same chapter and other textual units used in the preceding texts<sup>22</sup>. Since this is an abridged version, the result is sometimes unbalanced. But, even so, this appeared to be the best solution in order to avoid different reference systems among versions. As for spelling variants,

20. Guillermo Antolín y Pajares, *Estudios de códices visigodos: Códice a. ii 9. de la biblioteca del Escorial*, «Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia», 54 (1909), pp. 55-67, 117-28, 204-46, 265-315. The *Vita Castissimae* is on pp. 271-9.

21. Yarza, *Passionarium Hispanicum* cit., pp. 1333-45 (the introduction to the text is in vol. 1, pp. 261-4). The author states that the liturgical date of Saint Castissima in early medieval Spain was 15 September. No evidence is given to the reader.

22. The author of this version did not include 20.3 and 21.3, in addition to the omission of 2.3 in Translation A, Redaction 1, the position of 14.8 (between 14.5 and 14.6 in Translation A), and 14.7 divided in two parts.

I only incorporated the most meaningful into the *apparatus criticus* (see above pp. 61-2).

As we have seen, *A* and *B* present the earliest form of this version, as confirmed by the other recension of the same translation, this is, Translation A. Naturally, this is the basis of our text. *Eb* presents a later and very reworked text. But since it descends from a model in a higher stemmatic position than that of the ancestor *A* and *B*, it presents better readings in a few cases. *T* is a *codex descriptus* of *Eb*. Nevertheless, I have included its variants in the *apparatus criticus*, since *Eb* is missing the text after chapter 14 due to the loss of the subsequent leaves, and in many places the edges of the surviving folios have been cut off, meaning that some sentences and words are lost. *T* is thus taken as representative of the missing text in *Eb*. For reasons of clarity and coherence, all variants of *T* – not only those in the missing parts of *Eb* – are given.

